THE LIFE AND WORKS OF ʿABD AL-QADIR B. AL-MUSTAFA
A CRITICAL EDITION OF HIS WORKS AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

BY

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DEDICATION

To the late Professor

M.A. AL-HAJJ

(The Man who taught me the

Meaning of Nigerian History)

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me, that it is a record of my own research work, and that it has not been presented in any previous application for a higher degree. All quotations and sources of information are to the best of my knowledge duly and specifically acknowledged in the references.



26th June, 1987. (AHMED MOHAMMED KANI)

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ABSTRACT

The nineteenth century Jihad movement in Hausa-le.nd could be rightly described as an 'intellectual revolution[1] which opened the gates of intellectual investigation widely for the Ulama[1] but particularly so for the Sokoto Jihad intellectuals, like Abd ai-qadir b. al-Mustafa (Dantafa) (1864); the subject of this study. In an attempt to have a complete picture of the intellectual, social and political activity of such a great scholar of the sokoto Caliphate the present study deems it necessary to trace his social and political environment, his early life, family back-ground and career. A detailed analysis of all his known works in politics, history and philosophy is made here and placed within the context of the nine[1]-ceenth century Jihad movement in the Central Sudan. Based on the empirical data - both written and oral - this study shows clearly that, ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa stands on a different plane, compared to his c ontemporairi. The study also demon strates that as ascholar of distinction Dantafa did not confine himself only to the traditional system of scholarship existing at the time, but he ventured to explore the forbidden horizons of philosophy and mystical philosophy considered generally by Muslim orthodoxy to be heretical if not diversionary

disciplines. It is to be noted here that not all of Dantafa's writings are confined to intellectual and academic endeavours per se. Some of these writings, especially the political and historical, bear on the concrete socio-political reality of his people. The study demonstrates that as an intellectual, and inspite of his commitment to Sufism, Dantafa was playing an active role in the politics of the Sokoto Caliphate, such as, the appointing of a new Amir al-Muminin. diffusing political tension among the communityof the jahidun regarding the interpretation of complex problems which faced his people at the time, and fending the integrity of the Sokoto Caliphate against the claims of some ambitious political figures, like Shaykh Ahmad Lobbo al-Masini.

In short, this study attempts to give an account of the social, political, and intellectual life of one of the most outstanding African intellectuals of the nineteenth century. The author Viopes that this is a beginning of serious investigation, into the life and times of the leadership of the 19th century Sokoto Jihad Further investigation into the iivt-s and acti-tits of intellectuals like Umar al-Wali of Zaria (d. Ca.1900) and Modibo of Gwando and later Yola (d. 1866) may reveal the complex nature of the nineteenth century Jihad movement in this part of the world.

This study is made up of two parts. The first part deals with the life and works of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa. The second part is an edition and translation of two of his historical works namely: 'Akhbar Hadhihi :1-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya, commonly known as kaudat al-'Afkar, and Qata ' if al- Jinan fi 'Ahwal 'Ard al-Sudan. The purpose of the edition and translation is to give an insight into ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's intellectual work and since this study is concerned with history, the present author has chosen the same historical works of by Abd al-Qadir, to show the extent to which the Sokoto intellectuals were grappling with history. Another reason for the edition and translation of these two indispensable historical works is to make available to the students of history useful data for the proper and factual analysis of the historiography of the Sokoto Jihad, especially when it is realized that not many of such students are equipped parth the Arabic language.

Part one of this thesis consists of four chapters d a brief conclusion. The first chapter gives an account of the socio-political background of Abd ai-Qadir b. al-Mustafa.. A brief survey of the social and political conditions in the western housa land- is provided as a prelude to the study of the personality of Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa. Dantafas family background is also discussed in some detail in this chapter. The chapter discusses also Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's

education, his attitude towards the 'Sokoto caliphates educational policy and his position on the Sokoto political polemics, Abd al-Qadir's active role in the Jihad wars of the Sokoto Caliphate against its enemies is also examined in the chapter. There is also the discussion on the emergence of Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa as a distinguished political figure who fends the interest of the caliphate. Dantafa's assessment of the political events in the Sokoto Caliphate after the death of Muhammad Bello in 1837 is focussed on in some detail in this chapter.

The focus of chapter II is the Sufi traditions in hausa land before 1837 as a background to studying the philosophical reflections of Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa. A sketch of the historical development of Sufism from the early days of Islam, different trends in Sufism and the emergence of Sufi Orders is adequately taken care of in the second chapter. The introduction and the impact of the two most dominant Sufi Orders: the Qadiriyya and the Tijjaniyya on the leaders of the Sokoto Jihad is traced also in this chapter. The chapter also discusses the Sufi linkages between the f unta Shaykhs of the Qadiriyya in Timbuktu-Azwad on *one* hand and the Sokoto Jihad leaders on the other. It closes with the discussion of the emergence of the tijjaniyya Order as a rival Sufi Order to the Qadiriyya in Hausaland.

A detailed analysis of Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's philosophical reflections and his school of mystical philosophy is given in chapter three. Philosophical notions like Quranic Reasoning 'Being and Existence' 'Islamic Concept of Man' and 'The Theory of Knowledge' as philosophically conceived by Dantafa are thoroughly examined and placed within a wider philosophical coatext. Dantafa's search for the 'Perfect Man' ia examined also in this chapter c?nd related to the dispensation of the founder of the doctrine, Abd ai-Karim ai-Jili. This is farther linked with the pattern of ᶜAbd al-Qadir's thought and style.

Chapter four, focusses on ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-al-mustafa as a historian of the Sokoto Caliphate. The chapter draws heavily on the edition and translation

Akhbar and Qata'if as indicated in the footnotes. The quotations in the chapter are taken also from the translation of the two works.

A condensed discussion of the historical traditions as they existed in Hausaland before 18O4. is given in the study. This is followed by an examination *of* the meaning and the object of history in the context of the Sokoto Jihad. An examination of Abd al-Qadir's historical writings: the general and biographical is made in this chapter. This analysis is followed by Dantafa's perspective and historical methodology as he applies them to his historical writings. The last part

of this chapter, examines the sources which ᶜAbd al-Cadir used, internal and external, oral and written, for writing his historical books. The chapter closes with a discussion of the objectivity and 'the bins which Dantafa revels in his history books.

The brief general conclusion gives among other bhings suggestion for further historical investigations into the realm of philosophy in the Sokoto Caliphate.

Part II of the thesis consists of edition and translation of 'Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya and Qata'if al-Jinan fi Ahwal Ard al~Sudan All the known techniques of edition and translation of Arabic manuscripts are applied in the second part of this study with a view to making it what it is now.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.C.	Abdullahi Bayero College
A.B.U.	Ahmadu Bello University
B.S.H.B.	Bulletin of the Sokoto History Bureau
B.S.O.A.S.	Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies
J.A.H.	Journal of African History
J.H.S.N.	Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria
J.M.	Jos Museum Collection
K.	Kensdale Collection
M.A.H.	Muhammad Ahmad al-Hajj Collection
Mic.	Microfilm
MS	Manuscript
N.H.R.S.	Northern History Research Scheme, ABU, Zaria.
P.G.D.E.	Post-Graduate Diploma in Education
R.B.C.A.D.	Research Bulletin of the Centre for Arabic Documentation
U.I.	University of Ibadan

GLOSSARY

Adhkar	-	(Prayers'
'Amma	-	Common people)
Awrad	-	Litanies
Bay'a	-	Paying allegieance
al-Farasa	-	Intuitive knowledge
Halaqa	-	Circle
Ilham	-	Revelations
Ilm al-Haqiqa	-	Sufism
Ilm al-Huruf	-	Letter magics
Ilm al-Shari'a	-	The Shari^{c}a sciences
Iqamat al-Suwwar	-	Magnificent Appearance
Iskoki (Hausa)	-	Spirits, jinns-ing [illegible]
Jama'a	-	(lit) group (here the supporters of Shaykh 'Uthman b. Fudi)
al-Jamhur	-	The opinion held by the majority of the 'Ulama'
Jangali	-	(Hausa) Cattle tax
Karama	-	Thoumatugrical performances
Kurdin Gari	-	(Hausa) a kind of prejihad tax livied on male adults in Hausaland
Kurdin Salla	-	(Hausa) a kind of prejihad tax in Hausaland paid to the Sarki during 'Id festivals

Kasar Hausa	-	(Hausa) Hausa land
Kashf	-	Spiritual vision
Mujaddid	-	Reformer or renovator
Muqallid	-	(plu. Muqallidun) Immitator
Nisba	-	Epithet
Qadis	-	(sing. Qadi) Judges
Qutb	-	(in Sufi terminology) The pole
Qutbaniyya	-	(in Sufi words) poleship
Ribat	-	Fortified settlements or frontier posts
Shari'a	-	(lit.) Islamic law
Talaba	-	(here) disciples of Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fudi
Talamidh	-	Pupils
Tarbiya	-	Education
Tariqa	-	Sufi Order
'Ulama'	-	(sing. 'Alim) Scholars
'Ulama 'al-Su'	-	Venal 'Ulama'
Usul al-Din	-	The fundamentals of religion
Wahdat al-Wujud	-	(a Sufi concept) The Unity of Being
Wahy	-	Revelation

PREFACE

RATIONALE

Since Murray Last and R.A. Adeleye had written their monumental theses in the sixties, on the Wazirate and the overthrow of the Sokoto Caliphate respectively, our knowledge of the Nigerian history as far as the Sokoto Caliphate is concerned has been considerably broadened by serious researches on various aspects of the Sokoto Caliphate. Researches based on concrete historical data, bearing on the nature of the Jihad, the political institutions of the Caliphate, factors responsible for the rise and collapse of the Hausa State system of government and its subsequent replacement by the Sokoto Caliphate, the transformation of various political units within the caliphate and the imposition of the colonial domination on the Emirates of the Caliphate, have been carried out in one way or another by the students of the Sokoto Jihad. Our knowledge of the economic and social history and urbanization in the Caliphate has been also enriched by scholars like Garba Nadama in his studies on the Rise and Collapse of A Hausa State: A Social and Political History of Zamfara and Saleh Abubakar's Birnin Shehu, The City of Sokoto: A Social and Economic History, 1809-1903.

However, an important area which seems not to have been adequately treated as far as historical investigations are concerned was the area of intellectual and biographical history of the Sokoto Jihad leaders, despite the fact that there is abundant contemporary primary material to justify such studies. The very few studies conducted over the span of about twenty years leaned towards the Arabic and Islamic studies. It is logical that these pioneering biographical studies favour the literary activity of the members of the early generations of the Jihad like Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi, Abdullahi b. Fudi and Muhammad Bello who have championed the cause of the Jihad and laid down the foundation for the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate.

It is interesting to note here that there is virtually a total absence of the study of the political, social and intellectual activity of the generation which followed Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and which happened to be the product of the Jihad. Another important area neglected by historians is the area of edition and translation of written source material vital for the reconstruction and understanding of historical processes in the Central and Western Bilad al-Sudan. An excuse for such a 'neglect' may be found in the fact that the inability of the historians to

learn Arabic is the main factor responsible for this shortcoming.[1] It is an open secret that the edition and translation of the rich treasure of the contemporary historical documents of the general history and biographies will broaden the scope of our knowledge of the historical developments in Bilad al-Sudan and would subsequently answer some of the problematics of Nigerian Historiography.

It is mainly because of the above reasons that the present study feels it appropriate to carry out a detailed study of the life and works of one of the most outstanding intellectuals in the Sokoto Caliphate (i.e. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa) who happened to be a product of the Sokoto Jihad movement and a member of the third generation of the jihad.

THE SOURCES

In the process of writing this thesis a number of primary and secondary materials were employed for the purpose of documentation and elaboration. Primary sources could be divided into two: the 19th century contemporary primary sources written by ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa and his contemporaries and earlier ones

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1. Probably the only exception is R.A. Adeleye's edition and translation of Risalat al-Wazir ila Ahl al-ᶜIlm wa al-Taddabur of Wazir Muhammad al-Bukhari, in JHSN, IV, 2, (1968).

written mainly by the Muslim geographers. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's writings could also be subdivided into historical and philosophical. Furthermore, his historical writings could be neatly divided into general and biographical. His general historical writings are mainly two: ᶜAkhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya (popularly known as Raudat al-'Afkar), written in 1828, could be considered as one of the most important contemporary accounts of the Sokoto Jihad movement and could be rated in terms of importance only second to Infaq al-Maysur fi Tarikh Bilad al-Takrur written by Muhammad Bello in 1813 and dealing with the social, intellectual and political history of Bilad al-Takrur in a comprehensive manner. Although Infaq al-Maysur is superior in terms of scope and perspectives, nevertheless, 'Akhbar is an indispensable document which provides factual and detailed information on the eighteenth century political relations of the Gobir State. The work also complements the information provided by 'Infaq al-Maysur on the political developments around the Rima Basin after 1813. It gives an eyewitness account of the political events which took place in that period. Probably the significance of 'Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya ... lies in the fact that it is the only Arabic primary source which gives us adequate information on the

inter-state political relationship between the states of Zamfara, Kebbi, Gobir and to some extent Katsina and Ahir in the eighteenth century. However, the scope of the work is limited by its chronological and uncritical presentation of political events in Bilad al-Sudan.

The other general historical work of significance written by ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa is Qata'if al-Jinan fi Dhikr Ahwal Ard al-Sudan. The title of the work suggests that it is an attempt, however 'incomplete', to write a comprehensive history of Bilad al-Sudan which would supersede that of Infaq al-Maysur as indicated by ᶜAbd al-Qadir himself. This ambitious project is intended to cover a large expanse of the geographical area extending from al-Maghrib al-ᶜAqsa the Bilad al-Sudan, to East Africa and the Indian Sub-Continent. The rationale behind writing a historical geography of Bilad al-Sudan was to locate Bilad al-Takrur, and hence the Sokoto Caliphate, within the wider context of the global politics of Dar al-'Islam. However, Qata'if al-Jinan suffers from serious defects, chief among which is its reliance on second hand and uncritical information contained in the writings of some Arab geographers like Ibn al-Wardi. Time dimension is also lacking in the work. Events in places like Nubia, Abyssinia and the Beja are projected as if they were taking place at the time of the authorship. While the intention

of Qata'if al-Jinan is to complement Infaq al-Maysur, ᶜAbd al-Qadir failed to present a satisfactory account of the past historical events in a logical historical sequence as he had ably done in the 'Akhbar.

Of his biographical works, Salwat al-'Ahzan fi Dhikr al-Khawas min 'Ahl Hadha al-Zaman, written in 1825, is unique in providing useful data on the standard of education, degree of scholarship, curriculum of education and the system of education in Hausaland in the 18th and 19th centuries. This biographical work is devoted to al-Khawas, the (special class) among the teachers of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa. However, apart from Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi, considered by ᶜAbd al-Qadir as the 'Gate of Knowledge' through which all the Khawas had to pass and few other outstanding scholars, the bulk of the work is devoted to the life and intellectual contributions of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's master Muhammad Sambo b. al-Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi. The bias shown for Dantafa's master is in a way a demonstration of Dantafa's acknowledgement and commitment to the philosophical school of his Shaykh. In writing such biographies Dantafa was following the tradition established by the Sokoto Jihad leaders like ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi who wrote ᶜIdaᶜ al-Nusukh, which is a biographical account of his teachers. The only difference between ᶜIdaᶜ al-Nusukh and Salwat al-'Ahzan

is that of emphasis. While ʿIdaʿ al-Nusukh gives a list of the teachers of the Sokoto Jihad leaders and curriculum of education in the eighteenth and nineteenth century Hausaland without discrimination, Salwat al-'Ahzan is biased towards the Sufi Shaykhs who were considered a special category of 'Ulama'.

Among ʿAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's philosophical works could be included ʿUhud wa Mawathiq, al-Tafadul Bayna Jinsi al-Malak wa al-Bashar, al-Futuhat al-Rabbaniyya, Nisab al-Maujudat and al-Kashf wa al-Bayan ʿamma Ashkala min Kitab al-Insan. ʿUhud wa Mawathiq is an apologia written by ʿAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa to his 'critics' among the orthodox scholars who viewed philosophy with scepticism. A pledge is made by the author in this work that he is studying the philosophical sciences in their correct manner and rejecting the heretical aspects of it.

The work is useful in determining the extent of Dantafa's understanding of philosophy. al-Futuhat al-Rabbaniyya is written in the genre of al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya of the famous Islamic philosopher and the founder of the school of pantheism, Muhi al-Din Ibn 'Arabi (d.1240 A.D.). A critical evaluation of the materialist, naturalists and physicists perception of life is made in the work. Matters relating to the transcient nature of the world, existence and non-

existence of spirit (Ruh), and the nature of celestial spheres, are critically examined in the work.

al-Kashf wa al-Bayan 'amma Ashkala min Kitab al-Insan, a commentary on the theory of the 'Perfect Man' of ᶜAbd al-Karim al-Jili, (d.1528) the founder of the philosophical school of the 'Perfect Man', is a synthesis of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's philosophical outlook on complex matters relating to death and life, Being and Existence and a simplification of the doctrine of the 'Perfect Man' as conceived by al-Jili. An attempt is made in the book to explain pressing problems which have bothered the thinking of mankind for a long time, such as life after death.

Of the other nineteenth century Sokoto Jihad literature relevant to this study is Tanbih al-'Ikhwan ᶜala Ahwal Ard al-Sudan by Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi. Although this book cannot be regarded, strictly speaking, as a history book, yet it is an indispensable work for the understanding of certain political developments in the Central Sudan in the early nineteenth century, such as the relationship between Borno and the Sokoto Caliphate and the immediate and remote causes of the Sokoto Jihad. The work was consciously written, in the opinion of the present author, to justify and rationalize the Jihad action against the Hausa rulers.

ᶜAbd Allah b. al-Qadir b. al-Hajj's biographical work titled al-Taᶜrif bi al-Shaykh al-Mustafa al-Turudi, the father of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, is a vital source of information needed for the assessment of at least three Tabaqat (classes) of the ᶜUlama': (i) The teachers of al-Shaykh al-Mustafa al-Turudi about whom the whole book is written, (ii) his contemporaries of the ᶜUlama' and (iii) his disciples. The work contains useful biographical data on ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa himself.

Another useful source used for this study is al-Hajj Saᶜid's book titled Tarikh Sokoto. It provides vital information for the role which ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa played in the selection of ᶜAbu Bakr al-ᶜAtiq as the successor to Muhammad Bello. However, some people tend to underate the significance of Tarikh Sokoto as a reliable source for the reconstruction of the Sokoto Jihad history, because of his Tijani leanings and his assumed bias to his mentor Shaykh ᶜUmar al-Futi (d.1864) and also because of the disparaging remarks which he made about Wazir Gidado b. Laima. However, in the view of this author, these reasons could not be accepted as a basis for the rejection of such vital source of information. Usually all works are biased in one way or the other and even those who try to dismiss the work as unreliable are biased themselves.

Early Islamic sources relevant to the editing of manuscripts and the philosophical reflections of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa have been used by this study. Muslim geographers' works such as al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik written by ᶜAbdullahi b. Muhammad al-Bakri, Nuzhat al-Mushtaq of al-Sharif al-'Idrisi, Muruj al-Dhahab of al-Masᶜudi and Kitab Suart al-ᶜArd of Ibn Haugal were very helpful in identifying the sources which ᶜAbd al-Qadir had used in writing his Qata'if al-Jinan. Although no reference or acknowledgement were made by ᶜAbd al-Qadir to the sources which he used for writing this work, I was able to trace almost all his sources as indicated in the edition, notably, al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik of al-Bakri, Nuzhat al-Mushtaq of al-'Idrisi, and Muruj al-Dhahab of al-Masᶜudi. al-Idrisi and al-Bakri's works are contained in Yusuf Kamal, *Monumenta Cartographia et Aegypti* referred to in the study. There is no doubt that both external accounts are vital for the study of the History of Bilad al-Sudan in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Their shortcoming as external sources lies in the fact that they some time, may not give precise accounts of specific areas or incidents. Another technical problem is that they fail to give or locate the actual pronounciation of some place and personal names. Another source of importance was Kitab Kharidat al-ᶜAja'ib wa Faridat al-Ghara'ib of Ibn al-Wardi. Compared to al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik and Nazhat al-Mushtaq, Ibn

al-Wardi's work is of a secondary value because it relies mostly and sometimes entirely on the previous Muslim geographers' accounts, like al-Bakri and al-ᶜIdrisi ᶜIbn al-Wardi's account is contained in Mustafa, M. Misᶜad's Majmuᶜat al-Watha'iq al-ᶜArabiyya bi Tarikh al-Sudan fi al-ᶜUsur al-Wusta. This collection is a vital source of information for the history of Bilad al-Sudan in the medieval era.

A number of unpublished and published theses have been utilized for this study specifically those bearing on Western Hausaland and the Rima Basin. Garba Nadama's thesis on the social and political history of Zamfara is useful in identifying place, names, locations of battles with Gobir and Katsina and the extent of the encroachment of the Gobirawa in Gobir territory. The rich oral data collected by Nadama about the dynastic clans and inter-state relationships between the states of the Western Hausaland have proved the authenticity of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's account in ʿAkhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya at the outbreak of the Jihad in Hausaland.

Of great significance is Abdullahi Augi's Ph.D. work on The Gobir factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin C.1650-1808 A.D. A lot of information contained in 'Akhbar, relating to the political development in the Rima Basin, rise of Gobir

as a dominant power in Hausaland in the last half of the 18th century had been corroborated by independent investigation of Abdullahi Augi.

Oral evidence which helped in verifying, identifying and clarifying documents and substantiating certain assumptions held by the present author especially those relating to the life and career of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa were collected from Sokoto (1981 and 1982), Salame (1981, 1982 and 1986), Birnin Kebbi (1982) and Gwandu (1982 and 1983) and lastly Niamey (in 1981). A number of ᶜUlama' notables and officials were interviewed mainly in Sokoto and Salame. Dr. Junaid b. Muhammad al-Bukhari, the Wazir of Sokoto despite his advanced age still remains the most important single source of information as far the oral and written history of the Sokoto Caliphate is concerned. Several interviews were held with him in the years 1981 and 1982. A lot of oral data on the life and time of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa and particularly his political activity were received from him. Wazir Junaidu was able to resolve many difficulties encountered by the author at the initial stage of his fieldwork. Mallam Tahiru Salame, a grandson of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa and who is now the custodian of ᶜAbd al-Qadir's intellectual and cultural heritage and who still continues with the tradition of teaching in Salame was

very helpful in drawing the attention of the present author to some 20 new books written by ᶜAbd al-Qadir which were not made available to any person in the past. The discovery of these new manuscripts had broadened the knowledge of this researcher concerning the various disciplines which ᶜAbd al-Qadir was pursuing but particularly the philosophical ones. Mallam Hussaini Ahmad, the historian of Salame had also granted many interviews to this author especially those relating to the origin, development and the role of Salame as a great centre of learning.

Oral data on the early Gobir history, beyond the Nigerian border were collected from and through the assistance of Mallam Illa Mai Kasuwa, the present Minister of Education in the Republic of Niger and a post-graduate student with the department of history, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. Mallam Illa Mai Kasuwa was particularly helpful in identifying certain place names, personal names and some historic events for the purpose of editing 'Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya. Some indispensable information on the movement of the Gobirawa and political tussle with Zamfara were volunteered to me by Mallam Illa Mai Kasuwa from his field-work notes.

In the course of his initial survey of the collection of the National Archives Kaduna in 1981, the present author learnt of the availability of some

district note books relevant to Sokoto State in the Sokoto State History Bureau. Later on in the same year the author was able to screen all the district note books on Sokoto. However, not much was found in these files because the informations contained there do not go beyond the twentieth century and were essentially meant for the administrative convinience of the colonial administration and hence their irrelevance to this study.

In the course of the recovery of the Arabic material relevant to this study, the following centres of documentation and libraries were consulted, the Northern History Research Scheme, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, the Sokoto History Bureau, Institute De Researche en Sciences' Humaines (I.R.SH.) in Niamey, The Republic of Niger. Library work was also done at The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, United Kingdom, and the Library of the Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum, Sudan.

The Northern History Research Scheme is a unit of the history department of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. Established in early 1960s, the Northern History Research Scheme is now the largest Centre of Arabic documentation in Nigeria and abroad as far as the Arabic script literature on Central Bilad al-Sudan is concerned. The bulk of the collection comes from the recovery exercise of the Research Fellows in the Scheme,

the Ibadan Library collection of Arabic manuscripts (mainly microfilms), the Jos Museum collection and the collection of the Centre of Arabic Documentation, of the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. The Scheme has a card index of its collection and publishes on a semi-regular basis an Interim Report which contains among other things index of the manuscripts collected by the researchers of the Scheme. The present author's fourteenth year sojourn in the Scheme as a research fellow had afforded him the opportunity to identify, classify and go through all the Arabic materials in the Scheme. The Scheme collection of MSS consists of microfilms, prints and volumes which are accessible to researchers on request. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's writings discovered by the author from Sokoto State have been processed and indexed by him and are to be located in Jackets Nos. P.192 and P.193 and are also contained in the sixth Interim Report (now in the press).

The Sokoto History Bureau, founded in early 1970s is another archival centre which the author has visited in 1981 and 1982. The collection of the Bureau consists of both Arabic and non-Arabic materials. Its collection of the Arabic script material is made mainly of the 19th century Sokoto Jihad literature. The collection is accessible but not systematically indexed. Copies of the manuscripts collected by this author from

Salame were deposited with the Bureau. Following the re-organization of government departments in the Sokoto State in 1984, the Sokoto State History Bureau was merged with the State Council of Arts and Culture under a new name, Sokoto State Council of History and Culture.

The Arabic department of the Institute, De Researche en Sciences Humaines (I.R.SH.) of the University of Niamey is another centre of documentation which the present author had visited. The collection of the Centre consists mainly of the material collected by late Boubou Hamma, the ex-president of National Archives of Nigeria and those collected later by the individual researchers and the archivists in the Centre. The holding of the Centre of Arabic manuscripts is not properly indexed. Yet the Centre has a very useful finding list containing the bulk of the material. The present author was able to compile a card-catalogue consisting of about 700 entries for the Centre in 1980. The author was also lucky to locate a copy of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's 'Akhbar in the Centre for the purpose of editing. The lone trip made by the author to the Republic of Mali in September 1986 has helped him verify certain informations on Sokoto-Masina relations and on the personality of Shaykh Ahmad Lobbo al-Masini.

PART I

ANALYSIS

CHAPTER I

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ᶜABD AL-QADIR B. AL-MUSTAFA

THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Before examining ᶜAbd al-Qadir's early life it may be pertinent to examine briefly the political and social development in the Western Hausaland and the Rima basin in particular.

It seems from all indications that by the second half of the 18th century the balance of power in Western Hausaland comprising Kebbi, Zamfara and Gobir had tilted in favour of the Gobir state. It emerged as the dominant political force in that region subordinating Kebbi and Zamfara to its political authority. According to Garba Nadama the state of Zamfara was engaged in a protracted war with the state of Gobir for about fifty years. These wars culminated in significant territorial gains for Gobir state and as a result of this large areas which were originally part of Zamfara state were completely swallowed up by the Gobir state.[1] However, the militaristic nature and the expansionist policy of Gobir state did not work in its favour. The outcome of almost half a century of frequent warfare with its neighbours - resulted in the

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1. Garba Nadama, The Rise and Collapse of a Hausa State: A Social and Political History of Zamfara, Ph.D. Thesis, A.B.U., 1977, p.33.

isolation of Gobir from the rest of Hausa states and in depleting her physical resources.[1]

At the social level although Islam had made great impact in the Hausa States in general and Western Hausaland in particular mainly as result of the activities of the ᶜUlama it failed to transform the society into an Islamic one. Its role was confined to performance of rituals and there was no evidence at our disposal to suggest that the rulers of the Western Hausaland had made any effort to embrace Islam as a way of life. Evidence cited from Kebbi had shown that in many instances Islamic values co-existed side by side with other belief systems such as belief in Iskoki which is said to have greatly influenced the social activity in Kasar Hausa up to the time of the 19th century jihad led by Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi.[2]

Thus, it was against the background of the rejection of the Shariᶜa as a way of life by the Sarakuna (rulers) of Kasar Hausa, the imposition of illegal taxes such as Jangali, Kurdin Gari, Kurdin Salla, confiscation of people's property, conscription into the armies, hereditary succession,[3] and the persecution of the Jamaᶜa of

1. R.A. Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, Ibadan, 1971, p.6.

2. Muhammad Bello Alkali, A Hausa Community in Crisis; Kebbi in the Nineteenth Century, M.A. Thesis, A.B.U., 1969, p.123.

3. ᶜUthman b. Muhammad b. Fudi, Kitab al-Farq, ed. Trans. M. Hiskett, B.O.A.S., 1960.

Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi, that Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi declared his jihad and called for the overthrow of the Hausa Kingdoms.[1] Long before then, Shaykh ᶜUthman's reputation as a pious scholar who strove to reform his society through active propagation of the Islamic ideals and mobilization of his Jamaᶜa had already been established. The commitment of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi to bring about socio-political change in line with the precepts of Islam in this part of Bilad al-Sudan had convinced some people into believing that he was the Mujaddid who was destined to revitalize the faith of the people,

> command good, forbid bad, reform people's conditions, establish justice for them, support the right against the wrong, revive the Sunna, extinguish the Bidᶜa and other bad customs. The condition of that scholar will ultimately clash with the interest of those ᶜUlama' of his time and he would be a stranger among them. 2

By the end of 1795, political developments in Kasar Hausa, had assumed a serious dimension.. The relationship between the Gobir authority and the Jamaᶜa of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi had reached its lowest ebb. The Gobir authority began to view with seriousness the motivation

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1. The causes of the Jihad and the subsequent overthrow of the Hausa Governments, had been outlined by Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi in his Tanbih al-'Ikhwan 'ala Ahwal Ard al-Sudan NHRS, p.71/1.

2. ᶜUthman b. Muhammad b. Fudi, 'Ifham al-Munkirin, MS, NHRS, p.142/68. It should be noted here that the letter p after NHRS refers to the location of MS in Northern History Research Scheme and is different from the other p which is used for pagenation.

of the Jama^{c}a, with a view to destroying its power-base. The Gobir soldiers started to harass the Jama^{c}a and to phisically stop people from joining the movement at Degel.[1]

By 1774, Degel, the residence of Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fudi situated on the fringes of Gobir,[2] and not distantly far from the states of Kebbi and Zamfara, had assumed the role of a great centre of political activity challenging the foundation and the legitimacy of the Hausa rulers, questioning their authority on account of corruption and oppression.[3] This development took place after the Jama^{c}a of Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fudi had been transformed from its reformist nature into a revolutionary socio-political movement, seeking the establishment of an Islamic system of government. It took about thirty years for the movement to arrive at that stage. The formative period of the Sokoto Jihad movement (1774-5/1803) was characterized by concerted efforts on the part of the leadership of the movement at the social and political levels to bring about radical transformation of the societies of the Central Bilad al-Sudan in line with the

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1. See Abdullahi b. Fudi, Tazyin al-Waraqat, ed. Trans. M. Hiskett, (Ibadan, 1963), p.69, and Muhammad Bello, Infaq al-Maysur, ed. C.E.J. Whitting, London, 1957, pp.68-69.

2. Degel is situated on the main valley southwest of the capital of Gobir. See Murray Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, (Ibadan, 1967).

3. ^{c}Uthman b. Fudi, Kitab al-Farq, op.cit., pp.557-9.

objectives of the Shari^{c}a[1]. This period was characterized by Shaykh ^{c}Uthman's pre-occupation with teaching and preaching and the gradual emergence of the community (the Jamā^{c}a) as a distinguished - socio-political organization. The main problems which Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fudi strove to tackle in this period were issues relating to aspects of belief and unbelief, denouncing customs contrary to Islam, refutation of misconceptions held by some students of the Shaykh and polemics with his contemporary [illegible] scholars on theological matters.[2]

The same period had also witnessed the struggle between the leaders of the Jama^{c}a on the one hand, and the Establishment ^{c}Ulama' on the other, who were viewed by the Jama^{c}a as ^{c}Ulama' al-Su' (The Venal ^{c}Ulama') whose primary function was to justify corruption and rationalize the oppressive measures of the ruling class. This category of the ^{c}Ulama' acted as arbiters of religious practice and social behaviour.[3]

Right from 1774/75, Degel, the home town of Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fudi came to be regarded by many people as a centre from which serious scholarship radiates. It was

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1. The writings of Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fudi in the formative period include, ^{c}Usul al-Din, MS, NHRS, J.M. 1/23, 'Irshad ^{c}Ahl al-Tafrit wa al-'Ifrat ila Sawa' al-Sirat, MS, K.6/18, Saug al-'Umma ila Ihiya al-Sunna, MS, NHRS, K.5112, Ihya' al-Sunna wa 'Ikhmad al-Bid^{c}a, NHRS, J.M. 6/52, and similar works.

2. Ibid.

3. M.A. al-Hajj 'The Meaning of the Sokoto Jihad' in Y.B. Usman (ed) Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate, [illegible] and New York, 1979, p.8.

probably the character of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi as a committed and sincere scholar, who was all out to establish Islam, that attracted the attention of many people to this great centre of learning. Thus, Degel became a centre of gravity attracting a great number of stuents of learning from far and wide. The other important factor that drew people's attention to the place, was the revolutionary tradition being estaolished by the leaders of the Jihad movement in contrast to other scholars in the Central Sudan. It is on record that Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and his Jamaᶜa had avoided the courts of the rulers and rejected their material offers.[1] As far back as 1788/9, the leader of the Sokoto Jihad movement is reported to have refused the material gesture offered to him by Bawa Jan Gwarzo the Sultan of Ġobir, in contradistinction to the position of the establishment ᶜUlama' who willingly accepted the patronage of the rulers. In place of it Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi demanded, among other thihgs, to be allowed to move freely in the country to preach his ideals; for freedom for those who wanted to join him and for his Jamaᶜa to have a distinctive identity by wearing the turban and for the women members of the Jamaᶜa to cover their heads.[2] The acceptance by Bawa Jan Gwarzo,

1. Abdullahi b. Fudi, Tazyin al-waraqat, p.27.
2. F.H. al-Masri, 'The Life of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio Before the Jihad' JHSN, vol. II, No. 4, December 1963, p.441.

the ruler of Gobir to free all the political prisoners and alleviate the suffering of the masses by relieving them of heavy taxation pointed to the long term objectives of the Jama^{c}a and the direction in which the future events were to unfold.

The relationship between the Shaykh's Jama^{c}a and the Gobir authorities had in the period 1800-1803 deteriorated to the extent that Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fudi had urged his community to take up arms against what he considered to be an oppressive government "verily to make ready weapons is Sunna".[1]

The attack on the Jama^{c}a of Abd al-Salam, a disciple of Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fudi at Gimbana, a town situated near Zamfara river, by the Gobir authorities and the subsequent freeing of their captives at the instance of Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fudi had triggered off armed conflict between the two parties.[2] Subsequently a Hijra that drew a sharp line between two different world outlooks was made by the Jama^{c}a of Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fudi to Gudu in 1804.

By the time Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fudi died in 1817, it was possible to distinguish clearly between the role of three generations of intellectuals. The first were those who laid down the foundation of the Jihad and sowed the

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1. ^{c}Abdullahi b. Fudi, Tazyin al-waraqat, p.105.
2. Murray Last, op.cit., pp.14-15.

seeds of revolution in Hausaland, Although their involvement in the Jihad was indirect with the exception of a personality like Jibril b. ʿUmar who, according to Shaykh ʿUthman b. Fudi, had initiated reform in the Central Sudan and played a significant role in shaping the outlook of the leaders of the Sokoto Jihad movement,[1] Their impact on the second generation was tremendous. These intellectuals were scattered all over the Central Bilad al-Sudan and they were associated with one another through direct contacts by way of travelling from one place to the other, in pursuit of learning and exchanging ideas or through their Talaba (disciples). They were to be found in both the urban and rural areas. The chief objective of these ʿUlama' was the academic and moral upbringing of their students. They established schools of learning for both the junior and advanced students and urged their students to mould themselves on Islamic ideals. The derivation of the scholars cuts across geographical and ethnic boundaries, as is attested to by the various Nisba (Epithets) such as al-Zamfari, al-Kebbawi, al-Barnawi, al-Katsinawi, al-Hausi, which usually appended to their proper names.[2] Scholars like

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1. ʿUthman b. Fudi, Nasihat al-ʿUmma al-Muhammadiyya li Bayan Hukm al-Firaq al-Shaytaniyya allati Zahart fi Biladina al-Sudaniyya, MS. IHAS, p.2/4,5.

2. The general biographical dictionaries and works produced in the 19th century Hausaland such as Idaʿ al-Nusukh, Tazyin al-Waraqat by ʿAbdullahi b. Fudi and Bast al-Fawa id Watagrib al-Maqasid by ʿAbd al-Qadir b. Gidado contain such references.

Muhammad Fudi, the father of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi, Shaykh ᶜUthman (known as Biddu al-Kabawi), ᶜUthman Bidduri b. ᶜAl could be cited here as an example.[1] They were bound by a common goal of educating people on the fundamentals of their religion and admonishing them to pursue an honest and decent life. Although in most cases these scholars were patronized by the State, some of them preferred to stay aloof from the courts of the rulers. Others chose not to indulge in the conduct of the affairs of their government for fear of being corrupted by some of the rulers. On the other hand, some of these ᶜUlama' were patronized by the state and rendered many services to the state, as state functionaries like Qadis, scribes or spiritual advisors. Their function went beyond mere teaching and preaching to that of justifying the status quo and rationalizing the conduct of government irrespective of its conformity or nonconformity with the Islamic tenets.[2] However, the behaviour of the majority of the scholars in accepting the patronage of the sultans was in conformity with the tradition of scholarship in Hausaland since the fifteenth century.[3] There is ample evidence

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1. ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi, ᶜIda' al-Nusukh, ed. and Trans. M. Hiskett in 'Material Relating to the State of Learning Among the Fulani Before their Jihad' b.S.O.A.S., vol. XIX, 1957, pp.554.

2. M.A. al-Hajj, 'The Meaning of the Sokoto Jihad' in Y.B. Usman, op.cit., pp.7-8.

3. See Kano Chronicle, Palmer's Translation, vol. III, Lagos, 1924, p.111.

to suggest that some rulers in Hausaland like Muhammad Rumfa (1463-1499) and his contemporaries Muhammed Korau of Katsina and Muhammed Rabo of Zazzau played a great part in the spread of Islam and patronizing of the scholars in their respective areas.[1] Actually there is no evidence to suggest that there was an organized opposition in Hausaland from the ᶜUlama' to the ruling class before the outbreak of the 19th century Jihad. A likely interpretation for such a position was the absence of comprehensive frame of analysis that placed the issues at stake within a broader perspective. And that despite their strict adherence to Islam and the propagation of its ideals by them, the close association of the ᶜUlama' with the aristocracy, or fear of them, prevented them from advocating a thorough-going Islamization involving thus a socio-political system that permeates all aspects of life, including the political institutions.[2] The advocacy of such an idealogy could not be pursued by the individual ᶜAlim working in isolation. It required an organized Jamaᶜa-which the first generation did not see fit to create - that could systematically address itself to the problematics of social conduct, public affairs, state structure and political institutions. The emergence of such a Jamaᶜa was a

1. Ibid.
2. I am grateful to Dr. Saleh Abubakar for drawing my attention to this point.

direct response to the socio-political developments which started to unfold from the mid 18th century as we have indicated in the preceding paragraphs.

However, the second generation of intellectuals (the generation of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi) had realized that playing the role of an observer or accepting a mere advisory position within an un-Islamic system would not augur well for their society. Also confining one's role to mere teaching and preaching in a corrupt system would run counter to the overall interest of the Jamaᶜa.[1] Again, as Muhammed Bello had strongly put it, it was the duty of the scholar whenever he identified a system as being morally bankrupt, politically oppressive and economically exploitative to "reform immorality" "put an end to corruption" "point to learned men who in the past had not bothered to change it" or voice out their opposition to it.[2]

The third generation of intellectuals, as were those who were either born a few years before or after 1804. They were brought up within the revolutionary tradition of the Jihad and took part in both the intellectual and non-intellectual activities of the Jihad. They were composed

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1. Writings such as ᶜBayan Wujub al-Hijra and Kitab al-Farq, by Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi may illustrate this point clearly.

2. Muhammad Bello, letter to Muhammad al-'Amin al-Kanemi, extracts from Infaq al-Maysur. Trans. H.F. Smith, in Thomas Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspectives, London, Oxford and New York, 1975, p.261.

mainly of the Talaba (disciples).[1] The term Talaba in the context of the Sokoto Jihad movement goes beyond its Arabic literal meaning. It applies to what we refer to in our contemporary days as intellectuals. The character of these Talaba was moulded by the second generation of the reformer [c]Ulama' and their outlook was conditioned by the revolutionary vision. Part of their role was the propagation of the ideals of the revolution in different parts of the Caliphate.[2] Another role was taking part in the Jihad campaigns as soldiers and sometimes as army leaders. Intellectuals like Muhammad al-Bukhari b. al-Shaykh [c]Uthman b. Fudi and Muhammed b. [c]Abdullahi b. Fudi did not only take part in the Jihad campaigns but they also led some of these campaigns like the one against Nupe and Yawuri in 1238/1822/23.[3] Some of these Talaba were stationed at frontier posts (Ribats) for the purpose of checking the advance of the armies of the enemies of the Caliphate and the establishment of new settlements

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1. [c]Uthman b. Fudi, Najm al-[c]Ikhwan, MS, NHRS, p.92/1.
2. Some of these Talaba who played an important role in the proposition of the ideals of the Caliphate were personalities like [c]Asma' bint al-Shaykh [c]Uthman b. Fudi.
3. [c]Abd al-Qadir, [c]Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya,

which later functioned as centres of production.[1] Personalities such as AbuBakr al-ᶜAtiq, Muhammad al-Bukhari b. al-Shakh, Muhammad b. Abdullahi b. Fudi and ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa were members of the third generation.

ᶜABD AL-QADIR'S BACKGROUND

His full name was ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa b. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. Musa b. ᶜAli B. Jubbu b. ᶜAl b. Muhammad b. Ayyub b. Massiran.[2] As for his mother's side, his mother was Khadija bint (the daughter) al-Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and her mother's name was ᶜAisha bint Muhammad Saᶜad b. ᶜAbdAllah b. Masirran.[3] Abd al-Qadir himself gives his Nisba in one of his writings as "ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa al-Turudi by descent of origin and genealogy".[4] Sokoto biographical records are silent on the date of the birth of the

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1. Saleh Abubakar, Birnin Shehu, The City of Sokoto, A Social and Economic History, C.1809-1903, Ph.D. thesis, p.10. See also ᶜUmar Bell , The Political Thought of Muhammad Bell (1781-1837) as Revealed in His Arabic Writings, More Especially in al-Ghayth al-Wabl fi Sirat al-Imam al-ᶜAdl', Ph.D. Thesis, London, 1983, p.108.

2. Anonymous, Tarjamat Muhammad al-'Amin b. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. Muhammad b. al-Mustafa, copy in the possession of the author. And ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Sharh Manzumat 'Istilah al-Sufiyya, Mss. 192/17, p.2.

3. Ibid.

4. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Qata'if al-Jinan, p...

'doyen of Sokoto scholarship' but oral traditions gathered at Sokoto and Salame suggest that ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa (Dan Tafa) was born on the day of the Hijra of the Jamaᶜa of the Shaykh from Degel to Gudu.[1] The date of the Hijra was given as Dhu al-Qaᶜda 1218/21 February 1804.[2] However, ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa had stated that he was initiated into the Sufi path by his uncle Muhammad Sambo in the year 1234 A.H. at the age of fifteen, two years after Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi's death.[3]

ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa belonged to the Teron-Kawa group who are said to have migrated into Hausaland from Sene-Gambia in the 15th century.[4] A major pre-occupation of this group, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, was its involvement in scholarship. ᶜAbd al-Qadir's father, nicknamed Mallam Tafa, was a scholar of great standing and a close associate of Shaykh

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1. Interview; Mallam Tahir, (Salame, 25 December 1982).
2. Murray Last, op.cit., p.23.
3. Shaykh ᶜUthman is reported to have died on the 3rd Jumada al-'Akhir, 1232, A.H./1817 A.D. See ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Kushufat Rabbaniyya, NHRS p.193/2.
4. ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi Idaᶜ al-Nusukh p.552.

ᶜUthman b. Fudi. He is categorized among al-Tabaqat al-'Ula (distinguished class of the ᶜUlama') of the Central Sudan[1] who established a solid foundation for the advancement of learning in all its facets.[2] He was the scribe of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi,[3] an important office which points to his high degree of learning. Right from his youth, Mallam Tafa had identified himself with a big circle of scholars who inculcated in him the true knowledge, not only in the abstract and narrow academic sense, but in the practical sense of assimilating and practicalizing the world of reality. He was to considered to be the inheritor of the 'Ulum (sciences) of his Shaykhs. This attribute singled him out as a great teacher and shrewd researcher who endeavoured to impart to his students the art of thoroughness and meticulousness in their pursuit of learning.

It may be of interest to note here that the teachers of Mallam Tafa cut across the first and the second

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. Gidado, Bast al-Fawa'id, quoted in ᶜUmar Bello, pp.107-8.

2. ᶜAbd Allah b. al-Qadi al-Hajj, al-Taᶜrif bi al-Shaykh Mustafa b. Muhammad al-Turudi, NHRS, P.192/2, p.1.

3. Gidado b. Laima, Raud al-Jinan fi Dhikr Baᶜd Karamat al-Shaykh ᶜUthman, In U.F. Malumfashi, The Life of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and Sultan Muhammad Bello, M.A. Thesis, Abdullahi Bayero College/Ahmadu Bello University, 1973, p.41.

generations of the Jihad. Among the notable teachers and spiritual masters of al-Shaykh al-Mustafa was Shaykh ᶜAbdullahi referred to as Shaykhihi al-'Akbar, meaning his greatest master and a host of others like Ibrahim al-Qurtawi and al-Shaykh al-Sufi al-Hausi al-Katsinawi and Mohammad Sambo, the teacher of both Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi.[1] In addition to his keen interest in basic religious sciences, Mallam Tafa developed great interest in the art of history. He is said to have specialized.

> in the biographies of the earlier scholars and pious ones in addition to the knowledge of his contemporaries of scholars. He was versed in the Tabaqat (the strata) of the distinguished personalities from the time of the companions of the Prophet, their followers and the generations that followed them. The knowledge of the biography of the Jurists of different countries, specializing in keeping records of their genealogies, birth, narrators, death, way of life and Ayyama hum (social, economic and political activities) 2

He is said to have had special interest in the history of Bilad al-Sudan. His biographer claims that it was due to his vast knowledge of history and keen interest in the historical traditions in Hausaland that people were able to know so much about the historical development in this part of Bilad al-Sudan (in relation

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1. ᶜAbd Allah b. al-Qadi al-Hajj, op.cit., p.1.
2. Ibid, p.21.

to its inhabitants, distinguished personalities, the ᶜUlamᶜ and pious persons) in such elaborate detail.[1] Within the general field of history, Shaykh al-Mustafa is said to have developed special interest in the areas of genealogy (ᶜIlm al-'Ansab) and 'Ayyam al-Nas (biographies of people). These two areas of history were bound to have aroused the enthusiasm of two categories of people; the ordinary ones who would be attracted by the way in which these topics were presented and the advanced students whose understanding of the historical events would be broadened. However, we are yet to lay our hands on any historical or biographical record attributed to this personality. It may be possible that these histories were transmitted only orally to the students.

Not much has been said about the political and social activity of Mallam Tafa. But circumstantial evidence may suggest that as a disciple and a close companion of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi at Degel, al-Mustafa al-Turudi might have been an active participant in the Jihad campaigns. By virtue of his office he should have accompanied Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi in most of his movements from 1804 to 1817.

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1. Ibid.

ᶜAbd al-Qadir's mother, Khadija, was the eldest daughter of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi. Her mother was ᶜA'isha, the mother of Muhammad Sambo who died in 1827 at the age of forty seven and Muhammad al-Bukhari of Tambewwal. Khadija's contribution in the field of education included among other things, translations of some basic Islamic books into Fulfulde including Mukhtasar Khalil (d.1365-66), an advanced book on Maliki jurisprudence.[1] She also has to her credit some writings in prose and poetry.[2] Thus, she was a renowned teacher and writer in her own right.[3]

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1. Jean Boyd, The Contribution of Nana Asma'u Fodio to the Jihadist Movement of Shehu Dan Fodio from 1820-1862. M.A. Thesis, the Polytechnic of North London, July 1982. pp.123-26.

2. See Bashir ᶜUthman Ahmad 'Brief Biography of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa' in Tarihi, Bulletin of Sokoto State History Bureau, vol. 1, No. 9, n.d. p.1.

3. Khadija's career as both a teacher and a writer is a manifestation of the conscious and deliberate policy of the Sokoto Jihad movement to promote learning among women folk in the society. The Sokoto Jihad leaders must have realized that for their movement to succeed and produce desired result, their women ought to have a sound education in all fields of knowledge. Special classes were organized for the women and some of them used to attend the assembly of the Shaykh, copy or assimilate his teachings and in turn transmit his ideas to their women folk. Recent investigations have shown that there is evidence of women organization within the general framework of the Sokoto Jihad Movement. The movement of Yan Taro initiated by Nana Asma'u showed that women were organized in groups (Taruje) and that each group was to attend classes organized by the leaders of Yan Taro at regular intervals. For more information on the topic, see Jean Boyd, op.cit., pp.723-26.

Little is known about ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's early life in his home town Salame where he died and was buried at the age of sixty.[1] However, before examining ᶜAbd al-Qadir's life in Salame it may be convenient at this juncture to give a background history of the settlement of Salame and the circumstances surrounding its establishment. The settlement which is situated about 60 k.m. to the north-east of Sokoto was established as one of the Ribat settlements with the objective of protecting the centre of the Caliphate from the encroachments of the enemies of the Caliphate. Immediately after the death of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi in 1817 and with the appointment of Muhammed Bello as his successor, the Sokoto Caliphate was confronted with serious political and administrative problems. Many groups which during the life time of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi had either identified with the cause of the Jihad or grudgingly accepted the hegemony of the Caliphate had expressed their dissatisfaction with the new political arrangement under Muhammed Bello like the case of ᶜAbd al-Salam Ba'are, the leader of the Arawa group.[2]

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa who is reported to have died in 1864 was buried in his house at Salame. The house is now occupied by the village head who is also the grandson of ᶜAbd al-Qadir.

2. For a detailed discussion on this topic see Muhammad Bello, Sard al-Kalam fi ma Jara baynana wa Bayna ᶜAbd al-Salam, NHRS, p.23/1.

Others had thrown off their allegiance like the case of the Zamfarawa and Kabawa who later joined forces with ᶜAbd al-Salam's group with the determination to overthrow the Caliphate.[1] The Gobirawa who were the arch enemies of the Caliphate, continued to attack the forces of the Caliphate from their new bases to the northeast of Sokoto. The political situation in the Rima valley area after 1817 had reached an alarming state. As a historian of the Sokoto Jihad, ᶜAbd al-Qadir writes that, immediately after the appointment of Muhammad Bello as the new Amir al-Mu'minin "the whole of the Zamfara land revolted",[2] prompting Muhammad Bello to raise an army to deal with the revolt. But again in "Dhu al-Qᶜida of the same year ᶜAbd al-Salam rebelled and transgressed until the 'Amir took his town at the end of Safar".[3] Also:

> in the fifteenth year the land of Kebbi revolted; also Gunki and Gunga rebelled in the land of Gobir. The Muslims were put in fear by them. Tribulations intensified as a result of this and troubles were compounded. They defeated the Muslim armies in many battles.[4]

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, ᶜAkhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya, [illegible].
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

Commenting on the Gobir pressure on the Caliphate he states:

> in the sixteenth year, the affair of Gunga had aggravated and calamities intensified; the unbelievers rebelled against the Muslims, killing and capturing /them/. They also seized strongholds and /other towns/. And Kalambaina war broke out (verily to Allah we belong and to Him alone we will return). 1

In pursuance of his policy of finding a lasting solution to this serious threat and in the realization of the overall objectives of the political, economic and social transformation of the whole society in the Caliphate, Muhammed Bello pursued a vigorous social policy aimed at urbanizing certain areas and sedentarizing the nomadic groups. A chain of fortified settlements was built running from the southwestern sector of Kebbi through the northeast battle zone with Gobir to the eastern sector in Zamfara, Kadaye, Gwangazu, Lajinge, Shineka and Kware were selected on the frontier with Gobir. Also, Gandi and Bakura Ribats were established to protect the capital from the onslaught of the /Zamfarawa. On the frontiers with Kebbi, the sites of Binji, Inome, Tozo and Gande, Bodinga, Shageri, Dandawal and Sanyinna were chosen as Ribats.[2]

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1. Ibid, [illegible].
2. Murray Last op.cit., pp.219-20.

With regard to the pattern of settlement it is suggested that one of the consequences of the Sokoto Jihad movement was the demographic changes regarding the distribution of the population.[1] With regard to the location of the Ribats it is said that the Ribat settlements were situated on the bank of the rivers or around fertile ground.[2] This suggests that part of the objectives of setting up these settlements was to transform them into centres of agricultural and industrial production, an effective policy laid down by Muhammad Bello which in the end, yielded the desired objectives. The establishment of the Ribats and the policy of urbanization were not only restricted to the hinterland. There was a conscious plan to bring about even development in other parts of the Caliphate. In one of his messages to his Amirs, Bello advised that public amenities be provided for the people of the respective Emirates. The Amir is further advised to patronize artisans, encourage traders, tailors, farmers, dyers, physicians, grocers, butchers, carpenters and similar professions, to establish business and increase production. Part of the Amir's duty was to:

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1. Saleh Abubakar op.cit., p.14.
2. [c]Umar Bello op.cit., p.97.

> keep villages and country side in prosperity, maintain markets and roads, and realize for them all that is of public interest so that the proper order of this world may be maintained.[1]

An aspect of Muhammad Bello's social policy was the encouragement of different occupational and nomadic groups to settle in these Ribats. Breeding of camels and horses in these settlements was a major concern for Muhammad Bello. In his message to his brother Abu Bakr ᶜAtiq, Bello instructed him not to discriminate in alloting lands for cultivation. He was also implored to encourage people from different social backgrounds to settle, by indiscriminately allocating plots to them.[2]

As a consequence of Muhammad Bello's social policy to bring about social change in terms of urbanization and production, new towns are said to have sprung up as commercial and 'industrial centres'. The rapid growth and expansion of Kauran Namoda and Gusau could be cited here as an example. Garba Nadama has shown how these two centres were transformed into big towns through the abundant cotton and groundnuts cultivation and the

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1. Shehu Ya Musa, The Political Ideas of the Jihad Leaders; Being translation, editing, and analysis of 'Usul al-Siyasa and Diya al-Hukkam, pp.41-42. I have adopted the modified translation of ᶜUmar Bello, Ibid, p.1-2

2. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. Gidado, Majmuᶜ al-Rasa'il ff 20 A 22 A.

development of smithing, weaving and dyeing industries.[1] Some of the smaller settlements like Wurno were gradually expanding and assuming greater economic and political importance. In addition to its role as a second capital it continued to provide the heart of the Caliphate with its needs in terms of foodstuff and handicrafts.[2]

Perhaps one of the most notable among the newly founded towns in the northern area of Sokoto was Salame.[3] Its significance lies in the fact that it is surrounded from all directions by fertile ground.[4] Also it complemented the political role of Wurno as a great educational centre. Regarding the establishment of Salame as a Ribat, there are two suggestions; one tradition suggests that the settlement was founded by al-Shaykh al-Mustafa al-Turudi, the father of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, after taking permission from Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi. Some sources claim that after the movement of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi from Sifawa to Sokoto 1815, Mallam Tafa requested him to allot him land from

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1. Garba Nadama, 'Urbanization in the Sokoto Caliphate' 'A Case Study of Gusau and Kaura-Namoda' in Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate, ed. Y.B. Usman, op.cit., p.156.
2. ᶜUmar Bello. op.cit., p.105.
3. Ibid, p.107.
4. According to Saleh Abubakar the location of cities in the Rima Basin on the banks of the main Gulabe (rivers) dates back to antiquity, c.a.10.c. See also Umar Bello, op.cit., p.108.

which he can earn his living without necessarily depending on charity. Shaykh ᶜUthman then pointed to a place to the north of Sokoto (Salame) but he cautioned that the place was located within the leg of the G hi- sword, signifying its proximity to the danger zone. al-Mustafa accepted the challenge, by replying that he was not afraid of the Gabir sword but he was rather apprehensive of eeting from the unlawful bowl.[1] Another tradition suggests that it was Muhammad Bello who posted al-Mustafa Turudi to Salame as part of his social policies of founding new settlements around the capital. A house and school was already built before his movement to Salame.[2] This same tradition suggests that the area was marked by Bello as a grazing ground for the horses of the Caliphate.[3] However, circumstantial evidence tends to favour the second argument for apparently two simple reasons, that it was Muhammad Bello who initiated the policy of building Ribats. Secondly, Shaykh al-Mustafa al-Turudi who died in Salame on 13th Rabiᶜ al-Thani 1261/1848 was carried across the river to Wurno and was buried together with Muhammad Bello, signifying his intimate association with the Amir al-Mu'minin.

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1. Interview, Mallam Tahir (Salame, 12 August 1981).
2. Ibid. See also ᶜUmar Bello, op.cit., pp.107-8.
3. Some people were of the belief that Salame horses were inconquerable as a result of the Baraka (blessing) of al-Shaykh al-Mustafa al-Turudi.

Abd-Mustafa al-Turudi is said to have died at the age of sixty four. The burial of al-Mustafa alongside Bello carried social and political weight in a sense that he was one of the most respected 'Ulama' of the time who devoted their life to the advancement of the cause of the Jihad movement.[1]

On the function of Salame district as a fertile grazing area for the horses of the Caliphate, it has been already established that from 1804 to 1810, the Sokoto Jihad movement is said to have experienced a serious shortage of cavalry.[2] In order to effectively combat the forces of their enemies especially the Gobirawa, whose cavalry was far superior to that of the Mujahidun, there was an urgent need to 'modernize' the Jihad army. One of such ways, was the setting up of a regular cavalry force to support the infantry. Thus, the significance of the cavalry increased as a consequence of the numerous jihad campaigns in the Sokoto Caliphate.[3] The Sokoto Jihad leaders might have felt it necessary to raise enough horses to cope with the rising demand for such vital industry. Subsequently, the Sokoto hinterland did not only become self sufficient

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1. See Muhammad b. al-Wadi al-Hajj, op.cit., p.29.
2. 'Umar Bello, op.cit., p.105.
3. See Joseph P. Smaldone, Warfare In The Sokoto Caliphate: Historical and Sociological Perspective, London, New York, and Melbourne, 1977, p.32.

in horse (industry) but it turned out to be a major supplier of horses to other Emirates of the Caliphate.[1] A nineteenth century European traveller had observed in the area that "the first horses were brought from Sokkawato by Arabs; they are all entire and capable of enduring great fatigue."[2]

Thus a primary objective of establishing Salame Ribat was to turn it into one of the major centres of advanced learning or may be as 'Umar Bello suggests,

> Bello's intention was certainly to create what we term nowadays as a University town to replace Degel (a place of improving knowledge). 3

The reputation of Mallam Tafa as one of the famous scholars in the Caliphate attracted the attention of various students and scholars alike. The great number of advanced students who graduated from Salame school gives concrete evidence of al-Mustafa al-Turudi's achievement in the field of higher education.[4] Some of his students included his biographer Muhammed b. al-Hajj Muhammad al-Bukhari b. ᶜUthman b. Fudi and ᶜAbd al-Qadir

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1. ᶜUmar Bello, op.cit., p.106.
2. M. Laird and R.A.K. Oldfield, Narrative of Expedition into the Interior of Africa, vol. II, p.83, quoted in ᶜUmar Bello, op.cit., p.106.
3. ᶜUmar Bello, op.cit., p.108.
4. Muhammad b. al-Qadi al-Hajj, op.cit., pp.20-22.

b. al-Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi. We cannot determine with any precision [illegible] when ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa moved to Salame. Nevertheless we can deduce that he moved from Sokoto in company of his father to settle at the new Ribat. The evidence derived from al-Taᶜrif bi al-Shaykh al-Mustafa al-Turudi supports our conclusion that ᶜAbd al-Qadir was living in Salame before his father's death.[2] After his father's death he maintained the traditions established by his futher of teaching the advanced students.[3] Most probably, it was at Salame that the reputation of ᶜAbd al-Qadir as one of the most distinguished scholars in the Central Bilad al-Sudan with strong links to the intellectual circles outside the Rima valley area was developed. One of such contacts was made with another distinguished scholar in Zaria in the person of 'Umar Wali.[4] The exchange between the

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. In fact this tradition is still being maintained. The author's second visit to Salame in August 1982 coincided with the beginning of a new session.
4. ᶜUmar al-Wali (born in Zaria circa 1835) was a scholar of great standing in the areas of Sufism, Arabic grammar, prosody, astrology and numerology. His encyclopaedic knowledge in Islamic sciences combined with his career as Wali al-Mazalim are yet to be historically reconstructed.

two scholars on theological, legal and philosophical issues pertaining to life and death, inheritance and similar topics, garbed in a riddle form, is a manifestation not only of their academic excellence but also of their "jeu,d' spirit".[1] The style of writings of such topics could not be easily grasped by ordinary scholars due to their sophistication and complexity. By virtue of his office as an 'adviser' ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa became very influential with successive rulers of the Sokoto Caliphate. His advice was sought in matters pertaining to the appointment of new Amir al-Mu'minin, in settling disputes among the ruling elite and in defending the territorial integrity of the Caliphate.[2] If the theory that ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa moved to Salame in company of his father in Bello's time is to be accepted then it is almost certain that most of his philosophical, political and social tracts were composed in Salame.[3] It is interesting to note that while his historical writings were widely

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1. Murray Last, 'Second Interim Report on the Recovery of Arabic Script Literature of the North: Additions to the collection of Manuscripts on microfilm at Zaria' 1966-67, NHRS, Second Interim Report, April 1967, p.33.

2. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Risala ila Nuh b. Tahir, NHRS, P.192/9.

3. The recovery of most of ᶜAbd al-Qadir's writings by the author from Salame in 1982 could support this assumption.

circulating among the general public, it appears that his philosophical dispensations were confined to the restricted circle of his Sufi associates who shared with him or studied with him some aspects of these philosophical dispensations.[1]

About his immediate family life in Salame it has been established, so far, that ᶜAbd al-Qadir was married to two wives. One of his wives Khadijat al-Kubra was the daughter of Muhammad Bello, mother of Khadija, Maude, Bake and Aya. His second wife was the mother of Shehu, Sarkin Yaki, Biadi and Khali.[2] Of all his children, Maude, Masirrana and Khali are said to have followed the footsteps of their father as distinguished scholars of great standing.[3]

In 1845, the Ribat of Salame is said to have been ravaged by the forces of the Gobirawa under the leadership of Mayaki. ᶜAbd al-Qadir's library is reported to have been pillaged as a consequence of this attack. Also, some of ᶜAbd al-Qadir's household were said to have been taken into captivity.[4] Salame had also survived the attacks of the French Colonial Forces

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Tarjama li al-Shaykh Muhammad Sambo, p.1.
2. ᶜUsama al-Khayri, ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa and the Ratha'; P.G.D.E., p.14.
3. Ibid, p.15.
4. al-Hajj Saᶜid, Tarikh Sokoto, part published by Houdas, Paris, 1901, p.341. See also Jean Boyd op.cit., p.[illegible].

towards the end of the 19th century when the French occupation forces wanted to incorporate the northern parts of Sokoto into their imperial fold.

ʿABD AL-QADIR B. AL-MUSTAFA'S EDUCATION

It may be pertinent at this stage to show that one of the major achievements of the nineteenth century Sokoto Jihad was in the field of education. Education was the mainstay of the nineteenth century revolution in Hausaland. The success of the Jihad could be attributed, to some extent, to its intellectual foundation.[1] The Jihad leaders had realized from the onset the importance of spreading learning among their community. They saw to it that the entire community was well equipped with the rudiments of Islamic education. At the same time the Talaba who seem to have been carefully selected, like ʿAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, were trained in various disciplines, ranging from Quranic sciences, traditions, history, arithmetic, logic, prosody, theology, rhetoric, philosophy and similar disciplines.[2]

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1. H.F.C. Smith, A Neglected Theme of West African History: The Islamic Revolutions of the 19th Century. JHSN, vol. II, No. 2, December 1961, p.175.

2. Abdullahi b. Fudi Idaʾ al-Nusukh' pp.552-559.

With regard to the context in which ᶜAbd al-Qadir was educated, it is possible to suggest two types of education: the first was the traditional or the formal one which was established before the Jihad and continued to function in one form or the other up to the present day. The second was the informal Sufi one which was restricted to certain groups of Sufis under the leadership of his uncle Muhammad Sambo. However, the Sufi education of Dantafa differs from the traditional Sufi training of Tariqas like the Qadiriyya and the Tijaniyya which is hierarchical and formalized. It does not require permanent attachment to a Shaykh or specified times for making supplications. It is rather a sort of philosophical reflection identified by scholars as mystical philosophy. Dantafa who appeared to have joined the Sufi circle of Muhammad Sambo from the age of eighteen continued to identify himself with the way of life of this Shaykh until his death. His influence on ᶜAbd al-Qadir's thoughts was tremendous to the extent that his desire to accomplish certain intellectual activities was inspired by Muhammad Sambo.

Thus, ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa grew up within an environment of a nistory of pursuit of learning. Being a grandson of the Mujaddid and a son of highly educated parents it may be quite in order to believe that Dantafa received the best type of

education. It may also be logical to conclude that the primary responsibility of his Tarbiya was assigned to his mother Khadija who is said to have organized a school for young children of his age. Like other pupils ᶜAbd al-Qadir seems to have been brought up within the Islamic system of education, modelled along the Timbuktu pattern, which had been operating in the Central Sudan from about the 15th century. After receiving the rudiments of Islamic sciences, students who wanted to master a particular field attached themselves to a well established scholar who was already authorized by another Shaykh to disseminate such knowledge. In this way the system often referred to as master-seeking, exposed the students to different teachers who had already excelled in a particular subject or branch of knowledge.[1] We do not have sufficient evidence at our disposal to indicate whether ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa in his pursuit of learning had travelled beyond Western Hausaland. However, in his ᶜAkhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya, he showed that he visited the tomb of Muhammed b. al-Sabbagh, (Dan Marina) a seventeenth century Katsina scholar who greatly influenced the intellectual life of Hausaland.[2]

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1. Ibid.
2. The sole purpose of the visit as ᶜAbd al-Qadir puts it was for Ziyara (seeking blessing).

