"THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE ULAMA OF SOKOTO CALIPHATE BETWEEN THE YEARS 1804 - 1837"

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Thesis has been produced by me. And that its topic has not previously been presented on any application for a higher degree write up. And that all relevant quotations are showed by quotation marks and sources of information are specifically acknowledged by means of reference.

Yakubu Sheriff Aze Shu'aibu

CERTIFICATION

This project titled, "The Role Played by the ULAMA of Sokoto Caliphate Between The Years 1804 and 1837" Submitted by Yakubu Sheriff Aze Shu'aibu meets the regulations governing master of Education of Ahmadu Bello University and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literary presentation.

Chairman, Supervision Committee	DATE
Member, Supervisory Committee	DATE
Head of Department	13/5/93 DATE
Dean, Postgraduate School	30/5/96 DATE

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my beloved father, Alhaji Shu'aibu Aze, whose strong love and commitment to the cause of Islam and Education throughout his life had been a hidden influencing force which has sustained me throughout my academic struggle in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

The Collapse of the States in Hausaland after 1804, leadir he emergence of Caliphate with Federal System of administratis appeared to be due to the direct, influence of uLama- The political order based on Shari and moral codes of Islam was also part of the energetic work of the Ulama. equently, the vast and radical transformation of the political institutions and social relationship in the State were linked with the ollective and individual of Ulama headed by Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio.

The theme of this study is the role of these ulama in the Sokoto Caliphate, between the years 1804 and 1837 C.E.

An attempt has been made to find out some significant roles played by the body of Ulama both as a collective body and as individuals in relations to the development and aliphate within the period of1804 C..E.

in carring out this work, some relevant written duments and published works were used for data COllection.

It was discovered from the study that the role played by the Ulama in ate was manifested high academic ideals, exemplary sty1e of

administration and military services.

On the whole, the zeal with which these learned scholars used their collective and individual talents to make and maintain the Sokoto Caliphate became worthy of research for the benefit of our present and future generations. The research has been able to establish that the ideals of the Caliphate are relevant for our Nation, Nigeria and would no doubt contribute towards the solution of problems and the well being of our society.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The term JIHAD means to fight, battle, holy war or exerting one's power in repelling the enemy, or in a given cause.

In other words, JIHAD could mean an Islamic holy war fought [illegible] for the sake of Allah aimed at spreading Islam, encouraging [illegible], justice and good deeds; and to suppress and prevent any shade of falsehood.

Furthermore, the word Jihad implies use [illegible] and or exerting one's utmost power, efforts, ability, endeavours, in contending with an object of diapprobation. The object of disapprobation could be the self, the devil and the visible enemy.

ULAMA: Plural of the word alim - learned, erudite, scholar, savant, scientist, intellectuals, scholars.

SOKOTO CALIPHATE: The [illegible] Islamic Government.

SHARIA: [illegible]ic Jurisprudence, Laws, rules and regulations and principles.

UMMAH: Muslim Community/Nation.

ULAMA [illegible] Evil/Corrupt I[illegible]mic Scholars.

MUJTAHID: An active participle of the verb, ijtadhad. also from the word Jahada. It means a legists qualified in formulating independent decisions in legal matters based on the interpretation and application of the Usul or primary sources.

MUJADDID: An Islamic reformer

JAMA'A Shaikh Uthman's folowers(Community) who answered his call.

MUJAHIDUN: Plural of Mujahid, also from Jahada. it means freedom fighters, warriors, within the Islamic cultural context, it means also muslim or Islamic revivalists.

ROLE: Function - It refers to the role - function of the body of the Ulama in the Sokoto Caliphate.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY:

"AND I HAVE NOT CREATED THE JINN AND THE MEN EXCEPT THEY SHOULD SERVE ME: I"

The above quotation attracts three main points which need further elucidation. From a close study of the verse one needs to know to which of the two major and distinct classes of creatures, jinn and men, he belongs. Secondly, he needs to know "who" is responsible for his creation and thirdly, he has to strive hard to know the ways and means of serving the creator as indicated in the above quotation.

To answer the stated quotations, there is obviously the need for a teacher and disciple relationship.

Hence, the term Ulama/alim is indicative of its Primary role and responsibility in a society, within a given muslim community, (Ulama), Allah has made it incumbent upon an individual alim/Ulama to encourage and help spread those things that are good and to discourage and prevent those things which are evil.

In an explicit expression Allah says:- "And from among you there should be a party that invite to goodness, enjoying the right and forbidding the evil 2"....." You are the best of the nations raised up for (the benefit of) men; You enjoin what is right and forbid the wrong 3:

The aforementioned quotation from the Holy Qur'an gives shed light upon the characteristics, functions and the roles of given Ulama within a particular Ummah.

In one of his writings, Abdullahi Smith(1961) states that Sokoto Caliphate should be viewed as an intellectual movement "involving in the minds of the philosphy of revolution."

Hausa states among other western Sudan countries had gone through several centuries of various experiments in state formation by 1804. The collapse of the states in Hausaland in eary 19th century and the emergence of a single system of government, like that of Sokoto Caliphate, was based on divine and moral codes with Islam as the state religion. This Islamic state was governed by special group of people known as the Ulama. hence, the roles played by this group of people were implicitly expressed in terms of social, intellectual, spiritual and political life of the community.

It is important to disclose that in the case of the researcher's study, it was discovered that although several writings have been made on various aspects of 19th century Sokoto Jihad, yet, the specific role of

Ulama in Sokoto Caliphate as a single entity has not been treated in a systematic way before this time.

In the light of the important role played by the Ulama above, it becomes necessary to find out the various functions they played in making the Sokoto Caliphate a reality. It is the hope of the researcher that some useful lessons can be drawn from their rich and vast experiences which can be of great help to us in our current struggles for national construction and general development throughout the federation.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:

The study is designed to investigate the importance of the role played by the Ulama in the Sokoto Caliphate from 1804 up to 1837, the period which the different activities, in terms of religious, intellectual, military and political ideas reached their highest peak of development and maturity. On the basis of this, it is important, therefore, to centre our study on the wealth of experiences these talented Ulama had adopted to run, structure, and administer what was later on referred to as the Sokoto Caliphate.

This study will seek answers to the following ...ificant questions:

i. What is meant by the terms ROLE AND 'ULAMA'?

ii. What were the three main categories of the 'Ulama' and
their different functions within the society before 1804.

iii. What prompted Uthman Dan Fodio to engage himself in such
activities as an Alim?

iv. How did he arrive to solve those problems within the
Ummah?

v. What were the results of his efforts in settling those
societal problems generally?

1.3 BASIC ASSUMPTIONS:

This study is based on the following assumptions:

1. That the general interpretation of the Sharia is the primary role of the Ulama, they guide the rulers to establish and maintain good and fair government.
2. That the Ulama inculcate knowledge in the individual and society in general; they show the people how they should worship Allah, spread and defend Islam in the land.

3. That the Ulama uphold and advocate for justice and advise the rulers to be just and fair in their administration of the state.
4. That the Ulama encourage and sponsor those acts that are good and discourage and prevent those behaviours that are evil within the society.
5. That the 'Ulama' were the spiritual as well as intellectual brains behind the whole operation of the Sokoto Jihad.
6. That the 'Ulama' were the undisputable and natural captains who piloted the religio-political ship of the Sokoto Jihad to the successful end.
7. That the activities led to the emancipation of the masses from the political shackles of the Hausa overloads.
8. That there were certain classes of the 'Ulama' and exploited the people under the less informed Hausa rulers(Sarakuna).

It is against this background that the actual role performed by the Ulama are to be assessed through the present research so as to be able to determine the gap between expectations and actual performance.

1.4 NEED AND JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY.

It should be remembered that the collective actions and roles played by the Ulama produced in the end what is known as the Sokoto Caliphate. It is significant, therefore, to study and know one of the collective roles played by the said scholars and be benefitted from some of their achievements in our present socio-economic and religio-political problems in Nigeria.

In emphasizing the need for a given group of people to learn from the past experiences as revealed by Allah, Quran speaks to Isrealites in the following verse: "Is it not a sign to them that learned men of the Isrealites know it?"

Conventionally the merit of any successful government depends on the brains who had thought out the plan and worked the strategies for the government machineries to follow. It will not be out of place therefore to study such brains for the benefits of present and future generations.

1.5 DELIMITATIONS:

Islam cuts across all aspects of human life. The role of Ulama in Sokoto Caliphate is thus expected to touch all branches of Societal activities, but it is not humanly possible for the writer to discuss and reflect in this study all those segments areas as the religious, educational, economic and political activities carried out by the Ulama led by Shaikh Uthan Dan Fodio from the formative stage to the end of the Jihad. The constraint of this study lies in the fact that although several presentations had been made on various aspects of Sokoto Jihad of 19th Century, the specific role of 'Ulama' on the Sokoto Caliphate has not been treated as an organised unit before this time. This discovery has limited the researchers' scope of data collection and experiences in this study. As a result it becomes impossible for the writer to gain from make use of some of the past experiences, techniques and methods which such organised work on the role of ULAMA might have conveyed.

In addition, the researchers' limited time and financial resources plus the present cost of things in the country do not permit extension of study to other states which were parts of Sokoto Caliphate by then. The study is strictly on the roles of the Ulama who

surrounded the Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio, including himself, his junior brother Abdullahi B. Fodio and Son Mohammed Bello, in the Sokoto Caliphate.

The study is on the role played by the intellectual body known as the Ulama who surrounded Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio who eventually emerged as their spiritual and political leader.

FOOT NOTES

1. Qur'an Surah 51 verse 56

2. Quran, Surah 3 verse 104

3. Ibid.

4. Smith, H.F.C.(1961) The Islamic Revolutions of the 19th

Century, J.H.S.N. II, 2, 1961 P. 175.

5. The Qur'an Surah 26 verse 197.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned chiefly with the review of literature relevant to the present study.

Ary et al (1979) emphasizes that the study of relevant literature places a researcher in a better and firm position to interpret the significance of his own result.

In support of this view this writer intends to review some of the related literature from different scholars on the role of Ulama in the Sokoto Caliphate as many recorded materials he can possibly lay his hands on.

2.2 CONCEPT OF ROLE

Before we discuss the concept of the word 'Ulama' as held by some different scholars, it is pertinent to explain the term "role", as held by some eminent writers.

The concept of role is complex and highly important for the behavioural sciences. A role is concerned primarily with what a person does and how he behaves. To every role, there is fixed expectations. These expectations might include attitude about what an occupant should or should not do. A social role is defined as a coherent pattern of behaviour common to all

persons who fill the same position or place in the society. With specific refernce to Ulama the concept of role indicators centred on the followings:-

i. a position of status

ii. a pattern of behaviour associated with the position of

Ulama which is independent of any particular person occupying that role.

iii. a pattern of expectation held of the occupant of a position the expectation held of an alim or Ulama which implies how he ought to act, not merely how it is anticipated that he will perform. The term 'Role' to sociologist school, implies a patter of behaviour connected with a distinctive social position". According

to Honby, (1974) the word role means a person's task or duty in an undertaking. 1 Shertzer and Stone (1980)

define the word role as a complex of behaviour resulting from multiple expectations and institutional directives. Persons and Shills(1962) hold that the term role is a set of complementary expectations in regards to one's own actions and interactions with others.

2.3 CONCEPT OF ULAMA

The concept of 'Ulama' among different writers is almost the same with slight variations. According to the Dictionary of Islam, 'Ulama' is the plural form of alim which means one who knows" learned, or a scholar". In its plural form the word is used as the title of those bodies of learned doctors in Islamic divinity and law, who, headed by Shaikh 'l-Islam, form the theorcatic element of the government in muslim countries, and who by their fatwas or decisions in questions", touching private and public matters of importance, regulate the life of the muslim community. Like the ASHAB, or companions of the prophet under his immediate successor they correspond in a certain measure to what we would call the representative system of our modern constitutions, in partially limiting and checking the autocracy of an otherwise absolute oriental ruler" 2.

