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SANKORE'

Rawdat al-Afkaar

The Sweet Meadows of Contemplation

By

The Knower of Allah, the Spiritual Scholar, the Realized One

Shaykh Abd'l-Qadir ibn Mustafa

Famous as Dan Tafa

May Allah engulf him in His mercy

Revised & Annotated by

Abu Alfa MUHAMMAD SHAREEF bin Farid

May Allah pardon and forgive him, his parents, wives and children

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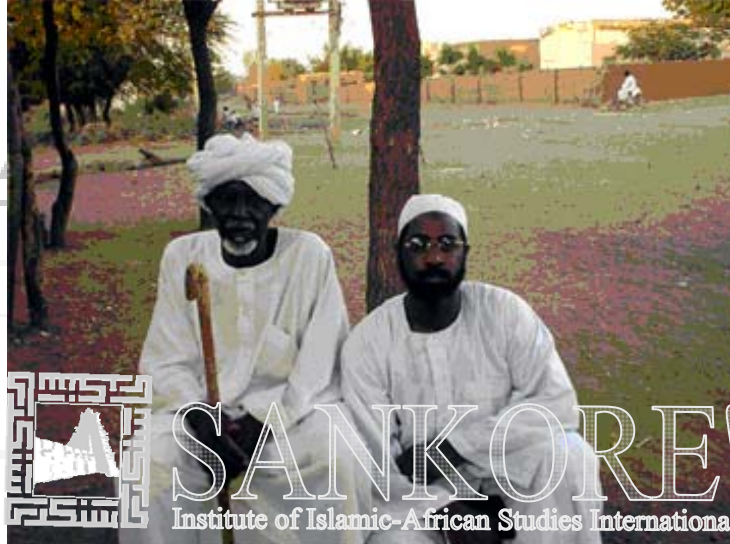
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The Palace of the Sultan of Maiurno

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This book is dedicated to a Man of Allah, one of my *shaykhs* in Islam, my support in the spiritual purification, my lamp in the doctrine of beliefs, and my father of meaning, the sage, *Shaykh* Bello ibn *Shaykh al-Faqih* Abd'r-Raaziq ibn *Shaykh* Uthman, the son of the author of this historical work the lordly scholar *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qadir ibn Mustafa ibn Muhammad at-Turudi, may Allah be merciful to all of them by the rank of the Generous Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.



The translator kneeling next to *Shaykh* Muhammad Bello ibn *al-Faqih* Abd'-Raaziq ibn *Shaykh* Uthman ibn *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qadir ibn Mustafa ibn Muhammad at-Turuudi, *rahimuhu Allah ta'ala*

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Folio 2 of manuscript b of the Rawdat al-Afkaar of Shaykh Abd'l-Qadir ibn al-Mustafa

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In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, may Allah bless our master Muhammad, his family and Companions and give them much peace

Says the renown and eminent scholar, *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa¹, the illumined, the grandson of the *Mujaddid* Uthman, may Allah engulf him in His mercy.²

Introduction

In as much as devotion to historical narratives is the sweet meadows of our contemplation and attention³; and the lure by which we attract the news of distant lands; news to which the hearts incline and which stamps the souls with every sort of positive impression; and in as much as historical documentation and authentication is the stronghold for its preparations and the fortress of its unusual events and deliberations – I decided then to collect together here some of the historical narratives of these lands of the Blacks in general and the lands of Hausa in particular; including most of the accounts of their kings and rulers, as well as extracts of what has been narrated concerning their scholars.⁴ What I have recounted from this will no doubt bring delight to the ears as well as afford some pleasure to the natural temperament; at least to the extent which we have documented it.

Although in Islam, the science of historiography is not of any great religious importance, yet it serves to sharpen one's intellect and awaken in some of the

¹ As for the lineage of *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qaadir from the direction of his father, he was Abu Muhammad Mu'ayallide, Abd'l-Qaadir (famous as 'Dan Tafa') ibn Mustafa ibn Muhammad at-Turudi ibn Ibrahim ibn Musa ibn Ali (known as Aal), ibn Muhammad Jubu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Ayyub ibn Maasiraan ibn Buba Baba ibn Musa Jokolli.

