

**SOKOTO CALIPHATE LITERATURE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE 19TH CENTURY
JIHAD IN HAUSALAND: A Reflection on the Contemporary Relevance and
Challenges**

Being the Text of

THE 9th INAUGURAL LECTURE OF USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO

Presented by

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On 4th June, 2009

Under the Charmanship of Ag. Vice Chancellor

Professor Muhammad Sani Dangoggo

At the Congregation Hall, City Campus, Sokoto

At 4.00 pm

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Courtesies

Ag. Vice-Chancellor, Sir

Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Admin),

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Deans of Faculties, Postgraduate School and Student Affairs,

Directors,

Heads of Department and Unit,

Colleagues,

Invited Guests,

Students,

Brothers and Sisters,

Assalamu Alaykum

Preamble

Mr. Ag. Vice-Chancellor, sir, let me start this presentation by reminding myself and my colleagues, especially in the field of Islamic Studies, that knowledge in its entirety belongs to Allah and man has not been given except a little as the following verse of the Qur'an shows:

ويسئلونك عن الروح قل الروح من أمر ربي و ما أوتيتم من العلم إلا قليلا

They ask you concerning the Spirit (of inspiration)
Say: the Spirit (comes) by command of your Lord:
Of Knowledge it is only a little that is communicated
To you (Q: 17:85)

In another verse of the Qur'an, it is clearly indicated that no man or woman has monopoly of knowledge as there is always The Professor above every professor of knowledge. The verse says:

نرفع درجات من نشاء و فوق كل ذي علم عليم

We raise to degrees (of wisdom) whom We
Please, but over all endowed with knowledge
is one, The All-Knowing (Q: 12:76)

The two verses above remind us not to arrogate to ourselves what we know of knowledge, and we should not act as if we know everything in our own field. This is even more of Islamic Studies which is a vast area.

I stand before you with all humility in line with the teaching of the above verses from the Qur'an to present the 9th Inaugural Lecture in this University, the second from Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies and the first from Department of Islamic Studies. I chose to speak on

Sokoto Caliphate Literature for two reasons. The first reason is because this literature has all along become my garden from which I pick fruits to sustain my academic contributions since when I took up appointment in this University in 1982. Over 70% of my publications are associated with this area, and my Masters dissertation and PhD thesis on 'The Contributions of Sultan Muhammad Bello to Sufism' and 'Sufi Dimensions in the Sokoto Caliphate', respectively were carried out in this area. The second reason is that by speaking to this topic I will be able to draw attention to the richness of the Sokoto Caliphate Literature as well as the neglect it has been subjected to with the hope that something will be done by all concerned so that our generation would benefit from it as did by the previous generation.

1.0 Introduction

Sokoto *Jihad* Literature is the sum total output of the Leaders of the Sokoto Jihad in terms of writings and compositions on Islamic and related sciences. The period of struggle, otherwise referred to as the Jihad, had served as an intellectual epoch-making era in Hausa land in particular and Western Sudan in general. The struggle, which went through some stages, was supported through intellectual discourses undertaken by some select scholars bred by the same environment which also nurtured venal scholars who conspired with Habe rulers to corrupt Islam and its institutions in Hausaland. The activities of venal scholars and Habe rulers gave rise to the struggle that produced the mass literature that is referred to as the Sokoto Caliphate Literature.

It is rather unfortunate that the Sokoto *Jihad* Literature does not receive adequate attention of the scholars despite the fact that it has all the potentials to enhance the practice of Islam and ameliorate the pathetic condition Muslims in Nigeria are going through. The apathy shown to this Literature may not be unconnected to ignorance many scholars have about its rich contents and its relevance to our time. Even those who give attention to this Literature are, sometimes, doing great disservice to it by the way they handle it.

The Lecture intends to conduct a survey of this important legacy and put it in its clear perspectives. It will look at the meaning, origin and circumstance around which the Literature was produced in the course of the reform movement. Discussions will round up with comments on the relevance of and challenges posed by the Literature to the Muslims in Nigeria, especially the educated class.

2.0 Conceptual Definitions

The topic of this Lecture contains four key concepts that have general connotations. In order for an informed discussion to be made, the concepts require some definition by which they can be appropriately placed in the context of this lecture. The concepts to be defined are Sokoto, Caliphate, *Jihad* and Literature.

2.1 Sokoto

Sokoto is the present capital of Sokoto State of Nigeria, the Seat of the

Caliphate. It started as a small settlement prior to the breakout of the *Jihad* led by *Shaykh* Uthman b. Foduye in 1804. Muhammad Bello settled at Sokoto around 1809 after the defeat of Gobir, while *Shaykh* Uthman was residing at Sifawa. In 1812, Sokoto became the Headquarters of Eastern Emirates. Around 1815 *Shaykh* Uthman moved to Sokoto and settled in the area occupied by the Hubbaren Shehu in the present Hubbare quarters of Sokoto. With the movement of *Shaykh* Uthman to Sokoto, the settlement acquired new status as the Capital and Seat of the newly founded caliphate, referred to as the Sokoto Caliphate.

2.2 Caliphate

Caliphate is an English rendering of the Arabic concept **خلافة** which means vicar ship, deputyship, succession, caliphate, office or rule of a caliph (Cowan, 1974, p.257). In the Islamic tradition and history, Caliphate refers to a system of governance introduced by Abubakar al-Siddiq, the first Caliph after the demise of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and any other system of governance that is fashioned along the Caliphate of the four rightly guided Caliphs. The concept is, however, used here to refer to the system of governance introduced by the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars, after they had defeated and replaced Gobir Kingdom, in line with the Caliphate of the four rightly guided Caliphs; Abubakar al-Siddiq (RA), Umar b. al-Khattab (RA), Uthman b. Affan (RA) and Ali b. Abi Talib (RA). The Caliphate is popularly called the Sokoto Caliphate. It came into being with the defeat of Alkalawa in October, 1808 and came to an end with the occupation of Sokoto by the Imperial forces of Britain in 1903.

2.3 Jihad

Jihad is an Arabic term derived from **أجهد** which means suffering and exerting. Literally, *Jihad* means to struggle, to make an effort, to endeavor, to exert (Mu'jam, 1974, p.142). Technically, Jihad means to put up defense against an enemy through any possible means. It also refers to struggle against Satan and oneself (Isma'il, 1997, p.178). Contextually, *jihad* in this presentation refers to the struggle undertaken by *Shaykh* Uthman b. Foduye and his followers to revive and purify the practice of Islam in Hausaland. It involved self discipline acquired by the *Shaykh* and his followers, *al-'Amr bil Ma'ruf wa al-Nahyi 'an al-Munkar* (commanding in the doing of good and prohibiting the doing of evil) and physical combat in defense against Hausa rulers. The *Shaykh* and his brother Abdullah had toured Northwest of Hausaland comprising Zamfara and Kebbi in addition to their native Gobir especially to preach to inhabitants of the area, while the physical combat started with the battle of Tabkin Kwatto and culminated into a large scale encounter between the *Jama'ah* of the *Shaykh* and Hausa rulers in the entire land (Kaura, 1981, P.44). The Jihad is popularly referred to as the Sokoto *Jihad*.

2.4 Literature

The concept "literature" in Arabic context is an English rendering of the Arabic term **أدب**. The term literally, connotes culture, refinement, good manners, decency and propriety (Mu'jam, 1974, p.9). Technically, literature means a corpus of related literary prose and poetical composition in Arabic language of both the pre-Islamic and the Islamic

era. This body of literature comprises, among others, *Shi'r* (Arabic poetry), *khitabah* (sermons), *Amsal* (proverbs and wise sayings), *Masrihiyyah* (tales/novels and folklores) and *Kitabah* (writing/authorship). Arabic literature is an independent area of study in Arabic language distinct from, for example, النحو (grammar), البلاغة (rhetoric), الصرف (morphology) and علم القوافي (science of meters).

The context in which the concept is used here relates to the famous Sokoto *Jihad*. In Sokoto *Jihad* studies, literature refers to the literary contributions in terms of books (referred to now as manuscripts) comprising of both prose and poetical compositions. The literature also comprises both writings on the Islamic sciences and Arabic language. Still there are works by the *Jihad* leaders that are considered as part of the Sokoto Caliphate literature that are found in Fulfulde and Hausa languages. The definition does not segregate between the writings of the family of the *Shaykh* and those of other categories of *Jihad* scholars. It, therefore, includes writings by scholars from outside the family of *Shaykh*, such as *Shaykh* Muhammadu Tukur of Matuzgi. The period of the literature is defined by the time the *Shaykh* started preaching and teaching at the age of 20 even though earlier writings by scholars who joined his group later could still be considered in this category. However, writings by scholars contemporaneous with the *Jihad* scholars who were not residents in Sokoto area are not counted as part of the Caliphate literature even though the writer might have participated in the *Jihad*. Such literature could be found in the Eastern emirates of, for example, Adamawa, Muri and Gombe.

3.0 Islamic literature in Pre-Jihad Hausaland

Islamic scholarship that gave rise to the Sokoto Caliphate Literature was not alien to the Western Sudan. The tradition of scholarship always goes with Islam wherever the Religion went. The Arabs, who were hitherto unlettered people, developed a system of scholarship that was unprecedented in human history and introduced it along with Islam to North Africa. The same system of scholarship was brought to Western Sudan along with Islam by traders and itinerant scholars perhaps from Mali (Holt,1970,p.357)

It is difficult to say when Islam and its scholarship came to Hausaland. Many writers opined that Islam came to the area around 14th century. But this opinion is now being questioned. Trade link that existed between Hausaland and North Africa long before the advent of Islam and the proximity Hausaland enjoyed with Borno-Kanem where the religion reached around 9th century are some of the grounds why 14th century is questioned. It could be possible that Islam and Islamic scholarship had arrived Hausaland much earlier than 11th century, and 14th century represented period of development and spread.

Wangarawa scholars from Mali were credited with introduction of books into Hausaland (Clarke, 1982,p.60) which was believed to have assisted in the development of Arabic literacy and led to small scale authorship by foreign scholars. Two migrations into Hausaland by Wangarawa scholars were reported with the first taking place in the 11th century and the second in the 14 century. There was also influx of individual itinerant scholars who came from various parts of North

Africa, Western and Central Bilad al-Sudan around 15th and 16th centuries. These scholars complemented the efforts started by Wangarawa and other scholars in the development of scholarship in Hausaland. Very prominent among them was Muhammad b. Abdulkarim al-Maghili who came to Hausaland in 15th century during the reign of Sarkin Kano Muhammadu Rumfa. Al-Maghili not only taught at both Kano and Katsina, but also wrote some books one of which was *Taj al-Din* on the request of Rumfa (Sulaiman,1986,p.2). Ahmad b. Umar b. Aqit al-Timbucti was also among the scholars who visited Katsina and Kano and contributed to the growth of scholarship in Hausaland (Kani,1405H,p.15).