In as much as 'ilm in the first instance is knowledge of traditions and of the resultant cannon and theology, the Ulama, as theologians, the Ulama as a general body, represented and voiced the agreement of the Muslim People.

Whatever the defect government might be, they were a curb upon it, as a surviving expression of the agreement and of the right of the people of Islamic faith

to govern itself. The different governments might try to control them by given them official status and salaries, and to some extent might succeed in that. If that success were too glaring the people would react by contempt for such government agents and would give their respect and devotion to private scholars who refused thus to be muzzled. This was a consistently recurring situation under all muslim governments. The Ulama, therefore, might be government functionaries, either controlled by the government or keeping the government in a certain aware: or they might be private and independent students of Sharia and theology.

2.4 SOME OF THE VIEW OF OTHER WRITERS ON THE ROLE OF SOKOTO CALIPHATE:

Role of Ulama As All Embracing Social Responsibilities:

Contemporary scholars have written differently on the role of Ulama in Sokoto Caliphate. On the social life of the people Abba (1975) SAYS: "The role of 'Ulama played in the social life or the people in towns and villages was a great capital that was easily transformable into political support" 6.

This is the silent but big aspect of the religious and political propaganda carried on by the Ulama. In the

villages they adjudicated, settled disputes, participated and led in the rituals of the life cycle, advised the Chiefs, introduced the Sharia in the inheritance, custom and family laws. In the towns they acted as court clerks and advisers and often advised and prayed for success in military adventures. In Zamfara in the 17th and 18th centuries, they played critical roles in the selection of Kings and also in war policies and decisions. When Gobirawa moved from Gobir Tudu and settled in northern Zamfara(the new Gobir) their Ulama played an important role in convincing the Zamfara King to grant them permission to settle there. It is clear that by the end of 18th century the Ulama had not only created a huge social capital for themselves but also a high level of social and political consciousness among the people of Hausa land. The power and organizational vacuum created by the crisis in Hausa land was resolved when the spontaneous revolts in the different parts of the region where united under the inspiration of Islamic revival and reformist propaganda persistently transmitted by the Ulama for decades.

2.5 ULAMA AS LEADERS OF THE COMMUNITY:

While Islam provided the inspiration, Ulama accepted the challenge of the need for ideological, administrative, military and political leadership.

The Alim at each point along the establishment continuum went about his duty of learning and teaching in addition to the social functions he performed in town and country. The court, the merchants, the nomads, the [illegible] and the craft workers saw the Ulama as one united and positively functional group. Bello describing the situation emphasized that men and women of all classes must be educated and (preached to) and the audience must be made aware of the existing religious and social situation and the need for a new order, in this regard the preachers had to have three basic qualities.

a. They must be knowledgeable

b. They must be powerfully convincing and

c. They must be patient, persevering and noble in character?

In explaining some relevance of a good leader, Tukur (1977) says: "The concept of a good political leadership to Shaikh Uthman should include among other things a strong belief in value system of the society in question; justice-because an unjust man may act arbitrarily and may transgress to that people are deprived of their rights; capacity "to give independent judgement both in the 'roots' and the 'branches' of the sharia, possession of sound judgement and diplomacy in handling affairs, capability strict when necessary and lenient when leniency is required; and ability to execute his

decisions and commands". Moreover, willingness to delegate responsibility to subordinates and to support them in carrying out their duties are necessary traits of a leader. In any case, "It is essential that charge of affairs should be given to men of resolution, sincerity and honesty".

"..... A wise man is guided aright by his wisdom and fortified by his sound judgement, so that what he says is sound and what he does is commendable, while an ignorant man is cursed to go astray as a result of his ignorance, so that what he says is unsound and what he does is objectionable. The merit of wisdom is that one can judge what one has not witnessed according to what one has witnessed.9

"..... A political leader should, out of kindness, lover to them the wring of humility without being either soft, which may lead to disrespect, or toughness which may lead to hatred. He should make them suffer for every crime they might have committed, but with mercy and kindness as exemplified by the prophet, ... He poured generosity and used a straight lance. He thus ruled the people leniently and forcefully. And he was an excellent leader ....'A mere gesture is enough for him whose act is kindled with divine light.9

2.6 ULAMA AS REVOLUTIONALISTS:

The Jihads of the nine-teenth century were revolutionary movements lead by Ulama who deplored the accommodation of Islam and Paganism in existing order. These movements resulted in the overthrow of a number of traditional governments in Bilad al-Sudan and the establishment of theocracies which survived until the European occupation at the end of the century. The major movement among these uprisings was the Jihad of Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio in Hausa land. 10.

2.7 ULAMA' AS SPIRITUALISTS AND COMMERCIALISTS:

Musa (1975) threw more light on the roles of Ulama in the following words:

"First the reasons which induced the Islamisation of the rulers might have also caused the Islamisation of the common people as well. For instance, demonstration of Allah's Omnipotence by that Muslim who prayed to Allah to save Malal from the drought which had affected the country, while the sacrifices performed by traditional priests failed, would not influence the ruler alone without having strong impact on the common people who were directly affected by the drought. Secondly, doubt has been cast on the very existence of the 'Silent trade' in Bilad as-Sudan during the period under study. Hence

the influence of the merchant would not be restricted to *certain class of the population. Traders, like Sonike*, the Wangers (or Wangarawa), the Dyula or later on, the Hausa, in propagating Islam in the forest zone or the country side would be more extensive than it was thought of before ....

"Thirdly the over emphasizes placed on the role of the state and trade, pushes other factors of durable consequences to a secondary degree of importance. These are the roles of Ulama, holy men and the intermingling of the population. He went further to state that the next means of diffusion to which more attention should be paid is the role of the Ulama of holy men. The Ulama for Sufism and Faqh fused together in the Maghrib and Bilad al-Sudan 11.

2.8 "ULAMA AS SOCIAL LIBERATIONS"

Muray Last(1967) sees the role of Ulama, as led by the Shaikh, Uthman Dan Fodio as social liberators, noting that he sums up the objectives and roles of the Ulama. He gives as an example, the five concessions Shehu Usman obtained from Bawa, Sultan of Gobir, which are stated below:

1. That the Sultan should allow him to call people to Allah in his country.
2. That none should be stopped from responding to the

call.

3. That any man wearing a turban should be treated with respect and dignity.

4. That all the political prisoners should be released.

5. That all his subjects should not be burdened by the any colour

of taxation. 12.

2.9 'ULAMA' AS EDUCATIONAL AND POLITICAL AWARENESS TRANSMITTERS:

'Ulama functioned as educationists and they also carried out the task of political awareness in their efforts to carry out Jihad and to sustain it. Kani (1981) states that many scholars from different places who became Shaikhs' students participated heavily in the Jihad process; and adding:

> "Some of the disciples of the Sheikh in Kasar Kebbi played an important role during and after the Jihad.
> The Jihad leaders - Ulama like Ilori's Alimi, Mallam Dendo and Nupe Agaie Mallam Baba were among the Kebawa who answered the call of the Jihad.
> .....Many Mallams - Ulama in Zamfara also came to the aid of the Shaikh in his educational and political campaigns.
> These Mallams ('Ulama) wielded a considerably influence among the people of Zamfara, such as Muhammed B. Tukur al-Fallati, popularly known as Tukur dan Bonta who through his appealing poetic compilations is reported to have exercised considerable influence among his people before and after the Jihad. 13.

All hands of Ulama were on deck in attempts to making and maintaining the Sokoto Caliphate. It was not

a one man show. Among the evidence to illustrate the fact that it was not only Shaikh who did the role of teaching, spreading and giving general enlightment to people on political awareness is the issuance of a decisive ultimatum by the Sultan Nafata. Kani(1981) explains that Sultan Nafata went to the extent of declaring that nobody except the Shaikh should be allowed to preach and that all the new converts were free to resort to their former religion. Some sources claim, wrote Kani, that the ultimatum issued by the Sultan Nafata was directed against some revolutionary elements, the 'ULAMA'; who were at work in several places of the country, like Muhammad Bello and his colleagues on the eve of the Hijira to Gudu 1804.

Further still, one of the areas in which the ulama concentrated their role in Sokoto Caliphate was on the transformation of social and political life of the people in the land. Kani (1981) quoting Smith, states:-

> These movements were totally committed to the radical transformation of social and political life of the communities living in this region. The ulama led by the Shaikh, Uthman Dan Fodio created a new social order and advanced a coherent Islamic Ideology which attempted to unify the various ethnic and tribal groups in the land. 14.

The above pieces of information clearly justifies the important contribution to the social role of the ulama played in Sokoto Caliphate. They used their superior knowledge, more talents and experiences to weld

together, for the first time in the history of this land, the most divided and scattered groups of people in Kasar Hausa, perhaps, they succeeded through the true preaching and practicing of Islamic faith which was hitherto polluted mixed with filthy practices of paganism.

Kani(1981) acknowledged the unprecedented contribution the ulama made in several aspects of human life. He stressed that the Jihad movement succeeded in the end in creating a centralised system of government encompassing very large areas. In addition to this, the intellectual contributions of the Jihad leaders in areas such as politics, administration, education, economics, medium etc, were indeed tremendous.

2.10. ROLE OF 'ULAMA' AS MILITARY AND INTELLECTUAL:

Further illustration shows that Ulama worked in different capacities such as Military leaders and intellectuals. Kani(1981) explained the role played by the 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate, such as Mohammed Bello:

> "On the eve of the Hijira of the Jama'a as from Degel to Gudu which marked the beginning of the total breach with Gobir authority, Muhammed Bello was assigned with the responsibility of the mobilization of members of pamphlets and calling them to get ready for the Jihad .... Muhammed Bello is said to have acted as a soldier in many capacities. As an ordinary soldier, scout, spy, guard, raiding party leader, wing commander, flag bearer and commander-in-chief. 15.

2.11 ROLE OF 'ULAMA AS MINISTERS OF INFORMATION:

The role played 'Ulama in Sokoto Caliphate was

not confined to military profession alone. Some times they played the function of the spokesman of the Government.

Kani(1981) explained that Muhammed Bello like any other 'Ulama, was not confined to military alone. At times he acted as the spokesman, (in our present term as minister of information) for the Caliphate, pursuing its cause and defending its integrity. For instance, he was reported to have played a prominent part in the paper-war with Muhammed al Amin al Kanemi who tried both militarily and intellectually to question the legitimacy of the Jihad and the constitutionality in between were a demonstration not only for the way in which the Caliphate handled the diplomatic and foreign relations but also of

onviction and the confidence with which the Mujahi; ('Ulama) had argued their case against their opponents. 16.

2.12 'ULAMA'S ROLE AS GOVERNORS FOR THE CALIPHATE:

The Ulama were seen to have performed the role of leadership in various administrative capacities. This

rly demonstrated when Abdullahi Bin Fodio was put in charge of the Western emirates or province as the supreme supervisor while Muhammed Bello was put in-charge of Eastern emirates as the Chief Supervisor. Kani(1985) states:-

> "With the division of the administrative responsibilities in the late 1809 or early 1810 between Abdullahi B. Fodio as al-Wasir al-Akibar who was made in charge of Western part of the Caliphate and Muhammed Bello was assigned with the responsibility of supervising the Eastern Emirates, and as a result of Shaikh Uthman B. Fodio's withdrawal from active administration from 1913" 17.

Kani also acknowledged some scientific strategies employed by the Shaikh in the process of Sokoto Caliphate with his colleagues 'Ulama'. In his illustration, Kani explained that one of the strategies used by Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio was that in every mosque and in every quarter of a village or a town there should be a Mallam who would shoulder the responsibility of teaching his people. It is also a collective responsibility of all the Mallam to go to the neighbouring area to teach the people the rudiments of their religion and the stipulations of the Sharia.

2.13 'ULAMA' AS THE VEHICLES FOR ACADEMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE IDEALS.