² He was the grandson of the *Shehu* from the direction of his oldest daughter; Khadija bint *Shehu* Uthman ibn Muhammad Fuduye' ibn Uthman ibn Saalih ibn Haarun ibn Muhammad Ghurtu ibn Muhammad Jubu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Ayyub ibn Maasiraan ibn Buba Baba ibn Musa Jokolli. The author mentions the name of the *Shehu* in order to demonstrate his connection to him, but also to garner some of his *baraka*. *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye' (known in Hausa as Dan Fodio and in Fulbe as Bi Fudi), was the founder of the Sokoto Caliphate. He was considered, as the author mentions, by his contemporaries and those after him, as the Reformer (*mujaddid*) of the 12th century after the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, who promised that at the head of every century a scholar would arise who would revive the religion of Islam and reform its people. For a detailed understanding of the concept of the *mujaddid* and his function see M. Hiskett's The Development of Islam in West Africa, pp. 157 & 161.

³ It is from this phrase that the title of the book is known: Rawdat al-Afkaar (the Sweet Meadows of Contemplation). Some of the scholars of Hausa call it Akhbar 'l-Bilad 's-Sudan. [See Murray Last, Sokoto Caliphate, p. xxx111-xxxiv].

⁴ The term *bilad 's-sudan* (the land of the Blacks) refers to the lands of Sub Sahara Africa which lie in the *Sahel* region from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea and 5 degrees north of the equator. [see Yusef Fadl Hasan's (ed.), Sudan in Africa, p. 1].

resolution to conduct historical research.⁵ For this reason the scholars have composed books and treatises concerning the obscurities of the past, which only proves that historiography is not completely void of advantages, nor is there a dearth of benefit which naturally returns to the one who studies it or to the one who takes lessons from it. Subsequently, nothing from the matters of this world's life or from the concerns of superfluous narratives, when carefully examined with intelligence is devoid of some benefit. For this reason, the advantages of its utility returns back to the matters of the *deen*.⁶

The Division of the Blacks Lands

Since you have understood this, then realize that these Black lands of ours are divided into three major divisions: [1] the Upper regions; [2] the Middle regions; and [3] the Lower regions.

The Upper regions include the lands of Bornu, Ahir, Zaberma and Songhay. The Middle regions include the lands of Hausa, which are made up of seven distinct territories; as well as the 'bastard' regions, which are also made up of seven distinct territories.⁷ The Lower regions are the lands of Baiyaaya.

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⁵ Here reference is made to the fact that the study of history is not a part of what Islamic jurist define as the sciences obligatory upon every individual (*fard 'l-ayaan*); like theology (*tawheed*); jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and spiritual purification (*tasawwuf*). However, the science of historiography is among the collective obligations (*fard 'l-kifaaya*) which corroborate, strengthen and authenticate the science of jurisprudence. [see Uthman ibn Fuduye', *Fat'hu 'l-Basaa'ir*, pp. 13-16].

⁶ For the benefits of the study of the science of historiography refer to Mahmud Ka'ti ibn al-Hajj Ka'ti's *Tarikh 'l-Fattash*, p. 10.

⁷ The 'Seven Bastard' regions are called *Banza Bakwai* in Hausa. These are the people who are not originally Hausa, yet adopted Hausa as a second language and adopted certain Hausa customs. [see M. Hiskett, pp. 110-119].

The Most Momentous of the Seven Governments Situated in the Black Lands

Not one of the kingdoms of the Blacks was ever able to completely rule over all of the above mentioned regions. Rather, they were only able to rule a portion, while the greater part remained outside of their control. However, the most momentous of the governments situated in these lands, based upon what has been recollected and transmitted, have been seven governments.

The Government of Bornu

The government of Bornu conquered and ruled the entire Middle *Sudanic* regions as well as part of the Upper regions. However, it never was able to control the lands of Ahir, Zaberma, and Songhay, nor did it control any of the kingdoms of the Lower regions, except that it ruled for some time, the lands of Baghirma and Wodai.

