A CRITICAL EDITI0N, TRANSLATION AND COMMETRY OF SHAIKH UTHMAN B. FODI'S WORKK: IRSHAD AL-IKHWAN ILA AHKAM KHURUJ AL-NISWAN

BY

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D E C L A R A T I O N

I hereby declare that this Thesis has been written by me and that it is a report of my research work. It has not been presented in previous applications for a Higher Degree. All quotations are distinguished by quotation marks and the sources are specifically acknowledged by means of reference.

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C E R T I F I C A T I O N

This Thesis report titled - A Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary of Sheikh 'Uthman b. Fudi's work: Irshad al-Ikhwan ila Ahkam Khuruj Al-Niswan by YAHYA SULEMAN meets the regulations governing the award of degree of Master of Education of the Ahmadu Bello University and is approved for its contribution to knowledge and literacy presentation.

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D E D I C A T I O N

This Thesis is Dedicated

TO

ALLAH AND HIS PROPHET.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

All praise be to Allah the Lord and Sustainer of all the worlds, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. May His benedictions, peace and blessings be on His Messenger, the Prophet Muhammad, together with his household, companions and those who follow Allah's guidance until the Day of Judgement, Amin.

I shall always remain indebted to my parents for their role in my upbringing, general education and their encouragement to take teaching profession and from which arouse my interest and ability to write this Thesis. May Allah have mercy on them and reward them together with my other teachers.

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To all I am indebted, a debt which one acknowledges with both delight and pride. I can only say in the words of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) JAZAKAL LAHU KHAIRAN, May Allah reward you all in the best manner, Amin.

(YAHAYA SULEMAN)

A B S T R A C T

This research is a critical edition, translation arid commentary of the Irshad al-1 kiiwan ilg Ahkarri Khuru.i al-Niswan (Guidance to brethrens on the rules concerning the outing of women). This litrary work is one of the few works of Sheikh Uthman b. Fodi on women activities. It discusses conditions which allow women to go out of their homes. Some of these conditions are:- Their going to the Mosque for the five daily prayers; their going to the market; their outing to ease themselves; their outing for marriage and naming coremonies and other.

In order to support his views, the Sheikh had quo bed Qur'an, Hadith and Fiqh books. However, the conditions discussed are by no means exhustive, but they are the most important.

A closer study of the conditions shows that a woman is not allowed to go out just because she wanted to satisfy any of the above needs but when there is no body to assist. The exception may be going out to ease her self, going to the Mosque for the congregational daily prayers, search for knowledge, and pilgrimage. However, at a closer observation, most of these could be dispensed with. The case of prayers in the Mosque is not all that important for, it is preferable for a woman to say her prayers in her room than in the Mosque; on the issue of her education, if her husband performed his role accordingly she may not need to go out to search for knowledge; partaining to pilgrimage, if an individual satisfies its conditions, it becomes

incumbent on him to p>sra it himself.

He cannot deligate some one to represent him except in exceptional circumstances, A woman cannot travel to Makkh (for pilgrimage) without her husband or a guardian who cannot legally many her. The last case is when she wants to ease herself, Al-hamdu Lillah, today most houses are equiped with toilet facilities hence there is no reason for women to go out for the purpose of easing themselves, and thus the unnecessary movement of women is checked.

The reasons for restricting them are to create a society free from immorality and other evils which are against social stability.

It should be noted that the restriction is not akin to imprisonment, women are free to go out if they have sufficient reasons. In fact, it is because they are allowed to go out that these conditions are put before them. However, when they have to go out they should do so fully dressed *according to* Islamic injunctions.

This research work consists of five chapters. The first chapter deals with the background of the study, statement of the problem, significance of the problem and the research objectives. Chapter two deals with, literature review. Chapter three covers the methodology, scope and limitation of the study.

Chapter four deals with the translation or the Irshnd al-Ikhwan, and the notes that follow. Chapter Five deals with the edited Arabic text of the Irshad al-Ikhwan and Conclusion, Suggestions, Glossary a Bibliography form the concluding part of the study.

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There is no commonly accepted system of transiliterating the Arabic language into a European alphabet. In the following pages I have adopted the transcription system used in the New Edition of Encyclopeadia of Islam. I have used the following characters except where I quote otherwise.

ARABIC LETTERS	NAME	TRANSCRIPTION
ا	Alif	'
ب	ba	b
ت	ta	t
ث	tha	th
ج	jim	j
ح	ha	ḥ
خ	kha	kh
د	dal	d
ذ	dhal	dh
ر	rā	r
ز	zay	z
س	sin	s
ش	shin	sh
ص	sad	ṣ
ض	dhad	ḍ
ط	ta	ṭ
ظ	za	ẓ
ع	'ayn	c
غ	ghayn	gh
ف	fa	f

ARABIC LETTERS	NAME	TRANSCRIPTION
ق	qaf	q
ك	kaf	k
ل	lam	l
م	mim	m
ن	num	n
هـ	ha	h
و	waw	w
ى	ya	y

LONG VOWELS		SHORT VOWELS	
ا	a	ـَ	a
و	u	ـُ	u
ى	i	ـِ	i

Defination of Terms and Abbreviations

(a) **Definations:**

1. The Sheikh: used in this Thesis refers to Sheikh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī
2. Edition: mean, the collation of the four manuscripts in this Thesis of the Irshād al-Ikhwān.

(b) **Abbreviations of Biblographies:**

1. Abdul Bāqī:- Sharh al-Mukhtasar
2. Bayān:- Bayān wujūb al-Hijrah 'alā L-ʿIbād
3. Īda' al-Nusūkh: Īda' al Nusūkh man Akhadtu min al-Shuyūkh.
4. Ihyā':- Ihya' 'Ulūm al-Dīn.
5. Infāq: Infāq al-maysūr fī Tārīkh Bilād al-Tukūr
6. Irshād Ahl tafrīt: Irshād Ahl Tafrīt Wa L'ifrāt ilā sawā' al-sirāt
7. Irshād al-Ikhwān: Irshād al-Ikhwān ilā Ahkām Khuruj al-Niswān.
8. Irshād al-Sarī: Irshād al-Sarī li-Sharh Sahīn al-Bukhārī
9. Al-Kawākib al-Durriyah: Al-Kawākib al-Durriyah fī Tarājim al-Sadāt al-Sūfīyyah
10. Al-Kharāshī: Fath al-Jalil Sherh Mukhtasar Sayyid Khalil
11. Lawwāqih al-Anwār: Lawāqih al-Anwār fī Tabaqāt al-Akhayār
12. Madkhal: kitāb al-Madkhal fi Tanmiyat al-ʿamal Tahsīn al-Niyyat

13. Al-Mi'yār: Al-Mi'yār al-Mu'rib an fatawa al-Ifrīqiyyah wal-Maghrib

14. Shabrakhitī: Sharh al-Mukhtasar

15. Tanbīh al-Ikhwān: Tanbīh al-Ikhwān alā al-Jawāz ittikhādh-al- Majlis lī-ta'līm al-Niswān 'ilm furūd al-A'yān.

16. Withīqat l'al-Ikhwān: Wathīqat l' al-Ikhwān li Tabyīn Dalīlāt Wujūb ittibā' al-Kitāb wa l'sunnah wa l' Ijmā'wa dalīl Ijtināb al-bid'ah liman Yudīn bi-Dīn al-Islām.

17. Wathīqat l' al Jawāb: Wathīqat l'al-Jawāb 'alā su'āl Dalīl man 'Khurūj al-niswān.

(c) General Abbreviations:

1.	A.B.U.:	Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria
2.	A. H.:	After Hijra
3.	B.U.K.:	Bayero University, Kano
4.	B.U.L.K:	Bayero University Library, Kano
5.	C.E.:	Christian Era
6.	C.A.D:	Centre for Arabic Documentation (University of Ibadan)
7.	d;	date of death of an author (to show the age which he lived).
8.	ed.	edited
9.	F.A.S.S:	Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (A.B.U.), Zaria
10.	i.e:	That is
11.	M.A.H:	Muhammad Ahmad al-Hajj (Collection in NHRS Of A.B.U. Zaria)
12.	Ms or Mss:	Manuscript or Manuscripts
13.	N.A.:	National Archives, Kaduna
14.	N.C.M.:	National Commission for Museum (Jos)
15.	N.H.R.S.:	Northern History Research Scheme (A.B.U. Zaria).
16.	S.D.L:	Sokoto Divisional Library
17.	S.H.B.:	Sokoto History Bureau
18.	S.H.S.C.:	Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate.
19.	UL.:	University Library, (Ibadan)
20.	S.A.W. or P.B.U.H:	Sallalahu Alaihi wassalam or Peace and Blessings of Allah be upon Him.
21.	S.W.T.:	Subhana wa Ta'ala.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The significant role and position of women in the spiritual well being of human society and civilization cannot be over emphasized and is a point which seems to be common knowledge among learned scholars.[1] Sheikh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī (d. 1232/1817 c.e.) had clearly brought this fact to limelight in one of the most important book written by him on women - Irshād al-ikhwān ilā Ahkām Khuruj al-Niswān (Guidance to brethrens on the rules concerning the outing of Women). This book is the subject of our research. The research is aimed at making a critical edition and translation of the book.

The deplorable condition of women in the days of Sheikh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī (d. 1232/1817 CE) which was manifested in spiritual decadence, ignorance and political corruption have connection with the chaining of women to certain customs that are not only oppressive to them, but destructive to the general welfare of the society.

The emancipation of women from the evils of societal customs was not first carried out by the Sheikh. He was following the example of Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) who was the first to have a comprehensive programme on the emancipation of women. Hence following the example of the Prophet (S.A.W.) the Sheikh never for a time left out the issue of women education and other rights out of his purview. In both his preachings and writings, the

Sheikh and his colleagues strived to reconstruct the society (in Hausa States) by breaking the chains of customs and upholding the status of Islam. He raised the standard of Shari'ah (Islamic Law) and disregarded anything that contradicted the rules.

The writing of the book Irshād al-Ikhwān became necessary according to the Sheikh in his introduction to the book, because the Hausa society was divided into two on the outing of women. The first group believed that under no circumstances should women be allowed to go out while the second group believed that women should be allowed to move as freely as their male counterparts without any lawful obligation. Both groups were in the extreme with the second view widely held among the people. The object of writing the book was to provide a balance between the two extreme groups. Women should be allowed to go out where there is legal need which could be worldly or religious like her going out for any economic activities or going to search for knowledge if the husband does not teach her.[2]

One does not need to elaborate on the fact that the social, moral and spiritual problems our society is facing today are to some extent as a result of the loose nature of our women in every stratar of our society. Likewise their total absence from the public life will do no good to the society. Hence the need to strike a balance. The Sheikh was quick in realising this and in his book the Irshād al-ikhwān discusses this in great detail, citing authorities to support his views. He gives twelve reasons why women should be allowed to go out of their matrimonial home according to Shari'ah (Islamic Law).

These reason are: that they should be allowed to go out for the following purposes;

1. of seeking knowledge,
2. of easing themselves,
3. of attending the five daily congregational prayers in the Mosque,
4. of attending the congregational Jumaʿah Ṣalat (Friday Prayers),
5. of attending the Ṣalat al-Ïdi (The Ceremonial Congregational Prayers),
6. of attending Ṣalat Istisqā' (Prayer for Rain),
7. of attending Ṣalat al-Janāzah (Funeral Prayers) and visit to the grave yards,
8. of attending marriage ceremony;
9. of performing the Hajj (Pilgrimage),
10. of buying and selling,
11. of attending court hearing, and
12. of visiting their relations.[3]

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY:

In order to examine the literary work of Sheikh 'Uthmān b. Fūdī with particular reference to Irshād al-Ikhwān ilā Ahkām Khuruj al-Niswān it is necessary to discuss his biography - early life, education and movement, not only because he is generally regarded to have been the author of the book under consideration, but also because he was the leader and the moving spirit behind the Sokoto Jihād movement.[4] Hence this work could only be put in its correct perspective when we examine the background of the author and the circumstances leading to the writing of the book.

(a) About the Author:

The Sheikh's full name is ʿUthmān b. Muhammad Fūdī b. ʿUthmān b. Ṣalih[5] otherwise known as Ibn Fūdī or Dan Fodio and popularly called the Sheikh or Shehu. The title Fūdī means Jurist in Fulfulde (Fulani)[6] and the title Sheikh or Shehu means a leader or great scholar[7] i.e. a spiritual leader.

He was born in Maratta in the land of Galmi in the present Sokoto State of Nigeria on Sunday, the last day of Safar 1168/15th December, 1754.[8] He belongs to the scholarly Torankawa fulani community which migrated from Futa Toro to Kwanni, under the leadership of Musa Jokollo, one of the descendants of the Sheikh in the Mid 9th Century A.H/15th Century C.E[9] and from there they spread to other parts of Hausa States including Maratta where the Sheikh was born.[10]

His Early Life:

Little is known about the early life of the Sheikh except for some information based on oral sources in Fulani language compiled in Rawd al-Jinān fi Dhikr ba'd karamat al- Sheikh ʿUthmān by Gidado b. Laima the the vizier of Muhammed Bello. For example there was an incedence as a young boy his father send him from Degel to Marnona, (a town of a day's journey) to collect a copy of the qur'ān before going to the mosque to say his Zuhr (noon Prayer). The Sheikh set out on foot, reached Marnona, took the copy of the qur'ān and return before his father came back from the Mosque.

When his father returned he asked him "Have I not send you to Marnona?" He said "I have returned" He (the father) said, "Where is the book" He brought it to him. He (the father) said, "Did you send the Jinn"? He said, "No, but I exerted my-self in running". The father then send another massenger and it was comfirmed that he came and collected the qurʿān. The massenger was told that ʿUthmān came to Marnona when his mother was performing ablution. She give him some water to drink and then handed the book to him, and he returned on foot. The people were suprised at this incedence.[12] There are many instance of this nature which shows that the Sheikh is not just like any other man.

After staying for a number of years in Maratta, the family of the Sheikh, under the leadership of Muhammad b. Fūdī, migrated to Degel - a town in Gobir kingdom. This was where the Sheikh's early education started.[11]

According to Fazlur Rahman (1989), the Sheikh started his early education in the Islamic manner:

> "Which consists of recitation and memorisation of the Qurʿān. studying Arabic language at a level of understanding the Qurʿān, Hadith and fiqh (Islamic law) together with general reading and writing in Arabic....."[12]

The Sheikh's scholars, as his brother ʿAbd Allah b. Fūdī (d. 1829/1244 A.H) reported, were too many to be recorded.[13] This reflects the intellectual background of the Sheikh. Prominent among his teachers after his father were Sheikh ʿAbdur Rahman b. Hammada, Muhammad Sambo, ʿUthmān Binduri who was

in fact his uncle and influenced him greatly. Others are Hajj Muhammad b. Raji, Ahmad b. Muhammad both Sheikh's uncles and Sheikh Jibril b. ʿUmar - a scholar of high learning and revolutionary zeal who also influenced the Sheikh tremendously.[14] Under these numerous scholars, the Sheikh and his brother ʿAbd Allah studied various Islamic sciences some of which are Arabic syntax and other sciences of grammer, He also studied the Qur'anic Tafsir (exegesis) and Hadith collections such as the Sahih of Imam al- Bukhari and others. In fiqh, the Sheikh studied al-Ashmawi, al-Akhdari, the Risalah of Ibn Abi Zaid al-Qayrawani and the Mukhtasar.[15] In Lugha, the Sheikh read various works such as al-Ishriniyyat, al-witriyyat poems on the praise of the Prophet and others.

The teachers of the Sheikh did not only impart knowledge to him but also influenced him profoundly. The two scholars that influenced him were his uncle ʿUthmān Binduri and Jibril b. ʿUmar. The most influencial of the two was Ibn ʿUmar whom the Sheikh accompanied for almost one year to Agades and many other places. Sheikh Jibril b. ʿUmar was a revivalist scholar who tried to bring revolutionary changes among the Muslims of western Sudan by

[illegible]stitions brought into Islam but

[illegible]found influence on the

[illegible] between them on certain

[illegible]d faithful to his teacher.[16]

(b) Preaching and Teaching Activities
from 1188 A.H/1774 C.E - 1204 A.H/1789 C.E.

As the Sheikh advanced in knowledge and in years, his simplicity, piety, exceptional intellectual abilities and charismatic personality began to attract disciples from his immediate environment. He gradually gained prominence among young Muslim scholars including his Junior brother ʿAbd Allah who was one of his students sharing the revolutionary ideas. The task that awaited him in his preaching and teaching career was three-fold; to strengthen Islam, purify it and convert the Pagans.

At the age of 20 years, the Sheikh had already became a great scholar well grounded in most of the Islamic sciences. He had collected Ijaza (Certificates) from most of his teachers which permitted him to teach and preach Islamic - Religion.[17] With his junior brother ʿAbd Allah, the Sheikh moved among learned circles from Degel to Gobir and Kebbi to the west. From 1200 A.H/1786 C.E - 1204 A.H/ 1789 C.E., he tourned Zamfara to the Northeast of Degel and upper Sokoto River.[18]

Sheikh ʿUthmān's preaching tours were unlike that of other scholars who were moving about in search of means of livelihood and practising magic. His objectives were very clear right from the beginning - To correct people's faith, expand the fundamentals of religion and quell innovations through propagating Sunni Islam.

The Sheikh was not only a teacher but also a preacher. In fact during his preaching tours he organised classes throughout the week and preached on Thursdays and Fridays.[19] Added to the above, the Sheikh was also a prolific writer who wrote according to the needs and dictates of his environment.[19A] He had an exceptional intellectual ability and charismatic personality which made him attractive to the Muslim youth.[20]

After 15 years of preaching in 1204 A.H/1789 C.E., the Sheikh decided to settle at Degel which became his Headquarters and the base for his reformist movement. Students and scholars alike interested in his revivalism began to move to Degel to gain more knowledge and inspiration from him.

The Sheikh's reformist approach to religion and social life made him popular among the people while at the same time he made enemies along the way. These enemies were in two fold. There were the 'Ulama' (scholars) and the ruling class who were jealous of his popularity and opposed to his revivalist approach to preaching.

At first, the Sheikh ignored the latter and it was with the former that he had constant opposition and debate. They infiltrated into his preaching congregation in order to set in confusion and disperse the people, atimes it led to an open debate between the Sheikh and these scholars. The Sheikh criticised them for giving up their primary responsibility of educating the people and allowing syncritism in Islam.

He also condemned their conservatism and rigid interpretation of religion making it elitist. The Sheikh was also critical of a class of Pseudo scholars who claimed to be Sūfī Saints. They dubbed the masses by claiming that they can see and foretell the future.

A typical example of the Sheikh's debate with some of these scholars was on the nature of the group of people that attended his preaching. The Sheikh, according to ʿAbd-Allah b. Fūdī in Tazyin al-Waraqat used to separate men from women telling them that intermingling of men and women was unIslamic. Despite this, the Sheikh was strongly criticised by one scholar from Bornu called al-Mustapha Gwoni for ever allowing women to attend his preaching sessions. ʿAbd Allah asked which is better: to allow them to be drowned in ignorance by staying at home or allow them out to learn about their religion? The fear abhorred in their mixing with men is that of illegal genealogy.which is lesser evil compared with leaving them (women) at home in ignorance.[21]

There was "no love lost" between the Sheikh and the Habe (Hausa) rulers. Both parties regarded each other from a distance. In fact the Sheikh delibrately avoided any direct contact with the ruling class. Instead he engaged himself in educating the people and highlightning the Bid'ah (innovations) introduced into the religion.[22]

(c) Relation with the Habe Rulers 1204 A.H/1789 C.E - 1208/1804 C.E

As the Sheikh's community grew from a group of radical scholars and students into a popular party drawn from all the segments of the populace, he gained more confidence to take

his preaching to the door steps of the ruling class. He went to the king of Gobir, preached to him about Islam and ordered him to establish Justice in the land.

The Sheikh then visited Zamfara and preached there for about 5 years.[23] ʿAbd Allah described the land of Zamfara as "a land over which the people's ignorance was supreme" and that "majority of its people had not smelt the scent of Islam....." and that they used to come to the Sheikh's gathering: mingling with their women."[24] While he was still preaching at Zamfara in 1203 A.H/1788 C.E., he was invited by the King of Gobir, Bawa Jan Gwarzo and other scholars to celebrate the ʿId l'al-Kabir Festival at magami. At the end, (he) Bawa gave each of them 500 mithgal of gold. While others were happy to collect their shares, the Sheikh shrewedly declined the offer and instead demanded for certain rights for his Jama'ah (Community). These are:

1. The right to call people to Islam
2. To allow the people free will to respond to his call
3. To show respect to any man with turban and women with veil.
4. To free and respect all political prisoners
5. Not to burden the subjects including women with taxation.[25]

Bawa accepted the above conditions though not because he was sincere to Islam but because he had no alternative, He was old already and there was revolt in Zamfara. He was not ready to create more internal problems for himself.

After the death of Bawa, the above stipulated concessions were revoked by his successor, King Nafata. This was because he saw the community of the Sheikh growing larger and the fact that some over Zealous followers have started acquiring weapons because they find the conditions stipulated by Nafata unbearable. These conditions were:

1. Nobody except the Sheikh should preach
2. There should be no new conversion to Islam
3. Those who were not born Muslims should revert to their former religion and lastly,
4. Men should not wear turban and women should not wear Hijāb (veil).[26]

Before Nafata's death in 1210 A.H/1795 C.E, relationship between the Muslim community and the ruling class had reached a very tense situation because the four points stipulated were indirectly asking them to revert to the African traditional religion or syncretism which was impossible at this time. Another implication of these points is that the Sheikh's community had become a political force to be reckoned with. Instructing the people to revert to un-Islamic tradition suggests that there were more converts than those born into the religion. Thus the only solution left to the Sheikh is to break away.

Nafata thought he could curbed the strength of the Muslim community. Apparently, Nafata's men started using threat, this explain the reason why Abdul Salami (one of the Sheikh's companion) and his followers left Gobir and settled in Gimbana. When Yunfa became the next Sultan there appeared

to be a hope for compromise but this vanished when the Sultan made attempt on the life of the Sheikh.[27] The matter reached a climax when Abdulsālamī and his followers were attacked in Gimbana, when the Sheikh's followers saw Muslim prisoners in the hands of Yumfa's army they set them free and the army reported this to the Sultan. There-upon the Sultan sent to the Sheikh to live Degel as he intended to attack it and punish the inhabitants. The Sheikh refused to forsake his followers but made up his mind to migrate with those who wish to follow him.[28]

At this level of discussion, one is tempted to ask the following questions: Why was Sheikh ʿUthmān and his colleagues opposed by some members of the society while other segments of the society supported him? What made his method of preaching a danger to the ruling class and even a threat to some ʿUlama' (Scholars)? What was so special about the content of his preaching that he was able to rally the people around him unlike other scholars before or during his time?.

There is no doubt that Sheikh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī was a learned Scholar - his credential had proved that. However, he was a Scholar with a difference. Unlike other scholars, Sheikh ʿUthmān was a scholar with a Mission. Like many scholars of his time, he saw the ills of the Society, but unlike them, he was not ready to sit and watch things go rotten. He had an idea on how to solve the social problems and the solutions according to him was through Amr bil Ma'ruf wal nahy ani 'l Munkar.[29] (enjoining the right and forbidding the wrong).

It should be noted that although the Sheikh was aware of his role of tajdeed (revivalism),[30] he never came out to say he was going to fight the ruling class or the Scholars who opposed him or refused to join him. In fact, his preaching was not even directed at the opposing factions. All the Sheikh did was to preach and educate the people on the religion of Islam. He related his preaching to the bid'ah (innovations) prevalent in all aspects of social life and he laid down a blue print for the solution of the problems.

He condemned the taxing of women and general exploitation, corruption at higher places, forceful conscription of the Muslims into the army, segregation and other forms of bid'ah at various levels.[31] He also attacked the idea of keeping women indoors without educating them in the fundamentals of religion (or allowing them to move about on the street like men without any control.[32] The Sheikh was also very much concerned with the status of those who practiced Islam with traditional religion.[32] They were the traitors of religion - they practiced whichever is convinient for them at a time. The Sheikh enjoined them to revert to true Islamic teachings according to the sunnah of the Prophet Mohammed (S.A.W.) Takhlit (syncretism) has no place in Islam. This point is associated with bid'ah (innovations) i.e. mixing un-Islamic practices with the teaching of Islam. In fact the Sheikh made the eradication of bid'ah (innovations) one of the focal points of his education and preaching at various levels.

Due to these and many other reasons the Sheikh became popular with the people. They saw in him not only the spirit of revolution but also a saviour, hence they rallied round him. While the desire for faith and progress was a key factor in motivating the people around the Sheikh, it became obvious that his opposers typified by the ruling class and their scholar advisers opposed him not only because they were enemies of progress and unamenable to changes but, because it seemed to them, that they might lose their social and political status if he succeeded. They also view the Sheikh as the one who is introducing bid'ah in to the religion of Islam.

Despite opposition and persecution, the Sheikh was bent on achieving his objectives and Allah (S.W.T.) endowed him with Hikma (wisdom), high intellect and the drive to achieve his objectives. This was typified in his ability to mobilize people through preaching, his organisational abilities and the fact that he was a prolific writer.

According to Kani (1985), the Sheikh's subject of discussion could be categorised into five sections. The first is on the 'Usul wal Furu' (the fundamental and the derivatives) of religion. The second section deals with the refutation of certain misconceptions held by some students. For example levelling the common man as kãfir (unbeliever) because of lack of understanding of theological arguement. The third is on the admonition of the Sunnah (practices) of the Prophet (S.A.W.). The fourth section is on quelling of the bid'ah shaytaniyyah (evil innovations) and the fifth focuses on the dissemination of Shari'ah (Islamic Law) sciences and simplification of some of the difficult terminologies.[34]

As part of his preaching, the Sheikh also wrote poems the majority of which were in Ajami language of either Hausa or Fulani. These poems were said to have numbered about 480 on issues relating to teaching and destruction of bad customs.[35] The works in Ajami were intended for the common people who had no knowledge of Arabic or were illiterate. The idea of the poem is significant because the Hausa people loved poems which they can sing any where either on the farm or at home and since they are easy to memorise they helped the people in practicing his teachings.

The Sheikh was also endowed with organisational techniques. From the onset, he was able to differentiate his own community which he called Jama'ah, from others. This he did by encouraging the men to wear turban and the women Hijāb (veil) which is in line with the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.). Besides, these two symbols psychologically intimidated those who did not belong to the community. Thus, the larger the community the more disturbed were its enemies until it reached a stage of 'if you cannot beat them, join them'. This was why one of the conditions the Sheikh demanded from King Bawa Jangwarzo of Gobir was that his followers should be allowed to wear turban and Hijāb (veil) and it was because of the intimidating factor that King Nafata later on expunged the condition.

Throughout the period of the Da'wah (Preaching), the Sheikh never for a time omitted the role of women in the scheme of things. This is a credit to his organisational abilities. The society which he belonged to reduced the status of women to that of second class citizens in fact they were only comparable with slaves and working implements.

They were there for men to use and dispose of at their conveniance. Their spiritual and social upliftment was of no concern to the society. Some men 'chained' their wives at home not allowing them to even peep outside, while others gave their wives the freedom to move about in the public thereby constituting a moral problem to the society.[36] Worst still, his contemporary scholars did nothing to help the situation. They compounded it by refusing to educate their own wives while they were busy educating the children of others.

The Sheikh unlike his contemporary 'Ulama' (Scholars) foresaw the role women could play in social development if mobilized in the right way. As Muslims, women need to know the spiritual relationship between them and their creator Allah (S.W.T). As mothers, the education of our children starts from them. As wives, they need to be educated on their relationship with their husbands and as members of the society, they need to contribute their quarter in its development. Hence like their male counterparts the Sheikh encouraged their education at all levels. The Sheikh out-rightly condemned the way women were treated and he re-organised a new role and a way of life for them. No wonder, the Sheikh was popular with the people irrespective of age or sex. They also saw him as their saviour.

The Sheikh was also a prolific writer. This is part of the gifts of Allah (S.W.T). Credited to his title were more than hundred (100) popular works and a large number of poems.

Sheikh 'Abd Allah (his brother) had sixty (60) known works while Sheikh Muhammad Bello (his son) had seventy eight (78) known works credited to him.[37] The Sheikh and his brothers in Islam were not professional fighters, they were first and foremost scholars and writing happened to be their main occupation. They were masters of Islamic Sciences and Arabic Language.

The work of the triumvirate are complementary to the call made by the Sheikh to raise and establish a true Islam in Hausa State and beyond. Thus their writing formed a clear progress of the movement from its inception to fulfilment. Islam, social justice, the Muslim State and the rules of Islam with clear stipulation of the rights, obligations and limit of the ruler and the ruled consisted some of the major themes of the literature they left behind and those that were written by other 'Ulamaʿu Jihād.

According to al-Hajj (1977), tentatively the Sheikh's intellectual works could be spread into three periods.[38]

The first period is referred to as the formative period or the pre-jihād (holy war) period from 1188 A.H/1774 C.E - 1218 A.H/ 1804 C.E. This period was characterised by the Sheikh's preaching and teaching sessions and the gradual emergence of the Jama'ah (Community) as a distinguished socio-political organisation.[39] Main topics discussed during this period consisted of issues of belief and disbelief, denoucing bid'ah (un-Islamic practices), debate with contemporary scholars on theology, legal basis and women education and rights.[40] The Sheikh was said to have written up to fifty (50) works to clarify the issue of belief and disbelief.[41] For example, al-ajwiba al-Muharrara deals with belief and some bad customs

practised in Hausa land. Bayān al-bida' al-shaytaniyyah allati ahdathahā al-Nās fī abwāb al-millah al-Muhammadiyyah deals with some unlawful innovations introduced by some people into the Muslim ways of life while Ihya al-Sunnah wal Ikhmad al bida'h deals with the problem of reviving the Sunnah and eradicating bad innovations.

The second period was the period of struggle from 1218 A.H/ 1204 C.E. - 1224 A.H./1810 C.E. This period was characterised by the continuous struggle to overthrow the Habe (Hausa) rulers.[42] It was also the period of establishing the Islamic State the boundary of which covered the present day Northern Nigeria and parts of Niger and Cameroun Republics. The subject of discussion and writing included the obligation to migrate from the abode of unbelief to the abode of Islam, issues of women education and rights continued to draw attention during this period, so did the call for arms and other topics, such books as Bayān wujub al-Hijra, Nūrul Albāb and Masa'il - Muhimmah to mention a few. were written during this period.

The third period was the period of State consolidation from 1224 A.H/1810 C.E - 1231 A.H/1817 C.E. Intellectually, it dealt with the issues of adherence to one or more madhāhib (Schools of law) for example, as in Irshād al-Umma li Tuysīr mi la and Hidayyah al-tullāb and others. There were also writings on the relationship between Sokoto and Bornu. Debates between the Sheikh and 'Abd Allah were also more pronounced during this period. Difference on certain issues were discussed in Najm al-Ikhwān, Siraj al-Ikhwān, and Misbah Ahl al-Zamān by Sheikh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī and in Diyā al-Sultan and Diyā al-siyasat by ʿAbd Allah b. Fūdī to mention a few.

According to Kani (1978):

> "From the tentative chronology established by Professor M.A. Al-Hajj one can assume that most of the Sheikh's writings were written in the formative period of 1188 AH/1774 C.E - 1218 AH/ 1804 C.E. Out of the sixty-four books mentioned by M.A. Alhaji in his list, 35 works are said to be written in this period.[43]

This included the book under consideration the Irshād al Ikhwān Īla Ahkām Khuruj al-Niswān which was written as early as 1188 AH/1775 CE[44] and similar writings such as Irshād Ahl al- Tafrit wal' ifrat, Tanbih al-Ikhwān alā Jawaz, wathiqat al-Ikhwān li Tabyin, withiqat Jawāb 'ala sulal Dalil Man' Khuruj Niswān. However, Nūrul al-bāb, which partly deals among other things with women education was written during the second phase of the movement.

(d) The Jihād - 1218 AH/1804 CE - 1224 AH/1810 CE

Throughout the Jihād (holy war) period, the Sheikh and his colleagues never lost sight of their objectives, - that of educating the people through the propagation of Islam. Of necessity this led to clashes with reactionary forces, hence to defend themselves the Sheikh and his Jama'ah had to take to arms. This was what led to the Jihād (arm struggle) of 1218 AH/1804 CE- 1224 AH/ 1810 CE. Muhammad Bello in his Infāq replied El-Kanemi on the immediate causes of the war.

The Jihād (holy war) was in defence of Islam and its people because the people were asked to revert to African traditional religion. They were beaten and their properties confiscated yet the Muslims remained calm in the face of all provocations in order to keep on propagating the religion of Islam. Seeing that the Jama'ah did not desist from what they were doing and that their efforts were always crowned with success (because more people are converted into the religion in large numbers) they made their strategy and started fighting them with arms and with the confidence that they will win because of what they saw of their weakness in fighting.[45]

It is important to note at this juncture that Islam was never spread by arms as some scholars are fond of saying. It is always done through preaching and teaching and this was why the 'Ulama (scholars) are very important in an Islamic society as the propagators of Islam. In many places in the Qur'ān, the holy Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) had been described as an educator.[46] Infact the first set of verses of the Qur'ān revealed to the Prophet (S.A.W.) were on education.[47] Hence it is not suprising that anybody wanting to imitate the Sunnah (practices) of the Prophet (S.A.W) may either be learning or teaching. The Sheikh and his colleagues never over-looked this objective throughout the period of their lives. Even when they had succeeded in overthrowing the Habe (Hausa) rulers, they kept on writing and preaching in order to educate the Muslims on how to establish a truely Islamic society according to the teachings of the Qur'ān and Sunnah (practices) of the Prophet (S.A.W.).

It was in this context that Isma'il (1979) discribed the Jihadists in a paper titled "Some reflections on the Literature of the Jihād and the Caliphate:"

> "Tabligh (Preaching) as an integral and essential part of Muslims obligation to enjoy the right and forbid the wrong was the initial and continous role of the Triumvirate (i.e. the Sheikh, 'Abdu Allah and Bello). Indeed the titles they give to most of their works are indicative of this. Bayān (expounding), Diyā' (guiding light) Nasiha (Advice), Ta'alim (educating), Tanbih (drawing attention to), are all aspects of conveying message of Islam. For this, they continue educating the people using both the Spoken and the written words.[48]

Thus the zeal to educate the people never changed even after the Jihād (holy war) was successfully carried out. In fact the Sheikh and his Colleagues never rested on their oars. They intensified their activities in their role as educators/ rulers. They had catered for the problems of the emerging community and the State as a whole. The Jama'ah (Community), the Jihād (Holy War) and the Khilafah (State) were not an end in themselves. The end like the beginning was the propagation and maintainance of Islam, hence after the Jihād (holy war) they went on convincing the people about their policies and actions, advising them on their rights and obligations in Islam where they had the power to use force. The Sheikh and other scholars continued to address the people even after the Jihād (holy war) in egalitarian terms such as Ikhwān (brothers).

It was in this capacity of brotherhood and learning that the Sheikh saw his Muslim brothers and they on the other hand, looked upon him as a learned man, ruler and religious leader.

(e) The Household of Sheikh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī

The Sheikh trained his family according to the Sunnah (tradition of the prophet (S.A.W.). He make sure that all his day to day activities in relation to his family are in comformity with the tradition of the Prophet (S.A.W) and not local traditions. This has a profound effect on the entire family, there was an instance when at an early age his first wife Maimuna was somewhat strong head in dis-obeying his orders, by going to the market as probably she was used to before her marriage and the Sheikh taught her a lesson.[49] From then on she never disobeyed him again.

In 1793, the Sheikh wrote one of his major works Ihyā'al-Sunnah wa ʿIkhmad al- bid'a [50] in which he said:

> "Know that my purpose concerning this book is the revival of the of the Sunnah of Muḥammad (S.A.W.) and the removal of Satanic innovations."

The Sunnah being the custom of the prophet Muḥammad (SAW) encompassed among other things his relationship with his wives, his wives' relationship with each other, the Prophet's relationship with his daughters and son in laws, and his views in all matters to do with womankind. There is no aspect of a woman life which is left uncovered.

As the Sheikh set out in his word to revive the Sunnah, we have to assume that he made a sustained and conscientious effort to seek guidance in the Sunnah and not to allow Gobir, Fulani or any other Custom to prevail in his household. It is only obvious that the Sheikh should start preaching his belief to the immediate members of his family before taking it outside. This is again in line with the Sunnah of the Prophet (SAW) who when he received his first revelation was asked to preach it to his immediate family before going public.

Hence in order to comprehend the views of the Sheikh on women education and rights, the researcher will start from his household in order to bring to light how he treated his wives and children (especially the females) and then go on to see the impact of his teachings/training on his immediate family. Particular attention will be on Nana Asma'u one of (his daughters) not only because she had lived for so many years but because she had contributed enormously at various stages of the Jihād movement both politically and educationally.

i. The Sheikh's Wives

Sheikh ʿUthmān was a polygamous man, he had married many wives at various stages of his life, some of them died before him and some he divorced while others outlived him. The researcher will at this level discussed the impact of the Sheikh's teaching on his wives as it relates to their piousness and the up bringing of their children.

At the early stage of his movement, the Sheikh had four wives namely Maimuna, Aishah, Hadiza or Hajj and Hauwa, later at various stages he married others.

Maimuna was the first wife of the Sheikh, she is the daughter of his father's sister i.e. his cousin. She was listed by Gidado b. Laima the husband of Asma'u as one of the nine women disciples of the Sheikh in his Rawd. al-Jinān[51] she had eleven children only Nana Asmau' and Hafsat survived her while majority of them died at infancy or child-hood.[52]

Aishah was his second wife whom he married almost at the same time with Maimuna, she was also remembered among the Sheikh's disciples and on account of her sufism, she exerted considerable influence. According to one of her grandsons 'Abd al-qādir b. Mustapha in his Salwatul a- ahzani she had reached the highest rank in Sūfī hierarchy.[53] In her Tindinore haɓɓe,[54] a poem derived from Kitāb al- Nasihat of Muḥammad Bello, Asmau' describes her as follows:

Verse 8:

"Aishah saintly and pious:
She ceaselessly kept to the path of Allah".

In his work in Kitāb al- Nasihat, Muḥammad Bello writes that she gave alms and was careful to ensure that the things she used were halal (legally permissible). She has power of Karama (miraclous powers) and Kashf (taking away of the veil).[55]

The Sheikh's third wife was Hadija or Hajj. She had only one daughter named Aishah. Hajj together with Hauwa his fourth wife were listed among the Sheikh's pious disciples.

This indicates that the Sheikh's four wives with one accord followed his line of action and implemented his ideas in so far as they applied to home situations and their personal behaviour. If they have not done what he had wanted from them, he would not have listed them in his disciples.