Sultan Muhammad Bello has referred to scholars who sojourned in Hausaland from within Western Sudan and from Central Sudan. He recalled those scholars from neighboring centers of learning who had contributed scholarly writings that were extant and used by students and scholars in Hausaland. He mentioned, for example, Abdullahi Sika, Muhammad b, Ahmad b, Abi Muhammad al-Tazkhati, Muhammad b. Masani, Muhammad b, al-Sibbag and Umar b. Muhammad al-Toroddi (Bello,1964,pp.50-6). Shaykh Jibril b. Umar, who was one of the teachers of *Shaykh* Uthman b. foduye, was among such scholars that Hausaland was blessed with (Last, 1975, p.6)

4.0 Emergence of Sokoto Caliphate Literature

Sokoto Caliphate literature, as defined in the preceding pages, owes its origin to a number of factors. These factors included the existing Islamic literary tradition in Hausaland and religious, socio-economic

and political challenges that confronted the leaders in their attempt to revive and reform the practice of Islam in the land. The existing literature brought by visiting scholars as well the one they produced by themselves had a lasting influence on the *Jihad* scholars. This could be gathered from the fact that *Jihad* scholars had adopted the same format of Maghribi writing in which the existing literature was written. According to Bugaje (2006,p.12) scholarship has consistently been linked through the ages to the chain of scholarship that has its root in North Africa of the time of *al-Murabitun*. Thus, the same tradition has continued to be adopted by Muslim intellectuals in their writings in this area.

Having discussed the first factor, namely literary tradition in Hausaland, we now consider the second factor in form of challenges the *Jihad* leaders faced. There is need for a little light to be thrown on the issue of challenges as factors that led to the emergence of Sokoto Caliphate Literature. Under normal circumstance, a scholar is expected to be productive through teaching, research and writing. However, the extent of his contributions in these three areas depends on the kind of challenges a scholar encountered from his environment. Where the environment has many problems and challenges requiring attention, a scholar will find himself fully engaged in his attempt to solve these problems.

Hausaland, at the time *Shaykh* Uthman b. Foduye started teaching and preaching, was a veritable environment conducive for intellectual activities. It had all that was required to engage a serious and concerned scholar to take full time teaching and preaching activities

and also put on paper some or all the issues he especially preached about or taught. Hausaland was bedeviled by religious misconceptions and misapplications. Though Islam was the religion of the majority in the land, common people lacked adequate knowledge required for the practice of the religion. This explains the reason why syncretism became wide spread among the Muslims. Observance of Islamic rituals suffered the same problem. Observance of Islamic rituals by majority of Muslims did not conform to the religious stipulations. Islamic social norms were battered and marriage as the source of a sound Islamic family suffered abuse especially from men. Education was reduced to an exclusive property of men and a tool for social and economic aggrandizement by venal scholars. Economic exploitation by the ruling class of the mass of people, and denial of economic rights of females by men was the order of the day. The ruling class, with full support and connivance of venal scholars, had an all round monopoly of the masses in all spheres of life and therefore ruled over the people in an unjust manner (Kaura,1981,pp35-42).

The religious ignorance and misconceptions, social maladjustment especially to the detriment of female folk, economic exploitation and political maladministration provided the most needed ingredients scholars of that time required in order to engage in full time scholarly activities with a view to providing adequate and functional intellectual leadership that was lacking in Hausaland. And the only avenues available for the scholars to employ were teaching, preaching and writing. Coupled with the above factors was the gang-up by the dual of Hausa rulers and venal scholars who benefitted from the unhealthy

condition that prevailed and therefore, resisted any attempt by the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars to bring a change that will usher in an acceptable right way for the observance of the teachings of Islam and humane life for the inhabitants of Hausaland. Therefore, the confrontation between Hausa rulers and venal scholars on one hand and the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars on the other facilitated the emergence of Sokoto Caliphate Literature. There were also scholars who opposed the *Jihad* scholars out of sheer envy such as Yandoto scholars(Yola, 2004, p.2)

The larger part of the literature was produced in between the time when *Shaykh* Uthman b. Foduye commenced teaching and preaching at the age of 20 and the period of consolidation of the Caliphate during the time of Sultan Bello's reign. However, for the sake of examining the literature produced by the *Jihad* scholars with reference to periodization and compelling circumstance and its subject matter, a three-stage period will be adopted. The stages are; the pre-*Jihad* period, the *Jihad* period and the post-*Jihad* period.

4.1.0 First Stage: Pre-*Jihad* Period

The first stage covers the period when Jihad scholars under the *Shaykh* started teaching and preaching with the intention to reform observance of Islam in Hausaland. Most writers prefer to refer to the commencement period as the period which coincided with *Shaykh's* attainment of twenty (20) years of age even though there were scholars, who later joined him, who had started these activities much earlier before him. The *Shaykh* was urged into taking preaching as a career, along with teaching, by the pathetic conditions of Islam and

Muslims in Hausaland as outlined above. He wanted to reform the way Islam was practiced by Muslims. He was less concerned about the rulers and their exploitative tendencies, and venal scholars and their sycophancy to the rulers at the initial stage of his career. He, in addition to teaching and preaching in his native town of Degel, engaged in itinerant preaching and teaching tours across Zamfara and Kebbi states. He sometimes spent years, like in the case of Zamfara where he spent five years. He was accompanied, sometimes by his brother Abdullahi during the tours (Abdullah: Tazyin:). Other scholars and students also follow the footsteps of the *Shaykh* and embarked on preaching, especially in Gobir area. During Nafata's time such scholars were prevented from preaching by his order that allowed only the *Shaykh* to preach in Gobir land (Kaura, 1981, p.46)

The subject matters of writings of the Jihad scholars during the pre-*Jihad* period included the following:

4.1.1 The question of belief and unbelief: Some of the early writings of the *Jihad* scholars addressed corrupt belief professed by majority of Muslims in Hausaland where they mixed Islamic belief system with indigenous religious beliefs such as adoration of trees and stones/rocks by offering libation or sacrifice to them. The corrupt belief was so widespread among the Muslims that most of the preachers in the group of *Shaykh* Uthman concentrated their energy on it. Very unfortunately, venal scholars had aggravated the situation by neglecting their duties of teaching the correct belief system and preaching against corrupt type of belief professed by many Muslims. The *Jihad* scholars found it expedient to put on paper what they

preached against to the general populace and taught to their students, probably, because they wanted to expand the circle of scholars who would teach correct belief system and preach against the corrupt belief professed by many Muslims in Hausa land through these writings. Sultan Muhammad Bello had, in his book *Infaq al-Maysur* enumerated the kind of people Shaykh Uthman and his group wanted to reform. They included those who claimed to be Muslims and performed the rituals of Islam but, at the same time, negated these deeds by making sacrifices to trees, while others offered these rituals but not in the way directed by the Shari'ah (Bello, 1964, pp. 59-60). Some of the literature containing what was taught and preached includes the following:

إحياء السنة وإخماد البدعة' أصول الدين'
نور الأبواب' تقریب الضرورى من علوم الدين

The above literature contains the essentials of what the *Shaykh* taught and preached. A summary of their content could be found in Bello's *Infaq al-Maysur* in which he discussed the subject of *Shaykh* Uthman's preaching ranging from *Tahara* (purification) through essentials of *Iman* (belief) to business transactions. Bello also gave a summary of what the *Shaykh* preached on *Tasawwuf* and eschatology (Bello, 1964, pp. 73-91). It is assumed that some of his students, like Buba Yero of Gombe, might have also put to writing what they taught and preached in their area for the benefit of students and scholars (Abba, 2006, p. 17).

4.1.2 Fighting innovations and customs contrary to Islam: The Sokokto *jihad* scholars show concern on the widespread of innovations and customs that contradicted the teachings of Islam. Innovations were promoted among the Muslims by venal scholars in all facets of life. By the time the *Jihad* scholars emerged, such innovations had become part and parcel of the practice of Islam. The common Muslims did not see anything wrong in them probably because the venal scholars had never preached against them. The good scholars that sojourned in the area like *Shaykh* Jibril b. Umar, one of the teachers of the *Shaykh*, did not succeed in extinguishing these innovations (Kani, 1405, p.31). *Shaykh* Uthman attacked innovations in his preaching and teaching to enlighten the general Muslims and caution the students. Other scholars in the group of the *Shaykh* such as *Ustaz* Abdullahi and Sultan Muhammad Bello might have joined him in that effort to eradicate innovations and establish the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (SAW). They, therefore, preached against these innovations and customs that were contrary to the teachings of Islam. They also wrote some works to that effect with a view to carrying the fight against innovations to the door steps of students and scholars throughout Hausa land. Some of the works written by *Shaykh* Uthman include;

نور الألباب' بيان البدع الشيطانية التي أحدثها الناس في هذه البلاد'
 اتبع السنة وتترك البدع.

4.1.3 Refutation of misconceptions held by some scholars and students: The *Shaykh*, as the leader of scholars in his group, had at a particular stage showed concern about misconceptions held by some

scholars on some Islamic issues. For example, some scholars regarded religious observance by the ignorant Muslims as worthless and capable of making them unbelievers. There was, however, another section of the scholars who held a contrary view. This and similar misconceptions attracted the attention of the Shaykh. In order to clear this particular misconception among the scholars and students, the Shaykh wrote a book he called **حكم جهال بلد هوس** in which he classified ignorant Muslims in Hausaland into two categories; the first category consisted those Muslims who observed the teachings of Islam strictly while the second comprised of those who contradicted the word of testimony (Kalimatus Shahadah) in their actions. People in the first category were pure Muslims while those in the second were unbelievers.

4.1.4 Women rights and education: During the pre-Jihad *period*, Sokoto *Jihad* scholars were confronted with the problem of women being denied their Islamic rights which included right to education by parents and husbands. Women were denied right to inheritance from their deceased parents, children and husbands. Whatever was left behind by a deceased, was taken by the most senior male member to the exclusion of women. Dowry which, by provision of the *Shari'ah*, is the sole property of the bride was appropriated by parents and distributed to senior members of the family and scholars. Women were turned into slaves in their matrimonial homes and were subjected to all kinds of domestic chores. Women were also denied access to education. Scholars taught their students and neglected their womenfolk. When the *jihad* scholars rose up to defend the rights of women, including education, venal scholars attacked and accused

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them of allowing co-education which was against the teachings of Islam. It went to the extent that a scholar called Mustapha Goni came out to denounce Sokoto *Jihad* scholars on this point and challenged them to discontinue mixing males and females during their preaching and teaching. Abdullahi, in replying Goni, indicated that they did it out of legal necessity and asked Goni which would be lesser evil, to allow women to remain in total ignorance of their religion or to teach them along with men?(Abdullahi, Tazyin, nd p.p 5-6), This and other accusations as well as the outright denial of education to female folk made the Sokoto scholars to write books through which they exposed venal scholars, parents and husbands and encouraged women to disregard them and go out to search for knowledge. Some of the books that contain these issues include:

نورالآلأباب' ارشاد الاخوان فى حكم خروج النسوان' تزئين الورقات

4.1.5 Theological debate: Two groups of scholars existed in Hausaland at the time under discussion; the group to which the *Shaykh* belonged and for which he provided leadership, and the group comprising the venal scholars who opposed the *Shaykh* and members of his group. From the earlier discussion, it is clear that the venal scholars would not want true Islam to be taught to the masses. Therefore, they always teach distorted Islam to the Muslims. The *Jihad* scholars had to debate them with a view to making true teachings of Islam clear to the Muslims. The *Shaykh* and his group faulted the other group of scholars who insisted that a Muslim requires knowing *Ilm al-kalam* (scholasticism) before he can be considered as a sound believer. They did not distinguish between *Usul-Al-Din* (Basis of the Religion)

which is absolutely necessary for a believer to better his faith and *Ilm al-kalam* which is a prerogative of scholars. This of course caused confusion not only between the two groups of scholars but also among the lay Muslims. This therefore, compelled Jihad scholars to include clarification of this very important aspect of *Iman* for the benefit of the masses and engaged the other group of scholars in debate with a view to showing to them the false misconception they had as a result of which they misled people, probably in an attempt to maintain the status quo. Some of the books produced by the scholars include *Shaykh Uthman's*;

ألفرق بين علم أصول الدين و علم الكلام

4.1.6 Classification of Inhabitants of Hausaland: Hausaland was a mixed society from the religious point of view. Inhabitants of the area were Maguzawa before the arrival of Islam. Muslims who introduced Islam into the area were more concerned about its acceptance by the populace than the strict observance of it by them. Thus, many of those who accepted it observed the religion side by side with Maguzanci, hence the existence of mixed Islam. This explains the efforts made by succeeding scholars both foreign and local to reform the polluted religion (Kani, Optic, P.31) Therefore, by the time Sokoto *Jihad* scholars emerged, Hausaland comprised both Muslims and non-Muslims. Even within the Muslim population there were different categories of the faithful going by the way they observed the religion. It therefore, became necessary for the *Jihad* scholars to classify the entire population with a view to providing the position of Islamic law on each

class. This will assist the scholars in knowing how to relate with each class in the course of their preaching activities on one hand and for the general Muslim populace to know their position in the scheme of Islam in the areas of marriage and inheritance; perhaps it may assist some of them to adjust by moving closer to genuine Islam. *Shaykh* Uthman discussed this classification in some of his writings with some variations. For example, in *Nur al-Bab* he classified the entire Hausa Society into three; namely pure Muslims who observed Islam very strictly and did not venerate any object; pure non-Muslims who did not accept Islam; and Muslims who mixed Islam with veneration of trees and rocks. Some of the literature on this subject matter can be found in such books as *Shaykh* Uthman's

نور الأبواب' تمييز المسلمين من الكافرين

4.1.7 Confrontation with rulers and acquisition of arms: At the initial stage of his preaching tours, the *Shaykh* concentrated on reforming the religion of Islam among the general masses of Muslims. His target, it seems, was to reform the masses and then later confront the rulers. Later, he included excessive injustice being committed by the ruling class among the subjects of his preaching, teaching and writing. Scholars in his group who also engaged in teaching and preaching might have also done the same thing. It was probably at that particular time that the ruling class became interested in his preaching and teaching activities. Thus, at a stage King Bawa of Gobir invited the *Shaykh* to preach at his palace where the *Shaykh* directed Abdullahi to preach. *Shaykh* was also invited by the King, along with other scholars, to join him in celebrating *Id al-Adha* at Magami. King Bawa offered

gifts to the scholars including *Shaykh* Uthman. All the scholars accepted the gifts with the exception of the *Shaykh*. Instead of the gift the *Shaykh* requested for five concessions from Bawa. The Concessions were:

- i. that Bawa should allow the *Shaykh* to preach to people in Gobir land,
- ii. That people should not be prevented from attending his preaching,
- iii. That Muslims who wear turban and veil should be respected,
- iv. That the king should reduce taxes levied on the subjects
- v. that the king should release political prisoners

The first three concessions sought by the *Shaykh* instead of the gift he was offered by Bawa during the Magami celebration are indications that there was frosty relationship between scholars in the camp of the *Shaykh* and the palace. Probably the *Shaykh* requested for the concessions because he was being coerced into stopping preaching, Muslims interested in the preaching of the *Shaykh* were being barred from attending his sessions and Muslim men and women who had adopted turban and veil respectively as distinct Islamic identity as a result of the preaching of the *Shaykh* were being harassed.

Withdrawal of these concessions by King Nafata at a later time and attempt on the life of the *Shaykh* confirmed this suspicion (Kaura, 1981, pp. 45-6). The coming to power of King Yunfa, who was said to be a student of the *Shaykh*, aggravated the sour relationship and put to danger the life of scholars in the camp of *Shaykh* Uthman. Settlements of known supporters of the *Shaykh* were attacked with that of Gimbana, the settlement of Abdussalam, being the most painful (Clarke, 1982, p.113)

The *Shaykh* and other scholars in his group were alarmed by the new development. They therefore, intensified their attack, both at preaching sessions and in their writings, on the way the rulers misused their position by engaging in maladministration to the detriment of the people they led especially with regards to harassing preachers who wanted to reform the Muslims, and also the Muslims who wanted to uphold the Sunnah of wearing turban and veil. Some of works written on this subject matter include *Shaykh* Uthman's:

كتاب الفرق بين ولاية أهل الإسلام وولاية أهل الكفر ' بيان وجوب الهجرة على
العباد

In addition to the above, the *Shaykh* felt that it was time for his supporters to start acquiring arms especially that some of their settlements were attacked at will by Yunfa's men. He and scholars in his group included this subject matter in their preaching across Hausa land, and the *Shaykh* wrote an epistle he entitled as *المسائل المهمة* (matters of urgent importance) which he caused to be distributed in Gobir and Kebbi for the urgent attention of all his followers. The manifesto for the *Jihad*, as the document came to be known among students of the Sokoto Caliphate, contains exhortations to his followers to acquire arms. In it, the *Shaykh* emphasized that it was *Sunnah* for a Muslim to arm himself all the times based on Qur'an and *Sunnah* precepts.

4.2.0 Second Stage-*Jihad* Period

The second stage of the reform movement is represented by the armed struggle that ensued between *Jama'ah* of the *Shaykh* on one hand and Hausa rulers and their supporters on the other. The period began with the *Hijrah* of the *Jama'ah* from Degel in Gobir land to Gudu in Kebbi land in 1804 and it terminated with the establishment of the Caliphate after the defeat of Gobir Kingdom in 1808. This is the shortest but most difficult period, having a lifespan of only six years, among the periods of the reform movement. Like in the case of the first stage, the second stage was also serviced by relevant literature that was produced by the scholars of the Jihad. Most important subject matters covered by the literature of this period included the question of *Hijrah*, *Dar a-Islam* (abode of Islam) and *Dar al-Harb* (abode of war), matters pertaining to the execution of *Jihad*, appointment of leaders in the course of the *Jihad* and treatment of captives and distribution of spoils of war. Each of this subject matter had scores of books written on it with a view to guiding the Muslims engaged in the Jihad. The most comprehensive of these is *Bayan Wujub al-Hijrah 'Alal 'Ibad*. A work of sixty-three chapters, *Bayan* covers almost all that was discussed in other works dealing with subject matters connected to this period. We shall take some of these subject matters and see the literature produced around them:

4.2.1 The question of *Hijrah*: The first important issue that came up among the scholars, after migration to Gudu and selection of *Shaykh* Uthman b. Foduye as the *Amirul Mu'minin*, was how to explain to his followers and others the justification of the *Hijrah* they had

undertaken and the need for other supporters of the Shaykh, who remained in the territories of Hausa rulers, to undertake the *Hijrah* and join his *Jama'ah*. They also used the opportunity of writing in order to counter the propaganda of the venal scholars who faulted the *Hijrah* undertaken by the *Jama'ah* by arguing that *Hijrah* had terminated with the conquest of Makkah according to the Hadith of the Prophet (SAW) which reads لا هجرة بعد الفتح (Uthman, *Ahl al-Rashad*, pp.1-6). The *Shaykh* dedicated chapter two of *Bayan* to analysis of the above *Hadith*. He also discussed this issue extensively in his book *Diya' Ahl al-Rashad fi Ahkam al-Hijrah wa al-Jihad* with quotations from *Ahadith* of the Prophet to show that the above *Hadith* is in reference to *Hijrah* to Madinah during the time of the Prophet (SAW). The same thing was expressed by *Ustaz* Abdullahi in his book *Diya' al-Hukkam*. Therefore, *Hijrah* is continuous up to the end of time whenever there is need for a Muslim to undertake it with a view to protecting his inalienable rights to practice his religion.

Jihad scholars classified Hausaland into two abodes; *Dar al-Islam* (abode of Islam/peace) and *Dar al-Harb* (abode of war). The former was a reference to the settlement of the *Jama'ah* of the *Shaykh* while the latter denoted the rest Hausa land. They insisted that *Hijrah* was incumbent upon every Muslim who found himself in *Dar al-Harb*, which referred to Hausaland here, to *Dar al-Islam*, meaning the area occupied by the *Jama'ah* of the *Shaykh*. The scholars used precepts from the Qur'an, *Hadith* and *Ijma'*, and extensively quoted the works of scholars from within and without Hausaland to justify continuation of *Hijrah* up to the end of time. Most important books written in this respect include:

بيان وجوب الهجرة على العباد
ضياء أهل الرشاد في أحكام الهجرة و الجهاد والسنة في سياسة
العباد
ضياء الحكام فيما لهم وعليهم من الأحكام

4.2.2 The question of Jihad: *Jihad* in the form of self defense became inevitable on the part of the *Jama'ah* of the *Shaykh* with their relocation to Gudu and the sour relationship that existed between them and the Gobir Kingdom. The *Shaykh* had foreseen this and had encouraged his supporters to acquire arms and be ready to defend themselves whenever attacked. Majority of Muslims in the camp of *Shaykh* Uthman were not aware of the requirements and conditions for waging *Jihad*. *Jihad* had never been on the list of issues *Shaykh* Uthman taught or preached to his students and general public in the formative period of his reform movement (El-Misri: 1978:p.5) It had therefore, become necessary for the *Jihad* scholars to enlighten them on the legal position of *Jihad* in Islam; on whether it is obligatory or *Sunnah* and whether an individual or group obligation. What are the conditions a *Mujahid* should satisfy before he could be enlisted into the army and what are the ethics of war he is supposed to observe? These and other issues formed part of the briefings *Jihad* scholars included in their preaching to the newly founded *Jama'ah* and in briefings that were given to the Muslim warriors before going out for a battle. In addition, they wrote books on this subject matter so that Muslims participating in the *Jihad* elsewhere in Hausaland could also benefit from knowledge of these conditions and requirements. Some of the books written on this subject matter are:

إرشاد العباد إلى مسائل الجهاد، مسائل الجهاد'