The Government of Kwararafa

The government of Kwararafa⁸ conquered and ruled all of the Lower *Sudanic* regions and parts of the Middle regions thereof, like the regions of Kano, Zakzak, parts of Katsina. They also made military incursions into the regions of Bornu attacking many cities and military garrisons.

The Government of Zakzak⁹

The government of Zakzak was the kingdom established by Amina, the daughter of the ruler of Zakzak. She led many military expeditions in the lands which brought the regions of Kano and Katsina under her sovereignty. She also led military expeditions into the Lower *Sudanic* regions until she reached as far as the great Atlantic Ocean in the southwest.¹⁰ However, she did not rule any of the Upper *Sudanic* regions.

The Government of Songhay

The government of Songhay was the kingdom established by Askia the Great, who conquered and ruled the entire Upper *Sudanic* regions and only the kingdom of Bornu remained outside his sovereignty.¹¹ He also conquered and ruled many

⁸ Also spelled Kuranrafa. Local oral tradition transmits that the people of Kwararafa were originally from Yemen and migrated from there until some of them settled west of Lake Chad, while others settled in Benue. However, modern anthropologists attest that linguistic and historical evidence makes the Yemeni origin myth highly unlikely, [see M. Hiskett, p. 116].

⁹ This was the most southerly state of Hausaland. It is sometimes referred to as Zauzau in the historical narratives and today it is known as Zaria. [see M. Hiskett, p. 68].

¹⁰ This refers to the Bight of Benin on what became known as the 'Gold Coast' of Africa in present day southern Nigeria on the Atlantic Ocean.

¹¹ Askia the Great was al-Hajj Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr (c. 1492-1590) who was a Torodbe` Fulani by lineage, but was among the political captives of the Songhay ruler Sonni Ali. The term Askia means in the language of the Soninke` 'not you?', which was what the women of Sonni Ali shouted on the eve of the conquering of Songhay by the armies of al-Hajj Muhammad; and it has the connotation of 'usurper'. Out of humility Askia the Great took this name as his title and it became the title of rulers of Songhay thereafter. During the rule of the *Askias*, Western Sudan witnessed a golden age in commerce, nation formation, culture and learning. [see Ka`ti, p. 10; and E. N. Saad, The Social History of Timbuktu, p. 42-50].

territories of the Middle regions and parts of the Lower regions. However in those territories northwest of Songhay, he was prevented from bringing under his sovereignty. He also conquered and ruled the entire region of Ahir, part of which he ruled indirectly through a regent and the remainder he subjugated directly. In fact, those who rule the region of Ahir today are actually from the descendents of his political captives whom he appointed over the region.¹²

The capital of his kingdom was in the city of Gao, which the merchants named Gawgaw, because it was easiest to say on their tongues. Askia, the Great, was the one who seized the government from under the dynasty of Sonni Ali, doing away with his uncivilized influences and false customs.¹³ As a result, he was able to spread justice and equity throughout the lands he conquered.

Askia, left his lands in order to perform the sacred pilgrimage to Mecca and visited and encountered a large number of the scholars. Among them was al-Jalaal as-Suyuti who also composed text specifically for him, as well as other scholars.¹⁴ Al-Maghili also reached his lands and composed books for him as well, which included books on jurisprudence as well as political advice.¹⁵

There was none among the rulers of the Black lands who had conquered and ruled to the extent that Askia had. He made military expeditions into the regions of Borgu, but conquering them was difficult and he failed. His military forces continued to control the lands of Jenne, and it is said that even today, they are the ones who rule the lands of Jenne, now.

¹² Askia conquered most of the lands called by *Sultan Muhammad Bello* in his *Infaq al-Maysuur* as the *bilad 't-Takruur*. The *Takruur* has many connotations. Originally it referred to the name of an African Islamic kingdom which flourished on the lower Senegal River around 900-1000 C.E. It is from this name that Arabic attribution of *takruuri* which refers to anyone from the regions of Africa west of Nile River. Among the Wolof the people of *Takruur* were called Tuculor. They were also called Turudi or Torodbe`. The term came to be inclusive of all peoples from the Western and Central *bilad s-sudan*. [see Umar al-Naggar, 'Takruur: the History of a Name', *Journal of African History*, x, 3 (1969), p. 365; and John R. Willis, 'The Torodbe Clerisy; A Social View', *Journal of African History*, XIX, 2 (1978), pp. 195-212].