Hajj died in the 1790s living Hauwa the fourth wife to take her position and responsibility. Hauwa outlived the Sheikh as did Aishah, and it was in Hauwa's room that the Sheikh died in 1817.[56] She was a sūfī Mystic described by Asmauʿ in her Tindinore laɓɓe poem as follows:

Verse 3:

She practised alms - giving and
possessed very little. She meditated
alone in her room.

Verse 4:

"Saying her prayer beads, keeping
silence, indecating (replies) with her
head. She came out only to perform
Salāt (Prayers)".

Her eldest son was the most illustrious of the Sheikh's children - caliph Muḥammad Bello[57] a man with whom Asmauʿ collaborated in her writings and about whom she wrote her finest verses of poetry. Her other renowned son was Abubakar Atiku.[58] Who became the Caliph after the death of Muḥammad Bello, and Fatima[59] a poet who married Aliyu Jedo the Sarkin Yaki (war Commander) appointed by the Sheikh.

Maimuna, Asmau's mother died in the 1790s, within a year or two after the death of his third wife Hajj. The Sheikh married again and the name of his wives were Jumbajjo, Hafsatu, Fure, Ta baraya, Hadija II and Asmau, Some of these died while others were divorced as for children, either they did not bore any child or their children did not survive to be given names. The Sheikh married other wives after those mentioned above. There was Jinni who bore him two children Safiya and Haliru. It was probably at Gwandu that the Shehu married his other two wives who outlived him - Shatura and Hadija III. Shatura bore him three children while Hadija III bore him 'Abd al-Qadir the scholar and poet who was martyred in 1835 at the age of 25 years.[60]

ii. The Content of Women Education

The content of women education covers various aspects of Islamic religion and Sciences.

According to Kaura (1990, p.89) the content of education covers such areas as the articles of faith, rules and regulations regarding ablution prayers, fasting, business transaction and other duties which they have to accomplish and which God commands that they should be taught.[61] The Jihadist taught women the correct ways of performing rituals and other religious worship. For example when menstrurating and during the post-natal bleeding women are not expected to fast or say their daily salāt however, they have to make up for the number of days they have missed as regards fasting but they are not obliged to pay back the fasting.

In the pre-Jihād period because of the ignorance of women they observed fasting while in one of the two confinement, or only eat dates for the whole day and make up the missed number of days after wards. The Jihād scholars instructed the women menstrating and those who give birth that they were required by Shariah to stop fasting only to resume when the bleeding stopped and to make up for the number of days missed. Similarly for Salāt, women should resume their Salāt immediately the bleeding stopped and should not wait until she washed her clothes. For a woman who has post Natal bleeding should resume her fasting and Salāt, immediately the blood stopped and not to wait after forty days.[62] As regards to istihadha (continous flow of blood after the maximum number of the period of menses), most women continued breaking their fasting and abstain Salāt during istihadha. But the Sheikh taught that the istihadha is a disease and should not be confused with menses. A woman should therefore fast and pray during istihadha.[63]

Another aspect of the Sheikh preaching is the constant partronising of the soothsayers by Muslim women. In those days as to day soothsaying was rampart in Hausa States, weak muslim requested their assistance. Women were especially exploited both spiritually and materially. The Jihād leaders especially the Sheikh condemned soothsaying and showed that it is wrong for Muslim to patronise them.[64]

Both men and women have distored their faiths and engaged in the worship of inanimate objects like trees, stones, wells, saints and others. They were shown the futility of venerating saints and other personages in place of God, that these saints could not even save themselves, then how can they save others.

Hence to make any oferings to them in place of Allah is considered as unbelief.[65] These are some of the aspects of the teaching of Sheikh ʿUthmān and other ʿUlamāuʿ Jihād in their effort to free women from ignorance.

The Sheikh was responsible for the education of his wives and children and other women who might come from other places. The Sheikh sometimes organised seminar with-in his compound for women and at other ocassion he preached to them. As we have seen his wives and other women that join his regular classes have become renown women in the field of Islamic education and sciences. Among women disciples of Sheikh ʿUthmān mentioned by Gidado laima (besides his first four wives) were Aishah the wife of Imam Mallam, Hafsa the wife of Imam Sambo and Habiba the wife of Imam Muhammad Zangi.[66] These women as expected went further to teach others what they have learnt and through this method members of the society and not only women became aware of their religious responsibilities. With qualified women to teach every aspect of Islamic education the controversial issue of mixing of men and women in educational institution was eliminated.

iii. The impact of women education.

The impact of women education gradually came to light as the Jihād of Sheikh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī geathered momentum, women served as the vanguard of education. They played a great role in the dissemination of knowledge to their brother and sisters, they also contributed greatly in the field of preaching through their widely spread poems in both Arabic and local languages. Women composed historical poems on almost all the periods of the Jihād and other related issues which are now important in the reconstruction of the history of the Jihād.

These poems are found in fulfulde, Hausa and Arabic, they also undertook translation of the works of the Jihadist from either Arabic to Hausa or fulfulde for easier comprehension and wider dissemination.

It is with this general contribution of women to education during the Sokoto Jihād that we are going to pay special attention to Nana Asmaʿu one of the daughters of Sheikh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī. The special attention given to her in this paper is not only because she is the daughter of the Sheikh but because of her personal contribution to the Jihād. In fact like her father, the Jihād is her life. Also among all the daughters of the Sheikh of whom he is responsible for their education (Fatima, Khadija, Maryam and Nana Asmaʿu) Asmaʿu proved to be the most outstanding,[67] her contributions in the social and political life of her people in most outstanding.

vi. Nana Asmaʿu - Early life and education.

Nana Asmaʿu was born in 1792, her mother is Maimuna the first wife of Sheikh ʿUthmān. She is a twin and her twin brother is called Hassan.

Asmaʿu started her education in the traditional Islamic way. She started with the recitation of short surahs then the Allo (slate) on which short verse of the qur'ān were written. After comprehending a portion, it is wash-off and another portion is written. The teaching of the recitation is at individual level thus allowing the pupil to go at his own level.

Classes were held mixed with boys and girls in the female quarter inside the Sheikh's compound. There are morning, afternoon and evenining sessions.

At the age of ten Asmaʿu had already graduated in the recitation of the qurʿān. This showed that her intellectual powers were manifested at an early age. Asmaʿu went on to memorise the qurʿān by heart a feat which she successfully accomplished.[68]

Salāt (prayers) is one of the curriculum in the afternoon session and the children were taught the rituals of Ablution, and Salāt, fasting, Ḥajj, filial obedience, alms and other Islamic etiquette also constitude part of the curriculum. Asmaʿu's education followed this line.[69] The Sheikh also taught his daughter the significance of partaining her life according to the sunnah of the prophet (SAW) and the examples set by his companion as he said in his Ihyāʿ al-sunnah.

"What ever they do we will do

and What ever they avoid, we will avoid"[70]

Evidence shows that Asmaʿu must have been taught how to perform house-hold chores by her mothers and these includes food preparations, spinning, the making of soap and Hair dressing. The practical training in this field is an essential part of her education.

ASMAUʿS LITRARY ACTIVITIES

Nana Asmaʿu like her father (the Sheikh) was also a prolific writer. She has written many books and poems on various topic.

Boyd, J. (1982) has compiled fifty two known works consisting of poems and prose on various subjects ranging from mysticism, legal/ theological, History, political,

Social and elegy. Most of these works were written in fulfulde language, others in Hausa and Arabic.[71]

Her litrary contributions in all the languages shows that she is of high intellectual capabilities. By the time she was 30 years, she spoke Arabic fluently and composed poems in the same language. She also used her language advantage in assisting her brother caliph Muḥammadu Bello in many ways.

She has written and composed many poems some are educational/ preaching,History,[72] Some with political undertone. Others are in praise of the prophet Muḥammadu (SAW), her father, mother,[73] brother - Muḥammadu Bello - her husband and on many other issues.

One of her poems on women education is tittled Wa'azu where she said in verse 20:

"Women folks do not live (your homes)
Unless these is a clear necessity to
get food or seek education".

Verse 21

"It is a religious duty to seek education
and it is no fault if a woman goes out on
this account".

The above poem which must have been quoted from Irshād al - Ikhwān is in line with the views of Sheikh ʿUthmān as regards women freedom of movement. i.e if there is no necessity for married women to go out of their matrimonial homes they should stay at home.

Another of her poem with political undertone has the following verses:

Verse 8:

May He (Allah) bless Us
and Show us the path; May
He help us to be a people with
a United purpose.

Verse 9: We pray for victory,
We pray that the rebellion
of Ibra will be crushed

Verse 10:
Seek help from Allah so that
difficulties will be surmounted easily.

This poem was dated 1822, it was composed after Muhammadu Bello went to fight a Gobir resurgence. The attack on Ibra and Sarkin Gobir Ali came to nothing and for a time there was a truse.

It is not only Nana Asma'u that was engaged in educating the people through this method but also her sisters such as Maryam, Hadijah and Fatima. For example her sister Maryam composed a poem on the success of the Jama'ah (Community) when they despersed the army of Bawa.[74] Khadijah composed an Ode on the city of Worno[75] she (Khadijah) also composed a poem after the death of her beloved husband the learned Mustapha.

Nana Asma'u has contributed greetly in translating some of the poems composed in Arabic by the Jihadist to Hausa and fulfulde languages especially the works of her father. Thus ensuring a wider audiance for their writings.[76]

Asma'u has also translated some works written in Arabic by Muḥammadu Bello. A typical example is Kitāb al - Nasihat which she translated into Hausa. It is possible that Asma'u might have requested Bello to write the book or they might have researched on the materials together. An interesting aspect of the book is the subject matter i.e. women. In the instroduction it reads:

> Worldliness is an illusion.....
>
> One fears the way women are
> gready for gold, and fine clothes:
> Their demand distract their men folk".

Political Contributions:

Her title as Umar Gari:

Umar Gari means mother of the town. It is a title given to Nana Asma'u in recognition of the role she played in the Sokoto caliphate. As sister of the reg-ning caliph Muhammadu Bello this title fits her because the traditional Gobir had a similar title - Inna Gobir or Sarauniya (Queen) which is a post held by the sister of the King of Gobir. However, it should be noted that their role and responsibilities defer due to religious objectives.

One of her major roles is the responsibility for women's welfare a role which is closer to that of her husband Gidado whose other title apart from the vizier is Amr al - Masalih a term which mean someone who look after the welfare of the people generally and not only that of the women. Hence it is assumed that Asma'u his wife helped him in fulfiling this role.

In her role as Umar Gari, one could identify such responsibilities as her concern for women education, she also organised orphanage, and generally advise and was consulted on various issues regarding the Islamic State.[77] This is in line with Islamic Shari'ah which do not allowed women to come out in the fore of political activities. For example Asma'u intervened when there was a dead lock during the reign of caliph Abubakar Atiku when Khalilu was appointed as the vizier and Muhammed Laima refused to acknowledge the appointment. She consoled him and succeeded in getting him an appointment as Dangaladima to Khalil, thus assured of the vizirate after Khalil.[78] Not only Asma'u, her sister Maryam was also consulted on various issues for example she was consulted by the then Emir of Kano 'Uthmān b. Dabo on the issue of Mahdism and those migrating eastwards in his anticipation. She replied that these people were liars and have gone astra.[79] It was the same Maryam who suggested the appointment of Muhammadu Bello as the Emir of Kano after the death of the former Emir 'Abdu Allah.[80] Hence it will be wrong to keep women entirely away from political arina for they can perform consultative and advisary role, in the modern balance they can be voted into legislative houses:

Related to their political role is their contribution to the Jihād (holy war). What role did Nana Asma'u and other women played during these wars. When the Sheikh and his Jama'ah (community) migrated to Degel and later to Magabci Nana Asma'u was twelve years old. From then on she has been part and parcel of military campaigns - their planning,

execution and aftermath - until her death in 1865.[81]

According to Waziri Junaidu they prepared medicinal harbs, dressed and nursed the sick. This is in line with the tradition of the prophet when in the battle of Uhud Aishah the prophet's wife was the one who carried water in the leather skin to the wounded and Fatima (the prophet's) daughter dressed the face wound her father suffered. Women also encouraged the Jama'ah to persevere and exercise patience through bearing the hardship of the campaign together with the men. A times women suffered as much as the men. A typical example is the hardship they all went through on the journey of their first encounter with alkalawa. The Sheikh and his family made the journey of 150 km through the river and marshy areas before the attack on alkalawa, there was also the infamous battle of tsuntsua where the Jihadist suffered heavy loss,[82] the Sheikh's wives Aishah and Hauwa Marshalled the women, raised their morale and undertook the organisation of welfare work among the widows and orphans. These experience at an early age contributed in no small measure to Asma'u's future role in organising Orphanage.

Although women did not take arms in the war front their role is as significant as those who faught the wars. Besides raising the morale of the men, women composed poems of varied relivance to the Jihād - some aimed at disseminating the objectives of the Jihād to the Jama'ah (Community), an example is the poem of Nana Asma'u which deals with the Jihād movement from its inception to the establishment of the caliphate and beyond.

Maryam composed a poem in which she discussed an encounter of the Jamaʿah (Community) with the enemy, she thanked Allah over the success of the Jamaʿah in repulsing the enemy.[83] These and many other poems served as effective propaganda media used by women in order to further the course of the Jihād.

Thus we see in the above how the Sheikh brought up his immediate family, training them according to the teachings of Islam and also the role played by other women in the caliphate in order to further the course of the Jihād. The Sheikh who was the brain behind emancipation of women in the Sokoto caliphate was not introducing anything new because the emancipation of women has already been done by the holy prophet Muḥammadu (SAW) 1400 years ago. What the Sheikh did was to revive this practice of the prophet in his own domain. Before this time the spiritual and the mundane role of women had been abused variously - women were seen as nothing but sources of sexual gratification, economically exploited in a male dominated society, their moral and spiritual role thrown to the wind, in fact they are seen as second class citizen only to be seen and not heard.

The Sheikh on the contrary enlightened both men and women on the role women could play in a given Islamic Society. Spiritually, socially, politically and economically while the same time morality of the society is not put at stake. For example his views concerning the movement of women should serve as a lesson to men and women of this generation. The Sheikh said if there is no necessity for women to go out of their (matrimonial) homes they should stay at home.

These needs must be of necessity not just any need and besides it must be something of which she could not get any assistance.

The contributions of Nana Asma'u to the Sokoto caliphate is also a lesson to the present society. Maryam Babangida and her better life for rural women programme need to borrow a leaf from the contributions of Nana Asma'u to Sokoto caliphate. Although the two have alot in common - both are crusaders for women and children's welfare, both of them are engaged in politics or at list the "domestic side of politic". Maryam Babangida has gone step further to fight against drug abuse and drug trafficking. The Newswatch magazine described her contributions to women as "one of the most worthy causes ever initiated on behalf of Nigeria women"......"No Nigerian man or woman, has in recent history, arouse the conciousness of women with such a vigour and conviction as Maryam Babangida."[84] However despite these observations Maryam Babangida and her Better life for the rural women programme need to inculcate moral and spiritual roles to their programme so that no aspect of the women life could be left on touched. It is only then that she could deserve the full praise of the Newswatch Magazine.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Sheikh 'Uthmān b. Fūdī (d. 1231/1817 C.E) the leader of the 13th Century A.H. Jihād (holy war) in Hausa land wrote about a hundred books.[85] The purpose of writing such books was to enlighten the Muslims of Hausaland and beyond[86] on the significance of Islamic education which helped in reviving the spirit of sunnah and the destruction of bid'ah (innovations).

Women education had been one of the themes treated by the Sheikh and the most important book written by the Sheikh on this topic was Irshād al- Ikhwān Ilā Ahkām Khuruj Niswān.

The Irshād al-Ikhwān is a very valuable book not only to the Muslims who belong to the generation of the Sheikh but to any Muslim Community in general up to our own time and the Nigerian community in particular. Islamic Studies Scholars need the book because it will enable them to known the views of the Sheikh concerning the affairs and treatment of women. Although the book is available it requires a critical edition and translation for the benefit of scholars who do not understand Arabic. Without the book there will be a gap of knowledge which explains the views of the Sokoto Jihadists on women. The availability of the book without critical edition cannot gurantee the quality of facts obtained from it in which case a gap of knowledge would still remain. The problem of this research is therefore related to the critical edition of the book; the translation and some comments which the scope of the research permits.

According to Dalhat (1990), the term for research in Islamic Studies is al-ijtihād which is conducted by a theologian, that is an authority in 'Usul al-deen or a jurist (faqih) who is well versed in Islamic jurisprudence. The aim of the first is to explain issues related to religious creed and the second is to give a legal opinion concerning new legal problems. The third set of Islamic studies Scholars who also conduct Ijtihād (research) are the Muhadditūn (Hadith Scholars).[87]

They conduct their Ijtihād to evaluate a report so as to establish its validity. The edition of manuscripts is similar to this last form of Ijtihād (research) because, it is aimed at establishing the quality of a manuscript and its validity which makes it relevant to the purposes of Sharia'h (Islamic Law) interpretation.[88]

Al-Ijtihād (research) is conducted where there is gap of knowledge. The Arabic term for its problem is al-mas'alah (case or problem). This Mas'alah (problem) it's Statement should be well understood by a researcher before he begins his research. The Mas'alah for this research is therefore, the edition and translation of Irshād al-Ikhwān, supposed to have been written by Sheikh 'Uthmān b. Fūdī and the Statement is the need to make a comparative study of the sampled manuscripts of Irshād al-Ikhwān, then the need to translate the copy which aught to be close to the arche-type of the actual manuscript written by the Sheikh.

Our research questions are therefore the following:

1. Was Irshād al-Ikhwān written by Sheikh 'Uthmān b. Fūdī. A similar question could be asked by a Muhaddithūn (Hadith Scholars) concerning a report assumed to be Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.).

2. Which of the available manuscripts is closer to the arche-type. Similar effort could be made by the Muhaddithūn (Hadith Scholars), who after establishing a Hadith report to be authentic, compares it with other authentic Hadith and the spirit of the Qur'ān or use other methods to expose Tadlis (distortions).

3. What necessary corrections are required to be made to improve the quality of facts related by the text identified to be the mother copy?

4. What form of translation is most suitable for the book?

5. What necessary comments or background information could helped readers to understand the book and what suitable observation this researcher considers necessary to give to the readers of this project?.

1.3 Significance of the Problems:

It had already been stated in the statement of the problem that Irshād al-Ikhwān discusses the Sharī'ah (Islamic Law) requirements concerning women. Thus, it providies useful information and ideas that improves the quality of Islamic education related to the treatment of women. Scholars of Islamic Studies today will certainly need the book when they attempt to bridge the gap of knowledge required by the contemporary society of Nigeria. Although this value of the book is significant this however would only give the desired benefit if its claim of authority to have been written by Sheikh 'Uthmān b. Fūdī is established. This will enable scholars of Islamic Studies to use the authentic copy in confidence and ensure the quality of knowledge obtained from it and consider their contribution to Nigerian society reliable.

Several scholars conduct Ijtihād (research) today to answer some key questions related to legal issues and religious creed in the mind of Nigerian society. However, conducting Ijtihād (research) to authenticate the book assumed to have been written by Sheikh 'Uthmān and other Jihadists seems to be very rare; the scholars seem to take for granted that every claim attributed to a manuscript of the Sokoto Jihād

Literature is valid, whereas earlier Islamic Studies Scholars do not accept any report assumed to have been Hadith of the Prophet until its authority is established. This is because authenticity and reliability are necessary requirements of every text or evidence used to interprete the Shari'ah (Islamic Law). Irshād al-Ikhwān happens to be one of such manuscripts which this researcher has not come across any edited copy. Expanding the scope of Ijtihād (research) to include the edition of this work will be of significance to Nigerian society, if they wish to achieve peace of mind in the views expressed by the scholars based on such manuscripts.

Establishing the authenticity of the Irshād al-Ikhwān and producing an edited copy will be a sufficient contribution to scholars who understand the Arabic language. However, the gap of knowledge which Irshād al-Ikhwān monopolises may still be there until the translated version of the book is produced for the benefit of scholars who do not understand Arabic. Furthermore, such manuscripts are not required by Islamic Scholars alone but also by the sociologist, the social studies specialist, it is also important as a written record to historians, data for social scientists and government agencies trusted with the responsibility to mobilise, develop sound political culture, and enlighten the Nigerian society. Its significance in this regard cannot be overemphasised. Scholars may add several other observations, throwing more light on the significance of this book.

This researcher's confidence and his conviction regarding the value of this book to the Nigerian society is certainly beyond reasonable doubt.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES:

1. The research is aimed at establishing the authenticity of the content and authorship of Irshād al-Ikhwān.
2. It is also aimed at making the necessary corrections of the grammatical errors in the text so as to improve the quality of its facts.
3. It is also aimed at providing a suitable English translation of the work.
4. Finally, the research would give observations concerning its relevance and application of the ideas of Irshād al- Ikhwān to Nigeria.

NOTES

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7. See introduction to Infāq Maysur by Sheikh Abu Bakr Mahmud Gumi (Cairo 1964) p. 22.

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15. Kani, A.M.: Op. cit. pp. 30 - 31

16. Bugaje, U.M. : Op. cit. p.6

17. Balogun, I.: Op. cit. p. 8

18. Fudi A.: Tazyin al-waraqat pp 26 - 27

19. Al-Hajj M.A.: "The meaning of Sokoto Jihad" in Studies in the History of Sokoto Caliphate (SHSC) Sokoto seminar papers ed. by Usman, Y.B.

19A. Sidiqi F.R. Op. cit. pp. 28 - 29

20. Sidiqi, Ibid. pp 28 - 30

21. Hiskett, M. Op. cit. pp. 86 - 88 and also Kani A.M. Op. cit. pp 32 - 34

22. Hiskett, M. Tazyin al-waraqat of ʿAbd Allah b. Fūdī ed. p. 27

23. Ibn Fūdī, A: Tazyin al-waraqat p. 27

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CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This Cahpter of Literature Review discusses the following:

(a) Areas that had been covered by Sheikh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī on the subject of women education and their rights on their husbands and parents.

(b) Evaluation of such ideas in relation to current thinking.

(c) It also examines some of the significant works done by the Sheikh in the area under consideration.

(a) A number of contributions have been made in this area of women education and rights by the author Sheikh 'Uthman b. Fūdi. Works sampled and examined for the purpose of this review are: Nūrul albāb, Mithiqat al-Jawāb, Tanbih al - Ikhwān, Irshād ahl - Tafrit and Wathiqat al-Ikhwān.

In Nūrul Albāb, the Sheikh discusses three main issues. The first is his criticism of the scholars of his period who neglected their responsibilities towards their families and societies. Instead of educating their families on the fundamentals of religion Islam, they concentrated on teaching others. This was regarded by the Sheikh to be Riyaʿ (an eye service) which earned them no reward from Allah. The Sheikh ruled that it was an obligation on believers to teach their families the fundamentals of Islam, while it was Nafl (supererogatory) to teach others. Without the knowledge of Islam, their wives became just like household implements which if broken were thrown away.

The second point discussed in Nurul albāb was an advice to women to disregard the views of some scholars who claimed that women's salvation lied in obeying their husbands and not in obeying Allah and His Prophet (S.A.W).[1] He accused men of imposing on their wives responsibilities which Allah and His Prophet (S.A.W) did not impose on them such as insisting on cooking their meals, washing their dresses and others. They failed to enjoin them to obey Allah and His Prophet (S.A.W). On this issue the Sheikh pointed that the wife should obey her husband either secretly or openly but if he asked her to disobey Allah she should not obey.[2]

The third issue discussed by the Sheikh was in connection with the mixing of men and women in public places, such as in markets, on the streets, and during ocassions such as naming and marriage ceremonies where music and dancing took place in a mixture of men and women which was against Islamic Shari'ah (Law).

According to the Sheikh, this was one of the things that brought calamity to our society. He ruled that it was not obligatory for any Muslim to attend such gathering even if it was organised by his teacher or parents: that anybody in full control of his family should prevent them from attending such gathering; if he could not then it was obligatory on him to vacate the scene and should never say Salam (peace) on them.[3]

In Wathiqat al-Ikhwān, the Sheikh focussed his attention on the rights of the husband on his wives and vise-verse. He quoted Sheikh Khalil's Mukhtaṣar in which mention was made of some of these obligations which included provision of

food, water, beddings, people to assist her (if within his means) and others. If the husband had provided all these things it became obligatory on the wife to cook his food and provide him with drinking water. However, it was not compulsory on her to provide same for his visitors especially if they were many except if she expected reward from Allah (S.W.T). The Sheikh concluded by warning Muslim brothers that if they allowed their wives and other members of their families to go astray from the Sunnah (practice) of the Prophet (S.A.W) they will have no excuse for Allah on the Day of Judgement.[4]

Tanbih al-Ikhwān is partly a reply to some accusations against the Sheikh by some scholars of his time for allowing men and women to mix together during his da'wah (preaching) sessions.

The Sheikh replied that although it was true that men and women attended his preaching session, he made sure that they were separated and he kept on educating them that the mixing of men and women is abhored by Allah (S.W.T). The Sheikh then assigned special days for women and a number of days for men.

The Sheikh made it clear that he did not like a situation where women leaves their homes to attend his preaching, it was their husbands who failed in their responsibility of educating them. Quoting Ibn. Alhaji, he said it was obligatory for the husband to teach all the members of his family under his care the principles of Islam, righteousness, ablution, Salat (prayer) fasting and others. He should also teach them what they needed of Mu'āmala (social interaction).

If the husband was not learned, he should go to a reliable scholar, learn and communicate to his family, if he failed in this responsibility, then the wife was free to go out and learn even without his permission and if he opposed her, the government should enforce it on him as he would be forced to look for her means of livelihood, though the case of learning was more important.[5]

In Irshād Ahl al-Tafrit, like in Tanbih al-Ikhwān, the Sheikh devoted part of the book to those scholars who accused him of allowing the mixing of women during his preaching. He described these people as evil scholars.

In his defence, the Sheikh once again quoted Ibn Alhajj who drew the analogy between permission given to women to go to Makkah for the performance of pilgrimage and their coming out for learning. He said if a woman is allowed to go on pilgrimage why should she not be allowed to learn the articles of faith without which no duty can be performed properly. That her stay at home will not save her from falling in hell fire.[6]

To further bring to light the foolishness of these people, the Sheikh brought a practical example where the scholars allowed their women to attend naming and marriage ceremonies where illegal things like mixing of men and women, dancing and singing music were common or they (the scholars) allowed them to attend Ṣalat al-ʿĪd celebrations in gorgeous dresses with full make-up without criticising them. However, when the scholars saw women going out in search of knowledge, they said this was a grave sin.

The Sheikh condemned their opposition and ruled that it was incumbent on every one - male or female to learn what he or she needed of Ṣalat (prayer) and the like.[7]

Wathiqat al-Jawāb deal with essential reasons why women were generally not permited to go out. Most of the reasons were based on verses from the Qur'ān Hadith (Sayings) of the Prophet and Ijmaᶜ (Consensus of openion).

In this book, the Sheikh quoted the author of the book Raj Alqafar, who said the first quranic Sūrah (chapter) that deals with the restriction of the movement of women is Sūrah al-ṭalāq, he also quoted a tradition of the Prophet (S.A.W) in support of the Sūrah: any body who allowed his wife or wives to move about without specific reasons, would not have his fasting accepted, his Hajj(pilgrimage)would not be accepted and his Zakah (poor rate) also would not be accepted. Using Ijmaᶜ (Consensus of Opinion) as an authority the Sheikh concluded that such a man was an unbeliever. All the above explanations were inferred from Surah al- ṭalāq:-

> "O Prophet when you divorce women divorce them at their prescribed periods and fear Allah your Lord and turn them not out of their houses nor shall they themselves leave, except in some cases they are quilty of some open leudness....."
> Qur'ān 65:1.

On the basis of the above Qur'anic Ayah (verse), it is necessary for every man not to allow his wife or wives to go out unless there is a good reason for it.

If it becomes necessary for them to go out, guidance had been given in Sūrah al- Nūr where Allah (S.W.T) commended men and women to lower their gaze and guard their modesty in public. The verse went further to advise women not to display their beauty and ornaments in the public and to draw Hijāb (Veil) over their bossoms, that they should not strike their steps in order to attract attention.[9] Husbands are to teach women under their control these ideal conditions and if possible see that they comply with them.

The Sheikh also quoted Sūrah al - Muᶜminūn (the believers) where Allah (S.W.T.) described the Muᶜminūn (believers) as those who (among others) abstain from sex except with those to whom they were married or the captives whom their right hand possessed.[10] This shows that by restricting the movement of women generally, sexual immorality and corruption will be greatly reduced.

To encourage the observance of the above precepts, the Sheikh again quoted from Sūrah al-Muminūn (the believers) where Allah (S.W.T) mentioned the type of reward he has for those who observe good deeds throughout their lives. "Those will be the heirs who will inherit Paradise, they will dwell therein forever". (Qur'ān 23:9 - 10)

(b) Sheikh ᶜUthmān b. Fūdī dealt with various problems that were related to women education and rights especially as it affected their education, method and content, their rights in relation to their husbands and vice-versa, their appearance in the public and others. However, greater attention was paid to these issues in Irshād al-Ikhwān with

detailed discussions on conditions that will warrant women going out of their matrimonial homes and how they should conduct themselves if it becomes necessary for them to go into the public. Infact this literature review serve as an apetiser to **Irshād al-Ikhwān.** More authorities are cited in the Irshād al Ikhwān than in all the five books put together. Infact except in Wathiqat al-Jawāb which as a whole discusses women affairs, all the other four devoted only few pages to the issue. However, one could not say the discussion in the books under review and what is obtained in the Irshād al - Ikhwān amounts to repetition, rather they form a whole, each discussed under a given circumstance with the Irshād al - Ikhwān providing a peak on the discussion on women's rights.

(c) The relevance of the Sheikh's work to current thinking especially as it affects women's right cannot be disputed as far as Islam is concerned. It is as if the Sheikh is communicating with the 20th century Nigerian Society. In fact his work can never be more relevant to any period than this. The problem of corruption and immorality in our society is mostly as a result of having women moving about indescently without regard to laws relating to their public appearance. The Sheikh is not saying that women should not be seen in the public but, when they appear, whether married or unmarried, they should do so decently and most importantly they must have good reasons for coming out of their houses.

Today one notices men and women rubbing shoulders in our educational institutions, in the Ministries, market places, on the streets and in buses without Hijāb (veil). Some of them are in these places without any lawful reason, thus constituting a social and moral problem to the society, The idea of dressing properly or putting Hijāb (veil) is not only relevant to the Muslims alone, even non Muslim women who want to live a decent life can put on Hijāb (veil). What most of our contemporary women do not understand is that the putting of Hijāb (veil) not only ensures that they are responsible but also chaste, hence a woman with Hijāb is looked upon in the society with respect.

The subject of women education is echoed in all the books under review and the Irshād al- Ikhwān. This issue is taken seriously in the recent years. Women, whether married or unmarried, young or old, are seen searching for knowledge both Islamic and western which are needed for the upliftment of the individual and the society.

The Irshād al Ikhwān insisted on Islamic education which is Fardha'ayn (Individual religious responsibility) before any education (western) which is Fardha Kifaya (collective responsibility). This periority is important because without the first, the second becomes misused, and will not lead to the upliftment of the individual and society. May be this is where our problem lies. We do not care to give our women the Islamic education but make haste in sending them to western schools where the objective is basically material.

Of course Islamic education is also taught in these western schools but when compared with the overwhelming periods of the western subjects, the impact is nothing to write home about. Though our children start their Islamic education from childhood, they soon forget everything when they start going to the western schools because the society, the government, the media and atimes the parents do not encourage their children to learn about Islam the way they care about western education.

Without Islamic education women will not know their rights and obligations to their parents, husbands, and other forms of Muʿāmalah (Social interactions) within and outside the homes. Infact most importantly without Islamic education, they can not even worship their creator Allah (S.W.T) properly. Hence it is the right of every woman to receive her education right from childhood and this should continue even after her marriage. The advantages of educating her are numerous. She will be able to carry out her daily activities either at home or in the public not only in an organised manner but also according to Sharīʿah (Islamic Law). She will be able to educate her children in the Islamic way. She will give her husband his due rights and vice-versa. She will also not be neglected in the scheme of things. The simple saying that whoever educates a woman educates a nation is not taken lightly in Islam.

In conclusion, the relevance of the Sheikh's works on women education and rights and the comprehensive nature of this work cannot be over-emphasised.

Although the Sheikh's discussion about women in these five books under review seems to be brief, the areas covered are comprehensive while each of the manuscripts focused attention on a particular issue.

Irshād al-Ikhwān on the other hand examined in detail what had been discussed in the other books under review, while at the same time focussing attention on new areas. As it relates to relevance of time, the Sheikh's works on women's rights can never be so timed. If such books are made public and accessible to both men and women, most of our women who have missed their road will be able to retrace their steps in the right way, Inshā Allah (God willing).

N O T E S

1. Ibn. Fūdī, U. .: Nūr al-bāb p.28
2. Ibid p. 29
3. Ibid p. 30, 31
4. Ibn Fūdī, U. : Wathiqat al Ikhwān p. 25
5. Ibid pp. 26 - 28
6. Ibn Fūdī, U. : Irshād ahl Tafrit pp
7. Ibid
8. Ibn Fūdī, U. : Wathiqat al- Jawāb p.2
9. Qur'ān 24 : 30 - 31
10. Qur'ān 23: 1 - 6

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION:

There is no doubt that Irshād al-Ikhwān which could be assumed to have been written by Sheikh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī concerning women, constitute a major contribution to Tajdid (reform). Sheikh ʿUthmān had also treated similar issues in other manuscripts such as Nūr al-bāb, Wathiqat al-Ikhwān, Tandih al-Ikhwān just to mention a few. However, I have not been able to locate a holograph copy of this manuscript since none of the manuscripts consulted contained any information related to Primary copies most especially that the traditional practice of quoting chain of transmitting manuscripts had been omitted in the Literature of Sokoto Caliphate.[1]

This chapter aims at outlining the method employed by the researcher in this study. The methodology adopted is relevant to the science of the edition of Arabic Manuscripts.

Sampling Techniques:

To collate the Mss. of the Irshād al-Ikhwān, the researcher has sampled copies of manuscripts known as population obtained from sellected centre. It is not easy or even possible to collect all the available Mss. of the Irshād al-Ikhwān because of time constrain and shortage of fund. Hence the researcher has to restrict himself to a portion of the population.

A portion of the population is refered to as sample and the techniques of sellecting a sample from a population is called sampling.

There are two major types of sampling techniques. The probability and the non-probability sampling. The probability sampling is that which allow us to state the chances which every member of the population has to be included in the sample. There are various types of probability sampling techniques - the random sampling, Stratified sampling, and the cluster sampling. For the purpose of the collation of the Mss. of the Irshād al-Ikhwān, the researcher is going to adopt the stratified sampling technique.

According to Olumolaiye (1986: 47): "Stratified sampling are used in researches where the investigator

> has some knowledge of the population under study. In stratified sampling, the researcher specifies the characteristics of the individual or elements to be included in the sample. Those individuals who does not meet the criteria for inclusion in the sample are nullified".

In this case, the researcher was able to collect six Mss. for the purpose of edition and after analysing the various copies, two were dropped for not meeting the criteria for selection. Those selected for the collation are numbered A, B, C, and D, or ا ب ج د

For the purpose of Data Collection, the researcher used what is called cluster sampling. Cluster sampling mean area sampling: This type of sampling according to Musa (1990) is applied in Data Collection.[7] The proposed area are zoned so that the researcher will travel to each zone to collect his Data. This technique has the advantage of restricting the researcher to certain possible areas instead of travelling all over the places at random which fund and time will not permit. If information is not available in a particular area, zoning is extended to other places.

To collect these Mss. the area of research had been zoned into six all of which are within the country (Nigeria). The zoning was based on the possibility of acquiring one or more copy of Irshād al - Ikhwān from the various anticipated sources which include private collections, University Libraries, National Archives and others. The zoned areas are: Zone I Sokoto and environs; Zone II covers Lagos and Ibadan; Zone III is Zaria; Zone IV is Kaduna; Zone V is Kano and the last Zone VI is Jos.

c) The Manuscript and Method of Collation:

The researcher travelled to the zoned areas and visited many Libraries and National Archives. Starting with Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (A.B.U.), the researcher visited the Northern History Research Scheme (N.H.R.S.) of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (F.A.S.S.).

There were two copies of Manuscripts (Mss) of Irshād al-Ikhwān of the same hand writing in form of Microfilms. The researcher photocopied one of the two.

The researcher then travelled to Kaduna and at the National Archives Kaduna (NAK) were three different copies made by different copyists each was photocopied.

At the National Commission for Museum and Monuments, Jos there were no copies of Irshād al-Ikhwān. However, the journey was not fruitless for I was able to photocopy relevant documents such as the Arabic Literature in Africa - A Bulletin of Biographical and Bibliographical Information, edited by Hunwick, J.O. and O'Fahey, R.S. in three volumes.[8] The first volume deals with the works of Sheikh ᶜUthmān b.Fūdī and the Libraries they are located, the second volume deals with the works of ᶜAbd Allah b. Fūdī and the third with the works of Muhammad Bello B. ᶜUthmān b. Fūdī and the libraries they are located.[9] These documents will guide any researcher interested in the Sokoto Caliphate Literature in locating copies at various research centres in and outside the country without much difficulty.

At Bayero University Kano (BUK), the researcher went to the Post-Graduate Section of the Library but could not find a copy of the Irshād al-Ikhwān there. He was, however, lucky to purchase a copy from a local book seller at B.U.K Central Mosque.

At the University of Ibadan the researcher went to the Centre for Arabic Documentation (C.A.D) and the University Library (UL).

At University Library (UL), there was a copy of Irshād al-Ikhwān which is similar to the copy obtained at Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, (A.B.U) hence it is not relevant for the edition. The researcher was exposed to Magazines published by CAD especially those that deal with the Literature of the Sokoto Caliphate and Kensdale's Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts which were highly educative.

At Sokoto, the researcher went to the Sokoto History Bureau (SHB) and the Divisional Library Sokoto (SDL). At Sokoto History Bureau, the Ms. was not listed in the catalogue but was able to purchase a locally printed copy from the library.

d) Edition:

The word Edition in Arabic mean Tahqīq which originate from the word haqq or haqīqa which mean fact or truth

Tahqīq according to an Arabic - English dictionary means true, certainty, investigating the truth.[10]

According to Cowan (1960: 192), haqq or haqīqa means "Comfirmation, Verification, Identification, Investigation, Precision" and others. All these words are synonymous with the role of an editor.

Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary described the verbal word to edit as:-

1. To prepare author's work, Journal, letters e.t.c. for publications by sellection, arrangement and annotation.

2. To revise and make ready a manuscript for publication.

From the above dictionary meanings one can define edition as to prepare or revise an author's work or Manuscript through sellection or arrangement, and annotation before publication. An editor evaluates a manuscript or report so as to establish its quality and validity which makes it relevant for the purpose of Sharīʿah interpretation.