Although the date of the visit was not given by ᶜAbd al-Qadir, it seems from all indications that his visit to the tomb was made at a late stage of his life.[1]

ᶜAbd al-Qadir is said to have studied with his father the rudiments of Arabic language. Hadith (the traditions of the prophet) and 'Usul al-Din (the fundamentals of the religion).[2] He then moved to the second Halaqa (circle) of ᶜIlm under the patronage of his uncles, namely Muhammad Bello, Muhammad Sambo and later Muhammad al-Bukhari, probably at the age of fifteen as is the tradition in the Islamic scholarship. He is said to have studied with Muhammad Bello beside other things, the principles of Sufism and medicine.[3] Later on, he moved to benefit from the enormous knowledge of his uncle Muhammad al-Bukhari at the age of eighteen, with whom he is said to have studied al-'Imritiyya, al-Qatr and al-Khulasa.[4] A distinguished luminary to whom Dantafa paid glowing tribute in acknowledgement of both his piety and mastery of the 'sciences' was al-(Shaykh al-

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1. Ibid.
2. Muhammad b. al-Qadi al-Hajj op.cit., p.21.
3. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Tarjama li Baᶜd al-ᶜUlama; MS, NHRS, [illegible].
4. The book al-Khulasa is another name for the 'Alfiyya of Ibn Malik.

ᶜAbid) Gidado b. Ahmad Gari. He studied with him al-Kaukab al-Satiᶜ and al-Niqaya together with its commentary.[1] This Shaykh who played a major role in moulding the character of his students both morally and academically is reported to have taught ᶜAbd al-Qadir (ᶜIlm al-Mantiq) 'the Science of Logic'. Other books said to have been studied by ᶜAbd al-Qadir under the direct supervision of his Shaykh included Kitab al-Kafiya of Ibn Malik and Kitab al-'Afᶜal fi Ilm al-'Amthal.[2] Among the prominent personalities who taught ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, were al-Shaykh Maude with whom he studied al-ᶜArud al-Ramitha fi al-ᶜArud[3] (a book on prosody) and Muhammad Yaro from whom he received al-'Awrad wa al-Waza'if (Sufi litanies and prayers).[4]

The mastery of the above diverse sciences by ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa might have sharpened his intellect and broadened his world outlook. It is assumed that at the age of fifteen ᶜAbd al-Qadir had already mastered the rudimentary sciences of Islam.

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1. al-Kaukab al-Satiᶜ and al-Niqaya were written by Jalal al-Din al-Siyuti (d.1505).
2. I could not trace the book.
3. I could not identify the work.
4. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Tarjama li Baᶜd al-ᶜUlama'.

However, ᶜAbd al-Qadir claimed that by the age of fifteen he had moved from a mere receiver of 'crude' knowledge (Muqallid) to reflect on various disciplines in a critical manner with the idea of committing himself to a specific world view. Thus, as he has asserted, it is from that time that he began to conceptualize his ideas philosophically.[1]

Of all his mentors, ᶜAbd al-Qadir Dantafa appeared to have benefited most from his uncle Muhammad Sambo, who introduced him into the arena of Tasawwuf (Sufism). He rigorously studied with him the tracts of Sufis and critically reflected on them. He read with him important Sufi books such as Hikam Ibn ᶜAla'Allah al-Sakandari, (d.709 A.H.), a standard reference work on Sufism, and al-ᶜInsan al-Kami fi Maᶜrifat al-ᶜAwakhir wa al-'Awa'il (The Perfect Man in the Knowledge of the Last and the First Things), a leading work in mystical philosophy, by ᶜAbd al-Karim al-Jili (d.1528), and 'Usul al-Tariq (The Principles of Sufism), a book on the elements of Sufism as reflected by the title, of Ahmed al-Zarruq, (d.899 A.H.).[2] In addition to these, he studied with his Shaykh Muhammad Sambo by way of

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Kushufat Rabbaniyya.

2. Ahmad al-Zarruq was a famous North African Maliki scholar who combined jurisprudence with Sufism. He died at Takidan, a district of Tripoli, in 899 A.H.

Mulchatha (mutual enquiry), a number of Sufi books.[1]

It is significant to note here that in the course of his studies, which spans over more than four decades, he was able to draw a line between four categories of 'Ulum (sciences) which he had acquired through the conventional (formal Islamic education) and non-conventional (informal Sufi Tarbiya) modes of education which made him what he was. These sciences were 'Ulum al-Shari^{c}a (the Sciences of the Shari^{c}a), 'Ulum al-Haqiqa (the Sciences of Sufism), 'Ulum al-'Awliya', (the Sciences of Saints), 'Ulum al-'Asrar (the Sciences of Secrets) acquired through the methods of Tasawwuf and 'Ulum al-^{c}Asrar acquired through methods other than Tasawwuf. The mastery of the last two, differs fundamentally from that of the first two in the sense that the acquisition of the sciences of the former is the exclusive preserve of certain class of people who claim to have possessed supernatural powers, such as walking in water, flying in the air and seeing distantly located objects. Conventional sciences like prosody, grammar Bayan (rhetoric), Fiqh, Tafsir and education are lumped under the sciences of the Shari^{c}a. Equally other

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1. ^{c}Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Salwat al-'Ahzan fi Dhikr al-Khawas min Ahl Hadha al-Zaman, MS, NHRS, p.26/3.

sciences such as Medicine, Astronomy, Arithmetic, Logic and Astrology are part of the conventional sciences which Dantafa studied at one level or the other. The other esoteric sciences which Dantafa studied were ᶜIlm al-ᶜAwfaq (the science of magic squares) ᶜIlm al-Huruf (the science of the letters) ᶜIlm al-Raml (geomancy) and ᶜIlm al-'Ajfar (divination).[1]

With regard to the classification of knowledge we have been informed that in the course of his study of the sciences of the reality (ᶜIlm al-Haqiqa) Dantafa benefited from the books of 'Uluhiyat (Divinity) which focus on the essense and attributes of God together with the Sciences of Emanation and the Sciences of the Control of Spirit. He argued that the sciences of the ᶜAwliya' could not be acquired through the conventional or empirical method of research and are not subject to reasoning or rationalization. He argued that the exposition of these sciences to all and sundry will have a harmful effect on the general public.[2] Dantafa preferred not to expound on these sciences for reasons mentioned above. Instead he chose to symbolically allude

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, 'Abda' bi 'Ismi Khaliqi al-'Anwari, MS, NHRS, p.25/2.
2. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, ᶜUhud wa Mawathiq, MS, NHRS, P.192/12.pp.3-4.

to them, giving a hint as to the categories of these disciplines.[1]

ᶜABD AL-QADIR'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CALIPHATE'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY

It is important to note here that our discussion of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's attitude towards the Caliphate's educational values is restricted to the study of the occult sciences. The reason for this lies in the fact that according to our investigation it is from the mainstream Sokoto scholarship. But before delving into ᶜAbd al-Qadir's position on the occult sciences there is every need to give a brief survey of the history of the occult sciences in the Central Sudan.

We cannot determine with any precision when these sciences were first introduced into the Central Sudan. Some documentary evidence at our disposal suggests, however, that by the 17th century they were well diffused among certain class of the ᶜUlama'. Referring to the

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1. Some of these were the sciences Jadhb meaning (ecstacy), Ahwal (states or conditions), ᶜIlm al-Qidam (The Knowledge of Eternity), al-Nun (The Dot), al-Qalam, (The Pen) al-ᶜArsh (The Throne), al-Kursi (The Chair) al-Minassa (Platform or Bench) al-Sawda', (The Black) ᶜIlm al-Sidra, (The lotus tree). However, according to The Sufis, these words have got an inner meaning and that the comprehension of such is the exclusive preserve of certain class of Sufis.

intellectual climate in 17th century Central Sudan, Muhammad Bello writes:

> the learned men of these countries (i.e. Bagirmi) and of those near them were devoted to ʿIlm al-'Awfaq and ʿIlm al-Huruf and to astrology and they became so engrossed in their quest and avidity for these sciences that they completely abandoned the science of the Book and Sunna and the Shariʿa in their preference for the (rewards of this) world. 1

In fact long before the Jihad, some scholars in certain areas of the Central Sudan, like Bagirmi, such as Muhammad al-Wali b. Sulayman, had drawn the attention of their people to the danger of studying such 'harmful' ʿUlum (sciences). He went as far as criticising ʿUlama' al-Su' (the venal ʿUlama') who, according to him, preferred the emphemeral to the more beneficial acts and considered the acquisition of the occult sciences such as ʿIlm al-'Awfaq a means of accumulating wealth and deceiving the people. He implored the people of

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1. Muhammad Bello, Infaq al-Maysur p.5 as translated by Louis Brenner in his 'Three Fulbe Scholars in Bornu', paper presented to the Table Ronde: les Agents Religieux Islamiques en Afrique Tropicale, Maison de sciences de l'Home, Paris, 15-17 December 1983, p.7. It is interesting to note here that despite his condemnation of these sciences Muhammad Bello had written a book titled al-Kitab al-Kafi fi ʿIlm al-Jafr wa al-Khawafi, dealing with the effects of the supernatural forces which determine human destiny. The book is written in a form of codes and arithmetical calculations to be uncoded by the masters of these sciences.

goodwill to shun these psuedo-scholars whose aim was to corrupt the society and distort the true image of Islam.[1] However, sharp criticism against ᶜUlum al-'Asrar and their exponents by certain class of the ᶜUlama' did not have a serious effect on some intellectuals who ventured to explore this 'curious' field of knowledge. The case of Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Katsinawi al-Fullani (d.1741) could be cited here as an example. He is reported to have excelled in ᶜUlum al'Asrar and to have written abundantly on this subject. The fame of this scholar as an expert in ᶜUlum al-'Asrar spread beyond the boundaries of the Central Bilad al-Sudan into Egypt and the Haramyn (Mecca and Medina).[2] al-Katsinawi is reported by al-Jabarti al-Saghir to have written many works on various branches of the esoteric sciences: astrology, Talisman, 'Ilm al-Huruf and 'Ilm al-'Awfaq. These subjects were taught by al-Katsinawi in Cairo to his students including al-Jabarti al-Kabir.[3]

One of the serious problems which confronted the Sokoto Jihad leaders in their endeavour to reform their

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1. Mohammad Bello, Infaq al-Maysur, p.7. See also Louis Brenner, op.cit., pp.7-8.
2. ᶜAbd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, ᶜAja'ib al-ᶜAthar fi al-Tarajim wa al-ᶜAkhbar, vol. 1, Cairo, 1960, pp.31-33.
3. Ibid.

society, was how to deal with this type of ᶜUlama' who not only made a living out of these sciences but confused the masses with their claim of possessing super-natural powers and ability to bring good and inflict harm on people. They replaced the Yokoye of Kasar Hausa who hitherto manipulated both the spiritual and political life to their own advantage. Tempted by the seemingly extraordinary power of this class of ᶜUlama', the Sarakuna of Kasar Hausa seem . to have incorporated them into their courts, seeking their prayers and protection against their foes. Conscious of this anachronism, the Jihad leaders had endeavoured to destroy the legitimacy of such claim and advised people to address themselves to the most fundamental aspects of their religion. Thus, the claim of those ᶜUlama' that they possessed the knowledge of forecasting the future (ᶜIlm al-Ghayb) was condemned as heretical. Realizing the harmful effect of these sciences Shaykh ᶜUthman states:

> O Brethren, beware of the unlawful acts like Talisman, incantation (spell) and the use of ambiguous terms whose meaning is not known. Also (beware) of writing the name of Allah, the Quran, names of the prophets for love and hatred or any witchcraft meant for bringing good and warding off evil. The magicians would never succeed. 1

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1. ᶜUthman b. Fudi, Wathiqat al-ᶜIkhwan li Tabyin Wujub/ Hibbaᶜ al-Kitab wa al-Sunna wa al-'Ijma wa Dalil Iltinaᵊ al-Bidaᵊ liman Yudin bi Din al-Islam, MS, MHRS, p.94

The same stance was reiterated after the death of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi. It appeared that some of the ᶜUlama' were benefiting from such a profession which normally appeals to weak-minded people and which usually flourishes in a society where ignorance predominates. In his Tanbih 'Ahl al-Fuhum ᶜala wujub Ijtinab 'Ahl al-Shaᶜdhba wa al-Nujum, Muhammed Bello warned his community against indulgence in abominable practices such as magic and astrology.[1]

It is interesting to note at this juncture that despite the 'crusade' launched by the Sokoto Jihad leaders to do away with sciences that promote superstitious tendencies and help in perpetuating corruption and in manipulating political power at the expense of the real ᶜIlm, there is no indication that the study of these ᶜUlum had been completely erased from the society. This is not to deny the fact that the 19th century Jihad movement in the Central Bilad al-Sudan partly owed its success to the Jihad against ᶜUlama' al-Su' and their world outlook. The Jihad leaders went as far as banning the circulation of many books that perpetrated confusion in the minds of the readers or because of their deceptive nature.[2]

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1. Muhammad Bello, Tanbih al-Fuhum, NHRS, K.4/2.
2. Muhammad Bello, Infaq al-Maysur, p.50.

It may be convenient here to consider why Dantafa, contrary to traditions of the Sokoto Jihad leaders, delved into the area of esoteric knowledge. Also what was his primary objective of studying these subjects? Although it is difficult to answer such a question outrightly we are obliged to offer two explanations for such a departure. The first is that during the formative period of the Jihad and in the course of the Jihad campaigns on the social and political issues, the Jihad leaders wanted the Jama'a to lay emphasis on the social and political issues and attempt to answer them within the framework of the Shari'a which is simple and straight forward. Therefore they could not afford delving into the abyss of disciplines, like astrology, to determine whether or not a particular incident would take place at sucha and such a time; or whether the movement of one of the planets from 'house' will determine the fate of a particular ruler or dynasty. They came down to earth to address themselves to relevant concrete socio-political issues which determine the movement of history. Another likely interpretation for the rejection of these sciences by the early Jihad leaders is that their harmful effects outweighed their benefit. It has been the general belief within the 'Amma that certain supernatural powers could be manipulated to create social dis-equilibrium within a particualr house or social setting.

However, after the success of the Jihad and the establishment of the Caliphate, some intellectuals and in this particular case, ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa might have felt that their intellectual ambitions and academic curiosity could not be satisfied within the boundaries of ᶜUlum al-Shariᶜa.[1] Other aspects of knowledge especially the 'hidden' ones had to be explored with the intention of understanding the position of man in relation to other beings and the influences of certain climatic changes on human beings. To them, there should be some sort of 'organic unity' between man and the universe and the only possible way of understanding this unity is to comprehend these sciences, their negative effects notwithstanding.[2]

With regards to the object of studying such disciplines ᶜAbd al-Qadir was of the view that he has done that out of sheer intellectual curiosity and in order to satisfy his personal ambition as an intellectual who was searching for the truth. Acknowledging the relevance of esoteric sciences for intellectual investigation and alluding to his mastery of these

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa had explicityy expressed his apprehension and admitted the danger of studying such 'prohibited' sciences in his ᶜUhud wa Mawathiq, p.3.

2. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, al-Tafadul Bayna Jinsay al-Malak wa al-Bashar, NHRS, TP.1973

sciences, ᶜAbd al-Qadir took upon himself not to reveal their secrets but to special confidants of his. The rationale behind such a position is that the popularization of these disciplines may divert the attention of people from pursuing the 'traditional' sciences which are of more use than the 'esoteric sciences'. He further pointed out that by the study of these sciences he did not intend to manipulate them to acquire position or material benefit.[1]

ᶜABD AL-QADIR AND THE SOKOTO POLITICAL POLEMICS

An attempt will be made here to outline the nature and extent of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's involvement and participation in the political affairs and administration of the Sokoto Caliphate. From the onset, it is pertinent to note here that during his intellectual and later political activity ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa did not assume any official position.[2] It is difficult at this stage to explain the motivation behind such a stance. A more likely interpretation for Mustafa's 'rejection' of accepting a political office might be found in his orientation, first and foremost

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, ᶜUnun wa Mawathiq,

2. In this regard Dantafa was also following the footsteps of his father Mallam Tafa who restricted his role to that of a teacher only.
Interview: Wazir Junaid, Sokoto, August 15, 1980.

as a Sufi. Secondly, the influence of his Shaykh Muhammed Sambo who advocated, in principle, retirement from participation in public or political activity might be responsible for such a position.[1] However, there is ample evidence to suggest that Dantafa was actively engaged in the politics of the Sokoto Caliphate,[2] mainly as an adviser. As an adviser he used to operate from three bases namely Sokoto and Wurno where the residences of the Amir al-Mu'minin were and from his hometown, Salame.[3]

It seems from all indications that one of the earliest evidence of ʿAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's involvement in the politics of the state was to difuse the tension that arose between two schools of thought,

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1. See chapter III, p.

2. Interview: Mallam Tahir, Salame, 26 December 1981. See also al-Hajj Saʿid, Tarikh Sokoto, p.200.

3. Although Abd al-Qadir's official residence was at Salame, he had two houses one in Sokoto and the other at Wurno. The last two operated as 'Dual' capitals for the administration of the Sokoto Caliphate. This policy was first initiated by Muhammed Bello and followed by his predecessors. Some of the descedants of ʿAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa still live in Sokoto near Sultan Bello's mosque.

   See Bashir Osman Ahmad, 'A brief Biography of ʿAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa with summaries of his works' Tarihi, Bulletin of Sokoto State History Bureau, op.cit., p.2.

one supporting Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and the other towing the line of his brother ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi. The tension which outlived the two Shaykhs seems to have reached its peak by the time ᶜAbd al-Qadir began to contemplate writing on the issue.[1] Although there is no specific date for the writing of such an exposition, internal evidence suggests that it was written during Muhammad Bello's time.[2]

Before examining ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's position on the issue it may be pertinent to summarize the major points of disagreement between Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and his brother Abdullahi b. Fudi with a view to placing them in their real perspective. The overthrow of the Sarauta system in Hausaland, and the capture of Alkalawa, the capital of the Gobir Kingdom which continued for some time to resist the onslaught of the Sokoto forces before it was finally captured in 1809, marked a turning point for the future development of the Sokoto Caliphate. The victory of the Mujahidun had marked an end to the first phase of establishing a viable administrative structure that was supposed to sustain the Islamic values and ideals as advocated by

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1. Dantafa's position on the whole issue is reflected in his Masa'il al-Ikhtilaf MS, NHRS, p.88/5.

2. I am extremely grateful to Dr. S.A. Gwando of Sokoto University for clarifying this point to me.

the Mujahidun. In the process of laying the foundation structure for the maintenance of Dar al-Islam in the second peri d of the Jihad which began in 1810, the Sokoto Jihad leaders were confronted with serious administrative problems. One of such problems was how to recover the property of the Muslims which their enemies had captured during wars.[1] It is on record, that in the course of fighting with their adversaries before the fall of Alkalawa, property belonging to the Mujahidun and their ally of the Tuwarig were confiscated by their enemies. The situation became so confused to the extent that Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi was prompted to instruct his Qadis and Muftis to judge and give verdict that any practical investigation into the ownership of the disputed property would complicate issues further.[2] By then, it was Shaykh ᶜUthman's position that the fall of Alkalawa should be considered a dividing line before which no case could be established.[3] On the other hand, ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi took the position that he could not see any logic in adopting the fall of Alkalawa as a dividing line in legal decisions. He criticised the position of certain judges and Muftis who considered

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1. M.H. al-Masri ed., Bayan Wujub al-Hijra (unpublished thesis, Ibadan 1968) p.89.
2. Ibid, p.89.
3. Bayan, p.31.

the fall of Alkalawa to be a yardstick for passing judgement or issuing fatwa.[1]

Another thorny issue which cropped up after 1810 and on which opinions differed was the problem of titles to be adopted by various functionaries. Before the overthrow of the sarauta system, Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi took a firm position against the adoption of unbelievers titles such as Kukinan, Goladima, 'Uhandawaki, Zagi and Barga.[2] This revolutionary stance was later reversed by Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi after the success of the early phase of the Jihad. Shaykh ᶜUthman might have felt that a total rejection of political and public office would defeat the overall objectives of the Jihad, in a sense that it would appear incomprehensible for some people to totally break with institutions with which they were acquainted for more than a generation.

> There is no harm in using the terms (al-'Alfaz al-Madhkura) Khilafa, Imama, Wilaya, Saltana and Mulk, as titles for Muslim rulers because these have come from the Qur'an and the Traditions. If they were not allowed as titles for Muslim rulers they would not have been mentioned in the Shari'a. In themselves these titles do not imply praise or censure. Praise and censure comes from their association. 3

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1. Ibid, See also Abdullahi b. Fudi, Diya' al-Sultan MS, NHRS, p.91/2.
2. ᶜUthman b. Fudi, Kitab al-Farq ed. and trans. M. Hiskett, BSOAS, Vol. xxii, part 3, 1960, p.569.
3. ᶜUthman b. Fudi, Nujm al-'Ikhwan MS, NHRS, p.91/2.

This position of Shaykh ᶜUthmān b. Fudi was seriously challenged by his brother who argued that categories such as Mulk, Saltana are not accepted in Islam, and that the recommended terms for the designation of the new political structure of state were Khilafa and 'Imara.[1] ᶜAbdullahi's consistency might have been influenced by his position as a lawyer who feels it is not proper to change a political system and at the same time adopt its political vocabulary. The transformation of the society from non-Islamic into Islamic, required the renunciation of the kingly titles and their replacement by new ones to reflect the true ethics and social values of the Caliphate.

The issue of magnificent appearance of the political leaders and government officials (Iqamat al-Suwwar) with the intention of deriving maximum satisfaction from people was a bone of contention between Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and his brother Abdullahi b. Fudi. It was Shaykh ᶜUthman's view that although such a habit was alien to Islam which calls among other things, for humility, ascetism and sacrifice, yet certain circumstances might necessitate the adoption of such a practice.[2] The reason for Shaykh ᶜUthman's

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1. ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi, Diya' 'Uli al-'Amr wa al-Mujahidun MS, NHRS, p.29/8.

2. Najm al-Ikhwan.

position on the issue of the magnificent appearance might be rooted in the social fabric of the political culture of the inhabitants of Hausaland who were impressed by the magnificent appearance of their rulers. Challenging this position, Abdullahi b. Fudi was of the idea that his brother's opinion did not hold water, for the simple fact that the Muslim community in their days were not in need of such a practice and what was needed most at that crucial period was piety on the part of its Imam.[1] Associated with the above discussion were crucial issues pertaining to the permissibility or otherwise of the temporary wearing of clothes ornamented with gold and silver acquired during wars with the enemies of the Jihad and the question of adherence to one or more than one Madhhab. On the question of the wearing of clothes, while he re-emphasising the position of the Shari^{c}a on this issue, Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fudi held the view that the temporary wearing of these types of clothes is permitted in rare occassions such as the expression of gratitude to Allah for humiliating the enemies of Islam.[2] Abdullahi's position on this issue was also different from that of his brother. He relied on the interpretation of the Maliki Madhhab that none of the scholars of this school had permitted such an act.[3] On

1. Ibid.
2. Bayan p.87.
3. Diya al-Sultan, [illegible].

the relevance of the Madhahib it was Shaykh ᶜUthman's view that in the process of achieving the overall objectives of the Shariᶜa, it is possible to rely on the opinion of the minority to the exclusion of the legal opinion or position of the established authority (al-Jumhur).[1] But here too, Abdullahi argues that since the official Madhhab of the Sokoto Caliphate was the Maliki Madhhab, it became imperative to strictly adhere to the teachings of that Madhhab; not only that but it is expedient to abide by the opinion of the established authority of the Jamhur.[2] The change in Shaykh ᶜUthman's attitude had been attributed to his desire to relate idealism to the reality of the situation in the light of changing time and circumstance. The Shaykh would have realized that the survival of the Sokoto Caliphate as a political entity, surrounded as it was by unfriendly forces, depended much on its ability to adjust and accommodate certain ideas which were not strictly speaking in line with orthodoxy.[3] According to Shaykh ᶜUthman

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1. ᶜUthman b. Fudi, Tauqif al-Muslimin ᶜala Hukm Madhahib al-Mujtahidin alladhina Kanu min Ahl al-Sunna al-Muwaffaqin U.I, 82/398.

2. ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi, Diya' al-Siyasat wa Fatawa al-Mawazil mimma huwa fi furuᶜ al-Din min al-Masa'il, MS, NHRS, P.88/4.

3. Mahmud Tukur, Values and Public Affairs: The Relevance of the Sokoto Caliphal Experience To The Transformation of the Nigerian Polity, Ph.D., A.B.U. Jan. 1977, p.46.

> it was a mistake to cling to past judgements and practices of the Prophet and the Companions when the existing situation differs from their own and that necessity makes permissible what is prohibited. 1

On the other hand, Abdullahi b. Fudi felt that such an adjustment was unjustifiable in the context of the time in which they were living. What was needed was a committed and sincere leadership to accomplish the ideals for which they fought.[2]

As I have mentioned earlier in this chapter the debate between the two leaders of the Sokoto Jihad movement had taken a serious turn to the extent that something akin to 'parties', one supporting the Shaykh and the other Abdullahi, were formed.[3]

With the death of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and the accession of his son Muhammad Bello in 1817 the Sokoto Caliphate had vigorously pursued the policy of liberalization and pragmatization of the administration of the state.[4] This development provoked the puritan group into condemning publicly what they termed as a 'revisionist' policy. The polarization of the polemics

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1. Ibid, p.468.
2. Diya' al-Sultan.
3. The position is clearly brought out in M.M. Tukur, op.cit., p.469.
4. See for example, his Shifa' al-'Asqam fi Dhikr Madarik al-Ahkam, MS p.10/1.2 and Shams al-Zahira fi Ahl al-ᶜIlm wa al-Basira, NHRS, p.58/4.

which led to sharp division within the Sokoto community but particularly the intellectuals after the death of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and his brother Abdullahi b. Fudi prompted ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa to intervene, with a view to defusing the tension which was bound to divert the community from pursuing its goals. He summarized these polemical issues in a pamphlet titled Masa'il al-Khilaf; explaining the nature and giving the background of the whole 'conflict'.[1] He enumerated the basic points of disagreement between Abdullahi and his brother. These points were bearing mainly on legal and administrative problems. Apparently the main object of the memo was to defend Abdullahi's position against the seemingly hostile criticisms of some Talaba, warning them against arbitrary judgement:

> I have clarified these problems for what I observed from the Talaba of the blind and arbitrary rejection of ᶜAbdullahi's view because of (his) disagreement with the Shaykh [ᶜUthman]. 2

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1. See Kitab al-Masa'il op.cit., It is interesting to note here that Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi has mentioned ten points of disagreement between him and his brother Abdullahi b. Fudi in a Fulfulde work which was later translated into Arabic by ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa under the title al-Fawakih al-Diwani. According to Wazir Junaid when ᶜAbd al-Qadir reached the age of twelve Shaykh ᶜUthman has predicted that one day his grandson ᶜAbd al-Qadir will translate and elaborate on these points. Interview: Wazir Junaidu, Sokoto, December 25, 1981.

2. Ibid, p.13.

However, despite this strong statement, Dantafa acknowledged the unique position of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi as a Mujaddid whose interpretation of the Shariᶜa would normally differ from other jurists. Yet to Dantafa, Abdullahi was right because his argument was located within the confines of the Shariᶜa[1]

ᶜABD AL-QADIR'S PARTICIPATION IN THE JIHAD WARS

It is important to note here that ᶜAbd al-Qadir's involvement in the affairs of the Caliphate was not confined to intellectual activity. Thus, he was not simply an intellectual who took a back seat to watch events unfolding or writes abstract academic dispensation. There is every indication to show that he was actively engaged in the military campaigns of the Caliphate against his adversaries. This involvement was a manifestation of his commitment to the objectives of the Jihad movement and his ardent desire to defend the territorial intergrity of Dar al-Islam. His active involvement could be gleaned from his poetical and historical writings[2] as an eye witness to the political

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1. Ibid.

2. 'Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya is a practical demonstration of this statement. See also Ghazwat Dakurawa MS, NHRS, 192/7 and Waqᶜat Daura. NHRS, 9.25/5.

events which took place at the time. One of Muhammad Bello's major pre-occupation after his election as the successor to his father was how to deal with the rebellious forces of the Kabawa, Gobirawa, Zamfarawa and Katsinawa who threw off their allegience to the Sokoto Caliphate. Muhammad Bello is said to have devised various mechanisms to deal with these rebellions and consolidate his power base. One of such devises was to organize military campaigns against the adversaries of the Sokoto Caliphate. In this bid to check the threat of the Gobirawa, Muhammad Bello launched an attack on Dakurawa, one of the strongholds of Gobir. It is evident that, due to the stiff resistance of the Gobirawa the Sokoto forces failed at least, three times to defeat the resisting Gobir forces.[1] Probably it was during the fourth battle that the Sokoto forces succeeded in penetrating the ranks of the Gobirawa inflicting heavy losses on them. Although the date of the battle of Dakurawa was not given, there is evidence to suggest that the final battle of Dakurawa took place after the year 1823.[2] It seems from all indications that the victory of the Jihad forces in the battle of

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1. ʿAkhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya, The English Translation, p.

2. The third battle of Dakurawa took place in the year 1238/1822-23. See Akhbar.

Dakurawa was of great significance to the Mujahidun. It broke the back-bone of the Gobir forces and eased the pressure on the Caliphate. The occassion was celebrated by ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, who participated in the battle, in a relatively lengthy poem extolling the bravery and superiority of the Jihad forces over their adversaries.[1] One of the objects of composing the poem was to inform Muhammad al-Bukhari who was not present at the battle, to share with them the joy of this decisive victory.[2] Dan Tafa informs us in his poem that the Gobirawa casualities were too high and that two of their leading generals were killed in the battle of Dakurawa.[3] Another decisive encounter which tilted the balance of power in favour of the Jihad forces was the battle of Daura in Zamfara area. In this battle the Mujahidun defeated the combined forces of the Gobirawa and the Katsinawa of Maradi who formed an alliance against the Sokoto Caliphate.[4] The failure of the combined forces of the Gobirawa and the Maradawa to regain their lost territories and their subsequent defeat by the forces of the Sokoto Caliphate after the

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1. Ghezwat Dakurawa, pp.1-2.
2. Ibid, p.2.
3. Ibid, p.1.
4. Waqᶜat Daura, NHRS, p.26/6,p.1.

initial setbacks which they suffered prompted one of the poets of the Caliphate, ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa to enthusiastically recall the events in a captivating manner, boasting of the formidability of the Sokoto forces and belittling the supposedly greater numerical strength of the alliance.[1]

THE EMERGENCE OF ᶜABD AL-QADIR AS A DISTINGUISHED POLITICAL PERSONALITY

The personality of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa as a respected political figure who influenced events in the Sokoto administration began to emerge, immediately after the death of Muhammad Bello and the accession of his brother AbuBakr al-ᶜAtiq in 1837.[2] The absence of a well defined procedure of successorship after the death of Muhammad Bello had posed a problem for the king-makers to initially choose between two candidates, namely Abu Bakr al-Atiq and Muhammed al-Bukhari b. al-Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi. There is evidence to suggest that following the death of Muhammed Bello, Ali Jedo had emerged as a power broker. His influence had surpassed other king-makers like the Wazir Giddo b. Laima, Doshero, al-Qadi al-hajj and the Imam of the Mosque Babikir.[3]

1. Ibid.
2. Tarikh Sokoto, p.200.
3. Ibid, p.200.

Ali Jedo's power and influence derived from the fact that he as 'Amir al-Juyush had wielded great authority within the political set up of the Caliphate right from the time of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi. This influence was carried through the Caliphate of Muhammad Bello. Initially it was Ali Jedo's choice to install Muhammad al-Bukhari the strongest contender for the office of the Caliphate.[1] It would appear that the reason for such a development might not be unconnected with the fact that Ali Jedo's decision was partly motivated by his desire to pacify Abdullahi's 'party'. The opposition to this also came from no person other than ᶜAli Jedo's son Abu al-Hassan who was destined to succeed his father as the Commander of the army after his death. Abu al-Hassan might have sensed that the coming of al-Bukhari to the centre would probably have minimised his chances of becoming the Commander of the army. It was at a meeting in Nupe that Abu al-Hassan voiced his opposition to the selection of Muhammad al-Bukhari as the new Amir al-Mu'minin and as he had said

> As for me I will not go to pay allegiance to Muhammad al-Bukhari in the presence of ᶜAtiq and the sons of Bello. 2

This position by Abu al-Hassan seem to have been influenced by the interest of some elders of the Fulani

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid, p.199.

Clans like Ardo, Moloje and Sahsab who kicked against removing the authority from the house of Inna Garka, the mother of Muhammad Bello and Abu Bakr al-Atiq.[1] Yet, it was the determined view of Amir al-Jaysh Ali Jedo to install Muhammad al-Bukhari as Bello's successor. Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's role was to go to Tambawal to persuade his uncle to come to Wurno for 'screening' and possible election. According to al-Hajj Sa'id, it was ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa who brought his uncle on the back of the horse. On his way to Wurno Muhammad al-Bukhari is said to have fallen off the horse and sustained some injuries. This incident, according to al-Hajj Sa'id had disqualified him from becoming the successor to Muhammad Bello.[2] After this incident the King-makers decided on Abu Bakr al-ᶜAtiq as the new Amir al-Mu'minin.

However, even after the appointment of Abu Bakr al-ᶜAtiq as the Amir al-Mu'minin, there was strong public opinion in favour of Muhammad al-Bukhari especially from the Eastern Emirates. This is evidenced by the fact that when the various leaders of the Eastern Emirates came to pay homage to the new Amir al-Mu'minin, Abu Bakr ᶜAtiq had delegated Mudegel one of his close aids to take the homage on his behalf. This seemingly

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1. Ibid, p.199.
2. Ibid, p.200.

strange decision is said to have been taken by ᶜAtiq on the advice of Mudegel himself who told him that

> people are in favour of al-Bukhari and that if you go out [to meet the Eastern Amirs] without getting the Bayᶜa they will seize the opportunity to pay him [al-Bukhari] the allegiance. 1

Mallam Tafa's towering personality did not allow his son ᶜAbd al-Qadir to play a significant role during Atiq's time. It was not until his father's death in 1261/1845[2] that Abd al-Qadir's personality as one of the most distinguished and highly respected intellectuals started to emerge. There is every indication to show that Mallam Tafa was not all that satisfied with the performance of Abu Bakr al-ᶜAtiq with respect to the general conduct of the Jihad wars and matters relating to consultation with Ahl al-Hall wa al-ᶜAqd.[3]

PROTECTION OF THE INTEGRITY OF THE SOKOTO CALIPHATE

By 1840 ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa had emerged as unrivalled intellectual probably in the whole Caliphate with a considerable influence among the general public

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1. Ibid, p.202.
2. al-Taᶜrif bi al-Mustafa al-Turudi, p.29.
3. Tarikh Sokoto, pp.204-205.

but particularly the Talaba.[1] His fame as an intellectual par excellence had spread far and wide, to areas outside of the effective control of the Caliphate. This development had coincided with the Ahmad Lobbo al-Masini's (d. 1846) attempt to bring the Sokoto Caliphate under his domain. It is important to note here that during the lifetime of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi, Ahmad Lobbo had paid allegiance to Sokoto by subordinating his state to the Sokoto Caliphate.[2] But immediately after the death of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi, Shaykh Ahmad Lobbo unilaterally broke the Bayᶜa on the pretext that Masina was too distant from the seat of administration in Sokoto or sometimes by arguing that the jurisdiction of the Caliphate had ceased to reach his domain since the time of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi.[3] However, up till 1826,

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1. The German traveller Heinrich Barth who acknowledged the fact that he benefited a lot from Dan Tafa's enormous knowledge has recorded that before his meeting with Dan Tafa, his attention was drawn by some of his acquaintance that Dan Tafa was "the most learned of the present generation of the inhabitants of Sokoto and from whom he assured me, I should not fail to obtain what information I wanted". See Heinrich Barth, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa 1849-1855 Vol. III, London, 1965, p.86.

2. See Fonds Brevie, MS. 7, IFAN, Dakar quoted in C.C. Stewart's 'Frontier Disputes and Problems of Legitimization: Sokoto - Masina Relations - 1817 - 1837' JAH, xvii, 4 (1976), pp.497.

3. Ibid, p.509 - 10.

Muhammad Bello who dismissed Ahmad Lobbo's claim as untenable, considered Masina to be part and parcel of the Sokoto Caliphate.

Faced with internal and external threats which threatened to undermine his authority, Muhammad Bello was influenced into accepting, however grudgingly, Masina's independence.[1]

The issue of the subordination of Masina had cropped up again during the reign of Abu Bakr ʿAtiq. 'Hot' messages were exchanged between the two leaders on the constitutionality or otherwise of Ahmad Lobbo's unilateral decision and the legality or illegality of having two Imams at the same time. It had been ʿAtiq's decision that the location of Masina from Sokoto did not necessitate the break of the Bayʿa. On the other hand, Ahmad Lobbo argued that the remoteness of Masina from Sokoto was a sufficient legal excuse for having two leaders.[2] In the end, the Sokoto Caliphate had to recognize Ahmad Lobbo as an independent ruler, over Masina.

There is every reason to believe that Ahmad Lobbo's political ambition went beyond the 'recognized'

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1. Ibid, p.519.
2. C.C. Stewart, 'Diplomatic Relations in Early Nineteenth Century West Africa' 'Sokoto - Masina - Aasoubad Correspondence' in Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate, ed. Y.B. Usman, Lagos and New York 1979, pp.414-415.

boundaries of Masina. His political ambitions went to the extent of declaring himself as the twelfth and the last Caliph, destined to appear in Jilad al-Takrur as pre-destined by the Prophet.[1] Ahmad Lobbo had pursued his claim of being the last Caliph of Islam vigorously. He went as far as manipulating some historical writings to prove his point. He solicited the support of some prominent Sufi Shaykhs like Alfa Nuh b. Tahir. Alfa Nuh is believed to have conferred al-'Awarad al-Qadiriyya al-Mukhtariyya on the leaders of the Sokoto Jihad movement on behalf of al-Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kabir al-Kunti. He is also reported to have lived for 120 years and to have died in 1278/1857-58. Before his death Alfa Nuh was busy campaining for Shaykh Ahmad Lobbo al-Masini as the promised twelfth Caliph of Islam who would usher the coming of the Mahdi.[2]

Masina propaganda activity extended to the Sokoto Caliphate of which it was part after the break of the Hijra. It was through the office of Alfa Tahir b. Nuh that Ahmad Lobbo al-Masini attempted to approach and enlist the support of the 'doyen of Sokoto scholars, 'Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa. This was done through

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1. 'Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Risala ila Alfa Nuh b. Tahir MS, NHRS, p.192/19. Most likely the letter was written during Abu Bakr Atiq's reign.

2. A.A. Batran, 'An Introductory Note on the Impact of Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kunti (1729-1811) on West African Islam in the 18th and 19th centuries JHSN, Vol. 6, No. 4, June 1973, pp.350-351.

despatching letters to ᶜAbd al-Qadir. Thus, according to ᶜAbd al-Qadir, he received more than a letter from Ahmad Lobbo seeking his support for his claim.[1] It was when Ahmad Lobbo's message fell on deaf ear that he cultivated the office of Alfa Nuh b. Tahir to legitimise his claim.[2] The gist of Alfa Nuh's argument as could be gleaned from Dantafa's reply is that Shaykh Ahmad Lobbo al-Fulani was the twelfth Caliph. He would be succeeded by the Mahdi. [He cited Tarikh al-Fattash and al-Imam Jalal al-Din al-Siyuti's indication to Askia al-Hajj Muhammad in Egypt that the true and just Caliphs who would rule after the Prophet, spread over unspecified period, are twelve, five of them would appear in Medina, two in Egypt, one in Sham (Syria), two in Iraq. All these have already passed and the remaining two would appear in Bilad al-Takrur.[3]

In his reply to Alfa Nuh b. Tahir Dantafa, first questioned the authenticity of the Hadith purported to have been relied upon by al-Imam Jalal al-Din al-Siyuti. Dantafa verified from the source which Alfa Nuh is

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Risala ila Nuh b. Tahir, p.192/19. It is unfortunate that we could not lay our hands on Ahmad Lobbo's letter to ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa. Nor did we see Dantafa's reply to Shaykh Ahmad Lobbo.

2. It is unfortunate to note here that we are yet to lay our hand on Alfa Nuh's letter to ᶜAbd al-Qadir Dantafa..

3. Risala ila Nuh b. Tahir, p.192/19.

believed to have relied upon i.e. Tarikh al-Khulafa' of al-Siyuti. His conclusion was that it is true that the Imams are twelve as mentioned rightly by Alfa Nuh b. Tahir but the twelfth as reported by al-Siyuti will be the Mahdi, a fact which both the Qadiri Shaykh and his mentor Shaykh Ahmed Lobbo had deliberately suppressed.[1] Dantafa did not stop at that but he went to the extent of proving that the Hadith itself was quoted by different authorities in different ways. One of such Riwayat is the one narrated by Imam Muslim thus

> this affair of the people will progress as long as they are ruled by twelve men.

Another tradition mentioned by al-Bazzar is that

> the affairs of the 'Umma will continue flourishing until twelfth Caliphs have passed; all of them will come from the Quraysh [tribe].

According to Dantafa, Abu Da'ud had narrated the Hadith in the same way with slight modification that

> when the Prophet went to his house, the Qurashite came to him and asked 'then what will follow after?' He replied 'chaos'. 2

Furthermore Dantafa went as far as citing the interpretations of the Hadith by various scholars such as al-Qadi ʿAyyad who opined that these twelfth Imams are spread over unspecified period at the time of the strength of Islam. al-Siyuti himself argued along the

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.

line that what is meant by the existence of twelfth Caliphs is that their reigns and spread over the whole period of the perpetuation of Islamic rule.[1]

> This is what al-Siyuti has mentioned in his book Tarikh al-Khulafa' and he has stated that the Mahdi is the twelfth Caliph, because he would definitely be the last. But you, oh, brother Nuh have made Shaykh Ahmad to be the twelfth. Either you claim the Mahdiyya for him, inspite of the fact that it contradicts the characteristics of the Mahdi by way of description and location or you delete the Mahdi from the [whole] number ... 2

Mustafa discussed also the possibility that Ahmad Lobbo could be counted among the Khulfa/'Ulama' i.e. the Mujaddids. His rejection of this claim is based on the following Hadith that

> the Messenger of Allah (P.B.U.H.) said that Allah will send to his 'Umma at the head of every century a Mujaddid who would renew for it the religion. 3

He concluded that Ahmad Lobbo was for certain not one of these Mujaddids because historically he would not belong to the twelfth or the thirteenth century Hijra and because one of the conditions governing the advent of a Mujaddid is that he would appear at the end of every one hundred years during which his reformist ideals will be appreciated and he would then survive the beginning of the century that follows it. It is interesting to

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

note here that Dantafa did not dismiss al-Siyuti's prophesy to Askia al-Hajj Muhammad but he attributed the prophesy to what he termed as the 'restricted Caliphate' distinguishing it from the absolute one. It is Dantafa's view that there is no legal or technical objection to assuming such an office.[1]

'Abd al-Qadir's uncompromising commitment to the preservation of the integrity of the Sokoto Caliphate prompted him to accuse Ahmad Lobbo of transgression and rebellion against the constituted authority of the Sokoto Caliphate. In his view, Ahmad Lobbo's subversive move was aimed at undermining the cohesiveness and the security of the Sokoto Caliphate.

> Because it is [tantamount] to inciting people to throw off the Bay'a of their Imam and it is meant to drive a wedge within the Muslim 'Umma which is prohibited by Islam. 2

In his desire to fulfil his ambition as the twelfth Caliph of Islam, Ahmad Lobbo had succeeded in winning the support of one of the most influential Sufi Wali in Shinqit[3] who is said to have instructed his followers to back Ahmad Lobbo's claim.

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. The name of this Sahrawi Shaykh is not mentioned in the letter. It is possible that he was one of the leading Kunta Shaykhs.

> Then if his /the Sahrawi Shaykh/ order was based on Kashf or the like from the ways of 'Ittila'at (spiritual revelation) then the Kashf is not legally binding (for us). 1

DISSATISFACTION WITH THE CALIPHAL AFFAIRS

It appears from 1845 to 1859 there was a new upsurge of resistance against the Sokoto Caliphate, from the Gobirawa, Maradawa, Kebbawa and Zamfarawa. The Sarkin Gobir under the leadership of Mayaki had pressed as far as the Gates of Sokoto. In 1845, during Ali b. Bello's tenure of office, the Gobirawa attacked the Ribat at Solome. That was a great blow to ᶜAbd al-Qadir because his library was destroyed and some of his women-folk were taken captive by Mayaki's forces.[2] The situation had reached such a dangerous extent that the leading 'Ulama' had gathered in Sokoto's mosque with a view to deposing Aliyu b. Bello for his 'inefficient' handling of the affairs of the Jamaᶜa.[3] This development gave chance to some intellectuals and products of the Jihad like ᶜAsma' bint al-Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi to reflect on the glorious past and lament the bitter situation in which the Jamaᶜa had found themselves. A comparison between the ideals of the Jihad and the 'deteriorating' situation had been made with a view to

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1. Risala ila Nuh b. Tahir.
2. Tarikh Sokoto, p.209 and Jean Boyd, op.cit., p.100.
3. Jean Boyd, p.101.

reviving the spirit of the Jihad vision seem to have been warning.[1]

ʿAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa seems to have been greatly disturbed by the new political development around him. He went further than 'Asma' to assess the performance of the Caliphate administration after the death of the triumvirate. His evaluation and subsequent dissatisfaction with the overall performance in the Caliphate was visualised by him in an 'Utopia'. However, this Utopia was not expressed in a direct manner but in a symbolic form. His mastery of mystical philosophy helped him to conceal his criticisms in Sufi symbolism that gave him the freedom to evaluate the progress of the Jihad right from its formative stage.[2] ʿAbd al-Qadir's Utopia was reflected upon, according to him, in a vision. We are told by Dantafa that he was visited in the dream by a close companion of his who used to frequent him from time to time. This companion has removed him from the physical to the spiritual world and has shown him an inhabited area and brought him to a well constructed town which had no equal at that time. He ushered him through the eastern gate, full of light and full of secrets. Dantafa was overwhelmed by the

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1. Ibid, p.103.
2. ʿAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Musamarat al-Habib wa Musayart al-Sahib, MS, from the private collection of Wazir Junaid, copy in the possession of the author.

wonders of this city for according to him he had never come across such a beautiful scene in his life. But the main problem with this city was that its inhabitants were poor without political leaders. It is assumed that Bantafa's symbolic political portrait was a reflection of the pre Jihad situation: The prosperity of the city could refer to the level of material development attained by the Hausa States. The absence of Amirs (political leadership) may represent the need for political reform under a new leadership which would espouse the cause of social justice.

In his Utopia, ᶜAbd al-Qadir expressed people's ardent desire for a reform movement which will provide the city with a new Amir

> who would take care of its affairs and reform its decadent condition and puts its house in order.1

One of the greatest problems which faced the city was the shortage of water and springs.[2] The inhabitants of the city continued to live under such a hard condition until God had finally sent to them a man with the name Shams al-Din[3] (the light of religion) who

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1. Ibid.
2. In the language of the Qur'an water is sometimes referred to as a source of vitality and fertility. "We made from water every living thing" Qur'an xxii:30.
3. Sham al-Din may refer to Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi as an acknowledgement of his great impact on his society.

reformed their conditions and the country of [corruption] and enriched its people.[1]

The above symbolic statement may be an implicit reference to the emergence of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi as a Mujaddid who was destined to purify Islam and reform people's condition. We are also told by ᶜAbd al-Qadir that this Muhammad al-Din had ordered the establishment of a market in order to display the goods he brought and the treasures he was given. Then when the market was established he provided it with grains and water-skins full of water. We are also informed by ᶜAbd al-Qadir that people rushed to carry these many thousand water-skins with which they irrigated gardens, constructed buildings and achieved the desired objectives.

It could be inferred from ᶜAbd al-Qadir's vision that the establishment of a market is a symbol of the founding of the Sokoto Caliphate and the display of goods and treasures refer to the values and ideals of the Sokoto Caliphate which later transformed people's life until the objectives of the Caliphate were achieved The demise of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi was symbolically[2] alluded to as a 'stepping down from pulpit', thereafter, people

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1. Nusamert al-Habib.
2. Ibid

> continued to drink from the cups of happiness and eat from the tables of joy until sunset and our market became empty.[1]

What ᶜAbd al-Qadir meant by this statement it would seem, was that the ideals and the objectives of the Caliphate continued to be sustained until such a time when things started to go wrong and subsequently 'the market became empty'. Dantafa makes reference to a minority group which pursued the ideals of the Jihad and continued to uphold the teachings of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and in this respect he might be referring to Abdullahi b. Fudi's group with which he was intellectually identified.

The period that followed Shaykh ᶜUthman's reign (i.e. Bello's time) was described by ᶜAbd al-Qadir in a favourable manner. To him the whole trouble started with the death of Bello who following the footsteps of his father refused to appoint any candidate as his successor before his death. The country was divided between two factions referring to ᶜAtiq and Muhammad al-Bukhari his favourite candidate, while one of these traders was genuine the other was a fake one. However, disappointingly the people refused to follow the genuine trader who was selling fish[2] and whose major concern was

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1. Ibid.
2. Fish may refer to genuiness according to Sufi visions.

'compilation', 'authorship', 'editorship' and 'writing' of books.[1] As for the second trader he succumbed to the pressures of his people.

> and brought out to them jars and water-skin and tantalized them with lightening and clouds. [2]

In this respect ʿAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa may be referring to the succession problem that initially preoccupied the thinking of Ahl al-Hall wa al-Aqd after Bello's death in 1837. The seemingly unhealthy position of the Caliphate was compared to a salty and 'bitter water', In another development he likened it to a water-skin, full of scorpions and snakes[3] signifying the harmful effects of accommodating the values of the pre-Jihad era. In the end the second trader had ordered his people to empty and loot the baskets but they found its water had already turned bitter and they condemned such a deceitful act. This metaphorical expression of

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1. This may be a reflection of ʿAbd al-Qadir's commitment to serious scholarship as a criterion for electing a Caliph. It is also a reflection of leadership quality which al-Bukhari had and Atiqu lacked. It was also generally known within the Sokoto intellectual circles that al-Bukhari surpassed Atiqu in learning.

2. In ʿAbd al-Qadir's Sufi expressions lightening and clouds may signify the ephemiral nature of things.

3. According to the interpreters of dream, snake symbolizes the enemies.

Dan-fo may refer to some people's disappointment with the conduct of the affairs after the death of the triumvirate. The outcome of this unhealthy development in the opinion of Dantafo is that

> the foam Zabad has melted away and the mirage was gone. Here they are: being wound and tortured by his scorpions and snakes. Yet they refused to desert his market or vomit out the /bitter/ water which destroyed their hearts. [1]

The above value-judgement is a clear manifestation of Dantafo's position on the detrioriating situation in the Sokoto Caliphate. Yet he did not allow pessimism to colour his vision. He intuitively conceived of a bright future for his ideal city. This would take place in the language of ʿAbd al-Qadir after the complete destruction of the two markets by the two traders.

> It was /only/ then that permission would come from the greatest Caliph to establish a very prosperous market.

One of the characteristic features of ʿAbd al-Qadir's utopia is that it is iron that will be the only marketable commodity in the area.[2] Dantafo did not give any clue as to when and by whom this market will be established.

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1. Musamart al-Habib, op.cit.
2. Ibid. Iron in this context may signify the might of specific political system.

Symbolism and political metaphor is a common feature in Arabic literature. This style is normally adopted when the political system is too repressive or when for one reason or the other the author wants to remain anonymous.[1] It is difficult at this stage to explain why ʿAbd al-Qadir resorted to this type of writing. One likely reason is the fact that open expression of his political ideas might have aggravated the political tension and widened the gap between the two schools of thought. He preferred to hide behind his mystical vision to inform people of the reality of the situation in the Caliphate linking the present to the past and predicting the future on the basis of this reality.

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1. Kalila wa Damina of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ could be cited here as an example for its symbolism.

CHAPTER II

SUFI TRADITIONS IN HAUSALAND BEFORE 1837

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SUFISM

Before examining the origin and development of Sufism in Hausaland it may be pertinent to focus first on the etymological origin of the concept of Sufism with a view to locating it within the historical development of Islam. It is also important to reflect however briefly on the factors that gave rise to Sufism.

Of the several views expressed about the etymological root of the word Sufi, the most popular one of which claims that the word is derived from al-Suffa (bench), a platform in the mosque of the Prophet at Medina where ascetic groups, during the time of the Prophet, identified as Ahl al-Suffa, were living. A major characteristic of this group was that they were poor, and dispossessed, devoting all their time to meditation. A prominent member of this group was Abu Hurayra, the famous narrator of the Hadith (Traditions of The Prophet).[1] Another interpretation of Sufism given by some sources is that the word Sufism is derived from Suf (wool) and

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1. See ᶜUmar b. Muhammad b. ᶜAbdullahi al-Sahrawardi, ᶜAwarif al-Maᶜarif published on the margin of Ihya ᶜUlum al-Din of al-Ghazali, Cairo, 1939, part I, p.338.

referred to the habit of the Sufis of wearing frocks made of wool.[1]

Although it is not the intention of this chapter to discuss in detail the doctrines, teachings or the essence of Sufism, it may be pertinent at this point to throw some light on its basic teachings. One of the characteristic features of Sufism is the complete devotion to the worship of Allah, the shunning of the luxury of life, the pursuit of an austere life, rejection of material world and seclusion from people for the purpose of meditation.[2]

Often the Jurists and the Sufis disagree on the interpretation of certain doctrinal teachings of Islam, especially those which are likely to be interpreted in various ways such as the ecstatic experiences of the Sufis, the 'hidden' meaning of Dhikr (remembrance of Allah) and the spiritual visions which some Sufis claim to experience. The Jurists are quick to point out the heretical tendencies believed to be inherent in the Sufi doctrinal teachings. On the other hand, some Sufis claim that there are two meanings for everything: one which is apparent and could be easily comprehended by

1. Abu al-Qasim ʿAbd al-Karim al-Qushayri, al-Risala al-Qushayriyya, Beirut, n.d., p.127 and R.A. Nicholson, The Mystics of Islam, London, pp.3-4.

2. al-Sahrawardi, op.cit., p.318 and Ibn Khaldun, Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldun, Cairo, n.d., p.467.

every one and another which is hidden and could be understood only by the Sufis through mystical experience.[1] That the Sufis believe in their superiority over the non-Sufis, and particularly the Jurists, is shown in the Sufis' reference to themselves as Ahl al-Haqiqa (Owners of the Truth) and to the Fuqaha' (the Jurists) as Ahl al-Shari^{c}a (Owners of the Shari^{c}a). The attainment of ^{c}Ilm al-Haqiqa according to the Sufis could only be possible with the proper grasp of ^{c}Ilm al-Shari^{c}a. Ahmad Amin attempts a rationalization of the position of the two groups by asserting that, in their perception of things the Jurists depend on logical dispensation and reasoning; while on the other hand, the Sufis rely for their comprehension of the reality, upon Dhauq (Taste), vision and 'Ilham (Inspiration) which cannot be subjected to either apparent logic or reasoning.[2] With regard to the conflict between these two schools of thought, in most cases, the rulers sided with the Fuqaha' against the Sufis. This may have been because, first Sufi teachings normally lay stress on ascetism, withdrawal from active life, abstention and these doctrines normally run counter to the aspirations of the establishment. Second, the genuine Sufis recognize only one authority: that of God and they

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1. Ibn Khaldun, p.99.
2. Ahmad Amin, Zuhr al-'Islam, vol. II, 1977, pp.58-59.

believe that their participation in public but active life may corrupt them and take them away from God. They also believe that divided loyalty to Allah and to the rulers will contradict the basic doctrines of the Sufis.[1]

Thus, many Sufis were considered heretics or infidels for the ideology they professed and some of them, like Husayn Ibn al-Mansur al-Hallaj (d.309/921), were even crucified by the establishment on the basis of their deviations from the basic laws of the Shari'a. The 'ambiguous' terminologies employed by the Sufis in their description of events is partly responsible for these accusations.[2]

It was not until the second century of Hijra (8th century A.D.) that Tassawwuf (Sufism) was transformed from its simple stage of ascetism into Sufism with a defined objective and it was from that time that the individual ascetics came to be identified with Sufism.[3] It is believed that the first person to be given the term Sufi was the eighth century famous Sufi scholar Jabir b. Hayyan of Kufa who is reported to have professed an ascetic doctrine of his own. It is also believed that Sufi tendencies became popular with some people after

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1. Ibid, pp.61-62.
2. al-Sahrawardi, op.cit., p.321.
3. Ibn Khaldun, op.cit., p.79.

the expansion of Islam into the Persian Empire, India and other parts of the world which were in the past under the control of the Byzantine Empire. The exposure of muslims to the cultures of these Empires resulted in the rise of different schools of Sufism with bias towards the doctrines such as the Nirvanna and incarnation which were prevalent in the area before the coming of Islam. It is assumed that certain Sufi doctrines such as the doctrine of 'divine love' were influenced to a greater extent by 'oriental mysticism'.[1] It is also said that the doctrines of 'emanation' illumination, gnesis and ecstasy characteristic of Neoplatonics found their way into 'Islamic mysticism' (i.e. Sufism) through the mystical experiences and dispensations of Dhual-Nun al-Misri who as a theosophist combined both philosophy and alchemy.[2]

Theosophist teachings are believed to have been coloured, to a large extent, by Buddism and Zorastrianism. The Sufi doctrine of Fana' (passing away) into the Divine Being is believed to have been dictated by the Indian Nirvana.[3] Although one is not denying the fact that various cultural trends and old religious and

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1. R.A. Nicholson, The Mystics of Islam, p.149-156.
2. Ibid. See also Ahmad Amin, opcit., p.58.
2A. A. Arberry, Suffism: An account of Mystics of Islam, London, 1979, p.66.
3. See The Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. IV, under the rubric Tasawwuf.

philosophical schools of thought might have influenced the outlook of the Muslim Sufis, yet 'Islamic Mysticism' is distinct from other types of mysticisms and ascetics in both its objectives and perception.

It is said that Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid dynasty, became the centre of Sufism after (250/864). Also in the fourth century A.H./tenth century A.D. Muslim thought was said to have been influenced greatly by Greek philosophy. The pseudo theology of Aristotle, with platonic idealism, had profoundly conditioned the expositions of the Islamic mystical philosophers. By the 4th/10th century Sufism had already been shaped into a form of an order, with a systematic and formalized set of 'rituals' and a defined 'code of conduct' and approach. The theoritization, rationalization and exposition of the teachings of the Sufis by the theorists of Sufism went side by side with this new historical development. Among the pioneer theorists of Sufism were Abu Sa^{c}id Ibn al-'Arabi (d.341/952) and Abu al-Nasr al-Sarraj (d.378/988). They had expounded their ideas in Kitab al-Luma^{c} and Tabaqat al-Nussak respectively.[1] An interesting book which survived and which explains the doctrines of the Sufis is Kitab al-Ta^{c}rruf li Madhhab Ahl al-Tassawwuf of AbuBakr al-Kalabadhi (d.390/1000).

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1. Unfortunately Tabaqat al-Nussak, the title of which indicates its biographical bias, has not survived.

This work is described by some authorities as an apologia and rationale of the doctrine of the Sufis, more or less.[1]

By the 5th/11th century Sufism had become firmly established and well spread in many parts of the Muslim world. A prominent product of that century was Abu al-Qasim al-Qushayri (d.465/1072). His al-Risala al-Qushayriyya is noted by many scholars as a standard work on the concepts, doctrines and technical vocabulary of Sufism.[2]

The world had to wait until the 6th/12th century to witness the establishment of great Sufi orders that continued to spread for a considerable length of time up to our present day. The Qadiriyya Order founded by Shaykh Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani (d.561/1166) was probably the most widespread and the one with the greatest impact on many people.[3] Perhaps, by that time, the urgent desire to gather the scattered and isolated groups into a broad based Tariqa paying allegiance to a common master with a defined set of 'Adhkar and 'Awrad (litanies) might have arisen.

Since the initial stages of its development, the Qadiriyya brotherhood succeeded in gaining an appreciable

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1. A. Arberry, Sufism, p.69.
2. al-Risala al-Qushayriyya
3. The impact of the Qadiriyya Tariqa on the life of many people in different parts of the Muslim World has still not been properly assessed.

number of Muridun in many parts of the Muslim world and particularly in India. A likely explanation of this phenomenon may rest with the fact that the Qadiriyya teachings rigidly conform with orthodox Islam. Another explanation is that its doctrine does not condone any incarnationist tendencies, characteristic of some schools of Sufism. Finally, the teachings of Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Qadir al-Jaylani are believed to be grounded in the Qur'an and the Traditions of The Prophet.[1]

A second Order of no less significance that emerged was al-Sahrawardiyya founded by Shihab al-Din ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbdAllah al-Sahrawardi (539-632 A.H.). al-Sahrawwadi's teachings, labelled a 'model of the orthodox moderation', enjoyed the patronage of some rulers and his ᶜAwarif al-Maᶜarif is a standard reference work of the Order.[2]

Another Sufi Order, the Shadhiliyya, was founded in the Maghrib by Shaykh Nur al-Din Ahmed b. ᶜAbd Allah al-Shadhili (593-656 A.H./1196-1258 A.D.). al-Shaykh al-Shadhili is reported to have gathered a large following around him in Tunis at the beginning of his Sufi life. His influence on his following prompted the authority in his area to harass him and he fled to Egypt where he met with success and his Order flourished not only in Egypt and North Africa but also in Arabia.[3]

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1. A.J. Arberry, Sufism, p.85.
2. See ᶜAwarif al-Maᶜarif and A.J. Arberry Ibid, pp.85-86.
3. Ibid. p.86.

Subsequently, the number of the Sufi Orders increased to hundreds but most of them were branches of the other Orders.

Students of Sufism have been able to distinguish two types of Sufism which developed out of Islamic mysticism. These are: (i) the Mystical philosophy and (ii) the non-mystical philosophy (the traditional). The non-mystical philosophy has been further subdivided into Salafi Tasawwuf (al-Tasawwuf al-Salafi) and the orthodox Tasawwuf (al-Tasawwuf al-Sunni). Both the Salafi and orthodox Tasawwuf are recognized by the orthodox Sunni to fall within the main stream of Islam. In contrast to this, the mystical philosophy school is considered as anti Islamic in both content and form and to have been influenced by various trends such as the extremist Shi^{c}a doctrines.[1] Furthermore, the mystical philosophy is regarded as a negative move as far as the beliefs of the Muslims are concerned, in contradistinction to the true spirit of Islam as represented by the Salafi and Sunni Islam.[2]

It has been suggested that the Salafi Tasawwuf had emerged out of the theological school of Muqatil b. Sulayman (d.150 A.H./767 A.D.). This school finally

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1. ^{c}Abd al-Qadir Mahmud, al-Falsafa al-Sufiyya fi al-^{c}Islam, Cairo, 1966/67, pp. dā, wau and Sad. These letters are Arabic equivalent of the Roman figures.

2. Ibid.

matured in the rationalist school of al-'Imam al-Harawi al-'Ansari (d.481 A.H.).

As regards the Sunni Tasawwuf, it is assumed that it was first conceived by 'Ahl al-Bayt (the family of Caliph ᶜAli), crystalised at its initial stage by al-Muhassibi (d.243 A.H./857 A.D.) and then broadened by the school of al-Junayd (d.297 A.H./909 A.D.). The advent of al-'Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d.505 A.H./1111 A.D.) and his school, which extended through the Shadhiliyya school, marked a turning point as far as Sufism is concerned in the sense that the Sunni School of Sufism had already taken its proper shape and it began to play a prominent role in history.[1]

Before moving to the next point it is important to elaborate a bit on the teachings of al-'Imam al-Ghazali whose doctrine had a great impact on the thinking of the Sokoto Jihad leaders. It is assumed that the greatest gain ever made by the Sufis was the conversion of Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali Hujjat al-Islam (The proof of Islam) from an orthodox theologian and Faqih into a Sufi in the last ten years of his life when he voluntarily relinquished his job as a juris-consult and retired into Sufism. One of the main features of the teachings of al-Ghazali was his ability to harmoniously reconcile Sunnism with Tasawwuf. al-Ghazali's philosophy, his

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1. Ibid, p. Sa and Za.

conception of both the spiritual and the material life are succinctly expatiated by him in his magnumopus, Ihya' ᶜUlum al-Din(Revival of Religious Sciences) regarded as the greatest religious book composed by a Muslim.[1] Epistemological and theological issues as well as inward meanings of ᶜIbadat were thrashed out in the book. Equally, matters relating to social relations and habits as well as the mystical training of the Murid are outlined in the book. Other disciplines treated in the book, are 'psychology', spiritual experiences and escatology (Meditation and Recollection of death), to mention only a few.[2] It was probably the teachings of al-Ghazali that saved most of the Sufis the embarrassment of deviation and Zandaca (Heresy) ascribed to them in the past by the jurists.

The most deviationist school of Sufism in the eyes of Sunni scholars is the school of mystical philosophy represented by Sufi philosophers such as al-Bistami (d.261 A.H./874 A.D.) al-Hallaj, Ibn al-Farid (d.632 A.H.) Ibn al-'Arabi (d.638 A.D.) and ᶜAbd al-Karim al-Jili (d.832 A.H./1428 A.D.).

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1. A.J. Arberry, Sufism, p.81.

2. See Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, Ihya' ᶜUlum al-Din, four vols., Cairo 1939. See also A.J. Arberry, Sufism, pp.82-83. The importance of al-Ghazali as far as this study is concerned, stems from the fact that his teachings were seriously reflected upon by the 19th century Jihad leaders in Hausaland and are said to have influenced their thoughts. Extracts and summaries of his teachings are spread in the Jihad literature.