¹³ He was *Sonni Ali Bir ibn Sonni Mahmud*, the last of the great Soninke' leaders. His reign last from about 1464 until 1496 C.E.. *Shaykh Abd'r-Rahman as-Sa`di* the author of the *Tarikh as-Sudan* said: "As for the infamous tyrant and notorious profligate *Sonni Ali*, ... he possessed great strength and had a firm and solid body. He was oppressive, corrupt, aggressive, dominating and a shedder of blood. He killed and had killed so many people that only Allah ta`ala knows the true number. He afflicted the scholars and the righteous with slaying, abuse and degradation." [See Abd'r-Rahman as-Sa`di, *Tarikh as-Sudan*, tr Muhammad Shareef bin Farid, Sankore` Institute, Houston, 1992, p. 64.]

¹⁴ AL-SUYUTI, Jalal `d-Deen Abd`al-Rahman ibn Abu Bakr (1445-1505); the most prolific of all Arabic writers and considered by some to be the *mujaddid* of the 9th century after the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. He lived in Cairo and had many pupils and contacts from the Western Sudan. [see F.H. el-Misri (tr. and ed.) Uthman ibn Fuduye`, *Bayaan Wujuub 'l-Hijra `Ala 'l-Ibaad*, p. 174].

¹⁵ AL-MAGHILI, Muhammad ibn Abd'l-Karim al-Tilimsani (d. 910/1504); was a Maliki scholar and reformer who traveled extensively throughout the Western Sudan and had far reaching impact upon the countries in which he lived. He was a key person in the spread of the Qadiriya Sufi brotherhood and was the primary scholar upon which the intellectual reforms in Songhay, Hausaland and Ahir depended during the 9th/16th century. [see Abd al-`Aziz A. Batran, 'A Contribution to the Biography of Shaykh Muhammad ibn `Abd al-Karim ibn Muhammad al-Maghili al-Tilimsani', *Journal of African History*, xiv, 3 (1973), pp. 381-394].

The Government of Kebbi

Then there was the government of Kebbi, which was the kingdom established by Kanta.¹⁶ He was the first of the rulers of Kebbi, and it is said that no other person ruled the region prior to him, and that it actually was a kingdom established by the descendents of political captives. It is said that he was actually a political captive of the Fulani.¹⁷ He eventually broke from under their control, consolidated his affair and then initiated military expeditions throughout the lands until he eventually conquered and controlled the entire region of Kebbi. He also took sovereignty over the region of Zamfara, which was at that time a land of shrubs and thickets in which lived a pagan ethnicity called Maguzawa.¹⁸ He, then made military expeditions against the whole of the Middle Sudan and conquered it. In the region of the Upper Sudan he ruled Zaberma and the land of Ahir. He did not, however, rule Bornu, although between him and the ruler of Bornu there occurred much fighting and bloodshed. He died returning home in the lands of Katsina, The story about that is famous. Kanta ruled most of the Lower Sudan, and all the lands there were subjected to him.

When the people of the Black lands elevated him to political authority he constructed three large walled cities: Gungu, Leka, and Surami. The last of them was the capital of his kingdom and the site of his tomb. The oldest of these walled cities was Gungu.

It is said that he made the Taureg responsible for carrying water from a lake in their lands called Tanshama to his capital Surami. They also had to transport the horses of his military garrison as well as the sand of that surrounded the lake. They were obliged to do this by force, and they did what they were ordered. It is said that he saw that in his sleep and ordered them bring his dream to pass; and so they did it. Kanta ruled his kingdom for thirty eight years.