Tahqīq (edition) of a Ms. is not the same with editing a Newspaper, although, there are some similarities. In Islamic Studies, according to Dalhat (1990), Tahqīq consist of four main aspects which are Tahqīq (edition), Takhrij (references), Tarjamat (Translation) and Taʿlīq (Commentary).

1. Tahqīq is to investigate and find out the truth about authorship and the title of the manuscript and authenticate the copy.

To edit a Ms., a number of the same copy of Ms. are brought together collated with the intention of finding out if there are Tashif (Distortion) of words, Tahrif (interpolation) or substitution of words or sentences, Sāqiṭat Kalimah(omission of words) Sukut Ibara (omission of sentences) and lastly Ziyāda (addition) which may alter meaning or cause distortion.

2. Takhrij (references): This has to do with authenticating the authoritative sources quoted in the Ms. These source materials could either be the Qurʿān. Hadith or other fiqh books. A times, only names of persons are quoted without mention of the book. It is the duty of the editor to identify and authenticate sources of quotations and reference to persons.

Takhrij also covers brief biography of authors of the works quoted as reference, a brief note on the reference material and name of places mentioned in the Ms.

3. Tarjama (Translation): Here the editor translate the edited work into a second language. He must ensure that the translation is done without distortions.

4. Ta'liq (Commentary): The editor is allowed to make his own personal observation as regards the subject matter he is editing. He may also give other necessary background information that may help the reader understand the book.

(e) Description of the Manuscript:

From the copies obtained from the various centres, four were sampled which were regarded to be the most suitable copies for the edition. The manuscript described as Ms. 'A' or Arabic Letters is the one obtained from the National Archives Kaduna (NAK). This copy was boldly written with al-qalam (pen) and Tawwada (ink), the hand writing is steady and clear.

On a closer examination, it seems there are slight differences in the hand writing - may be the same person changing his hand writing due to fatigue or other causes. The pages of the copy are brownish and the edges of the paper are also chopped off which may be a sign of old age. However, the writing is bold and clear. Only the Basmala is vocalised.

The Ms. has approximately 16 lines per page, each page measuring 21.5 x 16cm. There was no indication of the date it was copied and the name of the copyist was not written. It has 18 forlios of 36 pages. This manuscript (Ms) has less error compare with Ms. 'B'.

The second Ms. described as manuscript 'B' or Arabic Letter ب is the one obtained from the Northern History Research Scheme (NHRS) of Ahmadu Bello University Zaria. The Ms. is in form of a microfilm. The envelop of this Ms. was marked MAH. This means that this copy of Irshād al-Ikhwān was one of the collections made from Misau, Sokoto, Katsina and Kano by Muhammad Ahmad Al-Hajj in 1963 and taken to Ibadan for micro-filming.[3]

This copy, according to basic information provided on the first page before microfilming had 21 leaves and measured 18 x 23cm. It was loaned for microfilming from the Sokoto Divisional Library (SDL). The one photocopied measured 20 x 15. 5cm of 41 pages of approximately 14 lines per page.

The writing, unlike in Ms. 'A' or 1 is not very clear. In several pages the pen used in writing was allowed to overflow with ink which messed up the writing. There are alot of errors of omission in this copy. There were instances where a whole Hadith text quoted was omitted. Compared with the other Mss, this copy had alot of omissions and commissions. Like manuscript 'A' or أ, the whole writing was not vocalised except the title of the book (written in short) on the left hand side of the first page.

The name of the copyist was also not written. However, it is indicated that this copy was made ten (10) years ago. It is similar to the copy of Ms. that is found in the University of Ibadan.

The third Ms, described as Manuscript 'C' or Arabic Letter ج is the manuscript obtained from B.U.K. Central Mosque. This copy is printed for commercial purpose hence the writing is very clear unlike the other two copies described above. It is also vocalised all through. There is no date to show when the copy was made and the name of the copyist was not written, but, the printing of the copy was authorised as Nafaqah (charity) by one Muhammad b. ʿUthmān Yasaky, Sokoto.

This copy has less errors of commission and omission compared with the other two copies. It has 21 folios of 42 pages measuring 18.5 x 15.5cm with approximately 14 lines per page.

The last Ms. which is described as manuscript 'D' or Arabic Letter د was the one obtained from the Sokoto History Bureau (SHB).

This copy is also printed for commercial purpose like Ms. 'C'. The printing done on an A4 size snow white paper is very clear and it is also vocalised. Unlike in Ms. 'C' whose writing is boldly written, the writing on this copy is sharp and closely netted.

This copy has 18 folios measuring 24 x 18.2cm of 36 pages with approximately 14 lines per page. It was printed by Gaskiya Printing Corporation, Zaria.

In terms of errors these last two Mss. agree with each other in several places when compared with Mss 'A' and 'B' hence I have chosen Ms 'C' to be the mother copy for comparison and as basis of collation not only because it has less errors of commission and omission but also because it is clear and accurate.

Variations between the mother copy and other Mss are indicated in the footnotes. Reading from other Mss. is only adopted in the text when it provides a sounder reading than the mother copy which may be in-accurate or difficient. In this case the reading of the mother copy and that of other Mss. which do not agree with the one adopted is given at the footnotes. In otherwords the text is a sound copy free from Mistakes and in-accuracies.

f) Translation:

The translation of Arabic into English is not an easy work to undertake. It is compounded with many difficulties. Some translators, in their effort to satisfy their contemporary Reader may decide to translate the original work in a modern style (language). This method has its short coming for it prevents the reader from having a deeper understanding of the spirit and thought of the original author and a touch of his literary talent.[11]

The second approach could be through literal translation, although it has its own short coming. It is the safest way for a thorough understanding of the spirit and thought of a writer of a different socio - cultural background.[12]

In attempt to translate Irshād al-Ikhwān to English, effort is made to provide the reader with both the literal and modern style translation close to the original Arabic meaning. Occasional phrases or words are however, added within brackets ( ), to make the meaning clearer.

In pagination of the Ms, the sign of two strokes (//) has been used to show the beginning of a page in both the Arabic text and translation.

For further easy reference, the text adopted as the mother copy has been marked 'A' and 'B'. 'A' stands for side one of a folio while 'B' stands for the other side. For example, 1A, 1B; 2A, 2B; and so on are used.

In the list of notes (Takhrij) provided on translation those Biographies with an Asterisk are Authors quoted indirectly by the Sheikh from other sources. This Consist of the views and opinions of others. In most cases these views have no direct refrence to any source or specific text. A few of the indirectly quoted Authorities have proved difficult to identify as they have only been referred to by brief forms of their names hence no information could be obtained about them.

Each brief biographical note is followed by a refrence to the relevant entry in the Encyclopeadia of Islam (E.I) and other sources such as Geschichte des Arabiachen Schrifttums (GAL) leiden 1967) and Sezgin. For the Maliki Scholars, the following Biographical Materials have been consulted al-Haj al-Dibaj al-Madhahhab of Ibn Farhun, Shajarat al-Nur al- Zakiyya fi tabaqat al-Malikiyyah of Mohammed b. Mohammed Makhaluf and others.

3.1 Scope/Limitation of the Study:

The scope of this study is limited to one of the works attributed to Sheikh 'Uthman b. Fudi the Irshād al-Ikhwān ilā ahkam Khuruj al-Niswān (guidance for the brethrens on the rules concerning the outing of women).

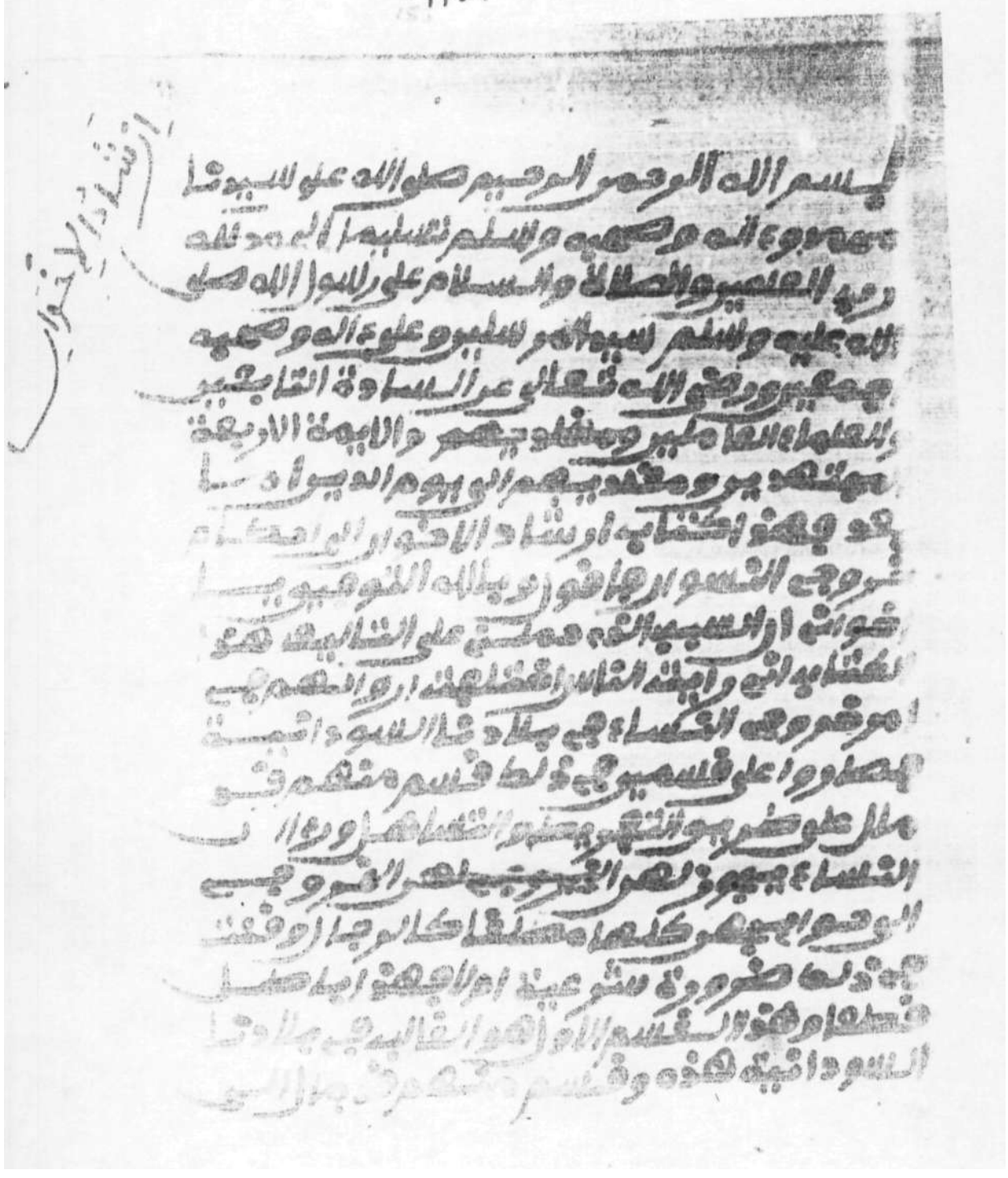
The research conducted on this book is limited to edition, Translation and some brief commentaries.

For the purpose of edition a number of different manuscripts written by different copyist were sampled out of which four were chosen. The Mss. were collected from various centres within the country.

21.2 × 16 cm.

20×15½

Appx. 20 lines



الاول

1

2

Approx. 17 lines

(١)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله
وصحبه وسلم تسليما: الحمد لله رب العلمين والصلاة والسلام
على سيد المرسلين وعلى آله وصحبه أجمعين ورضي الله تعالى
عن السادة التابعين والعلماء العاملين والأيمة الأربعة المجتهدين
ومقلديهم إلى يوم الدين × أما بعد فهذا كتاب إرشاد
الإخوان إلى أحكام خروج النسوان فاقول وبالله التوفيق
واعلموا يا إخواني أن السبب الذي حملني على التأليف لهذا
الكتاب إني رأيت الناس اختلفت آراءهم في أمر خروج
النساء في بلادنا السودانية فصاروا على قسمين في ذلك
قسم منهم قد مال إلى التفريط والتساهل ورأى أن النساء
يجوز لهن الخروج إلى الحوابي هن كلها مطلقا كالرجال وفعلن في ذلك ضرورة شرعية أم لا فهذا باطل قطعا
وهذا القسم الأول: هو الغالب في بلاد السودانية هذه
وقسم منهم قد مال إلى طريق الإفراط والغلو ورأى أن
النساء لا يجوز لهن الخروج إلى الحوابي هن كلها مطلقا
وفعلن في ذلك ضرورة شرعية أم لا وهذا × أيضا باطل
قطعا × وهذا القسم الثاني جماعة قليلة فلم نعرفهم
احدثوا

Ji u 111 E •>»

1. Bello, 0. : The Pol.i tjcal Thought oi.' M hammed i^»• 1 !.u d. 12C32 AH/l8/)7 CE as rwoaled in his Arabic V/ritincs more especial, l.y al- il'.a.yi • al-Wabl l'j Jirat al-imum a.i. . Ph.D Thesis, 198 0, p. .'1.

2. Olomolaiye, F. Ucsearch Method .!. tlelics, 1 , P* ^5*

p. Ibid p. Ji6

/(.. Edwards, A.L* Experimental Design in Psychol o;'-.i, cal Research, 19^8.

5. Olomolaiye, F. Op* Cit, P. k?

6. Musa, M. Basic statistical Methodsi'or Education Mid Psychology Modules, Elementary oamplin,-; Themv, Unpublished Material (199^)»

7. Ibid.

8. See Appendix I, II and III

9. In Appendix III, among the titlesnot yet fully authenticated are those *with* asterisk. They have b en comfirmed to be authenticated works of Mivhammed bel ko b. Fudi by Gi<lado laima in his Rawd al-Jinan Fj Dkikr ba*d Ka.rajnat al-Sheikh fcUbhman *cd* « and transl. by U.F. Malumfashi M.A. Thesis pp. - ^5*

10. Catafajo, J. : An Arabic ->nd i^iri l:i n Library [lie. I

11. Hunwick, J.O. Translated •;!~M->p;hilis replies to l:-e question of Aakia Al-Ha;i;i ijuhannned* . Ph.D. Thesis, (197*0.

12. Bello, 0. Op'Cit, p. 22'+.

CIAPTK3 *FOUR*

Translation of Irshad al-Ikhwan ila Ahkam Khurujj al-Niswan of Sheikh ᶜUthman bn Fudi.

In the name of Allah, Host Boneficient, Most Merciful.[1]

May the blessings of Allah be upon our leader Muhammad his family and Companions.

Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Universe. May peace and blessings of Allah be upon the loader of the Messengers, those who followed him, the practising Scholars, the four Orthodox Imams who exercised their independent decisions, and those who followed them till the Day of Judgement.[1]-

This is a book of Guidance for the Bretheren to the Rules Concerning th<* outgoing of Women.

I say-with the hope for success from Allah - that

(You should) know 0 my brothers, that the reason which prompted mo to write this book was my observation that people are divided into two groups in their opinions regarding the outing of women in this our Sudanese Country.

One group among them was inclined towards indulgence and negligence. It is of the view that it is permissible for women to go out for their desires without restriction^ Like men - whether or not there is legal necessity.

This however is absolutely v-rong. //

This first group is in the majority inthe Sudan. The othergroup is inclined, towards (other) extreme. Its view is that it is not legal for women to ;>;o out for theirneeds at all whether *or not* thereis a i.er;al necessity. This view 'is, also definately wrong;, But this croup is in the minority of which little is known of that practice in these Countries at this tirnc.

Therefore, I wish to admonish all the people by writing this book and explain to them a fair and moderate course, between the two extremes, as well as explain to them the rules concerning the outing of women in the light of what the Sunni [c]lJIarna (may Allah be pleased

with them) have said on the subject. The truth in this way will manifest itself and be adopted while those who follow the extreme path will come back to the rir;h.t - and moderate course.

As for the going out for their (women) needs, it is •permissible for them but, only when it is made necessary by Ijlamic Law. Such a legal necessity might be worldly like the going out to discharge their normal duties of fetching food and the like which is necessary for tnem* //

J

Sometimes their going out may be necessitated by religion such as their going out to seek for knowledge of individual duties of which no one can relieve another, if the instruction cannot be obtained from their husbands,

I have put down in this book twelve different reasons for outings arranged in accordance with the Sharifqh (Islamic Law) so that it will be simple and easy for any one who wants to know a specific aspect of what is wrilten in it. There is also information from the detailed rules on the various kinds of outing of women discussed in this book on other types of outings which are not mentioned.

The first is their going out for the purpose of seeking the knowledge of obligatory duties; the second is their going out to ease themselves; the third is their going out to the Mosque to say the Compulsory Salat (Prayers); the fourth is on their going out
for the Salat al-Juma'at (Friday Prayers), //

The fifth is on their going out. for Salat a I.-Id (Ceremonial Prayer); the Sixth is on their going out for Salat al-Istisqa* (Prayers for rain); the seventh is on their going out for Jan~ᶜza (Prayers for the Dead), and visit to the grave yard; the eighth is on their going out for Ha.i.i (Pilgrimage); the ninth is

on their

going out for wedding feast; the tenth is on their going ' out for buying and selling and others in the market; the eleventh is on their going out to (the Court) for Judgement; the twelveth is on their going out to visit their relatives.

As for their going out to seek for the knowledge of obligatory duties there is an explanation to it. It is compulsory (for them to go out) if their husbands could not provide them with the knowledge whether the place is only for women or for men in which case they have to remain behind the partition. But their going out is forbidden if the knowledge can be provided by their husbands or the place is meant for men, and no partition is there.

In Sahih. al-oukhori. a chapcer (reads as follows) a • • •

specific day be sot aside for women seeking for knowledge as it is explained by Bukhari in his translation. And,

*

among those who allotted special place for // females in teaching thorn the knowledge of obligatory duties from the rules of their religion is Sayyidi (My master) Ahmad bn Sulayman^the Ascetic* ᶜAbd al- Wahab Sha*rarii?further explains in his book Lawaqihl al-Anwari fi Dabakati Akhayari^ that he was the Sheikh, the

Imam, the divine Sheikh of the Sufi dariqah (Mystic) and Jurist among his people. He educated the men and revived the people's way# He also used to admonish the females in a special place without the males, and teach them rules of their religion and what is compulsory on them concerning the rights of their husbands and their neighbours# He used to say that these women do not attend lessons organised by Scholars and non of' their husbands teaches them.

fAbd al-Rauf^ said in his book Kawakibu al-Duriyat to fi Tara.jumu al~sadati al-Sufiyyati that he - Ascetic (Ahmad b. Sulayman) used to admonish females and teach them' the affairs of tin ir religion. The reason for the nick-name is because one day a man came to him in the bight' and taught him al Chamy (Chemistry). He commanded his servant to throw them inside the toilet and he should not inform -any one about it. The following morning (When the people learnt of it. //

They started calling him al-^ahid (the Ascetic) without the knowledge of what happened* He died in 820 A.H.

This is the discussion as regards their (women) going out to seek for knowledge of obligatory duties in isolation. And this is more useful and safer.

As for their going out to seek for knowledge in the place for males - for what has been mentioned - behind the screen, al - Ghazali has said in his book _ l'hya Ulum al-dTn "It is compulsory to put a partition between men and women to prevent them seeing (each other)". In Madkhal , it is said, "It was the practice of the Ancestors that the wife of the learned used to deliver the message of Islamic rules to other women in general, and to come specific males in particular behind the screen as it is known in manner of men - women conversation." Muhammad bn^Umar b, Abd al-A^i/, b. ^Abd al-Malik said, "We used to teach males and children while the females used to attend behind a screen from which we would explain *XrnSn[belief*)to them in clear terms that all of them would understand. //

Some devilioh people said it is abominable to educate women in this way and this rendered teaching them the faith abominable. If a woman can travel for

pilgrimage with all its conditions (taught and explained) to them, what more of Iman without which nothing can stand correct. Moreover, it wouldn't be of any good for her to remain at home in ignorance which is capable of leading her to hell fire. They have been seeing women in abominable acts at marriage ceremonies such as dancing to music (flute) mixing with men and throwing coins* There is also the fact that they go out in beautiful ornaments to ᶜId prayers and the like but they (ise those who objected) never opposed that* However, if they see women going to learn the source of what is compulsory on them and a means for liberating themselves from llell they would say this is (something) abominable (in Islam)* On the contrary, it is compulsory on every matured male or female to learn what is compulsory on him/her of Salat and others, more especially something that has to do with Iman (belief)* All these expiations are concerned with the (women) outing to seek for knowledge of obligatory duties. //

As for their going out to seek for general knowledge like thoir male counter parts, it is forbidden for them# In Ihya[1] Ulum Din it is said, "If it happens that a woman has learnt what is compulsory on her, it is not permissible for her to go out to seek for other types of knowledge except with the agreement of her hu.

.band."

It is said in Tikhiis al-1khwan^ "Some authors

■are extremely strict in preventing women from going out

that is if (their going out) is not necessary." Sheikh

If

Ibn Arafat gives a religious verdict in preventing them

from attending educational place to seek for knowledge,

and places of dh.kir (remembrance of Allah) and Wa[1] *zi*

(preaching) even if they are separated from males as

/fc - ^ 1*1 -2.0

al-KharashT, *Abd al-Baqi and Shabrakhiti mentioned

OJ #

in their commenteries on Mukhtar,-;r. [c]Abd al-Baqi

adds "Consider the words of Ibn 'Arafat; "they should

be prevented even if they are secluded", the pronoun

'they' refer to women in general, or only young

girls. This was mentioned by Sheikh Dawud. //

I Gay the verdict of Ibn Arafah that women should not go out to the assemblies of knowledge, dhikr (remembrance of Allah) and Waj_zi__(Admonition) should not be misconstrue*as some people without forsight understood it to mean that it is obligatory upon her to remain at home in ignorance which will leads her to hcll-fire. However, it is compulsory for her to go out and ask scholars if her husband did not take the responsibility of teaching her. In Ihya[1] Ulum al-DTn, it is said^ "if a man takes the responsibility of teaching his wife, it is not for her to go out and ask the learned *man* questions, even if the husbands' knowledge is inadequate. The husband should go and ask the Mufti and inform her of the Answer. However, if there is no such provision (for her) she would go out arid ask question • nd he (the husband) is sinful if he prevented her from going out." In MadkhnI it is s:iid, "it is conpu.) *nory* for a man to loach his wife, if lie is knowlodgeab'l <•, but if he is not knowledgeable, he should look for one to teach her or permit her to go out //

for learning. If the husband, refuses to allow her, she should go; and she is not to be blame, and she.'

has not committed any sin. The authority (Islamic) has the right to force him (the Husband) on the attainment of her education just like feeding her. Indeed, acquiring knowledge is (greater) than provision.

If he did not permit her the authority can permit her,[1]

This is a comfirmod issue by the Consensus of[c]lilania[<] (Scholars), If this is understood, you will see that the verdict of Ibn Arafat forbidding women from attending the assembly of knowledge, dhikr and zi should not be misunderstood to mean that it is Compulsory on them

bo *

sit at home inignorance that leads to hell fire - as those without foresight understood it. If you say it is now clear that their going out to learn knowledge of obligatory duties is necessary if their husbands did not teach them, and that the same applies v/hether it is an isolated assembly for them to the exclusion of men or if they are mixed behind a screen if the assembly is for men, and that it is forbidden for them to go out if their husbands could teach them or, if it is an Assembly // wf fiuleB with screen.

When it is established that the latter is forbidden (where there is no pl--.ee Tor women or screen in between), is it then legal for a scholar to remain at home and avoid going out to preach the message of

Islam, Tor the fear that his going out (for preaching) may lead to women attending his assembly organised, for men in which partition between them as in a journey is not possible; or due to the fact that his going out will involve him in witnessing the vices that are rampant in tiie land and those that usually happened in It aside from the issue of females attending assembly of men without partition? I say, in answer to that, it is not an excuse for him to *remain* at home without going out to preach Islam in various places. Rather, he should go out (to preach) but, he should prevent the mixing of males and female whenever such things happened iri his presence, lie should put men *in* one place and women in another and teach all of them that the mixing of men and women is forbidden according to the Consensus 6A of <u>[c]Ulama[l]</u> (Scholars), //

He should indeed forbid any vices in the place of his assembly so that oil those garthering will know that mixing is a vice, because majority of the people are ignorant of the Shari fuh. If the purpose of the Scholar in going out is to change all the evils that he can, it wouldn't be his fault if he were to withness those evils he cannot change, Al-Ghazali said in I.hva[1] III urn Al-Dln. "today whosoever sits in his house wherever it may be is still not free from some form of abominations by keeping aloof from guiding people, teaching them and directing them to the right course for many people are ignorant of the Shari^ah. It is there- fore binding upon every jurist who had carried out the obligatory duty (of teaching his family) and is free to carry out the Fardh Kifayah (general duty) to go out

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to the neighbouring towns to teach the people (therein) their religion and obligation of the laws. If one person undertakes this responsibility, others are exempted, otherwise the crime will affect them all. As for any

other //

person who has the ability to change a vice among the * people he should not relieve himself of the (responsibility) by sitting at home. On the contrary, it is compulsory for him to go, oven if ho is not able to change some of it. If he could change part of it, it bocomcs compulsory for him to go out because, if his going out is for the purpose of changing what he can change of evil,,, he wouldn't be blamed for seeing what he is not able to change. It is only forbidden for him to witness or see evil without any genuine reason, lienee, it is necessary for every Muslim to start by applying himself to the OWnpulsory duties and avoiding the forbidden things. Then ho should teach this to his family, his relatives and after accomplishing this, he should extend this to his neighbours, then to the people of his ward then to the people of the town, then to the people of the vicinity of the town in this way, up to the furthermost part of the world, I’f the immediate scholars do the work, //

the far away people -re exempted; otherwise all able people must go out bo it remote or near (location). This is a matter of -reat concern to a man v/ho is mindful of hie religion.

I said among those who use to move about in the tov/n to teach people!their religion is Ali al- Bujeri v/ho was described by[c]Abd al-Rauf in Kawakibu al-Duriyat l.'i Tara.jumi [1] i al-Sadati Suflyat that "he (Bujeiri) is a man of great knowledge,
Ascetic and faithful to Allah. In his generation there was no one like him, he is never unmindful of the affairs of the Day of Judgement and he usually says, "we seek peace from Allah". Since he grew up he never wasted his time nor put his body on the ground (for sleeping) for a long period of time. Sha'rani said "I accompanied him for 20 years; he is a man who combined litral meaning of laws with the spiritual requirement, he normally resides in the country side from where he visited verious places to teach the people tneir religion find guide them. //

He is hardly seen idle without imparting knowledge

(to others). lie died in 53 A.H. It is better for scholar v/ho goes about the town to teach people their religion, to prevent his people on what some of them indulged in when they approached town in reciting dhikr loudly as to be heard so that they will receive him.

In Takhlii:; al-Ikhwan the author said, Sheikh Abdari has condemed this act, saying that whoever decides to recite dhikr loudly (should know that) it is not among the acts of dariqa (mystic) in any way but contrary to their conditions. It is not but an innovation on the part of those engaged in it. Then, what more of the perpetration of those evils that happen to their loud recitation because as they move in groups when they approach a town, they will start reciting dhikr loudly. Their intention was not the dhikr but to announce to the people of the town and those

who are around it the arrival of the Sheikh and his jugarq (followers) for the people to come out to meet

them //

when the people (women, men and youth) hear their dhikr« This act is contrary to Shari*ah. As it has been mentioned many times before that a woman should not go out of h r house except on legal necessity and even then it should be when they go out in the aforementioned manner i.e. by putting clothes over their body, walking by the road side without talking except on legal necessity. ./hen they go out to meet a stranger they went improperly dressed and in some cases only a part of their body is covered and shouting at the top of their voices, and a corrupt scholar is well aware of the situation. What is more abominable and far from guidance is this event is linked with those on the path of religion (Scholars) and those who claim to be calling people to the way of Allah the most Hi.';h - we are all from Him and to Him we shall return.

Let us return to our main workon explaining the

different outings of women. -.//

As for their going to the outskirt of the town Cor toilet, tnere is explanation in it# It is lawf.'ul. if there is no pit latrines for thorn at home, while it is unlawful if there is one in the house as it is understood from the words of Ibn Hajar which w:i 11 also come later by the grace of Allah (the Most High).

In the section of women going to the backyard toilet, in Sahih al-Bukhari. it was reported from C-Aisli- (may Allah bo pleased with her) she said, ''The wiveo ol' the Prophet (p.b.u.h.), used to go out in the night to the backyard toilet vjhi.ch v/as an open space CHmar bn. Khattab used to say to the Prophet (p.b.u.h), 'veil your wives' but the Prophet (p.b.u.h), did not veil them at that time. One day Saudat bint Zam*ah one of the wives of the Prpphet (p.b.u.h.) went out in the dark ni.r>;ht# She was a tall woman and *'Umar on seeing her called out

"0 -SaudatJ indeed ve have recognised you "(He said this) hoping that an instruction on veiling might be revealed (immediately). Then an instruction on veiling was 3ahih al-Bukhari« *Aisha, may Allah be pleased with her, said that the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h) said (to women), "indeed you have been given permission to go out for your needs, Hisham said, "This refers to Baraza (toilet)",

CAbdurrahman Assuyuti mentioned in his book al-Taushyhi explaining the words of''Umar (may Allah be pleased with him)

So

to the Prophet (p,b.u,h) "veil your wives" that it meant forbid them from going out of their homes as veiling thorn is in line with covering their faces. This is what 'Umar said which was later approved by quranic revelation which do not go in accordance with it (the quranic revelation)

due to legal necessity." Said Ibn Hajar. Abdurrahman As-Suyuti again mentioned on his ClJmar) saying in the Hndn th: "the vor;;<> on veilin'; wa;i revealed while th iy wore t

•from a place called Arrauma[1] " because it v/as revealed in command to women to cover their faces. 'There is another story in Sahih al-ilukhari. It is the saying of CUmar:

"0 Messenger of Allah, //

indeed people of virtue and vices are entering into your wives' (houses)# If at all you commanded un puting Hi .jab (veil) it would be better'^ It is not possible to count them as one because the two issues of veiling ore different4 the verse of veiling was not revealed to prevent them from going out. What we said is supported from Hndith following this, that it "you are permitted to go out .tor your needs." Ibn Hajar, . however s .id, "the going out of women (in this case) ceased when there are toilets at home hence they stopped going out except for some necessity, /j This view is also in line with ^Umar's stand on veiling".'

As for their going to the Mosque for the compulsory Salat$_f$ there is explanations in it. It is # forbidden to Young women with exceptional be-.uty but it is not suppose to be lawful for those v/ho are not exceptionally beautiful. It is generally permissible for old women who have not lost their attraction for men // It is■ mandub (recommended) for old women v;ho are no longer attractive to men. It is mentioned by Al-Ghazali in Iliya[1] Ulum nl-Din "It is compulsory to forbid women from attending mosque for Salat when

fitnat (Temptation) is feared from thorn." Indeed, eAi.'ihah (R.A.) prohibited them. Then it was said to her, "the Prophet (p.b.u.h) did not prohibit tiiom from attending congregational prayers in Mosque.

There upon she replied, "if the Prophet (p.b.u.h) knew what women would have introduced after him he would have prohibited them". y* Scholars therefore used & that as a proof as Qustaliani - mentioned in his Ir.'-had "with regard to complete prevention of women in (attending Salat in congregation). My answer is * that[4]Aishah did not clearly prevent them even though her word seems to mor n prevention. Certainly AIL-ih is aware of what will happen but He did not revealed any prohibition concerning them to the Prophet (S.A.W). He would have prohibit them if what they (women) have introduced necessitated preventing them from

going to the Mosque, and would equally have prevent them from going to other places like the market. Also the innovation was introduced by some women, not all of thorn. If it became necessary to prevent them //

it should be restricted to the innovators," les their Salat at home is better than salat in the mosque. It is said in Mgdkhal "women used to go to the Mosque during time of the Prophet (p.b.u.h) and pray congregational salat with him and it is reported that the Prophet (p.b.u.h) used to hasten Salat because of the cry of children ....."

The response to this may be in two ways; the first beeing what Aishah (R,A.) said: if the Prophet (P.B.U.H) had known what women would have introduced he would have prevented them from attending mosque just like the women of Bani Isra'il (Jews) were prevented Secondly, Salat behind the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) cannot be equated to anything. Both cases are absent."

Al-Kharashi in his commentary on Mukhtasar upon the words of the author: "The going out of old women for Salat id (Religious festival-) and Salat Istisqa ' (prayer for rain), and on the going of young women to mosques, it says this means that it is lawful, or supererogatory for I qA old women who are no longer attractive to men //

ohe could go Tor ;iaialcid and ^alat Istisqa but it is better Tor her to go for the Obligatory acts* As for old viofflcn who are still attractive to men, these ones could go to the mosque but should not be involve in too much movement, is It/emphatically lawful for young women to go out to the mosque to perform obligatory congregational ffal.at* This is only allow if she is not too young and belong to a popular family* If she does, she is not allowed." This statement confirmed that women are divided into four groups (as regards their attending the mosque)

Shabrakhiii in his Sharh Ziukhtasar said in commenting on this place: Scholars have ruled that their (women's) going- out - should be in the night and that they should not -..ppear beautifully attired or perfumed because of the (hadith) "if any woman puts perfume she should not attend night prayers vith vs nor should she intermingle with men; any young woman whose beauty could cause fitnah (temptation); that she should wear coarse dress and lastly she should n®t decorate herself with Ornaments that will manefest themselves# But there is no harm in those that will not attract the sight or hearing of men. Bisati added that she should not be famous in beauty. //

As for their going out for galat al-Jumu[1] at$_t$ there is an explanation in it. It is unlawful for young v.'ovnon of whom fitnah is feared and Mqkruh (objectionable) to those from whom no fitnqh is feared and it is allowed for an old women who is no longer attractive to men. Al-Kharashi in his Sharh al- liukhtasar in explaining the author's words in the chapter of Salab al-Jumu[1] at, "It is Makruh to young ladies ..... from whom there is fear of fitnqh, said, "I do not regard her attendence as forbidden", , Abd al-.iaqx added, "In this case it. is lawful for old women v/ho are no longer attractive to men." It is said in Risalat that: "Young girls should not go out for it (Sql a t al-Jumu ' at), but old ladies can go."

As for their going out to at tend Sal~at[c] Id (religious festival) there is an explanation to it. It is lawful for old. ladies and not Young ones especially in this period when curruption is generally pronounced. If you said it is reported in Bukharl that Emm - tiyah said we were c<a unhanded to go out (for Sal a t*" Id) with the matured girls and. virgins

staying in seclusion" This shows that it is absolutely legal for women to attend Salat *Id //

I say: the Answer is similar to what ^ustallani t;a.i (1 in hi.*; book the 1 n;li~d. "This is only in that p< i*j od when fasad (corruption) 'was pronounced* Yes indeed, it is recommended in this period ..... for old women". A.L-Kharashi in his Sharh al-Hukhtasar on the Author's words that: "The going out of old women to Salat al-Id mean it is both lawful and supererogatory for old women who hrve no more desire for men. She can go for Salat al-Id" [4]A'od al-Baqi and al-Kharashl s .id on the saying of the Author concerning the merit of the two Salat *Id. "the u <o of perfume and beautification of body even for a non worshipper ..... this is in the case of other than women. As for the women even if they are old, they should not put perfume or beautify their body for the fear of fitnah."[11]

As for their going out for [3]Salat al-Istisqa[C]i (prayer for rains), there is explanation in it. It it: lawful for old ladies, but forbidden for young ladies.

ᶜAbd al-Baqi in his Sharh al-Mukhtasar exp.l aining the words of the Author in the Chapter //

oil I,'-,tlS'iaᶜ.:i, ‘’/hey ,;©• out-old men an,! women-in mid-morning walking in humility, clad in old cloth;;” said, "The Sheikh (may All be pleased with him) do/ended his saying on the verdict of Sheikh Lakhmi who said, three groups of poop.l e can go out f .ir Salat Istisqa*i - men, children who are matured enough

to pray and old women,”

As for their going out for Jann*zah (Funeral prayer there is explanation in it. It is absolutely forbi .Idon for young ladies for fear of fitnah (temptation). However, it is legal for young ladies if there is no fear of fitnah from them to attend Jariaᶜzah (funeral) of those v/ho are related to them like father, mother, husband, son, daughter, sister, and brother. It is lawful for old women to attend anybody’s funeral.

Al-lCharasJiT in his (commenting) on Mukhtasar said on the author’-s words: The going out of old wc-ion and young ladies to the Salat Janaᶜzah if there is no fear

of fitnah from them, of their father, husband, son, and brother" s'dd, "It mo-ins it is lawful for old women w'ho has reached the menopause (no longer observeing mentration period) to go out for Janaᶜzah and funeral procession of any person. //

She can also follow the bior to the grave yard* Youug women from whom there is no fear of fitnah could attend the Jana[1]zah of one she is seriously afflicted by his death like the father and others. It is makruh (objectionable) for her outside this circle while it is forbidden for her if fitn-.h is feared (from her)*" This concludes our discussion on the going out of women fo~' Jaria*zah.

As for.their going out to visit the grave yard, there is an explanation in it as we mentioned earlier in the section concerning their outing,

ᶜAbd al-Baqi said in his (Commentry) on on Mukhtar.ar" And on the author's words/visiting tne °;r ivc:[11] » "The outward meaning of the Author[1];; words is that it also applies to women, al-Tatra said, ",'Jhe should make her visit - in accordance with the rules of their outing to Ja.na*::- : as mentioned earin'er on". ShabrakhTtT said in liis .>1 •.i a. i.-Mukhtasar cone erning this matter:"Theirvisit outside

is divided into sections as al-Tata'i had earlier on /.lenti mod".

In Mad'.dial (it is said), "It is binding upon a scholar to forbid women from going out to visit the grave yards oven if they have dead persons related to them //
because prophetic tradition did not leg!timiso their going out, The prophut (P.B.U.H,) said bo women v/ho •'or wanted to go out/J.;.in~t,/,alit "Are you among those who will carry himV They .said "No". Are you among those who will lower him in the grave?" They said "No",

"are you among those who will throw earth into the grave", they said "No", He said, then go back, lor your visit is not rewarded" ..... "in another Hadith the prophet (p.b.u.h) said, "May the wrath of Allah be upon those women who visit the grave -.ind those who turn the grave into mosque" Abu. Dawud reported the Hadith in his sunqn and also al-Tirmidhi and al-Nasa'i also reported. Abd Allah b. Mas Sad (R.A.) saw women attending a Janaczah and drove them away. Hec Abd Allah said, By Allah I v/ill return if you do not and he threw 61 stones at them," Based on this (evidence) women have no share in at t end j ng Jana czah. Scholars are divided into three as regards their going out (for Jpnn^aah and visiting the grave). The first said it is forbiJion.