Several writers have viewed the role of 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate as one which embraces promoting academic ideals and exemplary leadership. For instance, in one of his writings Smith(1975) expresses that the main objectives of study and teaching was the training of

'Ulama' and clerics knowledgeable in the Divine Law whose business it should be to organise the devotion of local communities of believers and advise their members on all religious matters, including all moral matters of the State. In the case of the experienced and highly qualified eventually became the advisors or sultans and kings and jurists directing the work of Sharia or ecclesiastical courts. 18.

Smith went further to explain that the leaders of the Jihad were primarily scholars, but they were also teachers and administrators. He added that Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio the Mujaddid was the great teacher, and his students became emirs, governors of provinces, directing the lives of millions of people in the efforts to build a reformed society. To them the point of studying the law of God was to learn how men's thought and actions should be guided. 19.

It naturally follows that in the establishment of a constituted authority, the 'Ulama' were equally consciously aware of the fact that in order to minimize corruption, establish justice and equity, they needed a constituted authority on governmental level, hence the above ideas of Kani truly confirm the diversity of the role which 'Ulama' played in Sokoto Caliphate of which the establishment and running constituted government is one.

2.14 'ULAMA' ROLE AS REGARDS SOCIO-POLITICAL ISSUES:

Kani(1985) stressed the fact that the 'Ulama' led by Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio had realised that it would not augur well for Islamic nor the very interest of the JAMA'A if they were to remain aloof to the happenings of the moment. On equal note, the learned scholars knew that it is not sufficient to play the role of advisors to the rulers who had been already identified with corruption, oppression and exploitation to effect any meaningful change, therefore, the Ulama needed to educate their people about their rights, raise the level of their political consciousness, correct their misconception about the essence and the role of Islam, through direct contact and continuous preaching. To this end, the role of 'Ulama' had been redefined to direct their efforts to SOCIAL AND POLITICAL problems facing their societies at the time. With this in mind, knowledge was no longer perceived in its abstract way. It should rather have bearings on the contemporary situation. This the revivalists had realised right from the starting that they as 'Ulama' ought to address themselves to the realities of their time. Unlike their immediate predecessors, their compilations were of more relevance to their societal issues at the moment. 20.

2.15 CONTRIBUTION OF OTHER 'ULAMA TO THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOKOTO CALIPHATE, BESIDES THE THREE LEADING SOKOTO JIHADISTS

Other 'Ulama' who had contributed in the growth and development of the Sokoto Caliphate are Muhammad Zangi B. Salihu; Mallam Suleimanu, Ya'qub Dat; Umar Dallagi Ibrahim Babo; Gidado B. Sambo Laima; Muhammed Mudi; Ali Jedo; Umar Alkammu; Ladan Rami, the qadialqudat Abubakar; Nana Asma Bint Shaikh Usman Dan Fodio; Shaikh Umar Futi; and Seku Ahmad.

Some of the above listed 'Ulama' have participated in the Jihad struggle that gave birth to the Sokoto Caliphate. For instance, Emirs were selected from the body of learned men, the 'Ulama' Shaikh Usman Dan Fodio had stipulated that the Emirs should be selected from the 'Ulama' 21.

Muhammad Zangi B. Salihu was one of the 'Ulama' from Kano Fulani. He wrote several books. One of his most valuable writings was the one dealing with the establishment of Fulani rulers in Kano and the reigns of the first four Fulani emirs. 22 Mallam Sulaimanu was the first Fulani Kmir in Kano. His appointment took place 1806 23. He was also one of the 'Ulama' who actively contributed to the making of the Sokoto

Caliphate.

Ya'qub Dati was the first Emir appointed by Shaikh Usman Dan Fodio to rule over Bauchi. He was one of those 'Ulama' who surrounded the Shaikh. 24 Emir Yakubu of Bauchi was one of the most effective and dynamic emirs of Bauchi whose administrative contribution to the Sokoto Caliphate cannot be over emphasized. Neek 1931 writes; Yakubu conquered the whole of the country between Bauchi and Benue. 25.

Umar Balaji was one of the 'Ulama' who used his intellectual ability and leadership to contribute his quota in the growth and development of Sokoto Caliphate. He conquered the land of Katsina. 26.

Ibrahim Baba was another alim. He was described as a learned and God fearing disciple of Shehu. He was appointed as an Emir. He succeeded Mallam Sulaiman of Kano.

Shaikh Umar Futi wrote several books among which is "Tadhkirat Ul-Muster Shideh". This book teaches what is evil. The other book he authored was Tadhkiratul Ghafilin and Qubhi Ikhtilaf al-Mumineen: In this book he called on Muhammad Bello El-Kanemi to resolve their differences.

Isa Dan Fodio: Another son of Shaikh who had contributed greatly to the educational development of Sokoto Caliphate is Isa Dan Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio. Isa

is reported to have composed and translated about 500 poems and out of these poems, some were translated into Hausa, one of them is called " Wakar Mamsaba". This poem is said to be on the good qualities of Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio. 27 Umar's other books was Rimahul Hizbur Rahim Allal Nuhur His bur-Rajim. In this book, he explained the sufi Tariquh ideas, particularly Tijaniyya.

Gidado b. Sambo Laima was one of the prominent 'Ulama' who had contributed greatly to the growth and development of the Sokoto Caliphate. He was Bello's senior councillor. He advised Sultan Bello on the choice of officials and regularly toured the emirates under his supervision. Those areas are Zaria, Kano, Gombe, Mandoja, Katsina, Missai and Adamawa. In addition Gidado carried out military expenditure. 28.

Other notable 'Ulama' who also made a lot of contribution to the Sokoto Caliphate was Muhammed Mudi. He was the brother of Gidado. Mudi assisted his brother in effective administration of the Eastern part of the Emirate. He was the Chief Executive Secretary to Gidado. The administrative title of office he was addressed was Dan Galadima. 29

2.16 SOME OF THE FEMALE 'ULAMA DURING THE JIHAD PERIOD:

Indeed, some light had been thrown on some of the

selected male who had contributed to the making retaining and enveloping the Sokoto Caliphate. There were some learned and notable female 'Ulama'among whom were the Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio's daughters who had contributed significantly to the religious, social and educational development of the Sokoto Caliphate.

They played important role in propagating Islam and the course of Jihad by explaining its significance to the masses. The female 'Ulama' did their own contributions through their teachings, writings and composition of numerous poems. An example can be forwarded from some of Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio's daughters who took the pains to establish classes and write at different levels for their pupils. 30.

One of those learned females was Khadijat bint Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio, his eldest daughter who composed a poem dated 1842 C.E., in which she probes the philosophical problem of the interaction of pre-destination and free will, the poem is written out of fifteen verses. 31 She was well known and famous, particularly in giving religious instruction and lessons on Islamic studies, law and jurisprudence.

Another star in the fold of female Ulama who had also contributed immensely to the intellectual, social and spiritual development of the Sokoto Caliphate was

Maryam bint Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio(DI. 1895). She is reported to have written many works. One of the extent writings of heroes is a letter written in reply to a question put forward to her by Muhammad Bello, the Emir of Kano(1883-92) on the imminent appearance of the Mahdi. 32 In her
letter, Maryam bint Al-Shaikh ruled out the hypothesis made by some people that the advent of al-Mahdi was imminent. 33

Another female 'Ulama' who had contributed to the building, retaining and development of the Sokoto Caliphate was in person of Asma'u Nana bint Shaikh Uthman Dan Muhammad Fodio, Dan Uthman, Dan Salihu. She is said to have composed many poems in both fulfulde and Arabic and believed to have written three major works. 34.

Asma'u Nana was born in 1793 and was educated by her father. She was proficient in languages; speaking her mother tongue, fulfulde, [illegible] ll as Arabic, [illegible] nd Tawajek. Dr. I. A. Ogunbiyi had counted 51 separate [illegible] poems and letters in Hausa and fulfulde written by Asma'u Nana. The works are preserved in the private collection of the Wazir of So[illegible] Dr. Junayd b. Muhammed al-Bukhari.

The history of Sokoto Caliphate revealed that Asma'u Nana becam[illegible] the best know of Dan Fodio's

daughters. It was said that she wrote about three hundred and fifteen verses of poem on the life of the prophet Muhammed peace and blessing of Allah be up him. It was further related that she composed poem to defend the Caliphate and counter-attacked their enemies.

Asma'u Nana Dan Fodio's two major Arabic prose works are Tabshir al-Ikhwan bi al-Ghafilin wa Tadhkir Al-Aquilin ila Tariq al Salihin (1820). The Tanbir is on admonishing the community to stick to the basic Islamic teachings while the Tabshir deals with some of the deeper meanings of Quranic verses. 35 In writing her books, Asma'u is obviously putting in her consideration the needs of the women folk among her students. 36 In particular, as well as the interest of the Muslim Community at large.

Asma'u Nana bint Shakh Uthman Dan Fodio, the renown women of her time did not make herself distant from the people nor did she retreat in to the quite by-laws of intellectualism. Instead, she freely offered her gifts and learning to the general socio-intellectual development of the community. A scholar name Aliyu Ahijo wrote to Asma'u Nana, bin Dan Fodio, saying: "You have evinced your ability to hurl weapon at the enemy".

The weapons she hurled were her poems, and the enemy was three fold. The first were the military foes who refused to concede victory to the Caliph and continued to

harass him. The second fold were at all levels of complacent caliphate leaders who permitted men to accumulate wealth and thereby lose interest in fighting the Jihad.

Records exist which show that women journeyed from rural areas to receive instruction from Asma'u and she has left a record of what she taught them. It is not known when she began these special classes, but evidence points to the year 1850 when she was fifty seven years old. She had often taught towns women in her room and had written poetry for them to sing which instructed them about their religious duties, the history of the prophet and the life of the Shaikh.

Over the years Asma'u realized that the faith of women in the rural area was in danger probably because their education had been neglected to a purely domestic roles. Asma'u set out to remedy the situation and she avoided any possible accusation that her innovation was unorthodox by fashioning the organisation of the system along formal conventional lines.

In here teaching methods, Asma'u Nana appointed a responsible woman to be the leader of each village group. The leader made each participant had her husband's or father's permission to make the journey and satisfied herself that the motive of each participant was accepted.

The learned Asma'u Nana Dan Fodio lectured her

audience against over anxiety, bearing grudges, quarrelling, loosing one's temper and the dishonest acquisition of goods. She taught them how to pray and about their other religious obligations.

Nana Asma'u Bint Shaikh Usman Dan Fodio was also a notable 'Ulama'. She contributed intellectually to the growth and development of the Sokoto Caliphate. In her capacity as a learned scholar, she wrote several works inform of poem.

Some of her writing are as follows:-

A. Bi-Yalli (The son of Yalli) Qasidate il a mamman Yalli. This poem describes authors' over joy over the successful over throw of Mamman Yalli.

b. Dernde dargan Famarde. (The small Next World) The poem explains the things that would happen on the Day of Judgement.

c. Filitage: Al'amurran. Shaikhu: Water Gewaye.
This poem gives historical account of the Shaikh's Missionary Journey to Gobir, Zamfara, Kebbi, and Pugga, Dege; his Hijira(emigration) and reform movement.

d. Montore Didabre. This poem consisted of admonition, calling people to shun away the world and its beauties and follow the sunna, to give alms, to fast, to go and perform pilgrimage, and to

do good works.

e. [illegible] Sokoto: (Ode on the history of Sokoto).

f. Qasidatu man 'annisa' an-na'ihati: (Ode in Prohibiting women from wailing on the death of a person). It was also prohibits the activities of professional women singers whose occupations are to sing the praises of the death. It encourages women to weep quietly according to Islam. 37

2.17 SUMMARY

In summary, the foregoing reviews indicate that there have been a lot of records written and presented on different aspects of the roles played by the 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate.

Islam being a total way of life, presents diversities of different aspects of human life to write on. Some of these important areas of human life include among other things the religious belief or faith, educational, social, political and economic phases.

The reviewed relevant literature, thus explicitly express their different views on the roles played by the 'Ulama' in the Sokoto Caliphate. However, the researchers of the studies reviewed concentrated most of their writings times on either Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio, Abdullahi, B. Fudi or Mohammed Bello while the

bulk of the 'Ulama' were either implicitly and slightly referred to or even silent completely on them as if it was only the three triangular leaders of the said 'Ulama' were the alpha and omega of the process and operation of the Sokoto Jihad.