Probably, the most famous of the mystical philosophers whose teachings made a great impact in the arena of mystical philosophy was Muhi al-Din Ibn 'Arabi. His theory of pantheism (wahdat al-Wujud) had generated a lot of discussion in the circle of both the Sufis and the jurists. Born in Mercia (Spain) 560 A.H./1165 A.D. and after studying, the basic sciences of Islam (ᶜUlum al-Shariᶜa) Ibn al-'Arabi enrolled into the path of Sufism in Tunis. He travelled far and wide in the Mashriq (East) to Hijaz, ᶜIraq, Asia minor and Syria and later died in Damascus. He was noted as a prolific writer whose writings range from four hundred to five hundred works.[1] The most outstanding among which are al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya and Fusus al-Hikam. The school of mystical philosophy reached its apogee with the advent of ᶜAbd al-Karim al-Jili, the exponent of the theory of al-'Insan al-Kamil (The Perfect Man). It is believed that this theory was first professed by al-Hallaj, modified by Ibn al-ᶜArabi to suit his doctrine (of the Unity of Being) and fully developed and expounded later by Abd al-Karim al-Jili[2] in his al-'Insan al-Kamil fi Maᶜrifat al-'Awakhir wa al-'Awa'il (The Perfect man in

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1. See A.J. Arberry, Sufism, p.60.
2. ᶜAbd al-Qadir Mahmud op.cit., p.95. Nicholson, Studies, p.77 and A.J. Arberry, Sufism, p.1 and 8.

the knowledge of the last and the first things).[1] It is interesting to note here that al-Jili had acknowledged in al-'Insan al-Kamil, the leadership of Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Qadir al-Jaylani by referring to him as 'our Shaykh'. This attitude may suggest that al-Jili was a member of the Qadiriyya brotherhood.[2] Thus, to al-Jili, the Perfect Man acts as a link between God and the world and that he is not confined to a particular age or restricted to specific time. The Perfect Man is a Khalifa whose source of illumination is God.[3]

SUFISM IN NORTH-WEST AFRICA

Although it is not possible at this juncture to draw a dividing line between the Mashriqi (eastern) and Maghribi (western) Sufism regarding orientation, goals, the social and political conditions that influenced each, it appears from all indications that it was the orthodox type of Tasawwuf that flourished mostly in North Africa in contrast to the Mashriq where various schools of Sufism, ranging from the moderate to the extreme, were to be found. For instance we have no evidence at our

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1. A detailed discussion on some controversial ideas advanced in the book as they relate to ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's school of thought will follow subsequently.

2. R.A. Nicholson, Studies, pp.81-82.

3. ᶜAbd al-Qadir Mahmud, p.595.

disposal to explain why the theory of Wahdat al-Wujud failed to get adherents in the Maghrib despite the fact that its progenitor was of Andalusian background. A satisfactory explanation of the introduction of Sufism in North Africa, believed to have started in the eleventh century A.D., is also lacking. Historians of Sufism attribute the strong influence of the 'moderate' Sufism of personalities like Ibn al-Qasim al-Junayd (d.910), al-Ghazali and ᶜAbd al-Qadir al-Jaylani to its conformity with the teachings of the Maliki Madhhab, the predominant school of jurisprudence in Northwest Africa to date.[1]

Regarding the political role of the Sufis it is believed that some Sufi leaders in the Maghrib played active roles in politics, in contrast to some Sufi leaders in the Mashriq who advocated a total or partial withdrawal from life and secluded themselves in their precincts, in the conviction that if the Shaykhs of Zawiyas got entangled in the politics of the day, they would expose themselves to manipulation and corruption. The Sufi leaders' active and sometimes 'radical' role in West Africa was manifested in their taking part in

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir Zabadia, The Career and Correspondence of Ahmad al-Bakkay of Timbuktu; An Historical Study of his political and religious role from 1847-1866, Ph.D. Thesis, London, 1974, p.341.

the affairs of state.[1]

The period 14th-19th century, considered in many circles as a period of stagnation and disintegration of the Islamic State, was marked by an active Sufi resurgence in North Africa.[2] The establishment of Zawiya (enclosures) in different areas but especially in the remote borders had facilitated considerably the spread of Sufism. The Zawiya acted as a centre of initiation, indoctrination and propagation of the teachings of a particular Tariqa.[3]

The spread of Sufi Orders from North Africa into West Africa followed the introduction of Islam and the Maliki Madhhab which started centuries before the coming of Sufism. Yet the exact date of the spread of Sufi teachings could not be determined with any precision. It is worth noting that the Shadhiliyya Tariqa which was originally initiated in the Maghrib did not make a significant breakthrough in West Africa. The influence

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1. For instance, the Kunta's of Timbuktu were involved in the politics of the Niger Bend especially in the mid-19th century. The Sokoto Jihad leaders who were Qadiris also participated fully in the politics of the day. A third example is the Jihad of 'Umar Al-Futi who established a state based on the doctrine of the Tijaniyya Tariqa.

2. See Zabadia, op.cit., p.332.

3. J. Spencer Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, Oxford, 1959, p.93 and Ibid, p.332.

of the Shadhiliyya was only confined to the area of Futa Jallon. Its influence was subsequently undermined by the advent of the Tijaniyya in that area and was subsequently absorbed into the Tijaniyya Tariqa. A likely explanation for this 'strange' development may lie with the fact that after its initial advent in the Maghrib, its leader Abu al-Hassan al-Shadhili and probably his followers were harassed by the rulers in the Maghrib and forced to migrate to the East where they met with success. By the time the movement started to make a come-back the Qadiriyya Order had already become popular with the people in the area. The second likely interpretation is that there was a lack of missionary zeal by the Shaykhs of the Tariqa to propagate its teachings in certain parts of West Africa. The non-patronage by the 'ruling elite' might have also hindered the rapid spread of the Tariqa in the rest of Bilad al-Sudan. It could also relate to the 'complexity' of the doctrinal teachings of the Shadhiliyya or its nonconformity with the established ethos in that part of the world. It is interesting to note here that in 1883 the presence of Shadhiliyya was noticed in Kano. Its introduction into Kano is believed to have been made possible through the trans-saharan trade routes that led into Tripolitania and Egypt.[1]

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1. J. Spencer Triningham op.cit., pp.96-97. See also Uba Ahmed 'Some Notes on the Influence of North African Traders in Kano'. Kano Studies, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1968, p.45.

It is believed that the Qadiriyya Tariqa made its first inroads into West Africa from North Africa most likely in the sixteenth century. The proximity of the two regions coupled with continual communications among their inhabitants is said to have paved the way for the exchange of commodities, and Islamic ideas like Sufism. The proponents of the Qadiriyya in West Africa were mainly the Kunta Shaykhs of Timbuktu who played a vital role in the spread of the Qadiriyya in the Niger bend and Hausaland.[1]

By the seventeenth century, the Qadiriyya Order began to spread rapidly in the middle Niger. The actual consolidation of the Tariqa before the advent of the Tijaniyya did not take place until the second half of the eighteenth century. The shaping of the Tariqa in an organized form was attributed to Shaykh Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kabir al-Kunti (d.1811).[2] He is said to have formulated his own 'version' of al-Qadiriyya al-Mukhtariyya. This was done by adding from his own, some (Awrad and Ahzab to those of al-Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Qadir al-Jaylani. This blend of two thoughts distinguished al-Kunti's approach to Sufism from other

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1. Zabadia pp.327-328.

2. A.A. Batran, 'An Introductory Note on the Impact of Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kunti (1729-1811) on West African Islam in the 18th and 19th centuries' JHSN. Vol. vi, 4, 1973, pp. 347-350.

branches of Qadiriyya Tariqa in the rest of the world.[1] The teachings of al-Mukhtar al-Kunti contained in his numerous writings laid special emphasis on self-mortification. Another important point emphasised in the teachings is that the higher state of perfection could only be achieved with the guidance of a devout Shaykh from whom spiritual direction could be received and who acts as a model "which frees his murid from sensual passion and takes him to the Divine presence".[2] Through the encouragement of his Talamidh to take active part in the social life, Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kunti added a new dimension to Sufism. He made it known to his followers that Zuhd (ascetism) cannot be attained by detachment from the world 'but in emptying the heart of desire from the world'.[3] The life of mendicity was denounced by al-Kunti who advised his followers to seek lawful means of livelihood. Hence, the role of Qadiriyya was practically transformed by his teaching from a private and secluded pursuit into a popular movement embracing all categories of people irrespective of their status or social backgrounds.

The teachings of al-Qadiriyya al-Mukhtariyya are reported to have been diffused in other parts of the

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1. Ibid, p.347.
2. Ibid, p.348.
3. Ibid, p.349.

western and central Bilad al-Sudan, mainly through the active role of Zawiya. The agents of proselytization were the spiritual disciples and some of the founders of the Tariqa. It was not long before the teachings of al-Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kunti had covered a vast area extending from Azwad - Timbuktu region on the Niger bend cutting across Ahir down to Hausaland. The areas of Southern Algeria, Southern Morocco and Mauritania became strongholds of al-Qadiriyya al-Mukhtariyya and as Batran puts it

> The wide range of territories which Sidi al-Mukhtar's influence emcompassed would surely be the largest area ever to come under the influence of African Muslim without military conquest. 1

THE IMPACT OF THE QADIRIYYA ON SOKOTO JIHAD LEADERS

There is the general belief among some people in Hausaland, but particularly in Kano, that the Qadiriyya brotherhood was introduced into Hausaland towards the end of the fifteenth century by Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Karim al-Maghili al-Tilimisani, the famous North African scholar who visited Hausaland and played the role of adviser to the Sarki of Kano Muhammad Rumfa (1463-1499). However, this 'popular' tradition is not substantiated either by empirical or by circumstantial evidence. A cursory look at the extant writings of Shaykh Muhammad

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1. Ibid, p.349.

b. ᶜAbd al-Karim al-Maghili like Taj al-Din fima Yajib ᶜala al-Muluk believed to have been written for Muhammad Rumfa and 'As'ilat al-'Askiya wa 'Ajwibat al-Maghili will suggest that the subject matters of the two tracts are jurisprudence, politics and administration. Taj al-Din is a work on how best the ruler could administer his domain in accordance with the tenets of the Shariᶜa, fight corruption, develop and control effective state machinary and be accessible to people.[1] As for 'As'ilat al-'Askiya wa 'Ajwibat al-Maghili, and as its Arabic title may suggest, it is a jurisprudence of the administration of state put in the form of question and answer, to assist Askia Muhammed, the ruler of Songhay to rule his country according to Islamic ethos.[2] Another evidence that will disprove the notion of the introduction of the Qadiriyya by al-Maghili is that we are yet to come across any Sufi writings attributed to him. Also, at the time of the visit of al-Maghili to Hausaland Islam was not firmly established to warrant the introduction of a discipline like Sufism which requires higher degree of intellectualism. What was needed at that time was the introduction of simple form of rituals based on the foundation of Tawhid rather than a complex philosophy which may complicate the

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1. A.M. Kani, 'The Rise and Influence of Scholars in Hausaland', al-Muntaqa, Vol. III, 9, No. 1, p.52.

2. See John Hunwick, Shariᶜa in Songhay: The Replies of al-Maghili to the questions of Askia al-Hajj Muhammad, ed. and trans. Oxford, 1985.

understanding of Islam by the people.[1] In the opinion of the present author, the efforts of al-Maghili in purifying Islam and the reformist ideas he sold to the rulers of Kano and Katsina, might have been confused with the introduction of Qadiriyya which, from all indications, was introduced some centuries later. However, this is not to dismiss the fact that elements of Tasawwuf in the life of the people of Hausaland and Borno have been traced long ago without reference to Qadiriyya.[2]

We could not also lay our hands on concrete evidence about the possible date of the introduction of the Qadiriyya Tariqa into Hausaland. But the spiritual genealogyand the chain of authority of Shaykh Uthman b. Fudi confirm that his initiation into the Qadiriyya Tariqa was made by Shaykh Jibril b. ᶜUmar who in turn was introduced to the order by the Egyptian Shaykh Muhammad al-Murtada al-Wasiti al-Zabidi (d.1205A.H./1790A.D.).[3] This is not to suggest, of course, that the introduction

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1. Muhammad b. ᶜAbd al-Karim al-Maghili, Jumla Mukhta Sara, in Diya' al-Siyasat of ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi, ed. I.H. Kani, (forthcoming).

2. See Muhammad Sani Zahr al-Din, ᶜAbd Allah Ibn Fodio's Contributions to Fulani Jihad in Nineteenth Century Hausaland, Ph.D. Thesis, Mcgill University, August 1976, p.165.

3. The Original Home of al-Shaykh al-Zabidi was India from where he migrated and settled in Babid and then Egypt. He was born in (1145 A.H./1732 A.D.). He first settled in Zabid in Yemen from which he derived the Nisba. He came to Egypt from Hijaz in (1167 A.H./1753 A.D.). He became famous as a Sufi and a lexicographer who compiled a lexicon titled Tajaal-ᶜArus in ten volumes.

of the Qadiriyya into Hausaland is traced to Jibril b. ᶜUmar. Despite our inability to determine the exact or approximate time for the introduction of the Qadiriyya into Hausaland we can assume with some confidence that the diffusion of this order into Central Sudan was a result of the activities of the Kuntas, who took it upon themselves to spread the teachings of this brotherhood from the Niger Bend to other parts of West Africa. With regard to the initiation of the Sokoto Jihad leaders into the Qadiriyya by Jibril b. ᶜUmar it is possible to make three inferences. Firstly the influence of Shaykh Jibril b. ᶜUmar on the Sokoto Jihad leaders was not confined to the areas of jurisprudence, politics and administration alone but included Sufism.[1] Secondly, the influence of al-Tasawwuf might have produced a positive response by way of training and preparing the Mujahidun to meet the hardship of life, shun the pleasantries of the temporal world and pursue an ascetic life. Thirdly, it was through Shaykh Jibril b. ᶜUmar that Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and his brother ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi who was also a disciple of this Shaykh were initiated into the Qadiriyya and not through the Kunta' who gave Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi unequivocal support in his jihad against the Hausa rulers

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1. ᶜUthman b. Fudi, 'Asanid al-Faqir, NHRS, p.11 , al-Salasil al-Dhahbiyya li al-Sadat al-Sufiyya NHRS, p.3/1, p.6 and al-Salasil al-Qadiriyya NHRS, p.5/1.

as we will see later. As we have seen earlier, Jibril himself was initiated into the movement of Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Zabidi who in turn was introduced to it by another Sufi leader and the chain of authority terminates at the end with Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Qadir al-Jaylani, the founder of the movement. The significance of this Silsila (chain of authority) may lie in the fact that the Sokoto Jihad leaders were well connected in the field of the Tasawwuf with the wider Muslim world and were authorized to pass the esoteric knowledge of Sufism to whomsoever was fit for the task.

The Sufi impact of Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kunti on the Sokoto Jihad leaders could be gleaned from his 'Awrad and 'Adhkar used by these leaders and their followers and according to al-Salasil al-Qadiriyya the wird of al-Silsila al-Qadiriyya was trnasmitted from Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kunti to Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi indirectly through different channels. This wird was highly adored by Shaykh ᶜUthman because according to him it is the sum total of all other 'Awrads and whoever sticks to them will not meet but a happy end.[1]

Muhammad Bello (d.1837) who strongly believed in the Karamat (thoumatugrical performances) of al-Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kabir al-Kunti is said to have received his 'Ahzab and 'Awrad indirectly from Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-

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1. ᶜUthman b. Fudi, al-Salasil al-Qadiriyya,

Kunti, through al-Imam al-Sufi al-Hajj Muhammed who took it directly from al-Shaykh al-Mukhtar.[1] The efficacy of these litanies and prayers could be examined against the background of their ability to mould the character of the Murid into a pious and non materialistic person. The Murid is expected to absorb the true meaning of the words and translate them into life of humility, recollection of the power of Allah and of the HereAfter, at all times and in all his actions.

At this juncture, it may be significant to examine the political and spiritual relationship between the Kunta Confederations and the Sokoto Jihad leaders. As indicated earlier, the Sokoto Jihad leaders, out especially Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi, were from the Sufi point of view members of al-Qadiriyya al-Mukhtariyya. There is every indication to show that the Sokoto Jihad leaders (Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi, Abdullahi b. Fudi and Muhammed Bello) were paying allegiance to Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kunti, and later his son Muhammed b. al-Mukhtar as the supreme Shaykh (Qutb) of the Qadiriyya in the Western and Central Bilad al-Sudan. This is attested to by the statements of both Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi in which they acknowledged the leadership of the Kunta and payed homage to him as the (Sun of the

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1. Muhammad Bello, Infaq al-Maysur fi Tarikh Bilad al-Takrur, C.E.J. Whitting ed. London, 1957, p.206.

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Mashriq and Maghārib) and the pivotal Qutb (Supreme Sufi leader) whose footsteps they had been sincerely following.[1] On their part, and at the outbreak of the Sokoto Jihad, the Kunta Shaykhs were prompted to give unequivocal support to the 19th century Sokoto Jihad leaders to the extent that Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kabir al-Kunti had declared one day that

> the most accomplished Saints /al-'Awliya' al-Kumma1/ of today are three: one an Arab lives beyond al-Shamm, his light is the light of la ilāha illa Allah, the second is a fallati /Fulani/ who lives in the lands of the Sudan and /is called/ 'Uthman Ibn Fudi, his light is the light of the seal found on the left shoulder of the Messenger of Allah ...[49]

According to Muhammad Bello, Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kabir al-Kunti refused to talk about himself as the third saint foretold in the prophesy out of sheer humility. Yet his disciples knew that he was speaking of himself once he kept quiet about the third Wali.[3]

It may be appropriate at this point to seriously examine the rationale behind the unflinching support given by the Kuntas to the Sokoto Jihad leader from both the spiritual (Sufic) and political points of view. It is logical for the Kunta Shaykh to support the Jihad of

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1. Muhammad Bello, Infaq al-Maysur pp.201-202.
2. Infaq al-Maysur as translated by Batran, op.cit., p.356.
3. Infaq al-Maysur, p.207.

Shaykh ʿUthman b. Fudi, one of their committed disciples who might spread the word of Qadiriyya and enhance the position of the Qadiriyya al-Mukhtariyya all over his domain. Also, from the political point of view, and given the heirarchical structure of the Qadiriyya Brotherhood, it will look awkward for any member of the Qadiriyya Brotherhood from the Niger Bend to the Begirimi area where the Qadiriyya influence is said to have spread[1] to raise any objection regarding the legitimacy of the Sokoto Jihad. C.C. Stewart tried to find an economic base for the nature of relationship between the Kunta Confederation and the Sokoto Caliphate; thus:

> As salt and tobacco traders the Kuntas had vested interests in tapping the newly created 'Sokoto common market' in the early nineteenth century and this is the most direct(and probably safest)method to do so.[2]

Although one cannot dismiss outrightly any 'economic interest' regarding the relationship between the two regions yet it is difficult to make economic interest as a sole factor that determined the relationship between the two regions. One would assume that in early nineteenth century the trading activities of the Kunta Confederation followed a south-west direction rather than south-east.

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1. See Batran, p.349.

2. C.C. Stewart, 'Frontier Disputes And Problems of Legitimation: Sokoto-Masina Relations 1817-1837' JAH XVII, 4 (1976) p.501-502.

At one point, at the early stages of the Jihad, the Sokoto Jihad leaders 'needed' the spiritual support of al-Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kabir al-Kunti:

> The Shaykh /al-Kunti/ came out one day and was asked about this /Sokoto/ Jihad and was told that they the Mujahidun do this and they elaborated. He said Shaykh Uthman b. Fudi is a Wali of the 'Awliya' of Allah and his Jihad is right and this country will be ruled by such and such. 1

It is assumed that during the first decade of the nineteenth century, some people started to look at Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi not only as a Mujaddid who took it upon himself to fight corruption, injustice, Bidᶜa (bad innovations) and establish the rule of Islam in Hausaland and beyond but also as a distinguished and unrivalled Sufi Shaykh. As a consequence of this, a great deal of traditions had developed around his personality that he had already attained the stage of Qutbaniyya or the Wilaya which enabled him to fly in the air, walk in the water and which allowed him to travel to Mecca and Medina in the twinkling of an eye. This kind of Qutbaniyya according to the belief of the Sufis compelled the Jinn to serve the most accomplished shaykhs. A parallel tradition claimed that certain actions which the Shaykh performed were done through Kashf.[2]

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1. Muhammad Bello, Infaq al-Maysur, p.207.
2. ᶜUthman b. Fudi, Tahdhir al-'Ikhwan min Idaᶜa' al-Mahdiyya al-Mauᶜuda Akhir al-Zaman, Trans. M.A. al-Hajj, in his The Mahdist Traditions in Northern Nigeria, Ph.D. Thesis, A.B.U., 1973, Appendix II, p.262-63.

Despite the repeated denial by Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi of performing such supernatural performances yet he confessed that

> with regard to the Wilaya, however, all that I know is that God, the Exalted, placed me in the 'spiritual state' (Waridat al-Ahwal) during my youth until I reached the age of thirty one years. Then I was 'pulled' up by a transitory spiritual power (Jadhb), emanating from the 'light' of the Messenger of God (the blessing and peace of God be upon him) and generated by prayer to him, till I found myself in front of the Messenger of God ...1

The Sufi esctatic experience could easily be gleaned from the above and similar statements made by Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi in some of his Sufi writings. At some stages Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi visualized the declaration of his Jihad in a Sufi manner. Shaykh ᶜUthman stated one day that when he reached thirty six years Allah removed the veil from his eyes until he was able to see distinct things close to him, distinguish Halal (lawful things) from Haram (unlawful things) and cultivate with his hands what is sowed far away from him while he is seated in one place and walk a distance which could not be reached by horses for many years.[2]

The foregoing Karamat was further strengthened by a similar but a stronger one that when he reached forty five years and some nights Allah drew him near Him and he

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1. Ibid, p.266.
2. ᶜUthman b. Fudi, Kitab al-Wird, NHRS, K 5/13, p.160.

found there the Prophet together with his companions, prophets and 'Awliya' who welcomed him, seated him between them. Then Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Qadir al-Jaylani brought him a green cloth - decorated with the formula,'there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger', and called him 'Imam al-'Awliya' who advocates good things and forbids bad acts and adorned him with one Sword of Truth to unleash it against his enemies.[1]

The authenticity of the authorship of such Sufi works is in no doubt, especially when it is corroborated with a well known book like Infaq al-Maysur which views Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi as the 'owner of Karamat' and Maqamat Fukhiru (spiritual elevations) who was supplied from the lights of Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Qadir al-Jailani.[2] However, it should not be miscontrued that the whole process and conduct of the Jihad was construed mystically. There had been concrete socio-political issues which gave rise to the Jihad and which were examined against the background of the Qura'n and the Sunna. What is stressed here is that the Sufi tendencies as manifested in the differences of the Sokoto Jihad leadership had worked as a catalyst that strengthened the determination of the Jihad leaders to pursue the objectives of the Jihad. At that time, there was no dichotomy between Sunnism and Sufism as far as the

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1. Ibid, pp.161-62.
2. Infaq al-Maysur p.41. See also pp.29-30.

Sokoto Jihad was concerned. Both Sunnism and Sufism were pouring in the mainstream Islam.

Unlike in other parts of the world where either the Sufis fell victims of the social order or stayed aloof from the corridor of power for fear of being corrupted or corrupting people, the Sufi movement in Hausaland attempted to grapple with the social and political problems of their time. The underlying factor behind such a radical move may rest with the fact that the friction between the Jurists and the Sufis had been removed and both Sufism and Fiqh operated harmoniously within one perspective.

In what may be considered as the 'official position' of the Sokoto Caliphate, Abdullahi b. Fudi devotes the last section of his book Diya' al-Siyasat, written in 1819, to the nature and essence of both Tasawwuf and Fiqh; in other words to the relationship between 'Ilm al-Haqiqa and 'Ilm al-Shari^{c}a. He strikes a balance between the two, that both Fiqh and Tasawwuf derive from the same source and it is a waste of time to seek Sufism without a proper comprehension of the rudiments of Fiqh. Equally it is a worthless exercise to confine oneself to the ambiguous terminologies of the Sufis. He was of the opinion that the object of Fiqh is general. Therefore its primary objective is to lay the foundation of Islam, by way of exposition and manifestation. On the other hand, the object of the Tasawwuf is specific because it is a personal affair between a servant and his Lord. He

concluded his dispensation thus: although the Sufi stands on higher plane yet the Faqih is always right by standing on the safe side.[1] Although there is no reason to suggest that there was a conflict between two antagonistic groups in Hausaland one in favour of Wahabism and the other in favour of Sufism, yet ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi might have sensed from his readings of the events that some time in the future this type of dispute may crop up among the ᶜUlama'. Again, there is no shred of evidence to suggest that the ideas of Wahabism or Salafism as propounded by Shaykh Muhammad b. ᶜAbd al-Wahab in eighteenth century Arabia had found accessibility in Hausaland. We have already shown somewhere in this chapter that the Shaykh who moulded the political ideas of the Sokoto Jihad leaders towards bringing about a revolution in Central Sudan, Shaykh Jibril b. 'Umar and who sojourned in Arabia for many years had not accepted or propagated Salafism or Wahabism in Hausaland. On the contrary he is reported to have been initiated into the fold of Qadiriyya by Shaykh al-Murtada al-Zabidi and he subsequently introduced Shaykh ᶜUthman and his brother ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi to the brotherhood.

ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi (d.1829) who was initiated into Sufism by Jibril b. ᶜUmar at an early stage of his life

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1. ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi, Diya' al-Siyasat. . . .

seems to have retired into the world of Sufism towards the end of his life.[1] This is attested to by the fact that almost all his writings in the last ten years of his life were reflective and devoted to Sufism.[2] His 'indulgence' in Sufism, reminescent of al-Ghazali's position, might not be unconnected with his reappraisal of his own performance during the Jihad and his disappointment with the whole outcome of the Sokoto Jihad movement. ᶜAbdullahi's position was reflected in three works: Nayl al-Maram min Shiyyam al-Kiram, Shukr al-'Ihsan ᶜala minan al-Mannan and Tahdhib al-'Insan min Khisal al-Shaytan. To depersonalize issues ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi allowed himself to speak in the first two writings through two prominent Sufi scholars namely Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kunti whose Sufi leadership he promptly acknowledged by referring to him as Shaykh Shiyukhina[3] and al-Shaykh Jalal al-Din al-Siyuti (d.1505 A.D.) whose influence on the scholars of Bilad al-Sudan dates back to the last quarter of the 15th century. These three Sufi works reflect the psychology and the state of mind of ᶜAbdullahi just a few years before he died, at a time when he retired from both the physical

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1. M. Sani Zahr al-Din, op.cit., p.165.
2. See for example his Nayl al-Maram min Shiyyam al-Kiram, NHRS, p.25/6, p.1 and Shukr al-'Ihsan 'ala minan al-Mannan NHRS, p.25/5, pp.7-8.
3. Abdullahi b. Fudi, Nayl al-Maram p.1.

combats and intellectual polemics with his adversaries by both his sword and pen. Reviewing the events, before 1809, when he decided to desert the Sokoto Jihad campaigns just before the fall of Alkalawa on matters of principle, and the leadership tussle which started with the issue of hereditary succession, Abdullahi b. Fudi might have realized the peculiar nature and the circumstances of 19th century Jihad in Hausaland and the forces involved in it. In the end, he came to the conclusion that tolerance and understanding are basic ingredients of an able leadership, especially when the leader is faced with great problems.[1] Giving due regard to the opinions of others is part of the good quality of leadership, in the opinion of ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi. The basis of all this is the evaluation of things according to the level of understanding of people and considering the changing nature and different standards of people.[2]

Manners such as socialization with people, proper examination of the pros and cons of issues before taking a decision were fundamental to the thinking of ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi. Gentleness, forgiveness, humbleness, generosity, courage, self-satisfaction, keeping good company with relative honesty, fulfilment of promise, were some of the virtues cherished by ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi. The Sufi values

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.

advocated by ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi (as he himself pointed out) were a summary of the teachings of Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kunti.[1]

Barely forty three years from the composition of Nazm on the arts of Sufism by al-Bijuti, ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi decided to write a commentary on the book, titled Shukr al-'Ihsan ᶜala minan al-Mannan. The title of the work is indicative of the author's intention of bidding farewell to this world. It looked as if he sensed through his esoteric experience that he would soon depart this temporal world. The Hereafter is vividly visualized in the commentary. He reminded himself and others that this world is transient and that the HereAfter is definitely coming and the first step towards it, is someone's grave. In an admonitary and self comforting manner Abdullahi b. Fudi stated that people ought to endure with difficulties of life by tolerance and obedience to God because very soon this hardship will come to an end when lasting comfort and reunification with friends would take place.[2]

The Sufi relationship between the leaders of the Qadiriyya al-Mukhtariyya in West Africa and the Sokoto Jihad leaders did not terminate with the death of al-Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kabir al-Kunti. It was rather strengthened during the caliphate of Sidi Muhammad al-

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1. Ibid.
2. Abdullahi b. Fudi, Shukr al-'Ihsan pp.7-8.

Mukhtar. This is attested by the exchanges between the Sokoto Jihad leaders, whose primary objective was to seek the political support of the Kuntas and the Kunta 'confederation' Shaykhs who hoped to extend their spiritual hegemony over a large tract of the Western and Central Sudan.

The period 1817-1837, as far as the history of the Sokoto Caliphate is concerned, was a period of expansion and consolidation. The frontiers of the Caliphate were expanded in all directions, including the western direction, where rival leadership in the person of Ahmad Lobbo had emerged in the area of the Niger bend. Using the Qadiriyya factor, Caliph Muhammad Bello seemes to have been keen in the establishment of friendly relationship with the Kuntas under their new spiritual leader Shaykh Muhammad al-Mukhtar (d.1826). Bello's desire to cultivate the support of the Kuntas was demonstrated clearly in the five points he raised in his Risala to Shaykh Muhammad al-Mukhtar al-Kunti. These were (i) recognition of the spiritual authority of the Kunta Shaykhs, (ii) the necessity of strengthening the existing socio-political and economic relationships and the extension of fraternity between Sokoto and Kunta 'Confederation' by way of fulfilment of the social and spiritual obligations towards the Kunta Shaykhs, (iii) request for prayers and blessings from the Kuntas, (iv) expression of a genuine desire to receive more writings

of al-Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kabir al-Kunti and his son together with their 'Ahzab and 'Awrad for spiritual guidance and protection, (v) the urgent desire to open trade routes and new channels of social and political communications between the two sides.[1] The last point is a clear evidence of the growing interest in the economic co-operation between the two sides probably necessitated by their Sufi linkages. It is also a testimony that the economic interest of the Caliphate has been integrated with Tasawwuf. The underlying motives of Muhammad Bello may be that he wanted to cultivate the support of the Kuntas for the full integration of Macina to
area into the Sokoto Caliphate or/help him curtail the rising ambitions of Shaykh Ahmad Lobbo al-Masini (d.1844/5) who after breaking his Bay^{c}a to Sokoto in 1817 A.D. wished to be recognized as the twelfth Caliph of Islam in Bilad al-Takrur.

THE TIJANIYYA ROLE IN THE SOKOTO CALIPHATE

The Tijaniyya Brotherhood was founded in North Africa by Shaykh Abu al-^{c}Abbass Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Tijani (1150/1230 A.H./1737-1815 A.D.). Before declaring himself as Khalifa, Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijani had already developed interest in Sufism. After performing pilgrimage and a brief sojourn in Egypt where he was initiated into the

1. Muhammad Bello, Risala ila Muhammad al-Mukhtar, NHRS. p.65/14.

Khalwatiyya Tariqa[1] Ahmad al-Tijani declared at Abu Samghin (a village in the Algerian Sahara) in 1196/1782 that he was mandated by Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) to establish the Tijaniyya Tariqa without any reference to the previous Sufi Orders.[2] It is interesting to note here that while the Beys (rulers) of Algiers had rejected Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijani he received the patronage of the Sultan of Morocco Moulaya Sulayman (d.1822). The favourable treatment given to Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijani by the King of Morocco was attributed first and foremost to the political rivalry between the rulers of Algiers and Morocco.[3] The 'unilatral' declaration of Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijani marked a departure from the already established tradition of 'Isnad (chain of authority) which legitimizes the emergence of a new order or a branch of the old Orders. A justification for such a proclamation may have to do with his claim that

> the prophet had appeared to him in daylight and authorized him to start his work of spiritual guidance - al-Tarbiyya and assigned to him the wirds of his order.[4]

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1. Omar Jah, Sufism and the Nineteenth Century Jihad Movement in the Western Sudan: A Case Study of El-Hajj ʿUmar al-Futi's Philosophy of Jihad and its Sufi Basis, Ph.D. Thesis, Mcgill, 1973, pp.115-16.
2. Ibid, p.116
3. ʿAbd al-Qadir Zebadia, op.cit., p.344.
4. Ibid, p.343.

Before his death in 1815 Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijani had already succeeded in laying the foundation of his Tariqa by establishing a Zawiya in Fez.[1]

The introduction of the Tijaniyya Order into West Africa was attributed to Shaykh Muhammad al-Hafiz (d.1830) a Maghribi Shaykh from Shanqit. Since then the Order had gradually but steadily gained adherents among the inhabitants of the Sahara' up to the area of Futa Toro. However, the popularization and diffusion of the Order in the Western and Central Bilad al-Sudan was the work of al-Hajj Umar b. Sa'id al-Futi who transformed the role of the hitherto quietist Order into a militant movement which produced in the end, may be for the first time in human history, an Islamic state based on the teachings of a Sufi Order.

However, by mid 19th century the Tijaniyya brotherhood began to gain many adherents in the Western Sudan and threatened the dominance of the Qadiriyya. According to Zabadia, it was only after Shaykh Umar al-Futi had preached Tijaniyya doctrine for more than twenty years that he thought of mobilizing troops to help him fulfil his ambitions. On the other hand, the leader of the Qadiriyya by then Shaykh Ahmad al-Bakkay took it upon himself to condemn the Tijaniyya Order and defend the interest of the Qadiriyya,[2]

1. Omar Jah op.cit., p.117.
2. Zabadia, op.cit., p.351.

In the Sokoto Caliphate, it seems that the first contact with the Tijaniyya Order was done through the personal initiatives of Shaykh ᶜUmar al-Futi himself, on his return journey from pilgrimage and during his eight years stay in Sokoto (1830-38). In that period he was a confidant and close associate of Sultan Muhammad Bello. After Bello's death and with the appointment of AbuBakr al-ᶜAtiq as Amir, al-Muminin, the co-operation and mutual understanding between the Caliph and the Tijani leader came to an end. This new development might not have been unconnected with the involvement of al-Hajj ᶜUmar al-Futi in the internal politics of Sokoto. ᶜUmar al-Futi is said to have left Sokoto with a large contingent of his Talamidh first for Borno and then for Futa Toro when he started his campaign for the establishment of the Tijaniyya state.

According to oral traditions the conflict between the Tijaniyya Tariqa and the Qadiriyya had spread to Sokoto around 1830 when Shaykh ᶜUmar b. Said al-Futi was returning from pilgrimage. These sources claim that while al-Futi was reluctantly welcomed by Amir al-Mu'minin Muhammad Bello and was ordered to stay outside the capital of the Sokoto Caliphate, his rival, Ahmad al-Bakkai was invited and was warmly received. The explanation given for such a lukewarm reception for al-Futi is because on his way to Mecca the time of which had coincided with the wars between Borno and Sokoto Caliphate he composed a work condemning the conflict between two Muslim

countries.[1] The second explanation given for Bello's attitude to his son-in-law ᶜUmar al-Futi is that he feared the destabilization of the Qadiriyya Sufi Order because of al-Futi's investiture in Mecca as the Tijjani Khalifa. However;

> The whole episode, which comes from oral tradition may not in all probability stand historical scrutiny. Nevertheless its tone, rather than the embellished facts, serves to emphasise the kinds of difficulties al-Hajj ᶜUmar encountered in his attempt to establish his authority as the Khalifa of the Khatim al-'Awliya' in the Western Sudan. 2

What became clear as stated earlier is that al-Futi spent complete eight years in Sokoto with the permission of the late Bello. After the death of Bello 'rumours' spread that before his death he was converted to the Tijaniyya from the Qadiriyya Tariqa by Shaykh ᶜUmar b. Saᶜid al-Futi. These rumours which seem to lack authority might have been spread by the new adherents of the Tijaniyya who probably wanted to use Muhammad Bello's name to legitimize the new Order and spread its teachings. However, the claim of this group was promptly refuted by a very close aide of Muhammad Bello, Wazir Gidado b. Laima. In a treatise which he devoted to this issue Wazir Gidado had categorically denied such unsubstantiated claim.[3] What could be gleaned from such a claim is that

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1. Umar Jah op.cit., pp.140-41.
2. Ibid, p.142.
3. Gidado b. Laima, Kashf al-Hijab wa Rafᶜa al-Niqab.

just before the death of Muhammad Bello or immediately after his death the Tijaniyya Order with the active role of Shaykh ᶜUmar b. Saᶜid al-Futi himself began to make headway among the people of the Sokoto Caliphate but especially among the intellectuals.

An example of the Sokoto intellectuals who converted to Tijaniyya from Qadiriyya was Modibbo Raji and ᶜUmar al-Wali. Modibbo Raji, noted among other things for his Sufi tendencies, was a close associate of ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi. He was also a teacher and a prolific writer on various human endeavours. He represented a special class of intelligentsia who broke away from the Qadiriyya brotherhood and joined the Tijaniyya at a critical stage of their life. He was an example of the intellectuals who stood firm against corruption and oppression of the rulers both at Gwandu and Yola.[1] He held the office of Qadi under Amir Muhammad b. ᶜAbdullahi (1829-1835) and acted as a deputy (Na'ib) for Amir Ibrahim al-Khalil (1835-1860).[2] Modibbo Raji, who in dissatisfaction with affairs left Gwandu on his way to Mecca, was persuaded to settle in Yola where he later

1. See Muhammad Raji, Risala ila al-'Ustaz Khalil b. ᶜAbdullahi, NHRS, P.82/3.

2. Murray Last, Second Interim Report on the Recovery of the Arabic Script Literature of the North: Addition to the Collection of Manuscripts on Microfilm at Zaria, 1966-1969. Second Interim Report, Zaria, 1967 pp.31-32.

died in 1862.[1] He left behind a great deal of literature in both Sufism and politics.[2]

Zaria Emirate became one of the strongholds of the Tijaniyya brotherhood. Many scholars in the Emirate are said to have been converted from Qadiriyya or to have adopted the Tijaniyya as their Tariqa. One of such scholars was ʿUmar al-Wali who specialized in Sufism, Arabic grammar, prosody, astronomy and numerology. An important work on the Sufi geneology of Tijaniyya Tariqa written by ʿUmar al-Wali is al-Risala al-Maymuna fi 'Asanid al-Tariqa. The importance of this book lies in the fact that it shed some light on the social link between the different Tijanniya groups and give an insight into the state of learning in Sokoto Caliphate in the last quarter of the 19th century.[3]

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1. Baʿad AbuBakar, The Lambic of Adamawa, Zaria, 1977, pp.106-7.

2. The author has identified twenty MSS written by Muhammad Raji b. ʿAli in Northern History Research Scheme Collection, of A.B.U., Zaria.

3. Murray Last, Interim Report. (See note 2)

CHAPTER III

THE PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS OF ᶜABD AL-QADIR B. AL-MUSTAFA

THE SOURCES OF ᶜABD AL-QADIR'S PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT

From all indications there is ample evidence to show that in formulating his philosophical ideas, Dantafa was influenced by certain schools of thought right from the twelfth century A.D. to his own days. The sources of his inspiration and philosophical dispensation could be arbitrarily divided into two: external and internal. By external we mean the remote ideas which enriched his thought and broadened his outlook. On the other hand by internal we refer to the ideas which he derived from his immediate locality and with which he continued to grapple for the remaining period of his life. In the area of mystical philosophy Dantafa was well familiar with the philosophical dispensations of Muhyi al-Din b. al-ᶜArabi[1] (d.638/1240) as reflected in Ibn al-ᶜArabi's al-Futuhat al-Rabbaniyya and al-Fusus[2]. He was also well acquainted with the orthodox Sufi school of thought as expounded by

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, ᶜUhud wa Mawathiq, NHRS, P.192/2, p.3.
2. Ibid.

al-Imam al-Ghazali (d.1111). This is attested to by his reflections on the philosophical doctrine of al-Ghazali: "The Perfection of Creation".[1] It is interesting to note here that despite his apparent defence of al-Ghazali's position on the issue, Dantafa leaned more towards the mystical school of philosophy rather than the orthodox Sufi school, as it will be shown later. Of all the mystical philosophers Dantafa seemed to have been greatly influenced by ᶜAbd al-Karim b. Jili (d.1528) whose theory of the 'Perfect Man', hitherto incomprehensible to many Sufis, was expatiated and elaborated by Dantafa.[2] The world outlook of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa has been greatly influenced by the doctrine of the perfect man. ᶜAbd al-Qadir who seemes to have been always in search of perfection in terms of behavioural and intellectual perception adopted fully ᶜAbd al-Karim al-Jili's position on the rationalization and explanation of human progress, purpose of existence, direction of history, position and role of mankind in relation to other beings, the question of death and resurrection and life in the Hereafter.[3]

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Taᶜliq ᶜala Magalat al-Imam al-Ghazali "Laysa fi al-'Imkan Abda᷈ mimma Kan" NHRS, p.192/23.
2. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, al-Kashf wa al-Bayan lima Ashkala min Kitab al-Insan MS, NHRS, P.192/9.
3. Ibid.

On the other hand, he appeared to have fully acquainted himself with the science of philosophy both Greek and Islamic, and, unlike the other scholars in the Sokoto Caliphate who shunned these disciplines on the basis of their heretical or incomprehensible arguments, Dantafa chose not only to study philosophy independently but went further than that to the extent of raising some fundamental questions regarding the parochial approach of the ancient philosophy and its incompatability with the spirit of Islam.[1]

Philosophical reflections of luminaries like the physicist AbuBakr al-Razi (864-932) Ibn Rushd (1198-1126) al-Farabi (d.950) and Ibn Sina (Avi Canne) (d.980-1037) the proponent of the doctrine of Emanation were critically studied by him.[2] ᶜAbd al-Qadir's exposure to the ancient Greek philosophy enabled him to appreciate the difference between the Quranic reasoning and non-Qura'nic reasoning which relies on empirical method and intellectual perception. His arguments against the Greek philosophical outlook could be gleaned from his frequent criticism of the position of al-Falasifa al-'Awa'il (the ancient philosophers).[3]

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1. Infra p.141.
2. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Kashf al-Ghita' wa al-Riyyab fi Dhikr Mafatih al-Ghayb, MS, NHRS, P. 192/11.
3. Ibid.

Greek . literature seemed to have been at the disposal of some intellectuals in Hausaland for some time. Although no references are made to them in the early Jihad literature there is every reason to suggest that such literature constituted part of the informal curriculum of education in 19th century Hausaland. It could also be surmised that certain intellectuals of Dantafa's calibre might have studied them, examined their ideological construct and compared them with Islamic philosophy.

Coming to the immediate environment of ᶜAbd al-Qadir we realize that his main source of inspiration was the leader of the Sokoto Jihad Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi who was considered to be the pivot around whom the whole movement evolved. As the Nur al-Zaman (the light of time) he opened the door of 'Ijtihad' in all aspects of intellectual endeavour. His impact in this respect was manifested in the direction in which the intellectuals of the Jihad had followed. Inshort he was the key to the type of knowledge and wisdom which was possessed at the time.[1]

Of all his teachers ᶜAbd al-Qadir seemed to have singled out his uncle Muhammad Sanbo b. al-Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi as the most distinguished personality

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Salwat al-Ahzan, op.cit.

who moulded his vision, guided him along the path of the Sufis, explained to him the secret of life and removed the 'veil' from his eyes. He adopted his style of living blindly but willingly, enrolled into his school of thought and hoped to emulate him in his ascetic, selfless and humble way of life.[1] ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa vividly remembered his Shaykh in a manner which elevated him to the position of Wilaya. To him Muhammad Sambo is

> the most knowledgeable, the possessor of the Shariᶜa and the Haqiqa, the ascetic, pious /and above all/ the most accomplished Wali.[2]

ᶜAbd al-Qadir revealed the 'secret' that this Shaykh had possessed the supernatural power which enabled him to walk on water and fly in the air and that certain secrets of the universe were unveiled to him. He was a man of vision (Mukashafat).[3] One of the characteristics of this Shaykh was his aloofness from the public and rejection of material offer or taking of public office.[4] He is mentioned in Infaq al-Maysur as:

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1. Ibid, p.4.
2. Ibid, p.3.
3. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Tarjamah, p.2.
4. Ibid, pp.3-4.

> the most erudite scholar who combined the Shari°a and the Haqiqa and the Sufi. He usually stays aloof from the rest of the people, absentminding himself then, /later on/ he reconciles with himself.[1]

Muhammad Sambo who died on Wednesday, (5 Muharram 1242 A.H./1826 A.D.) was buried in the same tomb with his father probably in recognition of his ascetism and the exemplary life he pursued. He is also remembered by his disciples as some one who removed from himself all sorts of pretence and arrogance, whose habit was to do things by himself, carrying his wares to the market, buying what he needed from that market and carrying home his stuff on his shoulder[2] as a sign of humility.

His philosophy of life could be summarized in the following: total rejection of this temporal world considered by him to be deceptive, generosity, gentleness, self-satisfaction, humility, honour, courage, identification with the poor, love for orphan, benevolence to slaves, visiting the sick, purity of heart, continuous rememberance of Allah, abandonment of things contrary to the Sunna of the prophet, avoiding the courts of the 'Umara' (leaders) and pious people when they deviate or betray the covenant and cling to power.

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1. Infaq p.188. It is interesting to note here that despite the useful contribution of this Shaykh and inspite of the several biographical notes about him, virtually nothing is known about him in our contemporary studies.

2. °Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Salwat al-Ahzan, pp.5 & 10.

Dantafa who appeared to have been enrolled in the Sufi path of Shaykh Muhammad Sambo from the age of eighteen[1] continued to identify himself with the philosophy of this great Shaykh of his until his death. The benefit derived from his Shaykh were enumerated in more than one place. Some of these Karamat were that he revealed to him the secrets of their contemporary time and meaning of life. He also provided him the key to understanding the secrets of the universe.[2]

Within the world of realism it is pertinent to say that the type of life pursued by Shaykh Muhammad Sambo was a clear manifestation of his ideological outlook. He is reported not to have only rejected the material offer of this world but went further to call on people not to aspire to power for its own sake. His influence on ᶜAbd al-Qadir's thoughts was tremendous to the extent that the latters desire to accomplish certain intellectual activities was inspired by Muhammad Sambo.[3] After Shaykh Muhammad Sambo's death he was eulogized thus:

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1. By the time ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa reached the age of eighteen his Shaykh was already thirty seven years old.

2. All these revelations were given in a metaphorical manner. See ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Salwat al-Ahzan, p.8.

3. Ibid. pp.4-5.

> the Master of his time in the fulfilment of the principles of the Tariqa. He was also the leader of his time in laying the foundation of the Haqiqa. In this respect, he was the leader of the people of his time in theory and practice... 1

QURANIC REASONING

We have already noted in this chapter that ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa was greatly influenced by the school of mystical philosophy.

Broadly speaking with regards to his frame of analysis it is assumed that Dantafa operated within the framework of Quranic reasoning and unlike the early philosophers who relied completely on intellectual reasoning he attempted to reconcile the intellectual reasoning with the Qur'an. His reflections on the philosophy of life, nature and elements of existence, the Islamic concept of man and the life to come, are clear manifestations of such reconciliation. It is significant to note here that his Quranic reasoning is to be located outside of the traditional schools of thought such as the ᶜAshᶜrte, Muᶜtazilite and the Jabriyya who attempted to explain matters of creation,

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1. Ibid, p.4. Apart from one or two actual writings of Shaykh Muhammad Sanbo and the documentation of his ideas by his disciple ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa; in addition to some in Infaq al-Maysur little is known about his philosophical ideas. Some of the writings of this Shaykh are yet to be recovered.

free-will and predestination within the 'accepted' norms of Islam.

To him the correct understanding of Islam must be primarily based on the logic of the Qur'an in contrast to the intellectual reasoning. This level of argument is based on his contention that he is only a Muqallid[1] (an imitator) who does not question or rationalize God's injunctions and actions. The following 'Aya was quoted by him to substantiate his claim:

"Doer (without let) of all that He intends."[2]

Although ᶜAbd al-Qadir did not claim to play the role of an independent thinker with regards to his understanding of the world of metaphysics, yet he alludes to it in one way or the other. His discussion and conclusion on the question of faith testifies to this fact. He was of the view that knowledge of God could not be based on intellectual reasoning or theological argumentation but rather on the proper grasp of the Quranic logic independent of any external analytical tool.[3] To guard against any criticism an attempt has been made by him to pinpoint the shortcoming of intellectual reasoning. According to him both

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, ᶜUhud wa Mawathiq, MS, NHRS, P.192/12, p.I.
2. Qu'ran 85:16.
3. ᶜUhud wa Mawathiq,

independent reasoning and speculative theological arguments fall short of explaining the essence and attributes of God. The utmost that they could offer is to convince you of the existence of a deity without necessarily specifying or grasping the essence and attributes of God.

To bolster his argument ᶜAbd al-Qadir drew attention to the transient nature of this world, the proof for which (transience) cannot be derived from intellectual reasoning nor from theological proofs of ᶜIlm al-Kalam which inturn may confuse rather than explain the laws of nature. Instead he will rely on the Quranic statement that:

"God is the Creator of all things."[1]

This type of answer which he had been advancing in many instances may sound superficial, if not ambiguous, but at the same time he might have adopted such an argument to protect himself against possible criticism of his philosophical thought which could be interpreted as 'unislamic' or at least unintelligible. Another possibility is that he as a Sufi might have discovered a hidden meaning of the Quranic logic which could only be comprehended by his Sufi counterparts. It may be pertinent at this point to mention that the philosophical arguments of Dantafa did not stop at mere statement of

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1. Qur'an, 13:16.

facts or simple generalization. He critically weighed his own deductions against those of the earlier philosophers or schools of thought, pointing to whatever points of weakness or strength he might have found with their frame of thinking or deductive reasoning. In his examination of the views of the early philosophers regarding the real perception of metaphysics and the life to come, he concluded that the only possible way of determining the reality of such a thing is the adoption of the logic of the Qur'an which is superior to the mental materialist conception of life.[1]

Sometimes it appears that 'Abd al-Qadir had adopted an eclectic approach towards philosophy, sifting what he thought to be Islamic from the non-Islamic.[2] His reluctance to disseminate the philosophical dispensations to the public might not be unconnected with his fear that unrestricted circulation of philosophical argumentations might have a negative effect on the minds of the ordinary people and might divert the attention of

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, al-Tafaᶜul Bayna Jinsay al-Malak wa al-Bashar, MS, ₱.192/3 p.5.

2. In this respect ᶜAbd al-Qadir is following the same path as Muslim philosophers like Ibn Rushd who tried to sift out the non-Islamic aspects of the Greek philosophy from the Islamic and reconciled the Greek philosophical thoughts and the Islamic one. Their approach was seriously challenged by Sufis like al-Ghazali who wrote extensively against such an approach.

the Talaba (the students) from pursuing the basic knowledge required by Islam which is of practical use to them. The elitist nature of philosophy might have prompted ᶜAbd al-Qadir to draw the attention of his critics that he had taken an oath

> ... not to invite any person to what I have studied of sciences of philosophy and ancient sciences. However, I have studied these sciences in the correct manner rejecting the misleading aspects involved in it. Yet I will not teach it to any person so that /people/ would not be misled by it. 1

From the above statement one can conclude that up to the time of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa the study of the sciences of philosophy in the Sokoto Caliphate, was confined to a narrow circle of 'elite' who were carefully treading without necessarily inviting undue criticism from the 'traditional' scholars who like their counterparts in other parts of the world viewed the whole discipline of philosophy with scepticism. The position of Dantafa vis-a-vis philosophy was that his comprehension of it was within the confines of the Qur'an and Sunna.[2] This type of defensive mechanism was meant to protect Dantafa against the attack of the doubting Thomases or condition his students to accept whatever viewpoint he might have advanced in due course.

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1. ᶜUhud wa Mawathiq, p.3.
2. Ibid.

One could assume here with some degree of confidence that Dantafa was the first intellectual to open the door of investigation into the world of philosophy in the whole western and central Sudan. This could be ascertained from his cautious position of making a pledge or swearing to an oath not to unlock the essence of the sciences of mystical philosophy but to a close companion of his. Another reason is that as far as the recovery of material is concerned there is no evidence to show that any scholar of the Sokoto Caliphate had written any work on philosophy perse. The recommendation of ᶜAbd el-Qadir to other people to confine their frame of analysis within the 'traditional' sciences of the Qur'an, the Sunna and Fiqh is interesting[1] in the sense that the combination of all these 'conventional' sciences would lay a solid foundation for the average student to enable him have a full grasp of the ethics and social values of Islam with a view to digesting these values and putting them in the world of reality. Dantafa's 'cautious' approach towards philosophy might have been a response to the general mood of the dominant Sunni school which, to a large extent, considers philosophy as a destructive rather

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1. Ibid.

than constructive discipline.[1] In the opinion of this school, philosophy contradicts the basic doctrines of Islam for the emphasis it lays on free investigation through the media of intellect on issues relating to existence, purpose of life, perception of knowledge and metaphysics.

Ibn Khaldun had summarized the mood of the orthodox Muslim Jurists by pointing to the effect of the study of the science of philosophy. He questioned the argument/position of the philosophers that the essence and conditions of existence can be perceived through mental speculation and intellectual reasoning. For him it is not proper for philosophers to say that the Articles of Faith could be established through intellectual speculation.[2] Refuting the logic of the Muslim philosophers of the tenth and eleventh centuries like Abu Nasr al-Farabi and Abu ᶜAli Ibn Sina (Avicienna) who according to him were misled by Greek philosophy, Ibn Khaldun has this to say:

> It should be known that the (opinion) the (philosophers) hold is wrong in all its aspects. They refer all existentia to the first intellect and are satisfied with (the theory of the first intellect) in their progress toward the necessary one (the deity) this means that they disregard all the degrees of divine creation beyond the (first intellect).[3]

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1. The position of the Sunnis on philosophy was initiated by al-Ghazali right from the 12th century Hijra.

2. Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddima, ed. tran. Franz Rosenthal, New York, 1967, pp.246-47.

3. Ibid, p.250.

Existence, as Ibn Khadun perceived it, is too wide to be explained by the narrow perception of the philosophers who rely solely on intellectual speculation. Thus he concluded that rational arguments and reasoning of the philosophers may have a dangerous effect on the students who lack the tools of analysis that will enable them to sift out the harmful aspects of philosophy[1] and as he remarks:

> who ever studies it /philosophy/ should do so (only) after he is saturated with religious law and has studied the interpretation of the Qur'an and Jurisprudence.[2]

It is no coincidence that both ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa and Ibn Khaldun agree that students of Islam must equip themselves with the sciences of the Qur'an, Hadith, Fiqh and Tasawwuf before grappling with the problematic of philosophy.[3] It is suggested here that ᶜAbd al-Qadir had full access to Ibn Khaldun's position on philosophy. His defensive mechanism and critical approach towards philosophy is a manifestation of this reality.

Coming back to the position of the Theologians, it is possible to say that ᶜAbd al-Qadir's condemnation of the argument of the speculative Theologians might not

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1. Ibid, p.257.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, pp.258-59, see also ᶜUhud wa Mawathiq, p.3.

be unconnected with the fact that their logic is regarded as misleading and sometimes confusing if not totally irrelevant. He might have thought that the position of the Mu^{c}tazalite on predestination and free-will may be a source of confusion to ordinary people.[1] In the same way their stance regarding the Attributes of God as to whether these are something external or part of His Essence, may not be a convincing argument. Although he did not indicate his acceptance of the position of the ^{c}Ash^{c}rite school on such issues, yet there is no evidence to suggest that he opted out of the mainstream of the early Sokoto Jihad movement school of thought.[2] Probably it was part of the overall strategy of the Sokoto Jihad movement not to get enmeshed in the 'dry' philosophical argumentations of the speculative theology for fear that it may eventually frustrate

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1. Ibn Khaldun, al-Muqaddima, p.448. The Mu^{c}tazalite school rejects the doctrine of predestination as understood by al-Jabriyya.

2. From time to time Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fudi used to emphasize the point that he was a follower of Maliki Madhhab, ^{c}Ash^{c}ari by declaration of faith and a Qadiri by Tariqa. The ^{c}Ash^{c}rite school was founded by Abu al-Hasan al-^{c}Ashri (d 874/936) who is reported to have written more than three hundred tracts. He was originally a Mu^{c}tazalite before he resigned and established his own school. The ^{c}Ash^{c}arite school of speculative theology is a middle course between the Mu^{c}tazalite school and The Jabriyya.

the efforts at creating a just and virile social order based on a clear understanding of Islam.[1]

BEING AND EXISTENCE

ᶜAbd al-Qadir's reflections on the problems of existence and purpose of life is in some respects an echo of Ibn al-ᶜArabi's doctrine of pantheism (the Unity of all Beings). Although he seems to have disagreed with the pantheist school of Ibn al-ᶜArabi,[2] an attempt was made by him to reconcile the pantheist to orthodox Islam.[3] The statement of ᶜAbd al-Qadir that God's knowledge of mankind was made possible through the divine illumination (al-Tajalli al-Rauhani) and that this divine illumination is the essence and the ultimate source of all other beings[4] is more or less a reflection of some aspects of the doctrine of Wahdat al-wujud.

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1. During the formative period of the Jihad Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi had devoted part of his time in refuting the arguments of some students of speculative theology who according to him confused the masses with their untenable arguments on the question of ᶜAqida - See for example his Nasihat al-'Umma al-Muhammadiyya li Bayan Hukm al-Firaq al-Shaytaniyya allati Zaharat fi Biladina al-Sudaniyya, MS, NHRS, p.2/4,5.
2. His dissatisfaction with ᶜIbn al-Arabi's pantheist theory was expressed by him in the course of discussion with his master Shaykh Muhammad Sambo who was requested to give an explanation of the concept of al-Wahda al-Mutlaqa (the absolute unity of being).
3. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, al-Futuhat al-Rabbaniyya MS, NHRS, p.192/18 p.19.
4. Ibid, p.2, similar views were expressed on this issue by Muhi al-Din b. al-ᶜArabi. For detailed information on the subject see 'Ibn al-ᶜArabi' by A.E. Affifi in M.M. Sharif (ed.) A History of Muslim Philosophy Otto Harrssowitz, wiesbaden, 1963, p.402.

Regarding the question of existence Dantafa was of the view that the basic elements which constitute life are six: the first is the mind or the spirit and the second the pen (al-Qalam). The third is the Nafs (soul), also known in Sufi terminology as the tablet (al-lauh). The fourth is the nature; the fifth is the essence (al-jauhar), followed by the body which is the last created thing.[1] A further subdivision of life is given thus; life is divided into two worlds, the spiritual world which is a manifestation of the divine illumination and the material world which owes its existence to the spiritual world.[2] In his efforts to prove the existence of one deity Dantafa rejected the arguments advanced by the speculative theologians and produced his own argument as he understood it from the following Quranic verse

> And your God is one God: There is no god but He, Most Gracious, Most Merciful. Behold: In the creation of the heavens and the earth; In the alternation of the Night and the Day; In the sailing of the ships through the ocean for the profit of mankind; In the rain which God sends down from the skies and the life which He gives therewith to an earth that is dead; In the beasts of all kinds that He scatters through the earth; In the change of the winds, and the clouds which they trail like their slaves between the sky and the earth; (Here) indeed are signs for a people that are wise.[3]

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Kuliyyat al-ʿAlam al-Sitta, MS, NHRS, p.192/15 p.8.
2. al-Futuhat al-Rabbaniyya, p.16
3. Qur'an 2:164.

His understanding of the Quranic verse was that it consists of seven concrete pieces of evidence for the oneness of God and that each sign is a convincing evidence for people to believe in the existence in a philosophical conception that existence revolves around three basic things: nature, celestial sphere and spirits: that is, that the existence of every living thing is dependent upon these three factors. He asserted that some people's perception was limited to the material world without paying attention to the world of the supernatural. Thus, they wrongly attribute our material existence to the influence of nature. This type of perception according to Dantafa could not grasp the real essence of life for its failure to see beyond the effects of nature.[1] He exposed the genesis of the weakness of the materialist conception which attributes universal causation to nature and which assumes its independence from any external influence that regulates its affairs. The thesis of the antiquity and everlasting continuity of the laws of the universe has been questioned by ᶜAbd al-Qadir in that it places nature at par with a worshipped deity. This belief is a manifestation of the basic argument that there is no material evidence for the existence of spirits or the possibility of

1. al-Futuhat al-Rabbaniyya, p.2.

resurrection.[1] Having identified three groups of people who believe in the materialist conception of existence - the Naturalists (al-Taba'iuun) some physicians and similar creeds which share the same outlook with the Naturalists and physicists - Dantafa attributed the defect in their understanding to what he termed 'material veils' (al-Hujub al-Turabiyya) which normally block the spiritual vision which inturn restrains them from perceiving beyond the material world. He assumed that the failure to adopt the proper method (mystical philosophic perception) prevents them from realizing the fact that these creatures which they thought to be independent are nothing but components of a big design and are susceptible to decay; and they adopted that method they would have arrived at the logical conclusion that the universe is being controlled by a Divine Order.[2]

With regards to the question of the existence of spirit (al-Ruh) Dantafa attempted to find an answer to the problematic of the nature and power of the spirit by adopting the Quranic logic. Nevertheless, he tried to give his own understanding of the nature of the spirit as expressed in the 'Aya (verse)

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1. Ibid.
2. Qur'an, 17:85.

> Say: "the spirit (cometh) by command of my Lord". 1

ᶜAbd al-Qadir's understanding of this verse was that the position of the command (al-'Amr) in relation to the spirit is the same as the position of the spirit to the body signifying its vitality and indispensability to the existence of the spirit. He elaborated on this point in order to prove that the Divine Order is the Essence by which the universal existence (al-Wujud al-Kauni) is perpetuated.[2]

The discussion on the nature and essence of existence will lead us further to shed some light on Dantufa's conception of the life to come. It is significant to note here that Dantafa's conception of the life to come differs in many respects from the orthodox line of thinking.[3] His own line of argument is that the world to come is part of the wider spiritual world (al-ᶜAlam al-Rauhani) where human life will be perpetuated through the supremacy of the soul as it is sustained in this world by the body. He argued that

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1. Tafsir al-Jalalayn gives its own understanding of al-Ruh (the spirit) to mean the spirit by which the body is sustained. al-Qurtabi's understanding is that the Ruh may be referring to Jibril, Jesus or the Qur'an. See Tafsir al-Jalalayn Beirut ed. n.d. p.382 and Tafsir al-Qurtubi, Dar al-Shaᶜb, Cairo, n.d. vol. 41, p.3939.
2. al-Futahat al-Rabaniyya.
3. The position of Islam on the life to come is that human beings will be resurrected both physically and spiritually and will account for their deeds in this world.

since human soul owes its existence to the Divine light, it then logically follows that its immortality is not subject to question. He refuted the common notion that mankind will be resurrected in the Hereafter in its present shape. His rationale was that the present state of being is susceptible to decay and decomposition because it is basically an amalgam of the basic elements of existence such as heat, coldness, wetness and dryness; its present composition is an inherent weakness which will not allow it to survive for ever. Contrary to the widely held view among the 'Ulama' but particularly the commentators of the Qur'an, Dantafa ventured to state that the actual life in the HereAfter is spiritual and that human beings will not be resurrected in their present shape. Their existence in the HereAfter will be a spiritual one where their souls will envelope their bodies, contrary to what obtained in the present world where the body contains the soul. However he was cautious enough not to be misunderstood that he was sharing the same view with the materialist philosophers who deny the resurrection of the body.[1]

> That is what the ancient philosophers have given attention to and they spent their whole life time (debating it), When should they get rid of these researches and investigate into problems of the HereAfter? The reality of which could only be grasped through revelation Wahy and Shari'a [2]

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1. 'Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, al-Tafadul Bayna Jinsay al-Malak wa al-Bashar, NHRS, P.193/3, pp.3-4.

2. Ibid.

Defending his thesis, ᶜAbd al-Qadir argued that his findings on the condition of life in the HereAfter contradict the views of some philosophers who claim that only souls will be resurrected in the HereAfter to the exclusion of the body.[1] He attempted to explain himself in such a way that it was only the soul which will be held responsible in the HereAfter for what mankind had done in this world.[2] The line of argument adopted by ᶜAbd al-Qadir on the nature of the life in the HereAfter which apparently seemed to be a middle course between the position of the orthodox scholars and some Muslim philosophers like Ibn Rushd and al-Farabi might not have found parallel in the known schools of thought. His emphasis on 'my statement' and 'my intention' suggests that these ideas were his own deductions based on his mystical philosophy.

THE ISLAMIC CONCEPT OF MAN

In his search to define the role of man vis-a-vis other beings, such as angels, jinns and the celestial world, ᶜAbd al-Qadir Dantata endeavoured to give us his own intellectual perception of the Islamic concept of man. This time he tried to employ both the physical and metaphysical analytical tool to explain the

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.

position of man in relation to other beings both physically and metaphysically. From the physical viewpoint Dantafa argues that creatures such as angels and jinns are superior to mankind and that their inherent superiority is due to the fact that they were created from fire while human beings were created of mud or clay which were inferior to light. However, from the spiritual point of view man which is a blend of mud and divine spirit is superior to angels.[1] Although this argument seems to be an echo of the Quranic injunction that deals with the issue of creation,[2] yet Dantafa's rationalization of the role of man appeares to have been deriyed from his own understanding of the position of man in relation to the whole universe. To clarify this point one needs to examine Dantafa's understanding of what he termed as the spiritual world. He divided the spiritual world into four: the first is the world of human reality which is actually an embodiment of <u>cIlm</u> (science), brain and ideas. The possession of such inherent talents by man is a proof of his superiority over other beings. The second is what he called the

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1. <u>Ibid</u>, p.2.

2. The following verses could be cited here as evidence for the Quranic injunction on the matter of creation: "He created man from sounding clay like unto pottery, and He created jinns from fire - free of smoke". Qur'an 55: 14, 15.

higher intellects (al-ᶜUqul al-ᶜUluwiya) i.e. the angels. From the point of view of their physical status, these creatures are superior to any other being for their role in revealing knowledge and facilitating easy comprehension for mankind when he is spiritually susceptible. The third is the relationship between the world and the physical world where species such as trees, and stones nourish. Therefore whatever obtained in the physical world is meant for human needs. The fourth is the world of the jinn and devils. The superiority of these species in the opinion of Dantafa is essentially due to the basic elements from which they were created and (that is fire) which is more powerful than clay.[1]

The message which Dantafa wanted to put across was that he wanted to prove that mankind is a combination of all these realities for what he possesses of superior qualities such as thought, spirit, heart, soul and body which distinguishes him from other creatures and enables him to perceive, determine and act.[2] Accordingly man, in the opinion of Dantafa is the sum total of life, ᶜIlm (knowledge), free will and volition.[3]

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1. al-Tafdul Bayna Jinsay al-Malak wa al-Bashar, pp.1-4.
2. Ibid, p.6.
3. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Nisab al-Maujudat MS, NHRS, P.192/4, p.1.