This has already been explained. The second said it is lawful by what is known in Sharicoh - if they are we11 dressed and conduct themselves properly contrary to what is happening today. Tlr..* third is the disti nc t ion between the old and the young women. It is lawful for old women ant 1 f orb i d den //

for yourig ladies, It should bo noted that the

differences of opinion among scholars are specifically on ’/omen of that period because of what was known o'

I no i f ways of b c I lav i o ur •

As for thoir join;" out to the r;r:vve y.",rd in this period may God forbid that any scholar or anyone with sense of honour and earnest concern in reJ i ,;ion to permit such an act for them. If there is a necessity for them to go out to the grave yard let them do it properly dressed in accordance with Shari^{c}ah (rules) as mentioned earlier on and not what is known of their

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abominable habit in this time," He said before this that it is required that they should be taught tne Sunnah as regards visiting graveyards if they must do so. Tradition of the Prophet (S.A.V/) had decreed that when going out, a woman should wear plain and coarse dress

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allowing a span of it to trail behind her,"

As for their going to Hajj (Pilgrimage), there i.s explanation to it. That it is compulsory for them like men if the conditions are fulfilled. Sheikh Khal*il^ in Mukhtasar mentioned some minor aspects of exception

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where he said: "women are like men except in long distance trecking and on sea unless a place is reserved for them in the ship ....." (where they couldn't mix with men)*and in addition to the presence //

of I-: u 1[1] ram in (relation or'husband .... ," like the requirement of a cafe companions, on an obligatory journey

..... on which case later scholar on whother women only r:o.y bo sufficient or men (only may be sufficient) or *If* there must be a combination of the two".

Al KharashT, Shabrakht* and[c]Abd [a]l-3aqT said on the author's word, "except a journey of long trecking" ..... "The apparent verdict is that the situation defers in accordance with the nature of the people because women of villages are not the same as women of the towns or cities for th.; fact that each women differs in strength and Weakness".^

Abd al-Baqi said on the author's words, "In addition to the presence of a Muhram (relation) or husband", ... "If the husband or Muhram refuses to accompany her uni.e -s oho had to pay something she can afford,it becomes bind in,;; on her to pay" ..... "[Ln] this situation it becomes 'orhi 'don for her to go (on the pilgrimage) among safe group (of pi! rii.is)* If cither the Mu hr;:,::) or the husband totally refuses *1* and od from her what she cannot afford, she can set out for tao Journey among safe group of pilgrims. This is mentioned by Ibn J.:.u:ia*:.ih from Malik'as mention by U_s. Apparently, if any of (the Muhr- n * * or husband) makes demand of what she can afford, she cannot go with the safe group even if the demand is high".

As for their attending marriage ceremonies, there are

explanations on it. That it is lawful if the wedding is for close relations and the necessity for her attendance arises and there are no abominable and prohibited acts in it, //

It is prohibited if there are abominable acts like

mi icing of men an[1], women, playing lutes and harp and others.

In Nawaz:ill Jain'i. rni.n al—mi * yari (the autl1 or ::ay;;)

"I was asked concerning the person whose wife gee,, out with uncovered face to wedding gethering involving Men and in which women dance. And I answered: with praise to Allah bhe Most High and the $O_n$ly one saying, the Answer is, and to Allah alone is success due, that indeed Sheikh Mishzali has given his legal opinion on some one with a wife v/ho goes out for her personal needs with her face and parts of her body uncovered in accordance with village tradition that his leadership in prayers is null and void and his testimony should not be accepted raid indeed he v/ill not cease to be in the wrath of Allah as long as he remains in this condition*”

Sheikh *Abd Allah Zawawi said: ᵘIf he is e.-.>able of preventing her and did not do so, then what Sheikh Mishzali said is correct.

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My master ᶜAbd Allah bn. Murzuqi said: "If ho is in Die position to seclude her from those who v/ill see what is not to be seen in her and he did not do it, hi;.: uprightness is tarnished but, if he is not able to do it in- any case there is no blame on him". The problem of these scholars is lighter than your issue // .tor the fact that it involves only their going out with face and part of their body uncovered, This i sue is closer and more a raropriate (and less severs) than your issue in which there is dancing in front of men. The

abominations involved in the mixing of men and women is not a hidd[n]e fact. VariVly, the Prophet (o.A.W) said, . "Make the breath of men distant from that of women" May Al.lah protect us and you from both the manifest nd hidden error and temptation. He is Holy and Disposer of all affairs of the believer and success is with dim.

About his letter, ^Ubaidullah to Ahmad b. Yahaya wansharishi.

As for their going to the market to buy and sell there is an explanation in it. It is lawful if they have no one to do it on their behalf like husband or Hahram (relation) and others like old women. It ishowever, H .ran-) (forbidden) if she can get some one todo it for her I among those mentioded. In Hadkha'l . (the author says) "The situation in which a young woman is allowedto go out for buying and selling is when she couldn't get any one to do it for her be it the husband or a relation. If she finds some -one to do it for li.-r, it is not lawful for her to go out because her going out wilI mean fitnah, but if she is not // of such that cause fitnah it becomes Mnkruh (objectionable) for her because the prohibition covers all women except the exempted ones like the old women in whom men are no longer interested. If she did not get any one to represent her among those mentioned earlier on, let her send one who can do it for her from among old women who do not attract attention (of men) or fascinate them; and

in whose appearance and voices there is no temptation. If this is not possible for her, she should not decorate herself with ornaments. This is better for her with her lord and more rewarding".

In the madkhal it is said: "if a persorfs family need to buy clothes, trinkets or something else, he (the husband) should personally undertake that if he is competent to do so. Else he should a.'points competent mu.1 knowl.odgeblc person to do that on his behalf according to the scholars and this known. He should not in any way allow them to go out because this lead to the glaring abomination which most of t, often openly <3o while sitting with the drapers and gold smiths and others* l*'or they (women) usually confide in and discuss freely with them as well as other similar things that usually occured between th And, many a time, this had led to //

grave acts of indescency." I said among the evils t: -iy commit its their coming out to meet the village hawkers• In madkhal it is said "the example of it is that thread seller comes and in some cases remains alone with (women) and this is illegal (for them to remain in private). Sometimes she (the women) and others will go to him in group and as a result of which evils and other illegal tilings may occur with him since most of them appear before him without Hijab«"

As for their going to places of litigation, there is an explanation on it„ It is lawful for old women and young women who are not attractive but illegal for women of admirable beauty* However, it is required from the Qadi (Judge) to give them special time or reserve a day, for this is more secure for them. In Mukhtasar, it is said "a judge should spare a day for women as the Juris consult and teachers (should also do)" In al-Jami.*- in explaining the meaning of this (special time) wherein there is no judgement except for the males or a special day where in there is no judgement except for females. "Between males and females, there should be three positions: a day for females only, //

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another day for males only and a day for both males and females. Some scholars put it into two divisions a day for men and a day for women and if the litigatioa is between a man and a woman the man is summoned on the day reserved for men and the women attend on the day reserved for women. However, in case of a be.utiful woman she should not attend but send a representative. *Is'* Ibn Ghanim (may the mercy of Allah be on him) use to put on a nsignificant scalp and lower his head on the day for women". ᶜAbd al-Baqi (in sh■ ir*> al-Mukhtar.ar) _-.cwm;siwnting on this place, that is where the author says: ᶜᵗ The Qadi should set a time or a day for women whe'Jior the case is between themselves or between men and women because it is more secure for them”.

As for their going to visit relatives among women and their relation, there is explanation in it. It is lav/ful if the aim is to strengthervblood-tie among women and those within prohibited degrees among mon, if necessity calls for that. But it is forbidden if it is among outside the prohibited degree of blood relation among men even though the person may be a relative like son of her paternal uncle or the son of her material uncle. Al-Kharashi and^Abd al-Baqi explaining the saying of the author of Mukhtnsar // ’’Not her father, or her won from another man in entering into her presence" said, "This means it is not

lawful „for the husband to prevent the wife from being visited by her parents and son from another man. Verily, the Shari^ah encourages the strenthening of blood; ties which the custom also upholds# Ibn Rushdi said, "it is the (duty) of the husband to allow his wife to be visited by her relations among women but not men except those

within the prohibited degrees ..... ” "Abd al-Malik explained that the husband should not prevent the visiting of her brother, paternal uncle, maternal uncle the son of her brother and the son of her sister# But the degree of preventing them and that of preventing her from visiting them should not reach that of the ptxents",

Al-Kharashi on the saying of the Author of al-Muklrtasar "like his vow that she will not (be allowed to) visit her parents if a woman is trustworthy and her husband .swears that she will not visit her parents"..... "This moan that he has to break his oath through the judge's order for her to visit both of them or do some other things of interest* //

Tin; implication of what the author said is tliat no j Ui!;’jonion t will be passed on him (husb nd) to (uLlov; her) visit her parent if she is not trustworthy cvoii i ' she is with a safe companion (among women) and the like.

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A similar opinion was express by Shaykh Marini al-Din." fAbd

al-BaqT then said (in his commenty on Mukhtasar)

"this is because of the possibility of the oocurancc of corruption in the cause of her ^oinj; out together with a safe companion (n,monc women) with the cxplanation of coming back home without her".

X said everyone should know that it is not lawful for women to go on any journey except with her husband or R-ihram (relation) or among safe companions if the j urney is a compulsory one, as it will be explained later by the grr<ce of Allah. AL-Kharashi, ᶜAbd al-BaqT and Shabrakhiti on the saying of the author of Mukhtasar « ► in the chapter of Ha.jj "And with the addition of a Muhram or husband" ....." Say this mean that the woman has an additional conditions to those of men in making Use obligatory Hajj which is that she must have a companion t her Muhram or her husband because of the saying of the Prophet (S.A.W.) "It is not lawful for a woman who believes in Allah and the last day //

to travel for a day and a night except there is with her a Mahram. He used general term Hnhrarn to cover all kinship relations and marriage and foster relations#" "Travelling for half a day, tv/o or three days and a night arc also reported. It was also reported that she should not travel any distance except with a Mahram v/ho will escort her." .... "The restriction does contradict the Hadith on generalisation becuase of the provision in the source of jurisprudence# This provision holds that generalisation is applied in a single case of restriction and not in anything above that; therefore, we are to act by the generalisation. It v/as argued here that the restriction was due to the differences between those who asked (Sheikh.) Hustapha, when he v/as asked whether a wornqn could travel a distance of a day without a Mahram He said no, she should not travel .....for a day without a i-'iahram. The same narration on the non-gen ralisaliou which was not understood for it (as non generalisation) What is meant by prohibited journey (here) is her being alone w-itli a stranger. It is said in the Risalah: "It is not proper for a woman to travel without a -i;[hram for a day and a night or more except in Hajj which is compulsory. The saying of M-vlik: "With a safe companion if there is no //

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Muhram it is for her to travel” Abd al-Baqi and. Shabrakhiti said on the views of Sheikh Khalil’s (Mukhtasar) in the Chapter of Kajj" like safe companion ^ • like compulsory Hajj and all other compulsory journeys like her conversion (to Islam) in the abode of Kufr (unbelief) she had to live v/ith a safe companion.

If there is no safe companion and it becomes harmful for her to continue staying there, her living the (above) place becomes necessary - if she fears living in both situations (remaining in the abode or lowing it),

she should do the simpler one, if they are equal she Sri should chose any one of them".

Al-KharashT on this issue "emphasise the point that safe groups is sufficient for a woman and such group could assume the position of Muhram or husband in a compulsory journey, not in optional journey, o^ing in the group is approved in the absence of husband or Muhram and in the case of the in capability of either

the husband or Muhram to be with her'.[1] ..... "the expression[5] in compulsory Journey" is related to a view not express in the sentence. It implies that it is lawful £w a woman to travel with a safe companion in a compulsory journey ..... " For example, if she embraces Islam in the abode of Kufr (unbelief) or is enslaved and it is possible for her to escape. She can also tr-vcl on pilgrimage for reparation or oath breaking. //

This is similar to a situation in which it become necessary for a woman to travel, the husband (iios (on the way) or divorces her, she then decides to return home, or- when she is from garrison town or wont for a visit”

I say all these are examples in which it is lawful for women to go out* As for what some women are doing today, the straying ones call ‘‘ in favour of our Sheikh” in which they are said to bo only for the purpose of deriving pleasure from seeing the face of the Sheikh, In TakhlTs al-Ikhwan, it is mentioned that "women, of our towns leave their husbands and their children for what the straying ones called our Sheikh, enjoying watching his face for a long time, after which they returned (home). And among them were those v/ho did not return in ignorance* And among wlvxt they lawfully engaged in doing is fasting which is protection from Hell and a woman cannot volunteer to fast without her husband's permission.

The same is true of the ritual worship".

Those who cannot agree on the false occurancc of grave corruption have been mentioned in succession.

So I will not waste time in quoting all what 'is said and done and what can be cited as evidence. //

Hence I said from the beginning of this book concerning controlling the outing of women from their homes that they should not go out of their houses except with legal necessity. This necessity can be wor.'dly like their going out to acquire the necessities of life*

At times the necessity is religious like their going out to ask scholars on (religious i .sues) for lack of teaching by their husbands# the Madkhal it is said: "If a woman has a husband, it is compulsory for him to teach her if she is ignorant of the rules of Islam* If he cannot, then the husband should allow her to go outside and learn, if he did not, then she can go without his permission as had been explained before* Concerning this, I mean, the issue of die wife seeking her right from the husband in the affairs of religion for the sake of which they are created Allah the Most High says in His iBook: "I have not created men and jinns for nothing except to worship Me"?' Verily, today, this area of educating women concerning their religion has been neglected and left behind and its pillars had become dull to the extent that it becomes unknown as a result of lack of discussion //

of it from the husband and mostly from the part of the wife. This is because the demand of the wives from their husbands today is on feeding and clothing and what is connected with worldly affairs*

But, what concern religious affairs is not important to them mostly, and they are heedless of it. Nay it never occurs to their minds as if they are not included in the command (of Allah). Their condition is that of those who are regarded to have forseeken it. If a woman should demand for her religious rights from her husband and raise the issue to the Authorities and demand to be taught the affairs of (her) religion by him (the husband)

or through some one, he should permit her to sake for knowledge* It becomes compulsory for the Authority (qadi) to force him on this as he may be forced on her worldly affairs becaus > the right of religion is stronger and more deserving to be (demanded

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and afforded)[1]'.' Here end this discussion /'rid with it ends the book, Irshad al-Ikhwan i'la Ahkam Khuru.ii d- [1]A Niswan. //

Praise be to Allah, the Lord of th . Universe* And may peace and ble. 'sing of Allah be upon Muhammad, the master of the Messengers, his household and al.1 '13 his Companions* Amin. //

NPTKS ON TRAMSLATIOi'J

Takhri.jllotos, Biographies and brief note on reference materials cited in the Irshad al-Ikhwan.

1. Musiime are enjoined to start anything important by mentioning the name of Allah in line with the Prophetic tradition: '•Anything of Significance which is not started with mention of the name of Allah is incomplete*', Ahmad

b. Hanbal, al-Musnad, Vol.II (Egypt.
1. 306 A.i'I.) p. 359*

2. The Author is here complying with the sayin ; of Allah Ta* ala MGod and His Angles send blessings on the Prophet 0 you who oclievej Send your blessings on to him and salute him with all respect11 (Qur1 an 33: 56)

3. Sahih al-BulcharT or al- Jami' al-Sahih is one of the most Authentic hadith collection in the Sihah Sittah. It is rated the second after the Our1 an. Imam al-Bukhari the Author of this Collection had hadith from 70*000 people and it took him 1G years collecting these materials* The SahTh al-BukhnrT is in ;-J Volumes*

The collection hos since been translated into English* (o- hih al-Bukhari Arabic - iJn J1;;] tr.nnslat:i on. by Dr. Muh'd Muhsin Khan, introduction. pp . XIV - XV).

^1. SahTh. rJ.-Buk'narT: Chapter: on a specific day be set aside for women seeking for knowledge* Vol. I, p. 80.

5. Al-Bukheri, Abu Abd Allah bn Ismail: A famous traditionist of Persian origin born in Bukhar 194 A.II/0IO C#B. He devoted his life time to the service of Hadith. He took extensive journeys in search of vast stores of traditions

which he carefully examined to determined those that are sound. It was only those that he considered to be sound that he recorded in his famous collection known as Sahih al~Bukhan. The work- has come to be accepted as the most reliable hadith Collection, Imam al-Bukhari died in 256 A.H/87O C.E, (Sahih al-

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Bukhara: Arabic - English translation by Mutid. Muhsin Khan, introduction pp, XIV - XV),

6, Probably Sa'id Ahmad b, Sulayman author of an Abridgement of 'Ubis Ikmal al-Ikmal, a commentary on Sahih al-BukharT,

7. [c]Abd al-Wahab al-Sha'ranT: A famous STjf!u belonging to the Shadhliyyah Sufi Order and a member of the Shafi'i School, He was born in Egypt in 796 A.H/1^20 C.E. and died in 932 A»H,/1^65 C.E, He is the Author of lawar:ihi al-anwari fi tabakati al-Akha.yari, He is one of the scholar that influence Sheikh [c]u thrnan b. Fudi, • (Martin, B,G«Muslim Brotherhood in the 19th C. Africa, p. 32).

o. 'Lav/a n i hi a I - An war i fi Tabaqat al-Akh,:.\;/arOm:

of the books of Asha'ar7j.ni dealing with biography of Sufies arranged in cla- ses star tin ; with the Sahaba$_{f}$ Tabi*un down to 10th century A,II. It was compiled in 952 A.H# (Fihris al- Kutub al-Arabiya al Haujuda bi[1]! dar Vo' . ->

PP 319- 320 ed, 1929 (Cairo).

9* [c]Abdur Rauf al-Manawi: A famous Egypian Lawyer born in 90? A.H/1502 C.E. He lived in Cairo - md died there in 1031 A.H/1631 C.

He wrote many books, including al-Kawak:i Hi al-Du.riyyah. (Kah al a: I lu[1] .j am al- Mu[1] a 13. i i' 1 n Vol. Damascus 195$ p. 220; Filin's al- Kutub al

Arabia al-Maujuda bi'l-dar p.

10* Al-Kawakib al-Duriyy,-.h Fi Tara.j im[1]1 Sadat al-Sufiyyah. This book is also kmy.m as Taba^at al-Hanawl al-Kubra. It was writ. ten by[c]Abdur Ra*uf al-Manawi. It is Arranged alphabetical ly in eleven classes (filiris al-Kutub al 'Arabi.yyah al- Mmnudah oil-dar. P. 311).

11. Al-Ghazali: Mohammed b. Muhammod b. Muh-'mrn-'d (d, *f97 A.H/1111 C.E) An eminent Muslim Scholar and thinker born in *L&k* A.li/1058 C.E, in al-Tus, in Khurasan.. He studied under emin:.'.nt Scholars including Imam al-Haramayn. lie was appointed Principal of Nizamiyyah School of Baghdad. He contributed imensely to Muslim Philosophy and played an important role in bringing Sufism and Shari[c]ah closer. iio v/rote many books including Ihya[1] Ul.um a.I-Dxn

(Jamil Alim ad: One hundred Great Muslims 2nd od. Lahore 1977 PP* 126 - 132.

1?. Ihya[T] iJ1um al-Din: "Revival of the Sciences of Religion" - is one of the most popular works of Imam al-Ghazali.

It has four volumes, the book is divided into four* The book of worshiping, the book of wordly usage; the book of destructive evils; and the book of Constructive virtues* This book has since been translated into English.
(Iliya' Preface p. 10).

13* Mqdkhal: The full title of this book is Kitab al-Madkhal Fi T^nmiyat al-Amal bl Tahsin al-Niy y at written by Mohammed b. Mohammed Abu ᶜAbd Allah al-AbdarX al-F- .si al-Maliki Ibn al-Hajj (d.737 A.H/ljJ# C.E) M?ᵥdldio,l is one of the major sources of refronce used by the Sokoto Jihadist in their literary activities. It is a book dealing v/ith innovations. It is in four volumes* I was able to locate all the volumes at the Library of the Shariᶜah Court of Appeal in Minna* (Kahala:
Mu Mam al-Muᶦalifin. Vol.XI p. 2.8^;
VA i v i 1:1 i: nl-A'lam V o 1. V11 p. ʳ>.

See iladkhal of Ibn al-IIajj, A chapter on the Association of wqmen with one another. Vol.I p. 276.

15# Probably al-Mftliki Muhammad b.ᶜUmar b.ᶜAbd al-A'/,iz Author of Kifayat al-Tul.ab al- Rabbani, ;ha.rh al Hisalat o f al-'^ayrawani . Is.
* .....
(Dar-al-Kutub Cairo, Fiqh Malik no. 15^-9)•

17. Ibn Arafat: Muhammad b« Muhammad b, v/orghami (d. 791 A. *11/* 1^01 C.E.) Maliki Jurist aid Mufti of Tunis, He held several Court posts in North Africa and Andalusia, moved to Egypt in 768 A.H/1382 C.E, and held the
post of Grand 4adi. He is the Author of the book a'l-Hududa ' I-Fiahiyyah (Encycl. o '-' Isia.m Vol. Ill (London 1965) p. 712 CAL Vol. II p. 2^7; S.Vol.II p. 3^7).

18. Al-Kharash1, Muhammad b.[c]Abd Allah (d. 1079 A,II/1687 C.E) A well know Egyptian Scholar of Maliki School. His commentary on Mukhtasar is titled Fath al-Jalil Sharh Mukhtasar Khali.1 popularly called **Sharh** al-Kharashi This work is still widely studied in the western Sudan (Attiyyat Allah: Al- Qamur Vol.Ill p. 227).

19* [c]Abd al-Baqi bn Yusuf b. Ahmad al-Zurqani (1020 - 1099 A.Ii/ 1611 - 1688 C.E). A maliki Jurist born in Egypt. He wrote a commentary on Mukhtasar titled Sharh Mukhtasar Savyidi Khalil in five volumes. (Al-ZirikJi\al- A'l>ma Vol. IV, p. *h-6*).

20. Al-Shabrakh1t1, Burhan al-Din b. Ibrahim b. Mar[1] b Atiyyah (d. 1106 A.II/169^+ C.E.) A famous Maliki Jurist and one of those who jroto Commentaries on Mukhtasar of Sheikh Kha.H L. j- lie migrated to Egypt where he died by droaariu;; in tlio Nile River.

"'1. Sharh. Inkhtar,c.r: Al-Mukhtasar is a fiqh work of the Maliki School by Sidi Khalil al.-Ju.ndi on which many Scholars have written voluminous commentaries including al-ICliarashl, *Abd al-Baqi, Shabrakhlti and many others. This is one of the popular works constantly referred to by the Sokoto Jihadists. I was able to locate some of the volumes written by al-KharashT and *Abd al-Baqi at the Shari^{c}ah Court or Appeal in Minna.

22. See Madkha I. Ibn al-H-ij j: A Chapter on their (women) going out to places Vol.I p. 27*u

23. Ibn Hajar, Ahmad b. Ali al-Asqalani Author of Fath a3 -Bari Sharh Sahih al.-Bukhari.

2U, ^Aishah bint Abubakar^{c}Umm al-Mu'minin wife of Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W) and daughter of Abu Bakr Siddiq the First Caliph. She was a woman'of strong intellectual powers and played a loading role in educating Muslim women and il.lucidating what concerned them.

She had a deep knowledge of the Qur'an and the Sunriah and was consulted by the Companions on matters relating to Ficih. She died, in Medina at the age of 57 or 58. (al-Shiraz: al-tabaqat (pp. ^{l}\7 - *+8).

25. Ibn al-Khattab,*Umar: The Second Caliph#
He .accepted Islam before Hi;jra after being one of the staunch opponents of Islam to become one of its prominent Supporters and learned among the Sahaba. He became the Second Caliph and during his reign displayed great powers of leadership, admini stmt ion and organisations. He reigned for 10 years and died in 23 A,II (al-Shirazi, Tabagat PP. 39 - M).

<-^{5}.6, Saudah bint Zama^{1} ah bn. Qays, she in the second wife of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.^{1},/,) She

was one of the earliest converts to Islam, lie (the prophet) married her at the age of 50 years after the death of Khadijah before migrating to Medina, (Malik, F.H. The wives of the Prophet Muhammad (S,A,V/) p, 106).

7, Sahih '.il-ijukhgri: Book of Ablution, Chapter on the going out of women for answering the call of natures,

28, Sahih al-3ukhari: Book of Ablution, chapter on the going out of women for answering the call of nature. Vol. I p, 108,

?S), Al-Suyuti, *'Abdur Kahman: A very learned and prolific Author born in Egypt in 831 A, 11/ 1V45 C.E, He was said to have memorised the Qur[1] an off-head when he v/as eight years.
He studied, many branches of knowledge under renowned scholars and held professional appointments in various fields of knowledge.
A shafi'i jurist, Lie wrote on Qur'an and H-'.dith Sciences, 1: w, philosophy and other Sciences. He is the Co-author of Tafsir L- Julal.yn a • iur[1] anic Gomrnent ary v/idely re • .d ia .Vest Africa. He also wrote al-Durr al-Manthur fi al-l'afsir al-Ma'thur another ^ur'anic Commentary. He died in 911 A.H/1505 C.E.
(Umar Rida* Kahala, Vol.5, pp.123 - 131;
Encycl. of Islam.■Ud.den. Vol.IV pp.573 ~ 575).

O. hih al-Bukh"VrT: .took of Ablution; Chapter on the going out of women for answering the call of nature. >. Vol. I pp. 107 - 108.

1 .bath al-Bari: i'ath al-BraT li Bharh al-BukhariT is also a commentary on oaliih al-ttukhari hach'. th collection written by al- 'As qallani b. H:\;jar (77;) - 852 A.If) The Sharh is in 17 Volumes arranged according to the chapters of oaltih <•11-Bukhartfci h.-1d ith Co 1.1 c.*at i.on* Tl 1. r e 1: •> • 1 so *I* of fath al Bari in Shar^iah Court of Aaocal

Minna; See *F-* th al-Jqri: 1'lu; Book of Ablution, Chap* on the going out of women for answering the call of nature vol. I p.

'/P., Th0 verse on veiling is Q, 2'4 :,;51 "They should cover (draw their veils over their necks and bosoms not to reveal their beauty" (Soe /Jahl.h al-Bukharl Book of tafsir, Jurat al-N'ur Q ?J-l-131 Vol.6, p. 267 English Translation).

' % il'ihih al~Bukhari: 3ook of Ta.fsir; Chapter which says: 'Do not enter the Prophet's House except when you are permited to eat food* Vol.6 pp. 29'+ - 295*

Vl. Soe Sahih al-BukharT: Book of Ablution, Chapter 0*1 the Going out of women for answering the call of nature. Vol. I p. 108.

;5'3. See Fath al-B-Tri: The Book of Ablution, Chap^.-r on the going out of women for answering the call of nature Vol.I p. 250.

See Sahih al-BukharT: The Book on the charactor-istics of prayers, chapter on the waiting of the people for the religious learned Imam.to stand up (after prayers). Vol.I p. 'f5B. See also al-Ihya[1] iCngiish translation by Kaulana

Fazlal Karim chap. II flue, 3 - come rules after marriage p. 3h 19S6 ed.

37* Qastalani, Ahmad b, Muhammad b. Abi Bakr b. *Abd al-Halik (851 - 923 A#iI/lH5 ~ 1!>17 G.E). An Egyptian Shafi'i Jurist, Historian and 'i'raditionir..t* He studied under a number of Scholars who include al-Shahawi and Abu Yahya Zakariyya al-Ansari. He compiled many books among which is his Commentary on Sahih &l-3ukharT under the titled Irsiiad . j j- al-Sari li Sharh Sahih al-3ukharT publ. in 10 Vol. by Bolaq in 1223 A.H., 7th ed. (Kaha'l a: Hu * ;j a m a'I.-Mu[1] al In f.i n_ Vol.. 11 pp. ■')

'•>0. Irshad al-SarT: Irohffd al- Sari !♦ sharh Sahili al- liukharT is a Commentary on Sahih al- Bukhari hadith[1] collection written by Ahr.r.d b. Muhammadu al-qastallwai (d. 923 A.II). The Sharh is in 10 volumes arranged according to the chapters of Sahih al- Bukharis hadith

Collections. There are four sets of the Irshad in Shariah Court of Appeal Minna.

39* I r sha d al - S ,:7rT. Chap. on the outing of women Lo the mosque in the darkness of the night, Vol.II P. 153.

'lO.See 3.:ilirh ,1-Sukhari: The' book of the characteristics of Prayers, chapter on the waiting of the people for the religions learned Imam to stand up (after prayers) Vol.I p. v,'.

Vi.See Sahih al-Bukhari; The book of the characteristics of prayers, chapter on the waiting of the people for the religious learned Imam to stand up (after prayers) Vol. I p. ^58,

42* See Madkhal lb. al-Ilaj j, section an mentioning some innovation introduced in Mosque in order to change it, Vol.II p. 223*

43. Al-KharashT Chapter of prayers for rain fall Vol.II p.51

'i4. al-Bisati: Muhammed b. Ahmed al-Ta'i (d. 825 A. H/l439 C.E) A Maliki Jurist and teacher v/ho was chief Qadi of Egypt for 20 years# (ilgyl pp. 300 - 303)

45# Al-Kharashi Chapter on the explanations of the conditions of Juma'ah prayers$_f$ it Sunnah steps and others* Vol. II p. '′i46.

46. Rlr.alat: is a famous book on figh written by Abu Muhammad^{c}Abd Allah b. Zaid al-Qayrawani based on Maliki School of Law. It is commonly readin *[-loot* Africa and a number of Scholars havewritten commentaries on it. (Umar Rida, Kahalah: llu[1] .ja.:n .MI-Mu'.M! li ('in Vol. Ill p. 23).

47. Risalat of Ibn Zaid, Section of Friday Congregational Prayers p. 47

48. Sahih al-Bukhari: The book of the two ids, * _ "3 Section: the coming of ladies and rnensturating women to the Mu3sallah$_T$ Vol. II p. 4-8.

49. Irshad al-SnrT: The book of the two ids, chaptei': Tin, corning of Ladies and mens turn ting women, to Llu* mussa! Lah$_r$ Vol. II p. 48.

vO. Commentary on Mukhtasar o L a !.-Kha rashT; Ja-.i ;.a*r ^ -r of the two ids. Vol. II, pp.

51. Commentary on Mukhtasar of al-KharashT: Chapter

of the two ids, Vol. I, pp. 5-6

Sheikh Lakhami. Abu Alha&san Ali b. Muhammad ' % al-Uabi (d* 4 78 A*H/1085 C.E) a celebrated Malikx Scholar La Worth Africa* lie had a :;ound knowledge of Adab (Literature) and Ir-dith. Amon;;; his legacy i a voluminous T “ commentary on \1-Mudawwanah v/hich he called al-'f.'absirah. (I'ahalah: Mu'jam al-Mu 'llifin, Vol. VII, P. 197? Huxton: Maliki Law (London 1916).

S'rvrh Mukhtasar Jawahir al-Iqlll: Clv.ptor of - prayers for rainfall, Vol. II p. 105 iioo :lr;o Mukhtasar Khalil: Chapter of .supererogatory prayers - prayers for rain fall, P- 52.

Commentary on Mukhtasar of r.l-ilhararin,: Chapter on Funeral Prayer Vol. II pp. 56-37*

al-Tata'l: Mohammed b* Ibrahim (d. 921 A*Ii/ 1555 C.E). A Maliki Jurist and for a while chief Qadi of E,jypt* He is the author of Tafsir ql-Magala bi hal a^l-Faz, al-Rlsala and Fath al-Jalil - a commentary on Mukhtasar of Khalil b. Ishaq al Jundi. (Sha.jara No. 1008; S. Vol. II p. 4 3 F i n h Maliki Vol. Ill Wo. 158; Khayr al-Din az-2irikli: al-A 'lam Vol. 6, p. 192).

Abu Dawud, Sulayman b. al-Ash'ath, born in Sijistan near visra or Sijistan in Khurasan in .’03 A.II/817 C.E. lie was a well known traditionist and a compiler of one of the Sunnah works known as Surinan Abu Dawud which is one of the Six Canonical H:\dith collections. He died in 275 A.K/087 C.E* (M* Siidiqi: Hadith Lit. pp. 102 - 107.

Sunan Abu Dawud is one of the Six Canonical Hadith Collection (Sihah Sittah) It contains * ''l, oOO sellected traditions. It v/as compiled by Imam Abu Dawud in Baghdad ?M 1 A.II# The distinctive quality of this

book is that Imam Abu Dawud collected only legal traditions (Ahadith al-Ahkam) in it and omitted others*

'X'his Sunan is an important collection hence most of the scholars have assigned it the third position among the Six Collection of Hadith after that of Imam Bukhari and Muslim. The book is in 3 volume (Prof. M. Hasan, Sun an Abu Dawud. Intro, p. V)^. See .Sunan Abu *PTwi\ir{:*

-he Book of funeral, Chapter: Women visiting the grave. Vol. II p. 919 English tra.nsl. by Ahmed Hasan. i'ubl. by Shoh Muhammad Ashraf 1 ••!: *t* •<» 1984.

al-Tirmidhi, Abu Is ah Muhammad b. I;'.ah: A renowned traditionist and the Compiler of the important work known as J<mi [1] aj -Tirmidhi. Born in i-Iakka in 209 A.H/8^4 C.E. al-Tirmidhi travelled through various Muslim countries in search of education.

He was a student of Abu Dawud al-sijistani, he also met Imam Bukhari, Muslim and others, Ho U_-d in Tirmidhi in ;74 A.*VP/)P* C.E. (Al-Siddi ;i: Hadith lit, p. 107.

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Al MasT 'i, Abu[c]\bdur Rahman Ahmad b. Shu'aab:

* i

A Traditionist born at Nasa[1]i in Khurasan in l[J]l A.li/o.yI Cm E. lie travelled. to Egypt, Diitnascus and other places in order to study Hadith.

A renowned traditionist oF his time ho compiled his hadith v/ork known as Sunan al-Nasa[i] i.

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He died in 303 A.H/915 C.E. (M.Z. Siddiqi: Hadith lit pp. 11? - 113.

60. ᶜAbd Allah bn Mas^ud (JR. A): is one of those eminent Sah^ba who wan entrusted with bho task of issuing f-.twa during Lhe Prophet's life time. He has been in the fold of Islam since its advent and v/as one of the emigrants to Abyssinia. He accompanied the Prophet (S.A•'.-/) in all his Campaigns and worked vs his personal attendant. The Prophet (S.A.W.) said of him. Believe in whatᶜAbd Allah b. Mas'ud narrates about mo. (M. ftakariyyah: Te-'chlnrv of I:-l.-.m p. 149.)

61. See Sun an Tirmidhi, book of Jgnaᶜzah. chapter: preventing women from visiting the grave yard. Vol. Ill p. 326

62. MadkhnI Ibn al-Hajj chapter on visit to the grave, Vol. I p. 250 - 251.

63. See Madhhal bn al-Hajj, Chap. on women's dress Vol. I p. 244

64. al-Jundi, Sidi Khalil b. Ishaq b. Musa (d. 767 A. 11/1365 C.£J.) He is a North Af lea Scholar and author of a popular fic?h book of the MSliki School al-Mukhtasar. A large number of commentaries had been v;ritten on it by many scholars. This work is widely studied in Hausa land and a number of scholars in this Area had mastered it. al-Jundi was an expert in Arabic, Hadith and Figh as well as tutor of many renowned scholars/jurist of his time.
He was killed by an epidamic. (lb. Farhun pp. 115 - I l⁽>).

Mukht asar Khal 111 Chap. of Haj.j, p. 77, and ' • KharashT chap. of Ha.1.1 Vol. II. p. 190,

Abd. ᶜ " •» . al-Bagi, Section of Hajj, Vol. II p. 420.

66. al-Kharashl: Chap. of Hajj, Vol. II pp. 190-191 also cAbd al-Bagi t section of Iiajj Vol. II p. 419.

67. "As mention by JH!. This is one of the abbreviations Used by Commentators of .-lukhtasar Khalil, Others are WaW, Za e.t.c. If#wever cAbd al-Baqi did not mention the meaning of E.

680 Commentary on Mukhtasar of al-Kharashi: **Chap.** of Hoj.jy Vol. II p. 191; See also Commentary on Mukhtasar of Abd al- Baqi, Section of Ha.'i.i, Vol. II p. 416.

69. Al-uiynr: The full title of the book reads A'l-Mi'yar al-.iu'rib an Fatwa rl-Ifri ;i.y;/aU wa'l Maghrib. It is a book on jurisprudence compiled in Twelve volumes by al-//ansharishi, Ahmad b. Yahaya a Maliki Jurist who studies under scholars of Tlimcen. I v/as able to see one volume of al-Mi *yar which io in manuscript form nvide up of 79(°> pa/','0s. There was no table of Content and neither was it provided with chapters at the post Graduate Research Room of B. U.K. Document No. 4909?• - ZirikIi' at-A1 1 un Vol. I, pp. 255 - 256.

Ibn Murzuqi, Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Ajisii A loading Jurist of Tlemcen born in 733 A.H. He held some accademic as well as political positions. He was a notable //aziri in Fez. Ho held accademic post in Cairo until his death in 731 A.ll/1380 C.K. (az-Zirikli'. al-A1lam Vol. VI p. 226.)

71. See Madkhal bn al-Hajj chap. On the going out of women to buy their needs and what ia associated with it, Vol. I p. 245.

7 •« Al-'fensharishi, Ahmad b, tahya b. Muhammad al-Tilimsani: A Maliki Jurist who studied under the scholars of Tlerncen. He suffered from persecution from the rulers of the town with the result that his house was Plundered and he fled to Fez in 87*+ A.If* He lived there until his death* He is the author of al-Mi'yar. (az-Zirikli: al - A1 1 am« Vol. I, pp. 225 - 226).

7;'. Sco Hadkhnl bn* al-Hajj chapter on the ;;;oin;;; out of women to buy their n.eds and what is associated with it, Vol. I p. 2^5.

, ; • Mu', .ht.nsar Khalx.1. ♦ Section of w,adi (Jud{.je)

75* al-Nafrawi:Ahmad b. Ghanim b. Salim b. Muhan -a •» al~Malik.T (d. 1120 A.H) Author of Fawaklh al.-Pawani a commentary on Hisalah ofcAbd Allah b. Abi Zayd al-^ayrawani and other works.

7o. Commentary on Mukhtasar of al-Kharashi:chapter on what necessitates expenditure Vol. Ill P* ."57 - 238*

77* Commentary on Mukhtasar by .-.1-Khar ash!: chant on what necessitates expenditure Vol. Ill p. 'y-\

7 • '• * Commentary on Mukhtasar by al-Khar a si iTi c! *u* ip t o r on what necessitate expenditure. Vol.Ill p.