It is also being observed by the researcher of this study that in most of the writings and presentations of the reviewed literature on the role of 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate that their authors did not bother much to organise most of their works in the way and manner the writer of this work has put down his facts in an organised order.

This study, unlike the ones reviewed takes and discusses the role of 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate as a single body working in a unified manner spontaneously. So, whenever the writer of this study cities example, using of the leading 'Ulama' such as, either Abdullahi b, Fodio, or Shaikh U[illegible] or even Muhammad Bello it is assumed that he represented other 'Ulama' in such an expression or activity, and vice-versa. For instance, when Abdullahi bin Fodio was assigned the duty of the Chief Supervisor of the whole Western part of the Caliphate, his Chief Lieutenants were all 'Ulama' among whom were some of his sons and daughters who worked very hard in their bids to implement the goals and objectives set out for the Caliphate to achieve in the development

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CHAPTER THREE

3.1 METHODOLOGY:

THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE:

The central aim of this study is to write on the role played by the Ulama during the period between 1804 and 1837 in the Sokoto Caliphate.

The researcher chooses to follow historical research method in his data collection for study. He is convinced that this method is the most appropriate and effective method for this type of research topic within the specified period.

As an effective and relevant standard guide for the selection of the correct data, the writer presents some carefully selected assumptions for the study. The assumptions are meant to guide and direct the researcher to the relevant and reliable information for the study.

3.2 PROCEDURE

The writer consequently uses the focused interview, in addition to the several number of recorded documents which he uses as sources of data for the project. Some of such recorded materials include selected papers presented at the Sokoto Seminar.

Additionally the researcher uses relevant journals in his data collection for this study. He obtain those ones especially written on the Sokoto Jihad by

distinguished scholars, such as Prof. A.R. Doi, Professor S. Abdullahi etc.

Other sources of useful and relevant information which the researcher exhaustively taps for his data collection are some text books written on Sokoto Caliphate by some renowned scholars and writers. He uses as well some of the selective and relevant post-graduate thesis written on Sokoto Jihad by some experts in Islamic Studies discipline.

The researcher chose ten personalities who are scholarly versed in the history of Sokoto Caliphate and Islamic Studies from Sokoto, Kano and Zaria and interviewed them. The result of this interview is to complement as well as to confirm the data gathered from the recorded documents which correla[illegible]th the stated assumpti[illegible]or the [illegible]. The questions for the interview a[illegible]ven in the appendix 'A'.

The writer critically studies all the different documents on Sokoto Caliphate that are at his disposal. He pi[illegible]out the relevant and reliable data from them. He t[illegible]studies them critically, interprets and administers them for the study.

In the end, the researcher arrange[illegible] together all the relevant and most reliable data in an organised and orderly form which consequent[illegible]s this

study a complete new posture.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 INTRODUCTION

" .....The most pervasive, enduring and vital link between the society and the 'Ulama' class is the latter's vital ROLE as the transmitters of knowledge. In this connection it is important to remember that it is as much the responsibility of a muslim to teach as it is to learn to the best of his ability the doctrines which guide the individual through his daily life to eternal salvation" 1

In the philosophy of Islam, society, religion and state fuse so deep into one another that the Islamic state has been described as a divine nomocracy, a theocracy modified only by the fact that regulation of state is not directly controlled by God, but by His Law' a jural order which regulates the life and thoughts of a believer according to an ideal set of revelation" 2 It is pertinent to note that the practical enforcement of the Shariah is the primary responsibility of the Khalifa of the Prophet Muhammed (PBH), a Khalifa is thus duty bound to spread, project and defend Islam and to establish the reign of the Shariah within the Darul Islam. However, in the absence of the existing Khalifa, there is always a class of qualified and dedicated personages, the Ulama who see it as their duty that the supreme authority of

Shariah prevails in every sphere of human life within the Islamic states.

The 'Ulama' says Doi(1983), according to a tradition are the successors of the prophets. "Al Ulama Wire that Al ambiya". It is their duty to preach, even if it is one verse of the divine message, without any fear or favour as did the prophets. 4

It is significant to note that the 'Ulama' derive their professional authority from personal conviction and public recognition which the Quyr'an has established.

Allah says:- "Of the servants of Allah those who possess knowledge that fear him"5

In another place in the Holy Qur'an, Allah addresses and puts a question to the people of Israel concerning the duty of 'Ulama' within a given community:

Is it not a sign to them that the learned men('Ulama" of the Israelites know it?6

Despite the fact that no one knows for sure the exact date of the introduction of Islam into Kasar Hausa, it is presently accepted unanimously that Islam commenced penetrating into the area between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries.

Islam then took hold of the local populations, supported from time to time by itenerant scholars, such as the celebrated Muhammad b. Abdal-Karim al-Maghibi(d.909/1503) and by local initiatives through the

communications with the rest of the Muslim World resulting from the pilgrimage and the study of maghribi and Egyptian works such as those of Abdu al-Rahman al-Suyuti(d.911/1505) 7

The introduction of religious militancy into Kasar Hausa was the hand work and personal efforts of al-Maghili. The early scholars from Mali, being missionaries as well as traders, appear to have preached the religion in a peaceful manner. Al-Maghili, imbued with the belief in the necessity of commanding the good and forbidding the reprehensive" (al-amr b-al-ma ruf wa-al nahy an al-munkar) instilled in his listeners stick orthodoxy by condemning the venal 'Ulama' and some vestiges of pagan worship. For this reason, he forbade nudity, wine drinking, and eating improperly slaughtered flesh while at the same time he encouraged the building of mosques and other institutions connected with Muslim worship.

Furthermore, al maghili introduced pure Islamic government and Judicial systems into the land. In a book entitled Taj al-din fima yajib ala al-muluk. Shaikh al-maghili taught Muhammad Rumfa to surround himself with pious and learned men(Ulama),strong horses and men ready to fight at any moment. And that the King should appoint Ministers, Secretaries, Treasurers, Messengers, Spies and Police ..... and that legal taxes should be imposed by

the ruler on his subjects. Market dues, taxes levied on crafts and taking one-tenth of the inheritance of the King's subjects (ushr) are banned so should not be levied. 8

In the succeeding centuries, therefore, Sudanese 'Ulama' brought up in the Timbuktu tradition, on their way back from the pilgrimage, settled and taught in Kasar Hausa thereby continuing the al-Maghili tradition. One of such person was Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Tazakhti, well known as Aida Ahmad. He met al-Maghili and other notable 'Ulama' in Egypt. In returning from Makkah he settled in Katsina where he was appointed Qadi.

In a summary, all this information is emphatically hammering on the important diversified roles 'Ulama' are bound to play in a given environment. Some of these functions are mong other social duties ranging from teaching, learning, preaching, spreading Islam, acting as Court officials for the Sultan etc.

'Ulama' led by Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio were influenced by Al-maghili. He and his colleagues were disatisfied with the existing conditions of Islam in their country and for that reason raised their voices against some of the Hausa practices. Who was Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio? How was he educated and by whom? From where did he get the idea of Jihad and the subsequent reformation?

4.2 THE EARLY LIFE OF SHAIKH UTHMAN DAN FOLDIO:

His name was Shaikh Uthman Ibn Muhammad Fudi Ibu Uthman Ibn Salihu. He is commonly known and called in Nigeria as Shehu Dan Fodio. He was born at Maratta in Kwonni, in Month of December, in the year 1754 C.E. His ancestors came from Futa Toro in Senegal. Shehu's family moved to Degel from Kwonni in the early years of his life. 9

Concerning his education, El Masri says that Shehu's education was in a strict traditional Muslim system passed on to Hausa land from Tinbuktu. 10

4.3 THE SHAIKH'S EDUCATION

Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio read the Qur'an with his father Muhammad b, Salih and learnt al-Ishrinniyar. 11 and similar works from his Shaikh, 'Uthman known as Biddu al-Kabawi. 12 He learnt syntax and the science of grammer from al-Khulasa and other works from al-Shaikh Abdul-Rahman b. Hamada. He studies al-Muhktasar 13 under his peternal and maternal under 'Uthman, known as Bidduri b.al-Amin b. Uthman b. Hamma b. 'ali. This Shikh of his was learned and pious, well known for his righteousness and the ordering of right and forbidding of wrong and for being occupied with that concerned him. Shikh Uthman, imitated him in character and deeds. He accompanied him for nearly two years, moulding himself according to his

pattern in piety and in ordering the right and forbidding the wrong. He was learned, and he memorised most of what he had read. If Uthman made a mistake, or let anything slip, this uncle of his would correct it instantly for him without looking in a book for he knew the commentary of al-Kharashi 14 by heart. 15

After reading this stage, the Shaikh went to study with Jibril b. Umar and accompanied him for almost a year learning from him until he came with him to the town at Agades. 16 Then Shaikh Jibril returned him to his father and went on pilgrimage. 17 It is believed that Shaikh Jibril's revolutionary ideas have greatly influenced Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio. Jibril had been preaching for reform in Hausa land and that had greatly annoyed the Hausa Kings. Jibril attempted to wage a Jihad from Air region(in the present Niger Republic) but the Tawariq expelled him from the country and he went on pilgrimage for the second time. Later on he got engaged in active campaigns against heretical and pagan practices. Shaikh Uthman had a great regard for Jibril because of the latter's knowledge, peity and his struggle for reform. 18 But he, as we will see later came to disagree with him on certain fundamental issues relating to belief and unbelief.

Abdullahi b. Fudi states in Ida'al-Nuskh:

"The Shaikh informed me that he learnt the Quranic exigesis from some of our matenal and paternal uncle

Ahmad b. Al-Amin — and that he attended the assembly(Majilis) of Hashim al Zamfari and heard from him Quranic exegesi[illegible]m the beginning of the Qu'ran to the end of it. He learnt the science of tradition(of the Prophet) from our maternal and paternal uncle al-Hajj Muhammad b. Raji b. Hamma b. Ali reading with him all the sahih al-Bukhari.

4.4 SHAYKH UTHMAN'S ACTIVE TEACHINGS

It was recorded that at age of twenty Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio started to preach. Through his preachings he came into contact with many people at different levels in society. And along with his preaching the Shaykh included teaching. 20 In the cause of his preaching he is reported to have travelled far and wide correcting people's faith expounding the fundamentals of religion a[illegible]lling innovation contrary to Islam in Hausaland at the time. His object was to sift out the un-Islamic practices that were still persisted upon by some Muslim. 21

Meanwhile Abdullahi b. F[illegible] in al-Warat that they:

> "rose up with the Shaykh helping him in his mission work for religion. He travelled for that purpose to the East and to the West calling the people to the religion of Allah by his preaching and Qasidas(poems) in other languages such as Hausa/Fulfulde and destroying customs contrary to muslim law. Some of the people from the surrounding countries came to him and entered his community. 22"

The Shaikh first travelled to Kebbi land and called its people to reform their faith and embrace Islam and do good works. He also admonished them to completely abandon customs contrary to Islam. Many of the Kebbi people repented and flocked to him in his home town Degel to benefit from his wealth of knowledge. They listened attentively to his preaching and assimilated his teaching from the start.23

It was also stated that the Shaikh's second journey was made to Zamfara. There, the Shaikh spent five years summoning its people to Islam. Abdullahi b. Fudi reports that the Zamfara land was a land over the people of which ignorance was supreme, the majority of them had not smelt the scent of Islam. 24 The people of Zamfara used to attend the Shaikh's lessons mingling with their women according to Abdullahi Dan Fodio, the Shaikh used to separate them telling them that intermingling of men and women is contrary to Islamic injuctions.