It is interesting to note here that Dantafa's philosophical conception of man regarding his ability to act independently is similar to the school of thought of the Mu^{c}tazalite who espoused the doctrine of free-will in human action.

^{c}Ali Shari^{c}ati's thoughts came near to Dantafa when he discusses the same topic, that the superiority of man over other creatures is because of what he possessed of knowledge and his ability to keep God's Trust which is interpreted by him to mean "man's free-will" that is his freedom to do good or evil. And as he had pointed out;

> The superiority of man to angels and the whole of creation derives from knowledge, since man learned the Names and the angels fell in prostration before him; despite the superiority of their descent to that of man, they were compelled to humble themselves before him. 1

Dantafa's understanding of human existence in relation to other beings was not confined only to biological analysis. An attempt was made by him to grasp the real essence of man as a distinct entity. He asserted that the human being is composed of three elements: nature, spirit and Divine Order. These three elements constitute what he termed as the Absolute Reality, beyond which there is nothing but the world of non-

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1. ^{c}Ali Shari^{c}ati, 'Man and Islam', In his On The Sociology of Islam, Trans. Hamid Algar, Berkeley, 1979, p.76.

existence. However, the Divine instinct is peculiar to human existence and no other entities would share with him these unique characteristics. At the same time creatures like animals, angels and jinn have something in common with mankind in relation to the biological and spiritual constituents. He did not dispute the fact that other creatures could be more powerful than human being but as he put it, this does not mean that they are superior to mankind who is considered to be perfect in many respects. Those of mankind who attained perfection could have the ability of controlling both the upper and the lower worlds[1] and subsequently subjecting jinn and angels to serve them in what ever way they wish. This high position of perfection is usually attained by prophets, 'Awliya' (saints), pivots ('Aqtab)and the seven 'Abdal (substitutes).

To convince people of the logic of his dispensation Dantafa narrated his own personal experience with (Arbab al-Ahwal) (distinguished class of the Sufis) who exercised their super-natural will over certain events.[2]

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1. In the vocabulary of the Sufis the upper world signifies the supernatural world, the knowledge of which could only be attained by vision and intuitive experience. As for the lower world it refers to the physical world in which we live.

2. 'Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Maqamat al-'Anbiya', NHRS, P.192/20.

ᶜAbd al-Qadir might have been referring, in this instance, to his Shaykh, Muhammad Sanbe, who according to him possessed an extra ordinary spiritual power that allowed him to perform miracles.[1]

EPISTEMOLOGY IN ᶜABD AL-QADIR

In trying to rationalize the 'theory' of knowledge, Dantafa had given his own philosophical understanding of the object of creation. He asserted that God had created his creatures in order that they may know him in a perfect manner.[2] He gave his own understanding of the Quranic teaching:

> "I have only created jinns and men that they may serve me."[3]

Dantafa's interpretation of the word, 'serve' meaning to know, is striking. His understanding differred from the established orthodox one which gives the straightforward and the apparent meaning of the verse. He went further to elaborate on this point by adopting the general understanding of the Sufis in respect of the wisdom of creation that "I (God) was a hidden Treasure and I was not known by that time. Then I wished to be

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1. cf. chapter I p. 13.
2. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, al-Futuhat al-Rabbaniyya, p.1.
3. Qur'an: 51/57.

known and I created the creatures to know them and for them to know me".[1] Based on the understanding of this wisdom the Sufis tried their utmost, intuitively, to attain the higher position of the real knowledge ᶜIlm al-Haqiqa (the knowledge of God). It was ᶜAbd al-Qadir's belief that the best of all knowledge is that of knowing God from the point of view of His Essence and attributes. But here again he departed from the general conception of the Speculative Theologians by employing an intuitive methodology which explains to him the secrets of knowledge as we will see presently.

In his classification of the supernatural knowledge Dantafa claimed that the methods of the acquisition of the supernatural knowledge are varied and that Allah had spread the secrets of knowledge in the universe for mankind to pursue; except for what He decided to keep for Himself. Also, He had pointed to the different ways of acquiring such secrets. The only secret which He kept unveiled to people is the physical manifestation of the Essence of His reality. According to Dantafa, perception in human beings lies in their ability to acquire and that acquisition is considered to be external to their existential reality. He tried to draw a

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, al-Futuhat al-Rabbaniyya, p.1.

comparison within the orthodox line of thinking between God's knowledge of things and human perception by saying that God's knowledge of things is infinitely absolute even before the creation of the universe, while man's perception is new and is made possible after his creation and hence its limitation.[1] In Dantofa's philosophy human perception of the essence of things is tentative and subject to review from time to time except what he has acquired from the Divine reality.

He therefore proposed six 'codes' (methods) of acquiring supernatural knowledge. These are what he termed as the Divine 'code', the spiritual 'code', the celestial 'code', the conceptual 'code', the standard 'code' and the hearing 'code'.[2] The first 'code' i.e. the Divine one is restricted to the prophets and certain class of 'Awliya' according to their graduated position. The second is confined to the top echelon of the Sufis. The third is the preserve of the astrologists and stronomers. They utilized it to explore the world of the unknown and it helps them in explaining certain phenomena through the observation of the movements of the planets from one position to the other and their role in determining certain occurences within the

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1. 'Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Kashf al-Ghita, wa al-Riyyab fi Dhikr Mafatih al-Ghayb, NHRS, P.192/11, p.1.
2. Ibid, p.2.

physical world. It has been Dantafa's belief that this type of knowledge has been condemned by the Shari^{c}a because of its diversionary and harmful effects; except when it is employed for the service of God.[1] The fourth is the prerogative of people of vision and it is a controversial one. The fifth is for the 'habitualists' and it is reprehensible. As for the sixth category it could be comprehended and utilized by both the Sufis and the common people.[2] A further subdivision of the system of acquiring supernatural knowledge is given by ^{c}Abd al-Qadir that knowledge could be perceived either through revelation or through illumination (Kashf). To illustrate this point further he adopted al-Ghazali's definition of the Kashf as the "illumination of the heart by the /Divine/ light which reflects the purity of soul and permit it to visualize the kingdoms of the Heaven and the Earth".[3] Another way of perceiving knowledge is through intuitive knowledge (farasa). His definition of al-farasa is that "it is an idea that suddenly took possession of the heart and flushes out the contrary view".[4] Other ways of perceiving knowledge

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1. It was the firm opinion of the Sokoto Jihad leader that the pursuance of the study of the science of Astrology would be in the best interest of Islam.
2. Kashf al-Ghita.
3. Ibid, p.10.
4. Ibid, p.25.

outlined by ᶜAbd aḷ-Qadir are:

(i) Ilham (revelation)

(ii) Notions

(iii) Divine Inner Voice.

Dantafa categorized astrological observations and geomancy among the supernatural aciences and pointed to the interplay between the celestial world and the science of geomancy for findings of ᶜIlm al-Raml (geomancy) are usually determined by the changing position of the planets and their subsequent influence on human activity.[1] While acknowledging the validity and the efficacy of the celestial sciences, Dantafa expressed his reservation on the influence of these sciences on the mind of the ignorant who may ascribe to them the sole power of determining all sorts of activity. The secretive nature of these sciences was emphasized by Dantafa, that unlike the other normative sciences the supernatural sciences should not be freely taught. The popularization of such sciences is considered by him to be a treacherous act.[2]

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1. Ibid, p.19.
2. Ibid, p.27.

IN SEARCH OF THE PERFECT MAN

The theory of the perfect man as expounded by ᶜAbd al-Karim al-Jili seemes to have engaged the attention of the Sokoto Jihad leaders for a considerable time. The problematic nature of the theory might have prompted Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi to undertake the teaching of this theory to the most advanced students,, probably to avoid the miscomprehension of the theory by his Talaba. Infaq al-Maysur recorded that Muhammad Bello was taught al-Jili's book al-Insan al-Kamil (The Perfect Man) by his father ᶜUthman b. Fudi.[1] However, Infaq did not elaborate on the nature of the problems faced at the time. Shaykh ᶜUthman is also said to have taught the book to his son Muhammad Sanbo the master of ᶜAbd al-Qadir Dantafa who in turn transmited it to ᶜAbd al-Qadir through the conventional method of learning and later by way of critical evaluation. The ideas of al-Insan al-Kamil, which seem to have fascinated Dantafa, were first versified by him in a form of a Nazm with a lengthy commentary on the doctrine of the perfect man. Another work in a form of a Qasida was compiled by him on the introductory part of the

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1. Muhammed Bello, Infaq al-Maysur fi Tarikh Bilad al-Takrur, ed. C.E.J. WHITTING, London, 1957, p.190. Muhammad Bello did not point to the problematic nature of the book and accepted it to be one of the ᶜUlum of the Haqiqa.

book.[1] Sensing the controversial arguments which the theory would arouse within the ranks of the orthodox school of thought he opted to write a detailed analysis of the book simplifying the problematic ideas discussed by al-Jili. This was done after he had read it and critically assessed it for the second time, before he finally came to grips with its reality.[2] Dantafa asserted that it was through his intuitive knowledge that he had finally succeeded in decoding some problematic areas of the theory of the perfect man

> Nay, I do not think that anyone in this era had discovered what I have discovered /of the real essence of the book/ after the afore mentioned sayyid /Muhammad Sanbo/. 3

In his book al-Kashf wa al-Bayan ᶜan ma 'Ashkala min Kitab al-Insan, the title of which points to its rationalizing stance, ᶜAbd al-Qadir laboured hard to reconcile some ideas of the perfect man to orthodox thinking. He attempted to tackle four main problems in the book which seemes to have generated a lot of discussion in the circles of intellectuals, in the Sokoto Caliphate probably for their seemingly

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1. ᶜAbd al-Qadir had indicated elsewhere that the Qasida was lost in the process. See his al-Kashf wa al-Bayan lima Ashkala min Kitab al-Insan, NHRS, P. 192/9, p.1.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

deviationist nature. His rationalization is centred mainly around the following areas:

(i) the creation of the Universe;

(ii) the problem of the nature of the torment in the HereAfter and the transient nature of Hell-fire;

(iii) the problem of the curse of Iblis (the Devil);

(iv) the worshipping of God by unbelievers. 1

An explanation was offered on al-Jili's thesis that God had created the Universe from Himself ('Awjada al-ᶜAlam min Nafsihi) and that the position of the Universe to Him is like the position of snow to water and this means God is the water which is the source of the snow. ᶜAbd al-Qadir said that the problematic nature of this statement is understandable especially for those who take such/a statements at their face-value. The main problem arises, fundamentally, from the erroneous impression such statement might have created in the minds of the people who could be misled into believing that the intention of the author is to give the impression that God could be defined in a particular way or restricted to/a specific unit, and this runs counter to the Shariᶜa doctrine. ᶜAbd al-Qadir tried to

1. ᶜAbd al-Karim al-Jili, al-Insan al-Kamil fi Maᶜrifat al-ᶜAwakhir wa al-ᶜAwa'il, Cairo, 1970, p.47.

understand al-Jili's statement in a metaphorical way, that what al-Jili's meant was that God is the Reality of everything; yet He could not be conceived or described by any unit of analysis. Another explanation offered by ᶜAbd al-Qadir for al-Jili's stance on this matter was that what al-Jili meant was that God is the essence of the whole Universe. Then it follows that

> our existence is a manifestation of His Essence and our attributes are manifestation of His own. Also, our conditions are manifestation of His Names. 1

More explanation was given of the ecstatic utterances of al-Jili by ᶜAbd al-Qadir, that al-Jili's theory of the concept of God ought not to have been confused for the anthropomorphic conception which contradicts the basic teachings of Islam. The proper grasp of the theory of the perfect man in the opinion of ᶜAbd al-Qadir will convince people beyond doubt that al-Jili was not subscribing to the doctrine of incarnation (al-Hulul) and al-'Ittihad which are totally rejected by ᶜAbd al-Qadir as unintelligible.[2]

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1. It is part and parcel of Articles of faith in Islam to believe in the oneness of God and that He resembles nobody and nothing resembles Him. Also He is not restricted by time and place.

2. The doctrine of Hulul assumes that both human and divine natures can be united; while that of al-Ittihad presupposes the existence of two independent beings. For more information on this topic see for example, AnneMarie Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam, North Carolina, 1975, p.144.

Another problematic area in al-Jili's philosophical thought which ᶜAbd al-Qadir took time to clarify was the question of the permanent or the transient nature of the Hell-fire.[1] It was al-Jili's disposition that the concept of fire is transcient as far as human existence is concerned and this makes it vanishable after the day of Judgement, because God had already destined that His mercy had already superceded His anger, meaning in al-Jili's understanding that the torment in the HereAfter is not everlasting and will eventually come to an end. ᶜAbd al-Qadir had pinpointed the serious implication of this discourse in that it questions the faith of the Muslims who strongly believe that the inmates of Hell-fire will remain there for ever. ᶜAbd al-Qadir attempted here again to find an excuse for al-Jili's thesis that he had already nullified this statement by another statement in the same section which said that the unbelievers final and permanent abode will be the Hell-fire.[2]

He gave his own understanding of al-Jili's position on this matter: that his statement was restricted to the position of the Muslim sinners and had to be understood accordingly. The third controversial

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1. ᶜAbd al-Karim al-Jili, al-Insan al-Kamil ; section fifty eight p.48.

2. al-Kashf wa al-Bayan, p.7.

issue raised by al-Jili was the status of Iblis (the devil) in the HereAfter. He advanced his own interpretation of the 'Aya:

> "And my curse shall be on Thee till the Day of Judgement."[1]

His conception of the 'Aya was that Iblis curse will be terminated after the day of the judgement and it will be subsequently lifted after that. It was probably his literal comprehension of the meaning of the 'Aya that led him into asserting that the ban on Iblis will be 'lifted' after the day of judgement. His rationale for such a view was that by that time the 'veil of darkness of nature' will be removed and all the elements of existence will return to their original source.

Here again, Dantafa tried to argue his master's case mystically by first acknowledging the problematic nature of al-Jili's argument to the (Muqallidun) who were primarily concerned with the apparent meaning of things. But as for the real scholars al-Jili's statement was quite in order for their realization of the fact that every species has a source of origin from which it was created and to which it will return after fulfilment of its role. This role could be good or evil, but in the end both good and evil will go back

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1. Qur'an: 38/78.

to Allah. However, the Muslims' closeness to Him will be from the point of view of happiness for what they had pursued of good deeds in this world; while that of the unbelievers will be as a result of what they had committed of evil in this world.[1] Inshort, ᶜAbd al-Qadir's defence of al-Jili's argument is based on his own interpretation of the 'Aya

"And towards Him are ye turned".[2]

The fourth controversial point highlighted by ᶜAbd al-Karim al-Jili and justified by his student Dantafa, was the question of the nature of the unbelievers mode of worsnip and the temporary nature of their abode in Hell-fire. al-Jili opined that the problem with the unbelievers is that they worship the essence of God instead of God. To him, the unbelievers will not realize their folly until they pass through the layers of Hell-fire, before they are finally purified in order to see the truth and follow it.[3] This argument also contradicts the basic belief system of Islam which says that the final abode of the unbelievers will be the Hell-fire where they will live for ever. However, ᶜAbd al-Qadir's rationale for

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1. al-Kashf wa al-Bayan, p.8.
2. Qur'an, 29:21.
3. al-Kashf wa al-Bayan, p.9.

al-Jili's understanding of this problem was identical with the one he gave for the status of the devil in the HereAfter that in the end all the creatures will return to their original source.[1]

PATTERN OF THOUGHT AND STYLE

To conclude this chapter it is deemed necessary to reflect on the pattern of thought and style of ᶜAbd al-Qadir Dantafa in the area of mystical philosophy. However, from the onset one would like to state with confidence that ᶜAbd al-Qadir's philosophical thoughts were not abridgement, synthesis or summary of ideas of the earlier scholars. It is true that his thoughts can be rightly placed within the mystical school of thought, and it can not be denied, as pointed earlier, that his thoughts were influenced by certain schools of philosophy. Yet his contribution to philosophy was, for all practical purposes, original in the sense that he had opened a new gate of philosophical investigation which could be truly attributed to him. He properly digested the philosophical doctrines of great philosophers like Ibn al-ᶜArabi, al-Ghazali, Yahya al-Sahrawardi, al-Shaᶜrani, al-Jili, al-Siyuti, al-Qushayri

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1. Ibid.

and Ibn Khaldun and evaluated them critically.[1] He was the first ᶜAlim in the recorded history of the central and western Sudan to have committed his pen to probing the philosophical doctrines and advancing his own position. Although it is difficult to pin his thought down to specific trend in mystical philosophy, his inclination towards al-Jili and Ibn al-ᶜArabi is self evident. His disapproval of the theory of Wahdat al-Wujud (the Unity of all Beings) al-Ittihad and al-Hulul,[2] vindicated him from any heretical tendencies. Equally, his persistent rationalization and apparent sympathy for al-Jili's thoughts[3] places him among the independent philosophers who continued to search for the 'absolute' truth regardless of pre-conceived views and prejudices.

Still on his original thinking we have no other means of independent investigation to rely upon other than what he said about himself that

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1. See for example Kashf al-Ghita' wa al-Riya', p.29.
2. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Maqamat al-ᶜAnbiya' MS, NHRS, P.192/20, p.1.
3. Kashf al-Ghita' p.28.

> All that which I will state here is not derived from the standard traditional authorities (Manqulat al-Kutub) but it is rather an /original/ Divine Revelation (Ilham Rabbani) and inspiration lit into my inner soul for the guidance of seekers of knowledge and the education of the ignorant 1

ᶜAbd al-Qadir who sometimes advised people not to look for his ideas in any book stated that

> I wished, praise be to Allah, that nobody among the /previous/ authors had surpassed me in writing such a tract. 2

The above statement is self-explanatory, in showing the extent to which ᶜAbd al-Qadir could go to reassert his philosophical ideas.

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1. al-Kashf wa al-Bayan, p.1.
2. Kashf al-Ghita', p.28.

CHAPTER IV

ᶜABD AL-QADIR B. AL-MUSTAFA AS A HISTORIAN

HISTORICAL 'TRADITIONS' IN HAUSALAND BEFORE 1804

It is perhaps impossible to ascertain with any degree of precision when historical accounts were first recorded in Hausaland. However, it is assumed that historical accounts of social and political activities of the state and society in Hausaland, preserved in oral form,[1] were transmitted through story telling, court officials and chronicles, right from the evolution of political institutions and the emergence of state structures in Hausaland. The earliest historical record known to us so far is the seventeenth century Asl al-Wangarawiyyin, written in (1061A.H./1650A.D.).[2] Asl al-Wangarawiyyin gives an insight into the introduction

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1. See for example, Tarikh Arbab Hadha al-Balad al-Musamma Kano, NHRS, P.93/4. Tarikh 'Arbab could be cited here as an example of an oral history which was later converted to writing. The date of the authorship of this useful pre-Jihad historical document is still a subject of debate.

2. See Asl al-Wangariyyin, NHRS, M.A.H. 2/15. The document has been translated with a commentary by M.A. al-Hajj under the title 'A seventeenth century Chronicle on the origins and Missionary Activities of the Wangarawa' Kano Studies Vol. 1, No. 4, 1968, pp.7-16.

of Islam into Kano and Hausaland in general and the intellectual activities of the Wangarawa 'Ulama' in the course of their migration from the area of the Niger bend into Hausaland.

Moving up north to the Tuwariq area we are fortunate to lay our hands on the history of Ahir written by Abu Bakar Tahir b. Tashi (d.1067/1657).[3] The significance of Tarikh Ahir lies in the fact that it provides us with the earliest recorded history of the socio-political relationships between the state of Ahir and other state formations in Hausaland such as Kebbi, Zamfara, Gobir and Katsina. Tarikh Ahir, which is meant to be an autobiography of the Tuwariq scholar of Aghades AbuBakar b. Tashi, covers the first forty years of his life and contains useful data on the political development and social formation in Ahir region.[2] The chronicles of Ahir of which Abu Bakar b. Tashi's autobiography forms a part is found to be useful in providing accounts of the origins of the kingdom of Gobir in Azbin, and the nature of the relationships which existed between the Sultanate of Aghades on one hand, and Gobir, Zamfara, Kebbi and Adar on the other,

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1. See Abu Bakr b. al-Tahir Tashi, Tarikh Ahir NHRS, P189/7.

2. Ibid, see also J. Hunwick and R.S. O'fahey (eds.) 'Arabic literature in Africa', in A Bulletin of Bibliographical Information, No. 1, October, 1984.

in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[1]

Tarikh Arbab Hadha al-Balad al-Musamma Kano (popularly known as Kano Chronicle) is another evidence of the pre-Jihad historical development of great significance. The document which discusses a wide range of issues dating from the pre-1450 A.D. epoch is considered to be a major source for the reconstruction of historical processes in Hausaland but particularly in Kano. The absence of the date of authorship constitutes a problem as far as the chronological and historiographical issues are concerned. Murray Last's suggestion to fix mid-17th century as the probable date of the compilation of the document has compounded the problem rather than solved it. His refusal to adopt an stylistic analysis to ascertain whether Tarikh ᶜArbab Kano was put together at one time in history or continued to be updated from time to time by different authors, rendered his whole hypothesis null and void. His choice of lifting a sentence out of context such as "for a reason I forgot" confuses issues rather than explaining them.[2] Also, his dismissal of the pre-1450

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1. Abdullahi Augi, The Gobir factor in the Social and Political History of the Rima Basin C.1650 1808 A.D. Ph.D. thesis, A.B.U., 1984. pp.XXXI-XXXII.

2. Murray Last, 'Historical Metaphors In the Intellectual History of Kano Before 1800', paper presented at the International Seminar on the History of The Central Sudan before 1804, A.B.U., Jan., 1979, p.2.

socio-political developments in and around Kano and the reducing of some vital aspects of Tarikh ᶜArbab Kano as to what he calls 'mere historical metaphor' are superficial arguments and an echo of the Hamitic hypothesis.[1]

Kano Chronicle provides 'useful' and in many instances precise information about the political developments in some states in Hausaland, like the case of Gobir, and is corroborated by independent oral and written records.[2] It provides detailed information about political, economic and intellectual developments in Kano and Hausaland in general. Vital information pertaining to the role of women as queen mothers, expansion of trade to the south, nature of warfare, migrations of scholars from the SeneGambian region and the diffusion of knowledge but particularly book culture, is spread throughout the book.[3]

It is suggested that Kano Chronicle had drawn on a body of literature both oral and written but mainly songs and praise songs, oral narratives and written kinglists.[4] It is the humble opinion of this author that one of the sources of Tarikh 'Arbab Kano is

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1. Ibid, p.3.
2. Abdullahi Augi, p.xxxi.
3. See Tarikh Arbab, See also Murray Last, "Historical Metaphors ..." p.21.
4. Murray Last, "Historical Metaphors ..." p.3.

Asl al-Wangarawiyyin which in his view was written earlier than Tarikh 'Arbab Kano. The absence of explicit reference to Asl al-Wangarawiyyin in Tarikh 'Arbab Kano as pointed out by Murray Last[1] does not necessarily preclude Asl al-Wangarawiyyin as one of its major sources. The fact remains, that despite contradictions here and there, certain information pertaining to intellectual activity of some scholastic communities in some parts of Hausaland are to be found in the two documents.

Tarihin Zamfara and Asalin Zamfara are some of the important historical records which shed some light on some historical events in the Central Rima basin in the 17th and 18th centuries.[2] The two records are kinglists of the rulers of Zamfara. They also contain accounts of some interesting events associated with some Sarakuna of Zamfara.[3] According to Abdullahi Augi, Tarihin Zamfara is more detailed in many respects than Asalin Zamfara especially on the nature of the relationships that existed between the Gobirawa on one hand, and the Zamfarawa on the other. Both documents suffer from some serious defects of inconsistency and lack of dating

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1. Ibid.
2. Abdullahi Augi, Gobir Factor ..., p.xxxiv.
3. Ibid, p.xxxiii.

for the reigns of the rulers of Zamfara. In the case of Tarihin Zamfara there is the problem of dating the events that took place due to the method of dating in accordance with the annual recurrence of the seasons.[1]

The dominant historical tradition in Hausaland before the Jihad was dynastic, having objective for the glorification of the activities of particular dynasties and the role of certain individuals within the group. A major characteristic feature of the pre-Jihad historical writings is that they are either 'detached' or non-committal narratives which present the chronology of events in a logical sequence like the case of Tarikh Arbab Kano or are meant for the glorification and promotion of the interest of a particular ruling dynasty or class of 'Ulama' such as the case of Tarikh Ahir, Tarihin Zamfara and Asl al-Wangarawiyyin.

THE MEANING AND OBJECT OF HISTORY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SOKOTO JIHAD

The 19th century Jihad in the Central Sudan as an intellectual revolution had thrown the door of intellectual endeavour open to people. Part of this intellectual activity was the attention given to the

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1. Ibid, pp.xxxiii-xxxiv; see also Garba Nadama, The Rise and Collapse of A Hausa State, p.xxxiii.

study and role of history in shaping, rationalizing and justifying the Jihad actions. It is significant to note here that throughout the formative period of the Jihad (1774-1803) the Sokoto Jihad leaders did not attach great importance to the study of history as a specialized discipline. It may not be totally irrelevant to suggest that the primary objective of the Jihad leaders was not to pursue purely academic life per se but to lay a solid foundation of ideological orientation with a view to establishing an Islamic state based on their own ideals. Therefore, the major pre-occupation of the Jihad leadership was to educate people about the basic teachings of Islam, raise their ideological consciousness and refute some misconceptions perpetrated by certain classes of the 'Ulama', in preparation for the creation of a new social order.[1] This might explain the fact that historical writings in the Sokoto Caliphate constitute only a fraction of the great deal of the literature produced by the Sokoto intellectuals.[2] Thus as Murray Last has rightly pointed out:

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1. An examination of the writings of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi in the first thirty years of his intellectual activity will prove this point.

2. D.M. Last, 'Arabic Source Material and Historiography in Sokoto to 1864' 'an outline' R.B.C.A.D.. Ibadan, Vol. I, No. 2, January 1965, p.3.

> history was subordinate to the desire to guide and maintain the community on the strict path of Islam. 1

The following statement by ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa may substantiate the above argument and may reflect the position of the Sokoto Jihad leaders on the importance of historical investigation:

> even though this /i.e. writing of history/ is not of great significance in Islam, yet, it may sharpen the intellect and arouse flagging enthusiasm.[2]

The perid 1804-1809 witnessed the overthrow of the Sarauta system of government by the Sokoto Jihad forces and the subsequent establishment of a Caliphal system of administration. The post-1809 period saw the Sokoto Jihad leaders pre-occupied with laying the political structure and the institutional foundation of the newly founded state. Although Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi did not write historical books, strictly speaking, some of his compilations are said to be of historical value in the sense that they point to the development of his thinking, sources of his ideas, consolidation of the achievements of the Sokoto Jihad movement, to socio-

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1. Ibid.
2. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, 'Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya, Translation, p.215.

political conditions and to intellectual activity before and after 1804.[1]

However, from 1800, onwards, the Sokoto Jihad leaders realized the importance of documenting their activities. The initiative was taken by Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi himself in his Tanbih al-Ikhwan 'ala Ahwal Ard al-Sudan. A cursory look at the topics tackled by the book may reveal their historical bias. These topics are:

(i) on the distance of the land of the Sudan and some of its inhabitants in the Maghrib

(ii) the status of the inhabitants of the Sudan vis-a-vis Islam

(iii) on the position of al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya and the state of religion there

(vi) on the early development of Islamization in countries where Islam pre-dominates in Bilad al-Sudan (like Borno, Kano, Katsina and some parts of Zakzak, Songhay and Malle) and

(v) on the causes of the Jihad against the Sultans of Hausaland etc. etc.

Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi's sense of historical perception might have prompted him to ask his brother and al-Wazir al-'Akbar ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi to write for posterity the root cause of their Hijra and the subsequent outbreak of hostilities between the Jihad forces and the Hausa rulers. ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi's exposition

1. The following works could be cited here as examples: Masa'il Muhimma Yahtaj ila Maᶜrifatiha Ahl al-Sudan MS, NHRS, P.2/1; Bayan Wujub al-Hijra MS, NHRS, P.127/1; Najm al-'Ikhwan MS, NHRS, P.92/1 and Tahdhir al-'Ikhwan min Iddiᶜa' al-Mahdiyya al-Mauᶜuda 'Akhir al-Zaman MS, NHRS, k.5/10. See also Murray Last, op.cit., pp.4-5.

which is the focal point of Tanbih al-'Ikhwan was written with the intention that

> whoever reads it may see eye to eye with them if he is one of the fairminded people. 1

Abdullahi's method was to review in sequence all the events in the Sokoto Jihad movement from its formative phase to the overthrow of the Sarauta system.[2]

A logical question which one could pose here is why this sudden concern with the documentation of the history of the Jihad at that material time. Was it in response to mounting criticisms and allegations from certain quarters such as Shaykh Muhammed al-ᶜAmin al-Kanemi who outrightly questioned the motives of the Sokoto Mujahidun and the legality of the whole process of the Jihad?[3] Was it in reaction to the opposition of the 'Ulama' of Yandoto who identified with the cause of Hausa Sultans right from the beginning and refused to sanction the Jihad? Were they foreseeing certain

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1. ᶜUthman b. Fudi, Tanbih al-'Ikhwan ᶜala Ahwal 'Ard al-Sudan MS, P.7171, p.12.

2. Ibid, pp.12-14.

3. Both Muhammad al-'Amin al-Kanemi's position and that of the Sokoto Jihad movement on the justification and legality of the Sokoto Jihad movement in the Central Sudan are contained in Infaq al-Maysur. See Muhammad Bello, Infaq al-Maysur fi Tarikh Bilad al-Tukrur, (ed.) C.E.J. Whitting London, 1957 - pp.125-174.

developments which might have reversed the whole achievements of the Sokoto Jihad movement? Were they writing for posterity? Or was it a combination of all these factors? It is difficult to give an outright answer t• these questions. However, the fact remains that the S•koto leadership resorted to history to explain certain historical processes that produced their movement. An•ther motivating factor may be that there was a great need to rationalize their actions with a view to legitimizing and justifying their Jihad.

A significant point which was stressed now and then, by the S•koto Jihad leaders, more especially by Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi, his son Muhammad Bello and later ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, was the neglect •f history and documentation of intellectual, political and social activities prior to the Jihad.[1] Muhammad Bello had specifically pointed out the absence •f written historical records before the Jihad

> the rec•rding of histories in those countries /I.e. al-Bilad al-Sudaniyya/ was totally neglected. 2

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1. Part of it is what Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi has termed as Hifz Salasil al-Isnad, which according to him is one •f the most important aspects •f religion. In the opinion of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi, while this discipline was more developed in the Mashriq it was undermined in the Maghrib and virtually non-existent in al-Bilad al-Sudaniyya. See ᶜAsanid al-Faqir al-Muᶜtarif bi al-ᶜAjz wa al-Taqsir, NHRS, P.1/1, p.1.

2. Muhammad Bell•, Infaq al-Maysur fi Tarikh Bilad al-Tukrur p.3.

This tradition of neglect of recording historical events was not peculiar to the Central Bilad al-Sudan but was part of the intellectual phenomenon of the entire Maghribian zone of which Bilad al-Sudan was a part. The Sokoto intellectuals had alluded to this fact in many instances.[1] For example in the process of substantiating his argument about the state of history writing in Bilad al-Sudan, ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa had quoted the Maghribian scholar al-Hassan al-Yusi as saying:

> this due attention to the histories and accounts of event and the chain of authority for them is very minimal among the Maghariba (westerners). They are pre-dominantly occupied in the field of learning with /uncritically/ receiving knowledge rather than investigating the source of its transmission. They neglect anything other than that. 2

Confirming further the argument of al-Yusi but with emphasis on his own local setting, Abd al-Qadir asserts:

> that /the Maghrib/ is where scholarship (ᶜIlm) religion and reason are well established, so, what should we say who are living on the periphery of civilization, particularly in Bilad al-Sudan where crudity (ᶜUjma), the darkness of ignorance and unbelief prevailed among the people. 3

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1. See Infaq, p.3; 'Asanid al-Faqir, p.3; and ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Qata'if al-Jinan fi Ahwal 'Ard al-Sudan, p.5.

2. See Qata'if, Translation p.296.

3. Ibid., p.297.

Like Muhammad Bello in his Infaq al-Maysur, ᶜAbd al-Qadir Dantafa had aspired to raise the historical consciousness of people to make them appreciate the objectives and achievements of the Jihad in contra-distinction to the previous social order. In this regard the ideological orientation of the Caliphate was central to the historical wrigings of the Sokoto Jihad leaders. Historical data and experience in other surrounding areas in Bilad al-Sudan were employed to support the ideological position of the Caliphate.[1] This position was consciously adopted to draw parallels between the socio-political conditions before and after the establishment of the Caliphate in 1804.

Perhaps the first conscious attempt to write a comprehensive history of state formation in the Western and Central Bilad al-Sudan, with special emphasis on the socio-political conditions in Hausaland and Borno and the forces that produced the Jihad, was made by Muhammed Bello in his book Infaq al-Maysur fi Tarikh Bilad al-Takrur, completed in 1227/1812.

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1. Shaykh al-Mukhtar al-Kunti's statement:
   > the Sudan is a land where unbelief prevails among the majority of its people and all the Muslims there are under the domination of unbelievers whom they have recognized as rulers

   is quoted by Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi's Bayan Wujub al-Hijra, ed. tran. F.H. al-Masri, p.51.

Mohammad Bello has spelt out the object of writing Infaq in the following words:

> to record what took place in these good days /i.e. the Jihad period/ and what has happened in this country Qutr in the past, of wonders and marvellous events, biographies of the 'Ulama' and whatever comes in due course of the mention of rare events. 1

It appears from all indications that Infaq al-Maysur is the most documented source on pre-Jihad intellectual and social activity in the Western and Central Sudan. It provides a 'comprehensive' picture of the origin, development and fruition of the Sokoto Jihad movement. The inclusion of Muhammad al-ᶜAmin al-Kanemi's criticisms and points of objection to the causes, origin and conduct of affairs in the course of the Jihad, side by side with the Jihad version, places the work among the objective historical writings in the Western and Central Sudan. As Murray Last has pointed out,

> the honesty of Muhammad Bello in including the very damaging criticism of al-Kanemi as well as reporting both defects and acts of insubordination gives the work credence and authority. 2

The writing of Infaq was probably followed by ᶜIshara wa ᶜIlam fi baᶜd Umur Silat al-ᶜArham[3], a biographical

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1. Infaq, p.2.
2. Murray Last, "Arabic Source Material' p.2.
3. See Muhammad Bello, 'Ishara wa ᶜIlam fi Baᶜd 'Umur Silat al-Arham MS, NHRS, P.14/4, 5, 6, 7.

account of 10,000 relations of Muhammad Bello. However, not much could be gleaned from such an ~~account apart~~ from a hint of the extent of the paternal and maternal relationships of the scholastic communities in the Rima Basin area and beyond.

[c]Abdullahi b. Fudi had started writing the history of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1811, when Shaykh urged him to write on the origin and causes of the Sokoto Jihad.[1] This brief historical exposition was carried further by him in his Tazyin al-Waraqat, written 1226/1813. Although the work was not meant to be, strictly speaking, a historical one as such, its chronological sequence of events and the motive behind it places it comfortably among the historical writings of the Jihad. Tazyin al-Waraqat is probably the most documented and detailed source on the early activities of Shaykh [c]Uthman's movement in the formative period of the Jihad. The work, which was compiled in a poetic form, was written in 1228/1813. [c]Abdullahi b. Fudi gave a rationalization for their movement in Tazyin al-Waraqat, thus:

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1. [c]Abdullahi b. Fudi's account is recorded in Tanbih al-'Ikhwan of Shaykh [c]Uthman b. Fudi.

network of scholastic communities in Hausaland and beyond with their diverse ethnic background.[1]

As an outcome of his long association with Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and Muhammad Bello, as an emissary and later as Bello's Wazir, Gidado b. Laima (1776-1851) had written the biographies of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and Muhammad Bello on two separate occassions. It is suggested that Gidado did not get seriously involved in writing until after the death of Amir al-Mu'minin Muhammad Bello in 1817. It is also suggested that his first historical work was written in 1254/1838. That was his al-Kashf wa al-Bayan'an Baᶜd Ahwal al-Sayyid Muhammad Bello.[2] Although the date of compilation of the second biographical work Raud al-Jinan Dhikr Karamat al-Shaykh ᶜUthman is not indicated by the author, internal evidence suggests that it was written two years after al-Kashf wa al-Bayan. The two biographical works differ in perspective from similar biographical accounts of the Sokoto historians in terms of both objectives and perspective. While other biographical works such as Idaᶜ al-Nusukh and Salwat al-'Ahzan basically emphasize the intellectual activity of

1. ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi, Idaᶜ al-Nusukh man Akhadhtu min al-Shuyukh ed. trans. M. Hiskett, op.cit.

2. Murray Last, 'Arabic Source Material' p.9.

the 'Ulama, Gidado, biographies put much emphasis on the supernatural qualities and the political performances of the personalities involved. The main thrust of both works is to highlight the miraculous performances of both Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and his son Muhammad Bello. The time chosen by Gidado in writing these biographical accounts is revealing in the sense that he wanted to elevate both personalities to higher plane which could not be attained by other Mujahidun, no matter their performances. Gidado who is said to be instrumental in the selection of Muhammad Bello as 'Amir al-Mu'minin to the exclusion of al-Wazir al-'Akbar ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi, desired to influence the future political development and establish his credibility as the custodian of both Shaykh ᶜUthman and Bello's 'secrets'.[1]

ᶜABD AL-QADIR'S HISTORICAL WRITINGS

ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's historical writings could be divided into two, 'general' and biographical. By general we mean those writings which

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1. See Murray Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, Ibadan 1967, pp.210-213. See also ᶜUmaru Malumfashi, op.cit.

cover the socio-political developments in Bilad al-Sudan but the central Bilad al-Sudan in particular. So far I have been able to identify two general historical and three biographical works. The two general works are 'Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya (Raudat al-'Afkar) completed in 1824 and Qata'if al-Jinan fi Ahwal Ard al-Sudan. The main problem with Qata'if al-Jinan is the fact that it is 'incomplete' with no date of compilation. The three biographical works so far identified are (i) Salwat al-Ahzan fi Dhikr al-Khawas min Ahl Hadha al-Zaman (ii) Tarjama li al-Shaykh Muhammad Thanbo and (iii) Tarjama li Ba^{c}d al-'Ulama'. It is interesting to note here that one characteristic feature of his biographical writings is their Sufi bias. With regard to his biographical works one would like to pose the question about the motivating factors which influenced Dantafa to devote his biographical studies to Sufi's only. As far as this author is aware it was only ^{c}Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa who first committed his pen to writing the biographies of the Sufis in the Sokoto Caliphate. Of greater significance among his biographical accounts is Salwat al-^{c}Ahzan. Although the title of the work points to the fact that it was a biography of certain distinguished Sufi Shaykhs (al-Khawas) it is in reality a biography of his master

Muhammad Sanbo b. ᶜUthman b. Fudi. The introduction of the book reveals the fact that the author intended originally to write a biography exclusively devoted to his Shaykh but later thought of expanding it by adding biographical accounts of some notables of the Sufi Shaykhs beginning with Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and ending with luminaries such as Muhammad Koyranga, believed to be a man of vision with many Karamat and spiritual visions to his credit. He is vividly portrayed by him as one of the accomplished saints. (al-ᶜAwliya' al-Sayyahin).[1] Among the notable Sufis mentioned in Dantafa's biography is the Sufi Ali Danbo nicknamed by Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi as Kushufat (visions). Reading of the future was one of the characteristics of this Shaykh. A'ᶜisha, one of the wives of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and the mother of Muhammad Sanbo, was one of the names mentioned in the Salwat al-'Ahzan[2].

The second biographical work (Tarjama) is devoted exclusively to Shaykh Muhammad Sanbo. It was out of his deep spiritual attachment and indebtedness to this Shaykh that ᶜAbd al-Qadir decided to produce the

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1. This category of the Sufis are believed in some circles to be spiritually moving around the world and to be in possession of the knowledge of distant things.

2. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Salwat al-ᶜAhzan fi Dhikr Baᶜd al-Khawas min Ahl Hadha al-Zaman, MS, NHRS, P.192/4.

book at the instance of some of his students (Talaba)[1] It appears that the primary object of the book is to bring a hitherto neglected but great Sufi personality to the lime-light, highlighting his exceptional qualities and outstanding performances in the field of mystical philosophy, his approach to sufism, mode of his Dhikr, Karamat and his ecstatic experiences.[2] The work is an invaluable document which gives an insight into the system of initiation into a particular order and the way in which the 'secrets' of spiritual vision are revealed by a Shaykh to a close associate of his.[3]

The third biographical work, (Tarjama li Ba^{c}d al-'Ulama') which is a short one, was devoted to seven Sufi Shaykhs who were the direct teachers of ^{c}Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa including Muhammad Bello, Muhammad al-Bukhari b. al-Shaykh and ^{c}Abd al-Qadir's father, al-Mustafa al-Turudi.[4] It is interesting to note here also that much space is devoted to the biography of Mohammad Sanbo who, according to ^{c}Abd al-Qadir, was mentioned in passing by the author of

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1. ^{c}Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Tarjama li al-Shaykh Muhammad Sanbo, NHRS, P.193/5.
2. Ibid, pp.1-12.
3. ^{c}Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Tarjama li Ba^{c}d al-'Ulama', NHRS, Ref. P.192/10, p.1.
4. Ibid, p.1.

Infaq al-Maysur. A likely explanation for this attitude may be that ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa was not satisfied with the brief description of his Shaykh by Muhammad Bello. The work, as the author indicated in the introduction, was meant to complement some aspects of Infaq al-Maysur. His remarks that Muhammad al-Bukhari's contribution was not recorded by Infaq al-Maysur [illegible] shows [illegible] that Dantafa felt that al-Bukhari's contribution is too significant to be ignored. This may explain why ᶜAbd al-Qadir included Muhammad al-Bukhari in his short biography.

However, as brief as it is, the work provides us with first hand information about the curriculum of education in the Sokoto Caliphate of the third generation of the Jihad. The inclusion of the study of the principles of Sufism and the prescription of certain standard Sufi books like 'Usul al-Tariq of Shaykh Ahmad al-Zarruq together with the principles of medicine, points to the level of Sufi standard perceptions attained by a product of the Sokoto Jihad movement. However, except for the brief information about the curriculum of education in this part of the world Dantafa did not bother much to give a detailed account of the educational system in Hausaland before and during the Jihad. He was probably satisfied with the account of ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi in Idaᶜ al-Nusukh which provides first hand information on the whole process

of education in Hausaland at the time.

Perhaps, ᶜAbd al-Qadir's major contribution in the field of history was made in the area of general history, namely the Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya (Raudat al-ᶜAfkar), followed by the Qata'if al-Jinan fi Ahwal Ard al-Sudan. Evidence suggests that ᶜAbd al-Qadir had written Akhbar, earlier than Qata'if in response to certain political developments within the Caliphate in the period 1817 to 1824 when the book was 'hurridly' terminated "due to pressure of time".[1] 'Akhbar could be considered as one of the most important documentary evidence dealing with the 18th century Gobir, Zamfara and Kebbi history. It was written in 1824 when the Caliph Muhammad Bello was faced with rebellions of the Gobirawa, Zamfarawa, Kebbawa and their allies who after the death of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi had renounced their allegiance to the Sokoto Caliphate. Its historical significance lies in the fact that it was one of the rare documentary sources that shed light on the first 21 years of the Jihad period,[2] and in this respect it updates Infaq al-Maysur. Moreover, it provides original important data on the pre-Jihad socio-political

1. 'Akhbar, p.291.
2. Murray Last, Arabic Source Material, p.8.

developments in Hausaland in general and western Hausaland in particular. On the other hand, Qata'if al-Jinan is a historical geography of some sort which attempts to cover a large expanse of al-Maghrib al-Aqsa, Bilad al-Sudan, East Africa and the Indian sub-continent and the purpose of which is

> to delimit the countries of the Sudan from the far West (al-Maghrib al-'Aqsa) to the far East (al-Mashriq al-'Aqsa) and mention the extent /of the whole zone/ then to speak specially of the region of Takrur from the southern Sudanese /part/ of the land of Sunnar to /areas/ beyond the River 1

Another objective of the book is to devote a section on the seven Hausa states:

> giving details of what we have summarized in the section of Takrur regarding them. 2

In addition to this Dantafa embarked on the writing of biographies of some notable personalities in Hausaland,[3] a task which seemed, from all indications, not to have been accomplished.

Following the tradition established by Shaykh ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi in Tazyin al-Waraqat Dantafa is said to have composed history in a poetic form to record

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1. Qata'if, p.299.
2. Ibid .
3. Ibid.

vital events like wars, deaths of certain distinguished personalities and commomorate certain occassions. Wazir Junaid had compiled a Diwan (anthology) of Dantafa's poems probably with a view to publishing it in a Tazyin genre.[1] It is interesting to note here that poetry had been effectively utilized by Dantafa to arouse the enthusiasm of the Sokoto community and induce them to endeavour to protect the territorial boundries of Dar al-'Islam. ᶜAbd al-Qadir's poetical reflections are another evidence of the use of poetry in the Sokoto Caliphate as a vehicle of propaganda for the teachings of the Sokoto Jihad movement, and a medium of war propaganda and the mobilization of the forces of the Jihad. The writing of history in a poetic form by ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa was probably meant for inculcating historical sense of perception in the minds of the Sokoto community with a view to grasping and appreciating the objective of the Jihad and convincing them of the legitimate role of the Mujahidun. It is to be noted here that poetry was one of the most

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1. See Wazir Junaid Muhammad al-Bukhari, al-Ghusn al-Nadir bi Baᶜd 'Ashᶜar ᶜAbd al-Qadir. (Copy in the private collection of Wazir Junaid).

important medium of socialization in Hausaland before and after the Jihad.

A significant aspect of ᶜAbd al-Qadir's social life may be gleaned from the numerous Ritha' (elegy) poems which he produced over the years.[1] The importance of his Ritha' poems lies in the fact that they are a reflection of his attachment to his immediate family and the close circle of his extended family network.[2]

An important historical contribution which is normally attributed to ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa is Mausufat al-Sudan.[3] Actually Mausufat is a translation by ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa of 'Asma' bint al-Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi Fulfulde poem. It is interesting to note that ᶜAbd al-Qadir had rendered the poem into Arabic about the year he died 1863-64.[4] The work deals with the political events in the Caliphate up to 1842. The translation by ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa of Mausufat al-Sudan into Arabic is a clear manifestation of his interest in the popularlization of

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1. See ᶜUthman Khayri, Abdul Qadir al-Mustafa and his Ritha', P.G.D.E. II, A.B.U., 1987.
2. Ibid.
3. ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Mausufet al-Sudan, MS, NHRS, K.3/6.
4. Murray Last, 'Arabic Source Material', p.8.

historical writings in the Sokoto Caliphate and raising the historical consciousness of people.

DANTAFA'S PERSPECTIVE AND METHODOLOGY

In his delineation of al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya, ᶜAbd al-Qadir takes Hausaland as part of a large unit of al-Bilad al-Sudaniyya, both politically and socially. A likely explanation for this act may lie in the fact that for quite some time, certain political powers in that region had been influencing and were being influenced by one another at the socio-political levels. Dantafa seems to be innovative in delimiting the geographical area of al-Bilad al-Sudanniyya by dividing it into three parts: upper, middle and lower. The upper comprising the countries of Borno, Ahir, Zabarma and Songhay; the middle consisting of Hausa Bakwai and Banza Bakwai; and finally the lower, made up of the countries of Baibai (non-Hausa speaking groups). This division of al-Bilad al-Sudaniyya into upper, middle and lower seems to have been made purely on geographical rather than any other grounds.

Equally interesting is his acceptance of the popular tradition that Hausaland is divided into Hausa Bakwai and Banza Bakwai,[1] to distinguish between assumingly two different political and cultural developments but which have been influencing one

1. Akhbar, pp.218-219.

another especially at the political level; without due consideration to linguistic grouping or political rationale.

A likely explanation of ᶜAbd al-Qadir's division is that he wanted to prove the point that certain parts of Bilad al-Sudan were undergoing socio-political transformation probably from the fifteenth century, which finally found expression in the establishment of a macro-system, al-Daula al-ᶜUthmaniyya, which incorporated all the political units of the middle and some parts of the upper and the lower. His statement that

> then the greatest Daula after that /i.e. the power of Zamfara/ was our Daula ᶜUthmaniyya... [1]

places or presents the Sokoto Caliphate as the most important political expression in the Central Sudan.

Another attempt was made by ᶜAbd Qadir b. al-Mustafa to place the socio-political developments in the Central Sudan and/the Sokoto Caliphate in particular in a wider context. In this respect the writing of Qata'if al-Jinan was an attempt to locate the Sokoto Caliphate within the wider Muslim world. This could be gleaned from the ideological thrust of the book.

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1. Akhbar, p.240

In its derogatory reference to Bilad al-Sudan as a region "where crudity (ᶜUjma), the darkness of ignorance and unbelief prevailed"[1] and in its reliance on al-Maghili's statement that

> the pre-dominant /characteristics/ among the people of these countries are ignorance, evil desire and unbelief and that was their original condition [2]

there seems to be an attempt to rationalize the development of the Sokoto Jihad movement and to stress the supremacy of the Islamic ideology over other belief systems. The following statement is an indication of ᶜAbd al-Qadir's position that the picture painted by al-Maghili has been overtaken or negated by the establishment of the Sokoto ᶜaliphate:

> all this (our) judgement was based on the conditions in which we found them before. But as for now, we have fought them, defeated them, killed some of them and driven some of them out of the above mentioned countries, with the help of Allah, the most high. We have a appointed for them the Amirs of Islam and they have become the abode of Islam without doubt, praise be to Allah for that. [3]

It is significant to note that ᶜAbd al-Qadir's historical approach in 'Akhbar did not differ much from that of Infaq al-Maysur. But his approach in Qata'if

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1. Qata'if, p.297.
2. Ibid
3. Ibid, p.305.

differs from that of Akhbar. His methodological approach in the Qata'if in respect of the extent of the land of the Sudan and its conditions regarding Islam and unbelief, the boundaries of Bilad al-Sudan to the west and the east, the boundaries of the region of Takrur from the south western part of the land Sunnar to areas beyond the river and the biographies of the 'Ulama' and notables were arranged section by section. On the other hand, his division of al-Bilad al-Sudaniyya into three parts i.e. upper, middle and lower is meant to locate the historical development in these areas within specific limit of his area of concern i.e. (H usaland).

In his treatment of the greatest powers of the western and central states of Bilad al-Sudan, Denham followed Ibn Khaldun's theory of cyclic nature of history regarding the rise and fall of states. Instead of surveying the historical developments which took place in the Bilad al-Sudan in a sequential manner he chooses to take the dominant powers as a yard stick of historical analysis; beginning with Borno, Kororofa, then Zakzak and Songhay, followed by Kebbi and finally the Sokoto Caliphate.[1] The rationale behind such a position is to impress it upon people

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1. Akhbar, pp.221-240.

that the Sokoto Caliphate was a final expression of historical processes in the whole region. This categorization of the dominant powers which influenced events in the area of Bilad al-Sudan was followed by another grouping of the Hausa States into seven 'legitimate' ᶜAqalim (regions) and seven (bastard) regions. The regions of Kano, Daura, Katsina, Zakzak, Nare (Reno), Biram ta Gabas and Gobir were classified under the 'legitimate' Hausa States. On the other hand, the seven 'bastard' Hausa regions were identified as Zamfara, Kebbi, Yawuri, Nupe, Yoruba, Borgu and Gurma.[1] In contrast with his survey of the Hausa Bakwai, ᶜAbd al-Qadir does not give any information about the origin, evolution and socio-political developments in the Banza Bakwai states.

The grouping of the Hausa States into Hausa-Bakwai and Banza Bakwai was followed by a discussion on the relationships that existed among the Hausa states including the states of Zamfara and Ahir.[2] His discussion on the nature of the relationships among the Hausa States right from the mid-sixteenth century, with Kebbi assuming the dominant position before it was finally destroyed as a result of the

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1. Ibid, p.247.
2. Ibid, pp.248-269.

encroachment of the sultanate of Ahir and the persistent wars with Zamfara and Gobir[1] is significant in the sense that it brought out clearly the nature of political development in those areas at the time. The political tension that characterized the relationships between Gobir, Azben and Katsina was examined in some detail by Dantafa.[2]

Of greater significance was ᶜAbd al-Qadir's discussion on the encroachment of the Gobirawa into the land of Zamfara which culminated in the destruction of the political authority of Zamfara state and the founding of Alkalawa which assumed an important political role from the 1740s until it finally became the capital of the Gobir state.[3] The beginning of the decline of the state of Gobir was considered by ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa to have started with the reign of Nafata (1792-1802).[4] This brief account was followed by a more detailed chronology of events covering the first 21 years of the Jihad campaigns up to 1824.[5]

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1. Ibid, p.232-240.
2. Ibid, pp.257-265.
3. Ibid, pp.262-263.
4. Ibid, p.270.
5. Ibid, pp.272-291.

The 'non-completion' of the compilation of Qata'if al-Jinan hinders us from making a satisfactory conclusion on the methodology of the book, yet a few words about it may not be out of focus all together.

In Qata'if al-Jinan, ᶜAbd al-Qadir uses the term Sudan in its broader sense to refer to a geographical area stretching from the Atlantic Ocean across the Red Sea and beyond, including the Indian sub-continent; in contrast to Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya in which the term Sudan is used in a restricted way thus:

> know that the Sudan consists of the southern regions of the earth and the word is the plural of 'black (Aswwad) derived from 'blackness' which is the dominant feature among them /the people of the Sudan/1

Reference has been made to the diversity of people inhabiting it and to the various political units of which Bilad al-Sudan is composed.[2] It is interesting to note that Dantafa did not only aspire in his historical compilation to ideologically locate the Sokoto Caliphate within the wider Muslim world but he wanted also to give a geographical description of the area of his study.

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1. Qata'if, p.308.
2. Ibid.

In his treatment of the historical events within the boundaries of what he called Bilad al-Sudan, ᶜAbd al-Qadir chooses to tackle issues involved region by region from the far West to the far East. His approach was selective, highlighting the socio-political events in the most dominant centres of political powers which ruled in the areas.[1]

Using the cyclic theory of the rise and fall of states, ᶜAbd al-Qadir had written small historical note predicting the fall of the Sokoto Caliphate. It is significant to note here that this small piece of work was wrapped in an occultish dress using the method of 'Ilm al-'Awfaq to arrive at the actual date of the fall of the Caliphate.[2] Dantafa concluded in this work that events in the Sokoto Caliphate were bound to come to their logical conclusion. He stated explicitly that the golden age of the Caliphate which was characterized by justice and development, ᶜAmara, referring to the early days of the Caliphate (1804-1837), would come to an end.[3] According to his calculation the demise of the Caliphate would come either as a result of the advent

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1. Qata'if, pp.304-334.
2. Talsm al-Duwwal, NHRS,P.192/8, P.1.
3. Ibid.

of the Mahdi, a prediction which was made earlier by Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi in a number of his writings[1] or as a consequence of the eruption of great upheavals which would pave the way for the emergence of 'a vast power' Daula Wasiᶜa (the British conquest) that would ultimately

> bring down what has gone up and
> bring to prominence what is down.[2]

Unlike his other biographical and historical writings ᶜAbd al-Qadir resorted to 'Ilm al-Huruf (letter magics) to mystify the actual date of the fall of the Caliphate and make it the preserve of Ahl al-Haqiqa. In this case, he drew a diagram for which he used letters as symbols of calculation to inform him of the exact date of the fall of the Caliphate.[3]

HIS SOURCES

ᶜAbd al-Qadir's sources could be, broadly speaking divided into two: oral and written . Since we have no evidence at our disposal to suggest that in the process of writing his history books ᶜAbd al-Qadir had travelled beyond the area of Katsina it could be assumed, with some confidence, that his oral data were

1. See for example, Tahdhir al-'Ikhwan min Iddiᶜa' al-Mahdiyya al-Manᶜada 'Akhir al-Zaman and al-Naba' al-Hadi ila 'Akhbar al-Imam al-Mahdi, translated in M.A. al-Hajj, Mehdist Traditions in Northern Nigeria Ph.D. Thesis, ABU, 1973.
2. Talsam al-Duwwal p.1.
3. Ibid, p.4.

collected mainly from his immediate environment especially when there is nothing to suggest that he had travelled beyond the Emirate of Katsina. From all indications, ᶜAbd al-Qadir seems to have drawn heavily on a body of historical traditions at his disposal. His father's reputation as an oral historian might have influenced ᶜAbd al-Qadir to continue with the same tradition in a written form. The profound influence which al-Mustafa al-Turudi had over his students could be gleaned from the following statement by his biographer that

> we have learnt through his (al-Mustafa) efforts a great deal of the science of genealogy (ᶜIlm al-'Ansab) and the histories of people (Ayyam al-Nas), praise be to Allah. And through his emotional fragrance we learnt about those who lived in these Sudanese countries of notables, scholars and righteous people one by one. 1

Another possibility is that ᶜAbd al-Qadir, being the son of a historian, might have benefited from some written records at his disposal and which have been either destroyed or are yet to be uncovered. Unlike Qata'if al-Jinan no specific reference is made in 'Akhbar to any written or oral record from which it had drawn its information. This may indicate that part of the book may have probably drawn on oral

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1. al-Taᶜrif bi al-Shaykh al-Mustafa al-Turudi, op.cit., p.15.

tradition, but certain aspects of the book were an eye-witness account.

However, it is suggested that both Infaq al-Maysur and Raudat al-'Afkar draw from the same source on some aspects of the pre-Jihad socio-political development especially those pertaining to Hausa Bakwai and Banza Bakwai.[1] The information contained in Infaq al-Maysur and ᶜAkhbar on Banza Bakwai are almost identical.[2] The same could be said about the information on the political relationships between Kebbi, Gobir and Borno in the sixteenth century. This suggests that both authors were relying on the same source, be it oral or 'written', for the reconstruction of the Jihad events in Hausaland. Dantafo had followed the same pattern as the Infaq al-Maysur in describing geographical locations.

> As for the country of Zakzak, I say it is a vast country with trees, rivers and mountains. It is a fertile land with abundant rainfall, cheap food and high income ... 3

As far as Qata'if al-Jinan is concerned ᶜAbd al-Qadir seems to have documented the first part of the book. ᶜAbd al-Qadir laments the negligence of

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1. cf Infaq pp.17-19 and 'Akhbar, (Arabic Text) pp.340&342.
2. Infaq, p.19 and 'Akhbar, (Arabic Text) p.340 & 342.
3. cf Infaq pp.7, 13 and 19. See also 'Akhbar (Arabic Text) p.342.

recording historical events by the people of Bilad al-Sudan. In the process of showing the importance of historical studies he adopted al-Hassan al-Yusi's argument that

> this due attention to the histories and accounts of event and the chain of authority for them is very minimal among the Mogharibа.[1]

ᶜAbd al-Qadir was conscious of Infaq al-Maysur account of the events in Bilad al-Takrur. But his observation of limitations in Infaq al-Maysur which he did not specify prompted him to state that he did not

> consult any source except what the author of Infaq al-Maysur fi Tarikh Bilad al-Tukrur has mentioned and the responsibility falls back on him in most cases, except for what we have added to it by extending the term Bilad al-Sudan, while he restricted himself to the region of Takrur. 2

In his discussion of the extent of the land of the Sudan, Dantafa had to rely on some commentaries of the Hadith such as al-Qastalani, to delimit the inhabited area of the earth of which Bilad al-Sudan occupies twelve years travelling.[3]

With regard to the authenticity of ᶜAbd al-Qadir's historical writings especially ᶜAkhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad

1. Qata'if, p.296.
2. Qata'if, p.300.
3. Qata'if, p.302.

al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya it is suggested that the work provides one of the most detailed and most authentic accounts of the Gobir, Zamfara and Kebbi from mid-sixteenth century.[1] In fact it is the only historical writing that gives a detailed account of the Gobir history. Many of the events recorded by 'Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya have been corroborated by oral traditions of Gobir and by other written sources.[2] One of such sources is Tarikh 'Arbab Hadha al-Balad al-Musamma Kano. Events recorded by 'Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya pertaining to the military expedition by Gobir against Kano in 1740's is confirmed in some detail by Tarikh 'Arbab.[3] It is also likely that some of the accounts recorded by 'Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya, pertaining to the southward migration of the Gobirawa from Azbin as a consequence of their defeat by the Tuwariq were derived from the chronicle of Aghades.[4]

Qata'if al-Jinan seems to have relied heavily on the Arab geographers' records from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Dantafa did not acknowledge the sources from which he lifted some information about the

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1. See for example Garba Nadama, op.cit., p.xxviii.
2. Abdullahi Augi op.cit., p.xxviii.
3. Tarikh 'Arbab, page 7.
4. Abdullahi Augi op.cit., p.xxxi.

geographical history of Bilad al-Sudan. There is ample evidence to suggest that he had drawn extensively on some Arab geographers' account such as al-Bakri, al-'Idrisi, and for certain Ibn al-Wardi (861/1457).[1] It is interesting to note at this juncture that the whole information about the country of Nubia was literally copied from Kitab Kharidat al-ᶜAja'ib wa Faridat al-Ghara'ib of Ibn al-Wardi.[2]

OBJECTIVITY AND BIAS

The issue of objectivity and bias has been a problematic if not a controversial one as far as historical studies are concerned. While some people are of the view that historians could give a more comprehensive and balanced account if they are detached, others believe that no human being could be described as detached or neutral. To this group the very choice and treatment of a particular topic is a bias in itself. As regards ᶜAbd al-Qadir's position there is no doubt that his commitment to the ideals of the Sokoto Jihad movement had greatly influenced him to write history and as we have stated earlier he was first and foremost concerned

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1. cf The edited text of Qata'if.

2. cf Qata'if, pp.316-319 and Mustafa Misᶜad, Majmuᶜat al-Nusus wa al-Watha'iq al-ᶜArabiyya al-Khassa bi Tarikh al-Sudan fi al-ᶜUsur al-Wasta, 1972, pp. 372-73.

with rationalizing the Jihad action, and legitimizing the whole movement as a logical conclusion to political tension that engulfed the whole region and as an expression of the ideals expounded by the Sokoto Jihad leaders right from 1774/75. Therefore his historical explanation has to be understood within this context. Yet, within this framework, ᶜAbd al-Qadir did not attempt to distort or manipulate events to suit his own analysis. His factual account on the rebellions of ᶜAbd al-Salam, the Kebbawa, the Zamfarawa and the persistent resistence of the Gobirawa[1] after the death of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi; a development which threatened the very existence of the Caliphate, testifies to his objectivity. On the other hand, his refusal to acknowledge the ascendancy of Gobir as the most powerful state in Hausaland in the mid-eighteenth century should be examined against the outbreak of hostilities between the Gobir power and the Sokoto Jihad movement.[2] Likewise, the ideological bias is well pronounced in his historical writings both biographical and general. The issue of the supremacy of Islam over non-belief system is expressed throughout his historical writings. In

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1. 'Akhbar, p.285-289.
2. Bayan, p.185.

his biographical accounts, especially Salawat al-Ahzan, Dantafa does not hide his total commitment to Sufism and the Sufi Shaykhs. Dantafa's bias to his Sufi Shaykh Muhammad Sanbo is reflected clearly in his biographical works and it appears that the main object of writing these biographies was to highlight distinguished qualities of this Shaykh with a view to placing him on higher plane of the Sufi hierarchy. It is suggested that the Sufi outlook of Shaykh Muhammad Sanbo had influenced the historical perception of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa.

LIMITATION

Both 'Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya and Qata'if al-Jinan have serious limitations especially with regards to documentation and conceptual frame work. However, 'Akhbar could be considered as an original contribution for all practical purposes. Although it was terminated abruptly due to circumstances beyond the author's control it provided useful historical account, albeit in a condensed manner, about hitherto undocumented events in Hausaland but praticularly in western Hausaland since the sixteenth century. The active involvement of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa in the politics of the Rima Basin from 1817 had helped him to document the events in a factual manner.

The concluding statement given by ᶜAbd al-Qadir in 'Akhbar that he has:

> written in this collection (Majmuᶜ) what /he/ had recalled of conditions of the people of this country and the events which took place there in summary and haste due to pressure of time. 1

gives the impression that many information on vital events which took place during his life time is missing from the work.

Perhaps the main defect of 'Akhbar lies in its methodological approach. History in this case is presented here as a chronology of events with no emphasis on the conceptual framework. Events were recorded in a crude form without rationalization or explanation of their backgrounds. The abrupt termination of the work prevents us from grasping its full objective. Compared to Infaq al-Maysur Dantafa's 'Akhbar is defective in many respects. Infaq al-Maysur is more comprehensive and detailed than 'Akhbar. The objectives for which Infaq was set were clearer in the minds of Muhammad Bello right from onset. The scope of Infaq is also wider than those of 'Akhbar. Yet 'Akhbar supersedes Infaq al-Maysur in providing more

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1. See 'Akhbar p.291.

detailed information about the rise of the states and the nature of conflicts of the state formations in the western Hausaland.

With regards to Qata'if al-Jinan and with the exception of the first part of the book in which the object of writing the book, its scope, the importance of documenting historical events and comparison between the school of history of the Mashriq and that of the Maghrib, nothing original could be deduced from the book. The information about the earlier state formations like Wangara, Awlaila, Kanem, Nubia and Beja seemed to have been lifted almost literally from earlier Arab geographers' works like al-Idrisi's Nuzhat al-Mushtaq and Kitab Kh ridat al-'Aja'ib wa Faridat al-Ghara'ib of Ibn al-Wardi (d.861/1457) as indicated in the edition. The information which was derived from the Arab geographers' accounts from the eleventh century had already been overtaken by political events long before mid-nineteenth century. Although it is difficult at this point to guess the rationale behind such a move, one is tempted to conclude that the inclusion of such information in Qata'if al-Jinan was a demonstration of intellectual superiority rather than any other thing.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

To sum up this study, one may need to make a comparison between ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa the philosopher and Dantafa the historian. In the past Dantafa was noted by many people only as a historian and attempt has been made to unearth and critically examine his Sufi/philosophical tracts which were numerous by all accounts. Although one could not deny the fact that Dantafa was a historian of distinction, a careful examination of his other works . shown him as a philosopher more than a historian. The analysis of both his historical and philosophical works convince the present author that Dantafa's philosophical writings are : superior in terms of perception, articulation, dispensation and level of argumentation than his general historical works. The present author feels that there is every need to carry out more rigorous and systematic field work with a view to bringing out the philosophical dimensions in the thinking of African intellectuals like Dantafa in Bilad al-Sudan. He also feels that this philosophical trend which was pioneered by Dantafa's teacher Muhammad Sambo b. al-Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fudi and expounded by ᶜAbd al-Qadir Dantafa extends beyond the philosophical boundaries of these luminaries to include other philosophers and Sufis whose contribution in the

field of Sufism and philosophy was neglected due to certain misconceptions, bias and sometimes ignorance of the essence and role of Sufism and philosophy in the life of the people of Bilad al-Sudan especially the intellegentsia, who dared to break from the traditional and orthodox approach to Islam to explore the infinite horizon of knowledge with a view to attaining perfection and realizing the 'absolute truth'; through the medium of Sufism or mystical philosophy.