79* Commentary on Mukhtasar by al-iJiarashT: chapter on what necessitates expenditure. Vol.Ill p.

80. Commentary on Mukhtasar by al-KharashT: Chapter on law regardin'; Hajj. Vol. II p* 191 •

o1* Commentary on Mukhtasar by al-KharashT: Clv.ptor on laws regarding Haj j. Vol. IX p. 191.

82, Hi sal all: Chapter on norms of speech prayers and

travel, p. 175.

71.

o;\. gil-KharashT: ocction on laws regarding Hajj

Vol. II p. 191

84. al-KharashT: Section on laws recording Hajj

Vol. II p. 191

85. al->ur[1] an: Chapter _[l];1 v. └*jo*

86. al-Madkhal Ibn al-Hajj: A chapter on the Association of women with one another.

Vol. I p. 276 - 288.

The edited Arabic text of the Irshad al-Ikhwan I La Ahkarn Khuru.jin rii:;wan of Sheikh [1]Uthman b. FudI

INTRODUCTION:

This chapter dealo with the Wrlited Arabic text of the Irshad al-lkhwan IIa Ahkam Khuru.j

a.l-l<i5vr:.-.ti of Sheikh [1] Uthmnn b. FudI,

Hie main body of the text is the mother copy while variations in the four manuscript («■> £ c- O collated -ire indicated in the footnotes. In the footnotes is also the authenticated reference quotations showing chapter, Vnt'firv; or |V i/'O rif f rtli) ■ ' *V i* ft|" *IIff*C'tr.n* may be.

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, j; j-->l L ^JL. j »;≔lP «JJ I JJ I J^—v ^JP c_J li# l&U-^J * (■•')

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المنع (١) فليكن لمن احدثت ؛ (٢) نعم صلاتهن في بيتهن افضل من صلاتهن (٣)

١ــ ب :"المنع" سقطت كلمة (٢) انظر القسطلاني في ارشاد الساري شرح صحيح
البخاري ، باب خروج النساء الى المساجد بالليل والغلس ،
ج ٢/ ص ١٥٣ المجلد الثاني ، دار الكتاب العربي بيروت لبنان

٣ــ ب ،جـ ، د : "لما احدثن نعم صلاتها في بيتها افضل من صلاتها"

٤ــ أ : "في المساجد" (٥) ب : "للنساء" (٦) ب : "يخرجن الى المساجد
في المساجد زمن النبي" كرر لفظ (٧) أ :فالجملة التي بين القوسين ساقطة

٨ــ ب جـ ، د : "وقد ورد ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم بكاء الصبي"

٩ــ انظر صحيح البخاري كتاب ابواب صفة الصلاة ،باب انتظار الناس قيام الامام العالم"
ج ١/ ص ٤٥٧ (١٠) ب : "عائشة" سقطت كلمة (١١) ب : "الرسول"

١٢ــ ب ،جـ د : "بعده" سقطت كلمة (١٣) انظر صحيح البخاري كتاب
ابواب صفة الصلاة ،باب انتظار الناس قيام الامام العالم ؛ جـ ١/ ص ٤٥٨

١٤ــ أ : "قد" سقطت كلمة (١٥) انظر مدخل الى الحاج ،فصل في ذكر بعض
البدع التي احدثت في المسجد والامر بتغييرها ؛ جـ ٢/ ص ٢٣٣

١٦ــ ب ،جـ د : "متجالة" (١٧) أ : "ويندب"

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A

التى لا ارب للرجال[1] فيها ان تخرج الى صلاة العيد (٢) والاستسقاء واحرى

١ــ ب : "التى الارجاب لا ارب الرجال" (٢) أ :"الى المساجد للصلاة العيد"

٣ــ أ : "الفرضفر"، ب : "للفرض" (٤) أ : "يقطع" (٥) أ : "بالجمالة"

ب : "بالجمال" (٦) أ : "للمساجد" (٧) ب : "جوازا" (٨) أ : "للمسا

٩ــ أ، ب : "في الفرض وهذا مالم تكن بادعت" (١٠) أ : في الشبابا"،

ف ب، د "في الشابة" (١١) ب : "في اصلا" (١٢) ب، جـ د : "وهذ

١٣ــ أ : [illegible] "التقدير"

١٤ــ انظر الخرشي شرح المختصر، فصل في صلاة الاستسقاء، جـ ٢/ ص ١٤

(الطبعة الاولى) (١٥) أ : "وان يكون غير متزينات" (١٦) ب : "لبحر"

١٧ــ أ، جـ، د : "اصابت بخورا "(١٨) ب: "ولا مشابة" (١٩) ب : "حشى"

٢٠ــ أ : "وان وان" كرر لفظ (٢١) ب : "تتحلل"، د : "تتحلى"

٢٢ــ أ : "ولا باس به وزاد البساطي وان لا يتكون"

وان [illegible]

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B

واما خروجهن الى صلاة الجمعة ففيه ايضا تفصيل و هوانه حرام للشابة (١) مخشية (٢) الفتنة (٣) و مكروه لشابة غير مخشية الفتنة وجاز (٤) للمتجالة (٥) التي لا ارب للرجال فيها قال الخراشي في شرح المختصر عند قول المصنف (٦) في فصل الجمعة "و يكره حضور شابة غير (٧) مخشية الفتنة (٨) والا منع (٩) حضورها" (١٠) وزاد عبد الباقي في هذا المحل " وجاز لمتجالة (١١) لا ارب للرجال فيها " وقال في الرسالة "ولا تخرج اليها الشابة" (١٢) واما المتجالة فتخرج

واما خروجهن الى صلاة العيدين ففيه ايضا تفصيل و هوانه جائز للمتجالة (١٣) وغير (١٤) جائز للشابة في هذه (١٥) الازمنة التي كثر فيها الفساد فان قلت قد ورد في صحيح البخاري عن ام عطية قالت امرنا ان تخرج العواتق (١٦) و ذوات الخدور" (١٧) و ذلك يدل على استحباب خروج النساء (١٨) الى صلاة العيد (١٩) //

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١ـ أ : "للشابة" (٢) ب : "وخشية" (٣) أ : "لفتنة" (٤) أ : "وجائز"
٥ـ ب ، جـ ، د : "لمتجالة" (٦) أ : "الصنف" (٧) أ : "شابة اى يكره حضور شابة غير"
(٨) ب : "الشابة و يكره حضور شابة غير" (٩) ب : "الفتنت"
١٠ـ أ : "ولا امنع" وهو تحريف (١٠) انظر الخراشي ، فصل في بيان شروط الجمعة و سننها الخ ، جـ ١/ ص ٤٤٢ (١١) أ : "وزاد عبد الباقي هذا المحل وجاز للمتجالة التي" (١٢) أ : "فلتخرج" ؛ انظر الرسالة ابني زيد ، باب في صلاة الجمعة ص٤٧ (١٣) ب ، جـ ، د : "لمتجالة"
١٤ـ ب : "متجالة" (١٥) أ : "في هذا" (١٦) ب : "الفواتر" وهو تحريف
١٧ـ انظر صحيح البخاري ، كتاب العيدين ، باب خروج النساء والحيض الى المصلى جـ ٢/ ص ٤٨ (١٨) جـ : "النسا" (١٩) أ : "العيدين"

مطلقا قلت فالجواب كما قال القسطلانى فى الارشاد انما (١) كان فى (٢) ذلك الزمان من حيث (٣) كان الامر من فساد من نعم يستحب ..... "ذلك فى هذه الازمنة ..... للعجائز" (٤) انتهى وقال الخراشي في (٥) شرح المختصر عند قول المصنف " وخروج متجالة لعيدين انه (٦) يجوز و يندب للمتجالة المسنة التى لا ارب الرجال فيها ان تخرج الى صلاة العيد (٧) انتهى" وقال عبدالباقي والخراشي عند قول المصنف فى فصل صلاة العيدين" وتطيب (٨) وتزين و ان لغير مصل .....هذا فى حق غير النساء واما النساء اذا خرجن (٩) وان كن عجائز فلا يتطيبن ولا يتزين لخوف (١٠) الافتان بهن (١١)

واما خروجهن الى صلاة الاستسقاء ففيه ايضا تفصيل و هوانه جائز للمتجالة (١٢) وغير جائز للشابة قال عبد الباقي في (١٣) شرح المختصر عند قول المصنف في فصل //

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١ــ ب : "فى الارشاد انه" (٢) جـ ، د : "كان ذلك"

٣ــ ب : "الزمن من حيث" ؛ جـ ، د : الزمن حيث

٤ــ أ : "للعجلئز" ، انظر القسطلانى فى الارشاد كتاب العيدين ، باب خروج النسا والحيض الى المصلى ، جـ ١ / ص ٢١٠ (٥) أ : "قال الخراشى شرح "

٦ــ ب ، جـ د : "انه " ساقط (٧) أ : " العيدين"

٨ــ أ : "وتطيب" (٩) ب : " فى حق غير النساء اذا خرجن" (١٠) أ : "الخو

١١ــ انظر الخراشى فى شرح المختصر ، فصل فى صلاة العيد ، جـ ٢ / ص

١٢ــ جـ : "المتجالة المتجالة " (١٣) م : "عبد الباقى شرح "

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CONCLUSION, KECOHMAMDATIONS AID SUGG ISTIOHS

'Phis research has been the Critical edition, translation and commentary of Irshad al-Ikhwan il-~ Ahkam Khuruj al-Niswan, of Sheikh ᶜUthman bn f'udi.

The Irshad al-Ikhwan is a fiqh book which centres on the rules and regulations concerning the outing of v.'omen from their homes. It gives as many -u; twelve reasons why a wom.ui should live her hou.se to *x'* tend to h •• various needs outside. These needs must be of necessity either spiritual or mundane. They include her outing for the purpose of searching for knowledge, joining salat J at/:[1] i going to Hajj, Salat al-Jumaᶜat, Salat al Istisqaᶜ, Sal-atᶜ Id, visiting relations, easing themselves, attending riarri- go nd naming ceremonies, going to the court to claim rights, attending burial ceremonies and visiting the jr >,ve yard. According to the* Shoikh, l.he list given in I lie* Ir.-.liTd :■ 1 -1!.iiw~m are not exhaustive. One may wish to suggest others like the need to seek for medical attention either for herself or her children, of necessity she may also be allowed to nurse a sick patient in the hospital, she could seek employment in public and private company if the parents or husband are ot well-to-do and she was permitted. Whatever i;. y be the r<; . ; for a woman to go out of her house she must seek the peri i. of her husband/parents, she must dress according to Islamic injunction, she must not engage

in private discussions with strangers or permissive people and .should relates strictly to her business.

This researcher is **Convinced** that **if we** abide by the rules and regulations **expounded in the** Irshad al-Ikhwan. **our society** will be free from immorality, spiritual bankrupcy$_f$ crimes and other evils associated vrith indiscriminate mixing **of** men and women. We will achieve a peaceful and stable society - a pre-requisite for attaining higher spiritual goals which is the objective of life#

The method applied in editing this work in order to produce a copy y/bic'n i3 closer to the Arohtype written by the Sheikh has revealed alot:

First it has i.mod beyond any reasonable doubt that che Irsiiad al-Ikhwan is one of ti«.e 'litrt.ry works of Sheikh HJthman b. i'udl* Hie style an-3 method of writing in the Ire had r-d-.Ikhv/aJi *ID* the *as'jne* with *al* 3. other comfirmed works oi Sheikh ^{c}Uthman b* jf'udl# *For* example, in most of hi; writings the Sheikh starts with prayers and blessings on the Prophet Muham/iiaa (&•A*W), hit. household, *Companion* and others and he ends his writings with gratitude to Allah and wimiiur salutation to the l'rophet (3.A*W)j Also noticed in the Irshad al-Ikhwan and similar Confirmed works of the Sheikh i6 his use of the word Intaha (concluded) at the end of quotations and pair seraphs. Another characteristic of the Sheikh^{1}b writing which is common with the Irshad al-Ikhwan is his constant reference to authoritativo source* when buttressing an arguement# Infact the Sheikh seldom

leaves his audience in doubt of the source of his facts;

(J)

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; 'lat al Jama[1] ah

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. astahab ai

Muharam " [1] * ■

iiuhaddithun

Pre-Islamic

period or when

I.;1: :nic Law is been ignored,

Cornmuni ty

Congregatio na 1 pr m y c-rs Funeral

>J> tr) v i i)/; in.I hi..* Causa o

1' lain;) Friday Prayers

Atonement Won-belie*ver*

Caliphate: Islamic *,>t* to havirv;

a Caliph as spiritual :.ud

teinp'.orai leader.

a responsible person, obliged to

observe the precepts of ohari [1]

■■.h

Disliked action

Problem

All human interactions including

spiritual

Believer

That which is desirable

A male whom a woman can never

marry because of close

relationship (e.£. brother,

father, uncle e.t.c.)

Hadith Scholars

(R)

. I i.ya Allahu Arihu — May Allah bo pleased with him

iya Allahu Anha — May Allah be pleased with her

(S)

,-j -.j.r — Second month ol‘ the Islamic Jar)

Calo.i

Sahaba — Companions of the Prophet

(s.A../.

salat — ritual Prayers

She i.kh — Religious leader

Shari[1] ah — Islamic Code of Law

Sha."h — Commentary

Sha,. tan — Devil

Sir- — Statement

Sit rah — Dressing/covering

Sun. ah — Practice of the Prophet (S« n« J J

Muhammad

Sunni 'Ulama** — The Islamic Scholars who fol

lowed

the practices of the

Prophet Muhammad (A# J•)

Sur.nl — A Chapter of the Holy .ur'ari

(T)

Tad Lis — Distortions

Ta'1im — Tea chi ng

Tp.jdeed — Revival of Religion (I lam)

Takhalit — Syncretism

T; ad a (Hausa) — Ink

(u)

[9]Ulu..na[c] — Plural for (’Alim) Scholars of I..

Ji u 111 E •>»

[c]Usul	Root
[e]Usul al-Deen	Theology

(W
)

Obligatory

Preaching

i'dhi

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Obligatory po'../r r t*.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

Only those works which have immediate bearing on *rio* study are cited*

The Bibliograph is arranged into four sect *ions:*

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Unpublished materials and primary sources:

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Section III:

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Bncyclopeadia of Islam

oi'JCTION I

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U.

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al-' : i rT

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twin

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Nur Al-bab

N. a.K.S. P. *7/8*

Ibn Fudi, U.

Tanbih al-Ikhwan al§ al-.iawaz ittikhadh al-ma;ili.;j

li min ta* lim al-Niswan ilm 1'urud -d-AVyan

N.H. R.S. P. 9/8

Ibn Fudi, *Um*

Wathiqat al-Ikhwan li Tab yin Dal i.1. at wu.iub

ittiba

al-Kitab v/a Sunnah wal ' i.ima wa Dalil I.j

l[1] tinab

al yudin bi Din al-lal. *m.*

bid'ahliman

N.J. R.S. *P. 9A.*

Ibn Fuc.iT, U.

Wathioat al-ja wab ala Su'al Did il man[c] Khuruj

al-*hi;*

N.Jl, *R*. S. J. M. 11

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SH. V UTMM^N H U HAMM 0 f

Prepared by *J.* 0. Ilunwick

The following bibliography lias been compiled mainly from the evidence of the extant works of Sh. 'Uthman and the list given by M. Bello in Inf7Tq , 187. I have also made use of the following secondary works: AbiT liakr (197-'.), Kcnsdale (1^55, 195^, 1957), Last (1965a, 19^6, 19f>7a) and
the manuscript analyses in the Ho search liul. Ictin ol the Centre of Arabic Documentation, University of Ibadan.
I have only indicated the subject matter of a particular work whon (a) this is not clear from the title itself and
(b) there is no analysis of the work in HOC AD. I,'here such an analysis exists I have, at any rate for the moment, 1 <•! t it up to readers to consult it for themselves.

The bibliography is presented in three parts: (i) those titles which may, in my opinion, be fairly firmly a 11 r i lui t d to Sh. ‘Uthman, (ii) those titles over which some 1< , 1 tin, .(«■ doubt remains and (iii) titles of works sometimes attribut'd to Sh. cUthman, but which are, in reality, collections made by others of sayings of Sh. cUthm5n or rulings allegedly give by him. It is, of course, possible that eventually some titli given in (i) may have to be placed in the doubtful category, just as some titles given in (ii) may prove to be authentic

works by Sh. Uthman*

Since the main outlines of Sh. (Uthman's life ai e fair ly

well known and have been the subject of several studies, 1 have not thought it worth while at this stage to include a brief biography for him as I have done for earlier scholars. The final published version will, of course, contain such a biography.

Sh. ‘UTKM*N b. MUyAMMAD FOdT b. ‘UTHMAN b. §.TlIIJ b. ILThT.N b. GURDO b. JOBBO b. MUHAMMAD SAMBO b. MASIR^NA b. AYYUb b. BllBA BXBA b. MUsA JOKOLLO, b. 29 §afar 1168/15 Dec. 173/1, d. 3 JumadS II 1232/20 April 1817.

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5. cAqTdat al-caw5mm
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   Perhaps the same as *Aqd <aqTdat a3-cawSnim (see Abu Bakr (1972), 260) and ^qc^aqTdat al-ikhwgnt MS: Sokoto, 1 copy.

6. AnwS[c] m51 AllSh allatt yajflz li [1] l-umarrt[1] qab<juha wa-sa iTuh<\

—^6- Jujri~~fida~~ II ..~~1~~22$7IT“'3uly"TB09)

MSS: Jos, 88 (attrib. to Mul;ammad b. Thain (sic)); h. a (NA), 1 copy; Paris (HI), 2413(194); Zaria, I '•

7 • AsHnTd al-<jaᶜIf al-mutashaf f i ᶜ bi 'l-nnisha ffa(Al j m.: •! SharTf. Seo al-Nagar (1984).

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MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 3; Kaduna (NA), 1 co »py

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L>a~ awa K.
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MSS: Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy.

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4 copies.

15* a 1 -Farq bavn wi lay Tit ahl al-Isl5m fT lh 1 in wa-wi 1 .*7'/~ t

ahl a l_“kuf_r

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• IffrSm al-munkirTn ʿalayya fT ro!I Smuru [1] l-n5 s_ bihi wa - f T mg anhffhum ʿanhu fT dTn A115h
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 246, 246a; Ibadan (UL), 258, pp. 150-67, 509M8, 509M9» Kaduna (NA), 7 copies; Kano (BU), 521; Niamey, 229, 277; Zaria, 154/4, 142/3, NTJ/Paden, 268. Publ. Cairo, 1959[1] i-[n] a ma jmtt* with Masᶜ Qd b. yasan al-FanSwT 8c Shams al-DTn [4] Umar b. al'-V.'ardl, Uᵘ.i.ja kSfiya wa-adilla shafiya.
a]-sunna wa-ikhrnTTd al-bidaʿ . See Halogun (1970) and (1975), 49-81, Abn Bakr (1972), 247-8.
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26. Irsh5d al-ᶜibSd ilS ahamm masS'il al-jihad
MSS: Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Niamey, 259: Sokoto, 1 copy.

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MSS: Ibadan (UL), 388; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy;; Zaria, 4/2-5.

Cf. M. Bello* WathTqat al-jawab ʿala su'al dalil manʿ khurPj al-nisa*, often attrib. to Sh. 'UthmSn.

MSS: Tbo dan (CAD)* 165; Ibadan (UL) f 508M2Q; Nianoy, *:iir*> (al-Sirr al-rabbHnT ᶜal?T. . , .)

29, IrshSd a 1-umma i!3 tayslr al-milla (Cf. no. 83 below)
MSS: Kano (DU), 133; Zaria, 8/1.

30 • Ittib5ᶜ al-sunna wa-tark al-bidᶜa
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 56; Kano (DU), 497.

31. Kaf f al~t^lihin ᶜ an (var, min) t <\k f 1 r { a wTTtimi n I - m u s 1 *i* tn T n See Infgq t 187.
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32. Kashf mtt ᶜalayhi ᵗl-ᶜamal min al-aqwSl mS 171
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33, al-Khabar al-hSdT il£ umtlr al-imfim al-mahdT
MSS: Kano (BU), 5^0; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy (..iIK amr..) . Cf, his al-Naba[1] al-hadT il5 afrwfll al-im5m al-mahdT. no. 46 below*

34, KifSyat al-muhtatnn
MSS; Xbadan(CAD), 24; Ibadan (UL), 255, pp. 48-GO, 268; Kano (BU), 527; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy.

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36. K. al-3d5b
See Kensdalo (1955)f no. 1*
MSS: Kaduna (NA),. 2 copiesjKano (BU), 4l3. Cf, BayUn 5d?Tb al ᶜibgdo wa 'l~tSᶜa, attrib. to Sh. ᶜUthm3n, MS: Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy.

37 • K. al-mabdhQrSt rnin ᶜ a!5m5t khurQ.j al-mahdT
MSS: Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy (K. al-ma^n

K. al-tafriqa bavn al-wu[cc]5s al-mafrintldTn wa-l»,ivn a 1 - vni[c c]
5% a 1 -i;iadViimlmTn
MSS: Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (BU) , 121.

• Lamma balaghtu. See below no. 101, Wird.

Manhaj (var. Minhff.j) al-[c] TSbidTn. Also called Talk!5 (nsrSr) kalgm al-MufrgsibT. Extracted from works by al-IJarith al- Mu^SsibT, d. 243/857, GAL S I, 351).
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MasIPll nmhimma (13 Dhn '1-Qa[c] da 1217/8 March 1803)

:. Migbgfr li-ahl hSdhg 'l-zamSm min ahl bilad al-SHdSn (1 Shaw: 1223/ 20 Nov. 1808)
MSS:’ Paris (BI), 2410(177); Sokoto (SIID), 1 copy.

45• Migbgfy al-muhtacJTn
MSS r Ibadan (UL), 129, 578,602M13; Niamey, 2″>7;
(SI 13) , 2 copie 3 *

45a. Muddat al-dunyS. See below no, 73, TanbTh al-f?Thim.

46 . al-Naba[1] al-hSdl i!5 afrwHl al-iniSm al-mahdt
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48. Nagg'ifr al-ummat al-Mut;ammadiyya, On doctrinal divisions among Muslims in Hausaland. See Hiskett (1962).
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 94; Kano (BU) , 24o; Niamey, 26 4; Zaria, 2/ >ꞏ

49. NagThat ahl al-zam5n (19 RabT[c] I 1226/13 April l8ll).
Advice on matters over which there is either disagreement or consensus, with a section on the MahdT. See AbO Bakr (1972), 251.
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 80, 392; Kaduna (LH), ; Kano (BU), 97, 239. 532; Paris (BI), 2416(211); Sokoto (SHB), 2 copies; Zaria, 2/3.

50• Nur al-albab
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 157; Ibadan (UL), 58, 385, 465M1, 465M11, 466M14, 491M22, 495M15* 497M2, 508M12; Jos, 1, 15 (Nqfc NHr al-albab), 842, 935; Kaduna (LII) 25; Kaduna (NA) , 27 copies; Kano (BU), 194, 5[2]5; Niamey, 371, 410(9); NU/Falke, 69, 5^5; Paris (BI), 2411(191); Paris (BN), 5557* ff. 1-6, 5610, ff. 113®-117b; Timbuktu, 311; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy; Zaria, 3/2, l40/i; NU/P$_u$den , ">00 ; Legon, 114 ,, 374 , 395.

Publ, Text and French trans* in Hamot (l897-8a), text and II.msa t, ans. by Alhaji Muhanunadu Modibbo, I• i t (a f i n Js'urul All.alii (Lit ta t" ill Via Mki.n llankula), C.a«;k i ya Co r j n . , n . <' . (c. 1979)t English trans. in Vali (I980).

51. 'id

i) DSliyya f 1 madfo al-nabT (1202/1787-8)

MSS; Ibadan (UL), 104, 145, 154, W>Ml6, 476M9; Jos, 92, 13B» 349,. 426, 578 (?), 590, 644; Kaduna (NA), 23 copies; NU/Falke, 52, 569, 778, 850, 900; NU/Paden, 298(2); Sokoto (SH 13), 1 copy; Le.e;on, 5, 25, 172.

Publ. First 15 vv. in AbH Bakr (1972), 330 Takh.

1. By cAbd AllSh b. Muhammad I'tldT.

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 134

Publ. in author's Tazyln al-waraqSt, ed. M. niakett , Ibadan Univ. Press, 1963, pp.

2, By cUthixinn b, Is^3q al-cAtht!r.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 2l6; Ibadan (UL), 507M16; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy.

ii) JTmiyya

MSS z Zaria, 89b. iii) Lgmiyya. Opens: Khayr al-anSm huwa 'l-maqgHd wa 'l-sul MSS: MAMMP, 8.4t, 271-5. iv) LHrniyya fX madfo al-Mukhtgr al-KuntT. Opens: DSnat Sulayrnfi fa-hal li *1-qalb macqai

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 397; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy, v)

(LSmiyya ?). Opens: A-yS roan lahu a c 13 'l-(ula

MSS: Jos, 483 (m/film, Ibadan (UL), 468M17).

Sh. cUthmSn also composed a considerable number of poems in Fulfulde, some of which are preserved in Ibadan (CAD), Ibadan (UL), Paris (BN), Zaria, and elsewhere,

52. Qaal-khisBm alladhT yaqac bayn fralabat c ilm al-kalSi.i MSS: Ibadan (UL), ll8; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (liU) , 545.

53. QavSc id al-galSt

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 128; Ibadan (UL), 90, 465M9; Jos, 167, ------- — 54 1 0 2 4 (—n o n — ^ f c o - . — Sh-. U-thoiTln)j—Kaduna (MA) , 1 copy; NU/Falke, ^92, 855, 902, 908, 932.

54 • CjauS* Ad al-t/ngOl i1?? Allah

MSS: Kono (HI*) , S't6; Zar ia , 162/2.

55* al-Qawl al-mukhtagar fT amr al-lmSma 1 -rnalidT al-nui iU /. a t *

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 25*i;* Kaduna (NA) f 2 copies.

56 • Hu.jP[c] al~Shavkh al-SanllsT [c]an al-tashdTd i!5 '.l-taql 7d_ f7 [<]aqg[t]id a 1 -1awfrTd

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 591 » 602M11; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy; Za i i a 151/2.

57 • al-Salgsil al-dhahabiyya li *l~ggdat al-gllfiyya

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 232; Ibadan (UL), lV», 266, »*>07M2<) , MVi ',()'/ , 1 508M18; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies, Kano (13 U) , 1/3 ; Niamey 310; Sokoto (SHD), 1 copy.

58. nl-Salgsil al-Qadiriyva (11 Junigdg II 1225/1 *fi* July I 810) MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 163, 231, 232; Ibadan (UL), 110; K.i'Iikwi (NA), 2 copies; Kano (BU) , 1?2, 202, 2'il.

59. Sovq al-ggdiqTn (var. giddTqTn) ila fradrat 01-Puds. On a sc MSS: Ibadan (UL), 59; Kaduna (NA), 3 copies; Kano (Bll) , 13 Niamey, *27 k;* Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy. 0 t i c 18;

60. Savq a1-umma ilH ittibg[c] al-sunna

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 60, 6l; Jos, 115; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (BU) , 135; Niamey, 655; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy.

61 • Shams al-il<hw5n yasla ji [1] flna bihS fT u^ul al-ady7in (19 J uiniT 1228/20 May 1813). See AbH Bakr (1962), 253, Tapiero (1«)68) MSS: Jos, 77 (? K, fT mTI yustadS* bihi fT afrkSm a 1-sharT*• a , attrib. to *Abd AllSh b. M. FUdT); Kano (BU), 499; Niamey, 4l0(l); Paris (BN)„ 5500, ff lb-lOb; Sokoto, 1 copy; Zaria, *k/l»*

62. ShifS[1] al-fthalTl fT mg ashkala min kalgm shaykh shuyUkh.inS JibrTl

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 46 5M12, 465M13; Jos, 16, 17; Kaduna (NA) 1 copy; Kano (BU), 183; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy; Zaria, 162/1

ShifS' al-nufOs
MSS: Tbadan (UL), 256, pp. f! l.ft-66 , 510; Kaduna (:. \ ) , I

64. SirTC.j nl-ikhwSn fT ahamm mg yuljta.j ilavhi fT hTTdhTT f 1 - y.arijTiri

(15 Shac bSn 1226/4 Sept. l8ll). On venal c u lama 1 t crypto-Mu s lini s, unjust rulers and others to be fought in a jihad.

See AbH Bakr (1972), 258, Jah (1978), 20, Hiskett (I9G2).

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 401; Ibadan (UL), 62, 169; Kaduna (LH) , 12;
Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (DU), 45, 243; Niamoy, 27; Paris (HI), 2410(179); Paris (BN), 5528, ff 225-238a,
5724, ff. l8a-26a; Sokoto (SIID), 1 copy; Zaria, 2/2.
Publ. n.p., n»d. (copy in Kano (DU), 208).

65. TabshTr al-ummat a 1-Afrmadiyya bi-bay5n bac<J manSqib a.l-Q«Td i r 1 v*

(14 Mufrarram 1209/11 Aug. 179^)- Biog. of c Abd al-QTTdir a) - JTlBnT taken from the Bahjat al-asrSr of (AIT b. Yflsuf al- Sha^annfT (d. 713/1317*) and its abridgt. by (.MI b. (Uniar al-BatanOnl (d. c. 900/149*0 called al-Lahja, GAL S II, 147, J MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 196, 229; Ibadan (UL), 507M31, 508M53;
Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (BU) , 118, 155, 170, 389 , 519;
Niamey, 262j Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy; Zaria, 7b.

66. Tabgirat al-mubtadi* fT umur al-dTn wa-tadhkira li 1 1-muntaliT fT ugfllihB

MSS: Kano (BU), 419; Paris (BI), 24o6(68), inc.; Sokoto (SHB),
1 copy.

67. TafrdhTr ahl al-Tman
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), ; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy.

68 . TabdhTr al-ikhwSn min iddiCS al-mahdiyya a l-maw<_nd a ?lkl 1 i r al-y.ainffn (1229/1813-14)

MSS: Ibadan (UL), ll6; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (BU), 537;
Niamey, 382.

69, TabpTq al-cisma li-.jamTc tabaqflt hTIdhihi 'l-unima min n 1 - i.11ini5c cal5 'l-dalSla ilg vaqt qiyTIm al-sHca. Comm. on fradlth 'My community shall not agree upon error'. Soc AbH
-- -- Bakr ~~(197a) i~~ ~~257~~. ..... -. ... . -
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 20, 177; Ibadan (UL), 508M32; Kano (HU),

132; Sokoto (SUB), 1 copy.

70, Ta*- I Tin al-ikhv^n bi M-umur allatT knffarnS biba fun 1 ijK .
SQcjffn alladhTna kfinQ min ahl hSfdhihi ' 1 -bu3 dBn (12 *!'/ I >• I)
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 25*i , pp. ^51-*19*, 1157, pp- 3 3-7.';
(DU), 100; Sokoto (SHB), 2 copies.
Publ. Text and trans. in Martin (1967).

7On, TalkhTg asrSr kalSm al-MufrSsibT. See above, no. 39, Manha 1 a1-ᶜ 5bidTn.

71. TamvTz ahl al-sunna ang5r al~Rafrm7In bay n_ rm ff5q al-dTn wa-fussHq al-dTn wa-akhrJg shay ’ min nia t.?T (a ,1 - dun yfl . :>(■<•
AbH Bakr (1972) , 25*i.
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 257, 28l; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Sokoto (SHB). 2 copie s.

72. TamvTz' al-muslimln min al-kEifirTn
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 8, 8a; Ibadan (UL), 113, 528, 329; Kano (BU), 122, 23*1; Niamey,. 363; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copv ; Zaria, 3/3*

73• TanbTh al-f5him ᶜal5 frukm ta»rXkh muddat al-dunya wa-k 11 a 1q a 1-ᶜ Slam (1223/l8o8-9)
MSS: Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (BU), 517, 5*/*/*; Manchester, 837 (K7) , 2 partial copies; Paris (BI), 2*/*05(? 13, 14, l6) • ; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy; Zaria, 80c.

7^ • TanbTli al-ghSf ilin wa-tan^Tm al-akhb^r w£\-b>adTᶜ al-a t h7I r
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 87, 88, **67M*»2j Kaduna (NA) , 10 copies: Kano (BU), 120; Sokoto (SHB), 2 copies.
Cf. a work of the same title attrib. to M. b. MafrmQd a .1 - Wa ny.arT.

75. TanbTh al-frukk5m. On the fyudUd. See AbO Bakr (1972) , 262.
MSS: Niamey, 282; Sokoto, 2 copies.

76. TanbTh al-ikhwKn ᶜalS afrw51 ar<j al-Sfldffn (1226/1811-12)
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 212, 52**, 602M1; Jos, 9^9; KadOnu (.NA), copies; Kano (BU) , 123; Niamey, *lhl* (inc.), 2f>5; l’<w is (BI), 2^15(208); Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy; Zaria, ?l/l.
""" Publ. Trans, in Palmer (1913/1^-191^/15)

77. TanbTh al-ikhw3n ᶜalS jawSz ittikhSdh al-ma jli. s 1 i-a j]

ta[t].lTni al-n.iswHn [c] i. Lin furutj al-a[c]ygn min dTn A i.lJT I > ,i 1 - !<,i'in,ri. MSS: Kano (HU), 187; Niamey, 289; Sokoto (SHD), 1 copy,
Zaria, 1^2/^.

78. TanbTh al-talaba [c]alS anna Allah ma[c]rPf bi ' 1-fitrn (11217/ 1802-3)
MSS: Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (I3U) , 538; Sokoto (SHU), 1 co;.

79. TanbTh al-umma [ala qurb hu.jPm ashrSt al-sZr[c]a. Sec AbP flnkr (1972), 251-2,
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 27; Ibadan (UL), ^38, 6 7; Kaduna (<\'A > ,] copy; Kano (DU), 555; Sokoto (SHD), 1 copy; Zaria, 169/t, 158/2 (extracts).

TanzTh rabbinff al-QuddPs [alS (aic) m7\ yakhtir fT 'l-nut'Ps
MSS: Sokoto (SHB), 2 copies.

81, TarghTb [c] ib3d Allah fT biffr [c]ulPm dTn Allah. See Inf ffq, 187.
MSS: Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy.

82. TarTq al-.janna. Sometimes called Talkhig asrflr kalTTm Al-T IJSmid al-GhazSlT. Extracted from the writings of AbP yjlrn d al-GhazSH (d. 505/1111), GAL I, 419, S I 7/1*1.
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 78, 3 76; Kaduna (LII), 3; Kaduna (NA) , 3 copies; Kano (DU), 139; MAMMr, 8.1. 265-73, 278-8];
Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy.
Cf. Paris (UN), 5602, ff. 132b-l40b, an untitled work by Sh. 'Uthman based on a work of al-GhazHlT.

83. TarwTh al-umma bi-bay5n tavsTr al-milla. Replies to 7 quest i< on beliefs and duties.
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 28; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (DU)$_f$ 518; Niamey, 36**;
Sokoto (SHD), 2 copies; Zaria, 15*1/5.

. Tatyib qu 10b al-ummat al-Afrmadiyya bi-dhikr ba[c]<j al-qaga ' i d al-OHdiriyya. See AbP Bakr (1972), 26l.
MSS: Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy.

85.. TawnTf a l-mus l.imYn ᶜal3 ljukm madhalnb a 1 -mu j t a! i i dTn alladhTnn lwnTl :nin fah_l a 1 *y-i n* cu.i t a]f'fa <jTn (*• [1]. - Cl .1228/9 Juno l8l"5) • Oil madhhabs - status of, - chanr in of, adhering to, etc.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 20*i; Ibadan (UL) , 389, 5()7M'i ; Kano (, 83; Paris (BN), 5599 , ff. 28b-52b; Sokoto (SUP.), 1! copies; Zaria, 151/3.

86. Tubfat al-frabTb li *1-frabTb

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 117; Kaduna (NA) , 1 copy; Kano(IJU), Zaria, 7/11.

87. *Udad (var. iᶜ d5d) al-dBᶜT i15 dTn Allah

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 198; Ibadan (UL), 257, 275, 508M55; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (HU), 56;Sokoto (MlIII) 1 copy.

88 . ᶜ Ulttm al-muᶜSmala

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 158, 257, pp. 100-167; 27 2 ; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (BU) , 209, 526; Niamey, *J 10(1*0; Si (SHB), [)kot o 2 copies.

Publ. English trans. by Aisha al-Turjumana in Ilandbook Islam, or1 Norwich: Diwan Press, 1978.

89. ᶜUmdat al-bay5n fT fI-ᶜulQm allatT wa jabat ᶜ a la 'l-aWTii

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 11; Ibadan (UL), *105 (inc.), ^78M7; Jos, *178; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (HU),*h h* , *1 1 *h* 1 ^98, 516; Niamey,Al 10 (6) ; Sokoto (SHB), 1cony ; Timbuktu, 238; Zaria, 15*f/3.

90. ᶜUmdat al-mutaᶜabbidTn wa f1-mufrtarifTn

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 12; Ibadan (UL), 126, 508M16, ^I, ('>02M Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (BU), 52; Niaincv, , I :• ; Sokoto (SHB), 2 copies. t

91. ᶜ Urodot al-ᶜubbHd fT mil yudTtn AllHh b.ihi min j i Iki t a 1 - ,s .i . wa *1-gawm wa-tilHwat al-Qur'gn

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 5, 18, 26; Ibadan (UL), 6~, 'V.'

<■■<■» —3—1 —2— 89—326 ,-402 --A09 , - 919, 103 3; Kaduna (iH),

13; Kaduna (N'A), 19 copies; Kano (BI') , 3ⁱ«5, 522, 5-3, 59 3; Niai.ioy, 170; NU/Falke, 97, 609; Paris (BN), 5ʳ' l'f, 91a-93b; Sokoto (SHD), 2 cojiioa; Zaria, .1^9/3 ([1] »■ • ’ I’ubl. /ai ia: Gaskiya Corpn, , n.d., Kano; Northern Kaklab.it Press, n.d. (in Ma,jmu⁽ ol-kutub al-mufTda) .

Amplification by M. Hello, TamhTd al-ᶜ imad.

4 Umdat al-ᶜulam5ˡ MSS: Ibadan (UL),77, 277; Kaduna (LM), 6; Kaduna copies; Kano (BU), 137, 266; NU/Paden, 296; Sokoto (SIID) , 1 copy; Zaria, 9/3.

UgPl a 1 -ᶜ adl li-wulZCt al-umUr va-ahl al-fajl (7 JumadcS 1 122')/ 20 Juno 1809).

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 6, 17; Ibadan (UL), 93, '465x27; Jos, 'lO; Kaduna (LH), I; Kaduna (Na), 5 copies; Kano (DU), *k*0, 533; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy.

. al-UgPl allatT nayltu ᶜ an AbT’l-^AbbSs Afrmad b. Muframmad b, ᶜTsn a 1-ZarrPc^ al-F5sT (d. 899/l'l93, GAX ¹¹1 ²53, S II, 360)

MSS: Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Sokoto (SUB), 38, 96.