Nevertheless the Shaikh was strongly criticised for allowing women to attend his assemblies. Also his method of preaching was opposed by some scholars such as Mustafa al-Goni. Some men of evil, as Abdullahi labelled them, spread rumours that the Shaikh's gathering was a place for the coming together of men and women. The Shaykh was confronted by an eminent scholar from Borno called al-Mustafa al-Goni. According to Abdullahi, when this

Shaykh saw women and men attending the Shaikh's assembly at the same time, he condemned the practice and called upon the Shaikh to prevent women from attending his preaching lessons. His views were contained in a poem recorded by Abdullahi Fudi in his Tazyin al-waraqat. He says in the beginning of the poem:

> To you from us blessed greetings which caused those who meet us to smell musk and perfume. O'son of Fudi, rise to warn the ignorant. That perchance they may understand religion, and the things of this world. Forbid women to visit your preaching. For the mixing of men and women is sufficient a disgrace. Do not do what contributes towards disgrace. For God has not ordered vice which could cause us harm.

Then, Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio asked his brother Abdullahi b. Fudi to reply to his criticism and Abdullahi complied by answering him in a verse too. He says:

> O' you who have come to guide us aright, we have heard what you said, listen to what we say.
> You gave advice to the best of your ability but would that you have freed us from blame. And you spoke-glory be to God, this was Calumny:
> Indeed devils, if they come to our gathering,
> Spread evil speech, exceeding all bounds:
> We have not (had) promiscuous intercourse with women, how should that be?
> We have warned(others against this); on the contrary.
> I said we agree.
> That it was thus. But I do not agree that their being left to go ignorant is good.
> For the committing of the lesser evil has been made obligatory.
> Ignorance pardons, ev... though it were disobedience.
> We found the people of this country drowning in ignorance, shall we prevent them from understanding religion? 25

... juncture, Abdullahi then goes on to substantiate their views on the legality of women education by saying that the evil of leaving women in

ignorance, now knowing what is incumbent upon them and not understanding Islam at all is greater than the evil of their mixing with them. He further justifies this by claiming that the first evil relates back to religion, which is faith and Islam and good works while the second evil related back to genealogy.

Having stayed in Zamfara for five years, Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio journeyed with a group of his companions and his disciples to Kebbi until they reached Kwara river (middle Niger) and further to the West before returning to his station at Degel. He also visited Zauma reaching Zabwa (Sojuo) where he met the sultan who later repented. Later, he felt it was necessary for him to remain in his centre at Degel to receive people coming to seek knowledge and guidance. According to Fathi al-Maeri one of the reasons which made him to remain at Degel might have been that his pupils and disciples were by that time [illegible] ching in other areas along the line he had set. 26.

We may then conclude that the learned Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio established himself as a great scholar who strove hard to receive the traditions of the prophet and to destroy non-Islamic practices. He systematically exposed the customs foreign to Islam which people inherited from their ancestors.

His criticism were directed to [illegible] of the land,

their soldiers, medicine men as well as the learned men. Another class of people condemned by the learned Shaykh were those who believed in Allah, prayed but without fulfilling other religious obligations. 27

As the fame of Shaikh continue to spread more and more people came to regard him as their genuine guide, more especially for the Hereafter, as his intention was to advocate the implementation of Islamic law in al-Billed al Hausiyya wa al Suddaniyya they came to consider him as their deliverer in the world as well. 28

4.5 DAN FODIO'S METHODOLOGY IN PREACHING AND TEACHING:

From our record, besides Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio's writings in Arabic he was reported to have written several works in Fulfulde and Hausa(Ajami). The bulk of the literature written in these two languages were poems. These numbered about 480 poems on issues relating to teaching and destruction of bad customs. 29

The works in Ajami were intended for the common men who had either no basic knowledge of Arabic or was illiterate. This aspect of composing poems in Hausa and Fulfulde is important as it popularised Islamic teaching among the inhabitants of Hausaland who were very fond of songs. Therefore it became easy for them to memorise and comprehend the teachings of the Shaikh. Up till now the learned Shaikh's poems were being sung on different occassions. Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio, according to Bello

Sa'id, was not only preaching in Fulfulde and Hausa languages. 30 This aspect of preaching in more than one language is another proof that the Shaikh's movement was not a tribal one otherwise he would have confined himself to preaching in Fulfulde only. On different occassions Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio's daughter of Asma'u Nana rendered some of the Shaikh's poems from Fulfulde into Hausa language, one of these poems is called Tabbat Hakikat. 31 In addition, one of Dan Fodio's sons, named Isah Dan Fodio, who is reported to have composed and translated 500 poems had acted as a translator for the Shaikh. A large number of her poems were reported to have been translated into Hausa by Isa Dan Fodio.

In his own contribution, Muhammad Bello Dan Fodio tells us about the way his father used to preach, he says:

".....Know that, I witnessed that when he wanted to come out for the people, he stood in the corner of the house for a while to say something. Then he went to the people. I asked him what is that you have been doing? He replied: I was renewing the Niyyat(the intention) and pledging to Allah to be sincere in what I was going to say and I was begging Him to help the people comprehend what I was saying - (teaching). 32.

Sultan Bello Dan Fodio goes on to tell us how Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio addressed his assembly and how he

treated his audience without favouring anybody. In the Shaikh's method in answering the people's questions, Bello says:

> " .... On arriving at the place where people were sitting, he would give a general greeting audible to all those present. On sitting on the chair, Shaikh politely and in a pleasant manner greet the people three times. Then the audience would be silent. He was never to give a despondency, anger or despair though he was burdened with a group of ill-mannered riff who would not stop chattering or refrain from asking questions when they were told to do so. Shaikh would then speak to them in a loud voice addressing himself to everyone without distinction. He would never show any difference for those present even if they were a group of Shaikhs or a host of Ulama but undaunted he would speak to them all about what he deemed to be of use to them. Sometimes a question would be posed while he was talking and he would stop and answer it. He was fearless in matters of religion and nobody's blame would make him budge from the truth. 33"

4.6 THE SUBJECTS OF DAN FODIO'S DISCOURSE

The subjects of Shaikh's Discourse could be categorised into five classes:

The first centred on the fundamentals and derivatives of the religion 'al-usul wa al turu' On this Sultan Bello says: "Know(fundamentals) in the language of those present ..... " and ....."Know that he presented those furu' (derivatives) in order and in the language of those present ....."34

The second concerns the refutation of certain misconceptions held by some students. Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio, continuously condemned those students who tried to mislead the common man by labelling those who on the

unity of Allah as unbelievers. They were strongly denounced by him for the pessimistic approach they were trying to inculcate in peoples' mind. They continued to spread rumours that corruption has infiltrated into people's faith. This group of people persisted in misguiding the common man by saying that those who did not study theology in the way they did were unbelievers.

The third division is on the admonition to follow the sunna and the fourth, on the quelling of evil innovations (al-Bid a al Shaniyya and on the refutation of customs foreign to Islam (al-Awaid al-Riddiya).

The fifth class is on disseminating the Sharia sciences and the simplification of some difficult terminologies contained in the Sharia books. 35.

4.7 CLASS ROOMS OPERATION

Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio used to hold two classes, one for the common people and another for the advanced students who were either attached to him or come from different areas to benefit from his knowledge. The latter group usually go back to their respective areas to communicate what they ahve grasped from the Shaikh's diverse knowledge.

It should be noted that this category of student were versed ulama in their different areas they came from. They too, immensely contributed to the teaching, preaching and later the Jihad struggle against the

Shaikh's enemies in the land.

4.8 SHAIKH UTHMAN DAN FODIO AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE MOMENT:

One of the spiritual and academic teachings of Shaikh Uthman Ibn Fodio, in person of Jibril b. Umar summed up the general behaviour and the ignorant and pagan practices among the Habe Hausa rulers before the Jihad of Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio in the following form:-

"Thus abandoning the Shariah and nakedness with women.

"And mingling with them in the name.

"And depriving the orphan, and having more than four wives is similar to it;

"And taking women in tribal warfare in imitation of the ahl Jahiliyah.

"Thus altering the laws without an interpretation from the Chief most("Imam"). "Thus also following (the opinion) of the ancestors in paganism, without consideration.

"And thus adultery, and drinking wine, and manslaughter and the selling of freedom ....." 36

Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio discussed in detail in his book titled Kitab al-faraq bayn wilayah ahl.

with pagan rituals. These were regarded as unbelievers. In this category were all the Habe Hausa rulers who despite their outward avowed of the creed of witness still believed in and haboured those who practice a pagan rite called (bori). They should be fought in order to bring them back to the fold of Islam.

3. There were those who neither smelt the scent of Islam at all, nor did they ever claim to profess it. The people in this group were nomadic fulani(bororoji) and the un-islamised Hausa group called Maguzawa. 37

Similarly, the Shaikh was able to distinguished between two types of 'Ulama' who lived side by side with the Hausa pagan rulers and their subjects' pagan practices. Shaikh stated that there existed two groups of 'Ulama':

1. The 'Ulama' al-din who possesed knowledge of religion and piety and
2. The 'Ulama' al-shaytan, who did not care about religion but claimed to have know of the unseen Ilmul-ghayb, by means of writing on sand and listening to Jinns or singing of birds. They also used to write verses of the Qur'an which they used as talismans in order to prevent the sword to cut or an arrow to pierce the body of an opponent. 38

Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio and his colleagues understood that Islam rested lightly on the heads of the majority of the inhabitants of hausaland. The 'Ulama' also believed that a Jihad, a revival and a renewal (tajdid) were necessary to obliterate all the reprehensible customs and replace them with pure and pristine Islamic more. This indeed sums up the role which the body of 'Ulama' set out to play in the Sokoto Caliphate.

The role of 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate cannot be treated or discussed comprehensively without considering the Ulama of the second generation.

Kani, (1985) explained that before 1837, it could be possible to distinguish two generations of the 'Ulama' who helped to bring about socio-political changes in Hausa land and beyond. The first comprised those who laid down the foundation of the Jihad movement and sowed the seeds of revolution in the central and Western Biladal-Sudan.

Although they did not call openly for Jihad, with exception of people like Jibril bin Umar Al-Aghdsi who attempted to stage Jihad in the central Sudan, yet their impact on the second generation was tremendous.

One of the characteristic features of these scholars was that they were spread all over the central Bilad al Sudan, and that they were associated with one another

through direct human contacts by way of trips from one place to the other in pursuit of learning and exchange of ideas or through the contacts made by their students. They were located in both the urban and rural areas. Part of their prime function was to IMPACT KNOWLEDGE AND ADMONISH their students and general public to mould their characters on their ideals. These scholars cut across both the geographical and ethnic boundaries.

There is no evidence that our disposal to suggest that this category of Ulama had interferred with the conduct of affairs of their respective governments or had publicly challenged the authority or questioned the legitimacy of their respective governments. Most of them were said to have stayed aloof from participation in any political activity and preferred not to be identified with the political institution which they termed as corrupt and oppressive.

Nonetheless, there was another group of 'Ulama' who where patronised by the state, and they have completely identified their cause with the establishments. This type of scholars did not question the legality or the constitutionality of the existing social order; nor did they attempt to ideologically transform the whole order through revolutionary action. Their role was largely confined to educating their students and to some extent raising the consciousness of their people to grapple with

the reality. 40

It is pertinent to note that by the turn of 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, Degel, a town in Gobir Kingdom turned into a great seat of learning in Hausa land attracting students of various backgrounds from so far away as the Eastern shores of Lake Chad to the east and Niger Bend in the West, it rivalled other great centres of learning like Agbades, Ngazargamu, Yandoto and Timbuktu. This period coincided with the advent of a Mujaddid in the person of Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio.

As for the second generation, Kani stated that it might have realized that staying aloof or being passive would not augur well for the overall objectives of the Jama'a. Equally, it is not enough to play the role of an adviser to the rulers who had been already identified with corruption, oppression and exploration. Therefore, in order to bring about meaningful change, they needed first and foremost to educate their people about their right, raise the level of their political consciousness, correct their misconceptions about the essence and the role of Islam through direct contact and continuous preaching. Thus the functional role of the 'Ulama' had been redefined to direct their efforts to social and political problems confronting their societies at the time. From their high level of intellectuality, the

'Ulama' searched solutions to the societal problems of more practical in nature than did their predecessors.