أسباب نصر المجاهدين

4.2.3 Booty and its distribution: The issue of booty and its distribution is very important in the *Jihad*. Booty is whatever Muslim soldiers could gather in respect of human and material resources after defeating an enemy on the battle field. The share of the warriors is distributed in the ratio of 1 to 3 for infantry and cavalry respectively. There seemed to be some problems with collection and distribution of booty in the early battles fought at which the *Jama'h* became victorious. Sultan Muhammad Bello (1964:p.102) made reference to one of such instances after the battle of Matankari. Therefore, the need for the warriors to know the legal position of booty became necessary in order to guard against the earlier happenings. There was also the issue of *Ghulul* (taking something from booty before it is officially distributed) which could also have occurred in respect of some of the *Mujahidin*. For example, El-Misri (1978: p. 110) reported that the practice of taking booty before distribution became a difficult issue to be solved both in the early days of the Caliphate and sixteen years after the commencement of the *Jihad*. This might have encouraged scholars to contribute books on this subject matter both at the early and later stages of the *Jihad*. *Bayan Wujb al-Hirah* contains three chapters on booty, its distribution and legal judgment on *Ghulul*. In addition to *Bayan*, another book written during the period on this subject matter is:

السيف المسلول في أحكام الغلول ,

Both *Ustaz* Abdullahi and Sultan Muhammad Bello dealt with this and similar subject matters in some of their writings. For example Abdullahi (Abdullah, Diya' al-Hukkam, nd:p.47) considered as illegal the practice of some army commanders who isolated horses from the booty meant for the warriors and distributed them to those they chose from the warriors in his book,

ضـيـاءُ الحـكـامِ فـيـمـا لـهـم و عـلـيـهـم مـن الأـحـكـام

4.2.4 Appointment of Officials: The newly found *Jama'ah* under the *Shaykh* assumed the position of a full state that requires officials to run it. Though the *Jama'ah* had no territory it called its own, yet the need to have commanders who would direct the army, treasurer who would look after the booty and a *Qadi* to determine cases of dispute among members, for example, became imperative (Boyd et al, 1999,p. 82). Of course, the officials to be appointed had to satisfy certain conditions prescribed by Islamic law, as indicated by the scholars, so that they differed from the set of officials that were found in the courts of Hausa rulers. Some literature was produced around this subject matter by the scholars even though there were differences among them which were never on the fundamentals. In addition to the *Bayan* of *Shaykh*, Sultan Muhammad Bello wrote a work which specifically discussed the principles of politics essentially to show the kind of qualities a ruler should possess. Even though these qualities are expected from apex ruler according to Bello, yet they can be applied on officials given certain positions to look after. The work in question is:

كـتـابُ أـصـولِ السـيـاسـةِ و الكـيـفـيـةِ المـخـلـصـةِ مـن أـمـورِ الرـيـاسـةِ

There is also a very important book written by *Shaykh* Uthman in which he considered this subject matter. The book is:

نجم الإخوان يهتدون به بإذن الله فى أمور الزمان

4.2.5 Continued struggle with Hausa rulers: While the *Jihad* was on, *Jihad* scholars did not forget about the danger Hausa rulers posed to the true practice of Islam in Hausaland. They similarly, did not neglect nor abandon the Muslims to their fate knowing fully well that the rulers and venal scholars were hand in glove to keep the Muslims in ignorance and continue to exploit them. In the same vein, the *Jihad* scholars' desire was to save the Muslims from the shackles of humiliation in this world and tormenting punishment in the Hereafter. Therefore, their main concern was the Muslims who lived among the Hausa rulers, who had declared war against the *Jama'ah*. *Jihad* scholars wrote works to discourage Muslims from associating with unbelievers and making friendship with them.

4.3.0 The Third Stage-Fall of Alkalawa

The third stage of the development of *Jihad* literature commenced with the conquest of Gobir and continued up to the time the British Imperial forces unbundled the Caliphate in 1903 (Omar:nd:p.1). The fall of Alkalawa signified the end of Gobir Kingdom and the emergence, in practical terms, of the Sokoto Caliphate. The mobile *Jama'ah* had now got a territory to occupy and a land to settle down in. The choice fell on Sifawa, a village north of Sokoto. *Shaykh* Uthman settled at Sifawa (Sifawa, 2004, p.52) while his brother Abdullahi lived in very close Bodinga. Sultan Muhammad Bello went further north and

founded Sakkwato (Sokoto) which was then a small settlement. The three figures of the *Jihad* settled down to administer the new found Caliphate in accordance with what they had been teaching and theorizing in their writings.

This is the longest period even though literature produced within the period cannot match that which was produced during the first and second periods. A possible explanation here could be that most of the literature produced during the previous periods remained current and relevant in this period especially the literature on Jihad, public administration, appointment of state officials and dispensation of justice. However, there is a certain body of literature that became prominent during this period which was hitherto circulating in the domain of practice only, Sufism. This body of literature will however be considered in a separate section. We will now consider some aspects of the literature produced during this period against some prominent subject matters under the following:

4.3.1 Islamic form of Government: The first issue that will naturally come to the fore is how to administer the new State now that the *Jama'ah* had succeeded in extinguishing Gobir Kingdom out of existence. The structure of the new State had to be worked out in accordance with the provisions of Islamic model state which must certainly differ with the structure of the former Gobir state. Appointments had to be made to various offices essential for the smooth take off of the State. Offices should be modeled according to those provided for in the previous Islamic state(s). A clear demarcation must be worked out between the new State and the old Gobir

essentially in the institutions that would form part of the new State. We have earlier indicated that there was an aspect of literature produced in the second period that was found current and relevant to this period. Part of that literature was Shaykh Uthman's *Bayan Wujub al-Hijrah* which was written during the period before the fall of Alkalawa. The last chapters of this book were dedicated to the biographies of the Prophet (SAW) and rightly guided Caliphs; Abubakar Al-Siddiq (RA), Umar b. al-Khattab (RA), Uthman b. Affan (RA) and Ali b. Abi Talib (RA), and Hassan b. Ali b. Abi Talib. These, according to the Shaykh, were the *Khulafa'* that had rendered leadership according to the institution of *Khilafa'* approved by the Prophet (SAW) (El-Misri,1978,pp.134-148). It is not a mere coincidence that the *Shaykh* brought biographies of the *Khulafa'* at the end of his *Bayan*. The intention by the *Shaykh* was to prepare the minds of scholars in particular and the *Jama'ah* in general on the model of the state envisaged by the *Shaykh* should their struggle succeed in toppling the rule of Gobir Kingdom. *Ustaz* Abdullahi also wrote a work entitled **ضياء المقتمدين للخلفاء الراشدين** which seeks to shed light on the kind of *Khilafah* the four rightly guided Caliphs instituted so that the *Jama'ah* should work for it and expect no less a caliphate to be put in place after the defeat of Gobir. Other works written in tune with this subject matter include

ضياء أولو الأمر و المجاهدين ' ضياء الأمراء ' غيث الويل فى صراط الإمام العدل'

There was also some poetical composition on the distinction between the Islamic form of government and the un-Islamic one. The most popular is *Shaykh* Uthman's Hausa poem with the title 'Bambancin

Mulkin Muslimina da Kafirina'. The *Shaykh* composed it probably to give the subject wider circulation among the Hausa speaking Muslims who had been under the yoke of Hausa rulers so that they could appreciate the changes brought by the reform movement.

Part of the literature produced during this period relate to healthy academic discussions on points of departure between the three figures of the *jihad*; *Shaykh* Uthman, *Ustaz* Abdullahi and Sultan Muhammad Bello on terms to be used in reference to the apex leader of the Muslims such as *Sultan*, *Amir*, *Khalifah* etc. Each of the three wrote in order to support what he believed to be the most ideal term to be used. The same healthy discussion also raged on the use of musical instruments and the kind of dress a Muslim leader should use. What is worth noting here is that the literature is full of quotations from the main sources of *Shari'ah* and authoritative literature in the field. Some of the works dealing with this subject matter are:

كتاب نجم الإخوان يهتدون به بإذن الله في أمور الزمان'

سراج الإخوان في أهم ما يحتاج إليه في هذا الزمان'

ضياء الساطع

4.3.2 Justification for the Jihad: While the *Jama'ah* was fighting Gobir Kingdom which unleashed terror on them, Hausa rulers of neighboring kingdoms took side with Gobir and provided her with military assistance. Some of these Hausa states had also military pact with Borno according to Nura Alkali (2006;p.235). Muhammad Ahmad El-Kanemi, who had now become the ruler of Borno, waded into the

conflict and the *Jihad* leaders consequently attacked Borno land. This made El-Kanemi to question the legality of the Jihad fought by the *Jihad* leaders. Correspondences ensued between the two sides with Sokoto defending the Jihad while Borno was questioning its legality. A lot of literature was produced on this subject matter. Some aspects of this literature could now be found in *Infaq al- Maisur* of Sultan Muhammad Bello who, in most of the times, replied the queries of El-Kanemi on the instructions of the *Shaykh*. *Ustaz* Abdullahi had also answered some of these queries on behalf of the *Shaykh*, the answers of which could be found in some of his writings during this period.

4.3.3 Attending to Inquiries from Emirates: Sokoto Caliphate consisted of the centre, which was Sakkwato, and emirates won over by the students of the *Shaykh*. The Eastern emirates were placed under the care of Sultan Muhammad Bello with Headquarters at Sakkwato while the Western emirates were placed under *Ustaz* Abdullah with Headquarters at Gwandu. By this division made by the *Shaykh* in 1812, Eastern emirates were made answerable to Sakkwato while the Western emirates were to report to Gwandu. This division was done to facilitate easy governance and enhance efficient communication between the centre and outlying emirates. Thus, as expected some of the emirates referred some administrative problems they encountered to either Sakkwato or Gwandu for either advice or directive. Non-administrative matters such as enquiry about a new disease or about the appearance of *Mahdi* were also received. There were also legal questions bordering on faith and rituals that came in for determination. These and similar inquiries provided another avenue for production of literature by the leaders of the Jihad. Questions

received from emirates were given adequate answers in writing and sent back to the emirate concerned. Where a question from an emirate is of general nature affecting all the emirates, the answer was circulated to all emirates. Some of the literature produced on this subject matter includes:

غيث الشـعبوب فـى وصـية الأـمير رـيعقـوب
رسالة للأمراض شافية فيها نصيحة فى الأغراض كافية
وثيقة إلى أمير كانو فى أمر المهدي

Sometimes, questions came for determination from an equally recognised caliphate like Masina of Emir Muhammad Lobbo. The Emir sent question which was answered by Sultan Muhammad Bello entitled:

جواب سـؤال أـمير رـلـب

4.3.4 Rebellion: By 1817, when *Shaykh* Uthman died, rebellion broke out in some parts of the Caliphate. Gobirawa rose to reclaim their land. There was rebellion in Zamfara and in some Eastern emirates. Equally too there was misunderstanding between sultan Muhammad Bello and an elder and scholarly figure of the *jihad*, Malam Abdussalami Nagimbana which was interpreted to be a rebellion (Jega and Mohammed:2008:p.33). These happenings are natural with states and are handled as they erupt. Two issues may be noticed here: The first one is that Bello used his standing army to confront the rebels and succeeded in subduing them with the force of arms. The second aspect

was that rebellion enhanced production of literature as both sides, in the case of Sultan Bello and Malam Abdussalami, stated its own case. But in the case of the other sectors like Zamfara and Gobir, it was the Jihad scholars who used their pen to document what happened. Generally, they also wrote in order to guide Muslim warriors and keep the generality of Muslims informed on what was happening. Some of the books written in this respect include:

الإشاعة فى حكم الخارجين عن الطاعة
سرد الكلام فى ما جرى بيننا وبين عبد السلام

4.3.5 History and state of Islam in Hausaland: Many writings of the *Jihad* scholars had given a graphic picture of the position of Islam in Hausaland especially in the pre-*Jihad* period. Their concern then was to show the extent of corruption of Islam and the injustice of the rulers to their subjects. Thus, issues like categorization of people in Hausa land as in *Miftah aj-Sidad* (Bello, *Miftah*, nd), and *Nur Al-Bab* (Uthman, *Nur*, nd), and the state of Islam featured prominently in the literature produced during the period. However, concern about the history of the area in terms of, for example, its people, their origin, vegetation, coming of Islam and the early scholars who sojourned in the area came up after the Caliphate had been formed. *Jihad* scholars, probably, felt that it was high time they documented not only the history of the area but also the happenings that made them historical figures. This gave another opportunity for additional literature to be produced on this subject matter. The following is part of literature that was produced.