. UgPl al-dTn

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 25; Ibadan (UL), 92, 191, 2^9, VjO, 465M23; Kaduna (LII), 3^; Kaduna (NA), 6 copies; Kano (DUO, 205, 5^3; NU/Falke, 1; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy.

Publ.^Zaria, n.d., Kano, n.d.(in Majmuᶜ thalBtha kutub)ₜ trans. Aisha al-Turjumana in Handbook on Islam, Norwich: Diwan Press, 1978.

3. UgPl al-wilSya wa-shuriltuhH

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 400; Ibadan (UL), 107; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (DU), 197; KU/]'aden, 301; Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy.

Publ. Zaria: Gaskiya Corpn., 196A (with Hausa trans.)

7. Vathiqa (il3 jamT<) ahl al-SOd^n

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 1*1; Ibadan (UL), 499M36; Paris (BI), 2^115(20^), 2^16(215); Paris (BN), 5519, ff. 212a-b.

r> t

Publ. Facsimile text and Eng. trails, in Hivnr (l[f]if>l).

98. Wa t (i > t al-ikhwSn li-tabvln dalilgt wujOb itnl-.V- a 1 - ki t.5b wa 'l-sunna wa 'I-ijma[c] va-da III i j t in5b al - bi d<i' li-man yadln bi-dTn al-Islam

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 19, 179; Ibadan (UL), 508M3** ; Kadun.i (5 copies; Kano (DU), 186, 593; NU/Paden, 266; Sokoto SHB), 1 copy,

Publ. Zaria: Gaskiya Corpn,, n.d. and with Hausa trans. ?. Alhaji Muhammadu Modibbo, Wagikatul Ikhwani, n.d. (**1979).**

99* WcithTqat al-jaw5b [c] a 15 su'Sl dalTl man* khurfT/j a 1 - n i m~ '

See Abu Dakr (1972), 26l.

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 535, 539, 602M21; Jos, 26, 20'J ; Kaduna (NA), 3 copies (attrib. to M. Bello) ; Kano (DU), l.M 179; NU/Paden, 295 (?); Zaria, 152/7.

100, Wird. Also known as Lamma balaghtu.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 16, 146; Ibadan (UL), 12'», 508MI ; Kaduna (NA) , 5 copies; Kano (HU), 1 ;i , 21*1, Sokoto (SHD), 1 copy, publ. Zaria: Gaskiya Corpn., n.d. (£. 1962) in Ma jmu< tha15tha kutub.

II* Works of uncertain or doubtful attribution

1. JdRb al-5khira. See Kensdalo (1955), no. 2.
2. al-[<]Aql al-awwal. See Kensdale (1955), no. 53.
3. Baygn al~[(]adl. See Kensdale (1955), no. 2. Cf. UgQ 1 al-[c] adl, no. 93 above,
4. BaySn avr5d al~im5m al~Sh5dhilT. See AbU Dakr (I972) 262, who reports a copy in the Sokoto Public Library

r>n

5• DawS' al-wasw5s

MSS: Sokoto (SUB), 1 copy.

Cf. [c] Abd AllSh b. M. FHdT, Shif5[t] al-n?7$ min dS » al-rhal /la wa [1]l-wasw^s.

6. al-Fagl al-awal, See Inf5q, 187#

7* Irshgd al*-^{c}ibSd ila ilgajrat al-ma^{c} bOd. Soo Kensdale (1955) , no. 9.

8. Iqtibgs al-^{c} ilm

MSS: Sokoto (SIID), 1 copy.

9» •al-Jgmi$^{<}$« See Kensdale (1955), no. 39.

I0« Kashf al-ghumroa. See Kensdale (1955), no. 67.

XX* Kashf al-yaslro, Soe Smith (I962), 33^.

^{12}* K. a 1- 7 ihSd. See lnfg$_{Qt}$ 187.

13. K. al-tagawimf . See Infgq, 187*

Mir'St al-f arg^{1} id • Verses rhyming in nHn on matters of fj cjh,.

See AbO Dakr (1972), 263, where first 5 w. are cited,

MSS: Sokoto (SHD), 1 copy.

Cf, a work of the same title by ^{c}Uthmgn b. Muhammad al-^{c}UthOrx, also verses rhyming in nTTn, MS: Ibadan (CAD), 214, ^

15, R. .il£ afrad umarS^{1} Kal FarwSn

MSS: Niamey, 56.

l6• RiySdat al-sSlikln

MSS: Kano (DU), 212.

17. al -Tafriqa bayn ^{c} ilm al-tagawwuf li 'l-takhalluq wa-^{c}ilni al-taflawwuf li ' I~tafraqquq.

MSS: Sokoto (SHD), 1 copy

Cf. no, 13 of this list, above.

18, Tahdhxb a 1-ikhwan. Soo Kensdale (1955), no. 36.

10. fa^rTb (jarrtrl ' 1-dTn
MSS: Kano (BU)$_t$ 530; Sokoto (SI IH) 1 copy.
All other known MSS attribute this work to ^{c}Abd AlirUi b. M. FtldT

20. U r, j H z n cjarThnt al-taljqTl . MS : Jos, 190.

21. Wa thTcja t tartTb al-niyySt
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 1.
Kensdale (1955), no. 82, K. al-niyya.

Kensdale (1955) also lists the following works which aru now known to bo by 'Abd Allffh b.M. FudT; XdTTb a 1 -^{c} 3d?T t, al~TibySn, TahdhTb al-ins5n$_t$ His no. 71, Mir'at aI~t?Pib is evidently Mir*5t al-tull5b (no. 43 of main list above) and his no. 76, al-MahdT al-munta^ar is al -Pawl a 1 -mukh < ,1 , fT amr al-imgm al-mahdT al-munta^ar (no. 5 5 of main 1 i st above).

III. Titles relating to Sh. 'Uthman, but not of his person. >J authorship.

1. DalS^{1}il 01-shaykh
MSS: NU/Paden, 277, 29**;Sokoto (SHD), 1 copy.

2. Khamsa kalimatnuqila(t) *win* faro shaykhlnTI ' Uthm?? r *t*
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 256, pp. 208-217, 522.

3. K. al-roasS'il ^{c} an (var. min) shaykhinJi 'Utt»n5n h. KfidT
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 21, 162, 186 (?); Ibadan (UL), 391, 5 0 8M 4 2, 508M17; Jos, 1098; Kaduna (NA), 14 copies; Kano (BU), 182; Manchester, 836(E); Sokoto (SHD), 2 copies (ono attrib. to ^{c} Uthman b. Jsty^q $_a$ 1 •-Towj HdT) j Zaria, 142/10.

4. Mas'alat su'al al-Shaykh 'Uthm5n b. FudT, attrib. to AbCI Bakr (b.) M. Tukur.
MSS: Jos, 68, 371.

THE _ W 0 O F ᶜ ABP ALLAH &. FODI

bv

J. *O*. Hunwic^

The two lists below have been established from a number of source.?; from lists and catalogues of collections in which manuscript copies of ᶜAbd Allah's *work.3* (or those attributed to him) are preserved, from the lists compiled by Kensdale (1956) and Last (1966 & 1967a), the history of Nigerian Arab i. literature by Abtl Dakr (1972) and the thesis of Gwandu (1975) The distinction betwoen works 'firmly attributed' to (Abd Al I and those 'not yet fully authenticated has not been an ca-y one to make and such a classification must be regarded at thi stage as only tentative. My general guide-line was to conside as 'firmly attributed[1] a title which either

(a) I had verified for myself by examination of a manuscript copy, or (b) was attested to by two independent sources, one of which was derived from a manuscript. Since, however, it has not been possible for me to verify whether such titles given by others wero taken from the body of the text or merely from an attribution on the first folio of the copy concerned, some slight doubt still prevails regarding a few of these. This rule of attest ation has not been followed rigorously in the case of poems forwhich, more frequently only a single copy is available and it is rare to find confirmation of their existence from other sources.

The list of titles not yet fully authenticated contains a number of titles which are certainly in the style of those commonly used byᶜAbd Allah (e.g. nos. 2, 3, 9, 18) and it is to be hoped that these will later be confirmed from actual ms copies.- Others among these titles are perhaps only general

indications of subject matter (e.g. nos. 4, 1O, 11, J3,] ' , 2O) and many, in fact, may prove to be false title® for books which are already known under rml or specu ic I i. 1 I i Since ᶜAbd AllEh's life is reasonably well known, n > \ i graphy is given here, though a biographical entry for hn.i will appear in the published work.

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O

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^1057) 'Material relating to the state ol

Hiske 11, K. learning among the.. Fulani before j ih?i d [1] t D50A5 ,

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.j ihad ' , Ph. D. dissertati

Zahra doen McGill University.

c ADD ALL^II b. MUHAMMAD FODT, 1st nnur ol £» *> b .
1766-7, d* 6 Mu^arram 1245/8 July 1829.

I. Works firmly attributed to cAbd Allah

1„ Tidab al~(ad3t *ala sunnat al-Rasul vn •• 11 -'b ic rh i 1 1 - «SdJT t
Ol^! - J) .UAjLij _rJI ii— . sU1.1 LJ; (j
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 255, 28? . 3^1, IJiMlfcO, 3?6
(ff. l6l-l69); Ibadan vCAD), 3 4; Jo3, - ' k,
(NA), 1 copy; Kano (BU) , 82; Sokoto 117,
1181 611.

2. TCdab a l-muc Sshara li-t^l^b al-na jKt
'd L>oJ I cjJJaj _____ 0 jZ- UJI !
;> I (y
On conjugal relations, taken from the Ifrya1 of al-GhazSlT, MSS: Ibadan (UL), 256(ff. 86-92), 256 (ff. 100-112), 525; 'Kano (BU), 65, 201; Sokoto (SHB), 266, 6l?, v30.

3* Akhlgq al-Mustafg J5U,(J.
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 119; Kano (DU), 207; Sokoto VSHD), 116, 485, 503; Zaria, 30/9.

4, c Al^mat al-muttabi(ln li-sunnat UasQl Allah
*JJ I J--- JljU^ (
(
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 271; Ibadan (UL), 2, 160, 280 294, ,376(ff. 251-255); Jos, 146, 939; Kaduna (N, copies; Kano (DU), 36; Niamey, 3^5; Sokoto '•i"\ 101, 707; Zaria, 70/3.

5. Alfiyyat al-ugfil wa-binS* al-furUc c alayha (4 RabI: 1215/26 July 1800) LjjlXc LJJU\ • IX/j J^VI LOil V, Vv. on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence.
MSS: Kano (BU), 153.
Publ. Cairo: D£r al-kitab al-carabX, 1381/1961 (- N>'/ Paden, 246).

6- AsSnld, al-BukhBrS UJI jup(_l t\
See Kensdale (195&), no. 2.
~MSsT Ibada7T~(ULT7~T5trTTsnff<3TTT") ---------- -----

7. A«1 al-FallZ?tTn (var. Tu llflnivvin) .

MSS: Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (HU), 128 ; Niamey, I I.

8. al-haljr al-inublt tT • 1-naljw (12^7/1821-2)

See Abu Dalcr (1972), 276.

Vers, of al-Suyn^T (d • 911/1505) » Jam< al-jawTTmi* and his comm, Ham^c al-hawami^c, GAL II, 155
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 69; Kano (BU), 4o4, 553; Sokoto (SHI;), 7^r,.

9, BavSn adab al-^cib3dSt wa 'l-^c£dSt , .

See Gwandu (1977)> no. 9,

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 283 (Baygn al-tibadflt...)
Cf. no, 1 above, the K. al-fidab and var. titles by or attrib. to Sh. ‘UthmSn,

10. BavSn al-ark5n wa 'l-shurut li ^fl-tarTqat al-sHfivva wa-talqTn al-agmS[1] al-sab((ala tarTgat al-sadSt a 1 - Khalwativya (post 1232/1817). See Abu Bakr (1972), 282.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 56; Ibadan (UL), 257(pp. I69-I79), 271; Kano (BU), 11, 54, 74; Sokoto (SHB), 400.

11. Paw * al-mugallT (1213/1798-9) ^Uxji ())
Opens: ^^—O V «iJJI <JJ o_>JI
al-yamdu li «UShi *lladhi IS yansa

See Abu Bakr (1972), 269 • .

MSS: Jos, 218 (with anon, comm.), 448, 726, 985; Kaduna (NA), 12 copies; Kano (BU), 75; Ibadan (CAD), 46; Ibadan (UL), 596; Niamey, 375, 954, 1496, 1816; NU/Falke, 779; NU/Paden, 247; Sokoto (SHB), 100, 638, 728, 76O; Timbuktu, 332, 342.

Publ, Zaria: Gaskiya Corpn., n.d.
With comm, of Muhammad al-wazir al-BarntfwI, Abeokuta,

1949, 1953.

12. Dawa[1] al-wasw5s wa [1]1-fthafaISt f 1 » 1-galat wa-gir.'T'at a 3-Qur*5n wa *l-da[c]aw5t (13 Mul^arram 1242/17 Aug. 1826)
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 36; Ibadan (UL), 95; Kaduna (N'A) , 1 copy; Kano (DU), ?1; Niamey, 348; Sokoto (SUP), 537, 689, 69r».

Cf. Shifa[1] al-nufQs by Sh. [c]UthmSn and Shifa[1] al~n~s min [1] al-trhafla wa 'l-waav^s by [4] Abd AllSh (see no. 71 below) .

13. Dir[c] al-Icav»a f1 hayja* [c]ilm al-hay'a (28 Shawwal 1242/ 25 May l827) ^ ()r
See Abu Dakr (1972), 283-4, Taken from al-SuyOtl (d. 911/ 1505), al-HI'at al-saniyya fT [1] 1-hay'at al-sunniyva, sue GAL II, 148. Cosmology and meteorology based upon the Qur'an and IJIadTth.
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 53, 153; Ibadan (UL), 594, 602M8; Kaduno (NA), 1 copy; Sokoto (SHB), 134, 4ll, 531.

14. Diva[1] ahl al-ihtis^b [c] a!5 tarTqat al-sunna wa *l-gaw?Tb
j ii—JlZI_> *Jo* ^1c ,_>! I J*| . ()(
MSS: Kano (BU), 150; Paris (BN), 5401(ff. 137a-l43b).

15. Diva[1] ahl al-rash^d f 1 afrkSm al-hi.jra wa [1] 1-jihad wa'1-sunna fTsiv^sat al-[c]ib7Td JjJ . Lw, *{)0*
[A]— la— i. i.. ._) I3 I
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), l4l; Kano (BU), 129; Sokoto (SHB), S347, 361.

16. Piya* al-anam fT al-fralS! wa [1] 1-Ijnram
J>UJI JXJJ- ^UVI • Luo ()"\
See Abu Bakr (1972), 275* On illicit wealth and dealing withrulers, etc., taken from the Ifrya * of al-GhazftlT,
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 38; Ibadan (UL), 3; Jos, 1022; Kano (BU), 68, 107; NU/Falke, 320, 793; Sokoto (SHD), **345, 346.**

17. Pivft'al-faw5'id ► L.:, ( )Y
MSS: Kano (BU), 46,6l; Niamey, 297; Zaria, 119/4.
a 1 -hukkTTrn f 1 ma lahuni wa-[c] nln vh ini min a l-at;k7iip.
(c.. 1221/1806/7) [f]IC^VI ^ [r+]Ux[J] U [r]UUll . U. ()/
On -j jhad [f] the offices of state, policing and pil^r i; .a,i' « • .

See Abu Bakr (1972), 274 .

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 3^7; Ibadan (UL), 4, 5, 6, I56; Jos, 23, 77; Kaduna (NA), 13 copies; MAMMP, 9.1; Manchester, 836K; Niamey, 263. 4 10 (2) , JL202 , 1513; NU/Paden, 193; Paris (BI), 2410(175); 5'aris (BN), 5443(f f . 89-126), 685I(ff. 225b-268); Sokoto (SHB), 92, 641, 787, 884; Timbuktu, 12, 32, 121; Zaria, 112/6, 100/1.

Publ. Cairo, n.d,

Zaria: Gaskiya Corpn., 1956(= NU/Paden, 242)

Hausa trans., Zaria: Gaskiya Corpn., 1964 Edited text and English trans., S. Yamusa (1975)*

fliyg* al-imSm fT iglSfr al-an5m j ^Vl > (P,

See Kensdale (1956), no. 30.
MSS: Sokoto (SHB), 94, 353.

Piy^ [1] al-khulaf5[1] . LIUJJ , (r •

See Elmasri (1977)* 35* Based on the SirTS.j al-mulCk of AbC Bakr M. b. al-WalTd al-^urtnshT (d. 520/1126), see GAL I, 459.

MSS: Kano (BU), 143; Sokoto (SHB), 409 , 523.

PiyZT[1] al-mujBThidTn frumcTt al-dTn al-r3shidTn (20 Rajab 1226/10 Aug. 1811) ^oJI SU ^a>UJI *Lw> (T)

Abstracted from A. b. Ibr. al-Na^Ss al-DimashqT,(d. 8l4/ 1411) , Mashflri* nl-flshw?tq i!7I inag^ric a 1 - < n .shfiq . »<>«• (.Al, IT, 76.

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 7; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (BU), 222, 6I6; Paris (BI), 2413(195); Paris (BN), 5561 (ff. 5,-,- 58b), 5655 (ff. la-39b), 5655(ff. 40a-85b), 5709(ff. 24b-67b); Sokoto (SHB), 341.

22. D *i* v a [1] a 1-mua tad in li 'l-khulafE* a 1-rZTsh ii dm

I *j)}* »iJ.,'i A«J I * Lw (!

y.5S: Ibadan (UL) , 397(pp. 82-182); Kano (BU), 224;
Paris (BI), 2411(192); Sokoto (SUB), 348.

23 • DivS' al-qawTE* id wa-nathr al-fav5'id li-ahl al-mflqagid (8 Shac bSn 1243/24 Feb. 1828) oJ.1 >JI ^a* lyUI .(rv

On tagavmif • J — ^ [1] J-* J

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 40; Niamey, 297; Sokoto (SHD), 97, 98, 402, 542, 727.

24. ftjyff* al-sanad (1228/1813) —Jl * ^ * I

See Abu Bakr (1972), 269-73. Vv. giving ‘ Abd Allffh's sanad for Qur'ffn, IjadTth, Fiqh, Ta gawuf, etc.

°P^ens; j^uJI <u_Uj I JfT JLJLS_I J cfJJI aj j_»JI
al-yarodu li 'HJThi 'lladhT lahu 'stanad

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 382; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Sokoto (SHB), 534, 754.

25. piyff* al-siySs5t va-fat5vi 'l-nawazil minimi huwa fT furtl{ al-dTn min al-masS'il (14 JumSdS II 1235/29 March 1820) L^-^^ CjL—U—JI ♦ (To

See AbO Bakr (1972), 274 Jil—Jl j*

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 8 (inc.), l6l, 162, 257, 274, 408; Kaduna(NA), 10 copies; Kano (BU), 2, 69; Paris (BN), 5599(** f• l67b-2p0a); Sokoto (SHB), 96, 538; Timbuktu, 156; Zaria, 88/4, MAH3/28, 94/1.

26. DiyS[1] al-sultSn wa-.ghayrihi min al-ikhwfln fT nhnmm ma yutlabu [c] ilmuhu fT umflr al-zam&n (4 Muljarram 1227/ 19 Jan. l8l2) L»p>l <5 (j LU—-Jl ♦ (TA

Based on M. b. [c]Abd al-Karim al-MaghTIT J-V*[1] ^ (d. 909/1504), A.jwiba [c] an as'ilat Askiya and R. ila amTr Kant! and [c] Uthman b. M. FudT (d. 1232/1817), Sirg.j al-ikhwftn and MigbBfr ahl al-zam3n.

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 170; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (BU) , . • 105; Oxford (Pitt-Rivers Museum), 1 copy; Paris **(BI), 2^*15 (205); Sokoto (SHB), 312; Zaria, 91/2,** Sokoto 1/2.

Publ* Partial trans. of an oral Fulfulde render i nj' in M.D.V. Jeffreys, [1] Two Arabic document:.' , African Studies, 9 (1950), 77-85.

27. pivS* a1-1a [1]wx1 fT ma[c]ftnT "l-tnnzTl (1230-1/1815-16)
Commentary on the Qur'Sn. ^Jj/lxJI * L— (rv
*' > i tj
Commentary —
See Abn Dakr (1972), 265-6, A.A. Abdul Hamid, 'The of flivS* al-ta'vTl[1] , RBC AD . 8 (1972), 1-25.
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 65,502MI (Microfilm of copy in Jos); Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Niamey, 2l6, 1433, 2350 (vol. I only), 2351 (vol. I only), 2453; Paris (BN), 5 509(ff. 1-384 (inc.)); Rabat (DC), D204l, K1976; **Sokoto (SHB),** 652; Timbuktu, 640 (Pt. viii only), 761 (Pt. i only).
Publ. Cairo: M. al-IstiqSma, 1961, 4 vols.

28, Qiyg[1] HIT ' 1 - a ni r wa [1]1-mu,jShi dTn fT sTrat al-nabT wa ' 1 khulafa[1] al-rSshidTn (3 Muljarram 1225/8 Feb. 1810)
^I^JI . ULkJIj 5*j-x** ^3 ^UJIj ^Vl ^J,l . u;
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 305. 575, 602M10; Kaduna (NA), 2 copi **Kano** (BU), 191; Paris (BI), 2412(193); Pari a (BN), 5364(ff. 1-61); Sokoto (SHB), 91; Zaria, '29/3 (inc.).

29. PiyS[1] al-umarS[1] fT m5 lahum wa-(alavhim min al-ashvil[1]
•U- c y (r \
Replies to questions put by Sh, Atymad b. M. Lobbo of **MHsina .**
MSS: Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Niamey, 1714; Timbuktu, 1714.

30. Diyg* [c] ulPm al-dTn (1228/1813) ^ajl ^ (r.
MSS: Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (BU), 188; Niamey, 298; **Sokoto (SHB),** 550.

31, Qiyg[1] al-umma fT adillat al-a'itnma (1226/1811-12)
Figh, based on [c] Abd al-WahhEb ;uiVl abl (n
al-Sha[c]rSnT (d. 973/1565), Kashf al-,g;humma < an ,jamT[c] al-
SOUr C. C*

(TA c o p i
vs;

umma , see GAL (1937) 337*
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 9; Kaduna (NA), 6 copies; Kano (BU), 223, 591; Sokoto (~3HB), 343 (...fT adab al—a'immn).

32, tyivo' a 1-vilTTvat fT 'l-umUr nl-dunvnviwa wo 'l-dmiyv't (26 Dhu '1-Qa[c] d a 1230/30 Oct. 1815)

C_> UJlu aJ I *j* *yjJj* aJ I j *j** ^, Iv—> l_»
j JI • L-’ (\

On the offices of an Islamic state.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 31; Ibadan (UL), 397(pp. 60-80); Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (BU) , 64; Paris (BI), 2411(190); Paris (BN), 5484(ff. 108-109, inc.), 5697(ff. 43a-44a inc.); Sokoto (S11B), 93» 355 , 504.

33. Durar al-bikam li '1-rasPl wa-ahl ol-karam

See AbS Bakr (1972), 280 r^CJI _^U ,X»JI (rr

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 257(pp. 361-373), 285; Sokoto (SUB), 123, 436, 549, 681, 764.

3 # al- Far5 [1] id al-jalTla was^'it al-fawa [1] id a3-jmulla (1211/1796)

il^>JIjlMjJJI k!>l j U*1>JI (ft

500 w. on the sciences of the Qur'Sn, see AbH Bakr (.1972), 267, who says it is a vers, of a work by /Ijasan b. (All al-RajrajT7 al-ShawshEnT (d. late 9th/l5th cent, see Ka]jT;51a, iii, 254)* The work in question is probably his Sharb mawrid al-^am'Sn, a comm, on M. b. M. al-SharTshT al-KharrazI (fl. 702/1313, see GAL II, 248), Mawrid al- pm'ffn fT rastn al-Qur’Sn.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 385; Ibadan (UL), 256(pp. 1-35), 258 (pp. 168-200), 270, 366, 519, 505M31; Jos, 79, 546; Kaduna (NA), 3 copies; Kano (BU), 130; Sokoto (SHB), 113, 494, 633, 661; Timbuktu, 48; Zaria, 25/4, 119/10. Publ. Ed. [4]Abd al-[c]AlT [c]Abd al-^amTd, Beirut: Dai’ al-fikr, 198!

35. Fatb al-Lat^Ef al-WafT li-[g]ilmgy al-[c]arHd wa '1-qaw^fT

L-i-JoJJI £_Ii (fo

See AbG Bakr (1972), 278. Vv. on prosody and rhyme.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 43; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Knno (BU), 588; Sokoto (SHB), 370, 514; Zaria, 25/8.

°P[ens:] *111 ^ ur U 4JUI

Yaqaiu raj! raljmat AllSh khS[1] if ma janTThu (Abd AllTTh

-3 6 Fatb~al- Başir fI ‘ilm al-tabşir (1210/1795-6)

See Last (1967a), 242 (r\

MSS: Zaria, 74b

37. a 3 -!J i gn al-ragTn (var. - a g ⊺ n) (1216/1803-2)

See Abu Bakr (1972), 276-7. jJ[1]

1,024 w. explanatory to Tbn MTilik al-Jnyy7»nT (d. 677/ 1273), Lamivvnt al-afᶜal (soe GAL I, 300) Kith th<* conn::, al-J5miᶜ li 'I-amth^l.

Opens: JJ, l_^_> ^1Li jju sfiJI AJJI al-IJamdu li [1] UShi 'lladhi taᶜarrafE MSS: Ibadan (UL), 8l; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (HI), 154; Niamey, 415, 1304; Sokoto (SHB), 115, 533; ' Zaria, 117/3 (inc.)

Publ. Zaria: Gaskiya Corpn., 1958

Abridgement by author (Muljarram 1226/ 26 Jan. - 24 Feb. 1811), MSS: Sokoto (SHB), 513, 565.

38. Tdaᶜ al-nustlkh man akhadhtu ʿanhu min al-shuvtlkh (30 **Rama^ 1227/7 Oct. 1812)** ^ _ j, ^ (rA

On the author's education. ^ ^

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 265* 390, 603; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (BU), 48, 501; Niamey, 232; Sokoto (SHB), 126, 127, 128, 352; Zaria, **55/3, MAH9/45.**

Publ. Zaria: N0RLA, 1958 (= NU/Paden, 24l).

Ed. and trans. in Hiskett (1957).

Comm, by M. Bello, ljSshiva ᶜalfi muqaddimat Tdaᶜ a 1-nusUkh, see below, 'Works of Muhammad Bello', no. 13,

41* Kn_ff a I - ikhwgn c an al-ta(arnij bi ahl al-xmgn (27 Rnma^Sn 1226/15 Oct. 1-inkar c al" 1811)

0 1 J*' j ^ l '

Written to guide students who wore misinterpreting his teachings. The work is mentioned by M. Bello in his own Kaff al-ikhv^n, see analysis in ROCAD, 5 (1969), p. 86, MS 194.

MSS: Sokoto (SHB), 855.

42. Khul^gat al-ugfll (1227/1812-13) (tr

Based on al-Suytl^T, al-Kawkab al-sgfri* t a vers, of the Jam* al-.jawgmi* of Tgj al-Din al-SubkT (d. 771/1370), see GAL SIX, 106.

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 490; Jos, 804, 855; Sokoto (SHB), ^05.

43. Kifgyat al-<awSmm fT 'l-buyO* (29 ShawwSl 1214/26 March !8oo) ,y f1^1 oLtf*((T

Elemontary treatise on the law of sales.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 59; Kano (BU), 63, 451; Niamey, 4l0(.10) ; NU/Falke, 117; Sokoto, 119, 399, 457.

44 • KifSvat <juCafg* al-Sudgn fT baygn tafsir al-Our'gn (fafar 1238/ 18 Oct. - 15 Nov. 1822) 0,J>j___ ,, . ^ (u

Abridgt. of author's QiyS' al-ta'wTl. ^7^1 _ ■ ^ i. ,

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 68 ; Jos, 16 (2 vols.); Kaduna (NA), 3 copies; Sokoto (SIID), 653; Timbuktu , 99 (vol. 1), 100 (vol. 2).

45. Kifgyat al-tullSb fT 'l-nikSb (1232/ l8l6-17)

1,184 w. on marriage, based on cL£jJI ^ (u the Mukhtagar of KhalTl.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 55; Ibadan (UL), 96; Kano (BU), 3; Sokoto (SHB), 342, 608.

46. KitHh v ___ui uUs* (u

See AbO Bakr (1972), 28l .

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 381; Ibadan (UL), 256(pp. II3-H9); Kaduna (NA). 4 copies; Kano .(DU) ,..1.1?, 235-;-Logon 115; Niamey, 28 (Nasab qabTlat al-TurubbT). 294 (K. ta'rxkh wa-nasab al-NHrtlbT (sic) t i.e. -Tttrubl =

Toroclbe .

Cf. BovSn ol-nasab wa~agl al-d?\r ottrib. to ‘Abd Allah by Last (1967a), 2^1.

*»7 • K i 15 b al-tarehTb wo ' 1 -1 a rhTb (IV

See AbH Dakr (1972), 269* On the importance of performing the gaITSt« Ibadan (CAD), **1; Kano (BU), 17, 79; Sokoto (S1II3), 137.

*k*8, La'SIT U-maw^0 i? va 'l-frikam al-manthGra wa 1 1-many.Hi:\j\ (12^2/1826-7) o^yLUl ^\j . J'i (LA

Adapted from 4Abd al-Ha^mBn b. M. al-RashTdT (d. 803/ *ikOO*, see Ka^JjHla, v, 166), Khulgjgat ol-nulUb *wn'1*~ ndhhSri.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 57 (K. al-maw??c *ic)* • Ibadan (UL), 533; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (BU), *k* (K. al-mawfi*ig); 108 (al-Mavaci; al-kubr?T); Sokoto (SHB), ⁄101 (K. a 1 - mew5<i?)»

k 9. Lamb (var. Lam{) al-barq f~ mff li-rihT tashTTbuh min fa rq (1237/1821-2) o > ^ L$aJ L> ^ (r-J) -J U\

See Abft Bakr (1972), 277-8* Vv. on grammar based on al-SuytltX, K. al-ashb&h wa ’l-na^Tl1 ir, see GAL II,

MSS: Kaduna (NA)f 1 copy; Zaria 58/9, 65/IO.

50. Lubgb al-madkhal fT ffdSb ahl al-dTn wa 111-fa jl i—j 1 *j* 1j-j 1 ujLj *(0* •

Soe Abd Bakr (1972), 283. Summarised from the Mndlthal of Ibn ol-ynjj.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), zi5 J Ibadan (UL) , 10, 504M *J>h;* Jos, 39; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (BU), 111; Niamey, 412, 1460; Sokoto (SHB), 122, 609, 648, 775. •

51• al^Lu'lu1 al-magPn fT • gadaf al~qaw3<id a3-cuyUn (1231/1815-16) o.^1

See Abft Bakr (1972), 268-9* Verse summary of 4 AIT b. QEsim al-TujTbT al-ZaqqSq (d* 912/1506), a 1-Martha j nl-» Muntakhab on MSlikT f iqh (see GAL S II, 3?6) or of the ^mbb”aT^rnanha~1~~a 1-muntakhab by (1 Abd al-UaqT ?) .1 :c,";;T according to AbO Dakr (ioc. c i t.) , with a comm. on the Muntakhab or the Lubb (comm, of al-MajnHn acc, to Abu Bokr) and the Lubb al-Qaw5c id of A. b. M. al-Kaqqari (d. 10^1/1632).

MSS: Ibadan(CAD), 5^; Ibadan (UL), 11; Jos, 1002; Kaduna (NA) , 1 copy; Kano (BU), 151; Niamey, 4l6; Sokoto (SIID), 106.

52. MagSlib al-ins?Tn o(l-muta^ alliqa bi 'l-adyan (130)

juluui $_{0}$1—jyi ($_{0l}$

Sec Abd Dakr (1972), 273« General work on the religious sciences.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 300; Ibadan (UL), 264, 428, 602M30;
Kaduna (NA), 3 copies; Sokoto (SHB), 427.

53. Matiyyat al-z3d i!5 'l-ma^5d (1233/ 1817-10)

See AbU Bakr (1972), 274. ,UJ| Jl ,1-jl ^ $_{Ur}$

yadlth work on zuhd.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 3^4; Ibadan (UL), 13; Kaduna (III), 7; Kaduna (NA), 8 copies; Kano (BU), 50; Niamey, 1408; Sokoto (SHB), 99* 642.

Publ. Zaria: Gaskiya Corpn., n.d.

5^. al-Hift5b li U-tafsIr (1209/179^-5) uJJ $_{c}$Luji ($_{ol}$

See Abd Bakr (1972), 264-5. On the Qur'anic sciences, based op two works of al-Suyut*, his al-Nuq5va and his al-Ttnfln

9h8 —T ^{1} ---

fT ('ulPm a1-Qur^{1}Sn, see GAL II, 156^ and II, 145.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 296 ; Ibadan (UL), 71; Jos, 4 (attrib. to Anon.); Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (BU), 493; NU/Paden, 248; Niamey, 426; 1199, 2031; Sokoto (SHB), 7^2, 756.

Publ., n.p., n.d. (= Sokoto (SHB), 657)

55. Mift^b al-tabaqquq li-ghSlib m5 yubtg.j fT ' I-mantio

jlaJI *-* vJLi) jfcoJI J-Ui, ($_{04}$

MSS: Kaduna (NA), 3 copies; Kano (BU), 230; Sokoto (SHB), V3.

most of the authorities quoted by the oh.-i :ii in

the Irshad al-Ikhwan arefamilier -in respect :■

i o t h e r

literary works - the Qur'an, Uadi th an k^{i} ■ ii books sue!,

as Ihya* ururi a'l.-Din of Imam al-' Vna;/' I. i, . •

hhia-.aar ^{i} ii. commentaries by al-Kharanhi, ^{c}Abd al-Baqi

and shabrakliTtT, Risalat of Ibn &ayd and Hadkhal. of Ibn

al-r.ajj, just t.j mention a few# Again most of these

sources are from the Maliki School of Thought. However,

there are few quotation from the ShafT^{c}i School of Thought

such as **Abdur Rahman Assuyutl[1] s al.~Ta.Ushy hi, [c]Abdur Rauf al-Mans.vi's Kawakibu Purriyah and Ahmad b. huhammad al~^astalani[1] s Irshad al-Sari - a commentary on Sahih al ->ukharT and o,

This shows that the Sheikh was not dogmatic .bout the kaliki School, of Thought#

Most of the refrence cited have shown the Authoritative nature of the Irshad al-Ikhwan, a I. thou.-h I am not abi.e to discover some of his sources of refrence. The reCrenc ased do not only confirm the academic excellence of the work but also its authenticity and reliability s a ˙.'iqh boo:!.

As a result of the edition, .1 was able to Iiscovet- many variations some of Significance while others of 1. importance. This confirmed the need to edit the manuscriunwritten by various copiest for without the edition, the Authoritative source of the Literature cannot be quarant'-ed since a slight nuance or m i ; I ac i n;'; ol' a word or even a ■ i. J ' could give a different meaning from what the Author intend.. .

SUGGESTIONS AND RKCQKi'-UND AT IQNS

I recommand this book of Sheikh [c]Uth/u£ii b. Fudi to the Muslim community in general and to certain persona ■ nd organisations:

1. I recomwiend it to the Sociologist who ..re concerned with studying the people and their Society (i.e. Culture)
2. I recommend it to those who are concerned with *the* Political and Social Mobilisation of the

Masses.

;5. I also recommend it to Islamic women organisations that are concerned with educating women according to the tenents of Isl-am.

'\0 For its precepts to be applied fully, I su ; joal that it should be taught at the Secondary and Post Secondary School levels of Islamic education and at the traditional Ilmi Schools.

3. This writer has observed in the course of this research that most of our traditional scholars w'noi.i he interact with especially in the localities visited were not familier with the works of the Sokoto Jihadists and t!. / hardly quote them to support or oppose an arguei.ient despite the fact that they agree that these scholars have contributed in no small measure to the development of Islam. The same applies to the Islamic Shari[c]ah Courts; they hardly refer to the works of the Sokoto Jihadists in judging their cases.

The main reason for this apathy may be that mast of the writings of the Jihadists are not published*, they are locked up in Universities and Private Libraries, National A.rcheives and other History Bureau. This 1 am sure is not in the interest of those who wrote these books and neither is it in the interest of the present ,;;enoratic>u* r. 'nee I am suggesting that all effort should ue made (both

moral and financial) to edit, translate all 2'elevant works of Sheikh ᶜUthn)a.n b. Fudi, ᶜaed Allah b, Fudl$_3$Muhammad Bello and other Sokoto Jihadists for the irpose of practical application. This is the only way the Sokoto Jihadists will continue to get the reward of their lbadah$_T$ even though they are dead.

SULEMAN YAJ1YA,
ISLAMIC STUDIES DEPARTMENT

(A)

Ahkam — Laws according to Islamic to-

Al-ilamdu Lillahi — 1chin;;;. Praise be to Allah

A , j ■ .'ii — Non-Arabs, non-Arabic Language wri i Lein Arabic Script.

Al-uranriah — Paradise

All.":h Ta'ala — Allah the Exalted

mi1' bil Ma'ruf wa nahi Anil Kunkar - ISn Joining g:axi and forbidding the evil.

A3 - ;.al ajn — The Pen

35b — Verse of the .^ur'an

Barn. — (j)t-* Abv;:,s'a) door, gate, opening - gateway, chapter, section, column.

Israel — Progeny (clan) of Israel

Basmala — (Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim) ./hen a Muslim is going lo start any good ucti Ue/ohe should recite tiasmala.

did 1 at — Innovation

(D)

Da1 '-/ah — Preaching

Way - Mystic way

Remembrance of All ah tiiromrh

s..A.atf recitation of the ^ur'an e.t.c.

fardhi Ayn % — Individual religipus responsibi'J '• tie..

i'/jrdh u • lh — Obligatory religious practices

Kjfayah — Collectively Obligatory (that '.inPa: if fulfilled by a part of the Community absolves t.h* r«-r.t).

(pi. Fa*sul): Section: part, chapter, ■* (act of a play) class.