Finally, one would like to comment on ᶜAbd al-Qadir's mission in writing history. One feels that by writing history ᶜAbd al-Qadir intended to complement the efforts of ᶜAbdullahi b. Fudi in Tazyin al-Waraqat and Muhammad Bello in Infaq al-Maysur, the objectives of which was to record the achievements of the Sokoto Jihad movement, justify the Jihad and emphasise its Islamic content in contrast to the previous systems of governments and reform movements in Bilad al-Sudan. In this respect Dantafa's historical writings are continuation of the tradition that pours into the mainstream of the Sokoto Jihad movement. Perhaps the difference with other writers lies in approach, methodology, and details rather than with any thing else. The dispensations of all these intellectuals derive from the conviction that there was every need to transform the societies of Bilad al-Sudan in accordance with the ideals of the Jihad.

PART II - EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF

(i) 'Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya

(ii) Qata'if al-Jinan fi ᶜAhwal Ard al-Sudan

MANUSCRIPTS AND METHOD OF COLLATION AND TRANSLATION

'AKHBAR HADHIHI AL-BILAD AL-HAUSIYYA WA AL-SUDANIYYA

The edition of 'Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya is based on five MSS referred to as (أ) ، (ب) ، (ج) ، (د) ، (ه). i.e. A.B.C.D.E. We are fortunate enough to lay our hands on the original holograph copy (MS.A) purported to have been written by ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa himself. We were able to confirm this from the Waziri of Sokoto Dr. Junaid b. Muhammad al-Bukhari whose judgement is highly valued by us on such matters. This, was further confirmed at Salame by Mallam Tahir, a scholar and grandson of ᶜAbd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa from whose private collection the holograph copy and the bulk of the manuscripts were recovered. This evidence was also corroborated by comparing the handwriting of the MS with another manuscript believed to have been written by ᶜAbd al-Qadir's hand and which was also recovered from Salame - MS (B) was collected from NHRS Archives (Ref. NHRS, 26/8, a and b.). The third MS referred to as (C) was recovered from the Archives of I.R.S.H. at Niamey during the course of field work in 1980. MS (D) was recovered from Waziri Junaid's collection in 1980 and MS (E) was obtained from the collection of the Sokoto State History Bureau - MS (A) consists of 11 folios with 25 lines per page. MS (B) consists of 11 folios with 15 lines per page. MS (C)

consists of 15 folios with 15 lines per page. MS (D) which consists of 12 folios has 15 lines per page; finally, MS (E) consisting of 10 folios has 20 lines per page.

For the purpose of collation the MSS were arranged in order of their clarity and nearness to the original copy which is adopted as the basic text for comparison and the establishment of the correctness of the Arabic text. The manuscripts vary in terms of clarity, omissions and copyist errors. The finest one was (A) which has no omission and copying errors.

An earlier unedited translation of 'Akhbār Hādhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudāniyya was made by H.R. Palmer in J.A.S. (XV, 1916, pp.261-273) under the title 'Western Sudan History: The Raudat Ul Afkari'. Palmer's title seems to have been lifted from the introductory part of the book. However, he wrongly attributed the authorship of the book to 'Amir al-Mu'minin Muhammad Bello, inspite of the fact that Muhammad Bello is referred to in the book in the third person. This mistake might have arisen as a result of the fact that the copy from which Palmer made the translation did not indicate the author. "Palmer's translation is unreliable and his terminology sometimes misleading; his text is corrupt and has some minor lacunae".[1] To

1. Murray Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, p. XXXIV.

illustrate the unreliability of Palmer's translation the following points could be made:

On page 265 of Palmer's translation he mentions

> "The Hausa kings paid tribute and ransom to the Emir of Daura and he conveyed it to the Emir of Bornu".

The correct translation is:

> "These sultans used to send Kharaj and (agricultural) produce to the sultan of Borno" P1.

Again, on page 272 Palmer gives the translation of the Arabic passage as follows:

> "In the fourteenth year the war of Banaga took place. The heathen were attacked at night, and defeated; so they went away sad. There was war against Bilagu. The people of Bilagu were defeated and we retired. The rule of the Fulani was established and all people were overawed and obedient. Muhammad Buhari Dan Shehu fought certain distant towns and took much spoil".

The correct translation is:

> "At the beginning of the fourteenth year the Banaga raid was undertaken. The unbelievers.took the army by surprise at night and the army was defeated and withdrew in disappointment. Also in the same year, Muhammad al-Bukhari b. al-Shaykh raided part of the Lower Sudan. He conquered and took booty".

Some passages are either distorted or omitted from Palmer's translation. An example of omission is the translation of the last page of the book which reads:

> "Here ends /the account/ of the events of these years up to this our present year. We pray to Allah exalted is He to bestow on us this year from His bounty and blessing what the souls may desire and what may please the eyes. Also we pray to Him to guide us to the right path and success. He alone has the power and ability to do that; He who has control of all the affairs and disposes of the ages".

The following passage on the same page is also missing from Palmer's translation:

> "I have written in this collection (Majmu^{c}) what I had recalled of the conditions of the people of this country and the events which took place there, in summary and haste due to pressure of time".

B. TRANSLATION

In the process of translating classival works of this nature one is normally faced with the problem of how to accurately convey the author's message into English, taking note of the peculiar nature of Arabic language with its unique idiomatic and rhetorical expressions. However, a serious attempt is made by the translator to come as close as possible to the literal meaning of the text without losing the contextual meaning of the original texts adding occassionallly in brackets some words which may help in the construction of meaningful sentences.

AKHBĀR HĀDHIHI AL-BILAD AL-HAUSIYYA WA AL-SUDĀNIYYA[1]

1B // In the name of Allah the Beneficient, the Merciful, prayer of Allah be upon the last of the prophets. The exercises in narration are as meadows of thoughts and hearings and the writing out of histories /Ākhbar/ of the countries appeals to the heart and makes very great impression on it; and the recording of such is meant as a place of safe-keeping from which the events /of the past/ may be recalled and will not escape /the memory/. Therefore, I wrote for this collection /Majmuᶜ/ some of the history of these Hausa and /other/ Sudanese countries,[2] part of the history of their kings and sultans.

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1. The author has not framed a definite title for this historical work, characteristic of many of his writings This title is lifted from the Introduction of the MS which reads in part "Katabtu fī Hadha al-Majmuᶜ Baᶜd Akhbar Hadhihi al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya".

2. Most probably the phrase 'al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya' was coined for the first time by the author, in contradistinction to other historical works like Fath al-Shukūr fi Akhbār ᶜUlamā' Takrūr of al-Birtalli and Infaq al-Maysur fi Tarikh Bilad al-Takrur of Muhammad Bello. The phrase was adopted by him to describe not only Hausaland but the other adjacent political units such as Zabarma, Ahir, Borno, and the like. Sometimes the words 'al-Sudaniyya' and 'Hausiyya' are used interchangeably. In his Mausufat al-Sudan, the word 'Sudan' is used to describe Hausaland. The same term was used by him in the Qata'if to describe a larger area extending from the Sunnar (Sinnar) in the east to the Atlantic shores in the west. It is interesting to note here that the author refers to Hausaland in his Qata'if in a more specific manner by describing it as "Biladuna al-Sudaniyya wa al-Hausiyya" in contrast to al-Bilad al-Hausiyya wa al-Sudaniyya, N.H.R.S., p.26/4.

few anecdotes of their ᶜUlama' and what is reported about them which will please the ear and appeal to human nature to the extent that I have recalled. Even though this is not of great significance in Islam, yet it may sharpen the intellect and arouse flagging enthusiasm.

And the ᶜUlamaᶜ had written books and compositions along those lines. Yet this /work/ is not devoid of benefit or profit for him who ponders over it or derives lesson from it. And indeed any worldly matter or remains of a narrative when properly examined are not devoid of benefit which promotes the affairs of the religion.

When you comprehend this, then know that this our Sudanese land[1] is divided into three parts: upper, middle

1. The Arabic word used in this text is Biladuna and Bilad (plural of Balad), meaning land or country. The author adopts both categories to mean sometimes country and on other occasions land. Generally when he speaks about a political unit the editor will use 'country' but when he describes a geographical location the word 'land' will be employed in the translation.

and lower. Its upper part comprises the country of Borno,[1]

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1. The 'kingdom' of Borno was part of the 'Empire' of Kanem whose seat of government was first established to the east of Lake Chad. The term Kanem-Borno was adopted recently by our contemporary historians to describe the area whose hegemony extended to the west of Lake Chad from the middle of the fourteenth century. There was gradual shift of the seat of government in the dirdction of the west. Economic and political factors were mainly responsible for this shift. Some traditions suggest that the tribes of Bulala revolted against the tyranny of the ruling class who were later forced to flee to the west of the lake. This incident occurred during the reign of ᶜUmar b. Idris, 1394-1398 A.D. The first capital of Borno on the west shore of Lake Chad was Ngimi and the second was Wudin to the north of the lake. A new capital was established at Ngazergamu around 1488 but this capital was destroyed by Sokoto Jihad forces in 1809. With the establishment of Ngazergamu as capital of Borno the Mais of Borno began to extend their authority westwards and southwards. Tradition has it that the Hausa states were paying tribute to Borno up till the end of the eighteenth century. The Empire of Borno established diplomatic, cultural and economic relationships with the North African countries such as Tunisia, Libya and the Maghrib. These activities featured prominently in the writings of the Arab geographers namely al-Yaᶜqūbi in his book al-Buldān, written at the end of the 9th century A.D. and al-Mahallabi in his al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik written at the end of the tenth century; al-Idrisi (d.1166) in his Sifat al-Maghrib wa Ard al-Sudān; Ibn Saᶜid al-Maghribi (d.1278 or 1286) in his Surat al-Ard fi al-Tul wa al-ᶜArd; al-ᶜUmari (d.1398) in his Taᶜrif Mustalahat al-Shrif; and al-Maghrīzī (d.1442) in his Kitab al-Mawaᶜiz wa al-ᶜItibār fī Dhikr al-Khitat wa al-Athar.
See Ibrahim Salih b. Yunus, Tārikh al-Islām wa Hayāt al-ᶜArab fī Imbratauriyat Kanem-Borno, Cairo, 1976, pp.87-89. See also A. Smith, "The Early States of the Central Sudan", in J.F.A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder (eds.), History of West Africa, vol. I, 2nd ed., New York, 1976, p.162.

the country of Ahir,[1] the country of Zabarma,[2] and the

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1. The region of Ahir was inhabited in the past by the Gobirawa before it was later occupied by the Tuwariq, sometime before the fifteenth century. The region is referred to in Hausa as Abzin or Azbin. The Tuwariq, consisting mainly of five main groups succeeded by the sixteenth century in driving the Gobirawa southwards and establishing themselves over the region. The office of the Sultan was created in the fifteenth century. The first Sultan in the region, Yunus b. Tahazete (C.1405-25) established the seat of his government in Tadeliza. The capital shifted later to Tin-shaman before Aghadez was selected as the last capital of the confederation. The state was situated on the strategic location that linked Songhay and Hausaland states with the north-western states of Libya and Egypt. Concerning the cultural and commercial activities, the confederation was closely associated with the Hausa states such as Kebbi, Zamfara and Gobir. The nature of the political relationship with these states was characterised by territorial expansions, alliance and counter-alliance, and control of trade routes and trading networks. During the nineteenth century, the main body of the Tuwariq sided with the leaders of the Jihad in Hausaland. Although the region was not fully integrated into the Caliphate, the appointments of the leaders were usually sanctioned by the Sultans of Sokoto. The title of Sarkin Bidān in contrast to Sarkin Sudan has been conferred, up to the present day, on one of the Tuwariq leaders.
See Muhammad Bello, Jumal min al-Mabānī Nasā'ih li Muhammad al-Jailāni, N.H.R.S., p.56/2; Infaq al-Maysur, Cairo ed., 1966, pp.39-41, and H. Barth, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa in the Years 1849-1855, London, 1965, p.277. See also Murray Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, p.lxiv, and J.C. Hunwick, "Songhay, Borno and Hausaland in the Sixteenth Century", in Ajayi & Crowder, op.cit., pp.280-82.

2. The Zarma or Zabarmawa as they were referred to by the Hausa-speaking people were originally part of Songhay groups living in the region of Masina. As a consequence of political unrest around the end of the sixteenth century, they migrated eastwards and after clashing with the local inhabitants, especially the Gulbawa, they occupied their present habitat which covers an area stretching from Niamey, Wallam and Dosso to Gaya. The Zabarma people, composed mainly of six small units, were engaged in rivalries with one another up till the nineteenth century. After....

country of Songhay.[7] The middle part consists of

...the outbreak of the Sokoto Jihad there was an attempt by these competing groups to unite against their common enemy under the leadership of Issa Korombe who in alliance with Arewa forces and Kebbawa continued to resist the Sokoto Caliphate for more than thirty years. The resistance continued up till 1900 when the French imperialist forces occupied the whole region.
See Bube Gado, "Le Zarmatray: Contribution a l' l'histoire des population d'entre le Niger et Dallol Mauri", Etudes Nigeriennes, no. 45, Niamey, 1980, pp.128-47 and 209-56. See also Bello Alkali, A Hausa Community in Crisis: Kebbi in the Nineteenth Century, M.A. thesis, A.B.U., 1969, p.33. Interview, Illa Maikassoua, Zaria, 22/2/82.

1. Songhay was one of the largest and most powerful of the Western and Central Sudan kingdoms. The history of its evolution is closely connected with the growth of Gao by then a terminus for the trans-Saharan trade routes before the thirteenth century. The Empire of Mali extended its political authority to Songhay in the middle of the thirteenth century but in 1275, Songhay, under the leadership of Ali Kolan, revolted against its hegemony. Songhay was transformed by Sonni Ali (1464-92) into an imperial power. During the reign of Askia al-Hajj Muhammad (1464-32) a large part of Mali was incorporated into the Songhay Empire. The empire's military and political authority and cultural hegemony extended to some parts of Hausa-land, like Kebbi and Ahir region. The empire began to disintegrate after its defeat by the Moroccan army of invasion of 1591.
See Infaq al-Maysur, p.213, and Nehemia Livtzion, "The Early States of the Western Sudan to 1500", in Ajayi & Crowder op.cit., vol. I, p.137.

Hausa[1] and that is seven regions (Aqālīm) and Banza[2] which are

1. All the other MSS with the exception of 'B' do not include the word 'bakwai' (meaning in Hausa 'seven') in the texts. Most probably the word was inserted by the copyist of MS 'B' and it was a reflection of the tradition of the seven "legitimate" states ("Hausa Bakwai") and the seven "bastard" states ("Banza Bakwai") which continued to influence the historiographical writings in Hausaland up to our present day. The seven "legitimate" states have been identified as Kano, Zazzau, Gobir, Rano, Biram-ta-Gabas, Katsina and Daura. Regarding the formation of the "Hausa Bakwai" some sources suggest the period 1000-1200 A.D. as the appropriate period of the beginning of the formation of these states. The emergence of state-like formation in Hausaland was associated with the establishment of 'birane' as centres of political activity.

   See Mahdi Adamu, A Hausa Government in Decline: Yawuri in the Nineteenth Century, M.A. thesis, 1968, p.76. See also A. Smith, "The Early States of Central Sudan", in Ajayi & Crowder, op.cit., vol. I, p.181.

2. MSS 'B' and 'E' read Banza Bakwai. The word 'bakwai' is an insertion from the copyists to contrast it with Hausa Bakwai. However, Wazir Junaidu has a different interpretation of the word 'banza' usually translated as 'bastard' or 'illegitimate'. He pronounces it in slightly different way to read banza with strong emphasis on 'z'. He does not agree with the translation "illegitimate" or "bastard". Rather he suggests that it is istilah, a usage common among the people at the time, the meaning of which remains up till now obscure. According to Infaq al-Maysur, the Banza Bakwai states are Zamfara, Kebbi, Yauri, Nupe, Yoruba, Borgu and Gurma, but Palmer uses Gwari instead of Gurma. Mahdi Adamu suggests that the inclusion of Zamfara and Kebbi, both Hausa-speaking, in the list of Banza Bakwai was a propaganda mounted by Gobir against Kebbi and Zamfara and hence a justification for their defeat by Gobir.

   Interview, Waziri Junaidu, 25/12/81; see also Infaq al-Maysur, p.46; Mahdi Adamu, op.cit., pp.72-78.

seven regions. The lower part consists of the countries of Baibai.[1] No single ruler of the Sudanese Kings was able to rule all these parts, /at a time/ ever. He /might/ succeed in ruling some parts but the other parts would remain outside his control and it might be that what remained outside his control was the larger.[2]

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1. Wazir Junaidu pronounces it as Baibayi. It is difficult to define the boundries of the countries of Baibai. The logical explanation is that they were the countries bordering the Hausa states to the south-west. Wazir Junaidu assumes that the Baibayi were those people whose mother tongues is not Hausa and who could not pronounce the Hausa language in the usual manner. They give female meaning for the male and vice-versa.

2. This statement may apply more specifically to the Hausa states. See Ahmad Baba al-Timbukti, al-Kashf wa al-Bayan 'an Asnaf Majlub al-Sudan, N.H.R.S., p.151/1 quoted in Diya' al-Siyasat of Abdullahi b. Fudi, N.H.R.S., p.88/4 and p.94/1 and Tanbih al-Ikhwan 'ala Ahwal Ard al-Sudan of Uthman b. Fudi, N.H.R.S., p.121/3. See also A.M. Kani, "The Political and Social Basis of the Sokoto Jihad", in Essays in Honour of Professor A. Smith, 1980 (forthcoming).

2A // The greatest states (Duwwal) located in these lands according to what people report have been seven: the Bornowan state; they (the Mais) ruled the middle Sudan and part of the lower, but they did not rule the countries of Ahir, Zabarma or Songhay. Neither did they rule the remote parts of the lower. They ruled Bagarmi,[1] and Waday.[2]

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1. Also pronounced as Bagirmi. The Bagirmi kingdom was situated along the river Chari. Its capital Macina was founded by the Sultan Birni Bisa around 1513. The kingdom used to be under Kanem-Borno Empire before it became independent during the reign of her Sultan Muhammad al-Amīn (1749-1806). By the beginning of the nineteenth century the kingdom was locked up in conflicts and wars with the Borno kingdom. A decisive battle took place, during the reign of Sheikh Muhammad al-Amīn al-Kanemi, between Bagirmi and Borno forces. The Bagirmi forces were defeated and according to some sources, Bagirmi was reintegrated into Borno Empire. With regards to the Islamization, Islam was well established in Bagirmi region in the period 1561-1602.

   Ibrahim Salih, Tarikh al-Islam .., pp.55 & 124, J. Spencer Trimingham, A History of Islam in West Africa, London, 1962, p.139, and John A. Works, Pilgrims in a Strange Land: Hausa Communities in Chad, New York, 1972.

2. The kingdom of Wadai was situated on the eastern part of the Republic of Chad. The establishment of the kingdom is dated to the seventeenth century. According to some traditions the founding of the kingdom is attributed to a man called Salih or Jāmiᶜ who is said to have come from the east with the mission of spreading Islam in a predominantly Tunjur area. He ruled from his capital Wara from 1635-1655. The influence of Wadai extended into Darfur kingdom. During al-Kanemi's reign, there were conflicts between Borno and Wadai. The Sultan of Wadai Muhammad al-Sharif was killed in a battlefield by forces of ᶜUmar b. Muhammad al-Amin al-Kanemi. It was Muhammad al-Sharif who moved the capital from Wara to Abeche. Trading...

The state of Koronrafa;[1] they ruled the whole of the lower Sudan, and some parts of the middle Sudan,

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...contacts were promoted between Wadai, Tripoli and Egypt. Cultural contacts were also maintained with both the eastern Sudan and Egypt. As a result of these contacts the kingdom of Wadai built Ruwaq Wadai in Cairo to cater for the welfare of its students. The people of Wadai were noted among other things for the memorization and recitation of the Quran.

1. The term Kororafa features prominently in some writings and history works in Hausaland. The Kororafa 'Empire' seemed to have wielded great influence in the area of Middle Benue region up to the end of the seventeenth century. The Kororafa are said to have migrated into this region from the area of Lake Chad via Gongola basin around the fourteenth century. They first established their authority at Koro fa (Apier-Biepa) and later Wukari. In view of the absence of a documentary evidence, information regarding the nature and character of the state, state formation and political and cultural influence are yet to be unearthed. Yet there is a clear evidence of strong military activity by the Kororafa against Borno and Kano in the latter part of the seventeenth century. An extant poem written by Dan Marina in the seventeenth century gives an account of the victory of Mai Aki, the then Sultan of Borno, over the Kororafa. Another vital information about the Kororafa is given by Muhammad Bello in his Infaq al-Maysur. Bello states that the Kororafa region comprised twenty 'provinces' under the control of one ruler who invaded Kano and Borno.

See Muhammad al-Sabbagh (Dan Marina). Madh al-Sultan 'Ali NHRS., p.98/3, Infaq al-Maysur, pp.44-45, Mahmoud Hamman, "Integration and Dissent in the Middle Benue Region, 1750-1900", History Department Seminar, unpublished, 1978. Thomas Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspectives, London, 1975, See also Y.B. Usman, "A Reconsideration of the History of Relations between Bornu and Hausaland before 1804", Borno Seminar, January 1973, pp.13-14.

such as Kano,[1] Zakzak[2] and part of

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1. Kano was one of the oldest states in Hausaland, classified among the Hausa Bakwai. According to some traditions the emergence of state-like formation in Kano is associated with the rise of Bagaudawa dynasty. the descendants of Bayajida 'the legendary father' of the Hausa Bakwai. As time went by the state grew in importance in the areas of industries, commerce and intellectual activities. The introduction of Islam in Kano is generally associated with a group of people called the Wangarawa who are said to have come from Mali area in the seconf half of the fourteenth century. But the reforms of institution in line with the Islamic way of life was ascribed to Sarki Muhammad Rumfa (1463-1499). It was during his reign that the famous North African Scholar, Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Karim al-Maghili, visited Kano and acted as an adviser to Sarki Rumfa. At least two extant works were written by al-Maghili in Kano, about the administration of the state. Kano was incorporated into the Sokoto Caliphate in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

   See Tarikh Arbab Hadna al-Balad al-Musamma Kano, N.H.R.S., p.73/4, A. Smith, in Ajayi & Crowder, op.cit., p.193, and Adamu Muhammad Fika, The Kano Civil War and the British Over-rule, 1882-1940, London, 1978, p.3.

2. The kingdom of Zazzau, one of the Hausa Bakwai, was the most southerly part of Hausaland. The migration of Hausa people into this region is associated with the dessication of northern part of the Sahara. They are believed to have lived in Zaria region for more than a millennium. The present location of Birnin Zaria was preceded by two earlier ancient settlements at Turunku (21 miles south of Zaria) and Kufena near the present Zaria town. At the end of the fifteenth century there was a political change which resulted later in the seizure of power by a ruler from Turunku by the name Bakwa. From that time Kufena ceased to be an independent centre. In the years that followed, the successive rulers of Zazzau chose to rule from the present Zaria, located at the eastern end of Kufena. Concerning Islam, it was not precisely known when Islam was first introduced into Zazzau. However, it is surmised that by the seventeenth century Islam had already emerged as a political force. The state of Zazzau witnessed important changes, by the second half of the fifteenth...

Katsina.[1] They invaded the land of Borno and destroyed cities and strongholds.

The power of Zakzak which was the government of

...century. Islamic reforms were introduced into the administrative structure of the kingdom by Sarki Muhammad Rabo. Sarkin Zaria Issaku Jatau who ruled from 1788-1806 was the only leader among the entire Hausa states' Sultans to have accepted the call of the Jihad in 1804.

Abdullahi Smith, "Some Notes on the History of Zazzau under the Hausa Kings" in M.J. Mortimore (ed.), Zaria and its Region, Zaria, 1970, pp.1-2, and A. Smith, in 'Ajayi and Crowder' op.cit., p.93.

1. Katsina is counted among the Hausa Bakwai. Tradition has it that the first ruler of Katsina was called Kumayau, son of Bawo, the son of Bayajida. But as far as political institutions are concerned, the first ruler of Katsina was Korau who is assigned to the middle of the fifteenth century. By 1529/30 Islam was believed to have been well entrenched in Kasar Katsina. Islamic reforms were introduced during the second half of the fifteenth century by Sarki Muhammad Korau. The state of Katsina was visited towards the end of the fifteenth century by al-Maghīlī. He acted as a teacher in Katsina. The state occupied itself in political rivalries against Kano since the seventeenth century, and Gobir in the last half of the eighteenth century. Katsina was an important trading terminus providing an outlet for the Hausa trading activities. Direct link with North Africa seemed to have begun in the fifteenth century. The state was finally integrated into Sokoto Caliphate at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Y.B. Usman, The Transformation of Katsina ..., pp.38-92, and Abdullahi Smith, in 'Ajayi & Crowder', op.cit., p.196.

Amina bint Amīr Zakzak.[1] She conquered many countries and Kano submitted to her. She invaded the lower parts until she reached the encircling river on the south and the west. But she did not rule any part of the

1. Amina Sarauniyar Zazzau is said to have reigned in the second half of the sixteenth century. She is noted, among other things, for her military conquests and building of walls ("Ganuwar Amina"). While some written records refer to her as the daughter of Amir of Zakzak ("Amina Bint Amīr Zakzak"), some oral traditions, especially those developed in the twentieth century, call her the Queen of Zazzau (Queen Amina). Also, while most sources consider her as a real historical figure, historians like Murray Last take her as a legendary figure. However, there is no evidence whatsoever to substantiate Last's argument or to connect her with the North African saga as Last would want us to believe. Some of her activities might have been exaggerated but this habit is not exclusively peculiar to Amina's history. Infāq al-Maysūr states: "Ard the first /ruler/ who consolidated his authority in it /Zazzau/ was according to what they claim Amina Bint Amīr Zakzak who conquered these countries and who ruled it forcibly until Katsina and Kano paid tribute to her. She also conquered parts of the Land of Bauchi until she reached the encircling river in the east and the west". However, the name of Amina as a queen did not appear in any of the Zaria kinglists.

Infāq al-Maysūr, p.44; S.J. Hogben, An Introduction to the History of the Islamic States of Northern Nigeria, Ibadan, 1967, p.116; and Murray Last, "Before Zaria: Evidence of Kankuma (Kangoma) and its Successor States", in 'Essays in Honour of Abdullahi Smith', Unpublished, History Department N.S.U., Zaria, November 1980, pp.172, 174-5 and 177. See also A. Smith, in Ajayi & Crowder, op.cit., p.85.

and the west. But she did not rule any part of the upper.[1]

The power of Songhay which was the government of Askia.[2] He ruled all upper part, with the exception of the land of Borno, and some of the middle and the lower. His Daula was expanded on the western and northern sides. He ruled the whole of Ahir from one end to the other. He dispatched military expeditions

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1. The extent of the conquests of Amina was described in some detail by Tarīkh Arbāb Hādha al-Balad al-Musamma Kano (Kano Chronicle) in the following statement: "Queen Amina conquered all the towns as far as Kwararafa and Nupe. Every town paid tribute to her. The Sarkin Nupe sent 40 eunuchs and 10,000 kolas to her. She first had eunuchs and kolas in Hausaland. In her time the whole of the products of the west were brought to Hausaland. Her conquest extended over 34 years". The conquests of Amina extended as far as Attagara, which was believed to be located in the "Lower Gongola and Niger-Benue confluence".

   See "Kano Chronicle", and A. Smith, in Ajayi & Crowder, op.cit., p.85

2. He is Askia al-Hajj Muhammad, one of the greatest rulers of Songhay Empire. He reigned towards the end of the fifteenth century. Before ascending the throne of Songhay, Askia is reported to be a distinguished officer in the army of Sunni ʿAlī. In 1493 Askia revolted against Sunni ʿAlī and subsequently took the throne of Songhay. His ascendancy ushered in a new era which resulted in transforming the empire both politically and socially. Askia was noted for his famous pilgrimage in 1496. He honoured the ʿUlamāʾ who were hitherto suppressed by his predecessor Sunni Ali. During his brief stay in the Middle East, Askia attempted to establish diplomatic and cultural links with the rulers there. He met al-Imām Jalāl al-Dīn al-Siyūti (d.1505) who wrote him some books. His pilgrimage to Mecca created sensation among the inhabitants of Egypt. Tradition has it that he spent three thousand pieces of...

(Bu^{c}ūth) to all the countries. Those who rule at present in the country of Ahir are descended from his slaves whom he established there. The capital of his kingdom was the city of Gao[1] but the traders call it

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...gold in that trip. During his reign Muhammad Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī visited Songhay. He is reported to have written, on the request of Askia, a treatise titled "As'ilat al-Askia wa 'Ajwibat al-Maghīlī". The Empire of Songhay expanded considerably at his time to include many parts in the southwest and the northeast of the Empire. Muhammad b. ^{c}Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī, As'ilat al-Askia wa Ajwibat al-Maghīlī NHRS, p.3673,4. See also A'hd al-Qadir Zabadiya, ed. and introduction to As'ilat al-Asqiya wa Ajwibat al-Maghili, Elgiers, 1974, pp.10-11.

1. Gao was the oldest seat of the Empire of Songhay. In the thirteenth century it was part of Mali Empire whose territory extended to Gao right from the twelfth century. Gao later developed into a trans-Saharan terminus linking Mali area with the North Africa and the Middle East. Its strategic location as a great commercial entreport might have been the reason why it was later chosen as the capital of Songhay Empire. Nehemia Levtzion, "The Early States of the Western Sudan", in Ajayi & Crowder, op.cit., vol. I, p.136.

Gogo in accordance to their peculiar way of pronunciation. It was Askia who took over the state from the people /dynasty/ of Sunni Ali[1] and he destroyed his non-Islamic traditions and evil customs.[2] He administered justice and equity in these countries and they submitted to his authority, some voluntarily and some by force. They called him the 'just king of the

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1. Sunni Ali Beir is reported to have transformed Songhay into a formidable empire stretching over a vast area. In his time, Songhay became a strong power to be reckoned with, with an imperial ambition. Sunni ʿAlī was notorious for his hatred and persecution of the ʿUlamā' of his country. According to As'ilat al-Askia, one of the characteristics of Sunni ʿAlī was that inspite of the fact that he made an outward confession of Islam, yet he permitted the shedding of the blood of the Muslims and allowed the confiscation of their property.

   See As'ilat al-Askia, and Zabadiya, op.cit., [illegible] and N. Levtzion and John Hunwick in Ajayi & Crowder, op.cit., pp.145 and 202 respectively.

2. The anti-Islamic practices as al-As'ila put them are worshipping and veneration of idols together with sacrifice to them and consulting them before embarking on any move. One of these anti-Islamic practices was the hoarding of women contrary to the Shari'a rules.

   See al-As'ila, N.H.R.S., copy op.cit., and Zabadiya (ed.), op.cit., pp.34-37.

Takrūr'.[1] He performed pilgrimage from his country and he visited [the prophet's mosque at Medina].[2] He met

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1. Takrūr is a generic word applied by Middle Eastern people to all the inhabitants of West Africa. It refers to the first Islamic West African kingdom established in the region of Futa Toro, on the Senegal river. The apparent reason for the application of the term takrūr to the inhabitants living in the areas stretching from the west of the Niger Bend cutting across the eastern part to Hausaland and Kanem-Borno up to the kingdoms of Bagirmi and Wadai, is that the inhabitants of the kingdom of Takrūr were supposedly the first Muslims to have performed pilgrimage. According to Infāq al-Maysūr, while the use of the name Tukrur is common among the inhabitants of Mecca a and Medina, Egypt and Abyssinia, the original inhabitants of the region did not use it at all. They rather picked it from the returning pilgrims who in turn heard it from the inhabitants of Haramayn and Egypt.
   See Infāq al-Maysūr, Whitting ed., London, 1957, pp.2-3. See also Umar al-Naqar, "Takrūr: the History of A Name", J.A.H., X:3, 1969, pp.365-66.

2. While in Medina Askia al-Hajj Muhammad is reported to have spent a large amount of money to buy a hostel for the Takrur pilgrims. He also bought some gardens, the revenue of which went as awqāf (endowments) for the maintenance of the hostel. A controversial issue surrounding Askia's stay in the Haramayn was his 'appointment' as the eleventh Caliph of Islam in Bilad al-Takrūr by the Sharīf of Mecca. Both Tarikh al-Fattash and Tarikh al-Sudān agree that the Sharif of Mecca Maulay al-Abbas was the eleventh of the Kulafā' whom the prophet mentioned. A different version given by Nuzhat al-Hādī of al-Wafarani states that the investiture was made in Egypt at the request of Askia, by the Abbasid Caliph. Serious historical investigations have revealed that there had never been a ruler of Mecca by the name of Abbas. It is also confirmed by independent sources that the Caliph al-Mutawakil had never performed the Hajj. A careful consideration of the circumstances surrounding such statements may reveal that they were politically motivated to enhance the position of Askia and justify his overthrow of Sunni Ali dynasty. .....

various scholars one of whom was al-Jalāl al-Siyūti[1] and others. They wrote books for him. Al-Maghili[2] visited his country and compiled for him books and

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...See ᶜAbd al-Qādir b. al-Mustafā, Risāla ilā Nuh b. Tāhir, N.H.R.S., 192/19. See also ᶜUmar al-Naqar, The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa, Khartoum, 1972.

1. He is 'al-Imām' Jalāl al-Dīn al-Siyūtī (1445-1505). He developed a special interest in the social and political conditions of Bilād al-Takrūr. His interest might have been derived from his close association with the Takrūr pilgrims who were passing to Mecca through Egypt. Also, his interest could be demonstrated by a letter he addressed to the kings of Takrūr in general and ruler of Katsina in particular. al-Siyūtī boasted one day that his books had "travelled" to all parts of the Muslim world including Bilād al-Takrūr. Many of al-Siyūtī's writings such as Tarikh al-Khulafā', al-Kawkab al-Sāti', and Tafsir al-Jalalayn were in circulation in many parts of Western and Central Sudan.

   See A.M. Kani, "The Rise and Influence of Scholars in Hausaland before 1804", Seminar on the History of the Central Sudan before 1804, A.B.U., Zaria, 1979, pp.10-11.

2. He is Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbd al-Karīm Ibn Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbd al-Karim Ibn Muhammad (ᶜUmar Aᶜmar). He was a distinguished intellectual of his time. After completing his studies in Northern Algeria he moved to the Sahara and lived in Tuwat where he launched a campaign against the jews who in collaboration with some merchants were purported to have monopolised the commercial enterprise to the detriment of others. When his campaign was aborted he moved to Bilād al-Sudān, namely Takedda, Kano, Katsina, and later Gao. While in Kano, al-Maghilī is said to have compiled Jumala Mukhtasra (1474/5 A.D.) and Tāj al-Dīn fima Yajib ᶜAla al-Muluk, both treatises deal with administration. His compilations on fiqh, language and politics were more than fourteen works. al-Maghilī died at Tuwat in 909 A.H.

   See Ahmad Baba al-Timbukti, Nayl al-Ibtihāj bi Tatriz al-Dibaj, published in the margin of....

wrote for him treatises and admonitions.[1] No Sudanese king was able to rule [one extent of country] that Askia ruled. He invaded the country of Borgu[2] but it

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...al-Dibāj al-Mudhhab of Ibn Farhūn, Cairo, 1351 A.H., pp.30-32, and ʿAbd al-Qadir Zabādiya (ed.), op.cit., pp.89-92. See also Abd al-Aziz Batran. "A Contribution to the Biography of Shaikh Muhammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Karim al-Maghīlī", J.A.H., XIV: 5, 1973, p.382.

1. The only extant work written by al-Maghīlī to Askia is As'ilat al-Askia wa Ajwibat al-Maghīlī. The other writings which seem to be numerous as the statement indicates in the text are yet to be recovered. Their recovery may shed a new light on the history and administration of Songhay Empire in the late fifteenth century.

2. The land of Borgu was situated between Benin-Togo boundary and the banks of River Niger in the east. The inhabitants of Borgu were given different ascriptions by their neighbours while the Dendi call them Baranche, the Zabarma gives them a different name, that is Berganche. On the other hand, the Hausa and Yoruba describe them as Bargawa and Bariba respectively. Regarding the state formation, the founding of the state-like institutions was attributed to immigrant groups by the name Wagangari. The Wagangari are said to have imposed their super-structure on the indigenous population by way of conquest and inter-marriage with the "earth priests". Some sources claim that the founding of the various states of Borgu was done by the descedants of Kisra, the ancestor of these groups. Concerning the time of the emergence of the Bariba state, the period 16th and 17th centuries is suggested as the approximate period. The Bariba states consisted mainly of three political units: Bussa, Nikki and Illo. As time went by, the Nikki state emerged as the most powerful of the three. Infāq al-Maysūr records that Askia al-Hajj Muhammad attempted to conquer the Bariba but his attempt was not successful. In the nineteenth century there was another attempt by Sokoto Jihad leaders to conquer it but the Bariba state proved difficult to conquer. .....

proved too difficult for him to conquer. His descendants continued to live in the land of Jenne.[1] It is said that they are the ones now living there.

Then, the power of Kebbi,[2] which was the Daula of

...See Infāq al-Maysūr, p.49 & 145, Abdullahi b. Fudi, Tazyin al-Waraqat, Hiskett ed., Ibadan, 1963, p.96, and Musa Baba Idris (the late), "Political and Economic Relations in Bariba States", unexamined Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1972, pp.115, 146 & 217.

1. Jenne lay between the Niger and Bani rivers (in the present Mali Republic). It was an autonomous political entity up till 1473 when it was conquered by Sunni ʿAlī. In the fourteenth century Jenne was an important commercial entreport and was economically linked to Timbuktu through the commercial activities along the Niger waterway. Nehemia Levtzion, Ancient Ghana and Mali, London, pp.82-83.

2. Kebbi kingdom is placed among the Banza Bakwai. The reason for its inclusion among the Banza Bakwai is a matter of speculation. One of the explanations given for this categorization is that the Kebbawa were originally a mixture of the Sarkawa and the Hausa people. Another tradition speaks of Kebbawa as descendants of a Songhay father and a Katsina mother. The state of Kebbi is believed to have emerged in the sixteenth century. It became powerful and dominant in western Hausaland by the second half of the sixteenth century. As a consequence of the encroachment of the Sultanate of Ahir into the kingdom of Kebbi in the beginning of the seventeenth century, coupled with the rebellion of the state of Gobir which began to emerge as an independent powerful entity, the authority of Kebbi began to dwindle. The state of Kebbi which flourished for about a hundred years was a target of the combined forces of Gobir, Zamfara and Ahir. A large area of its territory was conquered by these forces in the seventeenth century.

See Infāq al-Maysūr. Cairo ed., p.47; see also Muhammad Bello Alkali, A Hausa Community in Crisis: Kebbi in the Nineteenth Century, M.A. thesis, A.B.U., 1969, p.45.

Kanta.[1] He was the first Amīr (ruler) of Kebbi. Before him, Kebbi did not have an Amīr. It was rather consisted of districts inhabited by slaves. It is said that he was a slave of the Fulani.

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1. The establishment of the state of Kebbi is ascribed to Muhammad Kanta (1516-1554). He was the first ruler of the Kebbi kingdom. Muhammad Kanta pursued an expansionist policy which resulted, according to some traditions, in controlling the state of Katsina, Gobir, Kano, Zazzau, and Ahir.

2B // He then emerged and consolidated his authority. He undertook military expeditions in these countries until he was able to rule the whole land of Kebbi. Also, he ruled Zanfara[1] which was scrap-land at that time; inhabited by the unbelievers known as Maguzawa. Then he conquered the whole of the Middle Sudan and ruled it all. Out of the Upper Sudan he ruled, Zabarma

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1. Zamfara was classified among the Banza Bakwai. According to local traditions current among the Zamfarawa people, the Zamfarawa migrated from the 'East' via Borno and Kano. Infaq al-Maysur gives a different statement that the proginators of the Zamfara people were a Katsina father and a Gobir mother. This later tradition was probably a reflection of the political and social interactions between these groups. The inhabitants of Zamfara were originally Maguzawa hunters. It is believed that the embryonic machinery of administration in Zamfara areas was first laid in the ancient settlement of Dutsi. The foundation of Birnin Zamfara was closely connected with the Dutse settlement. The choice of Birnin Zamfara was in itself an attempt to establish a unified political superstructure. The State of Zamfara was located in the central part of Rima Basin. Its administrative structure was established around the fifteenth century. In the first decade of the eighteenth century the State of Zamfara began to emerge as a leading power in Western Hausaland. Power tussle among Masu Sarauta compounded with the continuous conflict with its neighbours, Kebbi, Gobir, Katsina and Kano signalled the imminent downfall of this kingdom. The kingdom of Zamfara was finally destroyed by the Gobirawa before the start of the Jihad.

See Infāq al-Maysūr, Cairo Edition p.46, Garba Nadama, The Rise and Collapse of Hausa State: A Social and Political History of Zamfara, Ph.D. Thesis, A.B.U., 1977, pp.43-46 and 76-88. See also P.G. Harris, Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer, 1939, pp.47, 49 and 50.

and the country of Ahir but he did not rule Borno. Wars and military campaigns persisted between him and the Amîr of Borno. He died on his way back from one of the battles in the land of Katsina and the story of this incident is well known. Kanta ruled most of Lower Parts and the countries were subdued by him and the Sudan submitted to him. He developed three cities: Gungu,[1] Leka[2] and Surame[3] which was the capital of his

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1. The site of Gungu (now ruins) is located about fourteen kilometers, south - southwest of Surame on the laterite eminence across the Gulbin Kebbi. It was the second capital of Kebbi, after Leka, to be establisned by Kanta. Its ruins lies about 40 kilometres west of Sokoto.

   See J.E. Sutton, Zaria Archaeology, Vol. I and II (unpublished) p.14. See also, A.J. Arnett, Sokoto Gazetteer, p.12.

2. It was the first capital of Kanta. According to some sources the original Leka was not a town but it was rather a collection of villages inhabited by both the Hausas and Fulanis who were referred to as Lekawa. The present settlement of Maleh is located on the ruins of Leka.

   See P.G. Harris, Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer, p.24, Ade Obayemi, "A note on the Test Exavation at Maleh and Soro, Sokoto Province, Zaria Archaeology Papers, (unpublished) Vols. I and II, p.2

3. Surame was the last capital of Muhammad Kanta and it was located about ten miles northeast of Gungu on the northern banks of River Kebbi. Surame, which was well fortified consisted of seven settlements surrounding one another, each had seven gates. Surame was destroyed in about the year 1722 by the combined forces of Zamfara and Gobir.

   See Muhammad Bello Alkali, A Hausa Community in Crisis, p.80, P.G. Harris, op.cit., pp.34-35 and Arnett, Sokoto Gazetteer, p.12.

kingdom and the place where his grave is to be found. The oldest of these cities was Gungu. It is said that he ordered the Tuwāriq to carry from his town Surame water of a /certain/ pool called Tanshemu which was in their country.[1] Also he commanded them to carry sand from that pool to his horse's stable. They obeyed /his order/ by force and hastened to carry it out. It is said that he saw this in a dream and obliged them to confirm his vision, and they did so. Kanta remained in office for theirty eight years.

The Amīr of Ahir incited the Amīr of Borno against him because of the strong pressure he put on him. Then Mai ᶜAlī,[2] the Amīr of Borno, came out to invade

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1. Tanshemu means in Tamajech 'The flowing water'. Bashir Usman Ahmad, Interview, Sokoto, 14 August, 1982.

2. His full name was Mai ᶜAlī b. al-Hajj Umar (C1644/80/84). He was remembered in the history of Hausaland for his defeat of the Kororafa who constituted a great threat against the empire of Borno and Hausa States. A poem was composed by Dan Marina to commemorate this important event. Mai ᶜAlī marched on Kebbi in an army of about 100,000 men.

   See Yusuf Bala Usman, A Reconsideration of the History of Relations between Borno and Hausaland before 1809 A.D., Borno Seminar. (unpublished), 1973, p.6.

/Kebbi7. He followed the Tscsebaki[1] route passing through Daura,[2] and Katsina and to the south of Gobir. He entered the country of Kebbi and reached Surame.

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1. According to some sources, the States of Sosebaki were founded by a Bornuan prince by the name Muhammad Nafarko, the son of a Bornu Sultan. Tradition has it that Muhammad Nafarko arrived in Cangola-Ganona regions some eight or nine hundred years ago. The Sosebakis consisted mainly of three political units, Takey, Waska and Maria. The present location of the Sosebaki area is the southern part of the Department of Zinder near the border with Kano State. It lies to the east of the present town of Magarva. The population was mainly a mixture of a Hausa speaking and Kanuri speaking people with a predominantly Hausa cultural traits. The emergence of the semblance of State formation was in the fifteenth century when, according to some sources, an immigrant from Kano emerged as the first leader of the community. As a result of Borno-Kano rivalry the State of Sosebaki was split into two in the 18th century one bearing the name Miroa and the other Takey. Another split occurred in 1840 when as a result of the rise of Damagaram State, the State of Wacha was founded. The three units were integrated into the State of Damagaram in the 19th century.

   See Documents Scientifiqe de la Mission Tilho, (1906-9), translated by D.E. Owoyele, NHRS, pp.1, 4, 6, 10 and 11, Serede Rivieres, Histoire, du Niger, Paris, 1969, pp.129-134; Andre Salifu, le-Damagram; and Bala Usman, The Transformation of Katsina, p.27.

2. According to some traditions Daura was the oldest of the Hausa Bakwai. The foundation of the city and the State is ascribed to Queen Daura whose ancestors are reported to have come from the East. Although not much concrete historical information could be derived from Daura before the 19th century, it is evident that during the eighteenth century Daura had exercised effective control over the small chiefdoms of Kwargum and Karce before they were annexed to Zinder. The Jihad leader in the area of Daura was Mallam Isiaku, the son of Mallam Isa.

   See M.G. Smith, The affairs of Daura: History and change in a Hausa State 1800-1958, California, 1976, pp.52, 53, 59 and 145-146.

Then Kanta came out to confront him on the morning of the 'Id. They fought each other for a while and Kanta was defeated and forced to retreat to the west. The Sultan of Borno continued to attack the stronghold but it held out against him and he retired to Gandi[1] on his way back home.

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1. Gandi was an old settlement in Zamfara area. It was demarcated by Muhammad Bello in 1836 as a Ribāt to check the activities of the Gobirawa. Gandi completed the chain of the frontier-fortification of the Caliphate linking Bakura in the south and Wurno in the north.

   See Gandi, D.N.B./54 and Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p.71.

3A // Then Kanta organized an army and pursued him until he reached Unguru[1] where he was confronted by the Barãbir (Bereberi) but he defeated their warriors in about seven battles and captured much booty. He then retired until he reached a place called Dugul[2] in the direction of Katsina. The place was inhabited by a group who were in rebellion against him. He fought with them fiercely until they wounded him with an arrow. He then retreated until he reached a place called Jirwa[3] where he died and his people carried him and buried him in his capital Surame. The power of Kebbi

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1. Unguru was one of the oldest settlements of Borno Empire lying to the North East of Kano. The town is still in existence and serves as an important railway terminal.

2. I could not identify where Dugul was located.

3. The founding of Jirwa could be traced back to 16th century. The settlement was founded by the Gobirawa immigrants. Jirwa was situated in Zamfara territory. The Gazetteer of Sokoto Province suggests that Muhammad Kanta died at Surame and was buried at TawchalBangi and a mound is said to have been erected to demarcate his grave.

   Garba Nadama, The Social and Political History of Zamfara, p.285 and P.G. Hariss, op.cit., p.42. .. p.42.

was firmly established during Kanta's time and after him for more than a hundred years. Here are their ruins the like of which has not been witnessed in these lands; even though a hundred of years have passed since the destruction of their cities. Then the greatest Daula after that was the Daula of Zanfara. They ruled some of the middle and some of the lower parts and they were strongly entrenched. The detail of this will be given during the enumeration of these countries.

Then the greatest Daula after that, was our Daula [c]Uthmaniyya[1] may Allah strengthen its foundation and may He also support its authority until the Day of Judgement. The whole of the middle Sudan came under its control, in addition to some parts of the lower and most of the upper; the account of such will come in the course of writing this book.

Know that Hausa consists of seven regions (Aqālīm) The region of Zakzak, the vastest of the Hausa regions because it includes many countries of "Bauchi",[2] the

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1. The author means by Usmaniyya the Sokoto Caliphate.

2. It is almost certain that the author does not refer specifically to the area which came to be identified later as Bauchi quarter. Infāq al-Maysūr suggests that the lands of Bauchi consists of Gwari which is seven Aqālīm: Gwandara, Doma, Yaskwa, Koto, Adama and Korofa (consisting of 20 Aqālīm).

According to Mahdi Adamu, the word Bauchi is a Hausa term referring to a vast area extending from the south of Hausaland upto the valleys of Rivers Niger and Benue. The area is linguistically diverse with over one hundred languages with varying stages of.....

region of Naru;[1] The region of Kano, the most prosperous of these seven regions; the region of Daura; the region of Katsina; the most central, and in the past the most developed; the region of Biram;[2] and

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...political organisations. Infāq al-Maysūr, Whitting ed. p.18 and A.Y. Abubakar, The Establishment and Development of Emirate Government in Bauchi, 1805, Ph.D. Thesis, A.B.U., 1974, p.146 notes. See also M. Adamu, The Hausa factor in West African History, Zaria, 1978, p.23.

1. It is generally known as Rano and was one of the Hausa Bakwai, sandwiched between Zaria in the south and Kano in the North. According to traditions of origin the founder of the state of Rano was Zaman-Kogi, a son of Bayajidda. Rano was a walled city like most of the Hausa States. It did not appear to have a control over a big territory, in contrast to Zazzau and Kano. The State might have lost a great part of its territory to Kano and Zazzau. By the nineteenth century Rano came under the direct control of Kano.

   Adamu Fika, op.cit., pp.305 also p.20 and A. Smith, The Early States, op.cit., p.192.

2. It is also called Biram to Gabas or Garun Gabas. The State was the most easterly of the Hausa Bakwai. The present location of the place is believed to be around Hadejia area. According to Hausa traditions of origin the founder of the state was Biram the son of Bayajida. Like Rano the state of Biram did not appear to have featured prominently in the history of the Hausa States.

   See Adamu Fika ibid., p.3, A. Smith, The Early States, ibid., p.192.

the region of Gobir.[1]

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1. According to Hausa traditions of origin Gobir was one of the Hausa Bakwai. This tradition was denied later by the Gobir historians who asserted that the Gobirawa were a distinct group who migrated into Azben or Abzen region from Egypt in the eleventh century. Economic and political pressures from the Tuwariq who were by then occupying areas to the north forced the Gobirawa to move southwards. By 1750 the Gobirawa were well established in Rima Valley region with their capital at alkalawa. The same period was characterized by the emergence of Gobir as the dominant power in Hausaland in general and western Hausaland in particular. However, the State of Gobir was engaged in protracted conflicts with the State of Zamfara for about fifty years. The wars culminated in significant territorial gains for Gobir State and as a result of this, large areas which were hitherto part and parcel of the kingdom of Zamfara were completely swallowed by the Gobir. Gobir relationship with its neighbour to the north east, Katsina was also marked by political tension which often found expressions in military clash. S

   See Infāq al-Maysūr, Whitting ed. p.18, Garba Nadama op.cit., p.397, Yusufu Bala Usman, The Transformation, op cit., p.219 and Abdullahi Augie, Migrations of Gobirawa: A Reconsideration: History Department Seminar, A.B.U., Zaria, March 1979, (unpublished) pp.1-6. Augie advances a new Thesis questioning the idea of the migration of the Gobirawa. Many questions such as whether the migration was that of people or institutions remain to be answered.

3B // These regions were in the past in the hands of the Sultan of Borno who had a slave called Bawo.[1] I do not know his origin and I did not hear the mention of his tribe from any one. The Sultan of Borno appointed him over these regions and he ruled over them. He had seven children and when he was about to pass away he appointed them over these lands each one responsible for one country.

It is said that the one whom he appointed for Daura was a female. He entrusted her with Daura and that was her name, the country being named after her.

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1. Hausa traditions of origin speak of Bawo as the son of Bayajidda and Daura, the queen of Daura who together begot the founders of the Hausa Bakwai, namely, Bagauda who ruled over Kano, Kazuru, the king of Daura, Gunguma of Zazzak, Duma of Gobir, Kumayo the founder of Katsina, Zamangari of Rano and Biram the son of Magira who founded Biramta Gabas. These traditions of origin are inadequate in explaining the historical processes that led to the formation of the Hausa States. These historical records are at least clear about one thing that the Bawo dynasty was preceded by an earlier epoch. We have already seen how the Gobir historians dissassociated the Gobirawa from Hausa Bakwai tradition of origin.

See Sabab Salātīn Daura, Katsina, Gobir, Zakzak, Rano and Biram ta Gabas by anonymous, NHRS, p.184/8, S.J. Hogben, op.cit., pp.73-74 and A. Smith, The Early States, pp.185-186.

She was the eldest of his children. She was a full sister of the Amīr of Katsina, and the Amīr of Kano and the Amīr of Gobir were full brothers. Also, the Amīr of Biram and the Amīr of Zakzak were full brothers. But the Amīr of Rano has a different mother.

The affairs of these seven countries were in the hands of the descendants of the sons of Bawo, whom we have mentioned. That is why it is said that all the people of these countries are the slaves of the Sultan of Borno, meaning their Sultans; because the people of these countries were under their rule. These Sultans used to send Kharāj[1] and (Agricultural) produce to the Sultan of Borno. They delivered it through the Amīr of Daura who in turn forwarded to the Amīr of Borno. That was a long standing practice among them and it was not discontinued until the commencement of this jihad.

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1. Kharāj was a land tax paid by the free non-Muslim subjects of a muslim government. Originally, the term Kharāj referred to a yearly land tax which Umar the Second Caliph of Islam levied on the people of the Sawād al-'Irāq. Concerning its payment to Borno rulers by the Hausa States, it is an evidence of the political and cultural control exerted by Borno or the Hausa States. The nature and the extent of the Bornuan political and cultural supremacy over the Hausa States is yet to be adequately outlined. The usual information given is that the payment of Kharāj was in return for the protection that the Empire was giving to these States against rival 'imperial powers'.

4A // Except that the Sultan of Gobir Bawa[1] refused to adhere to it, the mention of such will follow. Wars and hostilities were rampant among the Sultans of these countries.[2] That was after the passing away of their

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1. His full name was Bawa Jan Gwarzo, his accession was in 1770. During his reign Gobir political and military ascendency began to weaken considerably. In that period also the Jama'a of the Shaykh grew strongly to the extent that by the year 1789 Shaykh Uthman b. Fūdī was strong enough to reject Bawa's offer of gifts, after ʿId al-Kabīr prayers, in contrast to the other 'Ulamā' who willingly accepted the gifts. Instead, the Shaykh demanded, some political and social reforms, from Bawa. It is significant to note here that Sultan Bawa had acquiesed to all the demands made by Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī. These concessions signify that the community of Shaykh Uthman had already become a force to be reckoned with. The concessions granted by Bawa to the Jama'a of Shaykh Uthman came to be recognized, for the first time as a distinct socio-political force.

   See F.H. al-Masri, the life of Shehu Usman b. Dan Fodio. Before the Jihad, JHSN, Vol III, No. 4, December 1963, p.441.

2. The hostilities and tensions which dominated the political scene in Hausaland for a long period have been attested to in the seventeenth century by Ahmad Baba al-Timbuktī who states that inspite of their cultural homogeniety and common identity and despite the fact that they speak the same language, yet they were at loggerheads with one another to the extent that some of them enslave the others.

   Ahmad Baba al-Timbuktī, al-Kashf wa al-Bayān ʿan Asnāf Majlūb al-Sudan, NHRS, p.151/1. The work is quoted by Shaykh Uthman b. Fūdī in his Tanbīh al-Ikhwān ʿala Ahwāl Ard al-Sūdān, and by Abdullahi b. Fudi in his Diya'al-Siyasat

ancestors and the extinction of friendliness and brotherhood that had existed among them. Any cordial relationship which might have persisted was between each to the exclusion of others.

The reason for the Bawa's refusal to pay the Kharāj was because he resented (the idea that) they were slaves of the Amīr of Borno. They regarded as fully established that they have been free born from the beginning. They are remnants of the Copts who migrated from Egypt. They (first) came to Ahir; then moved to the country of Gobir. From there [Gobir] they expelled the rulers who were the descendants of Bawo; and there they settled. Their descendants continued the practice of paying the (Kharāj) like those whom they have met there (the earlier settlers) until Bawa revoked it. These countries used to have kings before the sons of Bawa.[1] Take note of that.

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1. This is a clear evidence of the unreliability of Hausa Bakwai tradition as a basis for the reconstruction of the historical events in Hausaland. The Bayajidda dynasty may represent only a period in a series of epochs in the history of Hausaland.

To the west of these seven countries are (another) seven regions all of which are included in /Bilād al-Sudān/. These are Banza, Zamfara, Kebbi, Yawuri,[1] Nupe,[2]

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1. Yawuri is classified among the Banza Bakwai, Before the establishment of a Hausa government in Kasar Yawuri in the fifteenth century there were three chieftaincies in the area; namely: Maginga, Ibelu and Gungu. To some extent these three chieftaincies were operating independent from one another. The capital of Yawuri was Birnin Yāwuri built as an administrative and commercial centre of the land of Yawuri by a Sarki whose name was Yawuri. That was in the sixteenth century. Some sources claim that it was this Sarki Yawuri who was able for the first time to bring all the chieftaincies in the area under one political system. From the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th century, there was no evidence that the kingdom of Yawuri had engaged itself in any conflicts with the other Hausa States. By the beginning of the nineteenth century and as a result of internal and external factors the kingdom of Yawuri began to weaken. In the end the central administration was to break down C.1888. The Sokoto Caliphate permitted a semi-autonomous government to function in Yawuri. Finally, Umaru Nagwamutse, the son of the Caliph Abubakar Atiku forced the government of Yawuri to disintegrate before the British conquest of the Caliphate.

   Mahdi Adamu, A Hausa Government in Decline, op.cit., p.46, 52 and 168.

2. The Nupe land is situated in the centre of Nigeria in the low basin of Rivers Niger and Kaduna, between 9^{0} 30' and 8^{0} 30^{0} NL. The early history of Nupe revolves around a 'legendary' figure, Tsode, purported to be the founder of Nupe kingdom. According to a Nupe tradition, there was an expansion in the direction of the north at the time of the death of its founder. Tsode was succeeded by a number of kings. One of this kings is reported to have based his capital at Makwa in the direction of the northeast. Later, the capital was moved to Jima by Abdu Waliyi. The first ruler to embrace Islam according to some traditions was Jibri whose reign was assigned to 1770 A.D. There was every reason to believe that the kingdom has reached its apogee during the reign Etsu Mu'azu, the 19th ruler of Nupe.

   See S.F. Nadil, A Black Byzantium, the kingdom of Nupe in Nigeria, Oxford, 1946, p.12 and 76.

Yoruba,[1] Borgu and Gurma.[2] Each of these countries had a ruler equal to the others, as was the case in the Hausa regions. I will now give a detailed description of their conditions, beginning with the Hausa countries.

As for the country of Zakzak, I say it is a vast country with trees, rivers and mountains. It is a

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1. Yoruba is a name of an ethnic group and a land but not of State. The capital of the Yorubaland in the 17th century was Oyo after whose name the Empire was named. Before its collapse in 1830's, the Oyo Empire included much of the present Oyo Division, Ilorin and Igbomina in Kwara State, in the north-east. To the south the Empire incorporated Igbomina and Osun area of the present Oyo State. The old Oyo lay in the extreme northeastern corner of the present Oyo town. Before its destruction by the forces of Sokoto Caliphate the capital was referred to by the Hausa speaking people as Katansa and Katunga. A combination of the internal and external factors resulted in the final collapse of Oyo Empire. The Ilorin Emirate was established in the hinterland of the Empire as part of Sokoto Caliphate around 1917.

2. The original habitat of the Gurmawa was the south-western part of the present Niger Republic and the southeastern extreme of Upper Volta. By the six-teenth century the Gurmawa were already settled in that area. A dominant feature in the area before the outbreak of the Jihad was migrations and intra-communal conflicts over the control of land. The pressure from the Zabarmawa forced the Gurmawa to move south and southwest. Another pressure from the Tuwariq groups from the north pushed the Gurmawa farther to the south. Eventually, the northern part of the Gurmawa came under the control of Songhay Empire.

   See Henrich Barth, op.cit., p.184, and Saka Balogun, Gwandu Emirates in the Nineteenth Century, with special reference to Political Relations 1817-1903, Ph.D. Thesis, Ibadan, 1970, p.27.

fertile land with abundant rainfall, cheap food and high incomes. It is bordered by the country of Naru which is adjacent to the country of Kano.

The country of Kano is the most fertile and productive, of the Hausa countries with the lowest cost of living.

43 // Its people are living in utmost prosperity and luxury. In it also are many Date-Palms surrounding it in all directions. Here is also an excellent quality of indigo whose dye surpasses all other dyes.

As for the country of Katsina, it is a vast country with trees, /small/ rivers, and thickets lowlands, and strongholds. Its people are the most sophisticated refined and / / of Hausa people. The country of Katsina was ruled /successively/ by numerous kings. There were also many ᶜUlamāʾ /and pious people there such as Ibn al-Sabbāgh[1] and so on. His tomb is to be found in

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1. His name was Muhammad b. al-Sabbāgh al-Katsinwai nicknamed as Dan Marina. He lived in Dan Marina quarters of Birnin Katsina. Dan Marina was a distinguished scholar whose writings were diffused in Kasar Katsina and beyond, in the seventeenth century. His writings were numerous including a commentory on ᶜIshriniyāt al-fāzāzī, a poem in praise of Mai ᶜAli of Borno and a composition on the virtues of the ecquisition of knowledge. Various branches of knowledge which could be considered as a curriculum for schools of learning were discussed in this work.

   Infāq al-Maysūr, Cairo edition, pp.51-52, Muhammad b. al-Sabbagh, Mazjarat al-Fityan, NHRS, p.426/3, and Madh Sultan Ali, NHRS, p.426/3. See also Y.B. Usman, The Transformation of Katsina, p.27[illegible].

Katsina town and I have visited it when I went there. Hostilities broke out between its Sultan and the Sultan of Gobir in the course of which the Sultan of Katsina emerged victorious.

As for the country of Gobir it consists of sandy areas, hills and trees. In the past its people were living in Azben but they were driven out by the Tuwariq.[1] They moved to upper Gobir until they were evacuated thence by their Amīr Ciroma.[2] He reached

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1. The Tuwariq of Kasar Azbin (Ahir) consisted mainly of five main groups, Kel-Owi, Kel-Geres, Itesen Ulamiden (Kel-Dinnik) and Kel-Ataram. They were predominantly semi-nomadic groups who as a result of the conquest of North Africa by the Muslims, pushed westwards and southwards and southwest in the direction of Bilād al-Sūdān. They occupied Awjal, Ghadames and Ghat. Some had crossed into the lands of Ahir and Mali. By the fifteenth century the Tuwariq were already established in Ahir area, the area occupied previously by the Gobirawa. The Tuwariq organized themselves in a confederacy recognizing a nominal leadership which they could overthrow anytime they liked, characteristic of their social organization. The Tuwariq relationships with States of western Hausaland was generally characterized by political alliance and counter alliance up till the beginning of the 19th century. After the outbreak of the Jihad the bulk of the Tuwariq sided with the Mujahidun.

   See Infāq al-Maysūr, Cairo Edition. op.cit., pp.39-40, Miftah al-Sadad fi Aqsam Hadhhi al-Bilad, of Muhammad Bello, NHRS, uncatalogued MS p.13. See also Henrich Barth, Vol. 1, op.cit., pp.197-198

2. He was Sarkin Gobir at Kufar Kututturu (1667-1680). He joined forces with Ahir and Zamfara against Kebbi in 1678.

   Tarihin Gobir Na Mallam Akali at Tsibiri (Niger Republic) MS, a copy in possession of Mallam Illa Maikasuwa.

Gobir Gabas[1] and built their old fortifications (Hisn) there. When he died they appointed his youngest son over them. It is said that he had recommended that they should do this. His son's name was Muhammad b. Ciroma.[2]

Then, he marched against the Amīr of Kebbi (in alliance) with the Amīr of Azbin Aghabba[3] and the Amīr

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1. Gobir Gabas was the stretch of land which lay north-east of Tsibiri. Interview, Illa Maikasuwa, Zaria, April, 1982.

2. He ruled from his capital, Kututturu in the valley of Gulbin Kaba. Tarihin Gobir, Na, Mallam Dan Akali Tsibiri, See also Bouba Hamma, Histoire da Gobir et Sokoto, Niamey, 1967, p.32.

3. He is assigned to 1657-1738. He was the son of the Emir of Azbin, Muhammad al-Mubarak. He led a successful attack on Sarkin Kebbi in 1674 and defeated him. As a reward for such an action he was appointed by his father as the first Sarki of Adar. By then, Adar was already incorporated into Azbin since 1687. In 1687, Sarki Agabba returned to Azbin to succeed his father. He stayed there until 1721 when he was deposed. After his deposition he went back to Adar and continued as Sarkin Adar before he died in about 1738.

See Jibo Hammani, L'Adar pre colonial, Etude Nigerianes, I.R.S.H., Niamey, pp.86-87 and Chronique d' Agades, pp.21-22.

of Zanfara Ya'qub b. Babba.[1] They ravaged the tountry of Kebbi and most of it was occupied by the Amīr of Zanfara as we shall mention. Fighting broke out between the Sultan of Gobir, Muhammad b. Ciroma and the Amīr of Kebbi. He defeated the people of Kebbi twice and captured their Amīr

// He imprisoned the Amīr of Kebbi and the notables of his government, in underground store houses. Thus, his position was consolidated and his authority strengthened. He was friendly with the Sultan of Zamfara and the Sulten of Katsina.