إنفاق الميسور فى تاريخ بلاد التكرور' تاريخ خلفاء الراشدين' روضة الأفكار'
أخبار أبلاد ألهوسوية' تبشير الإخوان بأخبار أالخفاء فى السودان

There is also literature produced in Hausa and Fulfulde on the history of the *Jihad*, especially by Asma' and her brother Isan Kware. Asma' composed "Wakar Kewaye", describing where the *Shaykh* stayed in the course of his movements occasioned by the *Jihad*, while Isa translated the Fulfulde poem into Hausa (Boyd et al, 1999, p. 82).

5.0 Literature with no fixed period

What was discussed in the preceding pages is in respect of the literature produced through the dictate of circumstances that shaped the reform efforts of the *Jihad* scholars. Examples of literature produced under various subject matters indicate the ability mustered by the scholars to match every occasion with relevant literature. There are however, other aspects of the Caliphate literature that could not be accounted for in the three periods because in most cases they had no causative agents. Rather, the scholars produced such literature because they felt that there was need for it. They needed it to teach students or to make students and scholars aware that such form of literature exists. This section will reflect on this form of literature.

5.1 'Ulum al-Qur'an: This is translated as the body of the sciences of the Qur'an. It encompasses all sciences of the Qur'an ranging from history of revelation of the Qur'an, science of recitation of the Qur'an, art of writing the Qur'an to science of exegesis or interpretation of the Qur'an. These sciences formed part of curriculum used in centres of

learning in Western and Central Bilad al-Sudan. *Jihad* scholars had under gone studies in these sciences from teachers both local and international having started its rudimentary aspects from home. There were a lot of references on these sciences, especially those emanating from the classical period, circulating in Hausaland.

The *Jihad* scholars had contributed some literature in '*Ulum al-Qur'an*. *Ustaz* Abdullah excelled in this area. He has written standard works, for example, in the science of revelation and *tafsir*. In the science of revelation he has written

ألفرائد أجليية وسائط ألقوا نداء أجميلة،

While in *tafsir* he has the following:

ضياء التيا ويل فى معنى التنزيل،

نيل السول فى تفسير الرسول،

كفاية ضعاء السودان فى بيان تفسير القرآن

He has also a work on the science of *Tafsir* he entitled:

ألمفتاح فى التفسير،

It seems that *Ustaz* Abdullahi is the only known scholar of the Sudan who has written more than one *tafsir* work. Sultan Muhammadu Bello has also contributed in the area of science of al-Qur'an:

تعليق على قصيد تنافى فى موضوع القرآن

He has also a *tafsir* compilation which he entitled:

غاية السؤل فى تفسير الرسؤل

Asma'u, daughter of Shaykh Uthman, has two versifications one each on important and efficacious verses of the Qur'an respectively.

5.2 Ulum al-Hadith: Science of *Hadith* includes criticism of *Hadith*, studies on biography of *Hadith* reporters and textual studies of *Hadith*. It is an area the *Jihad* scholars gave due consideration as students and as teachers. The subject of *Hadith* was also an area of study and specialization in Hausa land. Both *Shaykh* Uthman and *Ustaz* Abdullah had, for example, studied *Sahih Bukhari* twice from Muhammad Raji who was then considered as an authority in *Hadith* (Adullahi: 1958:pp.5-6). *Hadith* was also one of the subjects *Jihad* scholars taught in their centres. *Ustaz* Abdullah had reported that he had studied *Hadith* science and the compilation of Imam Bukhari from *Shaykh* Uthman (Ibid:p.3) *Ustaz* Abdullahi taught *Hadith* science and its *matn* (content) and as well contributed some works in the field which include:

ألفية الأصول' درر حكم الرسول' نيل المعمول من جوامع كلم الرسول' مصباح الراوى

Sultan Muhammad Bello had equally contributed some works in the science of *Hadith*. One of his works in this area is:

فتح الإغراق فى معنى الحادىث

5.3 Arabic Language: Arabic Studies, both literature and language, was a subject of study in Hausaland. It was also a medium of studying other branches of learning like Islamic related sciences and natural and

applied sciences. Poetical compositions were in most cases made in Arabic language. In fact, it can be said that Arabic language development during this period was comparable to what obtained in similar areas in the Western and Central Sudan at the time under consideration. Sokoto *Jihad* scholars went through the same system and acquired their knowledge during their student days. They also taught their students through the same medium. Most of their writings were done in classical Arabic language.

The *Jihad* scholars had produced a lot of literature in Arabic studies. They, for example, provided commentaries on existing literature to ease its understanding by their students and scholars alike. Some of the works in this area include;

النفخات البشرية شرح قصائد العشرية, شرح القصيدة الطائفة ألبدماسية

Poetical composition in Arabic was a common feature among the *Jihad* scholars. In several of their works, they composed poems to buttress points they made. Different genres of poetry were produced by them. Some of these poems are:

تزيين الورقات' تخميس العشرية' مرثية محمد بالو

Several books were written on language related areas by the *Jihad* scholars in addition to providing commentary on some of books common in the hands of students and scholars in Hausaland. Some of the literature produced by them in this area includes:

أبحر المحيط, فتح البصير فى علم العروض و ألقوافى

5.4 Medicine: This kind of literature is not tied to a fixed period. Its production was determined by the need of the people from time to time. In the pre-*Jihad* period, the *Jihad* scholars functioned as healers in the Muslim communities they lived in. Many of them were learned in the art of healing through studies of books on the subject which were available in Hausaland. One of such books that were circulating was *Tibb al-Nabiy*. Individual scholars provided succour to patients who sought for their assistance. Sometimes an ailment and its remedy could be discussed during lessons and the teacher, who knew the remedy, would write it down and pass on the scripts to the students to copy. It could also be possible that a concerned scholar who knew the remedy of a certain disease which had become common in the society would write a tract on it with a view to assisting the community to arrest the spread of that disease. During the period of the *Jihad*, when the *Jama'ah* was under the leadership of the *Shaykh*, the State was likely coordinating provision of essential medical needs of the people. This assumption is hinged on what the leaders did in later period after the establishment of the Caliphate. The leaders took responsibility for sending written materials on health and medical advice to outlying emirates on how to treat diseases and provide healthy environment. Sultan Muhammad Bello excelled in this respect. It is through these efforts that a body of literature dealing with preventive and curative medicine emerged. Some of the extant literature produced by the *Jihad* scholars in this field consists of the following:

الموارد النبوية فى المسائل الطبية' نصح كاف و للأمراض شاف'

ألقول المنثور في بيوان أدوية عالة

الباسور' تنبيه الإخوان على أدوية ألدندان

5.5 Tasawwuf: *Tasawwuf* is another area in which the *Jihad* scholars contributed a lot of literature. Translated as Islamic Sufism or Islamic Mysticism, *Tasawwuf* is the single area in which almost all scholars connected with the *Jihad* had written a minimum of one work. Some of the scholars like *Shaykh* Uthman, *Ustaz* Abdullahi and Sultan Muhammad Bello had each written more than ten works. Other *Sufi* scholars like Abdulkadir b. al-Mustapha, popularly known as Dantafa, had contributed about ten works while Gidado b. Lema and his son Abdulkadir b. Gidado have to their credit about five works each on *Tasawwuf*. These are all in addition to casual reference they made to the teachings of *Tasawwuf* in many of their writings in other subject areas.

Tasawwuf is a subject area that was not restricted to a particular period of the *Jihad*. Even though there is insinuation that writing on *Tasawwuf*, especially by *Shaykh* Uthman, was done during the period when he was staying in Sifawa (Sifawa: 2004), but evidence shows that a lot of literature on *Tasawwuf* was produced during the pre-*Jihad* period and to some extent during the *Jihad* period. The literature was used in the pre-*Jihad* period to cleanse Muslims, who hearkened to the teachings of the *Jihad* scholars, of spiritual and material disease. The literature emphasized adoption of praiseworthy attributes which the *Shaykh* taught such as repentance, sincerity, patience, asceticism, fear

of Allah, piety and trust in Allah. It also discouraged blameworthy attributes such as vanity, conceit, rancour, miserliness, love of leadership, love of material world, pride and show off. The literature recommended remembrance of, among other things, death, grave, Day of Judgment and Hell-fire (Kaura: 1985). Some of the literature on the above subject matter is:

حصن الأفهام من جوش الأوهام مطيعة الزاد إلى المعاد
أنسرين فى من بلغ من العمر أربعين
تنبيه الخصماء والظلمة فى إسترضاء الخصمة والظلمة ورد المظالم

It is the nature of *Tasawwuf* and the importance given to it by the *Jihad* scholars as moderator of material aspect of man that made it to be a subject matter of all times and for all scholars.