SlLiifl	Kvil Doer
/■it.	Religious Legal verdict
i a	Evil, Disorder Islamic
Fi	Law, Jurisprudence
Inah	Ful&ni Language
j'ich Fu-l fulde	Hausa people
Ha b	Sayings of tiie Prophet Muhammad. . *!)*
e	Pilgrimage to the Holy Mecca
iii'l	Lawful
ith < ikii » llalal ♦	Forbi.lden Truth Veil or Curtain
Hi tr ām «	Migration of Muslim from a place where they cannot practice Islam to
Hauiqah c	a place where Shari'ah operates fully.
Hi;ia	Act of worship
b Hi.)	Muslim Religious festival
rah	Certificate obtained by a student from a Sheikh or Mai Lam
.1.! r la	Consensus of Opinion
52	Exercising one self to t:.e utrno.,t degree in order to understand tru Shar[1]iah: passing independent Judgement on pointy of .1 - w.
Li -a	Brothers
l.inia[1] I.i	Belief, faith
ihad	If Allah wishes
Ikhwan £ Im'm	Special prayers for rainfall
Insha Allah	Guidance
1stisqa* Ir.-had	

56. Miftglj ol-u?Gl Jjr-[3] J [1] ;

See Kensdale (1956), no. 67.

MSS: Sokoto (SIID), 4f)4 .

57. Mitum a 1 -Mannan li-n;an arSdn shu[c]ab al-1m7In (3 201/17*^-7)
j U-iN I jIjI/ LlJ I ^L. (0 \

See Abu Dakr (1972), 273-4. 105 w. based on the section on §nfism in the Nuqgya of al-Suyn^^, see GAL II,156[2]^&.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 48; Ibadan (UL), 257(pp. 374-382), 284; Jos, 961 (attrib. to Anon.); Kaduna (NA), 3 copies; Kano (DU), 67; Sokoto (SHD), 139, 356, 489, 554, 633, 632; Zaria, 119/8.

Comm, by author, Shukr al-ifrs5n, see below no. 72.

58. a 3 - N«» fat„int al-bishriyya sharlj al-qaga * id al- [c] a sh r ivv a
(1243/1827-8) Ul CiUuJI (oA

Comrn. on the * Ashriyva t of al-FgzHzT

See Kensdale (1956), no. 25, La[s]t (1967a), 242.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 383; Zaria, 28/2, 3, 4.

59. al-NngS'ifr fT ahamro al-magglifr (JumadTT II 1242/Jan. 3 827)

See AbG Bakr (1972), 275* ^JUJI ^1 ^ ^UJI (0\

Summary of Aljmad ZarrQq (d. 899/1493), al-NagTfrat al- kgfiva li-man khaggahu *llSh bi [1] l-<gfiya, see GAL II, 53, MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 386; Ibadan (UL), 74; Jos, 13; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (DU), 146; Sokoto (SHD), 35, 133, 230, 231, 260, 610.

60. Nayl al-ma'mUl min jawami{ kalim al-rasQl
^ Cr" Jr*[1]—J*j (V

Collection of popular fradTths without isnads MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 125; Kano (BU), 22; Sokoto (SHD), 37 ^; Zaria, 119/6. (1972), 281.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 44; Ibadan (UL), 350, 374; M.UL'3>, 8.1 (pp. 205-210, inc.), 9.17 (inc.); Niamey, 171 (attrib. to al-Mulchtar al-KuntT) ; Sokoto (SHB), 75, 1*16 (attrib. to M. Dello); Zaria, 119/3, 25/6.

62. Nagm al-WustS (1207/1792-3) ^ (AT

Vers. of the Wust[g] of al-SanttsT.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 42; Ibadan (UL), 84; Jos, 5, 860, 964; Kano

(BU), 66,* 149 (al- { AqTT [1] id al-SanHsivva) ; Sokoto (SHB), 359, 512.

63. al -NiyvSt fT [l]l-a[c]m51 al-dunyawiyya wa 'l-dTniyyZIt

OUI C\T

See AbC Bakr (1972), 282. Based on the Madkha1 of Ibn al-i;cjj.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 37; Ibadan (UL), 83, 376(pp. 170-202); Kano (BU), 49 (K. al-niyySt); Niamey, l4ll; Sokoto (SHB), 107, 108, 277, 339, 3^0, 351, 589, 773.

6 *k.* QagS'id (u

a) Poems included in his TazyTn al-waragSt but also circulating separately.

i) Q. dSliyya addressed to his brothers DSdi and Zayd, see TazyTn, 59-60

Opens: ^ jli j-ejj ^ ^ VI

A1E man mubligh ʿannl li-Dadi MS: Paris (BN), 5^97(ff. 154b-156a)

ii) Q. bS'iyya encouraging the Torodbe to join the Shaykh, also called R. al-na g?t * ilj , see Tazyin , 41-45.

TakhmTs by al-Mu^afS b. al-ty5jj 'UthmSn, a cousin of [c]Abd AllEh, al-Sul51a [c] al% 'l-Risaln, publ. in AbU Bakr (1972), 555-64- Comm, on the takhmTs by Zayd b. Muhammad Sa[c] d al-AtharT who was killed in the B. of Tsuntsua, Rama^Sn 1218/Dec. 1804, called KhulSgat al-qar5[i]ih.

Hi) r. .jimavvn in praise of Sh. JibrTl b, Umar, r.re

TazyTn, 32-7.

Opens: £-*i>* c[1]-^[1] £*

[c] U j natjwa a^waj al-aljibbati min maji

MSS: Legon, 118; Paris (DN), 5687(ff. 74b - 7Gb) iv) 0. mTmivya celebrating victory at the battle of WSdT FSfara, see TazyTn, 74.

°Pensl (jJ juLi fl Mi- jit ,>.1

A-min £alali[n] khalS am faqd qawm [n]

MSS: Zaria, '30/2

b) Other poems.

i) Q. fT madb al-wazTr Muhammad al-DukhSrT

MSS: Zaria, 25/3

ii) Q. ISmiyya

Opens: J — J j r - i - J I -JJ

al-^amdu li 'UShi * l-[<]a^Tm al-munazzil

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 267

iii) QagTda

Opens: ^CL-U ^—II

[(]Alaykum al-salHm wa [1]-saltSmu [(]alaykum

MSS; Zaria, .'30/6, 56/I

iv) ~~qagtd~~a

Opens: Thannaytu qawlT bi 'l-^alEt muslira[an] MSS: Zaria, 25/2 v) Qa gida

o p0nS: V^l J^iJI U)j_^J|

al—yamdu li [1]llHhi'1-Muta-f a^^il al-WahhSb

MSS: Zaria, P26/1; Ibadan (CAD), 213 (attrib. to ‘UthmHn (GidSdo) b. AbT Dakr (Layma)).

vi) QagTda addressed to M. Bello

Opens: Y3 £51ib al-ntlr jyJJ\ i_JLU

MSS: Zaria, 127/7 (2 copies).

65. CagTda dalivva fT madt; al-nabl (JumHdS II 1202/ 9 March 6 April 1788) | i_ji^ ijjj.,

Opens: *x-ijll ijLJtj* **|JU»**

JJamd[an] wa-shukr[an] li 'l-i.ISh al-W7Slyid

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 132; Legon, l6(xvii), 130, 227; Kaduna (KA) ; Sokoto (SHB), 413, 5 5 3.

TakhmTs, by author, Rawfl al-[c]gshiq, see no. 66 below.

66. Ravii al-[<]5shio fT madfo khayr a 1-kha 1?T[1] jq (27 JumSdZT II 1202/4 April 1788) ^ [c]u_- ^ j_iUJI ^ (*V*V

TakhmTs of his 0. dSliyya, see no. 65 above.

Opens: JVLJ t:,. ..JJ

Qul musta[c]In[an] bi 'l-il3h al-Waljid

See AbG Bakr (1972), 279.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 35; Ibadan (UL), 134, 563, 602M«J. Jos, 225; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Niamey, l4l0, 1759.

67. Sabll ahl al-gal5fr i!5 *l-fal5fo

C^[1] (AY

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 15; 109; Niamey, 349; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies;Kano (BU), Sokoto (SHB), 114, 138,311, 455, 702.

68. Sabll al-naj5t 5L>J| (v

On repentance and protecting the bodily members from acts that lead to sin. See Abu Bakr (1972^), 279-80.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 32, 33; Ibadan (UL), 15, 258(pp. 203-218), 374; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Ka[no] (BU), 17, 620; Legon, 212; Niamey, 156, 351, 529; NU/Paden, 80; Sokoto (SHB), 140, 131, 142, 398, 403, 493, 587, 735.

69. Sabil al-salSma fT 'l-imBma (1232/l8l6-17) 'Jt ____ II Jqj_ (-\\

MSS: NU/Paden, 244, 245; Sokoto (SIIB), 450; Zaria, 25/6.

70. SabTl al-sunna al-muwaggil i!5 'l-.janna ii^JI J[1] u__[11] (y-

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 288; Ibadan (UL), 333; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies.

71. Sh if 5 [1] a±-n«»Q '!-
12*11/29 July 1026) !,_ _^l_, iUiJI . b ^ ^_UI . U_:.

Verse abrid.ct. of al-MukhtTXr al-KuntT (ri. 1226/lBll^, *Y,;\u. \ c*
l-n lbTTs fT -frard al-shayt5n al-kharmSs al-waswas .
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 3 80 ; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (IJU), 37, 59, 396 (attrib. to al-MukhtHr al-KuntT); Paris (BN), 5443(ff. 231-238), 5684(ff. l69a-l73a), 6107 (ff. 28a-30b), 6l08(ff. 3-8); Sokoto (SHB), 300 (..mini da[1] al-waswas, attrib. to Sh. [c]Uthman), 388; Zaria, 25/7.

2. Shukr al-ifrs5n [c]al5 minan al-Mannffn li-man orSda shu[ʿ]nb al-Tm3n (RabT[c] II 1244/Oct. 1828)
^L_JVI ^Ijl j-J ^ l——jV I (yr

Comm• on author's Minan al-MannSn, see no. 57 above.
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 49, 49a; Ibadan (UL), 257(pp. 302-360), 260; Kano (BU), 32, 615; Niamoy, 1068; Paris (BN), 5441 (ff. 165-181), 5531(ff. 112b-130a); Sokoto (SHD), 613, 637, 712; Timbuktu, 365; Zaria, 25/5.

73. SirS.j .jami[c] al-DukhSrT (mid-Sha[c]b£n 1212/£. 2 Feb. 1798)
<Sj UoJI I _ r — (vr

Vv. on the composition, arrangement and technicalities of the ?afrTfr of al-Dukh7SrT, based on Ibn yajar al-[ʿ]AsqalE[n]T (d. 852/1449), Fatfr a1-BarT. See AbO Bakr (1972), 275-6.
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 76; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (DU), 198, 232, 233, 624; Niamey, 410(12); Sokoto (SHD), 124, 555.

74. SulSlat al-rniftHfr (1212/1797-8) ... ..._...
^LuuJI *jjy,* (y (

Verse abridgt. of the author's al-Miftfffr li '1-tafsTr. see no. 54 above.
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 72; Kaduna (NA), A/AR/40.-1; Kano (DU), Jo4.

75. TahdhTb al-insfln min khigfll al-shayt^n (1244/1828-9)
See AbG Dakr (1972), 28l. ^ (Y o
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 533, 602M7; Kano (DU), 114; Sokoto (SIID), 360, 678.

76. TakhmTs al-{ashriyvat (12 Sha[c]bSn 1235/25 May 1820)
*j—** (J— (Y \

Rendering in pentastiches of the [c] AshrivySt of al-FazazI.
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 163, 276, 308(pp. 1-60), 382(pp. 2^0-311); Jos, 114 ([ʿ]IshrlnivvSt 'Abd AllSh), 309; Kaduna (NA), 8 copies; Kano (BU), 106 , 613; Legon, 3^, 36o, 382; NU/Paden, 127; Sokoto (SHB), 334; Zaria, 29/2, 58/7 (attrib. to M. Bello), MAH2/12.

Comm, by al-^asan b, llamma b, McClik (fl. 1830).
MSS: Kaduna (NA), 1 copy.

77. TakhmTs qagTdat ᶜUthmSn b. FddT al-d51iyya f 1 marifr al-nahT (1212/1797-8) ^»JJI *yj* iJIjJI ‘ (YY

Rendering in pentastiches of the poem of Sh. [1]Uthman which opens: Hal IT masTr nafrw Taybata musri[can] MSS: Ibadan (UL), 134; Kano (BU), 28; Sokoto (SHB), 371.

78. Taᶜ lTrri al-anSm taᶜg.Tm Allah li—nabiyyjna Mutjammad ᶜalav 11 1 af^al al-gal5t wa 'l-salam (4 Dhtl 'l-ljijja 1240/20 July 1825)

3}LaJl Li-x.iJj aJLJIj.L»Vl p_JjG (YA

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 58; Kaduna (NA), A/AR/3:15; Kano (BU), 31; Sokoto (SHB), 110, 111, 112,

79 • Ta€lTm al-rcT<jT asbgb al-ikhtigag b i-maw5 t a.l-arS(ji

^IjVI (Y\

MSS: Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (BU), 78; Paris (BI), 2406(62); Sokoto (SUB), 319; Zaria, 33/3.

80- Taqrlb darHrT *1-dTn . , . [1] (A-

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 152; Ibadan (UL), 108; Jos, 10, 102, 231, 403, 479, 677; Kaduna (NA), 6 copies; Kano (HU;, 73, 530 (attrib. to Sh. ‘UthmSn b. M. FtldT); Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy (attrib. to Sh. ‘UtlimSn).

81. TaqrTb fT <ilm /al-ZawliyS' ahl al-dhawq, sometimes called * TaᶜrTb/TaqrTb m3 ᶜa.j,jam al-Shavkh (1 Shawwal 1221/12. Dec. 1806) L» jl JjjJI J^l »LJjVI (a)

-— .^. ~~Ayabi~~-c ve^rari^~~n ^o~~^-a FnITulde~work~T3jT~Sh. [11] Uthman b. M. FCdT - on ** saints * •

'I MSS: Ibadan (UL), 516; Kano (BU), 70; Sokoto (SIIB), 344 ,

On Jufism, see Aba Dakr (1972), 283.

MSS: **Ibadan** (UL), 257(pp. **383-391).** 269 , 520; Kano (BU), ;

Niamey, 3^7; Sokoto (SHB), 136, 601.

JarTq al-salifrin

On basic Islamic doctrines and conduct, *see* A“bG Dakr (1972),

.**1**.

55: Ibadan 281 (CAD), 131. 132; Ibadan (UL), 278; Kano (BU),

60; Sokoto (SHB), 519, 744; Zaria, 30/8, 119/3.

MS:

^, TazvTn al-waraq^t bi-jam< ba^c <j m5 IT min al-abvat (18

Shawwal 1228/ l4 Oct. 1813)

Account of the jihSd campaigns,

illustrated by poems of *Abd AllSh.

MSS: Dakar (IFAN), Fonds Brevie, 20; Ibadan (CAD), 4?, 155;
Ibadan (UL), 16; Jos, 3, 4, 21, 91, 187, 3-0, 282, 3^',
7 40, 815; Kaduna (NA), 12 copies; Kano (BU), 77; Leyon,
2, 119, 120; Niamey, 380, I83I; Oxford (Pitt Rivers Museum), 2
copies; NU/Paden, 4l4; Paris (BI), 2410(175);
Sokoto (SHD), 102, 103, 104, 412; Timbuktu, 190; Zaria,
29/1.

Publ. Ar. text, Kano, 1383/1963-4 (lithog.); Ar. text and Eng. trans- by M. Hiskett, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1963; .Analysis and partial Gorman trans. by A. Brass, 'Eine neue Quelle zur Geschichte dcs Fulrciche Sokoto’, Per Islam, 10 (1920), 1-73; partial Li.< . of an oral Fulfulde rendering by M.D.V. Jeffreys, [1]Iwu Arabic documents', African Studies, 9 (1950), 77-85,

see Fisher (1969)*

85. al-TibySn li-buqSq al-ikhwSn (1243/1827-8)

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 294; Ibadan (UL), 564, 602M6; Kaduna (N’A A/AR/10: 5; Kano (BU), 180; Niamey, 144, 1406; Sokoto

(sim), 746 f 7 47, 926.

itles not vet fully authenticated

• ᶜ**Amal a 1 - vawm wa '1-lavl** ^1 ()

See Gwandu (1977), no. 6**. Cf. works of this title by A. h. M. al-DInawSrl (GAL I,** 165**), al-Suyu^T (GAL II, 156), al-NawawT (GAL SI,** 686**) and M. b. ᶜ Abd** a 1**-KarTm al-MaghTIT (seo J.O. Hunwiclc,** Sharlᶜ a **in** Songhav **(Oxford University Press, 19**85**), Appendix 2.**

²* **giy^**[1] **a**1**-BukhSrT** **^UJI , L-, (r**

See Kensdale **(1956), no. 35***

3. **DivS***al-man.jSt (= ? al-munS.jSh) (SU-LUI -?) sl»^j| .1.•„ (r

See Kensdale (1956), no, **3»

FaflS'il al-ᶜ agl wa 'l-<ilm ((

See Smith (1962**), 33**.**.**

5 • FawS'id al-galgfr MS: Kano (BU), 62

Cf, Qaw5ᶜid al-galafr, no. l4 be low

6. **Kashf al-»,g;humma fT bay^n marStib al-umma**

₀L_j i^J| u_^ (0

MS: Kaduna (NA)t **1 copy.**

7 • Kashf al-lu'm lan5 wa-li-man tabiʿana f I amr al-.sharT 1

ᶜAbd AllcTh Hannun Giwa

—J' _r*l ^ Li (Y

MSS: Kaduna **(NA), 2 copies**
Last (1967**a), 2*i**2 **questions its authenticity.**

8. **Khutbat a**1**-,j urnᶜ a wa-kayfiyvat ziyarat al-amwgt min al- avliy?**[1] **wa-,ghayrih im min mawta '**1**-muslimTn**

Cʻ i>* SjLjj j ;. L,-: (a

Publ. in Ma.jmnᶜ al-kutub al-muflda, Kano; *j.t* 1 **n Northern Maktabat Press, n.d,**

9. ~~**Kifgyat al-talib**~~ **See Kensdale (1956), no. 55. A MS of this title is" in Jos, 317, but not attributed to anyone.** _jUr

10. K. al-diyyat

MS: Sokoto (SHD), 120

MS: Ibadan (UL), 12

12* Mi a 1- r7> wT

MS: Kano (DU), 6
Cf. Gwnndu (1977), no. 59 » Minan al-rHwI

13. Na^m ri,j?l al-.ghayb

MS: Zaria, *PjS/I*

Ik. Qawa<id al-gal3>; i!3 '1-fa 131? (1243/1827-8)

MSS: Sokoto (SHD), 135, 509
Cf. (Abd Allah's SabTl ahl al-5alalj ila '1-faia?;.
. no. 67 above.

15« Sac3dat al-anam
;

See Kensdale (1956), no. 23.

Savl al-c avn

See Gwandu (1977), no. 73 who says it is a comm, on Ibn cAshir, al-Murshid al-mucTn, see GAL SII, 699.

17 . TakhmTs al-c ishrXniyya t

MS: Ibadan (UL), 210

18. Ta<lTm al-asbSb

See Gwandu (1977)» no. 82„

19 . TalkhTg al-Muljammadivya
See Kensdale (1956), no. 14 .

Thuiaiat 20 (= SulHlat ?) al-Alfivva See Kensdale (1956), no. 15#

21. Waqc at Malisa wa-Kadfrye
See Gwandu (1977), no. 99 who says it is an account of the repelling of an attack on M3lisa in 1235/1819-20.

22. '.v'a^xyya . Advice to his children.
MS: Kaduna (NA), A/AR/45:1

THT, WORKS Of MUVJAMMAP DCLI.O bV
J ,0- Huon ı et<;

As was the case with the works of Sh. [1]Uthman and (Abd Allah, the works of Muhammad Bello have been divided into those which are firmly attributed to him and those over which doubt still remains. The list of doubtful attributions is, in the case of Bello, surprisingly long, numbering some 48 titles as against 98 for works 'firmly' attributed. Eight of these ought really to be placed in some sort of intermediate category, since the titles are taken from the list of [c]Abd al-Q7Idir b. [c]Uthm3n Gidado in his An 13 al-mufTd.

They have been retained in the questionable category only because no ms, copy of any of them has yet come to light so far as I know. In most respects the basis for my division of Bello's works into the two categories is similar to that used for [c]Abd Allah's works (soe above). Sources of information are, likewise similar, including Kensdale (1957), Hunwick (1962), Smith (1959b) which contains the list of the Anls a 1-mufid, Hunwick 8c Gwarzo (1967), Last (1966 & 1967a) and Abn Dakr (1972). As was the case with *Abd AllSh, the biographical sketch of the author will be left for the published volume.

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Junayd b. M. al-BukharT (MS.) Nayl al-naram bi-dhikr tar.iamat a 1-imam AmTr a 1-mu [1] minTn a 1-human Mj 1 A - ammad Bello b. a I- imTIm .

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*Uthman Gidado b. AbT Dakr Layma (MS.) al-Kashf wa ' l-baviln [c an] ba[c] ^ afrwal al-sayyid Mu^ammad Dello b. al-shavkh [c]Uthman, see also Hunwick (1962), 2-3.

KUT^AMJmAD DELLO b. al-Shavkh 'UTHMAN b. MUyAMMAD FCdI, AjtiTt al-mu[1]minln, b „ DhO '1-Qa[c]da 1195/Oct. - Nov. 1781, d. 25 Rajab 1253/26 Oct. 1837.

I. Works firmly attributed to Muljammad Bello

1. Aqs?m al-muha.jirln wa [1] 1-mu.jahidTn ^-j^-t+JI fi ------»\ () Last (1967a),. 2^5 (K. fi a q warn. .) ^_>x*LOIj

   MSS: Zaria,127/2.

2. /Aqw5 asbSb al-nagr li [1] l-mujahidTn7 (12 48/1832-3)

   L>%«_U _r~°~*J ^ -S-[1] ** 1 ^^

   Hunwick & Gwarzo (1967)* 84.
   MSS: Paris (IF), 24l6(220).

3. al-Badr al-15mi[c] fi [1]1-wird al-jgmi[c]

   Kensdale (1957) » no. 6 I jj-JI (r

   MSS: Zaria, 23/2.
   Comm. by. author (27 Dhn '1-Qa[c]da 1246/9 May 1831):
   MSS: Paris (BN), 5558, ff. 90b-113b.

4. al-BudOr al-musfira fT 'l-khigSl allati tudraku biha a l-mn.ghfirn ^iJI JUxiJI 5 -ri_—Jl I (I

   Abn Dakr (1972), 287. s^-.JI i[f;],
   MSS: Kano (BU), ll6 ; Niamey, 469; Sokoto (SHB), lOO; Zaria, 22/2.

5 • al-Burd al-yamanl fT akhbTSr Uways al-Oarani lttLjI ^ -V-[Jl]

   Last (1967a), 244
   MSS: Niamey, 272; Zaria, 155/1.

6. giya[1] al-[c]uqPl fT bavSn ghila^ tabrTm (var. fI [1] 1 - tafcdhTr [c]an) al-ghulul (1235/1819-20)

   (*je.* ^x^l *J** jl) XUi^Ll_> ^3 J^l *L-

   Kensdale (1957), no. 47, Hunwick (1962), 3.

   MSS: Jos, 86.

7. al-Durar al-^ahirivva fT ♦l-salasil al-C~diriyva UJI—II J ij^UJI *jjj*J\ (v

Abil Bakr (1972), 291 (al-Dudur a l-^ZThir ivvn . .)

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 61; Ibadan (UL) , SoKoli'
(SHD), 165.

8* Fatfr al-aghlaq fT ma^{c}na ljadTth ^{M}Bu^{c}ithtu li-utarnn ini li '1-nas maltSrim al-akhlaq (end Muljarram 1235/nid- Nov. 1819) ^ Ul) ^
Last (1967a), *2kk.* *(j*LC.

MSS: Zaria, 169/^.

9. Fatfr al-bab fT dhikr ba^{c} <j. khag?S ^{1} ig al~shavkh (Abd al-Oadir fard al-afrbab c_jLj>-'VI j ^ jjUill J-|X ,*jaZ*> Lfl>- _r^" S_)LJI(^

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 199 ♦ 230; Ibadan (UL), 25*i, pp. 86- 108; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (BU), 162, 171; Niamey, 477; Sokoto (SHB), 270 (. . f X dhikr ba^{c} fj qagS^{1} id. .)

10, FayS^{1} id mu.jtnala fT mS ja * fT ^{1}1-birr wa *l-sila. Also called K. birr al-walidavn » U. u^j *'JX*^ xjLj ()•
J-J *_>(-IS"* :(3*——dj < i-LuJI*j* f

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 65; Ibadan (UL), 89; Jos, 20; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (DU), *hj*>; Sokoto (SHD), 3^9, *khk*% 456, 522, 602, 710.

11* al-Ghayth al-shu'bub fT tavgiyvat al-amir Ya^{c}qub
I VJ—^ I I ( ))

Advice to Ya^{c}qub b. D?Idi, 1st amir of Bauchi, 1805-^5. MSS: Ibadan (UL), 123; Kaduna (NA) , 1 copy; Zaria, *'j* , 93/7.

Publ. Text and Eng. trans. in Ismail & Aliyu (1975).

12. al-Ghavth al-wabl fT sTrat al-im5m al-^{c}adl (1236/1820-1)
Jj-xJI (n

See 0. Bello (1983).

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 391? Kaduna (Na), 2 copies; Kano (IJU) , 81; Sokoto (SIID), 337; Timbuktu, 28; Zaria, ll/I, >i , 5, 6, 7.

Hashiva (r $_{la}$ muoadd ima t Idrr^{c} al-nusukh
__Jl p lo_jl $_{cr}$Lt 4-1—^ U- (>

Discusses *Abd AllSh b. Fudi's theories on the ori;;. u:. of the Fulani as found in his Tda^{c} and then lists Dello' principal shavkhs. Last(1967a), xxxiii, calls Nasat.

MSS: Kano (BU), *2kh* (? K. ol-nasab); Paris (IF), *2>i06(7k).*

Publ. Partial French trans. in M. Delafosse (1912), 257-67.

See also K. al-tamkln wa 'l-rugQkh in works of uncertain attribution to M. Dello below.

ijilvat al-bagS'ir ʿan al-a^kam al-lazima li [1] 1-mu.q^f i. _r (Mutyarram 1236/Oct.-Nov. 1820)

>1 ___JJ ^pUI flX^Vl ^ ^L-xJI (ii

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 188, 188a, 392; Ibadan (UL) , 25)6;

Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (BU), 92; Sokoto (SUM), I56; Zaria, 13/2.

Cf. Tibb al-musSfirln in list of works of uncertain attribution below.

IfSdat al-ikhwSn (9 Mutyarram 1251/7 May 1835) s_0l»I ()d On government, with a section on the Mahdl. ^I^>-VJ MSS: Ibadan (UL), 468M14 (attrib. to Sh. ᶜUthman);

Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Kano (DU), 5°8*, Niamey,

346 ; NU/Paden, 238; Sokoto (SHD),\ 592, 795,

B7k.

IfrSd man vugnlll Allcih ᶜalayhi wn-ma.1 H [1] ika tulm

•AJJUJ'Aaj i-xlx ^.UI 01 I ( ) A

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 60; Kano (DU), 175 (K. al-jfrad); Zaria, 22/8 (Dhikr man..)

InfSq al-maysur fT ta*rTkh bilad al-Takrtlr (5 Dhu [1]1-Qaᶜda 1227/10 Nov. 1812)

jjjZ-iJl oMj qjj Lj jj—j-JI oLa-JI ( )Y

MSS: Dakar, Fonds Brevie , 8, 9 (analysis); Ibadan (UL), k00; Jos, ^76; Kaduna (NA), k copies;

rBXᵀT7 17*7 Legon, 71; Leiden'Univ,. Lib, ,

l4o63; London, Foreign Off., see Intro. •_ 0f

C.J. Whitting; Niamey, 2, 2 3 8; Habat (DC), 2384; Sokoto (SI 113) , 1^3 , 472, 6 4?, 842; Zaria, 5~/'1 10" ■' 124/1, 2, 3, 4.

Publ, Arabic text ed. C.J. Whitting, London 19 51;

Cairo, 19^4 (privately printed).

Extracts translated in D. Denham and C. Clapper ton, Narrative of Travels and Discoveries_____ in North and Central Africa (London, 1826) Appendices xii and xiii; various extracts trans. in Thomas Hodgkin, Ni,geri.an Perspectives ,London: Oxford University Press, i960, 2nd edn. 1975 ;

E. J . Arne 11 , The Rise of the Sokoto Fulr.ni, lc a paraphrase and in some parts a translation of the Infaku[1] I Maisuri of Sultan Nohammed Be 1lo,

Kano* 1922. Hausa trans. S.S. Muhammad & J. Boyd (

See also 0. Iloudas, 'Protestation des habitants de Kano' in Homenaje a Don Francisco Coders, Zaragoza, .1904, a study of the Bello-Kanemi correspondence.

al-Ing5f fi dhikr mS fT mas^'il al-khil5fa min wi.faq wa-kh ilaf (8 Ramadan 1232/22 July 1817)

ijyj-j ijlij ^ JM---- * ^ l* L.o V I ( ) A

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 3^; Paris (IF), 2415(206).

al-IshcTᶜa fi frulcm al~kh5ri,jln ʿan al-taᶜa

Abu Bakr (1972), 289 ,. ju-liJI *jc.* UJI ^3 it I iV I ()\

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 75, 78; Ibadan (UL), 254, pp. 79- 85; Kaduna (NA), 1 coyjy; Kano (BU), 55; Sokoto (SHB), 182, 325, 567.

Ishctra wa-iᶜ lam fT baᶜ<j umur gilat al»arlj5ni

See La st (1967a) , xxii. Xl*^ *j* ^) *j* 3 j ! ;) *(y* ■

On the relatives and ancestors of Sh. ᶜUthman, Vj MSS: Kano (BU), l66; Zaria, l4/4, 5, 6, 7.

Jala[1] al-gamam fT raaraj al-aqwal wa *I-afᶜaI wa ' 1-himam J J ^3 VI j| . (r,

5ee--Ab\3 Bakr -(-1-9-724 —2-9Q-, CUw.spi r.itoial 111 ne s ffe

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 192; Ibadan (UL), 254, pp. 109-

134, 25^, PP» 386 — ^ ^9; Kadunn (NA), 1 copy;
Kano (DU), 93; Sokoto, 168, 169, 666.

22. Jal5* a 1 - gu d ur[c] amma yakhtaliju fTha min g.ida ' 1_ - ehurur (18 Ramadan 1229/3 Sept. l8l4)

LfO-* L.C jjX-Jl , J

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 70; Ibadan (UL), 35, 36, 70; Jos, 30, 19^, 916; Kaduna (LH), l4; Kaduna (NA), 5 copies; Kano (DU), 19, 156; Niamey, 244; NU/Falke, 366; Paris (BN), 5675, ff. 154b- l68a ,

23. Jam[c] al-nuqQl **fT** afrkSm al-,ghulul[f]»i^J(**f LC-I JyUJI (rr**

Soe Kensda**3** e(**1957) * no. 33,** Hunwick (**I**96 **),** p. 3.
MSS: Zaria, 152/1.

24. JawSb li [1] 1-sayvid Aljmad b. Muhammad Lobbo

محمد لب

See C.C. Stewart, 'Frontier disputes and problems of legitimacy: Sokoto-Masina relations 1817-1837', J A! i 17 (1976), 502, n. 15. (Abd Allah made marginal notes on a copy of this letter which were in turn commented upon by M. Dello in a separate treatise. A photocopy of a fragmentary text of this is in the Northwestern University Africana Library (uncat.).

25. Jawab shSf[111] wa-khitab minnS k5f[in] i!5 Muhammad al-J aylanT I ^ I {S'

l_L* c_j ILJ-j »_j 1—2. l_> I (To

Letter to the Ait-Awari Ineslemen leader and jihiTtii..;
M. al-JaylSnT (d. after 1836).
MSS: Kano (DU), 2 20 ; NiamOy , 174 4 (? R. ila M. al-JayJJTnJ Sokoto (SIID), 498.

26 * Jumal min a 1-mabanT nagS'ifo li-Mu^ammad al-JaylanT

^L_JI j-* J— (T1 See

preceding entry , also Hunwick (1962), 6.
MSS: Kano, 379; Zaria, 23/4, 56/2.

Cf* Kensdale (1957), no. 66 , Kaff al-JavlanT.

27. J urn 1 a munab biha fiha *1-i shTI r a t a 1-mnn iy a

<lL_# I <j j I—^ VI Lf-v* j-j-# • *i-*--** I r v

Kensdale (19 5 7) > no. 3 4 .
MSS: Kano (BU), 377; Zaria, 23/5, 58/5.

28. Kaff al-ikhwTTn c an ittib5c khufruwnt al-shaytan (27 Ramadan 1226/15 Oct. l8ll)

^ LUo—UI Cj 1 J*-?- £ Lfj' ^ o' ' i_x^ (^ ^

See Abu Dakr (1972), 286. Written to guide ignorant students who had misinterpreted the writings of 4Abd Allah b. M. FudT.
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 19 yl ; Ibadan (UL), 254; Kano (HU), 27, 76, 351, 406; Sokoto (SHD), 158, 430.

29. al-KafT fT c ilm al-.jafr wa 'l-khawSfT _rk^\ pU ^ S5jkII m

MSS: Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Sokoto (SHD), 88l, Zaria, 20/6.

30. Kashf al-crhita1 wa 'l-sitr fT muwSlat al-kuffar (123 5/1819-20) jlidljl—Jlj . LiJJI ui—1j (V ■

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 567, 602M27; Niamey, 240; Sokoto (SIIB), 152, 153, 777; Zaria, 22/1.

31. Kashf al-khafT min akhbTTr a1-imam al-mahdl

jLp-l y 1 —■—^ (f)

See* Last (1967a), 245.

MSS: Zaria, 6/9, 58/6, 8.

32. Kashf al-qinac wa 11-astSr fT sha'n savvid al-istighfar

jUiuL-^VI JLX— 0Li J ^UiJI (rr

See Kensdale (1957), no. 67, Hunwick (I962), 3.

MSS: Sokoto (SIID), 752.

33• al-Kawakib al-durriyya fT dhikr bac d nugtalafrat al-

-Sijj. iy-y.2:'i^Jsj^cS\ CjL>xJLiww> ^5"3 (fT

See Smith (1959b), no. 26.
MSS: Kaduna (:'A), 1 copy; Zaria, 169/2.

3*,. v<r.,v,t al-nuhtodln ft .frMn .1=.™^Ui£l^■ -J.-

mu j ah id m ^i
MSS: Kano (BU), 10; Niamey, 4.10(7); Timbuktu, 5;
Zaria, 7/12, 122/8.

35. K. a 1-Dhikr a ^:Jl
^JLIS <T C,
MSS: Kano (BU), 306, 621; Niamey, 473; Sokoto (SHD), 14 4

36. K. al-nisrln fT ma qTla fi man balacha min al-sir.n
arba^c Tn (l4 or 15 Rajab 1235/27 or 28 April 1820)
[1] o—[11] Cr' £-L> JuJ LaJ ,yrij ----- Jl (y\
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 66 bis; Jos, 32; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy;
Sokoto (SHB), 170, 171, 279.
Dhayl by author (1235/1820), see Last (1967a), 245.

37. K. al-ra ghba ^j\ ^,LS (r v
See Hunwick and Gwarzo (1967), 84.
MSS: Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Paris (BI), 2411(187).

38. K. al-ribSt wa '1-frirSsa i—IjjJIj ±L>J\ (ta
Abstracted from A. b. Ibr. al-Dimashqi (d. 8l4/1411),
Mash3ri^c al-ashwaq, seo GAL II, 76.
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 4l; Zaria, 12/2, 3, 4.

39 • Iv. al-tafrrTr fT qawa^c id al-tabgir li 'l-sivasat
CjL_-L-- u _rx^xjjJI u_cl j j v_,Ll5' (r\
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 201; Ibadan (UL), 254, pp. 23-43;
Kano, 210.
Publ. Zaria: Gaskiya Corpn., 1963.

40. Madgri.j al-sa!5ma fT .jumla min masa'il al-iraarna
J_j| • ^—II ■- j I x* ((. ■
.See Hunwick and Gwarzo (1967), 83.
MSS: Paris (IF), 24l6(217).

41. al-Mafrgill fT dhikr .jumla min masS'il al-ghulul
J^liJI Jil -- . ^ ^ j> J^Ol (L j
See Kensdale (1957)4 no. 71.
MSS: Jos, 38.

42. Ma n'/ Hmn fT [1]1-fit an a 1-nm 11 a g i lo bi - kh\ i i JTJ a 1-ma h c)T

MSS: Kano (DU), 631; Zaria, 6/12.

Ta(l.Tq : by author. See Last (1967a), 247.

43. al-Mawgrid al-nabawiyya fT 'l-masa'jl al-tibbiyva
(1252/1836-7) —Jl *j* ^I^JI (a
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 74; Kano (DU), 101; Zaria, 22/3.

44. MiftaTj al-sadZId fT aqs^m hSdhihi 'l-bilZTd
<ii» ---- 31 J>|J--j| al
Classification of areas of Hausaland according to thoir degree of islamisation.
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 295; Ibadan (UL), 212, 386; Hamburg - soe Bjorkniann (1927); Kano (DU), 99; Niamey, 247, 1579; Sokoto (SHD), 145, 422, 766.

45. MiftcTfr al-sadgd fT dhikr al-awliy5[1] al-khawggg al-afrSd
^1^1 •LJj'i/l jlu-- II (u
On some of the principal 'saints' of Islam: Atymad al-RifcI[c]T, Aljmad al-DadawT, IbrHhTm **al-DasHqT and,** above all, [1]Abd al-Qgdir al-JTlSnT.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 77; Kano (DU), 152; Sokoto, 749, 792.

Select vers.by M. al-N^ir al-KabarT, Su 171.1 at a 1- m i f t Sfr, publ. Kano: Adebola Pregg, n.d. (- NU/Paden, 366 .

46. Mir'St al-qalb fT ma[c]rifat al-rabb
^^1 ii yu ^i L_JJUI i'T_. (n
See Kensdale (1957), no. 72, Hunwick (1962), 3.

47. al-Nagg'ifr wa '1-tanbThgt [c]a!5 maqagid muhimmat
tl) l^» li* C Cj IJ LajJ I (IV
See Smith (1959b), no. 27.
MSS: Sokoto (SHD), 317*

48. al~NagT)ja bi-taqrTb ma yajib (ala * gmmat al-umma
I <C* Ix C-UfVfJ L» W-J I (IA
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 67, 68; Ibadan (UL), 14, 85; Kano (DU), f,8, 86, 53'' » Sokoto (SWi) , 105 (. .[c] oX5— Kuil[1] mukfllllaf.), l4l, 379 » 406, 506, 725. All Sokoto copies are attributed in the index to [c]Abd AllSh b. M. FudT*

49. al-NagTbat al-wa(jT»a fT baygn anna l?ubb ol-dunvH ra[1] *a* Kull[1] khafrT^a (2 ShawwSl 1250/11 Feb. 183 5)

iLuWi- 1 j L_i>uJ I V^'' 0 ^ 0 ^'t) ^t* JJ1 X>ywuJ I
(1\
Brief biogs. of pious Muslim women of history and some of the wives of Sh. ^UthmSn.
MSS:- Kano (BU), 412; Niamey, 271; Sokoto (SHB), 11! 5, 290, 362, 363; Zaria, 22/5.