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1. He was a contemporary of Muhammad Ciroma of Gobir and Sarkin Azbin Agabba (1657-1738). He is noted for his wars with Kebbi and its devastation. He [illegible] controlled most of the land of Kebbi. He also marched against Katsina and took part of it.

Infāq al-Maysūr Cairo, op.cit., p.87, and R. Adeleye, Hausaland and Bornu 1600-1800, in History of West Africa, Vol. I, op.cit., p.516.

When he died, he was succeeded by his son Tsoba,[1] who established his authority in the country. He invaded the country of Zabarma and beleaguered its people for three years. He destroyed, killed and took much booty and retired to his country. Afterwards he prepared the army, crossed the river[2] (Bahr) and raided

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1. He reigned in the early eighteenth century around 1704 and died about 1780 during a war in Adar. Sarki Tsoba established his capital at Goran Fami, the ruins of which could be seen now at the site. The place is located about 5 kilometres east of the town of Gidan Roumji (in the present Niger Republic).

   Tarihin Gobir Na Mallam Dan Alkali (Tsibiri), Bouba Hamma, Histoire du Gobir et Sokoto, Niamey, 1967, pp.32 and 36. See also, Sere de Rivirers, op.cit., p.156.

2. The river is the River Niger, 4,180 kilometres long and is the most important river in the whole of West Africa. The River rises a few kilometres from the coast at Futa Jallon and flows inland in the direction of the desert, before branching towards the coast at Tosaye to enter the sea in Nigeria.

the country of Gurma. He killed and took captives, returned home with abundant booty. Then he prepared for war against Katsina and besieged Maradi[3] for seven years without success. They proved too difficult for him to defeat.

The Amīr of Azben raided his country while he was besieging Maradi. He was alarmed by this but the Maguzawa[2] sent (a message) to him that they would defend him /against Azben7. They moved in the night and they surrounded the army of Ahir secretly with thorn bushes and trees. They sneaked through their ranks taking them by surprise, dispersed them, and killed countless soldiers. The Amīr of Azben escaped on foot. Then,

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1. There are conflicting traditions about the origin of Maradi. One of these traditions suggest that Maradi was named after a Sarki who was ruling over Gulbin Maradi and that its founding goes back to the priod before the nineteenth century. The other tradition claims that it was not until early nineteenth century that Maradi was founded by an exiled Katsina prince, Dan Kaswa. However, it appears from the statement of Raudat al-Afkar that Maradi was in existence before the nineteenth century. It is evident that by early nineteenth century, the settlement of Maradi had shrunk in population. As a consequence of 1945 flood the site of the old settlement was rendered into a sandy Fadama.

   See Y.B. Usman, The Transformation of Katsina, op.cit., p.303.

2. Singular Bamaguje, the Maguzawa is a term given by the Hausa speaking people to the Hausa pagans. The term, according to some interpretation is derived from the Arabic word Majus meaning "magian Zaroastarian". Joseph Greenberg, The influence of Islam on a Sudanese Religion, Washington, 1946, p.13, and note 7. See also. R.C. Abraham, The Dictionary of Hausa Language, London, 1962, p.70.

they /The Maguzawa/ sent horses, camels and weapons to Tsoba. But when Maradi proved unconquerable to them, he abandoned it.

After one year he prepared /an army/ against the Tuwariq. He marched through the land of Konni[1] and

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1. The area of Birnin Konni was first inhabited by Konnawa, a Hausa speaking group and they were joined later by the Kabbawa (Gulbin Kebbi), the Rumawa (Gulbin Rima, north-west of Sokoto), the Burmawa (south-east of Sokoto), the Rabawa (east of Sokoto). Another tradition suggests that the area of Konni was first occupied by the ancestors of Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī, probably in the fifteenth century. The Konni "State" was not as large as the other Hausa states. The width was not up to 100 kilometres in the direction of the northeast and 25 to 50 kilometres from north to south. It was to bounded in the north by an uninhabited area which separated it from Maouri and in the northeast by Adar, and the Sokoto Caliphate in the south. At one time in history, Konni was a vessel of Kebbi but this relationship was severed in the seventeenth century. Around 1750 the "State" of Konni was conquered by Sarkin Gobir Babari and an annual tribute of 100 horses was being paid to Gobir by Konni. During the Jihad of 19th century, Konni submitted to Sokoto but at the same time maintained cordial relationship with remnants of Gobir State.

Infāq al-Maysūr, Cairo ed., p.102, Ia Mission Tilho, op.cit., pp.133-134, and Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p. LXXXIII.

passed unto Upper Adar[1] which he raided and devastated. Those who escaped took refuge at Magori.[2]

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1. Geographically, the State of Adar was bounded, to the north by uninhabited area, mostly desert, and to the south by the State of Konni, and by uninhabited area stretching up to Arewa in the west. The original inhabitants of the area were the Aznas (a Hausa speaking group). The history of Adar is closely connected with that of Azbin. The founding of the 'State' was attributed to the son of Sarkin Azbin, Muhammad al-Mubarak (1654-1687) who rested it from the control of Kebbi in 1679 A.D.

   Infāq al-Maysūr, Cairo ed., pp.6-8 and Tilho, op.cit., p.113 and Garba Nadama, op.cit., p.282.

2. Magori is an old settlement located at present in the Republic of Niger.

5B // And the Tuwariq rushed there. He marched against them and camped at Guda.[1] Then they fought with him; but his soldiers betrayed him, being discontented with him, as a result of his numerous campaigns. He persisted in raiding the Tuwariq in their country as they had raided him in his country but his warriors were defeated and they betrayed him. He fought on until he was killed. And his son Gufa[2] and his daughter Makadhiya[3] fought and she was killed.

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1. Guda is an old settlement in the region of Ahir (now in the Republic of Niger). It was a place where Shaykh Uthman b. Fūdī and his brother Abdullahi went to receive knowledge from their teacher Shaykh Jibril b. Umar in late eighteenth century; after his return from his second pilgrimage.
   Tazyīn al-waraqāt, p.31.

2. I did not succeed in getting information about him.

3. Popularly known as Magajiya. Magajiya was a title conferred on some of the princesses of Gobir to assist the Inna and the Saraunya of Gobir, in discharging their duty as custodians of the cult of Bori, the traditional belief system of the Gobirawa, Interview: Illa Maikasuwa, April, 1981.

The Tuwariq killed Soba in a most brutal manner. They attacked his army but they were repulsed and could not achieve any success. After his /death/ the Gobirawa appointed his son Akal[1] to rule and after him, his son Yaku;[2] but he /Yaku/ soon died. After him, they

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1. He was one of rulers of Gobir (1740-41). He is said to have abdicated, due to the non-challant attitude of the Gobirawa towards Islam. After his abdication, he devoted himself to Islamic studies. His discentants continued to be the custodians of the official history of Gobir, By virtue of their positions as Mallams they hold the title of Dan Akali.

   Tarihin Gobir Na Mallam Dan Akali, (Tsibiri) and Sere de Rivieres, Histoiredu Niger, [illegible] p.156. See also Boubou Hamma, Histoire du Gobir et Sokoto, pp.36-37.

2. The name Yaku does not appear in any king list of Gobir. Most probably, he was Yakubu who is believed to have succeeded Soba but was shortly deposed as a result of an internal crisis bearing on right attitude of Gobir government to Islam. It was on the account of the advice given to Sarki Yakubu by Dan Akali that Islamic rules should reign supreme in the State of Gobir, that the council of Taran Gobir dethroned him on the grounds that the revenue of the State from booty was depleting as a consequence of implementing such an advice.

   Tarihin Gobir Na Mallam Dan Akali (Tsibiri), and Buba Hamma, op.cit., p.32. [illegible]

appointed his son Uban Dauro[1] and after him, Uban Ashsha[2] but it was not long before they rose against him and deposed him.

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1. He reigned from (1696-1704) and was the second Sarkin Gobir to be appointed after the death, in a war, of Sarkin Gobir Muhammad Maiguitchi in his capital of Hisatu, about 10 kilometres west of Tsibiri, on the southern bank of Gulbin Maradi.

   Tarihin Gobir Na Mallam Dan Akali (Tsibiri), Sere de Reviers, Histoire du Niger, op.cit., p.156, and Boubou Hamma, Historie du Cobir, pp.32 and 35.

2. He reigned around 1780 but he was forced to abdicate in reaction to opposition from the members of Taran Gobir (The Council in charge of the appointment of the new Sarki).

   Tarihin Gobir Na Mallam Dan Akali (Tsibiri)

6A // Then they brought Babari[1] who was in Zamfara and appointed him to rule. His reign was long and his authority was well established.

Wher Uban Ashsha was deposed he went off to Katsina and stayed there for sometime. Afterwards, he incited the people of Katsina against Babari. They fought until the people of Katsina were defeated. Babari captured Uban Ashsha and tortured him and later killed him. Babari's position was strengthened and good fortune came his way. He then, prepared /To fight/ Katsina. He raided that country, until he reached its capital, and fought them but failed to defeat them. He returned to his country and then raided the land of Kano and Shira[2] on the outskirts of Borno.

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1. He reigned from 1741 to 1770. He was appointed as Sarkin Gobir after a period of instability. Due to his unique military qualities, Babari was able to eliminate all his rivals; forcing other warring factions to recognize him alone as Sarkin Gobir. He was recognized as the first Sarki of Gobir who consolidated the political and military might of Gobir in the 18th century. Tarihin Gobir Na Mallam Dan Akali, see also Sere de Rivieres, Histoire du Niger, pp.156-157.

2. Shira was integrated into Sokoto Caliphate as a sub-Emirate in the 19th century. During the colonial period Shira was chosen as a district of Kano Province. At present, it is located in Bauchi State as a sub-Emirate.

   Gazetteer of Northern Nigeria, p.42.

Babari remained in office for twenty one years. Then he prepared /an army/ against Zamfara, fought them and defeated them. He persevered until he was able to occupy their capital by employing a trick against its people and he took it and killed the Amīr of Zamfara Malu[1] who was the son of Gigama b. Yaqūb b. Babba.

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1. He was assigned to (1741-1798). He was noted for his weakness. The Gobirawa revolted during his reign but he was weak enough to take any action to deter them. His death was followed by a succession crisis which again weakened the position of the Zamfarawa.

   Garba Nadama, op.cit., p.371.

6B // When Babari occupied their capital, the Zamfarawa submitted to his authority and he marked out the town of Al Kalawa[1] which was in the Upper Zamfara. He built it, peopled it and fortified it. He stayed there for seven years and died there. Then after him, his son Dan Gudi[2] ruled. There was fighting between him and the Tuwariq until they killed him in the end, at the battle of Bubu,[3] which is a river. That was after they had besieged him in Al Kalawa where their

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1. Alkalawa was one of the Gobirawa settlements in Kasar Zamfara in the beginning of the eighteenth century. From 1740s the town assumed a new role and became the focal point of the Gobir people in contrast to other important Gobirawa settlements such as Birnin Lalle, Birnin Naya and Goran Rami. The status of its chief was raised from that of Mai Unguwa to that of Sarki. In 1763 the town was adopted as a capital of Gobir State by Sarki Babari.

   Garba Nadama, op.cit., pp.376-377.

2. He succeeded his father Babari in 1770. He was later killed by Ahir forces in 1772. Dan Gudi was the second Sarkin Gobir to be installed at Alkalawa.

   Tarihin Gobir Na Mallam Akali Tsibiri, Buoba Hamma, op.cit., p.32 and Sere de Rivieres, op.cit., p.157.

3. River Bubu was located in Gobir in Ahir northern frontier. Tarihin Gobir Na Mallam Akali, [illegible].

army was defeated. In the following year or later the battle of Bubu took place at which he was killed. His people carried him away and buried him beside the grave of his father. He reigned for seven years.

When Dan Gudi died his brother Bawa succeeded him. He raided Zamfara and laid it waste. The Amīr of Zamfara, Maroki[1] took refuge in Kiawa[2] but the Sultan of Gobir, Bawa, beleaguered him for fifteen years until he captured him before moving to Katsina. He attacked Maradi and took it by force. Before then, Maradi had proved unconquerable to his grandfather Soba as we have mentioned earlier.

After taking it, he became anxious to advance against Katsina. He had strong desire to [conquer it] and marched deep into the country. He constructed his

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1. According to some traditions, he was the 43rd Sarki of Zamfara and he was a contemporary of Sarkin Gobir Bawa (1771-1784). It was during his reign and after the destruction of Birnin Zamfara that Kiawa was besieged ty the Gobirawa but without making a breakthrough. Sarkin Zamfara Maroki is reported to have committed suicide after taking refuge at Kiawa. After his death, his followers moved to Banaga.

   G. Harris, Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer, p.115 and Garba Nadama, op.cit., p.389,

2. Kiawa was an ancient settlement in Kasar Zamfara. At present, its site is located about 28 miles south-east of Kauran Namoda. Birnir Kiawa is said to have been established by some immigrants who came to the area via Durbai ta Kusheyi.

   Gazetteer of Northern Nigeria, p.11. See also Nadama, pp. 68-69.

stronghold called Birnin Karofi.[1] The Sultan of Katsina came out to meet him with a huge army. Before then, he had sent gifts to Bawa in order to appease him. But Bawa rejected /the gesture/ because of his strong desire to seize his land. They clashed at Dan Kaishe,[2] and fought with a ferocity which is beyond description; and those killed in the battle were numberless. Bawa and his followers were defeated.

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1. Birnin Karofi was situated between Muradi and Birnin Katsina. It was in 1780 that the Gobir forces, after conquering Muradi, marched on Katsina and besieged Birnin Karofi.

2. Dan Kaisha was situated between Katsina and Gobir. This incident is recorded by Dabt al-Multaqatāt in a manner which suggests that Bawa suffered a crushing defeat as a consequence of his disregard of the instruction of Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī, that he should not trasspass. Sarki Bawa is reported to have died forty days after this battle in (1789-90).

Dabt al-Multaqatāt, NHRS,P.27/1, pp.25-27. See also Y.B. Usman, The Transformation, p.570.

7A // The Katsinawa advanced among them killing and capturing. When Bawa's soldiers were defeated he marched until he camped at Naya.[1] His son had been killed in the battle and he (Bawa) died forty days later upset by the death of his son and in grief over the defeat which he had suffered. They carried him away to his country and buried him in his ancestors' graveyard.

The Sultan of Gobir Bawa was the first (Amīr) to refuse paying the Kharāj customarily paid by them /his predecessors/ to the Amīr of Borno. He was also the one who entered into correspondence with the Amīr of Nupe Mu^cadh.[2] Mu^cadh sent him five hundred young female and five hundred young male slaves, each one of

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1. Naya was an important market place and a great trade fair, close to Goron Rami. It was situated along a principal route which passed from Borno in the northeast to Zamfara in the west.

   Y.B. Usman, The Transformation, p.215.

2. He was the nineteenth Etsu of Nupe. During his tenure, the Nupe kingdom became firmly established. It was during his reign in 1810 that Mallam Dendo, a Jihad leader in the area migrated from the land of Kebbi into Nupe land. According to Infāq al-Maysūr, the Nupawa who originally resisted the Islamic reformist ideas expounded in the area by Etsu Jibril deposed him and installed a 'crazy' and corrupt leader in the person of Mu^cadh.

   Infāq al-Maysūr, Cairo ed., p.76;
   Michael Mason, The Nupe Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century, Ph.D. Thesis, Birmingham, 1970, pp.89-50.
   See also, A Black Byzentium, p.76.

them was carrying twenty thousand cowries. Bawa reciprocated by sending him twice /the value/ of his gifts; that he sent him one hundred horses, twelve of which were Barbar chargers[3] and two young female slaves who outshone the sun with their beauty and perfect manners; also because of the /rich/ ornaments and silk with which they were adorned. He was also the one (first) who collected Kurdin Gaura[2] and its story is well known. His reign was eighteen years.

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1. Most probably the author is here referring to horses from Bornu bred in Hausaland. The Bornu area was famous, among other things for its horse 'industry'.

2. Kurdin Kaura was a 'fence tax' levied during festivals, probably, this source of revenue was among other anti-Islamic practices condemned by Shaykh Uthman b. Fūdī in his Kitāb al-Farq in 1810.

   Interview: Mallam Murtada Sokoto, Sokoto, August 1982. I am grateful to Mallam Bashir Uthman Ahmad for introducing me to Mallam Murtada. See also Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p.ixviii.

7B // Then when he died his brother Yaqūb b. Babari[1] succeeded him. He attacked Makera[2] in the country of Katsina. Then he raided Ruma[3] and sacked and burnt it.

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1. He reigned from 1789-1795. He followed the foot steps of his predecessor in pursuing a hostile policy against Katsina. A combined forces of the Katsinawa and Zamfarawa checked successfully his advance at Dutsin Wake (situated about 14 kilometres east of Birnin Kiawa). After the initial setback, the Gobirawa lords (Sarakunan Yaki) pleaded with him in a passionate language to return home. They said: "Amazaya akai iri gida" "Let us withdraw home for the sake of prosterity". But he adamantly refused to respond favourably to their call and was eventually killed in C.1209 A.H. (1794-5) A.D. The power of Gobir began to weaken seriously from that time. S.J. Hogben erroneously gives the year 1801 as the date of the death of Sarki Yakubu.

   Garba Nadama, op.cit., pp.390-391, Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p.8, see also, S.J. Hogben, op.cit., p.86.

2. Makera is now small village in Niger Republic, near the Niger-Nigeria border, southeast of Madawa.

   Interview, Illa Mai Kasuwa, April, 1981.

3. Ruma was one of the oldest settlements in Kasar Katsina. Some sources claim that the settlement was founded in the eighteenth century. Ruma was located about forty kilometres west - southwest of Birnin Katsina. It was one of the most fertile areas in Kasar Katsina. According to some traditions the founding of the settlement of Ruma was ascribed to an immigrant group from the country of Azbin. Ruma was a settlement of great strategic significance to the kingdom of Katsina. It was used as a frontier right from the inception of the Kingdom of Katsina.

   See Y.B. Usman, The Transformation, op.cit., p.89.

Then he marched against Shira[1] on the outskirt of Borno and wrought much destruction there. He also marched against Kiawa and remained there for some time beleaguering its inhabitants. The Amīr of Katsina complaining to him of what had befallen him from his enemy unexpectedly. He (the Amīr of Katsina) responded to his request favourably. He came out with a huge army until he arrived at Kiawa where they clashed and fought fiercely until the rank and file of the Gobirawa army perished. They were defeated, and the Sultan of Gobir Yaqūb was killed. His head was cut off and taken to the Sultan of Katsina. The latter returned to his country taking with him (Yaqūb's) head which he buried in his house. Good fortune deserted the Gobirawa army and they retreated to their country. He (Yaqūb) ruled for six years and five months.

He was succeeded by his brother [illegible] who ruled

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1. Y.B. Usman casts doubts about the authenticity of the incident while he believes that the war on Shira may be interpreted as an illustration of Gobir refusal to accept its servitude to Borno, yet, when this incident is corroborated with some historical developments, in Kano and Borno, it will be difficult to prove. However, given the proximity of this period to the time of the author it becomes difficult to dismiss such an information outrightly. See Y.B. Usman, A Reconsideration, op.cit., p.14.

He was succeeded by his brother Nafata[1] who raided and devastated much of the country of Zamfara. His armies were victorious wherever they went. He was the one who killed the famous ᶜAlī al-Fāris[2] in the thickets of Zurmi.[3] He ruled for seven years and a month before he died.

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1. He reigned from 1796-1802. In his time, Gobir State administrative machinary began to seriously crumble. The might of the Kingdom was totally broken after the serious set backs suffered in the battles with Katsina and Zamfara. Zamfara was in a state of revolt and the attacks of the Katsinawa could no longer be checked. Even Kebbi had shown strong signs of defiance by its refusal to accept appointments from Gobir. It was during his tenure that tension mounted high between the State and the Jumaᶜa of Shaykh Uthmān b. Fūdī.

   Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p.lxvii, ... al, Infāq al-Maysūr, Cairo ed., pp.96-97.

2. ᶜAlī al-Fāris was the leader of the Alibawa Fulani in Kasar Zamfara. He was famous for giving strong support to Shaykh Usman b. Fūdī during his preaching and teaching tours in Zamfara. He was based at Zurmi. Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p.12... .

3. Zurmi was one of the major walled towns in Kasar Zamfara. According to some reports, Zurmi became part of Zamfara Kingdom in the middle of the eighteenth century after the conquest of Kasar Zamfara by the Gobirawa. Before then, Zurmi was a centre of commercial activity in Kasar Zamfara.

   Harris, Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer, ..., p.187, Zurmi D.N.B., 1946-61 and Garba Nadama, op.cit., pp.304-305.

which only Allah knew its number. They clashed at at Kwotto[1] and Allah caused the unbelievers to be defeated. Their Amīr Yunfa fled and returned /home/ vanguished and humiliated.

In that year ~~aaaa~~ the expedition of Maina[2] was

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1. Tabbkin Kwotto was located around the land of Adar. One of the most decisive battles between Gobir forces and the Jama'a of the Shaykh was fought at Tabkin Kwotto. The battle took place in June 1804. According to Infāq al-Maysūr, it was the most significant of all the battles fought by the Jihadists. The Jihadist forces emerged victorious from that battle and the balance of power shifted to their side. For instance, the Sullebawa Fulani were drawn to the Jihadist camp. The Zamfarawa in the towns of Mafara, Burmi and Danko identified with the cause of the Jihad. Also, some groups in Kebbi paid allegiance to Shaykh Usman b. Fūdī. Tazyīn al-Waraqāt, pp.55-56, Infāq al-Maysūr, Cairo ed., pp.103-105, Junaid b. Muhammad al-Bukhari, Ta'riss al-Ahibba bi Dhikr Umara' Gwandu al-Asfiya, NHRS, uncatalogued, p.12, R.A. Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, p.26 and Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, Map, p.25.

2. It was at Maina that the Sarakuna of Kasar Zamfara, namely, those of Anka, Burmi and Mafara sent 'congratulatory' message to the Jihadists over their victories against the Gobir authorities who were oppressing them. According to Infāq al-Maysūr, the expression of delight was not in the interest of Islam but it has something to do with the long standing anomosity between the Zamfara and the Gobirawa. The Jihadists were satisfied with that attitude. The Zamfarawa also permitted their traders to deal with the Mujahidun.
Infāq al-Maysūr, Cairo ed., p.112.

launched and the Shaykh moved to Magabshi[1] on the [illegible] borders of Kebbi. In the same year the Shaykh returned from the country of Kebbi to the country of Gobir and took Dan Gandi[2] and other places. He mustered the warriors to attack the stronghold of AlKalawa; besieged it and pressing hard on its people. At the end of the year the Shaykh went to the country of Zamfara and its people followed[3] /him/.

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1. Magabshi was located in the lee of Yabo in the land of Kebbi. The Shaykh's movement to Magabshi was strategic. By then he had already secured strong base at Yabo under the leadership of Moijo one of his Lieutenant. The southwards movement of the Shaykh to Magabshi was completed in July-August 1804, Rabi' II, 1219. It was from Magabshi that the Shaykh wrote to the kings of Hausaland informing them about his mission and requesting to join forces with him.

   Infāq al-Maysūr, Cairo ed., pp.113-114 and [illegible] Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, op.cit., p.28. See also Muhammad Bello Alkali, op.cit., p.141.

2. I could not get enough information about Dan Gandi.

3. Shaykh Uthman b. Fūdī who acquianted himself with the sociopolitical environment of Zamfara during his preaching and teaching tours, was fully accepted by the Zamfarawa who invited him to settle some of their internal disputes concerning the leadership. According to some sources, the Shaykh re-installed Abarashi, the man whose release he demanded from Bawa some years back. Another reasonable interpretation for the Shaykh's movement into Zamfara was the presence of personalities such as Muhammad Tukur al-Fullali of Matuzzigi whose influence in the area was considerable.

   See Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p.33[illegible]

8B // In the second year of his Hijra[1] he conquered the whole of Kebbi and remaining some strongholds of the transgressors in Zamfara. In the same year the Shaykh moved to Kebbi and he camped at Gwandu.[2]

In the third year the battle of alWassa[3] took

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1. The second year of the Hijra coincided with the year 1805/6. In that year, Birnin Kebbi the citedal of the Kebawa was captured by Abdullahi b. Fūdī on 13th April 1805. The fall of Birnin Kebbi was considered not only as a military or political victory for the Jihadists but also as an economic one. The takeover of Birnin Kebbi at that time had a psychological effect on the Jihad forces.

   See Muhammad Bello al-Kali, op.cit., pp.143-144.

2. Gwandu was originally part of the kingdom of Kebbi before it was finally taken over by the Jihadists. Before the adoption of Gwandu as a permanent base, the community of the Shaykh was on constant move from Magabshi, Tsuntsuwa to Sabon Gari. Its natural fortifications and fertile land provided great opportunity for the Jihadists to tend their cattle and grow food crops. By 1812 Gwandu became one of the dual capital of the Sokoto Caliphate. It did not assume a semi-autonomous State until 1817. Shaykh Usman's date of arrival at Gwandu was given as October 1805.

   Bello al-Kali, op.cit., p.146 and Saka Balogun op.cit., p.87.

3. The battle of Alwassa took place just after the establishment of Gwandu as a temporary capital and an 'operational base' in 1805. The Jihadists suffered great losses in this battle. Abdullahibb. Fūdī composed a passionate poem elegizing the martyrs of both Tsuntsuwa and Alwassa. The Kebbi forces are said to have reached the gates of Gwandu. Also, most of the followers of Shaykh Uthman b. Fūdī among the Hausa-Kebbawa threw off their alliegience to him. Muhammad Bello composed a poem deploring such an attitude. The same poem was reproduced in Tazyīn al-Waraqāt.

   See Infāq al-Maysūr, Cairo ed., pp.133-137. See also Tazyin al-Waraqāt, p.66.

took place and a countless Muslims were martyred. And in that same year Kano[1] was conquered; likewise, Yandoto.[2]

In the fourth year the country of Katsina was conquered. Also, fighting broke out between the Muslims and the people of Borno. They fought a number of campaigns during which course the Muslims emerged victorious.

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1. Kano fell to the Jihad forces under the leadership of Amīr Sulayman (1806/19) in 1906/7.
   See Adamu Fika, op.cit., p.15.

2. Yandoto was one of the most important settlements in the Upper Sokoto-Zamfara basin. Yandoto formed some sort of a water shed separating Gulbin Gagare and Sokoto. However, by the late eighteenth century, the settlement was part of a vast region called 'Katsina Leka'. There is no precise information as to when Yandoto was established. Unlike other places, Yandoto was not integrated into Zamfara system of government. It was located in strategic area which linked Borno in the east and the rest of Hausaland. This location resulted in turning the settlement into a metropolis. The commercial activity through the major route at Yandoto connected Kebbi in the south and Volta region in the far south, to the hinter land and other States of Central Sudan. The significance of the metropolis of Yandoto did not lay above in her economic activity; but also in her position as a great centre of learning right from the eighteenth century It is interesting to note here that the 'Ulama' of Yandoto were strongly opposed to the Jihad of Shaykh 'Uthman b. Fūdī. This attitude prompted the Jihadists to fight them in the end. Certain accusations were levelled by Muhammad al-Amīn al-Kanimi against the Jihadists on the account of destroying the Islamic literature. Muhammad Bello replied by stateing that this action was not intentional and that he himself tried desperately to arrest this unfortunate situation.
   Infāq al-Maysūr, Cairo ed. pp.138-139, P.G. Harris, Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer, p.143 and Y.B. Usman, The Transformation, pp.107-226.

In that year, the second expedition to AlKalawa was launched, without achieving any success at that time. But more than twenty valiants of its leading members were killed. Mazum[1] was also conquered; likewise Kannu[2] on the outskirts of Kiawa and numerous fortified towns in different areas of the country.

In the fifth year the expedition which conquered AlKalawa took place.

9A // In this, Allah completed the conquest, victory and ascendancy of the Muslims. He also broke the power of ... unbelief all over Hausaland, some /really/ repented; others submitted /to Islamic Authority/. The affairs of the country were straightened out, its /various/ parts pacified.

Praise be to Allah.

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1. It is the present Tsibiri area, fifteen kilometres north of Maradi (in Niger Republic).

   Interview, Illa Mai Kasuwa, Zaria, April, 1981.

2. Kannu was a settlement in Zamfara region. It was actually one of the important settlements in the area, in addition to Kiawa and Dumfuwa which are now virtually ruins.

   Gazetteer of Sokoto Province, p.11.

Also, in that year, the expedition of Benna[1] took place and the wholo of Dendi was conquered.

In the sixth year the armies of Islam crossed the river (Bahr)[2] and conquered many towns and fortified settlements and returned home safely, with booty.

At the beginning of the seventh year, the Shaykh moved from Gwando to Sifawa.[3] The armies also reached Zabarma and Gurma, conquered and took booty. They also reached the land of Nupe and conquered part of it. The whole of Borno was conquered. In that year again many /other/ areas in Nupe were conquered and booty was collected in abundance.

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1. According to Infāq al-Maysūr two attempts were made to conquer Benna. The first, which was made under the leadership of Abdullahi b. Fūdī was not successful. The second which was successful was launched after the battle of AlKalawa.

   Infāq al-Maysūr, Cairo ed., pp.139 and 150.

2. Most likely it was Kugin Kwara (River Niger). Palmer, suggested the year 1224/1809-10 to be the year in which the river was crossed. H.R. Palmer, Trans. of Raudat al-ʿAfkār J.A.H., (XV, 1916) p.271.

3. The movement from Gwandu to Sifawa was made in 1810 A.D. Tazyīn al-Waraqat states that a large number of the Jamaʿa inclined to move and settle in the east. This move prompted Shaykh ʿUthman b. Fūdī to prepare an expedition to the west under the command of Abdullahi suggesting that the Jihad had not yet ended.

   Tazyīn al-Waraqāt, p.127.

9B // The expedition against Gwari[1] took place in that year and its conquest was carried out by Amīr Muhammad Bello b. Uthman.

In the eighth year[2] the armies penetrated deep into the lands of the enemies. Conquests were numerous and wealth and booty flooded in. The armies reached the land of Kuta[3] but it was not conquered.

In the ninth year, the Amīr of Zakzak Musa[4] led out his armies which marched and conquered many areas.

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1. The conquest of the land of Gwari was made after the return of the Jihadists from Nupe campaign under the command of ᶜAbd al-Rahmān al-Nufāwī. The Sultan of Gwari was arrested and taken as a captive. Two poems celebrating this occasion was composed by Muhammad Bello and Abdullahi b. Fūdī. Infāq al-Maysūr, Cairo ed., pp.153-154.

2. The eighth year of Hijra coincided with the years 1226/1811. See H.R. Palmer, ed., Raudat al-Afkār, p.271.

3. Kuta is a Gwari town, north-east of Minna.

4. He was a disciple of Shaykh ᶜUthmān b. Fūdī. After the death of Sarki Jatau in 1806, his successor refused to recognize the authority of Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fūdī. He was subsequently overthrown in December 1808 by the Jihad forces in Zaria under the leadership of Mallam Musa Bamalli. Sarkin Zaria Makau was forced to leave Zazzau for Abuja.

See Abdullahi Smith, Some Notes..., p.95 and R. Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy..., pp.28-29.

In the same year the affair of Sālen b. Babari[3] took place. He revolted in the land of Gobir with the help of the Tuwariq. He was then captured and crucified.

In the tenth year Hamma revolted at Maganga. He claimed the Mahdiyya.[2] His affair persisted until he was captured and crucified.

1. He was selected as a Sarki by the Gobirawa after the death of Sarkin Gobir Yunfa. He was also killed in 1814.

   See Tarihin Gobir Na Mallam Dan AlKali, Boubou Hamma, op.cit., p.32 and Sere de Rivieres, op.cit., pp.157-158.

2. A whole book with the title Tahdhīr al-Ikhwān min Iddi ā: al-Mahdiyya al-Mau'uda Akhir al-Zaman was devoted, by Shaykh ʿUthman b. Fudi in (1226/1811), to Hamma and his claim to Mahdiyya. The treatise was originally written in response to a letter sent to Shaykh ʿUthman by the Tuwariq of Maganga, telling him about Hamma's claim and proclamation as the expected Mahdi. Shaykh ʿUthman refutes his claim by stating that the self proclaimed Mahdi lacked the basic qualifications of the Mahdi, as contained in the traditions.

   See ʿUthman b. Fūdī, Tahdhīr al-Ikhwān, NHRS, K.5/10, pp.1-7, M.A. al-Hajj, The Mahdist Tradition in Northern Nigeria, Ph.D. Thesis, A.B.U., 1973, p.82 and Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate p.109.

was captured and crucified. The affair of Jailani[1] also took place and he grieviously punished the Tuwariq, killing many of them in a number of campaigns. He proved his bravery in the cause of Islam. Praise be to Allah.

10A // In the eleventh year[2] the army reached Bergu but it was defeated and returned, even so there were conquests. .

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1. He was Muhammad al-Jailānī. Al-Jailani was a Tuwariq scholar from the branch of Inselmen. He was strongly attached to Sokoto. He attempted in 1814, to unify the Tuwariq groups under the banner of Islam but his efforts to wage Jihad in Asaar were aborted. Muhammad al-Jailānī sought the advice of Muhammad Bello on issues pertaining to the administration of a complex but turbulent community such as the Tuwariq. Bello responded positively in Jumal min al-Mabānī Nasā'ih lī Muhammad al-Jailani, the treatise contains admonitions of justice, righteousness and the observance of Shari'a limits. It also deals with the abandonment of material benefits in favour of Ihsān, Islām and Imān. In 1836, the forces of Bello-Jailani defeated the combined forces of Alī (Gobir), Ibra (The Tuwāriq) and Rauda Alī (Katsina Maradi). Jailānī's death took place at Dundaye, near Sokoto shortly after this battle.

2. The eleventh year of Hijra coincided with 1229/1813-14. See H.R. Palmer, op.cit., p.271.

In the twelfth year[1] the Shaykh moved from Sifawa to Sokoto.[2] He peopled it and blessed it and it became the centre of Islam Qubbat al-Islām in this country until the day of judgement. At the end of the same year, Muhammad b. Abdullahi raided the country of Gobir and conquered it.[3] He also killed its Amīr.

In the thirteenth year[4] the Shaykh was first attacked by the sickness from which he (eventually) died. Also in that year, there took place the affair of Gagaro[5] and its consequences.

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1. This was in the year 1230/1814-15.
   See H.R. Palmer, p.271.

2. Shaykh ʿUthman b. Fūdī stayed at Sifawa until c.1815. From there he decided to move to Sokoto. His son Muhammad Bello built a house for him in the suburb of the new capital. A mosque was also constructed by Bello for his father. His movement to Sokoto was in 1230/1814-15.
   Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p.66. See also H.R. Palmer, p.271.

3. Muhammad b. ʿAbdullahi b. Fūdī succeeded his father in 1829. Balogun and Musa Baba suggests that the success of the Jihadists did not go beyond the Ilo State. Balogun gives the date of the conquest as 1811 but Palmer suggests the 1230/1814-15 as the date of the conquest. The editor is inclined to accept Palmer's dating as relatively accurate because this incident as recorded by Raudat al-Afkār took place at the end of the twelfth year of the Hijra from Gudu.
   See Sake Balogun, op.cit., pp.128-129, Musa Baba, op.cit., p.275 and H.R. Palmer, p.271.

4. The thirteenth year corresponded to 1231/1815-16. H.R. Palmer, ibid., p.271.

5. I failed to trace this incident.

At the beginning of the fourteenth year the Banaga raid[1] was undertaken. The unbelievers took the army by surprise at night and the army was defeated and withdrew in disappointment. In that same year the army marched to Balga[2] but it was defeated and returned. Signs of retreat became manifest and the condition of affairs deteriorated.

10B // Also in the same year, Muhammad al-Bukhari b. al-Shaykh[3] raided part of the lower Sudan. He conquered and took booty.

In the third year of Jumada al-Akhira, the Shaykh, Amīr al-Mu'minīn the commander of the faithful, ᶜUthman b. Fūdī died;[4] may Allah, exalted is He, have mercy on him and may He fill his tomb with light.

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1. The expedition to Banaga which was part of Zamfara area took place around 1231/1815-16.
   H.R. Palmer, op.cit., p.171.

2. Balga's location has not been yet identified.

3. He was Muhammad al-Bukhari b. al-Shaykh ᶜUthman b. Fūdī. He was brought up in the house of Shaykh ᶜAbdullahi and was closely associated with him throughout Abdullahi's life time. He was put by Abdullahi in charge of Tambawwal to maintain it as a ribāt against the enemies of the Caliphate. He distinguished himself as a prolific poet. Many of his writings are extant and he died in C.1840.
   See Junaid b. Muhammad al-Bukhari, Ta'nīs al-Ahibba bi Dhikr Umarā' Gwandu, NHRS, uncatalogued, pp.18-19, Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p.43 and Saka Balogun, op.cit., p.237.

4. The Shaykh died on the 3rd of Jumāda al-Akhir 1232, corresponding to the year 1817 at the age of sixty three.
   See ᶜUmar b. Muhammad al-Bukhari, Tanbih al-Ikhwān ᶜalā Ahwāl Ard al-Sudan, NHRS, p31/12, p.9. See also Umar Faruk Malumfashi, op.cit., p.5.

Allegiance was paid to his son, the Amīr Muhammad Bello on that same day.[1] Then the whole of Zamfara had revolted. In Rajab of the same year, the commander of the faithful, Muhammad Bello made ready

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1. A lot of dust has been raised about the legality or otherwise of Muhammad Bello's appointment as a successor to his father. But what has become clear is that until the death of Shaykh ʿUthman b. Fūdī, no candidate has been selected to succeed him. Although some of the writings of Shaykh ʿUthman b. Fudī such as Najm al-Ikhwān (1812) gave some hints as to who his successor would be and that his movement from Sifawa to Sokoto was an indirect support for Bello's nomination, he did not state categorically that Bello or any person for that matter should succeed him. It is interesting to note here that Bello's appointment took place on the same day of his father's death without waiting for Abdullahi al-Wazīr al-ʿAkbar. Tradition has it that, on hearing of his elder brother's death Abdullahi b. Fūdī left Bodinga for Sokoto but to his surprise he found the gates of Sokoto closed against him. Three weeks later and in reaction to this action, Abdullahi wrote his Sabīl al-Salāma fī al-Imāma; the central theme of the book was the question of hereditary succession. Ten weeks later, Muhammad Bello responded to his uncle thesis in a book titled al-Insāf fī Dhikr mā fī Masā'il al-Khilāf, in which he defended his position however implicitly. Abdullahi continued the Jihad against the enemies of the Caliphate from his base and when he was hard pressed by the followers of ʿAbd al-Salām at Kalambaina Muhammad Bello came to his rescue. After this incident, Abdullahi recognized the position of Muhammad Bello as the Amīr al-Mu'minīn.

See Muhammad Bello, al-Insāf fī Dhikr mā fī Masa'il al-Khilāf, NHRS, 174/3, Abdullahi b. Fudi, Sabil al-Salama fi al-Imama, NHRS, 165/2., M. Hiskett, The Sword of Truth, London, 1973, p.114, and Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p.64.

armies to Burmi,[1] which he attacked for many days. Then reinforcements came from Banaga and they engaged /the enemy/ but were defeated.

In Dhual-Qa^{c}ida of the same year Abd al-Salām re rebelled and transgressed[2] until the Amīr took his town at the end of Safar.

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1. The Burmawa who originally remained neutral during the early years of the Jihad shifted allegiance to the Mujāhidīn after the defeat of Gobirawa. However, their loyalty was short-lived and that was why, immediately after the death of Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fūdī, they joined the Zamfarawa in their uprising against the Caliphate.

   See Bakura, D.N.B. 7/57, Sokoto History Bureau.

2. The apparent reason for the ^{c}Abd al-Salām revolt was that he was dissatisfied with the administrative division of the Caliphate especially after the death of Shaykh ^{c}Uthman b. Fūdī. He felt that while the sons and the relatives of the Shaykh controlled a great part of the Caliphate his share was so small compared to what they have got, despite the fact that he supported the Jihad cause right from its inception. According to Sard al-Kalām, ^{c}Abd al-Salām went to the extent of claiming the Caliphate for himself and asking people to pay him allegiance for that. He also conspired with the real enemies of the Jihad to overthrow the Caliphate especially after the initial setbacks in 1817. Subsequently, there was hot exchanges between Muhammad Bello and ^{c}Abd al-Salām about the latter's attitude. In the end the conflict had to be resolved militarily and ^{c}Abd al-Salām was hit by an arrow from which wound he died later.

   Muhammad Bello, Sard al-Kalām fī mā jarā Baynī wa Bayna ^{c}Abd al-Salam, NHRS, p.23/1.

In the fifteenth year[1] the land of Kebbi revolted; also Gunki[2] and Gunga[3] rebelled in the land of Gobir. The Muslims were put in fear by them. Tribulations intensified as a result of this and troubles were compounded. They defeated the Muslim armies in many battles.

// In the sixteenth year[4] the affair of Gunga was aggravated and calamities intensified. The unbelievers rebelled against the Muslims, killing and capturing /them/. They also seized strongholds and /other/ towns. And the Kalambaina war[5] broke out. (Verily to Allah we belong and to Him alone we will return).[6]

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1. The fifteenth year of Hijra coincided with the year 1819 or early 1820. Muhammad Bello al-Kālī op.cit., p.1[illegible].

2. His full name was Gomki Dankura Gadò, Sarkin Gobir after the death of Salihu in a battle. His appointment took place in 1818. He led the resistance against the Caliphate after the death of his predecessor. He was also killed in the battle of Kidoye, northwest of the site of al-Kalawa where he established his new headquarters.
   Tārihin Gobir Na Mallam Dan Akali, Boubou Hamma, op.cit., p.32 and Bere de Revieres, op.cit., p.156.

3. Has not been identified yet.

4. The sixteenth year of the Hijra coincided to 1234/1818-19. H.R. Palmer, op.cit., p.272

5. When Abdullahi's forces were hard pressed by the Kebbawa and their allies of Arewa, Zuma, Dondi and Zamfara, Bello came to his aid at Kalambaina. Abdullahi and Bello were reconsiled. Abdullahi confirmed Bello as Amīr al-Mu'minīn and Bello inturn granted his uncle full autonomy over the area of the lands of al-Gharb.
   Junaid b. Muhammad al-Bukhari Tᶜanīs al-Ahibba, Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p.70 and Muhammad Bello al-Kali, op.cit., p.167.

6. See Qura'an: 156: II.

Also in the seventeenth year[1] the Kalambaina war was greatly intensified. In that same year Allah caused Gunga to die and the Muslims were delivered from him. This was followed by the occupation of Kadai[2] and the situation eased as a result of that action and minds were set at rest.

In the eighteenth year[3] Kalambaina was relieved with the Amir /al-muminin/ and the army /marched on Dakurawa[4] without achieving anything and it returned home. The Gobirawa had

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1. The seventeenth year corresponded to 1235/1819-20. H.R. Palmer, op.cit., p.172.

2. Kadai was situated across the river stretching from Lajinge. By 1820, the Gobirawa who were putting strong resistance to the Caliphate were defeated and driven away by Bello out of the Rima Valley and Kadaye was finally taken by Sokoto forces.
See Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p.20.

3. The eighteenth year coincided with 1236/1820-21. H.R. Palmer, op.cit., p.272.

4. Dakurawa was one of the Gobirawa towns in Kasar Zamfara. Its founding preceded the establishment of al-Kalawa. From the 16th century onwards, Dakurawa and other Gobirawa settlements such as Kadaye and Gawkuke fell within the area of the influence of Kebbi.
Garba Nadama, op.cit., p.281.

already appointed /as their Commander/ ᶜAlī b. Yaᶜqūb[1] (mentioned above among the Sultans of the Gobir). /This was/ after the killing of their Amīr Gumdi on the day that Kadai was captured.

In the nineteenth year[2] the army marched to Dakurawa but without reaching it and returned capturing one stronghold.

11B // In the same year, the Tuwarik under the leadership of Ibira joined forces with the Gobirawa under their Amīr ᶜAlī and they raided /as far as/ Sokoto but Allah caused their defeat and they went back disappointed. And in the rainy season of the same year the army returned to Dakurawa again and it fought but there was no conquest.

In the twentieth[3] year of the Hijra the Amīr went back again with the armies to Dakurawa and they reached Matankari. Then he signaled them to go back home; and he returned without reaching Dakurawa.

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1. He reigned from 1827-1835. He succeeded Gomki and led the resistance against the Caliphate from his headquarters at Dakurawa but was defeated and killed in the battle of Dakurawa.

   Tarihin Gobir Na Mallam Dan Akali, [illegible]. Boubou Hamma, op.cit., p.32 and Serede Riviere, op.cit., p.198.

2. The nineteenth year coincided with 1237/1821-22. H.R. Palmer, op.cit., p.172.

3. The twentieth year corresponded with 1238/1822-23. H.R. Palmer, op.cit., p.273.

The Zamfarawa raided the outskirts of Gandi but they were defeated. And in the same year Muhammad b. Abdullahi and al-Bukhari commanded armiers and marched to the country of Yawuri; and they conquered part of it. They also reached the land of Nupe. Then, on their way back, they were met by the Zamfarawa soldiers together with those of the people of Yawuri and Bassa[1] who joined them and others on the borders of the country of Nupe. They clashed at Abechi[2] and they fought one another fiercely until the Zamfarawa were defeated. The Muslims fell up on them and slaughtered them. They fled and returned home disappointed and defeated and our armies returned safely with abundant booty. Praise be to Allah.

// And at the end of the year the commander of the faithfull raided part of Adar burning and destroying and taking much booty, and returned.

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1. By that time the Bassawa were living in two areas: Madara, Udana and Matachibu in Yawuri area and Mashegu (now in Kontagora Division).
   The incident is said to have taken place in 1824. According to Mahdi Adamu, Raudat al-Afkār has not specified whether the Bassawa were those living in Yawuri or Kontagora.
   Mahdi Adamu, Yawuri in the 19th century, pp.179-180.

2. Abechi was located near the Yawuri-Nupe border, according to Nadama the event took place C.1822/23.
   Mahdi Adamu, Yawuri in the nineteenth century, p.180., Garba Nadama, op.cit., p.473, and. H. Clapperton, Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, London, 1829, p.207.

And at the beginning of the 21st year[1] the Commander of the faithful launched an attack against Konni which was a stronghold of the Amīr of Gobir who was there at the time; but there was no conquest. And in the same year an epidemic broke out among the people and innumerable creatures died. And in the same year the soldiers of the Amīr went to Magarya. In the same year the Amīr clashed with Ibira and the Tuwarik and defeated them twice.

Here ends /the account/ of the events of these years up to this our present year. We pray to Allah, exalted is He to bestow on us this year from his bounty and blessing what the souls may desire and what may please the eyes. Also we pray to Him to guide us to the right path and success. He alone has the power and the ability to do that; He, who has control of all affairs and disposes of the ages.

I have written in this collection (Majmūᶜ) what I had recalled of the conditions of the people of this country and the events which took place there in summary and haste due to pressure of time.

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1. The 21st year of Hijra coincided with 1239/1823-24. H.R. Palmer, op.cit., p.273.

QATA'IF AL-JINAN

The editing of Qata'if al-Jinan is based only on one incomplete MS collected from the Northern History Research Scheme of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, collection (Ref: p.26/4). We have been unable so far, to lay our hands on a second copy for the purpose of editing. A systematic search by the present author for a 'complete' or second copy for purpose of comparison did not help in locating a second or a complete copy of Qata'if al-Jinan. An examination of Kaduna Archives, Post-Graduate Research Data Centre, of Bayero University, Sokoto History Bureau, the University of Niamey Archives at (I.R.S.H.), The Archives of The Islamic Centre, University of Sokoto showed that no copy of Qata'if al-Jinan was deposited with the Archival Centres. A thorough examination of the catalogues of the MSS collection of the University of Ibadan, and the Research Bulletin of the Centre of Arabic Documentation, of the University of Ibadan could not help in locating a different copy.

The information given on the text suggests that the copy of the MS was collected from Wazir Junaidu's library.

QATĀ'IF AL-JINĀN FI AHWĀL ARD AL-SŪDĀN

18 // In the name of Allah The Beneficient, The Merciful, prayer be on the last of the prophets "Say; none in the heavens or on earth, except God, knows What is hidden: nor can they perceive when they shall be raised up (for judgement)".[1]

Praise be to Allah "Who forgives sin, accepts repentance, is strict in punishment,"[2] who knows the unknown: and is merciful to the aged: the Revealer of the scripture (Qu'ran); who conceals the unknown; clarifies the doubtful things; and makes easy the difficult ones. /It is He/ who helps the troubled and wards off calamities. He is the Lord of lords, the Creator of all living things Who provides the means of sustenance. The source of all causes, the owner of all authority, the controller of ships (on the seas); Who directs at will the movement of the clouds, the sustainer of the seven heavens which overarch the horizon. /It is He/ who spreads out the earth on the surface of the water holding it in position by His wisdom "From the earth did we create you and into it shall we return you and from it shall we bring you out once again"[3] on the final day of judgement.

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1. Qur'ān 27, v. 65.
2. Qur'ān 40, v. 3.
3. Qur'ān 20, v. 55.

I praise Him who is praised by every talking tongue and I express my gratitude to Him who is thanked everywhere throughout the whole world. I bear witness that there is no god but Allah who has no co-equal; a testimony of which is firmly buttressed by faith and strongly built on conviction. A testimony whose truth is manifest by complete submission; and whose proof is strengthened by Imān. I also bear witness that Muhammad is His servant and Messenger who has been favoured by the distinguished qualities of his high rank and the clarity of his exposition; His Messenger who openly came out with the proof and evidence of His /existence/. /He is/ the one who said, "The whole earth from one end to the other has been subject to me through spiritual vision (Kashf) and cognizance of the hidden and un-hidden things".[1] Prayer of Allah be upon him, his family, companions, (Ansār) and /other/ helpers; a prayer that takes him who believes in his mission to the ultimate and right goal; a prayer that dispels his fear in this world and the hereafter through the forgiveness and mercy of Allah; in the most complete submission.

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1. The Hadīth is reported by Ibn Hanbal, Ibn Majah. Muslim and Abū Da'ūd.

Next, the servant of Allah who is always in need of the mercy of His all powerful Lord ᶜAbd al-Qādir b. al-Sheikh ʿUthmān b. Muhammad al-Turūdī[1] by descent of origin and genealogy says:

It is a fact that people are eager to hear accounts of both the wonders and the ordinary conditions of the /various/ countries and the reports of their affairs and the historical events which are taking place in them. It is also a fact that the recording of such /information/ has been totally neglected in these our Sudanese Hausa countries as a result of their /people's/ disregard for those who are knowledgeable and pious and the rejection of them, due to the predominance of ignorance and evil desire and the lack of intelligence on their part. That is why you hardly find in these countries a record of even one of their scholars and distinguished people.

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1. The reference is to the clan of Sheikh ʿUthman b. Fūdī (Hausa) Toronkawa (Fulfulde) Torobe who migrated into Hausaland and other parts of the Central Sudan, from Futa Toro (now in Senegal Republic) sometime in the fifteenth century. According to Abdullahi b. Fūdī, it was Mūsa Jukullu who led the migration "from the country of West which is Fūta Toro". According to the same source the Toronkawa "preceded the Fulānī in Hausaland by seven years".

   See Abdullahi b. Fūdī, Idāᶜ al-Nusūkh, Trans., M. Hiskett, in 'Material relating to the state of learning among the Fulani before their Jihad', BSOAS, XIX, 3, 1957, p.560.

and we have not been giving it attention". He also added, "I wondered how the Mashāriqa (easterners) were so keen about such things to the extent that when I visited Egypt, who ever took a covenant of al-Shādhilīyya[1] from me, took down the wird (litany). The chain of authority (al-Riwāya), time and the place at which the incident occurred".[2] (Statement concluded)

I (ᶜAbd al-Qādir) say that is where scholarship (ᶜIlm) religion and reason are /well/ established. So, what should we say, who are living on the periphery of civilization (ᶜAmāra) particularly in Bilād al-Sūdān where crudity (ʿUjmah), the darkness of ignorance and unbelief prevailed among the people·al-Maghīlī said, "The predominant /characteristics/ among the people of these countries are ignorance, evil desire and unbelief. And that was their original condition".[3] Our Master

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1. al-Shadiliyya is a Sufi order founded by Shikh, Abū al-Hassan ᶜAlī al-Shadhli. The founder of the Tariqa was born in Ghamaza a place near Sabta. He later moved to Shadhla (Tunisia) and died in Upper Egypt in (656/1258).

2. See al-Muhadarat, pp.72-73.

3. See Risālat al-Maghīlī to Muhammad Rumfa, quoted in full, in Diyā' al-Siyasāt of ᶜAbdullāhi b. Fūdī, ed. A.M. Kani, p.76.

al-Mukhtār b. Ahmad al-Kuntī[1] said in al-Nasīha al-Kāfiyya,[2] "the land of the Sūdān is a country where unbelief predominates among the majority of its people and those Muslims living there are under the yoke of the infidels who are accepted by them as Amīrs. In most cases people /subjects/ imitate their Amīr. That is why they are languishing in the darkness of ignorance, evil desire and unbelief. Because of this it is prohibited to travel to the land of the enemy and the countries of the Sūdān. Shihāb al-Dīn says in

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1. He was Sidi al-Mukhtār al-Kabīr al-Kuntī (1729-1811), the leader of the Qadiriyya order in West Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.
   His main centre of activity was around the Niger Bend especially the Timbuktu area. Shaykh al-Kunti maintained special relations with the leaders of Sokoto Jihad. He was considered by them as their spiritual leader with whom they had special link. Shaykh ʿUthman b. Fūdī is said to have received the wird of the Qadiriyya from Sidi al-Mukhtar al-Kuntī. It is evident that the Kunta Shaykh had openly come in support of the 19th century Jihad movement in Hausaland by declaring that Shaykh ʿUthman is one of the three accomplished Awliyā' (saints).
   See. ʿUthman b. Fūdī, al-Salāsil al-Dhahabīyya li al-Sadāt al-Sūfiyya, NHRS, p.3/1, Muhammad Bello Infaq al-Maysur, Whitting ed. p.207 and A. Batrān, "An Introductory Note on the Impact of Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī (1729-1811) on West African Islam" in the 18th and 19th centuries, JHSN, Vol. VI, 4, 1973, p.347.

2. I could not locate the source. The Nasīha as a reference work is widely quoted by the Sokoto Jihad leaders in their writings.

al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ Sharh al-Shifā,[1] "among the people of the Sūdān some Muslims and infidels who worship trees. There are also infidels who worship water".

It has occurred to me to compile a book in which I shall delimit the countries of the Sūdān from the far west (al-Maghrib al-Aqsā) to the far East (al-Mashriq al-Aqsā) and mention the extent /of the whole zone/. Then to speak specially of the region of Takrur from the southern Sudanese /part/ of the land of Sunnar[2] to /areas/ beyond the river as far as possible, owing to the loss of records as we have mentioned earlier. Nay, we will record, what focus, deserves mention and discard other than that. Then I will devote a copious section (Bāb) to the mention of the seven Hausa regions giving details of what we have summarised in the section of Takrūr regarding them. Then we shall follow-that with a brief mention of what knowledge has reached us of the histories (Akhbār) of their scholars and not lies down to our present time.

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1. Kitāb al-Shifā is mainly a biographical work on the life of prophet Muhammad, written by al-Qāḍī Ayād b. Musa of Andulusia (Spain) d.544.A.H.

2. It is also called Sinnar, situated in the Nile Valley between Egypt, the Ethiopian highlands and swamps of Southern Sudan. The area is now located within the Republic of the Sudan. It was bounded to the west by the region of Kordofan. The Sultanate of Sinnar was founded probably in 910/1504-5 by the Funj. See R.S.O' Fahey and J.L. Spaulding, Kingdoms of the Sudan, London, 1974, pp.1 and 25.

In that, I did not consult any source except what the author of Infāq al-Maysūr fī Tarīkh Bilād al-Takrūr[8] has mentioned, and the responsibility falls back on him in most cases, except for what we have added to it by extending the term Bilād al-Sudān while he restricted himself to the region of Takrūr, as will be elaborated in due course. If Allah exalted wills.

2B // I have hesitated for a while from plunging into this abyss, because of what we have mentioned earlier of the loss of records in these Sudanese countries. Later, /my/ will was strengthened to overcome /that problem/ and fate inevitably determined the production of this much /of what I have written/ may Allah help me to write and publish it and may He help me to complete it. For He is the best helper. "In Him I trust and unto Him I look".[2] I titled it "Qatā'if al-Jinān fī Dhikr Ahwal Ard al-Sudān" and arranged it in an introduction and three sections (Aqānīm).

The introduction is about the extent of the land of the Sūdān and its conditions in respect of Islam and unbelief. The first section is on the limits of Bilād al-Sudān from the far western part to the far east.

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1. Infāq al-Maysūr was written in 5 Dhu al-Qa'da 1227 A.H. Tuesday 10 November, 1812.

2. Qur'an, 42 v. 08.

The second section comprises a delimitation of the region of Takrūr (Iqlīm) from the south western part of the land of the Sunnār to /āreas/ beyond the river. The third section is about its ᶜ'Ulamā' and notables from the ancient times to our present time. We have followed in the course (of writing) the procedure of the historians and the biographers of mentioning /indiscriminately/ the fat and the thin and the cheap and expensive. May the shrewd reader and the experienced critic forgive /us/ for this, the excuse for it having been made clear in what we have mentioned earlier of the loss of records in these countries and the abandonment of such, totally. It is no secret, that to keep as one's goal the recording of remarkable things about the /various/ countries and the transmission of their histories requires great thoroughness and confident reporting; otherwise the best thing is to abandon it. But soul desires to hear about curious things and rare events. And upon my life, that /recording of events/ is something which enriches the substance of the intellect and sharpens the mind, because the knowledge it accumulates from that can be recalled by thought. The ᶜ'Ulamā' are always concerned with the recording of histories and the transmission of information (Akhbār) from generation to generation. It is now appropriate for us to begin with detailing what we have outlined in the introduction.

Know that the extent of the land of the Sudan is twelve years travelling. al-Qastalani[1] said in Sharh al-Bukhārī text "Ibn ᶜAbd al-Barr[2] said in Kitāb "al-Qasd wa al-Umam Ilā maᶜrifat Ansāb al-ᶜUmam, that the inhabited area of the earth comprises a hundred and twenty years, /travelling/ ninety for Gog and Magog (Yajūj and Majūj), twelve years for the Sūdān, eight years for the Rūm, three for the Arab and seven for the rest of the nations."[3] As for its position in respect of Islam and unbelief, know then, that in it there are Muslim countries and non-Muslim countries.

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1. al-ᶜAbbās Shibāb al-Dīn Ahmad al-Qastalānī (d.925); his commentary on Sahīh al-Bukhārī is titled Irshad al-Sari li Sharh Sahih al-Bukhari.

2. Yusuf Ibn ʿUmar Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, a well known Maliki scholar of Andulisia. He wrote several books on Fiqh. He died 380 A.H.

   See Ibn Farhun, al-Dibaj al-Mudhhab, Cairo 1351 A.H. pp.358-359.

3. The statement of al-Qastalani given in Qata'if al-Jinan differs substantially from Irshad al-Sari of al-Qastalani. The Sudan is not mentioned in the quotation of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, instead Abyssinia is mentioned (in a quotation of al-Baji), which is allocated seven years and three years for the rest of the world.

   See al-ᶜAbbas Shihab al-Din Ahmad al-Qastalani, Irshad al-Sari li Sharh Sahīh al-Bukhārī. Beirut 1323 A.H. p.337.

3A // Abū al-Hassan al-Mālikī commenting in Tahqīq al-Mabānī Sharh al-Risāla,[1] on the statement of the author (of al-Risāla) that 'trade with the land of the enemy and the country of the Sūdān is reprehensible' said "this means the land of unbelievers; as if he said that trade with the land of the enemy is reprehensible whether they were Sudanese or others".[2] Then he added, "and he said, 'concerning the lands of the Sudan' it is said that reference is made here to the lands of unbelievers among them. (statement concluded)

Our master Mukhtār al-Kuntī said in al-Nasiha al-Kāfiyya that "the land of the Sudan is the land in which unbelief predominates among the majority of its people and those Muslims living in it are under the yoke of

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1. al-Risāla was written by Abdullahi Abu Muhammad b. Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, a leading Māliki scholar d. 830/1427. The work is a Maliki jurisprudence text book widely used by scholars and their students in west Africa. Many commentaries were written on the book.

2. The same statement of Abū al-Hassan al-Maliki is quoted by Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī in his Bayan wujub al-Hijra, ed. Trans. with commentary, by Fathi al-Masri, Khartoum, 1977, p. 15.

the unbelievers". Again, Ahmad Baba[1] ruled that the countries of Borno, Kano, Katsina, Sughay (Songhay) and part of Zakzak are the abode of Islam but in the vicinity of each of them are lands inhabited by infidels.[2] Shaykh ʿUthman, commenting on the statement of this erudite scholar in his book, Tanbih al-Ikhwan 'ala Ahwal Ard al-Sudan says, "that his statement about its Sultans and others was valid in his time because every scholar judges according to what he knows in his time. But the writer should not necessarily be regarded thus in every age. For opinions /mus/ change when the conditions to which they refer change. It is known in our time that the predominance of Islam in the aforementioned countries is among people other than our sultans. As for our sultans they are absolutely infidels". Then he adds, after mentioning the actions by which they were judged as infidels. "But this our judgement is based upon what is well known to predominate among them though

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1. Ahmad Baba was born at ʿUrwan to the north of Timbuktu. He belonged to scholary family noted for holding judicial offices. He wrote many books. Ahmad Baba was taken prisoner by the Moroccan army of invasion of Songhay and was released in 1004/1595. He strongly defied the authority of the Moroccans. He died in his country in 1036/1626.

2. See al-Kashf wa al-Bayan ʿan Asnaf Majlub al-Sudan NHRS, 151/1, p.5. The same statement is quoted by Shaykh ʿUthman b. Fudi in his Tanbih al-Ikhwan ʿala Ahwal Ard al-Sudan NHRS, 121/3, p.3.

that is not to deny that some of them are Muslims in rare instances and no opinion can be based on rare (exceptions). It is mentioned in al-Manhaj al-Muntakhab that:

> "Preference is usually given to the major cases against the rare one.
> That is our way of life then continue pursuing that."

All this (our) judgement was based on the conditions in which we found them before. But as for now, we have fought them, defeated them, killed some of them and driven some of them out of the above mentioned countries; with the help of Allah, the most high. We have appointed for them Amirs of Islam and they have become the abode of Islam without doubt, praise be to Allah for that."[1] (statement concluded).

Ahmad Baba has also ruled that the countries of Maushi, Borgu, Bussa, Gurma, Yoruba, Dagomba, Kutukul, T.n.b.gh, Bubul and Gh.m.b.i are the countries of unbelief.[2] Shaykh ᶜUthman after narrating his (Ahmad Baba's) judgement commented that, "His statement is applicable to both their sultans and others /in his time/ because each scholar judges in accordance with what he knows to be the case in his time.

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1. See Tanbih al-Ikhwan ᶜalā Ahwal Ard al-Sudan, NHRS, 121/1 pp.10-11.

2. See al-Kashf wa al-Bayan, pp.1-2, See also Bayan Wujub al-Hijra, pp.13-14. The Maushi are now in Upper Volta, Kuntukul or Kutukul may refer to Kotokoli a confederation founded by migrants from Gurma area in mid eighteenth century in what is now Northern Togo. Dagomba is in what is now northern Ghana. T.n.b.gh is problematic and difficult to...

3B // But his ruling is not necessarily applicable at all times, because the judgement must change when the condition on which it is based changed. It is known in our present time that Islam is predominant in the aforementioned countries among the people other than their rulers and that only some of their sultans have embraced Islam.[1]

"And if you were to ask whether the predominance of Islam among these countries happened voluntarily or by their being conquered, then the answer is that al-Shaykh Ahmad Baba said 'that the inhabitants of these countries embraced Islam without being conquered by any one'.[2] He also said that 'what appears from the statement of Ibn Khaldun and others is that they embraced Islam voluntarily'. He added that 'one of the judges of the Sudan has reported that the Imām who conquered them decided to keep them'.[3] He, Ahmad Baba said, "we have not heard of this at all and it did not come

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...identify. Bubul may refer to Bobo-ula, located at present between Jenne, the black Volta and Bobo Dioulsso. Gh.m.b.i is difficult to locate.

1. See Tanbih al-Ikhwan, p.4.
2. See al-Kashf wa: al-Bayan,
3. Ibid., p.3.

to our notice. Ask this Sudanese judge about this Imam. At what time did he conquer their countries and what countries did he conquer? Let him specify all that for you. His statement is far fetched because if you investigated at present you would not find any one who would confirm his statement. So whatever (ruling) is based upon his statement becomes invalid. And Allah knows best." Then he added after discussion that 'what is apparent and most probable is that /what he said/ is incorrect'.[1] (statement concluded).

As for the period of the advent of Islam in the above mentioned countries, Shaykh ᶜUthman has said in his Tanbih al-Ikhwan ᶜala Ahwal Ard al-Sudan that, "If you were to ask at what time did Islam first appear in these countries, I would say that I did not come across any text which dealt with an explanation of the date of such a thing, but Imam al-Hafazah wali al-Din Ibn Khaldun said in his al-Tarikh al-Kabir in the course of mentioning the history of the Hafsid dynasty in Tunis that, 'And in the year six hundred and fifty five the present of the king of Kanem, ruler (Sahib) of Borno came through Tripoli to Tunis and it contained a Giraffe, the animal of strange physique. It caused a great sensation in Tunis.'[2]

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1. Ibid., p.3.
2. Tanbihal-Ikhwan ᶜala Ahwal Ard al-Sudan, pp.4-5. See also, Ibn Khaldun, Kitab al-Ibar, Cairo, 1284, A.H. vol. IV, p.195.

1A // The first section is about the limits of the lands of the Sudan from the far west (al-Maghrib al-Aqsa) to the far east (al-Mashriq al-Aqsa). Know that the Sudan consists of the southern regions of the earth and the word is the plural of 'black' (Aswwad) derived from 'blackness' which is the dominant feature among them /the people of the Sudan/. They comprise different nations, diverse tribes and countries remote from one another. People's knowledge did not extend to most of them because of the great distances /involved/ and the mutual isolation of centres of population. But I will record what has been transmitted to us of their history (Khabar) and what knowledge of it has reached us.