In the course of their interaction with *Tasawwuf*, the *Jihad* scholars had written in almost all areas and had covered almost all aspects of *Tasawwuf* ranging from renunciation, theosophy to pantheism. They had also written on *Sunni* Sufism and Philosophical Sufism with emphasis on Zuhd type of *Tasawwuf* in the former and speculative one in the case of the latter. Speculative Sufism was especially advocated by younger generation of the *Jihad* scholars like Abdulkadir b. Al-Mustapha under the tutelage of some senior scholars like Muhammad Sambo b. *Shaykh* Uthman. Most of the literature produced in this area was from the pens of the younger scholars like Abdulkadir al-Mustapha and Abdulkadir b. Gidado (Kaura, 1991, 0). Below is the sample of the literature produced in Speculative Sufism:

كشفت الغطاء والريب فى ذكر انواع مفاتيح الغيب' الفتوحات الربانية

ألوامع النورانية' منظومة إصطلاح الصوفية وشرحها

All areas covering doctrines of *Tasawwuf* such as *Wilayah* (sainthood), *Karamah* (charisma), *Shafa'ah* (intercession) and *Igathah* (succour) had been written on by the *Jihad* scholars (Kaura: 1991). Specific mention has been made of the position of *Shaykh* Uthman with regard to some of these doctrines. Some of the works produced in this area are:

إنفاق الميسور فى تاريخ بلاد التكرور' روض الجنان' مجموع خصال الشيخ عثمان'

نبذة يسيرة تشيير الى بعض كرامات الشيخ'

They had also written on the biographies of *Sufi* personalities especially the founder of *Qadiriyyah Sufi* Order, *Shaykh* Abdulkadir al-Jilani, and the *Sufi* Order to which they belonged. Both *Shaykh* Uthman and *Ustaz* Abdullahi had written biographies and *Sufi* pedigrees of *Shaykh* Abdulkadir al-Jilani in Sufism. Some of such works are:

كتاب فتح الباب فى ذكر بعض خصائص شيخ عبد القادر' ألسلاسل القادرية'

بيان الأركان والشروط لطريقة الصوفية

Disputation between *Jihad* scholars and ardent followers of *Qadiriyyah Sufi* Order on one hand and followers of *Tijaniyyah Sufi* Order on the other on whether Sultan Muhammad Bello had changed over to *Tijaniyyah Sufi* Order from *Qadiriyyah Sufi* Order provided another avenue for additional literature on *Tasawwuf* to be contributed. Close

associates of Sultan Muhammad Bello wrote to denounce allegations that he had left *Qadiriyyah* for *Tijaniyyah* (Kaura: 1991). Some works written in this respect include:

المواهب الربانية ' الرد على سأل من يستحق الجواب ' كشف الحجاب ورفع
النقاب

Commentaries and abridgement of early *Sufi* works circulating in Hausaland like the writings of al-Muhasabi, al-Ghazali and Abdulkarim al-Jili were undertaken. *Shaykh* Uthman b. Foduye, for example, abridged some works of al-Muhasabi and al-Ghazali while Abdulkadir b. Al-Mustapha commented on the book *Al-Insan al-Kamil* written by Abdulkarim al-Jili. The books are:

الكشف والبيان لما أشكل من كتاب الإنسان ' ملخص من أسرار الشيخ الفقيه المحاسبي '
طريق الجنة من أسرار كلام أبي حامد الغزالي

6.0 Nature of the Sokoto *Jihad* Literature

Sokoto *Jihad* literature is a unique literature that has its own peculiar nature and characteristics. These characteristics give identity to the literature by which it can be distinguished from other forms of literature. It is to be noted, however, that each individual author has his own way of writing which distinguishes him from others. He has also a way of identifying most or some of his works with a name tag that also makes them distinct from the writing of other scholars. Our concern here is general characteristics of the writings of the *Jihad* scholars which became peculiar to them.

It is necessary to mention here that the identified characteristics are derived from circumstances, environment and driving force that led to the writing of a particular work. This, however, does not mean that all the works derive their identity from same environment, circumstance or reason. But few books could share these factors especially from different authors.

We have earmarked seven characteristics here for consideration though the number is not exhaustive. The idea is that if one reads through a writing of the *Jihad* scholar one is bound to see one or more of these characteristics. The characteristics are discussed below:

6.1 Corrective: Some aspects of the literature produced by the *Jihad* leaders are corrective in nature. They seek to correct erroneous belief system, misapplication of Islamic rituals and misconception of Islamic social norms among others. This kind of literature is a documentation of what the *Jihad* leaders set out to correct through teaching and preaching they conducted throughout the length and breadth of Hausa land. What one finds in the written literature is, therefore, germane with what the Jihadists preached against at their preaching sessions and venues as well as what they taught to their students and the general public.

6.2 Dealing with Local Issues: The literature produced by the *Jihad* leaders is essentially meant to attend to local problems prevalent in Hausa land even though it can be suitable for application in other environments. In other words, *Jihad* scholars had in mind problems of their environment whenever they intend to write. They utilized general

laws and applied them to specific local problems peculiar to, for example, observance of rituals, social malaise, economic problems and political malpractices. It is in this regard that *Shaykh* Uthman B. Foduye advised Muslims, especially students, to consult books written by scholars of their time and environment since they know better about their problems.

6.3 Maliki School Biased: Inhabitants of Hausaland in particular and Western Sudan in general were, and still are, followers of Maliki School of Law. A substantial number of *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence) books circulating in Hausaland belong to authors from this School of Law. They were the same books used by scholars, including Jihadists and others, in teaching Muslims about rituals, Islamic social norms and economic enterprise. Similarly, majority of scholars who sojourned and taught in Hausaland were of Maliki School extraction having come from areas where the School was popular. The *Jihad* leaders believed in sticking to the teaching of a school of law that is popular in a region especially in giving *fatawa* on problems emanating from the region. These are the reasons why the *Jihad* leaders had, in their *fiqh* writings relied on the Maliki Law. They taught Maliki school books and also relied on them when they wrote their own books (Gwandu, 2007, pp. 5-6) this, however, does not mean they were not knowledgeable in the *fiqh* of other schools of law. Some of their advanced writings contain comparative analysis of *fiqh* views across various schools of law.

6.4 Multi-disciplinary: The *Jihad* leaders are accomplished scholars who specialized in all Islamic sciences, including Arabic language, and

other areas in the mundane sciences. They had written in almost all areas in the former and necessary areas in the latter. Their writings covered *Usul al-Din* (including scholastics), *Ulum al-Qur'an* (including exegesis), *Ulum al-Hadith*, Islamic Jurisprudence and Islamic law. Other areas are Islamic history, Islamic economics, Islamic political thought and Islamic mysticism. In Arabic language, their writings covered syntax, morphology and phonology. In the mundane sciences, the *Jihad* scholars had written on medicine, calculus, astrology, logic and physiognomy. Looking at the diversity of areas in which the *Jihad* scholars had written, it can be said that the literature they left behind is multi-disciplinary in nature.

6.5 Clarity and Simplicity of Language: Language is the vehicle of communication. It makes communication very easy where the speaker and the person spoken to have a good grasp of the language. Sokoto *Jihad* scholars were largely Fulani while majority of the inhabitants were Hausa speaking people. On the other hand, Arabic was the language of scholarship. Therefore, the *Jihad* scholars employed three languages in their writings; Arabic, Fulfulde and Hausa. All of them were competent in spoken and written Arabic. Therefore, all the scholars who had written have some literature in Arabic to their credit either in Islamic Studies or in other areas. Some of them, especially the Shaykh and his daughter Asma', had written some literature in Fulfulde. Only very few employed Hausa language in their writings. However, three stood out distinctly in this area; the *Shaykh*, Asma'u and Isan Kware. In either case, whether writing in Arabic, Fulfulde and Hausa, the language used by an author is classical and simple devoid of

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ambiguity. Only Abdullahi b. Foduye is characterized by using difficult words especially in poetical composition. But generally the scholars used simple and clear language in their writings such that the writings are easy to comprehend. While writings found in Arabic language could only be studied and understood by scholars and students with Arabic background, the common and lay people take heart in the fact that they learn essentials of Islam through Fulfulde and Hausa poems composed by the *Jihad* scholars.

6.6 Academic Honesty: Islamic scholarship has, from its inception in the early period of Islam, made honest acknowledgement of source of information a sacred duty on a reporter. The science of *Hadith* developed by the 3rd century of *Hijrah* with well laid down criteria to check both content and chain of transmitters was one of such efforts. Therefore, the Sokoto *jihad* scholars who were connected to that worthy tradition through their teachers imbibed that sacred duty of becoming honest authors by making sure that every idea no matter how small or the source it emanates from shall be acknowledged. Whenever any of the scholars quotes from another scholar or source he mentions the scholar (and his book) or the source either before commencement of the quote or immediately after it. Similarly, where the entire writing is based on another source, the writer will mention it.

6.7 Arrangement: Writings of the *Jihad* scholars are systematic with an orderly arrangement. Of course, the *Jihad* scholars had come into contact with and read/taught many books circulating in Hausa land.

Majority of such books had originated either from the Middle East, North Africa or from within Western Sudan where scholarship and authorship had attained appreciable level of development. Therefore, they could not but give their own writings an arrangement that could assist their readers to know where a certain idea/point begins and where it stops. Most of their writings have this mechanism. They provide preface/introduction where they introduce what they intend to discuss after glorifying Allah and saluting Prophet Muhammad (SAW), and sometimes give chapter-breakdown of the work. They then take each chapter and discuss it independently. They provide a conclusion where they mention either a summary of the writing or when the writing was concluded, together with a prayer.

7.0 Relevance

Having seen what Sokoto Caliphate literature is, how it came into being and the role it played in reforming the once corrupt Hausa society, we will now consider whether this literature is relevant in today's Nigeria or not taking into consideration the numerous problems the country is going through. The noun 'relevance' denotes, among others, significance, applicability and germaneness (thesaurus). The significance of the literature in the present day Nigeria pre-supposes that the literature is very important in addressing some of the teething problems which have remained intractable. Applicability suggests that the Sokoto Caliphate literature is adaptable and can work in the present situation in Nigeria. Germaneness will suggest attitudinal similarity between pre-*Jihad* Hausa society and another section of the

Nigerian society which makes adaptation of the literature that worked perfectly well in the former on the latter possible.

Let me hasten to say that Hausa society of the pre-Jihad period and modern Nigeria, especially the North, may not strike a similarity on the level of sophistication, but when gauged from attitudinal level one finds a clear resemblance between the two in most facets of life. Some areas in which one can glaringly see such resemblance include material orientation, inept leadership, women education, social malaise, corruption, religious bigotry and insecurity. These are some of the problems which bedevilled pre-*Jihad* Hausa society and on which the *Jihad* scholars waged a total war through preaching, teaching, production of relevant literature and physical engagement. However, our concern here is how to use some aspects of this literature to ameliorate some the current problems we have in Nigeria such as the ones mentioned above. It is also very important to observe here that Nigeria is a multi-faith country with each faith protected by the Constitution such that no faith can impose itself on another. Then how can we apply extant Sokoto Caliphate literature on the Nigerian society without segregation based on religious plurality in the Country? The answer to this question is simple. What I understand is that Nigerians are tired of accommodating these problems and are looking for any messiah from wherever he will come to liberate them. Any religion that has solutions to these problems will certainly be welcome by the affected citizens. Moreover, the people who put us into this sorry state belong to a multi-faith group, and will not mind colluding among themselves to continue perpetrating the agony they imposed on us.

With this short introduction, we will now examine some of the areas the literature may be found relevant.

7.1 Inept leadership and corruption

Leadership, and an effective one for that matter, should be the concern of every Nigerian in our time. It is a hard fact that we have a huge deficit of this very important lifeline of development. For without effective leadership no group, society or nation can make any headway in this competitive world. Thus, meaningful improvement in the life of people, protection of rights and provision of security are only possible where a leadership is conscious of its responsibilities to Allah and to the people, have a plan of action for the betterment of the people and works assiduously towards achieving its goals (Kaura:2009:p.1). Very unfortunately, we lack leaders who meet the requirements for leadership prescribed by the Sokoto Jihad scholars in their writings. Most of our leaders found themselves in position of leadership that they are not prepared for. Leadership according to the Jihad scholars is a trust (*Amana*). It is a trust from God and a trust from people who bestowed the leadership on the leader. By implication, God is going to enquire into whatever a leader did, good or bad, or whether he has executed that leadership according to its terms or not. It is a trust from people because they voted the leader into office. They have every right to demand for explanations from the leader, both here and in the Hereafter, on how he handles the trust. Leadership in this context applies to any office from the highest to the lowest. While Mr. President is a trustee as the leader of Nigeria, Mr. X is equally a trustee in his position as an office attendant in Mr. J's office. However, trust is

absent in the political dictionary of Nigerian leaders. Many of them are cheats, fraudsters, thieves and unreliable. They, therefore, need to reorient themselves with the type of trust the *Jihad* scholars used to turn around the leadership fortunes of the pre-Jihad Hausa land.