50. Nayl a l-raghoT[1]ib fT silsilat al-qufrb a 1-Thac 71.1i bT
(1235/1819-20) ^JUUI vJaJUl U___L-* ^ c^U^ll j*j (0
Soe Last (1967a), 246.
MSS: Jos, 87.

51. al-Nuqdl al-nawcTtiq f^C sha'n aI~Barbar wa * I-Taw?Triq
^ (o'
See Hunwick (1964b), 40, n, 85.
MSS: Ibadan (UL), ; Niamey, 273.

52. NGr al-Fajr fT [1]l~ayygm al-mac lHm<5t wa *l--lay?IlT
'j^ashr OL.yb.JI fgVI J, ^ <oT
On the virtues of the first ten days of Dhu *l-yijja. MSS:Ibadan (CAD), 76; Ibadan(UL), 256, pp. 2 5 3-17 6; Jos, 83; Kano (BU), 15, 94; Niamey, 242; Sokoto, 177, 309.

53. Nugfr K5f[in] wa-li 'l-amrSj 3haf[in] ^ uliT ^ <or
See Abu Bakr (1972), 289. On asceticism.
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 50; Ibadan (UL), 103, 388(..wn-bi [1] l-maq^tld waf[in]) ; Kaduna (NA), 3 copies; Kano (BU), 39; Niamey, 275; Sokoto (SHB), 172, 173, 174, 2 5 8 (..wa-bi [1]1-maqgQd w5f[in]), 295, 507;
- [2]gria, TZ7^rr^' ^ - - —

a V a ' 3 — 0 j j L-Wtoi

a) Dy q?Sf iv a

1) 0» ba 1 ivva fi ritha 1 Si al-Mukhtftr al-KuntT

jU^vJI i^a-i—. . Lij iZL, '6^.xs (i

MSS: Paris (BN), 5599, ff. 27a-b.

ii) 0. (j^diyva Sa^J (r

Last (1966), 9 lists three such qayldas - n single copy for each in Kaduna (NA).

iii) Q. dSliyya fT madfr al-nabT

C"*"* O'

MSS: Legon, 156

iv) Q. d51iyya fT 'l-tawassul bi-khavr al-rusul

J— J J—I ^ ioJ IJ

MSS: Niamey, 47&J Zaria, 22/9.

v) O. dSliyyn ^ ^ ^ (o

In praise of the shaykhs of his country.

.MSS: Paris (BN), 5599, ff21a-22b.

vi) Q. dSlivva fT madfr Atjmad al-Dakka'T

I j_*j—I Jj---- II ajJI 0 oa_c~xi (A

MSS: Paris (BN), 5599, f. 18b; Zaria, 38/2 (Q. ilg Afrmad al-BakkS'T - 2 copies).

vii) Q> dgliyya ^j,0 5a_^ (y

Ovens: ^ :>U>JI U ^

BSnat fa-^azza ^ala ' l-Iu'Jfd Su^ad

MSS: Zaria, 12/6.

viii) q.fra*iyya i^u SJ^J <A

Opens: C1^. 01 ^ v>}

Li-rnan $alal^un ^3f^ln bi-dhHti bi^al;*

Mss: Zaria, 12/7.

ix) Q. hamziyya SjL^ (r

In praise of Si ^ Umar b. Si M. and A. **al-Bakka'T**

MSS: Paris (BN), 5599, ff. l6b - 17a.

x) Q. lHmivya fT fatl? Qalambayna

4-Lxf.Jj, nSj J i)Xx.U ( ) •

MSS: Zaria, 14/1, 82/5.

A

Q. lgrnivva (>)

In praise of Si c Umar b. Si M and A. al-Bakk"' T MSS: Paris (BN), 5599, 37b-l8a.

Q. mTmiyva 113 'l-Sh. M. » L-/uiijn a 1 — Karu■ mi

x *i* i) ^Vl J^ (,T

Extract in AbO Dakr (1972), 3^1-2.

xiii) Q. mlmiyyo *fT* madfr {ammihi (Abd AllSh aJJI Jot

Opens: ^ j ^ jb I*

Y7I <17Tr Salm75 bi-QuwwS wa-bi-khTf *MutiTi* See his JawcTb li 'l-sayyid A. b. M. Lobbo for text •

Q. mTmiyya fi madh M. b. Sa{Td

xiv) Opens : pJ ' Jr* J L> t

MS baiu c aynika £ul al-layl lam tanarn

MSS: Zaria, 11/3, 89/5.

xv) Q, nPnivya i!5 'l-Sh, M. al-AmTn al-KTTnomT

_jiai cs^J1 3j,^xi()0

Extract in Abtl Dakr (1972), 3^2.

xvi) Q. nPniyya ( ) \

Opens; ^

A-15 y3 nafsu wayljaki IjaddithTnT MSS: Logon, 294, 306, 39 ^; Sokoto (SHB), 617, 626; Zaria, 62/8.

xvii) Q. ntlniVva 3J_^J (»Y

Opens: 1/**^ r^1 ^ ^

YZX lahfT muqlm^an lam tad^cuni MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 389.

xviii) 0. nQniyya ipp OJUL^U ( )A

Perhaps a copy of one of the above.

See Last (I966), 9.

xix) Q. qgfiyya ixjU *OJ*^^J *i)*\

Opens: (*-* UL3' ^ ^ '

A-IS hal atSha anna yawrna GhawakukI MSS: Paris (BN), 6112, f. 47.

— O n — — o f Gawakuke -(-18.56) ,—sec Last- (-l^jC>7i») ^ 7 1 •

3 >n ■ 'Mi.u„.<■ .. .pi|W. 1 ,..1 1 tfiu.ipw 'rT^' ' • ' "T?'

xx) q, r?[1] ivya H

Opens: -<—*[!] ^ ^^L-o'-'*

UnSdXk *yTi* mawl3ya f I [1] 1-sirr wa [1] 1-jahr

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 279. [xxi]) Q. r^'iyya fi ghazwat FgfarS

Opens: ^ u* J[A]

A-1S ha1 atSha anna ghazwat FafarS MSS:

Zaria, 22/4, 56/4.

xxii) Q. t5*iyya fT madfr Si al-Mukhtftr oI-KuntT

Jus3\ Jl^ ^Li 5j_ua# *(rr*

MSS: Paris (BN), 5599, ff. 25a-26[a]. xxiii) Q. yB'iyva (,r

Opens: 0^*j «_jtx_UI

A-ba[c] d al-shabSb zar»7Sn[un] bahT See his JawTIb li 'l-savvid A. b. M. Lpbbo

b) Of unknown q^fiya

I • Eulogy

i) Q. fT madlj al-yhuz3t min ogljgbihi

4_>L>wj I *oJjj*h*\ <»a_L-.-vJ (

[1]

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 38. ii) Q. fT madtj al-nabX C[J]"'* <s* (r

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 39 (3 such poems); Zaria, 19/3

[11] • ill[2R]

i) Marthiyyat [c] Abd al~Qadir b. [(]Uthman v;i-M. b. al-ust?»dh al-[c]anmi /''Abd Allah/

Jl iU—^l ^ o[1]-^ J[iUJ1] (1

MSS: Zaria, 11/1

ii) Q. fT marthiyyat {ammihi [c]Abd Allah

iJJ I JLfC <L*X i-i-J 0 T (

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 37; Kaduna (NA), .1 copy;

Paris (BN), 5683, ff. 131a-b.

iii) Q. fT marthiyyat ukhtihi wa-baqivvat ikhwanihl

*l-m5tjTn *IXLJJ* Aii-I ^ 1'

MSS: Zaria, 14/3 , 83/I.

III. Various

i) Q. fl dhikr al-ninvt

MSS: Sokoto (SHB), 93#

ii) Q. il5 ᶜ Abd A115h b. FudT ^(I

MSS: Zaria, 127/6. *j**

iii) Qa gTda : ˢ£ '

Opens: £>-*[1]

Ifza< li »113hi »l-i;aqq MS: Zaria, II/:.

iv) Q. fT. tnaw<jilᶜ al-Qur'5n wQ-maʿSnThi wa-nisbat al-F5tifra minhg L*-- *j* 0' ^[5] [r] [1]

Last (1966), 10 (f T maᶜ n5 . .) 1+-*-* z^Uil I>jj

MSS: Kaduna (NA), 1 copy.

TaᶜITq: by author (See Last (1967a), 2A7)

MSS: Zaria, 12/5.

v) Q. al-Minan 0^[1] [5](0

On the attack on Zamfara

Opens: U* p-fH*

Atymaduka 'llahumma yS Tawwab

MSS: Zaria, 13/1.

55. Qadfr al-zinSd fT amr hSdhg *1-.jihad

I j-* (°°

MSS: Kaduna (NA), 1 copy;Paris (BN), 5576, ff. Ia-l4a.

56. aI-Qawl al-mabdhPl fT masS'il al-ghuini (1238/1822-3)

^ J Jj±+J> Jyiil (

o'V

MSS: Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; Niamey, ll66.

57. a 1-Qawl al-manthxlr fT bavSn adwiyat ˂il.lat al-bfl aHr

jj **LJI** ilc- 0(a v

On the treatment of intestinal worms

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 256, pp. 1-36; Manchester, 836D;

Sokoto (SHB), 320.

58. al-Qawl al-manʿgt fT [1] l~nafaqa wa 'l-oaam fT ' 1-mabTt

p -il I *j* iii-iJI*C*jI J I C0A

See AbP Bakr (172), 284. On the treatment of wives in a polygamous household.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 79; Ibadan (UL), 121; Kaduna (NA).

2 copies; Kano (BU) 2l, 385; Niamey, 293; Paris



fwyr *v.*

(BN), 6107* fr. 1-2; Sokoto (SH3), l80, l8l, 434, 593.

Publ. Zaria: Gaskiya Corpn. (litho), n.d. (at end of 'All b. M. al-thSnl, Rawfl al-madxl; r NU/Paden, 396).

59 • al-Qaw 1 al-mawhtlb fT a/jwibat asfilat al-amTr Y a < qtlb
I lli—.1 ijp-' Jj-iiJI (o \
Advice to YacqHb b. DSdi, 1st amir of Da uchi (d. 1845)

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 120; Ibadan (UL), 120; Zaria, 116/1, 93/5.

Publ. Text and Eng. trans. in Ismail 8c Aliyu (1975).

60. al-Qawl al-mukhtagar fT amr al-im^n al-mahdT al-munta%ar
(1235/1^19-20) ^ Jl JjJiJI <v

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 254,pp. 419-50; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (DU), 218; Sokoto (SHD), 499.

61. al-Qawl al-sannS[1] fT wu/jTIh al-talvln wa [1] l-tamashshl bi ^-sincP * ^ h J cyrj ^ * L*—* * ^)

On laxatives and, in particular, senna.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 395; Ibadan (UL), 256, pp. 37-74; Jos, 33; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (BU), 87, 376, 428; Niamey, 467, 1205 (K. al-shafl,.); Sokoto (SHD), l6l, 263, 420.

62. Rafc a1-ishtibSh fT [1]1-tacalluq bi [1]1lah wa-bi-ahl Allah
(1251/1836-7) J*1-^ ^ (M

See Quadri.(1980) and Abd Dakr (1972), 253 who attributes the work to Sh. <Uthm3n. On-JtlfT orders, saints and shnykhs,

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 258; Jos, 8, 27; Kano (BU), 200, 592; Niamey, 266 (.. . al-ishtiyan); Paris (BI), 2415(210); Sokoto (SIIB), 166, 695.

63. Rafc a 1-shubha fT 'l-tashabbuh bi ' 1-kafara wa 'l-^alama wa '1-iahala (end RabTc II 12l6/£. 8 Sept. 1801)
<j—Ul j(^

.On dressing like the unbelievers or imitating their manners.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 193; Ibadan (UL), 82, 254; Jos, 18, Legon, ll6; Kaduna (NA), 3 copies; Kano (BL), 148,

164; Niamey, 283; Sokoto (SHU), 6, 167, 275, 466, 470, 515, 563.

64. R. fT a g 1 al~sa^{c}<?da —H J~* I $_{v<r}$* iJL. (u
MSS: Kaduna (NA) , 1 copy; Niamey, l6l 4 (?K.fT a 1 - ,-ui< .1 d.i) .

J 2 - , ■ »r?«r^{1} *i* ■ *l ' - mi*.:. r.■
- ~ r — —~—- J - —'
1

MSS : Ibadan (CAD), 394 (,,11.5 jamTUnt n 1 - 1 1 Km) ; IU.i.w, (UL), 602M26; Kano (BU), 195, 4ll; Paris (HI), ''i 1 , (201), 24l6 (219); Sokoto (SHB), 155, 397; Zaria, -

Cf, WathTqa 115 jam5^{c}at al-muslimTn, no. 98 below.

66. R. i!5 Mubammad al-Mukht5r *j LL~Jl* ^I UL j (\ \
See Last (1967a), 247.
MSS: Zaria, 85/2, 65/14.

67. R. li. 'l-amrSij shSfiya fThS nagTljo li ’l-aghra^ kTSfiya
4U-tlS" I *lsrt^Aj* t -■ ,(\ Y
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 51; Kaduna (NA), 2 copies; .Niamey, 502; Sokoto (SHB), 332.

68.. Sard al-kaI5~m fT ma .jarct bavnT (var. bayriana) wa-bav_ri ^{c} Abd al--Sal%m. wi_ix. *yr* L-o ^ (\K
On the dispute between M. Bello and the Arewa scholar Abd al-SalSm and his subsequent rebellion, 1817-18, with extracts of their correspondence.
Se^e Last (1967a), xxxii, Abu Bakr (1972), 289.
MSS: Ibadan (CAD),, 185; Ibadan (UL), 122, 212, pp. 53- 64; Kaduna (NA) , Kadcap, 1:8, with F.ng. trans. by P.G* Harris, 7 other copies; Kario (HU), 18; Niamey, 231; Sokoto (SHB), 163, 164, 547, 635; Zaria, V-Vl,

69. al-Sayf al-maslQl fT baygn wujub ta^{c}at a I-a^{1} imma wa-’ 1 rifq bi ^{f}l-ra^{c}iyya wa-tafrrim al-ghulul
P>-r>Or *C&JMJ* 0^ Ul__l)) (\
See Smith (1959b), no. 7, Kensdale (1957), no. 42$_{r}$J$_{>}$JJI
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 409 (inc.); Jos, 431.

V

V

7 (). Sham s__ _a 1 -%ahTra fT minima j ahl al-ʿ ilm wo 'l-baglrn
[a]cr—- C V ■

MSS: Ka.luna (NA), 1 copy; Sokoto (SHD) , ^l't, 939; Zaria, 22/3, 58/4.

71. Sharh frizb al-bafrr (25 JumadS II, 123^/30 March 1821)
i C i)

Comm, on U. al-bafrr of Abd 'l-ljnsan al-ShadhilT (d. 656/1238, see GAL SI, 805^).

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 298; Ibadan (UL), 599 (a1-Man?Urn al-durr (sic) fT..); Niamey, 25^ (Sharh U« al-baljr al-gao;hTr), 13^5; Timbuktu, 29O; Sokoto (sun), 338.

72. Sharh a1-Q. nl-t5[1]iyvat al-DadamSgiyya
■Luo Ua_J I ixiLLJI ▯wxj'J I ^ (

AbC [c] Abd Allah Shams al-DTn Muhammad al-Dadama^T nl-MSlikT, whose biography is so far unknown, but who was perhaps an Upper Egyptian, wrote a celebratod takhmTs on a poem of his own, opening:

Lki-V! ᴊJ ujpi _A_—I

AsTr dhunOb[in] qayyadathu yad al-ikh^a

It is on this takhmTs that M. Bello wrote his comm.

MSS: Ibadan (UL), *k* 2; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (DU), 2?.[1] .

73 • Sharh al-gadr (var. gudflr) fT tafrrXr jawSb .jin5yat al-raqlq [c]al? [>]l~hurr
_[r]pJI (jjXvojl ;jl) j-A-all —- (Yf

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 72; Kano (BU), 288; Niamey, 288; Sokoto (SHB), 931, also cf. 1^7, 1^8[t] 1**9 all with title Nubdha min k. al-rapS[1]iq attrib to M. Bello.

7*li*. Shif5[1] al-asqgm fT madSrik al-afrk5m
See AbO Bakr (1972), 286. f[1]*^[1] ^ fU-VI . U_1 (Yt
On Islamic law and he studied in this M. Bello’s teachers field and the books

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 6*i; Ibadan (UL), 497M17; Kano (DU), 29; Paris (BN), 5669, ff. 25a-31[a;] Sokoto (SHD), 1.62[r] 321 .(^fX„dhikr-jaiadar_.a.l^aUkain),_Jt2.3 ,-475; Zaria, 10/1, 2 (fT dhikr mndSr..)

75 • Su’al ,j am[c] crhaflr {an sha’n nnjm tala*a f~ $afar 124 J
>ro ^ o'—'^-r-^ *r~?r* J')-- ' '

On a star (? comet) which appeared iri $afar 124 1/19 Sept. - 13 Oct. 1823
Soe Last (1967a), 246 (MasH’il ʿan shn’n.,)

MSS: Zaria, 62/1, 58/3.

76 . TafrqTq al-murlbln wa [1] 1-mushakkikTn wa 'l-niunkirTn

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 343, 374₆₀Jos, 938; Kaduna (NA),
2 copies; Sokoto (SHB), 935*

77* TakhmTs B3nat Su^{c}5d JU_ CJ_JL> (V,

Rendering in pentastiches of the I.flmivya of Ka$^{£}$b b,
Zuhayr D^nat Su<ad fa-qalbT "l-yowro matbHl, see GAL I, 39.
MSS:.Ibadan (CAD), 73; Ibadan (UL), 197; Kaduna (NA),
1 copy; Kano (DU), 176 ; Niamey, 252; Sokoto (.SH:3), 392, 585, 839, 863,
895; Zaria, 58/1 (Shari; wa- takhmTs..), 65/13; 68/9.

78. TakhmTs al~Durda (va

Rendering in pentastiches of the Burda of al-DCpirT
MSS: Kano (DU), 192; Sokoto (SHB), 838; Zaria, 14/2,
14/8, 83/4, 86/3.

79. TakhmTs hamzivyat al-Dugirx (Y\

Rendering i n pentastiches of xhe Hamzi yv a of a 1 -1 h 1T1 •
in praise of the Prophet, see GAL SI, 470-1 .
See al-lj3jj Sa^{c}1d, Ta ^{1} rikh Sukkutu, ed. 8c trans. 0.
Houdas (Paris, 1899-1901), 190 (Ar. text).

80. TalkhTg magPfth al-lujavn ft amrS(,i al-^{c}ayn

See Kensdale (1957), no. 17. . .al-musaminS Tibb al .ui.i . MSS: Sokoto (SHB), 150, 333, 482 (M. al-1. al-tibb al- liavyin) .
Cf. al-^ibb al-hayvin f 1 awja{ al-(ayn, no. 93 beluv. .

81. TnmhTd al-^{c} imad fT mS z3d ^{c}ala ^{c}umdnt al-^{c}ubbr»d (::v> :
'l-yijja 1217/22 April 1803)
^Lfxll 5o*i ;>)j L-xi JLuJ) a (A)

*ii*Aj>i^'

ay) cr^> ir^n^> ^ \^y\^ irr~ri*f

e'jVjoqs-xe ui'b^CfG efe 3 e >fiiue L-X^eMTquoj, *£g

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qfinx^L'x sfo , • •ssnux^uoo

Ojroq* *lx* #ou <(q6^6l) q^.xuig *\z ' °u *(Z£6l) 8I^P$U3$H 98S '

)Y) cr^r ipnr^p lubn,-!® iqv? uxqaei »^g

, ^ ; .<#*■ \ iv*

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c\rr*sl *08^ ' (sZ.6t) nqv

iY) C$T"rV$^ ifr^J Tf0r-^rS (-^TD^ IfT^T^ lUQCnu-X ,

VqVqp"j uq"s"-xu xqt? q£tix * L' T qn'pim' j?x « > uiQqnj-Xtt Umuc X *£9

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j1^ 1 ** irm^

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• s/er »/T *

Jyi£ * (mis) o^o>;os * u^^nqujTX -6^2 'Xatuciv; •* SSH

•IPUJ *K *q

u^uiq^Q^ • qg jo pi>qqn , -\ u } c pUIQ } aq} jo uox ^co T JTXdulv

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 190; Niamey, 2^3*, Sokoto (SI 113) , '51' '* ;
Zaria, 119/12 (attrib. to Sh. ‘ t l.!iman b. M. Fudi) .

88. Tu 11 b Th a 1 - r5 n i d ᶜal5 m3 yaᶜtawir al-frajj nln al-tn. •. f71 s i !
a._^UIJI {J* j/^1 vv •

See ‘Umar al-Naqar, The Pil err ima e;e Tradition in Vest Africa (Khartoum University Press, 1972), 55-61 and BIFHA, 6 (1981), 50-1. On the arguments for not performing the fra j j arising from preoccupation with j i > \ *T.* ■ 1 and state affairs, insecurity of routes, etc. The analysis in RBCAD, 11 (1975-6), 57 is inaccurate.

MSS; Ibadan (CAD)„ 390; Ibadan (UL), 256, pp. ^ 5-9 9;
Kaduna (NA), 3 copies; Kano (DU), 51, 98; Niamey,
2*til; Sokoto* (SHB), 178, 179, 539; Zaria, 86/:;,
Publ. Sokoto, n.d.

89* TanbTh' al-gTTfrib {a!5 abkSm al-mak^sib (2 Ramadan 123 5/
13 June 1820) ^ICJI I ^ Ur

On the virtues of being self-supporting. See 0. Polio *(l')i* MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 228; Ibadan (UL), *hh;* Jos, 6 (attrib. to Sh. ‘UthmHn b. M. FudT); Kaduna (NA), 1 copy;
Kano (BU), 169, 196; Niamey, 246, 270, 292; Sokoto (SHB), 157, 415, 529, 594.

90. al-TanbTh5t al-WcEflifrgt f I ma ,j5 * fT *1-baqivat al-;“ 1 ’ V ’ '
CjLaJLaJI OLibJI »Lf- L_i_» (V

MSS: Paris (BN), 5575, "ff. Xb-9a; Niamey, 192,s28'l,
Zaria, 22/7, 26/3.'
Publ, Sokoto (SUB), 658 reports 2 printed copies.

91. al-TanwTr fTᶜ ilm al-tabaggur (?- al-tabgTr)
(I<-V)_,ux;.,.. Ip_Lc j-jij_LIII (\j

Mentioned by M. Bello in his Shifa ’ al-asqam, seeIil>C AD %
1, iii (1965), 52-3- [1] Abd al-QJTdir b. Gidado in his AnT al-mufTd mentions a work entitled Turjuman ᶜala ᶜ ilm al-tab gir, see Smith (1959b), no. 3.

92. TawqTf al-.jahHl ᶜala anwS(mafasid al-ghulul
J—. Li-» (.\ T

See Kensdale (1957)* no.___ 22:- TanbTh a3-jahul.
MSS: Sokoto (SHB), 533.

93 • al-Tibb a 1-hayv in fT aw.ja[1] al-nyn
(jj-* «-JJI (\r

MSS-.Ibadan (UL), 255, pp. 232-259, 503M5; Kaduna (NAK),
1 copy; Kano (HU), 88, 4 59; Paris (BN), 5666, ff,
29 5a-297b (inc.).
Cf. no. 80 above.

Abridgt* of Ch.8of al-Maw^hib al-Laduniyya fT [1] I-minMj a 1 - Muhammad iyy a of A. b. M. al-Qns^al 13nT (d. 923/1517), see GAL II, 73*

(62)

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 255, pp* 104-231; Sokoto (SIID), 660; Zaria, 10/3, 4, 5, 6»

95. al-Tiirjuman ᶜan kayfiyyat waᶥ? ol-Sh, ᶥUthm?in (25 HabTᶜ I 1217/26 July 1802) 0^ *i±juS* ('*

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 71, 205; Ibadan (UL), 164; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (DU), 20; Niamey, 230j Sokoto (SHD), 176, 724.

96. ‘Ujglat al-rgkib fT *l-tibb al-ga’ib (1245/1829-30)

l_dcjl t_v5' I ijl^c (\

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 69; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (DU), 38; Niamey, 286, IO36; Paris (BN), 55^8, ff. 3 20- 128; Sokoto (SHD), 6*19, 751.

97. Ugtll al-siySsa wa-kayfiyyat al-makhlag min urnOr al-ri'asn

\ Jr>\ ^ i2_-L—II J^| (\y

Advice on government written for [4] Umar DallSji, 1st nmTr of Katsina, reg. 1807-35.

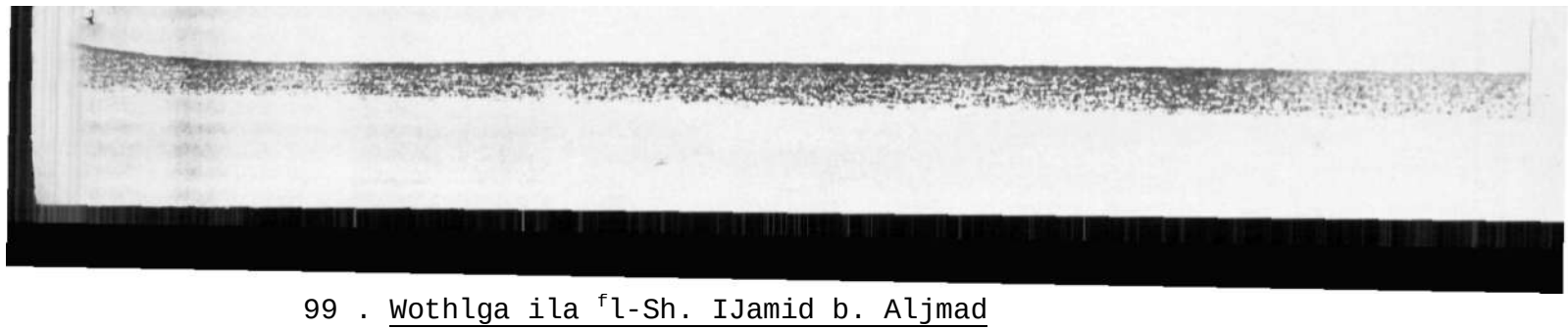
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 142, 158;Ibadan (UL), 525, 602M22; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (DU), 415; Niamey. l4l4; See also Bjorkmann (I927), 2-4.

Publ. Facsimile text and Eng. trans. in Martin (1971). See also Yamusa (1975).

98. Wathiqa il5 .jam?Tᶜat al-musliroln

—-Jl it LJ- ^1 iiujj (-\A

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 393; Niamey, 142; Sokoto (SHD), 464; Zaria, 6/8, 82/1, 86/4.



99 . Wothlga ila ᶠl-Sh. IJamid b. Aljmad

x^l ^ o^U ^Ul Jl (V

MSS; Kano (BU), 90; Sokoto (SHD), 5 31.

2. Titles not yet fully authenticated

1• **^d5b al-mucallim** **J**

MSS: Niamey, 257*

2, Ad?Tb **al-tawassul** **J—I**

MSS: Kano (DU), 199

Cf. **Niamey, 253, al-Tavassul** bi-ahl al-tawba, and **nos.**

5^(iv) above and ^1 bolow.

3. **%d3ib al-muagfir** _r> I—■—J * IT

See Kensdale (1957), no. 1.

h . Ajwiba fT [1] 1-bukm» » [c] °1** [c]iddat ol-nikal;
[c]UUI *cJS.* [0]Jx ... . jX>JI
* *
s'

MSS: Kaduna (NA), **1** copy.

5 • al-[<]Av5mil **fT** [1]1-naljw I J_-I*y*SI
U

79 w. on Arabic grammar *after* Ibn Mu[c]and Ibn Malik.
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 80.

-y? Cf. Smith (1959a), no. 2, K. fT [{] ilm al-jumal nl-natjwiyya.

6. a 1-Du[c] 5 [1] .UjJI (A

MSS: Zaria, 65/12.

7. al-FS'ida fT ziyflrat qabr al-sharif
vJu I _[r]j_3 o j L)j J» o _i_[J] L[A]J i (Y
MSS: Ibadan (UL), **501*131.**

^ FS'idat al-ikhwan (A

MSS; Niamey, 248.

Cf. no. 15 in main list above: If?Tdat al-ikhwTEn.

9. GhSyat al-sxll fT amr al~rasfll.l^ [r])l J [y] -j I j,.J li- (, \
MSS: Kaduna (NA), **1** copy.

10. * Ijizb al-amanl MSS:

Niamey, 471.

11. al-I^lSm f l mg vajib ᶜala 'l-im~m min J^i *i* f

a^IslSm ᵣ^VI ^ ^ ^ ᵣU^l ^

See Last (1967a), 244.

MSS: Zaria 157/5 (See 5th Interim Renort.

reported in al-BxlT's Index),

. K. fT sha'n al~a<jglj/iyya/

See Smith (19^2), 534.

13 • K. al-tamkTn va ♦l-rustlkh (1228/1813)

MSS: Paris (BN), 5432, ff, 298-299, whore :ₐU describes it as 'compte-rendu do Ida- i i__ nustlkh..de ⁴Abd Allah Ibn FOdT'. Cf. «, j- in main list above, hjgshiva ᶜalg I.ₙ.

.4. MS qTla fT abna ' al-sittTn

MSS: Sokoto (SHD), 873.

L5. Majmnᶜ al-ansSb

MSS: Sokoto (SHB), 914; Timbuktu, 26,

L6. Man^Cm al-durr (1236/1820-1)

'See Last (1967a), 245.

Cf. no. 71 above, Sharb hizb al-ba^rT th* *badui (UL) copy of whi6*h* uses the title al-Mar.:--- *(* a1-durr.

17 • Man^Hm fT sha'n al-qutb

See Smith (1959a), no. 19.

* 18. MasS'il al-jihSd

See Kensdale (1957), no. 74.

19. Masa'il muhimma wa-fawa¹ id ᶜa?Tma

See Last (1967a), 246.

20. MasS'il muhimma fT frukin al-hi.jra

----HSS-:-~Niamey.,—27-6-*

—r^-

21. MiftTIfr al-bagg'ir u
On tho role of the *sharTf[1] ‘Abd Allah Hannun (iiwa• Last (1967a), 246 questions its authenticity, as he does a similar work (Kashf al-lu[1]m) attributed to [c] Abd AllSh b. M. FCdT.
MSS: Kaduna (NA), 1 copy.

22 . Mukhtagar yotaflamman m3 li 'l-sul^n [ala [1] _1 - ra [c] 1% v [1] wa-m5 [£]alnvhi li [1]l-ra[c] iyya
U*JL—JJ L> /...a*i -jL>w () 1
'i-i*[4]-iA[S]- C
MSS: Niamey, 255.
Cf. al-Sayf al-maslOl, no. 69 of main list.

23. Mun5.j5t al-Sh. al-mu.jaddid ntlr al-zam7In * Uthman b. FOdT —^J' SL»-L_* (P.
Publ. Cairo: >1. al-Mashhad al-IJusaynl (litho.), n.d. (= NU/Paden, 263).

24. Na^m fT kitab li '1-IskandarT (?) ^5i (i i
MSS: Kaduna (NA), 1 copy.

25. Na^o al-[c] TsaffhQJT fT [1] 1-mnntiq Uo
Soe Smith (1959b), no. 10.
Presumably a vers, of AthTr al-DTn al-AbharT (d.663/1264), comm, and rev. of the Isagogo of Porphyry (d. c. 305 A.D.), see GAL I, 464.

26. Q. al-thulSth (sic) fT madfr al-nnbT (V) 01.~l» (t \
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 39. ..._

27. (sic = c£l[c] ?) al-dawSni (V j-Vj -) jJO (TY
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 602M24.

28 . QawTf* id nl-gal«Ifr mn[(] fawS'ld » 1-fa 1^1; (1 2 4 9/ J fi7> "5 - 4) See Last (1967a).jOUJI (ta
MSS: Ibadan (UL), 109; Jos, 1024 (dated Shawwa.l 1243/April-May 1828 and not attrib. to any author); Kaduna (NA), 1 copy attrib. to [c]Abd AllSh b. M. FudT; Sokoto (S1IB), 34, attrib. ..... to Sh. [(]Uthm5n

b.-M. FOd!. .....

2Q . al-Qawl al-ma rhani fi al;kam al-zina bi-dhat nl- maglmam

p-oLJ) ^lO-) p*

MSS: Ibadan (UL), 40.

nu qfl 1 i < lJ i (i • o

inna) ' l-jumᶜa ᶜ ind al-zawffl wn-ᶠ ind julus ai- imam

ᶜa!5 'l-ndnbar

^1 JyLj ^ JyJS\

^Ul (UVI

See Smith (1959b), no. 28 (r

31. R. {an amr AbT [1] I-Oasim p_^UJI ^1 ^1 ^ iJl -j

MSS: Kano (BU), 226.

32. R, ±15 [1]1-ᶜ a1im %dam wa-jama(atihi

4Js.L^rj^ jJLJI Jl iJl—j (r

MSS: Kano (BU), I59 .

33 • -ihams al-gahlra fT ma yajib (ala * 1-wZi'lT r.in ?;n_sn

a 1- sTra Cr—^ Cr* <J* *^' 15^ V-^rv ' i

cr*—'

See Smith (1959b), no. 20. 5^—Jl

.o

(r T

(r

r

(r i

34. Shamsiyvat al-ikhwan u[1]^^[1] **—"

(T o

See Smith (1962), 33^.

MSS: Kano (BU), 56I (not attrib. to any author).

C r

\

Cf. a work of this title by M. Jalagha.

35. al-Silsilat al-Qadirivva wa-fawS[1]iduha *l-[c]ashr kam5 nuqil [c]an shavkhina

^ Jij L5' -ri*JI LAJ-JI JJJ iiJL—Jl

Publ. at end of Sh. [c]Uthman b. M. FudT, Da15[1]jl al~Shaykh, Zaria: Gaskiya Corpn., n.d. (-NU/Paden, 277, 294).

36. Su'al [(]an u.jrat al-qSaim va-[(]an hukin amwal ahl Ghiris (i.e. Kel Geres)

*k/j** J*[1] J[1]^[1] p—UJI *0 jj~\ js.* JIV—'

MSS: Zaria,169/5 (see 5th Interim Report, p. 13; not in the Index of al-BTlx).

37. Tabshīr al-ikhwān (٣٧ تبشير الاخوان
See Kensdale (1957), no. 10.

* 38. Takhmīs al-qaṣīdat al-Qādiriyya li-ʿAbd Allāh b. Fūdī (٣٨ تخميس القصيدة القادرية لعبد الله بن فودي
See Smith (1959b), no. 2.

* 39. Taʿlīq wajīz ʿalā 'l-manẓūm al-marsūm bi-silk jumān al-durar (٣٩ تعليق وجيز على المنظوم المرسوم بسلك جمان الدرر
See Smith (1959b), no. 23.

40. Talkhīṣ al-maqāṣid al-mujarrada fī 'l-adwiyat al-farīda (٤٠ تلخيص المقاصد المجردة في الادوية الفريدة
MSS: Kaduna (NA), 1 copy.

* 41. Tanbīh al-ghāfil ʿalā 'l-tawassul bi-aʿẓam al-wasā'il (٤١ تنبيه الغافل على التوسل باعظم الوسائل
See Smith (1959b), no. 9, Kensdale (1957), no. 29.

* 42. Tanbīh al-ʿimād (٤٢ تنبيه العماد
See Kensdale (1957), no. 27, almost certainly an error for Tamhīd al-ʿimād, see no. 81 of main list.

* 43. Tanbīh al-sāmiʿ (٤٣ تنبيه السامع
See Kensdale (1957), no. 25.

* 44. al-Tarbīḥ fī ṣalāt al-taṣbīḥ (٤٤ التربيح في صلاة التصبيح
See Smith (1959b), no. 24.

45. Ṭibb al-musāfirīn (٤٥ طب المسافرين
MSS: Niamey, 278.
Cf. Ḥilyat al-baṣā'ir, no. 14 of main list above.

* 46. Faḍl al-fātiḥa (٤٦ فضل الفاتحة
See Kensdale (1957), no. 53.

47. [Letter and poem addressed to the 'ulamā' and umarā' of Futa Toro, recommending al-Ḥājj ʿUmar]
See BIFAN (1970), 796-799, quoted by Sh. Mūsā Kamara in his life of al-Ḥājj ʿUmar.

MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 2; Ibadan (UL), 25, 86, 258, pp. 66-8r,;

Kaduna (NA), 3 copios; Kano (DU), 119, 242, 346, 500 ; Niamey, 280; Paris (BI), 24ll(l80); Paris (DN), 5678, ff. l49b-158b (inc.); Sokoto (SHU), 1 copy; Timbuktu, 8, 262; Zaria, 2/1, 139/2.

» Maygfli* awhgm al-talaba fT kutub ᶜ ilm al-kalSm 1 i-(u.1 aniTI ' al-milla
MS5^ Ibadan (UL), 119; Kano (BU), 542.

• Miᶜrg,j al -ᶜ awSmm i!5 samSᶜ ᶜilm al-kalam (1199/1784-5)
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 191; Ibadan (UL), 254, 257, pp. 74-84, 5O0M48; Kano (DU), 496, 529; Sokoto (SIID), 2 copies.

• Mir'gt al-tullgb fT mustanad al-abwSb li-dTn A115h al-Vahhr.b On religious obligations, abridged from the His51a of Ibn AbT Zayd. See AbH Bakr (1972), 251.
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 187; Ibadan (UL), 75, 508M43; Jos, 1050; "“''Kaduna (NA), 3 copies; Kano (BU), 520; Niamey, 425; ./■ . Sokoto (SHB), 1 copy.

39. Tjab zHd a 1-maᶜ ad ^ ^^ ^^ (M
See Kensdale (1956), no. 5 MSS: Sokoto (SHB), 132 Cf. his Matiyyat al-z5d, no. 53 below.

kO. Jawdat al-sa^da (1224/1809-10) oU_JI 2^ (l
Exhortation to learn,and to fathers to teach their sons, wives and slaves. See AbC Bakr (1972), 282.
MSS: Ibadan (CAD), 195; Ibadan (UL), 257(pp. 180-198), 286, 442, 508M52; Kaduna (NA), 1 copy; Kano (BU), 1; Sokoto (SHB), 109, 615.

61. Nayl al-marSm min shiyam al-kirflm (1 Mutyarrara 1242/ 5 Aug. 1826) *Cr** (A)
Mainly extracted from al-MukhtSr al-Kuntl (d. 1226/1811), NagTtjat al-mungif al-mubaggir al-muta< attif. See Abd Dakr