The first country of the Sudan from the far west is the land of Mafaran,[1] and one of its famous towns is Awlaila,[2] situated on the shores of the ocean. It is from there that salt (Milaha) is exported to the rest

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1. I could not trace the location of Mafaran from the known geographical resources.

2. According to al-Idrisi, the land of Awlaila is located on the River (Bahr) near the Sahel and it is the most important centre of salt production from which salt is exported to the rest of Bilad al-Sudan.
   See Nuzhat al-Mushtaq in Yusuf Kamel, Vol. III, Fac. IV, 1834, p.828.

of the Sudan. Then Sula,[1] which is a big town located on the bank of the River Nile. It is one of a centre of population of the Sudan and its inhabitants are brave, foreceful and helpful people.[2] Her king is also a believer. Then Takrur which is situated to the south and to the west of the Nile. It consists of big towns, inhabited by great nations of the Sudan and the seat of their government is there. And it is the land of the gold mines, to which the people of the Maghrib export wool, copper, pearls and cowries; but they do not import from it anything except gold nuggests. Then Liman,[3] which is a medium-sized town possessing a gold mine. The rest of the country of Mafaran consists of deserts, open countries and waste lands, with no development or inhabitants because of lack of water and pasture.

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1. According to al-Idrisi the town of Sula is situated on the northern bank of the Nile River (The River Niger) and it is a big town inhabited by the Sudanese and is a vassal of the kingdom of Takrur.

   See Yusuf Kamal, op.cit., p.828.

2. The same information is recorded by al-Idrisi in his Nuzhat al-Mushtaq. See Arabic text.

3. al-Idrisi pronounces it as lamlam located to the south of Bris. See Yusuf Kamal, p.828.

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1. According to al-Idrisi the town of Sula is situated on the northern bank of the Nile River (The River Niger) and it is a big town inhabited by the Sudanese and is a vessel of the kingdom of Takrur.

   See Yusuf Kamal, op.cit., p.828.

2. The same information is recorded by al-Idrisi in his Nuzhat al-Mushtaq. See Arabic text.

3. al-Idrisi pronounces it as lamlam located to the south of Bris. See Yusuf Kamal, p.828.

of Sijilmaniyya[1] in the Maghrib where they mint it as Dinars.

Then Simghal,[2] which is a medium-sized town. To the north of the town, there is a group called Na'amat Ibn Abi Rahalla. They are nomads who tend their camels and cattle along the bank of the river which flows from the direction of the east into the Nile. They survive on meat, milk and fish.

Then, 'Ainara,[3] which is a town on the bank of the Nile. It is surrounded by a trench and her inhabitants are courageous and helpful people. They frequently invade the country of Lamam take them as captives and sell them in (other countries).

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1. The correct spelling of the word is Sijilmasa, situated in the oasis of Tafalet south of the Atlas Mountains (southern Morrocco). The town of Sijilmasa was built in 140 A.H. 757 A.D. It was an entreport of several trade routes linking Bilad al-Maghrib with Bilad al-Sudan.

   See al-Bakri, al-Masalik wa al-Mamalik, in Yusuf Kamal, op.cit., p.737, Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi, Kitab al-Gughrafiyya, ed. Ismail al-Arabi Beirut, 1970, notes p.242, See also Lewicki, p.17.

2. I could not locate the area.

3. I could not locate the area in the known geographical sources.

183 // The land of Karkar,[1] which is a great and vast kingdom. They have many kingdoms and their capital is named after their region Karkar. It is situated along the river Bahr which flows from the northern side. It floods the capital for days. Then it submerges in the sands of the desert as the Euphrates does. In karkar there are innumerable nations of the Sudan. Their king is of great importance commanding many troops. They have beautiful jars made of porous clay and their ornaments are made of pure gold, except for /among/ commoners whose clothing is made of tanned hides. It is contiguous with the countries of the gold mines. It is said that all their land is made of gold. They have /specific/ line beyond, which no treder who comes to them with a merchandise is allowed to cross. But when they reach that line they put their merchandise on it. Then they, later, find beside each commodity some gold. Then if anyone of them accepts, he takes the gold and leaves the merchandise but if he does not agree he leaves the merchandise and the gold till the following day. Then when that day comes, he finds the increased amount /of gold/ besides his merchandise. If he accepts he takes the gold but if he does not accept he leaves it for three days. Whoever finds an increase he takes

the gold, otherwise he takes his commodity and leaves the gold or takes the gold without any increase. That is how the traders of carnation do in their country while transacting in cloves.[1]

It is probable that some trader may linger on after he has finished with the transaction. Then he lights the fire on the earth and the gold will melt out. He then steals it and runs away. But if they notice such a thing they come out searching for him and when they catch up with him they will kill him at once.

In the land of the Karkar, there is a reed which grows, called the reed of the snake (ʿŪd al-Hayya). Its characteristic is that when someone inserts it in a hole in which there is a snake the latter comes out hurriedly and then if he catches it with his hand it does not harm him at all.

The land of Dahdam,[2] it could be reached through the Karkar, on western bank of the river. It is a great kingdom with many /subordinate/ kingdoms and

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1. This system of transaction is called 'silent trade' or dumb barter. Many Arab geographers refer to it in their accounts. According to Bovill, this system of trading was not peculiar to West Africa. It was carried on by the Romans and the Chinese in the fifth century. The same method was noticed in Ethiopia in the sixth century.

   See E.W. Bovill, The Golden Trades of the Moor, Oxford, 1968, p.82.

2. I could not identify this area.

troops who are courageous and helpful people. It also has a king under whose control there are /other/ kings. There is a great fortress in his kingdom decorated with images. On top of it an image of a woman whom they serve as a goddess. They also worship her and perform pilgrimage to her. They are a nation resembling animals. They neglect their religious duties and all of them go naked. They eat each other.

Then the land of Ghana[1] situated to the north of the land of Mafaran. It is a great city named after the region. It is the largest of the countries of the Sudan and the greatest in terms of trade. Its inhabitants are well to do people (rich). It consists of two towns on the banks of the river Bahr and is frequented by traders from different countries. The whole of its land consist of alluvial gold.[2] They have big boats.

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1. Although the date of the establishment of the Empire of Ghana could not be fixed with any certainty it is clear that Ghana considerably predated the eighth century as indicated by al-Fazari. The present area of Koum bi Saleh on the border between Senegal and Mauritania is believed to be the old capital of Ghana. The Empire of Ghana was conquered by the Almoravids in 1076-7.

   See N. Levtzion, Ancient Ghana and Mali, London, 1973, pp.3-45.

2. The same information but in less detail is given by al-Idrisi. See Yusuf Kamal, p.829. See also the Arabic text.

Its people mine the gold and make it in the form of ingots. The traders of Sijilmaniya travel to it through the desert for about twelve days without finding water. They carry to it figs, salt, copper and cowries but they do not take away except gold nuggets! It has a stout king with his soldiers and /military/ equipment. It also comprises many kingdoms with kings who are under his control. He also has a marvellous palace in which there is a nugget of gold resembling a big rock; and that is the creation of Allah. In it there is a tent in the form of stable and this is where the king's horse is tethered. It is said that its king is a Muslim.

The land of Kamaunaudiya;[1] it is situated in the northern part of the land of Mafaran. It extends to the ocean and on her eastern side there is a desert in which are snakes with long and bulky bodies, in size of a fat ram and the length of a lance, more or less. The Sudanese hunt them, flay them and cook them with salt and shih (a variety of worm wood) and eat them. Here there is also the mountain of Q ban which is very high. They say that clouds pass below it and no plant grows on it at all. In it also there are glittering stones. which when the sun rises, almost dazzle the eyes. Nobody is able to reach its peak or /even/ its foot because it is slippery. At its foot there are sweet springs as if its water were mixed with honey.

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1. I could not trace the location of this place.

The land of Kanem[1] which is a flat and vast is situated along the banks of the Nile. Its inhabitants are Muslim with exception of a few. They follow the Madhhab of Imam Malik.

Then the land of the Nuba[2] Nubia which is a vast land and a big region. The extent of their kingdom is three months' travelling. It is situated on

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1. According to some sources the kingdom of Kanem which predated the advent of Islam was established by the Zaghawa speaking people. It is said by the close of the 9th century the authority of the Zaghawa was brought to an end and the seat of government changed from Manan to Njimi (east of Lake Chad) which was later adopted by the Sayfawamais as their capital for several hundred years. This move was a consequence of the advent of Islam in the area. The death of Mai Dunama Dabalmi in C.1265 A.D. marked the beginning of the collapse of the Sayfawa authority in Kanem.

   See Muhammad Nur al-Kali, Kanem-Borno under the Sayfawa: A study of the origin, growth and collapse of a dynasty, Ph.D. Thesis, A.B.U., 1978, pp.18-19. See also pp.26 and 88.

2. The area known as Nubia was located in what is now the Northern region of the Republic of the Sudan and the Southern part of Egypt from the area of the present day Khartoum to the southern Egypt. The penetration of Islam into Nubia started with the conquest of Egypt in the seventh century. By the middle of the fourteenth century there was a Muslim ruling dynasty in Dongola under the control of Egypt. See R.S. O'Fahey and J.L. Spaulding op.cit., p.17.

the borders of Egypt, and they are often raided by soldiers of Egypt. It is said that Luqman al-Hakim[1] a contemporary of Da'ūd peace be upon him, who is mentioned in the Holy Cur'ān, was a Nubian and that he was born at Ailah.[2] Among the Nubians was Dhu al-Nun al-Masri,[3] May Allah have mercy on him and Bilal the servant and the Mu'adhdhin of the prophet, peace be upon him.

They have mines of gold and their religion is Christianity. Their king is an honourable king with numerous troops and a large following. The Nubians

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1. According to Tafsir al-Qurtubi Luqman was a black man from the Egyptian Sudan. He was given wisdom by Allah but denied the prophethood. Most interpretations refer to Luqman as a Wali but not as a prophet.

   See al-Jami' li Ahkam al-Qur'an of Abu 'Abdullahi Muhammad al-Qurtubi, Cairo, n.d. p.5141.

2. According to Yaqut, Ailah was located on the Red Sea facing the Hijaz and near Sham (Syria). It was inhabited by the Jews. It was a meeting point for the pilgrims from Fustat and Sham.

   See Yaqut, Mu'jam al-Buldan, Vol. 1, p.292.

3. Dhu al-Nun al-Masri grew up in Ikhmim and died in al-Jiza (Egypt) in 246 A.H. He was noted for his scholarship. He was also a renowned Sufi.

   See Zaki Mubarak, al-Tasawwuf al-Islami: fi al-Adab wa al-Akhlaq Beirut, Vol. II, n.d. p.75.

consist of two groups, /first/ a group called ᶜAlwa[1] whose capital is Wailula[2] which is a great city. It is inhabited by nations of the Sudan too numerous to mention. The other group is called Nuba and its capital is Dongola.[3] Both Dongola and Wailula are situated along the western bank of the Nile. Their inhabitants are the most handsome people of the Sudan and the most elegant in stature.

There are elephants, giraffes, monkeys and gazelles in their land. One of the famous towns in Nubia is Nawabiya. It is also called Nuba and it is a medium-sized town. The distance between it and the
58 Nile is four days journey. /7 Its inhabitants drink from wells. The women of this town are very beautiful and

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1. ᶜAlwa's location was near the present Khartoum. It became a tributory of Dongola in the tenth century.

   See A.J. Arkell, A History of the Sudan to 1821, London, 1961, p.189.

2. Wailula was the successor of Soba the ancient capital of ᶜAlwa. The shift to Wailula probably took place some time in the thirteenth century. That as may be inferred from the Arab Geographer al-Harrani.

   See R.S. O'fahey and J.L. Spaulding, op.cit., p.19.

3. Dongola was an ancient capital of Nubia. It was invaded by the Muslim forces under the leadership of Abdallah b. Abi al-Sarh the then Governor of Egypt in 641-2. Although ᶜAbdallah forces were not successful a treaty was concluded with the king of Nubia.

   See Arkell, op.cit., p.186.

perfect in elegance. They have a nice way of talking and sweetness in their expression and tone. With their exception, some Indians and some Abyssinians, none of the women of the Sudan possess long wavey hair. The price-value of a beautiful concubine of them is three hundred Dinar and above.

It is reported that the Wazir, Abu al-Hassan, known as al-Mushafi, used to have a concubine among the Nubians. Before her, he never saw a girl more perfect in physique, agreeable in disposition, graceful in appearance, beautiful in form and sweeter in eloquence and complete in good qualities. When she talked she captivated the hearts with her logic and sweetness of her words. She was bought from him by al-Sahib b. ʿUbad[1] for four hundred dinars and he loved her so much and praised her in some of his poems. It is said that before he bought her his energy had already faded and his sexual desire had died down. But when he bought her and slept with her, his sexual desire was revived and his energy restored. He regained his /lost/ energy because of the pleasure he found in her.[2]

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1. He was a famous literary figure and statesman. He died in 385 A.H.

2. The whole information about Nubia is copied from Kitab Kharidat al-ʿAja'ib wa faridat al-Ghari'ib of Ibn al-Wardi (861/1457).
   See Mustafa Misʿad Majmu'at al-Nusus wa al-Watha'iq al-ʿArabiyya al-Khassa bi Tarikh al-Sudan fi al-ʿUsur al-wusta, Khartoum, 1972, pp.372-73.

It is a big town situated on a wide stream bed (Batiha) and /......./ where the water of the Nile gathers. On the bank of this Batiha is a big idol[1] made of stone with his hand raised to its chest. It is believed that he was a/tyrannical man who was turned into stone by Allah.

Then Yalaq,[2] which is a big town and a meeting point for the Nubian and Abyssinian traders. The distance between Yalaq and the mountain of extracts is six days' journey.[3] The Egyptian and Sudanese boats reach this mountain.

Then, Abyssinia,[4] and whose land faces the land of Hijaz, and is separated from it by the sea and the majority of them are christians. It is a vast and

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1. Probably he is referring to the statues of the rulers of Nubia found in the northern-most part of the Republic of the Sudan before the area was flooded by Aswan Dam water.

2. The correct spelling is Bilaq and according to Yaqut the town was located between Upper Egypt and Bilad al-Nuba (Nubia) acting as buffer zone. The information about the traders is also found in al-Idrisi.
   See Yaqut, p.478. See also Yusuf Kamal, op.cit., p.830.

3. This information is contained in al-Idrisi, ibid.

4. The boundaries of Abyssinia (Habasha) in the ancient times were loose and difficult to define but according to some sources it comprised the area situated between the Nile and the Red Sea and from northern Nubia to The Equator or beyond. Its boundries from the north and the south changed from time to time.
   See E.A. Wellis Badge, A History of Ethiopia, Nubia and Abyssiria. London, 1928, Vol. I, p.122.

extensive and stretching from eastern to southern Nubia. They are the ones who ruled Yamen before the advent of Islam during the days of the Kisras (Akasira). The Abyssinian eunuchs are the best. There is also beauty and sweetness and melodious speech among their women. One of its famous towns is Ku^{c}bar[1] which is the greatest town in Abyssinia and the capital of the kingdom of Negus.[2] In it there are plenty of banana plants. The inhabitants of these lands do not eat hens, neither do they eat bananas at all.

The land of Zaila^{c}.[3] It borders on Abyssinia from the south and they are great nations. Also they are predominantly Muslim and virtuous with strong inclination towards doing good.

Then, the Beja[4] which borders Abyssinia from the

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1. Ku^{c}bar as a capital of Abyssinia where the Nigus resided is mentioned by al-Mas^{c}udi in his Muruj al-Dhahab.
   See al-Mas^{c}udi, Muruj al-Dhahab, ed. C. Barbier de Maynard and pave de courteille, vol. III, p.34.

2. The same statement is reported by al-Mas^{c}udi in al-Muruj. See Ibid., see also Arabic text.

3. Zaila^{c} is mentioned by Yaqut as a Sudanese area bordering on Abbyssinia. According to Ibn al-Ha'ik, one of the islands of Yaman is the island of the Zeila^{c} with a big market and trading relations with Abyssinia.
   See Yaqut op.cit., Vol. 3, p.164.

4. The land of Beja now within the Republic of the Sudan, borders on Egypt occupying the area between the Red Sea in the east and Bilad al-Nuba to the west. The whole information about the Beja is copied from Ibn al-Wardi.
   See Levicki, op.cit., p.14; also his map of Nubia, Ethiopia and Somalia 7th to 16th centuries according to Arabic sources. See also Mustafa Mis^{c}ad, op.cit., pp.373-374.

north and is located between Abyssinia and Nubia. They are very dark in complexion, go naked, and they are adulators. They have many kingdoms, and are friendly and hospitable to the traders.

6A And in their country there are gold mines // but there are no villages or fertile areas in their land. It is rather barren desert through which the traders climb to the Wadi al-ʿAlaqi[1] which is a valley inhabited by many people resembling a populous town. There are sweet wells in it from which they drink. Their gold mine is of middle-size and is in a desert not surrounded by hills. It consists of a mound of wet sands and shifting desert (Sabasib sayyala). Then, at the beginning of each Lunar month, the searchers will walk into the sands to extract the gold dust from amongst it. They, then, mark the place where it is. Each will run to the heap of sand which he has marked, carry it to his camel and go with it to the wells. He then washes it, extract the gold dust from it. They alloy it with quick silver and store it in melting-pots. From this they derive a competence and livelihood. A group of Arabs from Rabīʿat b. Nazar has joined them and intermarried with them.

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1. According to al-Idrisi, Wadi al-ʿAlaqi is a trading centre where traders from Upper Egypt and Beja land transacted business. Yaqut states in his Mu'jam al-Bulden that al-ʿAlaqi is a fortified settlement (Hisn) in the land of Beja lying to the south of Egypt between it and Aswan is a gold mine.
See Yusuf Kamal, op.cit., p.830. See also Yaʿqut, op.cit., Vol. IV, p.145.

[c]Aydhab[2] and its desert hinterland after which it is named. It has no known /access/ road except the sands and it can only be identified by mountains and arid land. It is probable that the guide may miss it. inspite of his skill. [c]Aydhab is a beautiful city and it is a meeting point for traders by land and sea. Transactions among its people are by Dirhams and quantity but they are not familiar with weights. It has a Wali appointed by the Beja and another Wali, appointed by the sultan of Egypt. They divide its revenue equally between them. It is separated from the Hijaz by the width of the sea.

Between Beja and the Nuba, are people called al-Balyun,[2] who are people of determination and courage feared by all the nations surrounding them. They exchange gifts with them. They are Christian Khawarij. followers of the Jacobite sect.

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1. [c]Aydhab was located on the Red Sea to the north of Sawakin. It was a sea port from which pilgrims from some parts of Bilad al-Sudan passed to Mecca. It was also a big market for commodities coming from central Africa and India via 'Adan. [c]Aydhab reached its peak between 1058-1368 A.D. The whole information about [c]Aydhab is copied from Ibn al-Wardi.

   See Yaqut, Ibid., p.171, Ibn Sa[c]id al-Maghribi, op.cit., p.237 notes. See also T. Lewicki, op.cit., Map of Nubia, Ethiopia and Somalia.

2. The same information is contained in al-Idrisi. See Yusuf Kamal., op.cit., p.830. See also arabic text and Mustafa Mis[c]ad op.cit., p.374.

The land of Barbar,[1] It is adjacent to the land of the Nuba on the sea and facing the Yemen. There are populous villages in it with access to one another. There is a mountain in it called Qanuni[2] which is a mountain with seven prominent peaks and on the top of this mountain are small settlements called al-Hawiya. Some of the inhabitants of Barbar eat frogs, insects[3] and filth. They fish in the sea swimming with small nets.

This land is bordered by the land of Zanj[4] which f faces the land of Sind (western India). They are the

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1. The land of Barbar is located in what is now the Democratic Republic of Somalia and according to al-Idrisi the land of Barbara was under the control of Abyssinia in the twelfth century. The land of Barbar falls on the norther side of the equator and is bordered to the north by the Bight of Barbara and to the south by Bilad al-Zanj (Zanzibar).

   See Yusuf Kamal, op.cit., p.831, al Ibn Sa^{c}id, op.cit., p.214 notes.

2. The correct spelling may be Hafuni and not Qanuni. That is how al-Idrisi recorded it.

   See Yusuf Kamal, op.cit., p.831.

3. The same information is given by al-Idrisi. See Yusuf Kamal, p.831, see also Arabic text.

4. The land of Zanj falls within the present east Africa from the Juba River in the north and the eastern parts of present day Kenya.

   See Lewicki, op.cit., p.14.

darkest people of the Sudan, and all of them worship idols. They are people of courage and harshness, fighting mounted on cows. There are no horses, mules or camels in their land. al-Masʿūdi[1] said that "I have seen these cows being kneeled down like camels. They load them and they move as the camels do".[2] Their habitations are located between the limit of the Gulf with strong currents to the land of Sofalat al-Dhahab[3] wa al-Wurq. Their land is wide (vast) and their villages well populated and it is a land with plenty of
6B gold and the land of fertility and marvels; // but they do not have cold weather at all, neither do they have rain. In this /they are/ like most countries of the Sudan. They also do not have boats. Boats only put

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1. His full name was Abu al-Hassan ʿAli b. al-Hussain b. ʿAli al-Masʿūdi. He was of Iraqi origin. Most of his life was spent in Egypt. He was widely travelled. He wrote several works, the most famous of which is Muruj al-Dhahab. al-Masʿūdi died in 346/957.

   See Tarif Khalidi, Islamic Histriography, the Histories of Masʿūdi, Albany, 1975, p.xiii, see also p.152.

2. See al-Masʿūdi's Muruj al-Dhahab, Vol. III, p.27.

3. The area of Sofala is located in the present day Mozambique. See G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, The Medieval History of the Coast of Tanganyika, London, 1962, p.21.

Ride their ports on their way to Oman.[1] Traders steal their children and exchange them for dates in other countries.

The inhabitants of the land of the Zanj are beyond count in number.[2] It is said that their king commands three hundred thousand cow riders. Beyond their countries the Nile splits in two at the mountain of Al-Mughrasm. And the majority of them sharpen their teeth and file them to a point. They sell elephant tusks, tiger spine and silk. They have Island from which they dig out cowries. They ornament themselves for fixed amounts. They have vast kingdoms.

The land of the Damadim.[3] Their country is situated along the Nile and borders the Zanj; but the Damadim are negligent in their religious affairs. In their countries are many giraffes and it is from there that the Nile divides and flows to the country of Egypt.

In the direction of the Zanj, is the land of Wafalat al-Dhahab which borders the land of the Zanj from the east. It is a vast land. In it there is a

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1. Similar information is recorded in al-Idrisi. Oman is located in what is now the Sultanate of Muscat and 'Uman on the Persian Gulf.

2. The same information is given by al-Idrisi in Nuzhat al-Mushtaq. See Yusuf Kamal, p.831.

3. The word Damadim, plural of Dandam like Lamlam is a general description of the Nilotic people living in Bilad al-Sudan.
   See Tadeusz Lewicki, op.cit., p.63.

[illegible] in where are the deposits of iron ore mined by the inhabitants of this country. The Indians come to them and buy the iron from them for a higher price, despite the fact that there are many iron mines in the land of the Indians but the iron of Sufala is of better quality, purer and more malleable. The Indians fashion it.[1] And in these countries are the sources of Indian swords and the like.

One of the interesting things in the land of Sufala is the availability of plenty of gold nuggets on the surface. One nugget weighs a Mithqal and three [.....] at present. Yet most of them do not ornament themselves except with copper which they prefer to gold.[2] The land of Sufala is adjacent to the land of Waq al-Waq.[3]

The land of the Sind which is a great region situated along the two rivers in western India. It is

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1. Most probably, this information is derived from al-Idrisi with insignificant variations.

   See Yusuf Kamal, op.cit., p.831. See also Arabic text.

2. This information is contained in Nuzhat al-Mushtaq of al-Idrisi.

   See Yusuf Kamal, op.cit., pp.831-832.

3. The same statement is mentioned by al-Idrisi in Nuzhat al-Mushtaq. The land of al-Waq al-Waq is located in what is now Southern Mozambique.

   See Yusuf Kamal, op.cit., p.832. See also T. Lewicki, op.cit., p.37.

divided into two; one section being on the river /the Coast/ where the countries are called Alman and are predominently inhabited by Muslims. One of its famous settlements is al-Mansura which is a town a mile long and a mile wide, inhabited by many people with much commerce and abundant wealth. Their Dirham weighs as much as five /ordinary/ Dirahams. There is nothing there but date-palms, sugar cane and very sour apples. It is a very hot town.[1] The reason for calling this town al-Mansura was that the Caliph Abu Ja'far al-Mansur, of the Abbasids built four towns in accordance with four auspicious stars. It is claimed that these towns will not be ruined except with the destruction of the world. They are al-Mansura, Baghdad in Iraq, al-Masisa on the sea of Sham (Syria) and al-Rufa[2] in the land of the Jazira.[3]

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1. Most likely this information is derived from al-Idrisi whom it follows sometime word for word.

   See al-Sharif al-Idrisi, India and the neighbouring Territories, trans., S. Maqbul Ahmad, Leiden, 1960. pp.42-43. See also the Arabic text.

2. The translation of Maqbul Ahmad gives the spelling as al-Rafiqa.

   See Ibid., p.43

3. al-Idrisi gives almost exectly the same information about the al-Mansura, Ibid., pp.42-43.

One of them is al-Multan[1] and it is also called al-Mulian bordering the countries of India. In it there is a great idol venerated by the people of India, Sind and their like. They perform pilgrimage to it and make offerings of great wealth, jewelry and precious stones for it. It has also servants. It is claimed that this idol is being worshipped for two hundred thousand years. His two eyes are two priceless gems, and at its gate is a wreath of gold decorated with different kinds of precious jewels.[2]

7A // The land of India is a vast and powerful country, with extensive land and great rivers to south and north. Its king communicates with the king of the Zanj on sea. It is a kingdom of the Mahraj.[3] It is customary among the inhabitants of India not to appoint a king until he reaches the age of forty and it is very rarely that the king appears to the people.[4] India consists of many

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1. Both al-Masʿūdi and al-Idrisi spell the word as al-Multan.
See al-Masʿūdi, Vol. III, p.14. See also al-Sharif al-Idrisi, op.cit., p.49.

2. The same information with slight variations in wordings is given by al-Idrisi. al-Masʿūdi gives also a brief information similar to this in his Muruj al-Dhahab and al-Sharif al-Idrisi, Ibid., p.40. See also al-Masʿūdi, Vol. I, p.376.

3. The same information is recorded by al-Masʿūdi. See Muruj al-Dhahab, p.167. [illegible]. See also Arabic text.

4. The same information is recorded by al-Masʿūdi in See al-Muruj, Vol. I, pp.162-163.

kingdoms, one of which is the kingdom of the Manakin, Lahowun and the kingdom of the Futuh. The last is a great and vast kingdom. Its people have idols inherited from generation to generation. They claim that the idols are being worshipped for two hundred thousand years. Its king is great commanding numerous troops with many elephants. No king of this world matches him in possessing this (number) of elephants. It is said that in his stable are one thousand elephants. One hundred of them are as white as sheet (Qirtas). The height of some of them is about twenty five hands. One of the kingdoms of India is the kingdom of Qimar which is a great and vast kingdom after which the Qimari wood[1] is named. Another of them is the kingdom of Samud and there are other kingdoms numbering twelve. One of the specialities of Bilad al-Hind (India) is that pearls are brought from its seas and sapphires from its mountains, frankincense from its trees and perfume and camphor from its foliage. Among its special products are lobster, al-Nima,[2] al-Biz,[3] al-Tulus,[4] ivory, teak,[5] Zinc,

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1. The information about the Qimari wood is reported in Muruj al-Dhahab. See al-Mas'udi, op.cit., Vol. I, p.169.
2. I could not get the actual meaning of the word. However, it could be neem trees.
3. I could not get the meaning of the word. It may refer to Bairi tree which is a type of fruit (Urdu).
4. Probably the word is derivedfrom one of the Indian Languages. al-Tulus (Atlas) meaning Satin-cloth (in Urd
5. According to al-Mas'udi, teak (al-Saj) is a tree taller than a date-palm and bigger than a cocoanut tree. See al-Mas'udi, op.cit., Vol. III, p.12.

spears, al-Ishail,[1] al-Nitail,[2] coconut, nutmeg, swords, spears, gold and perfume. India surpasses all other countries in these specialities.

... excerpts from what the King of India wrote to Kisra Anu Shirwan,[3] the just king reads, "... from the King of India and the greatest of the Eastern kings, the owner of the golden palace and the Aiwan (throne) of sapphires and chrysolite whose palace gates are made of Dhiboni emerald; to his brother Kisra Anu Shirwan, the king of Persia, the owner of the crown and the celebrated banner, the king of the kings of the central kingdom among the seven regions ....".[4] He presented to him one thousand pounds of the Indian wood that melts in the fire as the wax does, and, like wax, can be stamped for writing to appear on it. /He also sent/ two drinking vessels of rubies and forty finger rings each one of them weighing more than three Mithqals and twenty pounds of camphor balls of the size of pistachio nuts or bigger and a concubine whose height was ten span of hands, and when the roots of her eye lashes struck her cheek it was as though lightening flashed between her eyes; because

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1. I could not identify the meaning of the word from Arabic or Urdu dictionaries.
2. I could not get the meaning of the word.
3. Kisra Anu Shirwan was a pre-Islamic Persian Monarch.
4. I could not trace the source of the Quotation.

of the whiteness and blackness of her eye balls. This was in addition to purity of her colour, the delicacy of her form and perfectness of her appearance with [illegible] eye brows. // She also possessed plaited hair [illegible] bed made of snake skin, softer than silk, and better than embroidered and similar things which kings /formally/ presents to their peers.

This letter was written on the Rest of the Kadi tree and the writing was in gold. The kadi tree is found in the land of India and China, which is species of the sweet-smelling plants. It is wonderful and has a white colour like silver, is designed like a mirror and could be folded like a sheet of paper without breaking. Its scent is the best type of perfume.

One of the wonderful things of India is what the author of al-Sakardan[1] mentioned: "... and in the year... a letter was sent from al-Sultan Mahmud b. Sarktaktin[2] to the Caliph in which he mentioned what he conquered of the land of India; that he destroyed the idol known as Shaumitan and that the different kinds of Indians were tempted by it believing that it gives life and kills. They perform pilgrimage to it from all

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1. I could not trace the book.
2. Probably he is Mahmud Ibn al-Qasim who conquered Bilad al-Sind.

distant places and sacrificed to it with riches. Thousands of them were assigned to serve it and three hundred given the responsibility of shaving the heads and beards of their pilgrims on their arrival; and five hundred women danced and sang at the gate. The servant /of Allah/ was longing to uproot this idol. Convenient time and wealth were at his disposal. Then, the servant prayed to Allah, exalted is He, to be assigned this duty, seeking His reward. He marched in Sha^ban the year sixteen, commanding three thousand knights, in addition to the volunteers. He distributed among the volunteers fifty thousand Dinar to support th them. Allah distined for him to arrive in the country of the idol and he pulled it down. He set fire to it and it was broken to pieces. He also killed fifty thousand of the inhabitants of this town.[1] Around /the great idol/ were many idols made of gold and silver ornamented with gems and surrounding its throne. They claimed that each ring represented the worship of a thousand years.

Another letter was dispatched by him /to the effect that/ he arrived at a town of which he never saw the like before. In it were a thousand imposing palaces,

1. He conquered al-Multan in the year 400 A.H. 711-12 after a fierce battle with her king. See Abu al-Qasim b. Haugal Kitab Surat al-Ard, Beirut, n.d. p.278. See also Annemarie Schimmel, Islam in the Indian Sub-Continent, Leiden - Koln/ 1980, p.4.

وصف وتلخيص لمخطوطة

(أخبار هذه البلاد الحوسية والسودانية)

لقد اعتمدنا في تحقيقنا لهذه المخطوطة على خمس نسخ رمزنا لها (ب) أ، و ب ، و د ، و هـ . لقد وقفنا من خلال العمل الميداني في العثور على النسخة الأصلية التي تعتقد بعض الشخصيات التاريخية المعاصرة كالدكتور جنيد بن محمد البخاري بأنها قد كتبت بخط المؤلف نفسه ، أعني عبد القادر بن المصطفى . وعند المقارنة مع بعض المخطوطات التي اكتشفناها في سالامي عند حفيد المؤلف ، معلم طاهر غلب علينا الظن بأن المخطوطة التي رمزنا لها ب(أ) قد كتبت بيد المؤلف .

لقد تحصلنا على المخطوطة (ب) من مركز بحث تاريخ شمال نيجيريا التابع لقسم التاريخ بجامعة أحمدو بيلو ، زاريا ، نيجيريا ، ورقم المخطوطة هو (N.H.R.S. 26/8) ، أما الثالثة والتي رمزنا لها ب(ج) فقد أخذنا من مكتبة مركز الدراسات الاجتماعية والتاريخية ، بجامعة نيامي (I.R.SH.) بجمهورية النيجر في ١٩٨٠م ، لقد تحصلنا على المخطوطة (د) من مكتبة الدكتور جنيد بن محمد البخاري وزير صكتو في ١٩٨٠م ، أما المخطوطة (هـ) فقد تحصلنا عليها من دار الوثائق المركزية التابعة لولاية صكتو .

تحتوى المخطوطة (أ) على ١١ ورقة مسطرتها ٢٥ و (ب) التي تشتمل على ٢٢ صفحة ومسطرتها ١٨ و(ج) التي تحتوى على ٢١ صفحة ومسطرتها ١٥ و (د) التي تحتوى على (٢٤) صفحة ومسطرتها ١٥ سطر . أما (هـ) فتحتوى على ٢٠ صفحة ومسطرتها ٢٠ .

لقد اعتمدنا في تحقيقنا أساسا على المخطوطة (أ) ورتبنا الأخريات على حسب الحروف الأبجدية ، حسب قرب كل واحدة منها من النسخة الأصلية من ناحية الوضوح . تختلف المخطوطات الواحدة من الأخرى من ناحية الوضوح والحذف والإضافة وأخطاء النساخ ، ولقد أثبتنا ذلك كله في الهوامش ، تكثر الأخطاء

النحوية والإملائية في جميع المخطوطات وخاصة المخطوطات الأربعة الأخيرة ، وحسب ظننا انه كلما بعدنا من عصر المؤلف نجد أن الأخطاء تكثر .

كتاب (أخبار هذه البلاد الحوسية والسودانية) ، يخلو تماما من ذكر المصادر التي أستقى منها المعلومات ، ويدل عنوان الكتاب على الآتي وهو أن المؤلف يحصر نفسه في التاريخ السياسي لبلاد الهوسا والبلاد المجاورة لها مع بعض التلميحات للأوضاع الاجتماعية والديمغرافية والجغرافية . يعالج كتاب (أخبار هذه البلاد الحوسية والسودانية) فترات ما قبل القرن التاسع عشر مع التركيز على فترة الجهاد .

من ملامح كتاب (أخبار هذه البلاد الحوسية والسودانية) هو أن كاتبه كمؤرخ كان (شاهد عيان) ومشارك في بعض الأحداث التي وقعت خاصة في الفترة ما بين ١٨١٧ - ١٨٢٤م وباختصار فان المؤلف كان يكتب تاريخا معاصرا للجهاد المكتي ، ومن بين أغراض الكتاب إبراز الانجازات السياسية والعقدية التي تميزت بها الخلافة المكتية عن وصيفاتها الى حيز الوجود وذلك على حسب تصور المؤلف ، لهذا حرص المؤلف كل الحرص على أن يؤرخ لفترة ما قبل الجهاد خاصة فترة القرن الثامن عشر التي تميزت بهجرات وحروب وانتصارات وضعف الدولة الغوبرية .

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم صلى الله على من لا نبى بعده.(1)

1B [قال الشيخ العلامة الكبير سبط المجدد عثمان تغمده الله برحمته،
المنير عبد القادر بن المصطفى الشهير](2) لما كانت رياضات الحديث، روضات
الافكار والاسماع، واجتلاب(3) أخبار البلاد مما تصغى اليه القلوب وتنطبع فيها
كل الانطباع.(4) وكان تسجيل ذلك معقل استحضاره ومربط أوابده وشوارده
كتبت [جوابا](6) فى هذا المجموع بغية(7) أخبار هذه البلاد الحوسية والسودانية
وطرف أخبار ملوكها وسلاطينها ونتفا(8) من نوادر علمائها ومما يحكى من
ذلك مما يستعذبه السمع(9) ويستلذ فحواه الطبع. قدر ما استحضرت
منه. وان كان ذلك غير عظيم البال فى الاسلام، فقد يكون تشحيذا(10)
للاذهان وانتهاضا لبعض الهمم الراكدة(11).

وقد صنف العلماء كتبا وتصانيف فيما يشاكل ذلك. على أن ذلك لا
يخلو(12) من فائدة ولا يعرو(13) من نفع أو عائدة لمن تدبره أو اعتبره به. فان
كل شىء من الاشياء من أمر دنيوى أو فضول حكاية اذا اعتبر لا يخلو من
فائدة يعود نفعها على أمر الدين.

فاذا علمت ذلك فاعلم أن بلادنا هذه السودانية [على](14) ثلاثة أقسام:
عوالى ووسائط وسوافل. فعواليها بلد برنو(15) وبلاد أهير(16) وبلاد زبرم(17)
وبلاد سنغى. ووسائطها: حمور [بكى](18) وهو سبعة أقاليم. وبند وهو سبعة
أقاليم. وسوافلها بلاد بابياى(19) ولم يتم لاحد من الملوك السودانية أن
يملك هذه الاقسام كلها قط. بل يملك بعضا ويبقى بعض خارجا عنه(20)(21).

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1) ب ج د هـ: صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم تسليما.
2) ما بين المعقوفتين زيادة فى ب ج د هـ.
3) ب ج د هـ: اجتناب. 4) ب ج د هـ: كل انطباع.
5) د: ومرابط أوابده. هـ: ومرابط أوائده. 6) كلمة جواب زيادة فى ب.
7) د: هذه المجموع. 8) ب ج هـ: نتفاؤل.
9) ب هـ: مما يستعيد به السمع. ج: مما يستعذ به السمع. د: مما يستفيد به السمع.
10) ب: تشحيذا هـ: تسهيلا. 11) هـ: الراكدة.
12) د: لا يخلو. هـ: لا يحلو. 13) أ: لا يعروا. هـ: لا يخلو.
14) على: زيادة فى ج وهـ. 15) ج د هـ: فعوالى.
16) ب ج د هـ: بلاد. 17) د هـ: سفى.
18) ب: بكى زيادة من ب. وبكى تعنى سبعة بلغة الهوسا أى أقاليم الحمور السبعة.
19) ب: ونبد بكما. هـ: ونبد وبكى 20) ج: يملك بعضها.
21) يعنى خارجا عن سلطانه.

وقد يكون ذلك الخارج عنه أكثر / / ، فإن عظام الدول الواقعة في 2A
هذه البلاد فيما يذكرون سبع دول : دولة برنو ، ملكوا الوسائط وبعض السوافل
ولم يملكوا بلاد أعير ولا زبرم ولا سنفى[1] ولا ما بعد منهم من السوافل ، الا انهم
ملكوا بغرم[2] رود اى . ودولة كرنرف ، ملكوا السوافل كلها وبعد الوسائط من
كنو وزكزك وبعض كاشنة . وغزوا أرض برنو[3] وخربوا[4] مدنا وحصونا .

ودولة زكزك وهى دولة آمنة بنت أمير زكزك ، غزت البلاد ودانت لها
كنو[5] وغزت السوافل حتى وصلت إلى البحر المحيط من جانب اليمين ، ومن
الغرب[6] . ولم تملك من العوالى شيئا . ودولة سنفى[7] وهى دولة أسكيا ملك
العوالى كلها ما خلا أرض برنو . وملك أقطارا من الوسائط وبعض السوافل
وأمعنت[8] دولته من الجانب الغربى والشمالى . وملك بلاد آير كلها نواحيها
ودانيها ، وبعث بعوثا رابطة بجميع البلاد . والذين يملكون فى بلاد آير
الآن من ذرية عبيده الذين وضعهم هناك . وقاعدة مملكته هى مدينة غاو
ويسميها التجار غوفو على ما ساعد فهم عليه اللسان . وأسكيا هو الذى أخذ
الدولة من أهل سنفى[1] وخرب مآثره الجاهلية وعوائده الباطلة فبسط العدل
والقسط فى هذه البلاد ودانت له بالطوع والكراهية . ويسمونه ملك التكرور
العادل . وقد حج (من بلاده) وزار ولقى خلقا من العلماء منهم الجلال
السيوطى وغيره . وألفوا له كتبا . ووصل المغيلى إلى بلاده وكتب له كتبا
وألف له تواليف ووصايا . ولم يملك أحد من الملوك السودانية ما ملك أسكيا .

— وقد غزا بلاد برغ فاستصعبت عليه ، ولم يفتحها . ولم تزل رابطته بأرض
جيد . ويقال إنهم الذين فى أرض[10] خنى الآن .

ثم دولة كب : وهى دولة كنت وهو أول أمراء كب ، ولم يكن لأرض كب
قبله أمير . إنما هى مخاليف فيها عبيد . ويقال إنه عبد للفلانيين / / فخرج

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1) ح ، د : سفى
2) بغرم سقطت من ب ، ح ، د وهـ .
3) برنـــوا .
4) أ : وخربو . د : وخرجوا .
5) أ : كنـــوا .
6) د و هـ : من جانب اليمن ومن المغرب . ب و ح : من جانب اليمين ومن المغارب .
7) ح : سفى .
8) هـ : وامتعت .
9) ب ، د ، هـ : أهل سنفى . ح : أهل سفى .
10) هـ : الارض .

واستوثق أمره وغزا (في) هذه البلاد حتى ملك أرض كبّ كلها وملك زنفر وهي يومئذ غيال(1) تضم فيها الكفار الذين يسمونهم ماغزاوا. ثم غزا جميع الوسائط(2) وملكها. وملك من العوالي زيرم وبلاد آهير ولم يملك أرض برنو. وجرى بينه وبين أمير برنو(3) حروب ومزاحفات مات قافلاً من بعضها بأرض كاشنه. والقصة في ذلك مشهورة. وملك كنت أكثر السوافل فدانت له البلاد وأذعنت له السودان. ومصر الأمصار الثلاثة غنيغ، وليك، وصوار(4) وهي دار مملكته ومحل قراره. وأقدم هذه الأمصار غنيغ. ويقال انه كان التوارك(5) أن يحملوا إلى بلده صورامي(6) ماء حوض كان في بلادهم يقال انه تنشام وبادروا إلى ما أمر ويقال انه رأى ذلك في منامه وألزمهم تصديق ما رآه ففعلوا. وبقي كنت في ملكه أكثر من(7) ثمان وثلاثين سنة.

فاستدعى(8) أمير آجير أمير برنو عليه لأجل ما شدد عليه فخرج يعمل أمير برنو(1) غازيا فسلك طريق سوسبال حتى سلك شمال دوره(10) وكاشنه ويسين غوبر ودخل بلاد كبّ حتى وصل إلى صورامي(11). فخرج(12) للقائه كنت صباح العيد فتقاتلا ساعة حتى انهزم كنت للغرب وبقي سلطان برنو يقاتل الحصن فاستصعب عليه فكرّ راجعاً حتى وصل غنر ومرّ راجعاً لبلاده.

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1) أ: ماغزاو.
2) ء: الواسيط
3) أ: برنوا.
4) أ، د: صوارم.
5) ب، ج، د، ء: التوارق.
6) أ، د: صوارم.
7) ما بين المعقوفتين زيادة من ب و د.
8) ج: أ م ب، د، ء: فاستعدى وعلى الهامش فاستعان. وأثبتنا ما نعتقده صحيحا
1) أ: برنوا.
10) ب، د، ء: دور.
11) أ: صوارم
12) ب: فشمر. ء: فخر

ثمّ أنشأ كنت جيشاً ، واقتفى آثاره ، حتّى وصل إلى أنغز(1) فقتلاه البرابر ، وعزم من جنود عم ، نحو سبع غزوات ، وغنم فيها كثيراً ، ثمّ كرّ راجعاً(2) حتّى وصل إلى موضع يقال له دغل(3) من ناحية كاشنه ، فيها طائفة باغية عليه فقاتلهم أشدّ قتال حتّى رموه بسهم فكرّ راجعاً حتّى وصل إلى موضع يقال له جرو فتوفّى بها وحمله قومه ودفنوه بداره صوارمي(4) . وتمكّنت دولة كب أيام كنت وفيما بعده نحو مائة عام . وعذه آثارهم ، ما رؤي مثلها في هذه البلاد ، وقد مضى على خرابها أكثر من مائة عام(5) .

ثمّ أعظم دولة بعدها دولة زنفر . ملكوا بعض الوسائط وبعض السوافل وتمكّنوا جدّاً وسيأتي تفصيل ذلك عند عدّ هذه البلاد .

ثمّ أعظم دولة بعد ذلك هي دولتنا هذه العثمانية(6) ثبّت الله أركانها وأيّد سلطانها إلى يوم القيامة . فكان تحت سلطانها الوسائط كلّها وبعض السوافل وأكثر العوالي وسيأتي ذكر ذلك كلّه في أثناء الكتاب .

اعلم أنّ حوسر عبارة عن سبعة أقاليم : إقليم زنكز ، وهو أوسع أقاليم حوسر لأنّ فيه بلاد بوشى(8) كثيراً وإقليم نرو(9) وإقليم كنو(10) وهو أبرك هذه الأقاليم السبعة ، وإقليم دوره وإقليم كاشنه وهو أوسطها وأعمرها فيما مضى وإقليم برم(11) وإقليم غوبر .

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1) ب ، هـ : أنغرو . د : انغز .
2) ثمّ كرّ راجعاً هكذا في ع .
3) ب ، ج ، د : دغل ويجوز أن اسم المكان قد اختلط على النساخ وانّه دغل المكان الذي بدأ فيه الشيخ عثمان دعوته .
4) أ : سـوارم .
5) نفر المعلومات في انفاق الميسور طبعة لندن ، ٢٠ .
6) يعني بالعثمانية خلافة سوكتو التي أقامها الشيخ عثمان بن فود بن فودي . والنسبة هنا للشيخ عثمان .
7) ب ، هـ : أكليم .
8) أ : بلاد باوشى .
9) د : وأقاليم برنو وما أثبتناه هو الصحيح . والاسم المتعارف عليه والذي تداولت به الألسنة هو رنو وهو اقليم متاخم لاقليم كنو وزكزك .
10)
11) ب : برم . لعل الناسخ قد خلط بينها وبين برم المشهورة التي تقع في امارة غومبي . ج ، د : برم والصحيح ما أثبتناه .

3B وكانت هذه الأقاليم فيما مضى في يد سلطان برنو وكان له مملوك يقال
له باو(١) ولا أدري ما أصله ولم أسمع من أحد(٢) ذكر قبيلته فولاه سلطان برنو
هذه الأقاليم فكان عليها(٤) وكان له سبعة أولاد فلما حضرته الوفاة ولاهم على
هذه البلاد كل واحد منهم على بلد(٥). ويقال إن الذي ولاه دوره(٦) كانت أشق
فولاها على دوره(٧) وكان ذلك اسمها فسمي البلد باسمها. وهي كانت أكبر
أولاده. فهي أخت أمير كشنه لأبيه وأمير كنو وأمير غبر ابنا أم وأمير برم
وأمير زكزك(٩) أبنا أم وأمير نرو(١٠) فرد من أمه. فكان ملك هذه البلاد السبعة
في ذرية أولاد باو[(١١) الذي يعني بذلك سلاطينها، لأن أصل هذه البلاد
تحت حكمهم وكان هؤلاء السلاطين يؤدون الخراج والغلات إلى سلطان برنو]
يوصلون ذلك لأمير دوره فيوصله إلى أمير برنو. وكان ذلك [دأبا](١٢) فيهم لم
4a ينخرم(١٤) إلى قيام هذا الجهاد. //الآن سلطان غبر باو امتنع من ذلك(١٥)
وسيأتي ذلك.

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١) عبارة له سقطت من د.
٢) أ: عن سقطت من ج و د.
٣) أ: برنوا.
٤) ج: فكان عليهم.
٥) ج ، د: على بلده.
٦) أ: دور.
٧) أ: دور.
٨) ب ، هـ: برم. ج ، د: برم.
٩) هـ: وأمير زكاك.
١٠) الواو سقطت من هـ.
١١) ب ، د ، هـ: فكان ملك هذه البلاد كلهم عبيد سلطان برنو. الذي أثبتناه هو الصحيح.
١٢) دائبا زيادة من أ. وأثبتنا ما نعتقده صحيحا.
١٣) ما بين المعقوفتين زيادة من أ.
١٤) أ: لم ينخرم.
١٥) ج ، د: باوا.

وكان يقع بين سلاطين(1) هذه البلاد حروب ومقاومات (2)
وذلك بعد ذهاب أسلافهم واندثار ما بينهم من المواصلة
والاخوة . وقد تكون المواصلة بين بعضهم دون بعض . و
وسبب امتناع سلطان غوبر باو من أداء الخراج(3) انه أنكر
استرقاقهم لامير برنو(4) . وذلك فيما يذكرون ثابت أنهم أحرار
من أصلهم . وهم من بقايا القبط خرجوا من مصر فوافوا بلاد
آمير ثم وافوا بلد غوبر فأخرجوا منها من يملكها من أولاد
باو واستوطنوها . فجرى أسلافهم على أداء ما وجدوا أولئك
عليه [حتى امتنع باو من ذلك](5) . وقد كانت لهذه البلاد
ملوك(6) قبل أولاد باو [فأهملته] .
ويحف بهذه البلاد السبعة سبعة أقاليم كلها مندرجة
[تحتها](7) وهي يندا(8) وهي زنفر وكبي وباور وزنفر ويرب وبرخ
وغرم(9) . وعلى كل بلد منها أمير نذير للآخر . كما كانت أقاليم حوس
ثم إني أفصلها بأوصافها وأنقلها بأحوالها مبتدئا ببلاد حوس(10) .
فأقول أما بلد زكزك(11) فبلد واسع ذو أشجار وأنهار(12)
وجبال . وهي أرض مباركة المزارع ، كثيرة الامطار ، رخيصة الاقوات
كثيرة الاسعار ، وجبالها أرض نرو قريبا من أرض كنو(13) . وبلاد كنو(14)
4B أخصب البلاد الحوسية(15) وأبركها وأرخصها // وأعلمها في غاية

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1) د : سلطانين .
2) ب ، ج ، د ، هـ : مقامات .
3) د : باوا .
4) أ : برنوا .
5) ب ، ج ، د ، هـ : فجرى أسلافهم على أداء ذلك . ما بين معقوفتين زيادة من أ .
6) ما بين معقوفتين زيادة من أ .
7) تحتها : زيادة من أ .
8) ب : نبذا بي .
9) نفس المعلومات في اتفاق الميسور ، طبعة لندن ص ١١ .
10) ب : بلاد .
11) كلمة بلد : سقطت من ب وهـ .
12) أ ، ب ، ج ، د ، هـ : ذو . وأثبتنا ما نعتقده صحيحا .
13) أ ، ب : كنوا .
14) أ : كنوا .
15) أ : يفضل الأستاذ علي نائبي استعمال كلمة الحوسية كما يذكرها عبدالله ابن فودي في بعض أشعاره . أنظر علي نائبي : تزيين الورقات للشيخ عبدالله ابن فودي ، دراسات عربية ، ١٩٧٧ ، ص ٤٦ .

النِّعْمَة والرفاهيَة ، وفيها نَخْلٌ كثيرٌ مُحيطٌ بجوانبها مِنْ سائر النَّواحي .
وبها [حتماً] (1) النِّيلُ الفاضلُ الذي يزْهُو بمائه على سائر الأمْباغ .

وأما بلادُ كشنه فبلدٌ واسعٌ ذو أشجار وأنهار (2) غيرِ الزرقيْن وقيْصان ،
وقلاع (3) وأسْفلها أطْرفُ أهْل حبْش وأظرفهم . ملكَ فيها مُلوكٌ متعددة ،
وكان فيها مِنَ العُلماء والصالحين خلقٌ كثيرٌ كابْن الدبّاغ وغيره . وفي مدينة
كاشنا قبرٌ ، وقد زرتُه حيْن وصلتها . ووقعت بيْن سُلْطانها وسُلْطان
غُوبر مُزاحفاتٌ انْتصر فيها على سُلْطان غُوبر (4) .

وأما بلدُ غُوبر فرمالٌ وتلالٌ وبها أشْجارٌ . وكان أسْفلها قبْل في
أزْمن فأخرجهم منها التّوارك (5) . فلحقوا بعوالي غُوبر حتى جلا منها بهم
أميرهم شرُوم . فبلغ غُوبر غبرَ فنى جمْعهم القديم الذي بها ، [فلما] (6)
مات ملّكوا أصْغرَ أولاده عليْهم . ويُقال إنه أوصى إليْهم بذلك
وهو محمّدُ بن شرُوم . فخرج على أمير كبّ عُمر وأغب (7) أمير
أزْمن ربيعة وب بن بب أمير زنْفر . فخرجوا ببلاد كبّ واسْتولى على
مُعْظمها أمير زنْفر كما سنذْكره (8) .

ووقع بيْن سُلْطان غُوبر [محمّد] (9) بن شرُوم وأمير كبّ مُزاحفات .
فهزم أسْفل كبّ مرتيْن // وأسر أميرهم فيها فجعله عُمر وأكابر 52
دُولته في مطامير حيْن أسْرهم (10) . فشاكت دولته وموّت قُوته .
فكان مُصادقاً لسُلْطان زنْفر (11) ، وسُلْطان كاشْنه (12) . فلما ولي ابْنه
شُوبا ، فتمكّن في البلاد وغزا (13) أرْض نهرم وحاصر أسْفلها ملاءة أعْوام .

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1) أحب : زيادة في أ ، ب ، ع .
2) أ ، ب ، ج ، د ، ع : ذات . وأثبتنا الصحيح .
3) الواو : سقطت من أ .
4) ع : غورا .
5) ب ، ج ، د ، ع : الطوارق .
6) قلما ج : زيادة من أ .
7) ع : وأغامير
8) د : ستذكره .
9) محمد : زيادة من أ .
10) حين سراهم : هكذا في د .
11) ب ، ج ، د ، ع : مصادقا سلطان .
12) ع : سلان .
13) د : غزا .

فامتنع منهم الجيش ولم يندجعوا (1) فيه شيئا . وولت (2) الدوابر بعده ، ابنه
عاقل وبعده ابنه باكو (4) ، فلم يرم أن مات . وولوا (5) بعده ابن
دورو (6) وبعده ابن أشى فلم يلبث أن وثبوا عليه فخلعوه // وأتوا 6A
ببابارا (8) وكان في ناحية زنفر فملكوه فامتدت (9) أيامه وشاكت دولته
ولما خلع ابن أشى لحق بكاشنه ((فأقام فيها مدة فاستنفر أهل
كاشنه الى بابار وتزاحفا حتى انهزم أهل كاشنه (10) . وظفر بابار بابن
أشى فأذاقه العذاب ثم قتله . فتمكن بابار وساعده دهره . وجهز الى
كاشنه)) (11) فغزاها حتى وصل الى مدينتها فقاتلهم ولم ينجح فيهم . فانصرف
الى بلاده وغزا أرض كنو (12) وشرا من ضواحي برنو .
((وأقام بابار إحدى وعشرين سنة ملكا)) (13) . ثم جهز (14) الى زنفر
فوقعت بينهم المقاتلة فهزمهم . فتمادى (15) حتى تمكن من مدينتهم بنفاق
من (16) أهلها فافتتحها وقتل أمير زنفر مالو (17) ، وهو ابن غيغما بن يحقوب ابن بب (18) .
// ولما فتح بابار مدينتهم تمهدت له الزنافر فاختط مدينة القاضاو 6B
وكانت عوالي بلاد زنفر . فبناها ومهدها وحماها . فأقام فيها سبع (19)
سنين فتوفي بها . ثم ملك بعده ابنه دان غمد (20) وكانت بينه وبين التوارك (21)
مزاحفات حتى قتلوه في آخر ذلك في وقعة بوبو (22) نهر وذلك بعد أن
حاصروه في القاضاو حتى انهزم (23) عسكرهم . فلما كان العام المقبل أو بعده (24) (25)

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1) ب : لم ينجعوا . لم ينحفوا
2) ب ج د ه ء : الدوابر .
3) ب د : بعد .
4) ب د : أخاه ج : ابنة أخاه : ابنه سقطت من ء .
5) أ ه ب د ه ء : وولوا .
6) ب ج د ه ء : ابن دور .
7) أ ه ب د ه ء : أتوه .
8) ب : بباباري ء : بيابار .
9) أ ه : فامتدة .
10) ب ج د ه ء : باباري .
11) ما بين قوسين سقط من د .
12) ب : وغزالة .
13) ب د ه ء : بالباري
14) ما بين قوسين سقط من د : ويظهر أن الناسخ قد خلط بين الأسطار وأتى بنا بكلام قد ذكر من قبل وهو : فأقام بابار دهره وجهز الى كاشنه فغزاها حتى وصل الى مدينتها فقاتلهم ولم ينجح فيهم فانصرف الى بلاده ...))
15) أ : ثم جهز .
16) من زيادة من أ ه ب
17) ب د ه ء : فافتحها .
18) ج : مالو .
19) ج د ه : القاضاوا .
20) ج : دان غد .
21) ب ج د ه ء : التوارق
22) ما بين معقوفتين زيادة من أ .
23) أ ه ب ج د : كان من .
24) د : فلما كان العام .
25) بعد : سقطت من د .

ذلك كانت وقعة بوبو فقتلوه بها فحمله قومه حتى دفنوه إلى
قبر أبيه بابار (1) . وكانت ولايته سبع سنين . ولما توفي دان غدي
ولي بعده أخوه باو فغزا زنفر حتى خربها فلجأ أمير زنفر
مروك إلى كياو فحاصره سلطان غوبير باو خمس عشرة سنة .
حتى ظفر به ثم انصرف إلى كاشنه فغزا مراد حتى أخذ عنوة
وكانت استصعبت على جده ثوبا كما قدمنا . ولما فتحها اشتد قلقه
إلى كاشنه وطمع فيها فأوغل في بلادها . فاخطط حصنه الذي يقال
له برنن كرفي . فخرج إليه سلطان كاشنه بما لا يحصى من الجنود وكان
قد أرسل إلى باو يهادنه ويلاطفه فأبى عليه باو لطامعه في أخذ
أرضه وتزاحفوا بدان كشي فاقتتلوا قتالا شديدا لا يوصف شدته
ولا يحصى من قتل فيه حتى انهزم باو ومن معه . // وأوغلت 74
الكواشن فيهم قتلا وأسرا . ولما انهزم جنده مضى حتى عسكر بناء وقد
قتل ابنه في المعركة فمات بعد أربعين يوما وجدا على ابنه الهالك
وغما على ما أصابه من الهزيمة فحملوه إلى بلده ودفنوه في مقابر آبائه .
وسلطان غوبير باو هو أول من امتنع من أداء الخراج الذي
كانوا يؤدونه إلى أمير برنو وهو الذي راسل أمير نغي معاذا فبعث
إليه معانا بخمس مائة جارية وخمسمائة غلام . كل واحد من هؤلاء يحمل

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1) ب : باباري .
2) ب : دان غدي .
3) د : بهاوا
4) أ ، ب ، ج ، د ، هـ : خمسة عشر سنة وأثبتنا ما نعتقده صحيحا .
5) حتى : سقطت من ج .
6) ب : فغرا .
7) ب ، د ، هـ : مراط .
8) نغي : سقطت من ج و د .
9) ب : برنن كرف .
10) هو السلطان اغرغ كما ذكره ناسخ المخطوطة في الهامش .
11) ب ، ج ، د ، هـ : بهدية .
12) ب ، ج ، د : دان كشبي . هـ : بطان كشي .
13) وغلت : هكذا في د .
14) اسمه نعاب . هكذا أورده ناسخا د و هـ في الهامش .
15) بعد : سقطت عن د .
16) ب : الخراخ .
17) أ : كانو .
18) ب ، هـ : وهو الذي أرسل أمير زنفر فبعث اليه مفاذ . ج : وهو الذي أرسل أمير زنفر الى معاذ . د : وهو الذي أرسل امير زنفر .
19) ج : فبعث اليه معاذ . د : فبعث اليه مفاد . هـ : فبعث اليه مفاذ .
20) ج ، د : وكل من هؤلاء .

ألف ودعة . فأرسل إليه باو بما يضاعف تحيته بأن بعث إليه بعشرة
فرس الاثنا عشر منها جياد بربرية ، وبجاريتين تخجل(1) الشمس من رؤيتهما
من حسنهما وتمام خلقهما(2) وما تحلتا(3) به من الزبارج والحرير .
وهو الذى جمع كردن كور(4) وأمرنا مشهور ومدة ملكه ثماني عشرة سنة.(5)
7B // ولما مات ولي أخوه يعقوب بن بابار(6) . فغزا مكير من بلاد كاشنه ثم
غزا روم وخربها وأحرقها ثم جهز إلى شر فخرب كثيرا منها وهي إحدى
ضواحي برنو(7) ثم جهز إلى كياو(8) فأقام بها مدة محاصرا لأهلها فاستدعى أمير(9)
كياو أمير كاشنه يستعطفه عليه ويشكو إليه ما نزل به من عدوه(10) على غفلة
منهم . فأجابه إلى ما طلب فخرج في جيوش لا تحصى حتى ورد أرض كياو
فتزاحفوا واقتتلوا(11) قتالا شديدا حتى فنيت عامة جند الغوابر . فانهزموا
وقتل سلطان غوبر يعقوب وقطعت رأسه وشيلت(12) إلى سلطان كاشنه . فسر
راجعا إلى بلاده ومعه رأسه حتى دفنها في داره . وأفلت القالة من جند
الغوابر وأمعنوا حتى رجعوا لبلادهم . وكانت ولايته ست سنين وخمسة أشهر .
ثم(13) ولي بعده أخوه نافات فغزا وخرب كثيرا من بلاد زنفر وكانت(14)
جيوشه منصورة حيث يممت . وهو الذى قتل عليا الفارس المشهور في أغيال
زدم . فأقام سبع سنين وشهرا ثم توفي(15) .

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1) أ : تحجل . ب ، ه ، ء : تحجل .
2) د : حلقهما .
3) ب ، ه ، ء : ما تخلتا به .
4) ب : كرطن كورا . ج : كون كورا . د : كوركورا . ء : كوى كورا .
5) أ ، ب ، ج ، د ، ه ، ء : ثمانى عشرة سنة . وأثبتنا ما نعتقده صحيحا .
6) ب : بابارى .
7) د : ضواحي .
8) أ : برنوا .
9) أ ، ب ، ج ، د ، ه ، ء : فاستعدى .
10) أ : عدو
11) د : وقتتاوا .
12) ب ، ه ، ء : وشلبت .
13) ثم : سقطت من د .
14) أ ، ب ، ج ، د ، ه ، ء : أقبال .
15) ج : سبع سنين وخمسة أشهر .

وفي أيامه اختلت(1) الدولة الغوبرية(2) وضعفت شوكتهم وخرجت عن سلطانهم زنفر . ولما مات ولي ابنه ينف . وفي السنة الأولى من ولايته غزا بعض أرض زنفر . وفتح شاميا(3) وفيها خرج أمير كاشنه كوز حتى وصل إلى أرض بورم(4) ثم مضى إلى غند ففتحها وخربها ثم مر حتى نزل بركن . فبعث(5) السرايا والغارات // فخرج أمير غوبر متأهبا للقائه 84A
حتى وصل إلى محلة الشيخ(6) ثم بدا لأمير كاشنه فرجع فسار أمير غوبر إلى وطنه .

وفي السنة الثانية وقع بين الشيخ وأمير غوبر الخصام فأرسل إليه أن يأتيه فجاءه وقصده إملاك الشيخ فكفاه الله شره . وفيها أنشأ جيشا إلى غنبن(7) ، وكان فيه جماعة من المنتسبين إلى الشيخ فغزاهم(8) وقتلهم وأسرهم . وجعلوا يعرضون لقرية الشيخ ويخوفونهم بمثل ذلك . وفيها هاجر الشيخ من بلد غوبر إلى أطراف بلاد كبن . وجهز إليه أمير غوبر في جيوش لا يحصيها إلا الله فتزاحفوا بكت فهزم الله الكفار وعرب أمير غوبر ورجع ذليلا مغلوبا . وفيها كانت غزوة مينى . وانتقل الشيخ إلى مغابشر من أطراف كبر . وفيها رجع الشيخ من بلاد كبر إلى بلد غوبر . وفتح دان غند(9) وغيرها . وجهز الجيش(10) إلى حصن القاضي(11) وحاصرهم . وفي آخرها انصرف الشيخ إلى بلاد زنفر [فتابع] أهلها .

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1) ج ، د : اختلفت .
2) ب ، هـ : الغوابرية .
3) ب ، ج ، د ، هـ : شامنا .
4) د ، هـ : بوم .
5) ج ، د : فبعث .
6) ويعني بها دغل .
7) ويعني بهم جماعة عبد السلام الذي كان أحد حوايي الشيخ عثمان بن فودي .
8) هـ : فغرهم .
9) ب ، ج ، د ، هـ : دارها .
10) د : وجهز الشيخ .
11) فتابع سقطت من ب . لا يستقيم المعنى بها لذا نعتقد أن المقصود هو فتاب

8B // [وفى السّنة الثّانية من هجرته فتح بلاد كب كلها](1)
وحصونا باغية من زنفر . وفيها انتقل الى كب فنزل بغندد وفى
[السنة الثالثة] كانت وقعة الوسا واستشهد من المسلمين ما لا
يحصى كثرة . وفى السّنة الثالثة فتحت كنو وفتحت حان دوت وفى
السّنة الرابعة فتحت بلاد كشنة . ووقع القتال بين المسلمين وأهل
برنو فتزاحفوا عدة زحفات ينتصر فيها المسلمون .

وفيها كانت غزوة القاضاو الثانية ولم يكن فتح حينئذ . وقتل
من صناديدها ما يزيد على عشرين ترسا . وفتحت مادم وفتحت كنوا
من أطراف كياو وعدة حصون من سائر البلاد . وفى السّنة
9A الخامسة كانت غزوة فتح القاضاو // فأتم الله بذلك للمسلمين
الفتح والنصر والظهور وأزال شوكة الكفر فى سائر البلاد الحوسية
فتاب بعضهم وتاب آخرون . فاستقام أمر البلاد واطمأن جوانبها وللّه
الحمد .