Another important leadership ingredient that is absent among our leaders is justice. Justice in this context entails the ability of a leader to deal with his followers in an equitable way and to ensure prevalence of peace, security and happiness among the people. The leadership should not discriminate, on account of faith, race or colour, on any member(s) among the followership (Ibid: p.8). The *Jihad* scholars made justice a corner stone of their administration from the guidance they took from the Qur'an, *Sunnah* and the best practices of the rightly guided Caliphs. There was no immunity in their code of conduct. Sarkin Musulmi Aliyu Karami was arraigned before the Chief Judge by a Tuareg for failure to pay for horses he bought and took delivery from him. But our leaders are hiding behind immunity clause to perpetrate illegalities. Even those leaders who have no constitutional immunity are protected by powers that be from prosecution when they committed offence. Justice is now reserved for the highest bidder. A petty thief receives harsher punishment than a treasury looter who ends up with little or no punishment. Discrimination in appointments and allocation of development projects in favour of leaders' people and area is characteristic of Nigerian leadership. These and similar injustices were abhorred by the Jihad scholars, and many of their writings on leadership emphasize the need for justice in whatever a leader does. Such works by the Jihad scholars are relevant in this

context and if closely studied and their teachings imbibed, they can change the focus of our leaders.

Mutual consultation is a principle in Islamic leadership which was used effectively by the Jihad scholars to better the condition of leadership in Hausa land. Mutual consultation, otherwise known as *Shura*, is the foremost requirement for effective leadership. It is mandatory on a leader who desires to succeed in his leadership to always consult experts in any area or issue that requires his attention (Bello, 2007, p. 132). Allah has praised people who resort to consultation in many verses of the Qur'an. He, for example, describes those who "conduct their affairs by consultation" as among those who wish to serve Allah (Q. 42:38). The Prophet was directed by Allah to, in addition to passing over the faults of his Sahaba and seeking forgiveness for them from Allah, consult them on the affairs of the moment. This, according to the verse, is important because if the Prophet were to deal with them in severe and harsh-hearted manner they would break away from him (Q. 3:159). This principle assisted in transforming leadership in the administration of the Sokoto Caliphate to higher pedestals. It seems the generality of the citizens in Nigeria are not consulted by their representatives on matters concerning them if complaints making the rounds are to be taken seriously. In some areas such representatives turn up only when they require re-election. This tells a lot about leadership deficiency in Nigeria and calls for need to borrow the true concept of mutual consultation from the writings of the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars.

7.2 Material Orientation

The Sokoto *Jihad* scholars fought battles and established a caliphate not for the sake of power in itself but to demonstrate the pure Islamic form of leadership which was lacking in Hausa land. Their renunciation of materialism and their call for modesty regarding worldly power manifested itself in their writings and was also reflected in their attitude towards power. They considered it as blameworthy and a means by which spiritual and ethical life could be destroyed if handled inappropriately as was evidenced in the case of the rulers of Hausaland.

The *Jihad* scholars believed that good and responsible leadership can only be realised when leaders shun materialism. According to them it is the love of the material world that is responsible for the throwing overboard of the spiritual and ethical norms in all facets of life including in the realm of leadership. In this situation all gates of mischief and evil are widely open especially for rulers who enjoy oppressing and exploiting their people. This will then result into self glorification and exceeding the bounds of God. It is, therefore, clear that when the bounds of God are exceeded, misadministration will occur in a state (Uthman, Mulakkhas: nd: f1).

They advocated balancing the spiritual and ethical life on one hand and the love of the world and materialism on the other. *Zuhd* (asceticism), according to them, should be adopted by a leader which can moderate between his spiritual and material life. The *Jihad* scholars made it clear that it is obligatory for one to seek for what can keep one's body and soul together to facilitate worship which includes execution of leadership roles. Similarly, it is lawful for

one to acquire minimum requirements needed for one's sustenance like clothing, marriage and shelter (Abdullahi, Tahzib: nd: 14fa) and should by all means avoid elegance and extravagancy in respect of food and beverages (Abdullahi, Alamat: nd p.3).

The above world view adopted by the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars differs from what obtains in Nigeria. The measure of success in any office occupied by a leader will be the amount of unlawful material property he or she would acquire by the end of their tenure. It has now become a norm for people to steal, defraud and acquire wealth from any illegal source. People respect leaders who are looters, and they receive gifts from them without qualms. People are desperate to make money and acquire material property such that teachings by religions against illegal acquisition of wealth, and reminders from religious preachers do not dissuade them from following illegal means to satisfy their material desires. Even the men/women of God have been compromised in this inordinate desire for material accumulation.

7.3 Social Malaise

Nigerian society is characterised by social problems affecting the individual, family and the society. Religion is supposed to moderate the social aspect of life of its adherents. But the case is now proving difficult because of innovations and the adoption of social habits of people whose world view is alien to ours. The child right act is now threatening to further destroy family system. Some of the social problems the Nigerian society is battling with include nudity of women on our streets, in our offices and schools, cases of rape that have become rampant in the rural and urban areas, same sex relationship that is looking for legitimacy, abortion and sale of babies, and

medically related cases of maternal mortality and child morbidity and VVF. These social problems arose from the fact that both family and society have failed in their responsibility to guide the young ones. Some couples see marriage as a means of enjoyment and, therefore, do not give children close and adequate guidance on it. Many parents do not censor what their children and young ones under their care view on the screen of their television. They do not monitor the movement of their children or the kind of children they associate with.

The Sokoto *Jihad* scholars were particularly concerned about socialization of children. This is the reason why they insisted, for example, that women should not be given out in marriage to corrupt people who would corrupt their spouse and would not take good care of the children from the marriage (Gwandu: 1977:p.135). They made the state responsible for looking after the welfare of widows and divorcees and protect them from evil people (Kaura: 1981:pp.61-2). They also fought the culture that allowed the opposite sex unrestricted intermingling on the street and in the market places by encouraging women to know that except where there was urgent need for them to go out, it will be in their own interest to remain in their houses. Through this and other ways the Caliphate was able to curtail sexual promiscuity that pervaded the then Hausa society and polluted its family and societal serene atmosphere. It is, therefore, the view of this presenter that if the literature on social life produced by the Jihad scholars is sincerely deployed to fight our social malaise in this country, we would be able to arrest the drift in our social life.

7.4 Security

The Sokoto Caliphate prided itself as a state that had attained maximum security compared to the insecurity that pervaded Hausaland before its establishment. When the Caliphate was established, The Sokoto *Jihad* scholars had to struggle with agents of insecurity such as poverty, unemployment, injustice, religious bigotry and economic constraints. They succeeded in solving these problems by creating jobs, introducing new crafts and enhancing farming activities (Bello, 2001, p. 73). They also overhauled the judicial system and made it effective and encouraged the citizens to make restitution of inequities part of their life (Tukur, ms, f1-4).

Nigeria and the North in particular are going through the same problems encountered by the Sokoto Jihad scholars when they started reform activities in Hausa land. It is a near consensus even among the leadership that poverty is widespread among the masses of this country and unemployment is always on the increase (Yerima, 2008, P. 174-5)). There are complaints about dispensation of justice in our courts and discrimination meted to some people on tribal ground. These and other problems are the causes of domestic insecurity Nigerians face. Armed robbery, kidnapping, drug abuse etc are some of the by-products of the insecurity we are suffering from and for which the Nigerian State cannot provide adequate solution. It may not be out of place for this presenter to suggest the adoption of policies used by the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars to arrest insecurity in the 19th century Hausaland, which are contained in the literature they bequeathed to us, so that we can solve the issue of insecurity in Nigeria.

8.0 Challenges

From the submissions made in the preceding pages one does not doubt the relevance of Sokoto Caliphate literature to our time. But for it to work in solving some of our problems, we need to create a favourable climate for it. Now here lie the challenges posed by the literature. By the challenges we mean how we make the best use of the literature to attain its relevance to our contemporary situation with a view to solving some of our problems. Such challenges to be considered here include recovery and preservation of the literature, editing manuscripts before translating them, translating the literature into local languages, publishing of completed researches on the Sokoto Caliphate and Caliphate literature and disseminating the teachings contained in Sokoto Caliphate literature.

Recovery and preservation of manuscripts are essential in the retention of the Sokoto Caliphate literature. Recovery is a technical term used for the collection of manuscripts from the custody of an original owner, an individual or family, for preservation in what is considered to be a safe place. Preservation on the other hand refers to storage of manuscripts in an environment and temperature that will guarantee the safety of the manuscript. A manuscript is any handwritten book or piece of work especially which was done before the invention of printing technology (Encarta) .Retrieval and preservation of the Sokoto caliphate literature started with colonialism. Many manuscripts were collected and taken to Europe by some of the colonial administrators. Centres in Nigeria that specialise in the collection and preservation of the Sokoto Caliphate literature include Centre for Arabic Documentation at the University of Ibadan, Northern Nigeria History Research Scheme at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Waziri Junaidu History and Culture Bureau, Sokoto, and

Centre for Islamic Studies at Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto. There are also private collections belonging to individuals and families such as Waziri Junaidu Library (Musa, 2004 p.x).

In spite of efforts by these centres and individuals in retrieving and preserving this literature and despite the enormous literature they have collected and preserved, there is still more literature in the custody of individuals and families that is yet to be collected. Just recently the *Markaz Ahl-Bait wa al-Sahabah* based in Sokoto which opened a section for the preservation of Sokoto Caliphate manuscripts was able to collect a sizable number from individuals and families. This shows that there is still more literature to be recovered. What is disturbing, however, is that some of these manuscripts have suffered destruction because of the way they have been stored by the owners. Therefore, there is urgent need for these manuscripts to be collected and preserved.

Maintaining accuracy in the Sokoto Caliphate literature is a sure way of sustaining the legacy of the *Jihad* scholars. The Jihad scholars were honest intellectuals who sustained integrity of scholarship by making sure that they left behind reliable and accurate information for posterity. During their days, according to Usman (2007, pp. 83-4) quoting from Tukur, Jihad scholars made all efforts to maintain accuracy of their ideas by making sure that copies made from their works were properly cross checked with the original to ensure elimination of possible mistakes from copyists. It is, however, likely that later copyist(s) made mistakes in the process of copying which were not checked by scholars. These mistakes continued re-occurring with further copying. It is also likely that fresh mistakes might have

occurred in the process. This suggests that many of the printed copies of the literature being sold in the market have a lot of mistakes. Translations and commentaries made on these manuscripts are likely to also contain mistakes (Gwandu, 2007, pp. 1-4). The challenge now is how we ameliorate this problem so that accurate teachings of the Jihad scholars could be made available to the reader.