Then the ruler of Ahir asked the ruler of Bornu to assist him against Kanta because of his severity against him. As a result of this assistance, Mai Ali, the ruler of Bornu began to initiate a general war campaign following the road of Susabaaka, until he reached north of Daura, and Katsina south of Gobir. He and his forces then entered the land of Kebbi until they reached its capital Surami. As a result Kanta came out to engage him in battle on the morning of the `Eid.¹⁹ They fought one another for about an hour until Kanta's forces were defeated and driven towards the west. The ruler of Bornu continued to attack the military fortress of Surami but defeating it was too difficult for him. As a result he had to retreat with his forces until he reached Gandu

¹⁶ He was Muhammad Kanta Kotal (16th century), who ruled Kebbi which was at first a western province of the Songhay Empire. Later Kanta built up his forces and then rebelled near the Kebbi River after which his kingdom was called. [see M. Last, p. lxiv-lxv].

¹⁷ Reference here is made to the fact that the Askiya dynasty which ruled the Songhay were originally Turudbe` Fulani who had adopted the Soninke` language. [see above footnote # 11].

¹⁸ The appellation *Maguzawa*, according to Barkowe, is a term reserved for non-Muslim Hausa people of present day North Central State, Nigeria, and who are considered the lowest rank in the hierarchy of Hausa civilization. The actual appellation comes from the Arabic word '*majusi*' or Magian (Zoroastrian), which are considered in Islam as 'People of the Book'. Although in Hausaland this term applied to a specific ethnicity, however in many parts of the Central *Bilad as-Sudan* this name applied to any non-Muslim ethnicity who had been given a revelation, but who were not Jews or Christians. The single for 'Maguzawa' is '*Bamaguje*', [see Jerome H. Barkow, "Muslim and Maguzawa in North Central State, Nigeria: An Ethnographic Comparison", *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol 7, Issue 1 (1973), pp. 59-76; and also M. Last, p. 67 footnote # 18].

¹⁹ This refers to one of the two celebrated holidays of Islam: '*Eid'l-Fitra*', celebrated to mark the end of fasting the month of *Ramadhan*; and '*Eid 'l-Ad'ha*', celebrated to mark the end of the pilgrimage season to Mecca.

and from there he eventually returned to his country. Then Kanta rallied his troops and pursued Mai Ali's forces until he reached Angharu, where he encountered forces from among the Berber²⁰ whose forces he completely destroyed after about seven military engagements, seizing a great amount of spoils.

Then Kanta returned in the direction of his land until he reached a place called Degel in the territory of Katsina.²¹ In this land lived a group of people who had revolted against him. He engaged them in a fierce battle until he was eventually wounded by an arrow. He as a result continued his march homeward until he reached a place called Qiru where he eventually died. His people then carried his body and buried him in his palace at Surami.

It was during the period of Kanta's rule that the government of Kebbi was firmly established and it lasted after him for about one hundred years. That was their history and the like of their kingdom had not been seen before in these lands. It took more than one hundred years for it to be destroyed.

The Government of Zamfara²²

Then the greatest of the governments after the kingdom of Kebbi was the government of Zamfara, which ruled the lands of the Middle *Sudan* and parts of the Lower *Sudan*. It was a well established kingdom of which a more detailed and precise description will be given when these lands of ours are discussed.

The Sokoto Uthmaniyya Government

Then the greatest of the government after the kingdom of Zamfara was this government of ours, the Uthmani government.²³ May Allah established the pillars upon which it has been built and assist its ruler until the Day of Judgment. The whole of the Middle Sudan has been placed under his sovereignty along with parts of the Lower Sudan and most of the Upper Sudan. All this will be discussed in the course of this book.

²⁰ These were Berber nomads under the leadership of the ruler of Ahir who resided in the Upper Western Sudan.

²¹ The above mentioned Degel is the village in which some of the clan of the Turudu Fulbe` settled after they fled with their religion from Maradi. This ethnic group were from among the descendents of Muhammad Ghurtu and Aal the two prominent sons of Muhammad Jubbu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Buba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli ibn *Imam* Dambubu. This ethnicity were among the most renowned of the scholars and righteous people of the *Bilad as-Sudan* in their times. It was in Degel that the most famous the sons of this learned ethnicity, *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye` established himself and who eventually made *hijra* from Degel to Gudu with his *Jama`at* as will be discussed, Allah willing. [See Muhammad Bello, *Majmu`n-Nasab*, Sankore` Institute of Islamic-African Studies International, unpublished, p. 12].