وفيها كانت غزوة بنا وفتح دندر بأسرها . وفى السادسة حاوزت
جيوش الاسلام البحر وفتحت بلادا وحصونا ورجعت سالمة غانمة . وفى
أول السنة السابعة انتقل الشيخ من غندو الى سيفاو . ووصلت الجيوش

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1) ما بين معقوفتين سقط من ب والعبارة من " وفى السنة الثانية من هجرته فتح بلاد كب كلها سقطت من ج د ه ء .
2) د : وفيها الى انتقال .
3) ما بين معقوفتين زيادة من أ .
4) ب ج ه ء : جان دوث .
5) أ : فتزاحفوا .
6) أ : عدة زحفات .
7) ب ه ء : ينتصر فيها المسلمون .
8) د : غزة .
9) ج ه د ه ء : القاضاوا .
10) د ه ء : كنو .
11) ج ه د : القاضاوا .
12) ج : والزال .
13) أ : الحوسويه .
14) ب ه ج ه د ه ء : فتاب الله بعضهم .
15) ب : بين .
16) ب ه ج ه د ه ء : غندد .
17)
18) غانمة : سقطت من ء .
19) أول : سقطت من أ .
20) ب ه ء : غند ج : غند .

إلى زيم وقم وفتحت وغنمت . ووردت(1) أرض نفى فأصابت منها(2) وفتحت برنو بأسرها . وفيها كثرت الفتوحات من بلاد نفى(3) وتكاثرت غنائمها .
9B // وكانت غزوة غوار(4) وفتحها على يد الأمير محمد بل بن الشيخ .
وفى السنة الثامنة(5) أمعنت الجيوش فى بلاد العدو(6) وكثرت الفتوحات وفاضت الأموال والغنائم ووصلت الجيوش إلى أرض(7) كت فلم تفتح . وفى السنة التاسعة قاد موسى أمير زكزك الجيوش فأمعنت جيوشه وفتح كثيرا(8) وفيها جاج أمر صالح بن بابار فتسلطن بأرض(9) نوبر بموالات(10) التوارك(11) ثم أخذ بعد(12) ذلك وصلب(13) . وفى السنة العاشرة خرج حمى بمانفى فادعى المهدية فنال(14) أمره إلى أن أخذ وصلب . وجاج أمر جيلانى فأنكى فى التوارك وقتلهم قتلا ذريعا فى عدة زحفات(15) وأبلى فى الإسلام بلاء(16) حسنا فلله الحمد .
10A وفى السنة الحادية عشر(17) وصل الجيش إلى برغ فانهزم ورجع وكانت فتوح .
وفى السنة الثانية عشر انتقل الشيخ من سيفاو(18) إلى سكت فعمرها ومهدها وصارت قبة الإسلام فى هذه البلاد إلى يوم القيامة . وفى آخرها غزا محمد بن عبد الله بلاد برغ ففتحها(19) وقتل أميرها . وفى السنة الثالثة عشر ابتدأ بالشيخ مرضه الذى توفى منه . وفيها وقع(20) أمر غافر وما جرى

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1) ب : وردت . د : فرجعت دت .
2) فأصابت منها . وفتحت برنو بأسرها وفيها كثرت الفتوحات من بلاد نفى . هذه العبارات سقطت من ب .
3) ب : وتكاثر غنائمها : لان نفر العبارة سترد مؤخرا فى السطر الثانى .
4) ب ج د ه : غوبر .
5) ب : الثامنة .
6) ب ه : كثرة .
7) ب ج د : أرض كت .
8) جاءت ه بزيادة وهى ((وفتح كثيرة الفتوحات وفاضت الاموال والغنائم ووصلت الجيو
9) د : صالح بابارى .
10) ب ج د : فى أرض . ه : فى الارض .
11) د ه : بمولات .
12) ب ج د ه : التوارق .
13) د : وصلى .
14) ب : التوارق . ه : التوارك .
15) ه : وفى عدة .
16) د : زحفات .
17) ب ه : أثنى عشر .
18) ب ه : سيفاوا .
19) ب ج د ه : وفتحها .
20) ه : فيها .

من ذلك . وفى أوائل السنة الرابعة عشر كانت غزوة باناغ(1) فبيت الكفار الجيش ليلاً فانهزم وارتد(2) خائبا(3) .

وفيها سار الجيش الى بلخا فانهزم ورجع وبانت(4) امارات الادبار وتضعضعت(5) الامور(6) // وفيها غزا محمد البخارى بن الشيخ فى السوائل 10B
ففتح وغنم . وفيها فى جمادى الاخرة(7) لثلاث خلت منه توفى الشيخ أمير المؤمنين عثمان بن فودى رحمه الله تعالى ونور ضريحه(8) .

وبويع ابنه الامير محمد بل فى ذلك اليوم . وارتدت أرض زنفر كلها . وفى رجب منها جهز أمير المؤمنين محمد بن الجيوش الى بورم(9) وقاتلها أياما . ثم وردت أمداد باناغ(10) فتزاحفوا(11) وكانت الهزيمة . وفى هذه السنة فى ذى القعدة خرج عبد السلام وبغى الى أن فتح الامير بلده فى آخر صفر . وفى السنة الخامسة عشر ارتدت أرض ركب(12) وخرج غنكى وغنغا(13) بأرض غوبر(14) فانحفل المسلمون(15) منهم . وعظم البلاء بذلك واشتد الخطب وعزموا من جيوش المسلمين فى عدة زحفات .

11A // وفى السنة السادسة عشر اشتد أمر غنغا وعظم به البلاء وهاجت الكفار على المسلمين يقتلون ويأسرون وأخذوا حصونا وبلادا .
وهاجت حرب كلنبينا(16) فانا لله وانا اليه راجعون(17) .

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1) ب : باباغا . ج ، د ، هـ : باناغا .
2) ج ، د : فارتد .
3) د : خائنا .
4) د : باتت .
5) هـ : وتضعفت .
6) العبارات من " وفيها سار الجيش الى بلخا فانهزم ورجع وبانت امارات الادبار وتضعضعت الامور " سقطت من ب .
7) ب : جمادى الاخر . هـ : جمادى الاخر .
8) هـ : ضريحة .
9) هـ : بحرم .
10) ب : ورث .
11) ب : هـ : باناغا .
12) أ : ارتد .
13) ج : وخرج .
14) ب : عك ، ج ، د ، هـ : غنك .
15) د ، هـ : فانجعل .
16) هـ : فانا الله .
17) قرآن ١٥٦ آيه ٢ .

وفى السنة السابعة عشر اشتدت(1) حرب كلنبينا بدّاً وفيها قتل الله غنغا واستراح منه المسلمون . ثم عقبها فتح كداى فخفّ(2) الأمر بذلك وسكنت(3) القلوب . وفى السنة الثامنة عشر فتحت كلنبينا وسار الحيش مع الأمير(4) إلى داكراو(5) فلم ينجع شيئاً فرجع . وكانت الغوابر أمروا(6) عال(7) بن يعقوب المتقدم ذكره فى سلاطين غوبر بعد قتل أميرهم غنكى(8) يوم فتح كداى .

وفى السنة التاسعة عشر سار الحيش إلى داكرو(1) فلم يعمل اليها فرجع وفتح حمنا(10) وفيها تحزب التراى وعليها إبر مع 11Bء الغوابر مع أميرهم عال فوردوا(11) سكت غازين فهزمهم الله ورجعوا خائبين . وفى الخريف منها عاد الجيش إلى داكراو أيضاً فقاتل ولم يكن فتح . وفى سنة عشرين(12) منها رجع الأمير بالحيوش إلى داكراو أيضاً فبلغوا متنكر . ثم بدا لهم فى الرجوع فرجع ولم يصل الى داكراو(13) وغزت الزنافر أطراف غند(14) فانهزموا . وفيها تجهز محمد بن عبد الله والبخارى(15) بالجيوش حتى وردوا بلاد ياور ففتحوا منها . فوصلوا إلى أرض نفى . فلما انقلبوا تلقتهم جنود الزنافر مع ما انضم اليهم من أهل ياور وباسر وغيرهم على حدود بلاد نفى فتزاحفوا بأبيث فاقتتلوا قتالاً شديداً حتى انهزمت الزنافر وركبهم المسلمون وأنهكوهم قتلاً فولوا ورجعوا خائبين خاسرين ورجعت(16) جيوشنا سالمة غانمة ولله الحمد .

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1) ج ، د : اشتد .
2) د : فخلف .
3) د : وسكت .
4) ب : مع أمير .
5) ب ، ج ، د : داكراوا .
6) د : أمر .
7) عال : سقطت من د .
8) ب ، ج ، د ، هـ : غنك .
9) ب ، د : داكراوا .
10) ج : تخزبت . د : وفيها تخزبت .
11) أ : فوردو . هـ : فردوا .
12) أ ، ج ، د : وفى سنة العشرين .
14) أ : داكراو .
15) أ : غند . ب : غند . ج : غند . د : غند . هـ : غند .
16) ب ، هـ : وففتحوا .
17) د : فاصلوا .

// وفى آخرها غـــزا أميرُ المؤمنين بلد آدر فحرقها (١) 12..
وخربها وغنم كثيراً ورجع . وفى السنة الحادية (٢) والعشرين غزا أميرُ
المؤمنين إلى كُنى (٣) وهى قلعة أمير غوير (٤) ، وكان فيها ولم يكن
فتحها . وفيها (٥) وقع الوباء (٦) فى الناس فمات ما لا يحصى من
الخلائق . وفيها خرج عسكر الأمير إلى مَغْرى . وفيها زاحف
[الأمير] (٧) إبرَ والتوارك فهزمهم مرتين .

عند انتهت حوادث هذه السنين وقد بلغت إلى
سنتنا هذه ونسأل الله تعالى فى هذه السنة أن يرزقنا
من خيره وفضله ما تشتهيه الأنفس وتلذ الأعين ويهدينا
لما فيه رشادنا وتوفيقنا إنه ولى ذلك والقادر عليه ومقلب
الأمور ومصرف الدهور . وقد كتبت فى هذا المجموع ما
استحضرته (٨) من أخبار أهل هذه البلاد وحوادثها على
اختصار وتعجل (٩) لضيق الأوقات (١٠) .

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١) أ : فى بلد .
٢) د : الحاديه .
٣) د : كنى .
٤) ج ، د : وهو .
٥) وفيها : سقطت من ج .
٦) أ ، ب ، د ، هـ : الوبا .
٧) الأمير زيادة فى ب ، ج ، د .
٨) ب ، هـ ، : ما استحضرته .
٩) ب : وتعجيل .
١٠) د : الضيق والأوقات .

وصف وتلخيص لـ (قطائف الجنان في ذكر أحوال السودان)

فيما يختص بهذه المخطوطة لقد فشلنا في الحصول على نسخة أخرى بقصد المقارنة والتحقيق ، لهذا إعتمدنا إعتماداً كلياً على نسخة واحدة ، والعيب الرئيسي لهذه النسخة اليتيمة هو عدم إكتمالها ، لقد تكونت لدينا عدة آراء حول هذه النسخة الناقصة التي جمعت من مكتبة الوزير جنيد في السبعينات والتي تتواجد الآن بمركز بحث تاريخ شمال نيجيريا برقم (P.26/4) . تقول إحدى تلك النظريات بأن مؤلف كتاب (قطائف الجنان) لم يستطع أن يكمل كتابة المخطوطة لسبب أو لآخر ، وليس بإمكاننا في الوقت الحاضر الإحاطة به ، وكذلك إحتمال آخر هو أن المؤلف قد أكمل كتابة المخطوطة لسبب أو لآخر ذاع النصف الثاني من المخطوطة ، بعد اشتداد شديد تأكد لنا بأنه لم ير أو يسمع أحد من المؤرخين القدامى أو المعاصرين بهذه المخطوطة ، ويقول الدكتور جنيد وهو فارس في مجال التعرف والتعريف بالمخطوطات بأنه منذ فترة شبابه قد رأى المخطوطة غير المكتملة على حالتها الراهنة .

تتميز هذه المخطوطة بذكر بعض المصادر التي استقت منها المعلومات التاريخية . لقد قمنا بإثبات المصادر التي تحصلنا عليها بعد كد ولاي في دور المخطوطات والمكتبات المختلفة في نيجيريا والمملكة المتحدة ، والسودان في الهوامش .

أما عن موضوع الكتاب فهو محاولة - لم تكتمل - لكتابة التاريخ السياسي والاجتماعي لبلاد السودان أو بصورة أدق محاولة متواضعة لكتابة (الجغرافية التاريخية) لهذا الجزء من الكرة الارضية الذي يمتد من المحيط الاطلنطي إلى بلاد الهند والسند ، بالتركيز على إقليم السودان وكما يذكر المؤلف في مقدمة الكتاب أنه قد (بدا لي أن أجمع كتابا أذكر فيه حدود بلاد السودان من المغرب

الأقصى إلى المشرق الأقصى ومساحتها ثم أخذ بالذكر إقليم التكرور) ومن الناحية الزمنية يتكلم الكتاب عن فترة زمنية بعيدة ترجع إلى ما قبل قيام إمبراطورية غانة . ومن المحتمل أنه من ضمن أغراض كتابه (قطائف الجنان) أن المؤلف كان يهدف كما ذكر في مقدمة الكتاب ان يضيف اضافة جديدة على ما ذكره محمد بل في كتابه (إنفاق الميسور في تاريخ بلاد التكرور) وبالرغم من أن المؤلف في أكثر الأحيان لا يذكر المصادر التي إستقى منها المعلومات الا أن التحقيق قد أثبت بأنه قد أخذ جل معلوماته من كتب الجغرافيين العرب كالادريسي والبكري وخاصة ابن الوردي ، وليس بوسعنا الآن تحديد ما إذا أخذه من هذه الكتب كان مباشرة أو عن طريق مصادر ثانوية .

يظهر أن مؤلف كتاب (قطائف الجنان) كان يهدف الى أن يملأ فراغا كبيرا أحس به في المكتبة التاريخية . يظهر ذلك جليا من قول المؤلف في المقدمة أنه (لما كانت النفوس متشوقة الى ذكر عجائب البلاد وأحوالها ، ونقل ما وقع من أخبارها وأمورها ، وكان ذلك التسجيل مهجورا أهلا في بلادنا السودانية الحوسوية ...)) وربما كان هناك هدف آخر وهو أن المؤلف كان يريد أن يحدد الموقع السياسي والاجتماعي والجغرافي لخلافة صكتو كجزء من العالم الاسلامي الذي تربطها معه أواصر العقيدة ، ويظهر ذلك جليا من المعاناة الكبيرة التي واجهها في إثباته لكينونة الدولة العثمانية .

بسم اللهِ الرحمن الرحيم ، صلى اللهُ على مَنْ لا نبيَّ بعدَه .

" قل لا يَعْلَمُ مَنْ في السمواتِ والأرضِ الغيبَ إلا الله ، وما يَشْعُرون أيَّانَ يُبْعثون "[1] الحمدُ للهِ " غافرِ الذنبِ وقابلِ التوبِ شديدِ العقابِ[2] عالمِ الغيبِ ، راحمِ الشيبِ ، مُنزِّلِ الكتابِ ، ساترِ العيبِ ، كاشفِ الريبِ ، مُذلِّلِ الرقابِ ، مُفيضِ الملهوفِ ، دافعِ الكروبِ ، ربِّ الأربابِ ، خالقِ الخلقِ ، باسطِ الرزقِ ، مُسبِّبِ الأسبابِ ، مالكِ المُلكِ ، مُسخِّرِ الفلكِ ، مُسيِّرِ السحابِ ، رافعِ السبعِ الطباقِ ، مُحيطةٍ على الآفاقِ تخيير [... ...][3] ساطحِ الغبراءِ على مَتْنِ الماءِ ، مُمْسكِه بحكْمتِه على الاضطرابِ " منها خَلقْناكُمْ ، وفيها نُعيدكم ، ومنها نُخرِجكم تارةً أخرى "[4] يومَ الحشرِ والمآبِ .

أحْمَدُهُ وهو المحمودُ بكلِّ لسانٍ ناطقٍ ، وأشكرُهُ وهو المشكورُ في المغاربِ والمشارقِ . وأشهدُ أنْ لا إلهَ الا اللهُ وحدَه لا شريكَ له . شهادةً وكَّدَ الإيمانُ أركانَها ، وشيَّدَ الإيقانُ بنيانَها ، ومهَّدَ الإذعانُ أوطانَها ، وأكَّدَ البرهانُ إيمانَها . وأشهدُ أنَّ محمداً عبدُه ورسولُه المفضَّلُ بمعاني عُلُوِّه ، وبديعِ بيانِه ، ورسولُه الصادعُ بدليلِه وبُرْهانِه ، القائلُ[5] : " زويتْ لي مشارقُ الأرضِ ومغاربُها كشْفاً وأطلاعاً بسرِّه وعيانه " . صلى اللهُ عليهِ وعلى آلِه وأصحابِه وأنصارِه وأعوانِه صلاةً تبلُغُ مَنْ آمنَ بِه غايةَ أمنِه وأمانِه ، وتسكِّنُ روعتَه في الدارين بعفْوِ اللهِ وغفرانِه وسلَّمَ تسْليماً كثيراً .

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١) سورة النمل ، آيه : ٦٥

٢) سورة غافر ، آية : ٣ .

٣) ما بين المعقوفتين غير واضح في المخطوط .

٤) سورة طه ، آية : ٥٥

٥) رواه ابن حنبل وابن ماجه ومسلم وأبو داؤود .

أما بعدُ : فيقول العبدُ الفقيرُ إلى رحمةِ ربِّه القديرِ عبدُالقادرِ بنُ المصطفى بنِ محمدٍ التوروديُّ قبيلةً ونسبًا : لمّا كانتْ النفوسُ متشوقةً إلى ذِكْرِ عجائبِ البلادِ وأحْوالِها ، ونَقْلِ ما وقعَ من أخْبارِها وأُمورِها وكانَ ذلكَ التسجيلُ مُهجورًا أصلاً في بلادِنا السودانيةِ الحوسويةِ هذه ، وذلك من قلة اعتنائهم بأولى العلم والدينِ ورفضِهم لهم من غلبةِ الجهلِ والهوى عليهم ، ونُدْرةِ عُقولهم ولذلك قلَّ أنْ تجدَ في هذهِ البلادِ تسْجيلاً لواحدٍ من عُلمائِهم وفُضلائِهم .

هذا وقد قال الحسن البوسي في المحاضرات : " هذا الاعْتناءُ بالأخْبارِ والوثائقِ والمسانيدِ ضعيفٌ جدًّا في المغاربةِ فغلبَ عليهم في بابِ العِلْمِ الدِّرايةُ دُونَ الروايةِ . وفيما سوى ذلك لا عِمّة لهم . وكان أبو عبدالله محمدُ العربيُّ ابنُ أبي المحاسنِ يَذْكُرُ في كتابِ " مرآةِ المحاسنِ " أنهُ وَهَمَ في المغْربِ من فاضلٍ ضاعَ من قِلّةِ اعتنائِهم بالتاريخِ ونحو ذلك .

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وقدْ سألتُ شيخَنا الأسْتاذَ أبا عبدِاللهِ بنَ ناصرٍ رحمه اللهُ ورضيَ اللهُ عنه يومًا عن السَّندَ في بعضِ ما كنتُ آخذُه عنه فقال لي : " إنا لم تكُنْ لنا روايةٌ في هذا وما كنا نَعْتَني في ذلكَ . وقدْ قال : قضيتُ العجبَ من المشارقةِ واعتنائِهم بمثلِ هذا حتى أنيَ دخلتُ مِصْرَ كانَ كلُّ منْ يأخذُ عنيَ عهدَ الشاذليةِ يَكْتُبُ الوِرْدَ والروايةَ والزمانَ والمكانَ الواقعَ فيه ذلك " انتهى (1) .

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(1) الحسن البوسي : " وهذا الاعتناء بالاخبار والوثائق والمسانيد ضعيف جدا في المغاربة ، فغلب عليهم في باب العلم الاعتناء بالدراية دون الرواية وفيما سوى ذلك لا عمة لهم . وكان أبو عبدالله المذكور يذكر في كفاية مرآة المحاسن انه وهم في المغرب من فاضل ضاع من قلة اعتنائهم وغير ذلك . وقد سألت شيخنا الاستاذ أبا عبدالله بن ناصر رحمه الله ورضي الله عنه يوما عن السند في بعض ما كنت آخذه عنه فقال لي : انا لم تكن لنا رواية في هذا الزمان ، وما كنا نعتني بذلك . قال : وقد قضيت العجب من المشارقة واعتنائهم بأمثال هذا ، حتى اني لما دخلت مصر كان كل من يأخذ عني عهد الشاذلية يكتب الورد والرواية والزمان والمكان الذي وقع فيه ذلك " انظر المحاضرات ، للحسن البوسي أعدها للطباعة محمد حجي ، الرباط ١٣٩٦/١٩٧٦ ، ص ٧٢ ـ ٧٣ .

قلتُ وهذا من حيثُ العلمُ والدينُ والعقلُ فأيُّ شيءٍ نقولُ نحنُ في طرفِ العمارةِ في بلادِ السودانِ التيَّ غلبَ على أهلِها العُجْمَةُ، وظُلُماتُ الجهلِ، والهوى، والكُفْرُ. قال المغيلي[1]: "والغالبُ على أهلِ تلكَ البلادِ الجهلِ والهوى، والكُفْرُ، وأصلهُم كانَ ذلكَ." وقال سيدنا مختار ابن أحمد الكنتي في "النصيحة الكافية": "بَلَدُ السُّودانِ بَلَدٌ غلبَ على أكثرِ أهلِها الكُفْرُ، ومن فيها من المسلمينَ، تحتَ قهرةَ الكَفَرةَ قَدْ اتخذوهم أمراءَ والناسُ يعملونَ بعملِ أميرِهم غالباً، وهُمْ في ظُلماتِ الجهلِ والهوى والكُفْرُ. ولهذا نُهيَ عن السفرِ إلى أرضِ العدوِ وبلادِ السودانِ"[2] وقال شهاب الدين في نسيم الرياض شرح الشفاء: "من أهلِ السودانِ قومٌ مسلمونَ ومنهم كفارٌ يعبدونَ الأشجارَ. ومنهم كفارٌ يعبدونَ الماءَ"[3].

بدا لي أنْ أجمعَ كتاباً أذكرُ فيه حدودَ بلادِ السودانِ من المغربِ الأقصى إلى المشرقِ الأقصى ومسافتَها. ثمَّ أخصُّ بالذكرِ إقليمَ التكرورِ من الجنوبِ السودانيِ منْ بلدِ سنَّارَ إلى ما وراءَ البحرِ بحسبِ المكنةِ لفقدانِ التسجيلِ على ما قدمنا. بل نسجلُ ما حقَّ لنا ذكرُه ونوعٍ غيرِ ذلك. ثم أفردُ باباً حافلاً في ذكرِ الأقاليمِ السبعةِ الحوسويةِ فنفصلُ ما أجملنا ذكرَه في اقليمِ التكرورِ منها، ثم ذكرِ ما وصلَ الينا علمُه من أخبارِ علمائِها وفضلائِها الى حينِنا هذا مختصراً. ولمْ استصبحْ في ذلكَ الا ما أوردَه في إنفاقِ الميسورِ في تاريخِ بلادِ التكرورِ. فعليه العهدةِ أكثرِ ذلك. الا فيما زدناهُ عليه من تعميمِ ذكرِ بلادِ السودانِ وهو اقتصرَ على إقليمِ التكرورِ كما سيأتي بيانه إن شاءَ اللهُ

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١) المغيلي: "والغالب على أهل تلك البلاد الجهل والهوى، وأصلهم كان ذلك" أنظر رسالة المغيلي لأمير كانو محمد رمفا في ضياء السياسات لعبد الله بن فودي تحقيق وتقديم أحمد محمد كاني، زاريا ١٩٨١ (تحت الطبع).

٢) لم أتحصل على هذا المخطوط أو الكتاب. أورد الشيخ عثمان بن فودي نفس العبارة في كتابه "بيان وجوب الهجرة" أنظر: "بيان وجوب الهجرة على العباد" تحقيق وترجمة فتحي حسن المصري، الخرطوم، ١٩٧٧، ص ١٤ــ ١٥.

٣) لم أتحصل على هذا المصدر.

// وكنت بقيت مدة أتردد في الخوض في هذه اللجة لما تقدمنا من ضياع التسجيل في هذه الاقطار السودانية . ثم قوي العزم في الغلب وجرى القدر بإبراز هذا القدر المحتوم ، أعانني الله على تحريره وتهذيبه ووفقني لإكماله ، إنه خير معين ، عليه توكلت وإليه أنيب . (1) وسميته بـ " لطائف الحنان في ذكر أحوال أرض السودان " ورتبته على مقدمة وثلاثة أقانيم .

المقدمة في ذكر مسافة أرض السودان وذكر أحوالها من جهة الإسلام والكفر . والأقنوم (2) الأول : في ذكر حدود بلاد السودان من جهة المغرب الأقصى الى المشرق الأقصى . والأقنوم الثاني : في ذكر حد الإقليم الثاني من الجنوب الغربي من بلاد سنار إلى ما وراء البحر . والأقنوم الثالث : في ذكر ما كان فيها من العلماء والفضلاء من قديم الزمان الى وقتنا هذا . وقد سلكنا في ذلك منهج المؤرخين وأهل السير ، من إيراد الغث والسمين والرخيص والثمين . فليعذر الناظر البصير ، والمنتقد الخبير فقد بان بالعذر بما قدمنا من ضياع التسجيل في هذه البلاد وبحجره أسلا . وغير خاف أن الاستهداف لنقل عجائب البلدان ونقل أخبارها (3) يستدعي باعا ممتدا ونقلا معتمدا ، وإلا فالاحتياط أكلف . لكن أولعت النفوس بنقل الطرائف وحب النوادر من الوقائع ولعمري أن ذلك مما يزيد في جوهر العقل واتقاد الذهن لاستحضار الفكر من ذلك ما وصل إليه علمه . ولم يزل العلماء معتنين بتسجيل التواريخ ونقل الاخبار سلفا وخلفا وقد آن لنا أن نشرع في بسط الكلام على ما فهرسنا عليه المقدمة .

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1) الشورى ، آيه : ٨٨ .

2) الأقنوم : جمع أقانيم ويعني الأصل . أنظر محمد المرتضى الزبيدي ، تاج العروس ، المجلد الثامن ، دار مكتبة الحياة ، بيروت ، بدون تاريخ ، ٣٢٤ .

3) في المخطوط : أخباره ، وأثبتنا الرجيح .

أعلمْ أنَّ مَسَافَةَ بِلادِ السُّودانِ مَسِيرةُ اثنتى عَشْرة سنة(١).

قال القسطلانى فى شَرحِ البُخارىِّ : " حَكَى ابنُ عبدِ البَرِّ فى كِتاب " القَصْدِ والأُمَمِ إلى معرفةِ أنساب الأُمَمِ " أن مِقْدارَ المَعْمُورِ من الأرضِ مائةٌ وعشرون سنة ، تسعون لياجوجَ وماجوجَ واثنتا عشرةَ(٢) للسودانِ ، وثمانيةٌ للروم ، وثلاثةٌ للعرب ، وسبعةٌ لسائر الأُمَمِ "(٣).

وأما حُكْمُها من جهةِ الاسلامِ والكُفرِ فاعلمْ : أنَّ منها بِلادَ الاسلامِ وبِلادَ الكُفْرِ. قال أبو الحَسَنِ المالكى فى تحقيقِ 34
المبانى شَرْحِ الرِّسالةِ عِنْدَ قَوْلِ المُصَنِّفِ : " وتُكْرَهُ التِّجارةُ إلى أرضِ العدوِّ وبلدِ السودانِ ، يَعْنِي الكُفَّارَ منهم وكأنه قال : تُكْرَهُ التجارةُ إلى أرضِ العدوِّ كانوا سُودانًا أو غيرَهُم . ثُمَّ قال : وأمَّا بِلادُ السودانِ فَقِيلَ المُرادُ بِلادُ الكُفْرِ منها(٤) انتهى . قال سَيِّدُنا مُختارُ الكُنْتى فى النصيحةِ الكافيةِ : " بَلَدُ السودانِ بَلَدٌ قَدْ غَلَبَ على أكثرِ أهلِها الكُفْرُ ومَنْ فيها من المُسلمين تَحْتَ قَهْرِ الكَفَرةِ "(٥).

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١) فى المخطوط اثنى عشر سنة . وأثبتنا الصحيح .
٢) فى المخطوط اثنى عشر سنة . والصحيح ما أثبتناه .
٣) القسطلانى : " وفى كتاب الأمم لابن عبد البر أن مقدار الربع العامر من الدنيا مائة وعشرون سنة ، تسعون لياجوج وماجوج وهم أربعون أمة مختلفة الخلقة والقدوة فى كل أمة ملك ولغة . ومنهم من لا يتكلم الا بهمهمة . وذكر الباجى عن عبد الرحمن بن ثابت : ان الارض خمسمائة عام منها ثلاثمائة بحور ومائة وتسعون لياجوج وماجوج وسبع للحبشة وثلاثة لسائر الناس " : ارشاد الساري لشرح صحيح البخارى لأبى العباس شهاب الدين القسطلانى ، المجلد الخامس بيروت ص : ٣٣٦.
٤) لم نعثر على العبارتين فى تحقيق المبانى . أنظر أيضا : " بيان وجوب الهجرة " ص : ١٥ .
٥) لم نحصل على مخطوط أو كتاب للمختار الكنتى بهذا العنوان .

وحكم أحمد بابا بأن : " بلد برنو وكنو وكاشنه وسنغى وسقو زكزك بلاد إسلام لكن بقرب كل منها بلاد فيها كفرة "[1] . قال الشيخ عثمان بعد حكاية العلامة في كتابه " تنبيه الاخوان على أحوال أرض السودان "[2] : " فكلامه مسلم في زمانه في سلاطينها وغير سلاطينها كل عالم يحكم بما علم في زمانه ، لكن لا يلزم أن يكون الأمر كذلك في كل زمان ، لأن الحكم يدور مع علته . فالمعروف في زماننا هذا أن الإسلام المستفيض في هذه البلاد المذكورة في غير سلاطينها وأما سلاطيننا فكفار قطعا "[3] .

ثم قال بعد ذكر ما كفروا به " لكن كلامنا مبني على الغالب المعهود فيهم ولا يمتنع أن يكون بعضهم مسلما على الندور ، ولا حكم للنادر . وفي المنهج المنتخب :

وغالبا غلب على ما ندر * فهو شأن شرعنا فكثرا

وهذا الكلام كله باعتبار ما وجدناهم عليه قبل . وأما الآن فقد قاتلناهم وغزمناهم وقتلنا بعضهم ، وأخرجنا بعضهم من هذه البلاد المذكورة بعون الله تعالى ، وأمسوا فيها أمراء الإسلام . فصارت بلاد الإسلام بلاد خوف . والحمد لله على ذلك "[4] انتهى كلامه .

وحكم أيضا أحمد بابا : بأن بلاد موشي برغ وبلد بسر وبلد غرم وبلد يرب وبلد دمب وبلد كنتل وبلد تنبي وبلد بوبل وبلد غمبى[5] بلاد كفر[6] .

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١) عثمان بن فودى : تنبيه الاخوان على أحوال أرض السودان " مخطوط "
وأحمد بابا : الكشف والبيان عن احوال محبوب السودان " مخطوط " .
٢) تنبيه الاخوان : وكلامه .
٣) أنظر تنبيه الاخوان " مخطوط "
٤) تنبيه الاخوان (" مخطوط "
٥) بلاد موشي تقع الان في بعض أجزاء السنغال وأما برغ فهو اسم لقبيلة ولسلطنة تقع برغ الان في اقليم كوار من جمهورية نيجيريا الاتحادية . وهنالك جزء آخر يقع في جمهورية بنين . بسر : أيضا تقع بالقرب من برغ وتتقاسمها جمهورية نيجيريا الاتحادية وبنين . لم نستطع تحديد أماكن المناطق الاخرى بالضبط . أما عن يرب فهذا اسم لمجموعة قبلية ولاقليم شاسع من اقاليم نيجيريا .
٦) الكشف والبيان الورقة الاولى والثانية انظر أيضا بيان وجوب الهجرة ص ١٣ـ١٤ .

قالَ الشّيخُ عُثمانُ بَعْدَ حِكايةِ : " كلامه في هذه البلادِ مُسَلَّمٌ في سَلاطِينِها ، و غَيْرِ سَلاطِينِها ، لانَّ كُلَّ عالِمٍ يَحْكُمُ بِما عَلِمَ في زَمانِه. 3B // لكنْ لا يَلْزَمُ أنْ يَكونَ الامْرُ كذلِكَ في كُلِّ زمانٍ ، لانَّ الحُكْمَ يَدُورُ مع عِلتِه . فالمعروفُ في زمانِنا هذا أن الإسلامَ مُستفيضٌ في هذه البلادِ المذكورةِ في غيرِ سلاطينِها وأنَّ بعضَ سلاطينِها قد أسْلَمَ (١) . فإن قُلْتَ الإسلامُ المستفيضُ في هذه البلادِ حَصَلَ بالطّوعِ أو باستيلاءِ أحَدٍ عليهم (٢) ، فالجوابُ أنَّ الشيخَ أحمدَ بابَ قالَ (٣) : " انَّ أهْلَ هذهِ البلادِ المذكورةِ أسْلَموا بلا استيلاءِ أحدٍ عليهم ". وقال أيضا : " (٤) والذي يَظْهَرُ مِنْ كلامِ ابنِ خُلْدُونَ وغيرِه أنهم أسْلَموا طَوْعاً ، وقال أيضاً (٥) : " قد أخْبَرَ بعضُ قُضاةِ السُّودانِ أنَّ الإسلامَ الذي اسْتَفْتَحَهم (٦) اخْتارَ ابْقاءَهم ، قال : " أقولُ (٧) بهذا ما سَمِعْنا به أصلاً ولا بلَغَنا . وأسألوا هذا القاضيَ السّودانيَ عن هذا الإمامِ . وفي أيِّ وقتٍ فتحَ بلادَكم وأيَّةَ بلادٍ فتحَ يُعَيِّنْ لكُمْ ذلكَ كُلَّه ، وما أغربَ كلامَه لِعَدَمِ الصِّحَّةِ . فلو بَحَثْتُم الآنَ لا تَجِدُونَ أحداً يُخْبِرُكُمْ بحقيقةِ ما قال . فما انْبَنَى على كلامِه لا يُعْتَبَرُ واللهُ أعلمُ ، ثُمَّ قال بَعْدَ كلامٍ : والذي يَظْهَرُ ويَغْلِبُ على الظَّنِّ أنَّه غيرُ صحيحٍ (٨) " انتهى .

وأما وَقْتُ حُصولِ الإسلامِ في هذه البلادِ المذكورةِ فقَدْ قال الشيخُ عثمانُ في كتابِه : " تنبيهُ الإخوانِ على أحْوالِ أرضِ السُّودانِ : " فإنْ قُلْتَ في أيِّ زمانٍ حَصَلَ إسلامُ هذه البلادِ المذكورةِ ، قُلْتُ لَمْ أقِفْ على نَصٍّ من تَعَرَّضَ لبيانِ تاريخِ وَقْتِ ذلكَ . لكِنْ قال إمامُ الحُفّاظِ وَلِيُّ الدِّينِ ابنُ خَلْدُونَ في التاريخِ الكبيرِ له في ذِكْرِه أخبارَ الدولةِ الحَفْصِيَّةِ بتُونُسَ

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١) تنبيه الاخوان " مخطوط "
٢) تنبيه الاخوان : " في بيان مبدأ اسلام أهل البلد التي استفاض اسلام أهلها في بلاد السودان أهل برنو وكنو وكاسنه وبعض زكزك وسنغى ومللى حصل بالطوع لا باستيلاء أحد عليهم .
٣) تنبيه الاخوان : " فاعلم أن الشيخ أحمد باب قال في كتاب الكشف والبيان لاصناف محلوب السودان
٤) تنبيه الاخوان : " وقال في الكتاب المذكور أيضا في محل آخر " .
٥) تنبيه الاخوان : " وقال أيضا في الكتاب المذكور في محل آخر " .
٦) تنبيه الاخوان : " الذي استفتحهم وهم كفار .
٧) تنبيه الاخوان : " ثم قال الشيخ
٨) تنبيه الاخوان : " ص ٤ . والكشف والبيان : ص ٣ــ ٤ .

ما نصّه : " وفي سنة خمسٍ وخمسين وستمائة وصلت عديدة ملاحٍ كانيم وهو صاحب برنو قبلة طرابلس إلى تونس وفيها الزرافة الحيوان الغريب الخلقة فكان لها بتونس مشهدٌ عظيم "(١) انتهى .

44 // الاقليم الاول في ذكر حدود السودان من المغرب الاقصى الى المشرق الاقصى . أعلم أن السودان عبارة عن الاقاليم الجنوبية في الارض وهو أسود من السواد لغلبته عليهم وهم أمم مختلفة وقبائل متباينة وأقطار متباعدة أخبرنا لم يصل اليه علم الناس لطول المسافة وانقطاع العمران ، لكن نذكر منها ما نقل إلينا خبره ووصل علمه .

فأول بلادهم من المغرب الاقصى أرض مغران(٢) : ومن مدنها المشهورة أوليلن(٣) وهي على شاطئ المحيط ومنها تحمل الملاحة إلى سائر بلاد السودان وسلى وهي مدينة كبيرة(٤) على نهر النيل وهي مجتمع السودان وأعلمها ذوو بأسٍ وشدة ونجدة وملكها مؤمن(٥) .

وتكرور(٦) : وهي في جنوب النيل وغربيه وهي مدن كبيرة وبها أمم عظيمة من السودان وهي مقر ملكهم وبلاد معدن الذهب . ويسافر اليها أهل المغرب بالصوف والنحاس والخرز والودع ولا يجلبون منها الذهب

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١) تنبيه الاخوان ص : " مخطوط " أنظر أيضا الكشف والبيان : ص ٥ ويظهر أن الشيخ عثمان بن فودي قد اقتبس العبارة من الكشف والبيان . انظر ايضا : ابن خلدون ، كتاب العبر ، القاهرة ١٢٨٤هـ المجلد الثاني ص : ٣١٠-٣١١ .

٢) لم أعثر على معلومات عن مغران في كتب الجغرافيين العرب المشهورة .

٣) الادريسي : أوليل .

٤) الادريسي : " فاما جزيرة أوليل فهي البحر وعلى مقربة من الساحل وبها الملاحة المشهورة ولا يعلم في بلاد السودان ملاحة غيرها ومنها يحمل الملح الى جميع بلاد السودان " انظر يوسف كمال

٥) الادريسي : " ثم مدينة سلى على ضفة نهر النيل ولشماله وهي مدينة حاضرة وبها مجتمع السودان ومتاجر صالح وأهلها نجدة . وهي من عمالة التكرور وهو سلطان وله عبيد واجناد " انظر يوسف كمال ص ٨٢٨ .

٦) الادريسي : " ومدينة تكرور أكبر من مدينة سلى وأكثر تجارة واليها يسافر أهل المغرب الاقصى بالصوف والنحاس والخرز ويخرجون منها التبر والخدم " أنظر يوسف كمال ص ٨٢٨ .

العين . ولطم[1]: وهى مدينة متوسطة وعندهم معدن الذهب . وباقى أرض مفران صحارى وبرارى ومفاوز لا عمارة فيها ولا سالك لقلة الماء والمرعى .

أرض ونغره وهى بلاد التبن والطيب وهى جزيرة على ضفة المحيط وطولها ثلاثمائة ميل ، وعرضها مائة وخمسون ميلا . والبحر المحيط بها من جهاتها الثلاث ، والنيل فى زيادته يغطى أكثر هذه الجزيرة[2] . وإذا نقص الماء عنها خرج أهل تلك البلاد فيبحثون فى الارض عن التبر فيحصل لكل واحد منهم ما قسمه الله يخرجون الى التفتيش فقراء فيرجعون وهم أغنياء . ولملكهم أرض مختصة به لا يدخلها إلا حشاده فيجمعون له كنوزا لا توصف فيأتون به الى مدينة سجلمانية[3] من الدرب فيخربونه دنانير .

وسمغال[4] : وهى مدينة متوسطة وفى شمالها قوم يقال لهم نحامة ابن أبى رحالة لا يقيمون فى موضع ويرعون جمالهم وأبقارهم على ساحل نهر يأتى من جهة المشرق ويصب فى النيل ومعاشهم اللحم واللبن والسمك .

وعيناره[5] : وهى مدينة على ضفة النيل وعليها خندق محيط بها . وأهلها ذوو بأس ونجدة وهم يغيرون على بلاد لمام ويأسرون منهم ويبيعون [هم] فى البلاد .

4B أرض الكركر[6] : وهى مملكة عظيمة واسعة ولهم ممالك كثيرة ومدينتهم تسمى باسم اقليمهم كركر وهى على نهر يخرج من ناحية الشمال ويحود عليها[7] بأيام ويعوم فى رمال الصحراء كما يعوم الفرات . وبها من السودان أمم لا

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١) الادريسى : لعلم انظر يوسف كمال ص ٨٢٨ .
٢) الادريسى : بلاد التبر المذكورة الموصوفة به كثيرة وطيبا . وبلاد ونقرة هذه هى بلاد التبر المشهورة بالطيب والكثرة . وهى جزيرة طولها ثلاثمائة ميل وعرضها مائة وخمسون ميلا . والنيل يحيا بها من كل جهة فى سائر السنة " انظر يوسف كمال ص ٨٢٦ .
٣) الصحيح أنها سلجماسة : ويقول البكرى أن مدينة سلجماسة بنيت سنة أربعين . . . وهى فى أول الصحراء لا يعرف فى غربيها ولا قبليها عمران . أنظر : المسالك والممالك للبكرى فى يوسف كمال ص ٧٣٣ .
٤) لم أعثر على معلومات عن هذه المنطقة .
٥) لم أحصل على معلومات عن هذه المنطقة .
٦) لم أحصل على معلومات عن هذه المنطقة .
٧) فى المخطوط .

تُحصى وملكهم عظيمُ الشأنِ كثيرُ الجنودِ ولهم زيٌّ (1) وسليهم الذهبُ الإبريزُ الا العوامُ فإنَّ لباسَهم الجلودُ المدبوغةُ . وهى متصلةٌ ببلادِ معادنِ الذهبِ . يُقالُ إنَّ الأرضَ عندهم كلَّها ذهبٌ ولهم خطٌّ لا يُجاوزه مَنْ وصلَ اليهم من التجّارِ ومعه متاعٌ ولكنْ إذا وصلوا إلى الخطِّ وضعوا متاعَهم عليه فيجدون عندَ كلِّ متاعٍ شيئًا مِنَ الذهبِ فإن رضِىَ أحدهم أخذَ الذهبَ وتركَ المتاعَ وإنْ لم يرضَ تركَ المتاعَ والذهبَ إلى غدٍ . فاذا كانَ الغدُ وجدَ الزيادةَ عندَ متاعِه فانْ رضِىَ رفعَ الذهبَ وانْ لم يرضَ تركَه إلى ثلاثةِ أيامٍ ، فمَنْ وجدَ الزيادةَ أخذَ الذهبَ والا رفعَ متاعَه وتركَ الذهبَ وأخذَ الذهبَ مِنْ غيرِ زيادةٍ . وهكذا تفعلُ تجارُ الزنجِ . وربّما يتأخرُ بعضُ التجّارِ بعدَ فراغِه مِنَ البيعِ والمفاوضةِ ويضعُ النارَ فى الأرضِ فيسيلُ منها الذهبُ فيسرقُه ويهربُ . فإنْ فطنوا به خرجوا فى طلبِه فإنْ أدركوه قتلوه البتّةَ . وبأرضِ الزنجِ عودٌ ينبتُ يسمّى عودَ الحيةِ خاصيّتُه اذا وُضِعَ على حجرٍ فيه حيّةٌ خرجتْ مسرعةً وإنْ أمسكَها بيدِه فلا تضرُّه أبدًا .

أرضُ الدمدم (2) : يُسارُ إليها مِنْ بركر على شاطئِ البحرِ مشرقًا وهى مملكةٌ عظيمةٌ ولها ممالكُ كثيرةٌ وجنودٌ وشدّةٌ ونجدةٌ (3) ولها ملكٌ وتحتَ يدِه ملوكٌ . وفى مملكتِه قلعةٌ عليها سورٌ وفى أعلاها صورةُ امرأةٍ يتألهون لها ويعبدونها ويحجّون إليها . وهم أمّةٌ كالبهائمِ مهملونَ فى أديانِهم وكلُّهم عُريانٌ يأكلُ بعضُهم بعضًا .

أرضُ غانة : وهى شمالى أرضِ مغران وهى مدينةٌ عظيمةٌ سُمّيتْ باسمِ إقليمِها وهى أكبرُ بلادِ السودانِ وأوسطُها متجرًا (4) . وهم فى سَعَةٍ من المالِ وهى مدينتانِ على ضفتى البحرِ وتقصدُها التجارُ من سائرِ البلادِ وأرضُها كلُّها ذهبٌ ظاهرٌ .

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١) رسمها يعنى بالكلمة (زى) وتعنى الزينة .
٢) لم أتعرف على هذه المنطقة فى كتب الجغرافيين العرب المشهورة .
٣) يظهر أن هناك كلمات قد سقطت من المخطوط لان العبارة على وضعها الحالى غير مستقيمة .
٤) فى المخطوط أوسط متجرا .
د) الادريسى : " وغانة مدينتان على ضفتى البحر الحلو وهى أكبر بلاد السودان قطرا وأشرها خلقا واوسعها متجرا " انظر يوسف كمال ص ٨٢١ .

5A // ولهم فيها زوارق عظيمة وأهلها يستخرجون الذهب ويضعونه كاللبن، ويسافر اليها التجار من سلحمانية فى مفازة نحو اثنى عشر يوما لا يجدون الماء فيها ويحملون اليها التين والملح والنحاس والودع ولا يحملون منها الا الذهب العين، ولها ملك ضخم وله جنود وعدد . ولها ممالك عديدة فيها ملوك من تحت يده . وله قصر عظيم عائل . وفى قصره تبرة واحدة من الذهب كالصخرة العظيمة وهى خلقة الله . وفيها ثقب كالمربط ، وهو مربط فرس الملك ويقال أن ملكها مسلم .

أرض كمنودية[1] : وهى شمال أرض مفران متصلة بالمحيط وشرقها صحراء وبهذه الصحراء حيات طوال القدود غلاظ الأجسام فى غلظ الخروف السمين وطول الرمح وأطول، وأقصر يصيدها السودان ويسلخونها ويطبخونها بالملح والشبح ويأكلونها وبها جبل قابان وهو عال جدا ويقال ان السحاب تمر دونه وليس به شئ من نبات وعليه أحجار لماعة اذا طلعت الشمس تكاد تخطف الأبصار وليس لأحد سوى الى الوصول الى ذروته ولا سفحه لانه أعلى وفى أسفله عيون عذبة كأن مياهها قد شيب بالعسل .

أرض الكانم : وهى أرض منبسطة واسعة على شاطئ النيل وأهلها مسلمون الا القليل منهم وهى على مذهب الامام مالك .

أرض النوبة : أرض واسعة واقليم كبير ومسيرة مملكتهم ثلاثة أشهر وهى حدود مصر ، وكثيرا ما يغزوهم عسكر مصر . ويقال ان لقمان الحكيم الذى كان مع داؤد عليه السلام وهو المذكور فى القرآن العظيم من النوبة وأنه ولد بأيلة ومنها ذو النون المصرى رضى الله عنه وبلال خادم النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم ومؤذنه . وعندهم معادن الذهب ودينهم النصرانية وملكهم ملك جليل كبير الجنود والحشود . وهم فرقتان ، فرقة يقال لها علوة[2] ومدينتهم العظيمة وبلولة : وهى مدينة عظيمة وبها من السودان أمم لا تحصى . والفرقة الأخرى يقال لها النوبة[3] ومدينتهم العظمى دونقلة وهى وبلولة على ضفة النيل من غربيه وأعلها أحسن السودان وجها وأغانمهم شكلا .

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١) لم أتعرف على هذه المنطقة .
٢) فى المخطوط : يقال لهم .
٣) فى المخطوط : يقال لهم .

وفى بلادهم الفيلة والزرافات والقردة والغزلان[1] . ومن مدن النوبة المشهورة نوابيه[2] ويقال لها نوبه وهى مدينة وسط، بينها وبين النيل أربعة أيام . // وشربُ أهلها من الآبار . وفى نساء هذه المدينة 5B
الجمال الفائق فى الحسن الكامل ولهن حسن النطق وحلاوة اللفظ وليب النغمة . وليس فى سائر السودان من شعورهم سيلة غيرهم، وبعض الهنود وبعض الحبوش[3] لا غير . وقيمة الجارية الحسناء منهن ثلاثمائة دينار وما فوقها[4] .

وحكى أنه كان عند الوزير أبى الحسن المعروف بالمصطفى جارية منهن لم ير أكمل منها قدًا ولا أحسن خلقًا، ولا أملح ولا أنعم شكلًا، ولا أنعم جسمًا، ولا أحلى منطقًا ولا أتم محاسن، كانت إذا تكلمت سحرت الألباب بمنطقها وحلاوة ألفاظها . فاشتراها الصاحب بن عباد منه بأربعمائة دينار وأحبها حبًا عظيمًا . ومدحها فى بعض أشعاره . وقيل عنه إنه قبل اشترائها كانت همته قد ذهبت وشهوته قد انقطعت فلما اشتراها وضاجعها انتعشت شهوته، ولهفت همته[5] وتراجعت قوته بأطيب ما وجد عندها [...][6] وهى مدينة كبيرة على البطيحة التى تجتمع بها ماء النيل وعلى ضفة هذه البطيحة صنم كبير من حجر رافع يده الى صدره يقال إنه كان رجلًا ظالمًا فمسخه الله حجرًا .

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1) الادريسى : " وفى بلادهم الزرافة والفيلة والغزلان " يوسف كمال ص ٨٢٦ .
2) الادريسى : " ومن مدينة تاجوه الى مدينة نوابيه ثمانى عشرة مرحلة واليها تنسب النوبة ولها عرفوا . وهى مدينة صغيرة ومنها الى النيل اربعة أيام وشرب اهلها من الابار " انظر يوسف كمال ص ٨٢٦ .
3) الحبوش : جمع حبشى .
4) الادريسى : " وجميع بلاد النوبة فى نسائهم الجمال وكمال المحاسن وشفاههن رقاق وأنوفهن صغار ومباسمهن بيض وشعورهن سبطة وليس فى جميع أرض السودان من المفازة ولا من الدانيين ولا من الكانميين ولا من البجا ولا من الحبشة والزنج قبيل شعور نسائهم سبطة مرسلة الا ما كان منهن من نساء البجة " أنظر يوسف كمال : ص ٨٢٦ .
5) لهفت عنا بمعنى ازدادت .
6) ما بين المعقوفتين غير واضح فى المخطوط وهى مدينة طمرى التى ذكرها ابن الوردى والتى وصفها ابن المصطفى بنفس العبارات . أنظر مصطفى محمد سعد، مجموعة النصوص والوثائق العربية بتاريخ السودان فى العصور الوسطى الخرطوم، ١٩٧٢ ص ٣٧٣ .

ويلاقا[1] وهى مدينة كبيرة وهى مجتمع تجار النوبة وتجار الحبشة ومن يلاق الى جبل الجنادل ستة أيام[2]. والى هذا الجبل تصل مراكب مصر والسودان[3].

الحبشة: وبلادهم تقابل بلاد الحجاز، وبينهم البحر وأكثرهم نصارى وهى أرض طويلة عريضة ممتدة من شرقى النوبة الى جنوبيها وهم الذين ملكوا اليمن قبل الإسلام فى أيام الاكاسرة. وخصيان الحبشة أفضل الخصيان وفى نسائهم أيضا جمال وحلاوة وحسن نغمة. ومن مدنها المشهورة كعبر وهى مدينتها العظمى، وهى دار مملكة النجاشى[4]. وبها من شجر الموز كثير وأهل تلك البلاد لا يأكلون الدجاج ولا الموز أصلا.

أرض الزيلع: وهى تجاور الحبشة من الجنوب وأهلها أمم عظيمة[5] والغالب عليهم دين الاسلام والصلاح والانقياد[6] الى الخير.

والبجة وهى تجاور الحبشة من الشمال وهى بين الحبشة والنوبة وهم شديدو السواد، عراة الاجسام، يعبدون الاوثان ولهم عدة ممالك ولهم أنس وحسن تلطف مع التجار. وفى بلادهم معدن الذهب

64 // وليس بأرضهم قرى ولا خصب وانما هى بادية جدبة تمتد التجار منها الى وادى العلاقى وهو واد له خلق كثير كالبلد الجامع. وفيه آبار عذبة يشربون منها. ومعدن الذهب عندهم متوسط. وصحراء لا جبل

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١) الصحيح أنها بلاق ويصفها الادريسى بما يلى: "وبلاق من مدن النوبة وهى بين ذراعين من النيل وأهلها متحضرون. ومدينة بلاق يجتمع تجار النوبة والحبشة وتجار ارض مصر يسافرون اليها اذا كانوا معهم فى صلح وهدنة. انظر يوسف كمال: ص ٨٣٠.

٢) الادريسى ومن بلاق الى جبل الجنادل ست أيام فى البحر. أنظر يوسف كمال المصدر نفسه.

٣) نعتقد أن كل المعلومات عن النوبة منقولة عن كتاب "خريدة العجائب وفريدة الغرائب" لابن الوردى. انظر مسعد ٣٧٢ـ ٣٧٣.

٤) المسعودى: فاما الحبشة فاسم دار مملكتهم كعبر وهى مدينة عظيمة وهى دار مملكة النجاشى: انظر المسعودى: مروج الذهب، المجلد الثالث.

٥) فى المخطوط: وهم أمم عظيمة.

٦) فى المخطوط: الانقياط: والصحيح ما أثبتناه.

حوله تلّ رمال لينة وسباسب سيالة[1] واذا كان أول الليالي الشهر العربي خافق الطلاب في تلك الرمال فينزون التبر بين الرمال فيعلمون مواضعه فيجرّ كلهم الى الكوم الرمل الذي علمه فيحمله على هجينة ويمضي إلى الآبار فيغسله ويستخرج منه التبر ويلقه بالزيبق، ثم يسكنه في البواتق[2]. فمن ذلك بلاغهم ومعاشهم. وقد[3] اضاف اليهم جماعة من العرب من ربيعة بن نزار وتزوجوا منهم.

عيذاب : وما يتصل بها من الصحراء المنسوبة اليها : وليس لها طريق معروف الا رمال ولا يستدل عليها بالجبال والكدى[4]. وربما أخطأها الدليل وهو ماهر. وعيذاب مدينة حسنة وهي مجتمع التجار برا وبحرا. وأهلها يتعاملون بالدراهم عددا ولا يعرفون وزنا وبها وال من قبل البجة ووال من قبل سلطان مصر يتسمون جبايتها نصفين. وبينها وبين الحجاز عرض البحر. وبين البجة وبين النوبة قوم يقال لهم البليون أهل حزم وشجاعة يهابهم كل من حولهم من الامم وبها دولتهم وهم نصارى وخوارج[5] على مذهب اليعقوبية.

أرض البربر : وهي تتصل بأرض النوبة على البحر وهي مقابلة اليمن وبها قرى عامرة متصلة[6] وبها جبل يقال له قانونى[7] وهو جبل له سبعة رؤوس

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١) الادريسي : " وتجاور أرض الحبشة في جهة الشمال أرض البجة وهي بين الحبشة والنوبة وأرض الصعيد. وليس بأرض البجة قرى ولا خصب. وانما هي بادية جدبة. ومجتمع أهلها ومقصد التجار منها الى وادي الخلاقي واليه ينجلب أهل الصعيد وأهل البجة. وهو واد فيه خلق كثير وجمع غزير. والعلائق في ذاته كالقرية الجامعة والماء بها من آبار عذبة ومعدن النوبة المشهور متوسط في ارضها صحراء لا جبل حوله وانما هي رمال لينة وسباسب سائلة. انظر يوسف كمال ص ٨٣٠.

٢) أظنها البواتق جمع بوتقة والتي يستقيم المعنى معها يفسر معنى بوتقة.

٣) جميع المعلومات عن أرض البجة منقولة حرفيا من ابن الوردي. انظر مسعد ص ٣٧٣ـ ٣٧٤.

٤) الكدى هي الأراضي المسطحة الصخرية الجرداء.

٥) الادريسي : " وبين أرض النوبة وأرض البجة قوم رحالة يقال لهم البليون ولهم صرامة وعزم وكل من حولهم من الامم يهادونهم ويخافون ضررهم وهم نصارى خوارج على مذهب اليعقوبية" يوسف كمال : ص ٨٣٠. انظر ايضا ابن الوردي في مسعد ص ٣٧٤ والمعلومات منقولة حرفيا من ابن الوردي.

٦) الادريسي : " ويتصل بأرض الحبشة على البحر بلاد بربرة وهم تحت طاعة الحبشة وهي قرى متصلة : يوسف كمال : ص ٨٣١.

٧) الادريسي : حافوني : يوسف كمال : ص ٨٣١.

خارجة وعلى رؤوس هذه الجبال بلاد صغيرة يقال لها الهاوية[1]. وبعض أهل البربر يأكلون الضفادع والحشرات والقاذورات ويتصيدون في البحر عوما بشباك صغار[2].

ويلي هذه الارض أرض الزنج وهي تقابل أرض السند وهم أي أهل الزنج أشد السودان سوادا وكلهم يعبدون الاوثان، وهم أهل بأس وقساوة ويحاربون راكبين على البقر. وليس في بلادهم خيل ولا بغال ولا جمال. قال المسعودي: "ولقد رأيت هذه البقر تبرك كما تبرك الجمال ويحملونها ويشون[3] كالجمال[4]. ومساكنهم من حد الخليج المنصب الى أرض سفالة الذهب والورق. وأرضهم واسعة وقراهم عامرة. وهي أرض كثيرة الذهب والخصب والعجائب. // ولا يوجد البرد عندهم أصلا ولا المطر وكذلك 6B غالب بلاد السودان وليس لهم مراكب بل تدخل اليهم المراكب من عمان[5]. والتجار يسرون أولادهم ويبيعونهم بالتمر في البلاد. وأهل بلاد الزنج كثيرون في العدد قليلون في العدد[6]. ويقال أن ملكهم يركب في ثلاثمائة ألف راكب على البقر. والنيل ينقسم فوق بلادهم عند جبل المقسم. وأكثرهم يحددون أسنانهم ويبردونها حتى ترق. ويبيعون أنياب الفيلة وجلود النمور والحرير. ولهم جزائر يخرجون منها الودع ويتحلون به ويبيعون فيما بينهم بثمن له قدر. ولهم ممالك واسعة.

أرض الدمادم[7]: وبلادهم على النيل مجاورة الزنج. والدمادم مهملون في أمر أديانهم. وفي بلادهم الزرافات الكثيرة. وفيها يفترق النيل إلى أرض

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1) الادريسي: ويبتدأ منها جبل حافوني وهو جبل له سبعة رؤوس خارجة ويمتد تحت الماء في البحر اربعة واربعين ميلا وتلي رؤوس هذا الجبل بلاد صغار كالقرى يقال لها الهاوية. يوسف كمال ص ٨٣١.

2) الادريسي: "وأهلها يأكلون الضفادع والاخناشر وأشياء من القاذورات التي يتعاف الناس اكلها". يوسف كمال ص ٨٣١.

3) في المخطوط: ويشون.

4) المسعودي: "ولقد رايت بالري نوعا من هذا البقر يبرك كما يبرك الجمل ويثور بحمله كما يثور الابل": انظر المسعودي: مروج الذهب، المجلد الثالث ص ٢٧.

5) الادريسي: "وليس للزنج مراكب يسافرون فيها وانما تدخل المراكب من عمان وغيرها الى الزنج". انظر يوسف كمال ص ٨٣١.

6) الادريسي: "واهل بلاد الزنج كثيرو العدد قليلو العدد". يوسف كمال ص ٨٣١.

7) لم أتعرف على موقع هذه المنطقة.

مِصْرَ والى جهةِ الزنج ، أرضُ سفالةِ الذهبِ وهى تجاورُ أرضَ الزنجِ من المشرقِ . وهى أرضٌ واسعةٌ وبها جبالٌ[1] فيها معادنُ الحديدِ ويستخرجُ أهلُ تلك البلادِ . والهنودُ يأتونَ إليهم ويشترونَ منهم ذلك بأوفرَ منه مع أن فى بلادِ الهنودِ معادنَ حديدٍ ، لكنَّ معادنَ سُفالة أطيبُ وأرداب . والهنودُ يصنعونه أى الحديد وبهذه البلادِ معادنُ السيوفِ الهنديةِ وغيرِها . ومن عجائبِ أرضِ السفالةِ أنَّ بها التبرَ الكثيرَ ظاهرٌ أزنةَ تبرة مثقال الآن وثلاثة ، وأكثرُهم مع ذلك لا يتحلونَ الا بالنحاسِ ويفضلونه على الذهبِ[3] . وأرضُ السفالةِ متصلةٌ بأرضِ الواق الواق[4] .

وأرضُ السند : وهى اقليمٌ عظيمٌ مجاورُ البحرينِ غربىِ الهندِ . وهى قسمانِ : قسمٌ على جانبِ البحرِ ويُقالُ لتلك البلادِ ألمان ، والمسلمون غالبونَ على هذا القسمِ . ومن مُدنه المشهورة : المنصورةِ . وهى مدينةٌ طولُها [وعرضها][5] ميلٌ وبها خلقٌ كثيرٌ وتجارةٌ كثيرةٌ . والارزاقُ بها دارةٌ . ووزنُ درهم خمسةُ دراهمَ وليس بها الا النخلُ والقصبُ وتفاحُ الحموضةِ ، وهى مدينة حارة جدا[6] .

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١) فى المخطوط : جبل ، وأثبتنا الصحيح .

٢) الادريسى : " وذلك ان بلاد سفالة يوجد فى جبالها معادن الحديد الكثيرة واهل حزائر الزانج وغيرهم من ساكنى الجزائر المحيطة معهم يدخلون اليهم ويخرجون من عندهم الى سائر بلاد الهند وجزائرها ويبيعونه بالثمن الجيد لان بلاد الهند اكثر تعرفهم وتجارتهم بالحديد ومع ذلك وان كان الحديد موجودا فى جزائر الهند ومعادنه ففى سفالة الذهب هو اكثر واطيب وارداب . لكن الهنديين يحسنون ترتيب اخلاط الادوية التى يسكبون بها الحديد اللين فيعود هنديا ينسب الى الهند " .

٣) الادريسى : " وبجبل سفالة يوجد التبر الذى لا يعدله شئ من التبر فى الطيب والكثرة . وهم مع هذا يفضلون النحاس على الذهب ومنه حليهم " يوسف كمال ، ٨٣١ـ٨٣٢ .

٤) الادريسى : " ويتصل بارض سفالة ارض الواق الواق " يوسف كمال ، ٨٣٢ .

٥) نعتقد أن كلمة عرضها سقطت من المخطوط

٦) "Mansura is about a mile in length and the same in breadth. It has a hot climate and grows date palms in abundance and has sugar-cane. As for fruits, they have none except a kind of fruit about the size of an apple which they call al-yamuna. It has an extremely sour taste. They have another fruit which resembles peach and is similar to it, in taste.

See

Al-Sharif Al-Idrisisi, India and the neighbouring teritories by S. Maqbul Ahmad, Leiden, 1960, p. 42.

وسميت هذه المدينة بالمنصورة لأن أبا جعفر المنصور الخليفة من بني العباس بنى اربع مدن على أربع طوالع يقال إنها لا تخرب بخراب الدنيا وهي المنصورة وبغداد بالعراق المطلة على بحر الشام والرفة (١) بأرض الجزيرة (٢) .

ومنها المولتان ويقال لها الملبان . وهي مجاورة بلاد الهند وبها صنم كبير يعظمه أهل الهند والسند ومن في أقاليمهم . ويحجون إليه ويتصدقون عليه بأموال جمة وحلي وجواهر (٣) وله خدام . يزعمون أن لهذا الصنم مائتي ألف سنة يعبد . وعيناه جوهرتان لا قيمة لهما . وعلى بابها إكليل من ذهب مرصع بأنواع الجواهر الفاخرة (٤) .

أرض الهند : أرض واسعة عظيمة في البر والبحر والجنوب والشمال وملكهم يتصل بملك الزنج (٥) في البحر وهي مملكة المهراج (٦) . ومن عادة أهل الهند أنهم لا يملكون عليهم ملكا حتى يبلغ أربعين سنة ولا يكاد يظاهر الملك للناس أبدا (٧) . وللهند ممالك كثيرة . فمنها مملكة المناكين ومملكة لهاون ومملكة الفتوح وهي مملكة عظيمة واسعة ولأهلها أصنام 7A

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(١) الادريسي : الرفيعة Al-Rafia

(٢) "Mansura is a new town. It was built by al-Mansur, Abbasid dynasty in the early period of his reign. It was therefore named after him. This King who bore the title of al-Mansur, built four towns in accordance with four auspicious stars, having observed by his knowledge of this science that they would never be ruined. One of these four towns is Baghdad in Iraq, then this al-Mansura is send then al-Massusa on the coast of Syrian sea and al-Rafiqa in al-Jazira.
See Ibid., pp. 42 - 43

(٣) المسعودي : " وفيه على ما ذكرنا الصنم المعروف بالمولتان يقصده السند والهند من أقصى بلادهم بالنذور من الأموال والجواهر والعود وانواع الطيب" أنظار المسعودي : مروج الذهب م ١ ص ٣٧٦ .

(٤) الادريسي : "It has an idol highly venarated by the people of India. They travel from the remote control parts of their country to perform pilgrimage to it. They offer abundant riches to it and large quantity of ornaments, perfumes and other things beyond description. It has its attendants and devotes who dwel there. It has two precious stones for its two eyes and its head covered with a crown of gold inlaid with gems.
See al-Sharif al-Idirisi op cit.

(٥) المسعودي : الزابج : أنظار مروج الذهب ص ١٦٢ـ١٦٣ .

(٦) المسعودي : "وارض الهند ارض واسعة في البر والبحر والجبال وملكهم متصل بملك الزابج وهي دار مملكة المهراج" مروج الذهب م ١ ص ١٦٢ـ ١٦٣ .

(٧) المسعودي : " ولهذا لا تملك الملوك حتى يبلغ من عمره اربعين سنة ولا تكاد ملوكهم تظاهر لعوامهم الا في كل برهة من الزمان معلومة" أنظار مروج الذهب م ١ ص ١٦٧ .

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