4.10 EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF 'ULAMA'

The Ulama played an important role in giving the people of Kasar Hausa knowledge of Allah, the relationship between Allah and man; man to man expectations and the individual daily responsibilities expected of him by Allah and of which he or she will have to account to the creator on the Day of Resurrection.

It is abundantly clear that the turn of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries had witnessed among other things the establishment of Bilad al-Sudan. These centres had developed around the scholarly communities which assumed the important role of rigorous academic and moral training of the people. One of such centres of learning which attracted students from far and wide was Degel, located in the Gobir State. These centres produced a generation of scholars with a new perception and world outlook.

In this academic outlook the most important knowledge which men could acquire was the knowledge of nature of Allah, Tawhid(study and know me before you worship me. He who does not study and know me how can he worship me?

Tawhid was followed immediately in the hierarchy of learning of the knowledge of figh, of the rules of human

conduct which must be followed for the implementation of Allah's purpose for mankind in the universe. Busied as they were with studies of the nature of Allah Tawhid and His relationship with mankind and the purpose He has set out for human life, and finding ways of implementing this objective the 'Ulama' of Sokoto Caliphate still found time to interest themselves in other subsidiary fields of intellectual endeavour, such as technology. For they knew from bitter experiences that efforts to achieve an understanding of Allah's law could often be frustrated by sheer physical and psychological obstacles, and that the actual ability of society to follow the necessary code of conduct for the implementation of the law often require a substantial infrastructure the establishment of which certainly required technology.

Education and transmission of knowledge occupied a prominent place in Islam from its inception. Knowledge is practically seen as a means of fulfilling the religious obligations. In an explanation of al-Gbzahi, there are two types of knowledge:-

1. The knowledge(ilm) that which is obligatory(fard ayn), such as the knowledge of the (Ibadat) or ritual and
2. the knowledge (ilm) which is deemed necessary (fard-Kifayah) for welfare of this world. This branch of knowledge includes the study of medicine

and arithmetic etc.

Abdullahi b. Fodio asserted that knowledge is the foundation of all activities. In the Minan al-Mannan, he stated that knowledge (ilm) according to the consensus of the community is the foundation (bases) of every action, and that nothing which we do in ignorance is permissible. 43

Kani,(1975) stated that one of the strategies of Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio and his colleagues of 'Ulama' was that in every quarter of a village or a town there should be an alim (Mallam) who would shoulder the responsibility of teaching his people. He went on and said that it is also a collective responsibility of all the 'Ulama' Mallams to go to the neighbouring areas to teach the people the rudiments of their religion and the stipulations of the Shariah.44

It is thus clear that right from the starting, Shaikh Uthman b. Fodio with his students, the 'Ulama' collectively engaged themselves in laying the intellectual foundation of their movement which was characterised by their pre-occupation with teaching, preaching, spreading the faith of Islam and reforming the society on the nature and the function of Islam as 'Din'. Concerted efforts were being made to diffuse knowledge at both the masses and intellectual levels and raise the level of understanding of the Jama'a but more especially

of the Talaba(the students) each according to his own degree of perception using the available media of instruction.

Despite all this important roles played by 'Ulama' in respect of their attempts to educate the people, it is recorded that the greatest role of these 'Ulama' performed in Sokoto Caliphate was firmly rooted in their various scholaristic writing in which the society was enlightened concerning the right education to pursue and acquire correct system of government to establish religious obligation and so on. For instance, Shaikh Uthman b. Fodio wrote many books among of which are the Kitabl al-farq bayn wilaya al-kufi Wilayatihim was wilayat able al Islam fi wilayatihim; Kitab al-farq and the Wathicat alh al-Sudan, to mention but very few. As for his junior brother Abdullahi b. Fodio, he also wrote several books, some of which are as follows:-

Diya al-hukkam

Diya al-Umara

Diya al-Sudan

Diya al-uli al-mr

In his own contribution, the third sons of the Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio, Muhammed Bello wrote hundreds of scholarly books, among of which are the followings:-

Usual al-Siyasah

Al-Iam bim yajib ala al-imam min hifz hay

dat

al-Islam.

Al-insaf fi dhikr mafi masail al-khilafah

Kitab al-tarir fagawa id al-tabair

Shi al as fimarifat madarik al-ahkam.

For instance, in respect of Diya al-hukkam., it was specifically written by Abd Allah for the guidance of the Kano community, while the rest were meant for the instruction of the new judges and emirs appointed to administer the captureed territories.

One of the sensitive and most important role played by the body of 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate was for example, the enlightment they gave to people concerning the necessity for an individual believer to emigrate. In respect of this view, Zahradeen,(1976) writes and stated that Abd Allah b. Fodio explained to people that it was necessary for them to emigrate from the area of unbelief (Kufr) in order to allow the Muslims to practice their religion freely. The call to emigrate was of religious as well as of political significance since it meant the avoidance of anything connected with what Abd Allah and his colleagues, 'Ulama' called syncretic Hausa rulers. The importance of Abd Allah's communication to the development of the Jihad can be fully appreciated if we remember that he was writing in 1806 when the Gobirawa

and the rest of the Hausa rulers were still struggling to survive. He was here preaching to the cause of the Jihad by telling the people that to remain loyal to the Hausa rulers was, infact, rising against Islam. This point explains further the major part played by alim, Abd Allah in rallying the people of Hausa land to the cause of the revival. He elaborated this point by stating that according to the Quran, the Sunnah and the consensus ijma of the community to be friend the Muslim community is an obligation. This friendship is distinguished by uniting the Muslims through mutual love and avoiding jealousy and envy between them because the Prophet Muhammad said, "Do not envy each other; do not hate each other and do not hatch plots against each other. 46.

4.11 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ROLE OF 'ULAMA'

It is pertinent to note that general social development, the construction of Ribats, the encouragement of trade and industry establishment of justice and the waging Jihad are religious obligations binding on each individual Muslim carried out deligently by the scholars. The concern the 'Ulama' and Abdullahi showed for the family life was important for the aims and objectives of the revival.

In their attempts to raise the social standard of the people, the 'Ulama' for instance, tried to teach the masses how to conduct and regulate their social commitments in matters like religion, marriage, agreement between two or more people, food and drinking as being stipulated in the Shariah. 'Ulama' discouraged and condemned idle living and alms begging. To support their view over this teaching, Abdullahi, quoted a prophet tradition which says:- "It is better for each one of you (i.e. the muslims) to take his bundle of rope to collect firewood and sell it (for his livelihood) than to ask anybody(for alms)" 47

In his own special development contribution, a comprehensive plan was drawn out by Muhammad Bello to create new settlements and resettle the nomadic and other groups under the leadership of his lieutenants, the 'Ulama' in the war zones where some pockets of enemies' attacks were persistent. Thus the 'Ulama' social policy under the leadership of Muhammad Bello b. Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio was implemented through the construction of Ribats. The Jihad leaders used the establishment of Ribats to quicken the new social settlements for the people and thus expanding the social urbanisational centres in the Caliphate.

In his design to implement effectively these social settlement programmes, Sultan Bello spelt out standard duties for his lieutenant officers which they should

carry out. Among the duties were (as stated by Kani) to establish justice, implement the Shariah, unite the Muslims, and to fulfil the terms of I-Ahd, agreement or promise with the protected people. In addition, Sultan Bello instructed and warned the officers not to abuse their offices by maltreating or despising the weak in favour of the strong in the Ribat settlements. 48

It is worthy mentioning here that one of the main purpose of the erection of Ribats as earlier stated was that they, the Ribats, were part of the objectives of the 'Ulama's policy of urbanisation, sedentarisation of the nomadic groups and for social security strategies against the enemies of Islam. As a result of chain of fortified settlements running from the South Western sector of Kebbi across the north east battle spot opposite Gobir to the eastern sector in Zamfara, were built around Sokoto. Dadaye, Gwanzagu, Lajinge, Shinaka and Kware were selected as Ribat town centres on the frontier with Gobier. Also Gandi and Bakuna Ribats were erected to protect the capital from the onslaught of the Zamfarawa. Meanwhile, on the frontiers with Kebbi, the settlements of Benji, Iname, Tozo and Gaude, Bodinga, Shagari, Tambawual and Sunnyinna were chosen as Ribats. 49

4.12 THE ROLE OF ULAMA IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SOKOTO CALIPHATE

The role of Ulama in Sokoto Caliphate is fully recorded in the area of economic development of the caliphate. Writing in 1975, Adamu stated that the religious revivalists, the Ulama brought about not only social changes but they also initiated and developed some economic changes which in turn affected the trade routes and the markets altogether. To buttress his points he quoted Abd Allah's work on commerce and states:

> The selling of free men and making servants of them by force, and with holding their wages is illegal. An in the Shariah fraud and cheating have been prohibited. The use of deceitful charms has also been forbidden. Q, you sellers (of wares) in the markets, beware of these actions of the godlessness(fussaq) as well as the hoarding of cotton of food because they are all 'illegal acts. 50

'Ulama', under the leadership of Abd Allah and Sultan Muhammad Bello played a tremendous role in the development of agricultural products and breeding and nurturing livestock. According to one of the official reports by 72"X, in 1824, he stated that "A great quantity of Guinea corn is taken every year by the Tuaricks, in exchange for salt".

4.13 THE ROLE OF 'ULAMA' IN THE POLITICAL AWARENESS IN SOKOTO CALIPHATE

Just like in the religious life of the Hausawa, the revivalists, 'Ulama' discovered much that was regarded as an unsatisfactory behaviour according to their views. They also did think that a great deal of oppression and mismanagement in government institution existed.

Consequently, both Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio and his junior brother Abd Allah and other 'Ulama' found certain things or behaviour to be un-islamic in the administrative system of the Hausawa. In the Kitab al Farq wilayat ah al-Kurf wa-wilayant ahl al-Islam, Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio distinguished between the two types of government institutions. They were the government upheld by unbelievers (Kufr) in respect of Habe Hausa rulers, and the one which was administered by disciplined muslim rulers in regard to the early government of the prophet's companions and some of Abbasid rulers at Baghatad.

The 'Ulama' led by Shaikh Uthman b. Fodio critised the bad system of administration by the Habe Hausa rulers. Such criticism were mostly centered on things like the illegal taxes they imposed on their subjects i.e. cattle tax; a pool tax and Kudin Salla. The unbeliever(Kufr) rulers also imposed their authority on their subjects(talakawa) without any due respect to their

human honour and possessions. These include the commandeering of their beasts as well as forcing them to take part in covert labour.

The capture of women by the rulers to put in their palaces without legal marriage was the order of the day among the Hausa rulers. From all indications, the rulers live in comparative ease and luxury while their subjects toiled hard. 52

4.14 'ULAMA' AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN SOKOTO CALIPHATE

Before the birth of Jihad movement, there was nothing like the term JAMA'AH(as a special group). Having studied the term Jama'ah closely and critically, the researcher is of the opinion that the application of the word Jama'ah is a new political vocabulary which was discovered by the 'Ulama' and added to the Hausa socio-political dictionary as their specific contribution to the development of the Political culture of Sokoto Caliphate.

The writer is also of the view that the stated five count points demanded by Shaikh Uthman from Sultan Bawa which the Sultan granted having more political undertone than anything is worth mentioning. It all appears crystal that besides the royal recognition Sultan Bawa gave the Jama'ah, they were also given the authority to carry out their technically designed religio-political

scheme. The above information can be supported by the expression of Abdullahi b. Fodio in one of his writings:- "We returned with religion while others returned with gifts.53

The new political development between the Jama'ah and Bawa indicated that the political position of the Jama'ah was firmly established. And that it has received recognition as a powerful politico-religious force to be reckoned with.