²² This kingdom was also called Zanfara as it is spelled in the Arabic sources whose capital was Birnin Zanfara.

²³ This government was named after its founder, the celebrated grandfather of the author, *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye`. He was the eleventh of the Rightly Guided *Khalifs* who attained mastery of inner and outward government. They had joined the ranks of knowledge and political government and had mastered the inward aspects of sagehood as well as the outward aspects of politics and diplomacy. He was the *mujaddid* of the twelfth century of the *hijra* whose station and rank in social, spiritual reform, government, knowledge, military victory and gnosis will not be joined together and attained by anyone after him except the Awaited *Mahdi* in the End of Time, who is the Seal of the Rightly Guided *Khalifs*. Mention will be made of the events of this Uthmani Fulani Sokkoto *Khalifate* after a little, Allah willing. [See Bello ibn Uthman al-Fulati, *al-Khulafa`r-Rashideen`l-Mahdiyeen*, ms, folio 3].

The Divisions of the Lands of Hausa

Realize that the lands of Hausa consist of seven regions:²⁴ [1] the region of Zakzak, which is the most extensive of the regions of Hausa, because it includes the huge lands of Bauchi; [2] the region of Nuru; [3] the region of Kano, the wealthiest of the seven regions; [4] the region of Daura; [5] the region of Katsina, which is the heart of the lands of Hausa and in the past it has been the most prosperous; [6] the region of Birni; and [7] the region of Gobir.

In past times all these regions were exclusively under the sovereignty of the ruler of Bornu. He had a political captive named Bawu whose origins are unknown to me and nothing has been heard as to which ethnicity he belonged. The ruler of Bornu appointed him governor of these regions and he ruled them. He had seven children and when he was about to die, he placed them in charge of these lands, each over a separate region.

It is said that the one placed over Daura was a woman. She was appointed ruler of Daura – and hence her name became the name of the land. She was the eldest of the children of Bawu and the paternal sister of the regional governor of Katsina. The regional governors of Kano and Gobir were siblings from the same mother. The regional governors of Birni and Zakzak were siblings from the same mother; while the regional governor of Nuru was a single son of one mother.

Thus, all of the rulers of these lands were originally the political captives of the ruler of Bornu – which means he was in effect their *Sultan*, since the people of these lands were under their political hegemony.²⁵ These regional governors used to pay tribute and ransom to the regional governor of Daura, who would then convey it to the ruler of Bornu. Such was their binding custom; and until the establishment of our present *jihad*, none refused to pay this tribute except Bawa the ruler of Gobir. He refused as I will relate below.

There occurred many wars and upheavals between the regional governors of these lands after the passing away of the earlier generations, when the ties of affection and kinship were wiped out. Some of them maintained friendly ties to each other, while others did not.

Now the reason that the ruler of Gobir, Bawa, refused to pay tribute was because he denied that he was originally a political captive of the ruler of Bornu. According to what they say, there was no doubt that they were free-born from the beginning and originated from a remnant of the Coptics who fled Egypt and migrated to Ahir.²⁶ Then they came to the land of Gobir and drove out those who ruled from the children of Bawu. They then settled there and paid tribute just as their predecessors had done, until Bawa refused. However, it must be understood that there were rulers of these lands even before the coming of the children of Bawu.

To the west of these seven regions are the seven Banza (or 'bastard') states which are south of them and adjacent with them. They are [1] Zamfara; [2] Kebbi; [3]

²⁴ See the Arabic text for the detailed map of the seven regions of Hausaland; p 10.

²⁵ The term used in the Arabic text is *abeed* which means slave, bondman, serf or servant; however this concept should not be confused with the concept as it has been understood and utilized in the west since the Roman Empire until the 19th century chattel slavery instituted by the Europeans against the people of African descent. There was a clear and distinct difference between the two systems demonstrated by the fact that the chattel slaves under the European system would never be appointed to political authority. It is for this reason that I chose to translate the concept throughout this translation as 'political captive', which accurately describes the system as it was practiced.