The Sokoto caliphate literature has provided scholars and students opportunities to conduct researches. The multi-disciplinary nature of the literature made students from various disciplines to conduct researches in various areas. Thousands of researches leading to the award of degrees at undergraduate and postgraduate levels had been conducted. However, only very few had been published and made available to the reading public. Many of such researches containing valuable ideas of the Jihad scholars are accessible only to very few research scholars and students as they could only be found in libraries and research centres.

Largely, Sokoto caliphate literature is found in Arabic language. The literature produced in Fulfulde and Hausa is not much compared to that found in Arabic. Majority of people in the area covered by the defunct Sokoto Caliphate are not proficient in Arabic language. This means they do not have access to the Sokoto Caliphate literature because of dearth of translations of the literature in Hausa and Fulfulde, the two major languages in the area.

The idea of disseminating knowledge cherished by the *Jihad* scholars and the effort they put in to sustain scholarship during their time and pass on the results of their labour to us has, therefore, been defeated. This observation tallies with the conclusion Adamu (2004, P.382) made when he said:

... therefore a crisis of availability of the Jihad literature is a problem of itself? We know that the materials are available somewhere, but they are not available for the reader. Jihad literature is classical literature and it is fair that when you enter any bookshop and see Shakespeare or Achebe, you also see Abdullahi Fodio on the shelf

It is clear from what has been discussed above that Sokoto Caliphate literature did not receive the attention it deserved. Muslims, especially the elites, have failed to sustain the momentum the *Jihad* scholars had set by making sure that the vast literature they bequeathed to us has continued to guide later generation in their day to day activities. The challenges to do that are not, however, insurmountable. This presentation submits the following suggestions for the consideration of the affected stakeholders:

Surmounting some of the challenges requires huge expenditure. It is not something that can be shouldered by an institution or individual, the responsibility to meet that expenditure should be that of the *Ummah*. The Muslim *Ummah* can therefore set up a Sokoto Caliphate Literature Foundation to be administered by a board of trustee consisting of individuals who have great respect for the legacy of the Jihad scholars and are ready to sacrifice their time to uplift it.

Since dissemination of this literature to the reading public is the focus, there is need for mass training of editors and translators who would handle the issues of the authentication and translation of the literature. Scholars who are already involved in the two key assignments could be given short training to enhance their expertise and efficiency as a short term measure. For a long term measure, Centre for Islamic Studies at the Usmanu Danfodiyo University should introduce diploma courses in editing and translation for interested persons wishing to specialise in the two areas.

There is need for the centres involved in collection and preservation of manuscripts on the Sokoto Caliphate to redouble efforts in their assignments for retrieving manuscripts that are still in the custody of individuals and families especially those who could not provide adequate storage facilities to protect these manuscripts. The foundation to be set up should provide financial requirements for the assignment to any centre involved that is in need of such assistance. It is also imperative for the centres to get into a network that will enable them to know what a particular centre is doing at a particular time. This coordination will assist in eliminating duplication of efforts in both editing and translation, and enhancing efficiency of the centres.

Completed researches at Masters and Doctoral levels should be reviewed and published by persons that conducted them. Publication has now been made easy with accessibility to computers by academicians. Printing press outfits, like Iqra' in Kaduna, can be negotiated with to carry out the printing. The foundation to be set up can also establish a printing press for that purpose.

9.0 My humble contributions

My first contact with the Sokoto Caliphate Literature was in 1980 when I was in the 2nd year of my undergraduate programme in this University. Dr. (now Professor) M.I. H.I. Surty gave my class an assignment on the *Jihad* of *Shaykh* Uthman Danfodio. This was the first time I registered with Sokoto State History Bureau and carried out my assignment at the Bureau's research room. When I chose to write my final year (1981) project, under Ustadh (now Dr.) Omar Ahmad Saeed, on Sokoto *Jihad* Leaders and the Emancipation of Women, I extended my search for materials beyond the History Bureau. I discovered that a lot of literature on the Sokoto Caliphate abounds in my native town of Kaura-Namoda. By the time I conducted research for my Masters (1985) and PhD (1991) on 'The Contributions of Sultan Muhammad Bello to Sufism' and 'The Sufi Dimensions in the Sokoto Caliphate' respectively, I had already fallen in love, so to say, with Sokoto Caliphate Literature. I have since that time guided researchers on the Caliphate literature, particularly those dealing with *Tasawwuf*. I have as well presented many papers at conferences, including those on *Ustaz* Abdullhi b. Foduye and Sultan Muhammad Bello, out of researches I have carried out in this area. Below are some of my contributions.

I presented a paper (1989) titled 'Emancipation of Women in the Sokoto Caliphate' during a conference on State and Society in the Sokoto Caliphate organised by Usmanu Danfodiyo University to mark the installation of the 18th Sultan of Sokoto. The paper has exposed, for the first time, detailed religious, socio-economic, educational and

political ideas of the Sokoto Jihad scholars on women. After the paper was published along with other papers that were presented, Concord Newspaper serialised it. This paper stimulated my interest in gender studies. I have so far presented four papers at various conferences within and outside the University. Three papers were on Muslim women and political participation while the other is on 'Muslim Women and Shari'ah implementation in Nigeria' (2000).

In 1991, I presented a paper on 'The Moderate and Philosophical *Sufi* Ideas of the *Jihad* Leaders and their Contribution to Sufi Literature' at a Conference organised by the Centre for Trans-Saharan Studies, University of Maiduguri on the theme 'Impact of the *Ulama*' in the Central Bilad al-Sudan'. The paper, which was published in the conference proceedings, was able to establish the existence of classical Sufi literature which was part of the curriculum in Hausaland that was studied and taught by the Jihad scholars. It also examined, very closely, literature produced by the *Jihad* scholars in Sufism which can be compared with any classical literature on the subject. But more importantly, the paper has established, beyond any doubt, that *Jihad* scholars were accomplished Sufis belonging to *Qadiriyyah Sufi* Order.

I have published two papers on Sufis and politics. The idea behind the papers is to show that contrary to the belief in some quarters, Sufis, like other groups of Muslims, are interested in the politics of their environments. The first paper was presented at the Centre for Islamic Studies with the title 'Sufi Leaders Under Persecution in North Africa from 13th-19th Century' (1999) while the second was presented at 'The Conference of Ulama' in commemoration of the 200 years of the

establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate under the title 'The Relevance of *Qadiriyyah* Sufism in the Jihad and its Moderative Effects on the Leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate (2004). The first paper established that Sufi leaders were persecuted by Muslim rulers in North Africa because of their interest in what the rulers do to justify their position especially in preventing European evangelists from converting Muslims to Christianity. They in addition provided welfare services to people when the rulers failed to do that. The second paper established the role of *Qadiriyyah Sufi* Order in the success of the *Jihad* led by Shaykh Uthman b. Foduye and the influencing effect it had on them as rulers after the establishment of the Caliphate. Both papers were published by the Centre for Islamic Studies and The Bicentenary Committee respectively.

I have supervised to successful completion nine doctoral theses and many M.A. dissertations. Out of the nine theses, four were directly on Sokoto Caliphate Literature. Through these researches and academic guidance I have succeeded in popularising the Sokoto *Jihad*, the Sokoto *Jihad* scholars and the Sokoto Caliphate Literature. My prayer has always been to remain in the University system and continue to serve the Sokoto caliphate Literature.

10.0 Appreciation

My appreciation, first and foremost, is due to Allah; my Lord, the Creator, the Nourisher and the Lord of the worlds.

O my Lord! so order me that I may be grateful for your favours, which You have bestowed on me and on my parents, and that I may work the

righteousness that will please You, and admit me, by Your grace, to the ranks of Your righteous servants (Q: 27: 19).

I am highly indebted to all my teachers at Malam Isa Qur'anic School and Nizamiyyah School, both at Kaura-Namod, Sultan Abubakar College, Sokoto, former State College of Arts and Science, Sokoto, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto and Bayero University, Kano. I must, however, thank very profoundly Malam Muhammadu Bello Murtala Kaura and Professor Abubakar Aliyu Gwandu for the lasting impression they made on my life. May the Almighty Allah reward all my teachers both here and in the Hereafter.

I will like to use this opportunity to thank all the Vice-Chancellors that had led this University for creating a favourable environment which made it possible for me to become what I am today. I must particularly, thank Professor A.A. Gwandu who appointed me as Head of Department of Islamic Studies and by doing so brought me into the University administration. I also thank His Royal Highness Dr. Muhammad Zayyanu Abdullahi, Professor Aminu Salihu Mikailu and Professor Tijjani Muhammad Bande for giving me the opportunity to serve under them in various capacities.

I acknowledge the support I receive from my family up to this moment. I am particularly grateful to my late parents for the love and care they showed to me and their prayer which I found very useful and helpful. "...O my Lord! bestow on them Thy mercy even as they cherished me in childhood" (Q: 17:24) I will not forget the assistance I received from my immediate senior brother, Alhaji Ibrahim Abubakar who has been

like a father to me, and Malam Idris Aliyu Kaura-Namoda who stood by me throughout the period of my educational pursuit.

I will like to acknowledge the sense of belonging I enjoy from my colleagues in the Department of Islamic Studies.

I wish to recognise the support I receive, in various forms and ways from Professor A.A. Zuru (Dept. of Pure and Applied Chemistry), Professor Isiaka Muhammad (Dept of Agric Economics and Extension), Dr. Bello D. Bada (Dept. of Modern European Languages and Linguistics), Dr. S.S. Muhammad (Dept. of Political Science), Professor M.D. Magaji (Dept. of Crop Science) and Dr. M.M. Shuni (Centre for Islamic Studies).

I appreciate the encouragement I received from my school mates like Shehu Ubaidullahi Kaura, Principal Zamfara State College of Arts and science, Gusau, Sheikh Muhammad Isa Talatar Mafara, Alhaji Ismaila Moyi Kaura and Alhaji Abdullahi Moyi Kaura.

11.0 Conclusion

What I have done in the preceding pages was to situate Sokoto Caliphate literature in the context of the Sokoto Jihad carried out by Jihad scholars in the 19th century Hausaland. After having considered the conceptual definitions of the key concepts in the title of the paper, I looked at the production of literature by the *Jihad* scholars within a three-period time frame; pre-Jihad, *Jihad* and post-*Jihad* periods.

Samples of literature produced and the circumstances behind the writing of such works were given. It was, however, shown that some works cut across the three periods while others could not be tied to a period because they had no causative agents.

The Sokoto Caliphate literature has a distinct nature which made it different from other literature elsewhere. This nature gives it identity especially in relation to the environment in which it was nurtured. We also considered the relevance of the literature to our own situation where we observed that there was similarity in attitude between the 19th Century Hausa society and the present one especially in Northern Nigeria to make the adaptation possible. Challenges considered in the presentation showed that the Muslim elites has failed to sustain the efforts started by the Sokoto Jihad scholars in the dissemination of knowledge which they bequeathed to us through the literature we now neglect. Some suggestions have been offered on how to overcome these challenges which included the setting up of a foundation, continued efforts in the collection and preservation of the literature and its publication to make it available to the public.

Wassalamu Alaykum wa Rahmatullah

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