The spirit associated with the Hijra from Degel to Gudu is coloured with political significance in all senses. It is important to connect this political undertone to the general political mobilization carried out by the 'Ulama' led by Muhammad Bello on the instruction of his father, the Amir al-Muminin, Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio. It was observed that 'Ulama' of whom Muhammad Bello was one were concerned, among other things with the political affairs and the general well being of the community. This genuine concern of political awareness of the people and its development was acknowledge by not less personality than the Shaikh himself in 1813 when he directed as part of answers given to certain political questions put across to him: ".....keep reading the work of my son, Muhammad Bello for he is mostly concerned with political affairs of the community: 54

Furthermore, on the political role played by the

"Ulama" in Sokoto Caliphate, Kani, 1985 stated that on the eve of the Hijra of the Jama'ah from Degel to Gudu which marked the beginning of the total breach with Gobir authority, Muhammad Bello(and other 'Ulama' were specifically assigned with the responsibility of the general mobilization of members of the Jama'ah in Kebbi by way of distributing pamphlets, giving the people of awareness of the political situation and the political needs for the moment, and calling them to get ready for the Jihad, the unavoidable physical struggle against the enemies of Islam and the Muslims in general.55

4.15 MILITARY ROLE OF THE 'ULAMA'

One of the traditional phases of the concept of the word Jihad is armed struggle in the way of Allah, against the enemies of Islam.

Doi(1983) stated that Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio had toured many areas and influenced a large number of people to join his Jama'ah. He added that by 1795 the Jama'ah of Shehu had become a powerful force and many of them were armed' 56

The initial military blue print concerning the young military group of 'Ulama' was noticed from one of the explicit instruction passed on to the Jama'ah by the Shaikh Uthman b. Fodio when he directed that they the Jama'ah should arm themselves. This is to say that at a particular stage, Shehu appears to have convinced that

armed struggle against the rulers of Gobir was inevitable and he began to make the necessary preparations for it. In regards the said directives issued by Shaikh Uthman b. Fodio, Abd Allah b. Fodio stated:

> And when our Shaikh, Uthman, may God make the glory of Islam eternal through him-saw a considerable increase in the numbers of the community,(Jama'ah) and a strong desire among them to break away from the unbelievers and declare the Jihad he began to encourage them to 'arm' to 'arms'(in readiness) is Sunna, And began to pray to God to show him the Sovereignty of Islam in the land of the Sudan. 57

Indeed, Abd Allah had explained that the Jihad was fought in self-defence when Yunfa sent his troops to attack the Shaikh and his supporters. Jihad started on the 21st, June, 1804 when the two armies confronted each other at a place near Tabkin Kwotto. The victory went to the Jama'ah. The rank and file of Ulama participated in the military struggle, including Abdullahi Fodio, Muhammed Bello.

4.16 THE ROLE OF 'ULAMA' IN THE FIELD OF GOVERNMENT AND LEADERSHIP IN SOKOTO CALIPHATE.

Siddiqui(1976) has correctly stated that:

> No greater calamity can befall a nation than confusion of thought. Right action cannot emanate from chaotic and muddled thinking. The wheels of progress cannot move on unless the leaders and the followers alike are clear about the ends they have to achieve and the

means they have to adopt. Right thinking is a pre-requisite of right action. 58

The role played by the 'Ulama' in the development of Islamic system of government in Sokoto Caliphate especially by the leaders of the Jihad, ranging from Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio down to his first two Chief Lieutenants on the technique and conduct of administration remarkably great and impressive. It is pertinent to note that just before the commencement of the hostilities between the revivalists and the Hausa-rulers, the community had felt the necessity to organise with specific and clear objectives into a religio-political unit. Consequently, the first Amir al-Muminin was Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio to whom the Jama'ah paid allegiance on the understanding that he would lead them in accordance with the Quran and the Sunnah of the prophet Muhammad. It was apparent, therefore, that the government of the new community was to be based on what its leaders, the 'Ulama' considered firm principles of Islam.

4.17 WOMEN'S EDUCATION SHAYKH'S POSITION

Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio had been consistently advocating for women education and at the same time emphasizing women's rights in accordance with islamic injunctions. Some of his works were partly or completely devoted to these issues. His works Irshed ahl al Tafrit

wa al-Majlis li Adi Ta'lim al-Niswan. Withiqa al-wan li Tabyin Dalilat Wujab Ittiba' al-Kitab wa al-sunna. Irshad al-Ikhwan ila ahkam Khiruj al-Niswan. and wathigat al Jawab ala sui'al Dalil mau Khurwj al-Niswan. deal extensively with women's rights and education. 59 The issue of women's education and rights did not cease at the formative period but continued to be debated uptill the third period, 1810 - 1817. 60

It seemed that some people were strongly opposed to women being educated at the time. The evidence of this is to be found in Uthman Dan Fodio's Tanbihin al Ikhwan ala Jawaz ittikhadh al Majlis . In the "preface", Dan Fodio states that the reason for writing the book was that he has been informed that some brothers were opposing the attendance of women to his preaching assembly, judging that it is permissible. In his own effective defence the learned Shaikh says that what he was doing was that he separate the women from men when they come to his assembly telling them indiscriminate mixing of sexes was reprehensive and he later on allocated one day for the men and another for the women. Dan Fodio goes on to quote one scholar name Ibn. al-Hajj, as saying it is obligatory(on a person) to teach his wife, children, slaves and all that come under his authority. It is also incumbent on him to teach them the Articles of faith, righteousness, ablution, prayer,

fasting ..... and what they need of social inter-course. Then if the husband is not learned he could study under a reliable scholar and communicate what he studied over to the rest of his household as the case may be. If the husband fails to do that she should come out without his permission and the ruler should force him on that as is the case with regards to maintenance, though the case of learning is stronger. 61

The same quotation of Ibn al Hajj was repeated in irshad ahl al-Tafrit wa al-Ifrat. In this work Dan Fodio came out strongly to criticise some people whom he designated as the devils of mankind. This group of people rejected the idea of the attendance of women to the Shaikh's assembly. To condemn their stand, Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio drew analogy between the permission given to women to go to Makkah for the performance of pilgrimage and their coming out for learning. He states, if a woman is allowed to go to Makkah why should she not be allowed to learn the Articles of faith without which no duty could be properly performed? He further goes on to say that her stay at home will not save her from falling in hell fire. 62 In order to uncover the arrogance and ignorance of this group the learned Shaikh goes to the extent of quoting a practical example that this group of people see their women attending illegally, marriage ceremonies dancing and singing and intermixing

with and yet do nothing about it. But when they see them going out in pursuing of learning they say this is reprehensive.

Having explained his opinion on the right of women to get education, the learned Shaykh goes out of his way to quote an outside scholar who was critical of the scholars of Bilad al-Sudan. ....."And in the Risals of Muhammad b. Yusuf b. Salim b. Ibrahim, it is reported that:

> "One of the habits of man, scholars of the Sudan is that they leave their wives, daughters and slaves neglected like grazing livestock without teaching them what Allah made obligatory on them of their articles of faith, regulations governing their fasting and their like , i.e. buying and selling and similar things. They consider them like a container which they use; when it breaks they throw it in dung and rubbish places. It is a duty of every Muslim to start with himself and guard it by performing his duty properly, also, to abandon unlawful things, thereafter, he should teach this to his family and relations. Then after he has taught them he could pass it(the knowledge) to his neighbours, inhabitants of his town and later to the generality of the people. 64

Indeed, the same statement of Muhammad b. Yusuf was paraphrased in Nur al-Albab, but Nur al-Albab goes further to draw a parallel between the education of somebody's wife and that of his students. Shaykh Uthman Dan Fodio wonders how the scholars of Bilad al-Sudan leave their wives, daughters and slaves uneducated, but at the same time they teach their students day and night. He explains this strange situation by declaring that the scholars do this out of hypocracy for in teaching their

students they aim at pride and hypocracy and this is a great blunder because teaching the wives, daughters and slaves is obligatory, while teaching the students is a superagatory one. So, the obligatory act should be given preference over the superogatory one.65.

4.18 SHAIKH UTMAN DAN FODIO URGED WOMEN TO DEMAND FOR THEIR RIGHT

Following the obstinate behaviour of some husbands against the Islamic teachings, Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio incited the women to revolt against the rigidity and reactionary attitude of their husbands:

O' Muslim women, do not listen to the speech of this misguided(group) who misguided others and deceive you by making you to obey your husbands without ordering you to obey Allah and His Messengers, Peace be Upon Him. They claim that the happiness of the women is in obeying her husband. They do this in order to get their selfish desire out of you. They also ask you to do what Allah and His Prophet did not stipulate at all like cooking(for them) and washing of clothes and the like ..... At the same time they do not ask you about what Allah and His Messenger, Peace be upon Him, have ordained to you of obedience to Allah and His Messenger, Yes, it is incumbent upon the wife to obey her husband according to the concensus of

> scholars just in secret and in open even the husband is very poor or a slave. It is not permissible for her to disobey him at all, according to the concensus unless he orders her to disobey Allah, in which case she should not obey him. 66

4.19 DUTY OF HUSBAND TOWARD THE WIFE

Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio took the pains in Wathiqa al-Ikhwan to enumerate the duty of the husband towards his wife. On this issue the Shaykh's authority was al-Imam Khalil b. Ahmad the author of al-Mukhtasar. Dan Fodio reports:-

> "Khalil says in al-Mukhtasar that is incumbent upon the husband to provide oil, firewood, salt and meat from time to time. He should also provide mat and bed if they are needed. Also, to provide his wife with more than one maid; this(is applicable) when he is well off....(but) if he is poor she should only cook for him what he can eat and drink but not for his guests, in which case he should pay her.67"

4.20 FRUITS OF SHAIKH'S STAND ON WOMEN EDUCATION

The revolutionary approach toward women's education by Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio appeared to have yielded good results. This is evident by the writings of two of his daughters, Asma'u Nana and Maryam, who were reported to have been prolific writers. Asma'u is said to have composed many poems in both Fulfulde and Arabic and

believed to have written three major works. 68 She was proficient in languages; speaking her mother tongue, Fulfulde as well as Arabic, Hausa and Tamajek. Dr. I.A. Ogunbiyi had counted 51
separate short poems, and letters in Hausa and Fulfulde written by Asma´u. The works are preserved in the private collection of the Wazir of Sokoto, Dr. Junayd b. Muhammad al-Bukhar. Her two major Arabic prose works are Tabshir al-Ikhawan bi al-Tawwasul bi Suwar al-Qur´an and Tanbih al-Ghafilin wa Tadhir al-Aqlin il Tal - Salihin (1820)

Maryam bint Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio(d. 1895) is reported to have written many works. One of the extract writings of Maryam is a letter written in reply to a question put forward to her by Muhammed Bello, the Amir of Kano(1883 - 92) on the imminent appearance of the Mahdi. 60 In her letter, Maryam bint Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio, ruled out completely the hypothesis made by some people that the advent of al-mahdi was imminent.70

Another female beneficiary from Dan Fodio´s Female Education policy was his eldest daughter. She was Khadijat bint Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio. She was famous among other thing in giving religious instruction and lessons on Islamic studies series, such as the Islamic jurisprudence.

Concerning the leadership role played by the ´Ulama´

in Sokoto Caliphate, Kani(1985) stated in one of his writings that the Mujahidin, the Ulama thought that they needed a government that could stamp out corruption, establish justice and equity. They might have sensed right from the beginning that the existing social order was bankrupt, rotten and out of tune with their Islamic ideals and that those at the helm of affairs lack the qualification, dedication, piety and sincerity to implement these objectives. Resultantly, the ultimate solution did not lie with any cosmetic and surgical reforms, but with a total overthrow of the corrupt system and its replacement with a Muttagi(a pious leadership guided by the principles of the Shariah).

As explained by Kani above, Ulama played the role of the establishers, the implementers and administrators of the government, the Sokoto Caliphate, which its basic principles and constitution were strictly based on the Shariah of Allah as revealed to His Prophet Muhammad and passed down to us through his rightly guided companions, the Khulafau ar-Rashidan. Right from the inception of the Jihad movement, Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio had been unanimously accepted and recognised as spiritual head. He had been then assisted in culturing the Jihad processes and procedure but the Ulama who formed a fortified blocking walls round him in different capacities. At the time he became the Amir al-Muminin,

he had several classes of 'Ulama' as his lieutenants whom he appointed as Waziri such as Abd Allah b. Fodio, governors, secretaries, treasurers, some acted as information minister and press secretary, such as Muhammad Bello to the Kalifa, Amir al-Muminin.