²⁶ The reference here to Coptic refers to the linguistic and ethnic group who still reside in Egypt along the Nile River. [see Cheik Anta Diop, Precolonial Black Africa, (New York, 1987), pp. 212-234.

Yauri; [4] Nupe'; [5] Yaruba; [6] Bargu; and [7] Gurma; and each of these lands has a regional governor which are equal to the others similar to the regions of Hausa.

The Description, Attributes and Conditions of These Regions

I will now proceed to give a description, the characteristics and conditions of these regions, beginning with the lands of Hausa.

I say, as for the land of Zakzak, it is an extensive land with an abundance of forest, rivers and mountains. It is a land rich in cultivation, plentiful rain water and foodstuffs. There is also an abundance of corn.

Next to it is the land of Nuru and close by is the land of Kano, the richest of the Hausa regions, the most prosperous, and whose living conditions are the least expensive. Its people enjoy the best amenities and luxuries. There are an abundance of date trees growing in the districts surrounding the city, and they boast of the most excellent 'seed of the Nile' which is the best indigo in all of the lands.

As for the land of Katsina, it is an extensive land, with many forest, rivers, thickets, stony ground and minerals. Its people are the most prosperous among the people of Hausa. They have had many kings. In it are many scholars and righteous men – such as Ibn Sabaagi and others.²⁷ His grave is in the city of Katsina, which I had the pleasure of visiting on reaching there. When war broke out between their ruler and the ruler of Gobir, he (Ibn Sabaagi) assisted the former against the ruler of Gobir.

The Description of the Land of Gobir and What Occurred in Its History Up Until the *Jihaad* of Ours

The Era of the *Sultan* Chiroma, the Ruler of Gobir

As for the land of Gobir, it is very sandy and hilly, and in it are some forests. Its people used to dwell in the land of Asben, but the Tuaregs drove them out. They reached the northern boundary of Gobir, until their ruler, Chiroma led them forth until they reached a place called Ghabasi where they built an ancient fortress there. There Chiroma died and the youngest of his sons was made ruler. It is said such was his dying request. His son was called Muhammad ibn Chiroma.

The Era of *Sultan* Muhammad ibn Chiroma

Both he and Agabba, the ruler of Asben, Ya`kubu the son of the ruler of Zamfara revolted against the ruler of Kebbi. They laid waste to the land of Kebbi and appointed the ruler of Zamfara over most of their kingdom, as we will relate. Consequently, there ensued between the ruler of Gobir, Muhammad ibn Chiroma, and the ruler of Kebbi many battles, in which the people of Kebbi were defeated twice. In the final battle the ruler of Kebbi was captured and he and the notables of his government were forced to wear tattered rags. As a result the government of Gobir grew powerful and extensive, and Muhammad ibn Chiroma became trusted friends of the rulers of Zamfara and Katsina.

²⁷ He was *Malam* Muhammad ibn al-Sabbagh (16th cent.), a Katsina scholar and head of an Islamic college/*madrassa* in that area. He was also known as Dan Marina and was the author of the famous poem called: 'The Garden of Learning'. He led a community of scholars and jurists in Katsina whose intellectual traditions survived through to the 19th century and even exist today in the capital of Katsina and Kaduna. [see M. Hiskett, pp. 55-56].

The Era of *Sultan* Thoba ibn Muhammad ibn Chiroma

When Muhammad died his son, Thoba was made ruler and became well established in the land. He subsequently made military expeditions against the land of Zaberma, laying siege to its people for three years and continued to raid, slaughter and seize many spoils. After this expedition he returned home, prepared his forces and thereafter crossed the Niger River to raid the land of Gurma. He took captives, slaughtered many and then returned to his country with immense quantities of spoils. After this military expedition he equipped an army to wage war against Katsina, while harassing the town of Maradi for seven years, but was unsuccessful due to the difficulties. During this time the ruler of Asben made war against his lands while he was in his fortress. This action frustrated Thoba and caused him to seek assistance from the Maguzawa, in order to suffice them in that. The Maguzawa traveled secretly in the night and surrounded the Asben army with thorn bushes and tree limbs, while the people of Asben were unawares. They were able to cut them off, eventually scattering them and killing a large number. The ruler of Asben fled on foot, while its people surrendered by sending Thoba tribute of horses, camels and weapons. Concurrently, as Thoba's campaign against the people of Maradi proved too difficult, he had to abandon the siege.