However, by the time Shaikh Uthman retired from rigorous participation in public administration he chose two of the leading 'Ulama' and entrusted them with the smooth running of the Caliphate. He thus divided the entire Caliphate into the Western and Eastern provinces. He put the Waziri Abd Allah b. Fodio in charge of the Western emirates as their supervisor, while he replaced Muhammed Bello as the Chief Supervisor of the Eastern province.

In confirming the various administrative responsibilities performed by the 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate, Zahradeen (1976) stated that the next important role played by the 'ULAMA' in Sokoto Caliphate was their collective efforts to address political tracts to the new emirs in provinces on the organisational tradition of the state according to Sunnah.

The new system of administration is intended to be piloted strictly with Islamic spirit, ethnics and norms. This could not have been possible and effectively administered without recourse to the Islamic theoretic works of government. Hence, Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio

wrote several books on how to run the affairs of the community. For example, Uthman Dan Fodio wrote the Kitab al-Faig and Wath-igutahl al-Sudan, Muhammed Bello wrote hundreds of books on governmental administration, such as Usual-al Siyasah and al-gyayth al-Wabfi sirat al-Iman al-edl. And as for Abd Allah, he wrote hundreds of books on the principles of Government, for instance, among the books he authored are Diya al-hukha'ah, Diya al-umai, Divaauli al-arr, Diya al-Sultan, to mention but few.

We conclude that the 'Ulama played diversified roles in making, developing and retaining Sokoto Caliphate between the years 1804 and 1838. These functions were noticed in the fields, among other things, general education, religious education, social development economic order, political culture, governmental administration, and military profession.

FOOT NOTE

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7. (c) Al-Nagar, U, (1972), The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa, Khartoun University Press.

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Maliki book on jurisprudence, Only advanced students could comprehend its language. Many commentations had been made on the Mukhtasar in order to simplify it.

14. Al-Kharashi was a maliki scholar. Abdullahi b. Fudi quotes him in some of his works. See Diya'al-Siyasat by Abdullahi b. Fudi.

15. Nika al-Nasukh by Abdullahi b. Fudi, edited and translated by M. Hishett, B.S.O.A.S., Vol. XIX, 1957, P.563.

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17. M. Hishett, Op. Cit. P. 564

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23. Ibid., p. 85 - 86

24. Ibid. p. 86

25. Ibid., pp. 86 - 88

26. Muhammad Bello Infaq al-Maysur fi Tarik Bilad al-Taknur
(M.S.N.H.R.S.P. 55/4, 102/4, 103/2,

124/1,2,3,4,). See as well whitting (ed)., London 1957, and Abu.

27. Bakr Gumi(ed) Cairo, 1964
F.H. al-Masri, Op cit pp. 443-4

28. A lot has been said about the Jihad of Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio, but there is no evidence what-so-ever to indicate that it was a trial uprising. This is evidence by all the works of the Shaikhs and his contemporaries in which you do not find any reference to the Jihad being Fulani oriented moreover, the composition of the Shaikh's community proves beyond any doubt that people of different races had joined the Jihad at its initial stages.

29. M. Hiskett, "Tazyin", Op. cit. p. 98

30. Ibid., pp. 98 -101

31. Ibid., pp. 101

32. Ibid, pp. 86

33. Bello, Infaq' MS., Op cit.

34. M. Hiskett, "TAZYIN" oP. CIT., p. 86.

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1837, pp. 11-16, (CA Sokoto Seminar paper (1985).

48. Murray last Op. Cit. pp. 79-80

49. Abd Allah, KIFAYAT AL-AWAMMFI AL-BAYU P. 14.

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(Sokoto Seminar 1975).

51. Smith, M.F., Baba of Karo p. 702
Junaidu, A., Tarihin Fulani, p. 12

52. Uthman b. Fodio, Naju al-Ikhwan,

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61. Ibid.

62. Uthman b. Fudi "Taubih....." Op cit.

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64. Uthman B. Fudi, "Wathiqat al-Ikhwan" Op. Cit.,

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CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.1 SUMMARY:

The conclusion that shows that the foregoing discussion, staring from Chapter one to four, can now be stated. We have been concerned mainly on the issue of the role of 'Ulama' in the Sokoto Caliphate between the period of 1804 and 1839.

The study was intended to give the reader some idea of the true functions performed by the 'Ulama' in the Sokoto Caliphate. The researcher tried to introduce the reader to some different concepts held by some different scholars and writers on 'Ulama'. He attempted to give comprehensive explanation of the definitions of certain terms as frequently used in the study.

This study had abundantly illustrated the fact that the basic concept of 'Ulama' is clearly stated in the Quran and prophetic traditions. It thus follows that the role expectation of a given 'Ulama' supposed to reflect the Quranic concept of the word 'Ulama'

The central objective of this study is to examine the role performed by the 'Ulama' in Caliphate in terms of their active involvement in all aspects of the caliphate's social, economic, education, military and political life of the society.

Thus the role played by 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate has bee seen from different perspectives by different writers. Some scholars express the role played by the 'Ulama' during the time in question, in terms of military combatants and leadership. Others see their role as socio-religious and administrative function yet others see them as intellectual educators. Because of these different concepts held on the role of 'Ulama' the researcher chose to focus his attention on the main transactional roles they play within the periods under study. He tried to bring this in conformity with the principles and concepts of the word Islam, which connote among other things, the total surrendering of oneself to the will of Allah.

Unlike the defective speculation of human collective ideas made into a constitution devoid of any divine revelation meant to be a guiding principles over the activities, behaviour and the general societal responsibilities to an individual member of the society, the role functions of 'Ulama' from the time immemorial has been of a divine influence and characteristics.

'Ulama' are the embodiment of moral integrity, self-dignity, righteousness and consciousness of their creator, Allah and the fear of Him and whose primodial aims as the researcher has illustrated earlier in the study, are in the pursuit of the truth, the clear of

Allah, justice, knowledge encouragement of these are evil and unmeriterious.

The scholars('ULAMA') where the natural and effective symbol of society and the guardians of its living conscience.

They were concerned basically with the fundamental issues affecting the general welfare of the 'Ulama'

To them people flocked to receive knowledge and in the time of societal crisis, people turn to them for guidance and thus look on them as their dynamic leaders.

The study also reveals that the 'Ulama' are the champions of the oppressed and advocates of justice, equity and truth. When tyranny, injustice and corruption raised their ugly heads in the society, among the people throughout Kasar Hausa, 'Ulama' jointly strived hard and eliminated those tyrannical and corrupt elements and they put in their places, just and equitable Islamic system of government where Allah's Shariah reigned and where no man nor woman was wrongly oppressed and deprived of his or her right.

As the word Islam technically stands for a complete way of life, the mode and deign of role and function of 'Ulama' is expected to be completely in conformity with the standards laid down by the Quran and prophetic traditions. On the basis of this, therefore, the role played by 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate covers all aspects

of human life experiences which among other things, comprise of the religious, social, economic, intellectual and political institutions. Hence 'Ulama' were seen to have played the role of leadership, administrators, military personnel, educators, economists and socio-political reformists in the Sokoto Caliphate.

Throughout this study, the role played by 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate within the specified period was emphasized. It has been explicitly explained that the role of 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate did not limit itself to a single function on religious education. It was rather extended to cover every sphere of the societal life. The main objective behind the functions performed by 'Ulama' was in its simplest expression, the fear of Allah and to ensure the strict observance of the Sunnah and the condemnation of innovations.

During the physical struggles between the believers and unbelievers, the enemies of the truth and justice, the Ulama did not in any way limit themselves to play the role of military fighters, but most of them were effective and dynamic military commanders and generals, who understood the technical art of warfare. It could be briefly stated that the 'Ulama' role and their general contribution in Sokoto Caliphate were rather of a comprehensive nature as this study has endeavoured to show. These contributions were carefully examined,

touched on every segment of human life.

'Ulama's greatest contribution in Sokoto Caliphate was seen in the field of religious education, social re-orientation and theory of Islamic system of government which they later put into practice. One of their primary purpose was to see that Islamic norms and behaviour were firmly entrenched in all aspects of human life throughout Kasar Hausa. Hundreds of books were authored, law, principles and system of government were specifically spelt out.

The role played by 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate led by Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio, certainly proved a successful revolutionary venture. The 'Ulama' succeeded in breaking down the ethnic loyalties, substituting a cosmopolitan loyalty which transcended the boundary of Kith and Kin. 'Ulama' were able to demolish the government of the unbelievers and established in its place Islamic empire whereby Shariah law was applied rigorously as the basis of its political administration. This, indeed, ensure a social, legal, and religious revolution in Northern Nigeria. 'Ulama' succeeded in uniting the disunited Hausa states. Thus, 'Ulama' had accomplished the first step towards the unification of Nigeria. 2

By and large, the 'Ulama's contributory role in Sokoto Caliphate, most especially in re-shaping the socio-religious awareness, system of Islamic government,

economic reconstruction and educational development of the community was a great significance. The success of the 'Ulama ' in the establishment, retaining and maintenance of Sokoto Caliphate, as an Islamic government of which some of its traces and impact is to a considerable extent still felt throughout Northern Nigeria, and of course, the country as a whole.

5.2 RECOMMENDATION

The researcher is convinced that the high understanding, humility, respect and mutual trust which guided relationship between 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate, was realistic contributor to their leadership success within the period this study is carried out.

Instead of continuously living in a situation where ideological disputes among the present 'Ulama' are settled only by intimidation, blackmail, character assassination and campaign of calumny the Nigerian 'Ulama' in particular, should wake up from their slumbers and set forth to realise the high standards set by their predecessors in Sokoto Caliphate. Our present 'Ulama' should keep alive to their divine and worldly responsibilities and unite themselves and their efforts in order to reform the society and guide its people on the commendable path.

It is also recommended that another study be carried out to find out how far are the 'Ulama' of today

implementing the ideas of the 'Ulama' of 1938.

A study should also be carried out to find out why injustice is persistent in the society and why sectionalism is still prevalent.

Another study should be carried out to find out the basis of the present unprecedented disunity among the 'Ulama' of our days and to find out the most effective solution for it.

A research should be made into the current political uninterestedness of our 'Ulama' and the distance they keep away from it.

61.

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APPENDIX A.

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION OF THE RESEARCHER TO THE INTERVIEWERS WITH THE DRAFT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Mal. Y.S.A. Shu'ibu is a Post Graduate Student in Curriculum Instruction,Islamic Studies Section, Department of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

He is to write a thesis by project on the Role of 'Ulama' in Sokoto Caliphate, between the period of 1804 and 1837.

In order to carry out this work successfully he needs your indispensable assistance and co-operation.

I seek your indulgence and strongly appeal to you to kindly grant him an audence so as to enable him gain deeper insight into the roles played by 'Ulama' from your rich and vast experience of the Sokoto Caliphate.

Among other things, the issues he would wish to discuss with you Sir, are as follows:

1. Distinguished historians had written differently on the concept of 'Ulama'. To you Sir, what would you consider to be actual concept of 'Ulama' in

congruent to Quranic and prophetic concept of 'Ulama'?

2. What would you regard as the main issues which prompted the roles eventually played by 'Ulama' in the Sokoto Caliphate.

3. As far as ethnicity is concerned, to which ethnic group do you think these 'Ulama' belong?

4. What was the official language spoken by the 'Ulama' during the period in question?

5. What was the nature of the constitution they used by the time in question?

6. Which were the areas considered as the centres of activities during the period under study?

7. In terms of religion-intellectual and socio-political life, what was actually the role played by the 'Ulama'?

8. How did the 'Ulama' attempt to fulfil their objectives during the period under review?

9. What would you say were the 'Ulama's major contributions to the general development of the Sokoto Caliphate?

10. Finally, Sir, do you have any comment?

11. Thank you for sparing your time for this exercise.