Subsequently after one year Thoba equipped another army, traveled through the lands of Konni to attack the Tuareg. He passed with his forces through the lands as far as the upper Adar region, waging war and destroying many of their towns. Those from among the Tuareg who escaped fled in the direction of Magori, where they swiftly regrouped an army and stationed them there. Consequently, Thoba and his forces advanced upon them until he halted and camped at a place called Fowadi. It was there that the Tuareg advanced against Thoba, but his forces deserted him. They had become weary and discontent with him due to so much fighting. Thoba, however was resolved to attack the Tuareg in their lands just as they had attacked his lands. But his army mutinied and abandoned him and consequently the Tuareg defeated his forces. The war waged until his son, Gwofe, and he were killed. The Tuareg fought the forces of Thoba in fierce battles until they established themselves firmly against them and prevented them from attacking them and gaining any advantage.

The Era of the Rulers of Gobir Up to the Reign of *Sultan* Baabaari

The people of Gobir then made Aaqal son of Thoba ruler; and after him, Aaqal's son, Yako. The later did not make war up to his death. After his death the authority was given to Ibn Dawaru, and after him to Ibn Ashia. He did not remain as ruler for long and was deposed²⁸. They soon brought Baabaari, who was stationed as a regional governor in the direction of Zamfara. They appointed Baabari as ruler and as a result of his reign the sovereignty of Gobir became extensive and his government became strong.²⁹

²⁸ According to oral traditions Ibn Ashia was deposed in the year 1743.

²⁹ This appointment of Baabaari occurred approximately in the 1159 *hijra* (circa 1743-4 C.E.)

The Era of Sultan Baabaari

When Ibn Ashia was deposed, he went and took refuge in Katsina, where he subsequently settled for some time. The people of Katsina then attacked Baabaari, who advanced and eventually destroyed the people of Katsina. Then Baabaari overwhelmed Ibn Ashia and made his forces taste an immense punishment. Ibn Ashia was killed and Baabaari became firmly established and his reign enjoyed mutual assistance.

Eventually, Baabaari equipped an army to attack Kastina and he waged war against them until he reached their capital. He fought them but was unable to gain any advantage from that and returned home. He also made military expeditions against the lands Kano and Shiwa on the southwestern outskirts of Bornu. Baabaari ruled for twenty-one years.³⁰

He then equipped an army to attack Zamfara, which resulted in a fierce battle between them.³¹ The people of Zamfara were defeated and their armies were scattered. Baabaari's forces were excessive in their campaign until he established himself over their capital; even though its people plotted and acted hypocritically towards him. He, however, conquered the town and killed Maliwu, the ruler of Zamfara, who was the son of Gigama ibn Yakubu ibn Babba. When Baabaari conquered their capital he settled the affairs of the people of Zamfara and made matters easy for them. It was then that he mapped out the new town of Alkalawa, which he constructed in the upper regions of Zamfara. He completely developed this town into a well established military fortress. Accordingly, he resided there for seven years and eventually died there.³²

The Era of Sultan Dan Guddi ibn Baabaari

Then his son, Dan Guddi took the authority after him.³³ In the first days of his rule war broke out between him and the Tuareg lasting until he was eventually slain in the end of the conflict at the famous 'battle of the river Bobo'. This happened after his forces had surrounded that army and attempted to destroy them. It was in the following year or a little after that the battle of Bobo took place in which they killed

³⁰ Baabaari ruled Gobir from the years of 1159 to 1180 of the *hijra* (circa 1743 to 1764 C.E.). It was during the twelfth year of his rule that *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye' was born in the town of Maradi, on Sunday the 3rd of Safar in the year 1168 of the *hijra* (circa December 15th, 1754 C.E.).

³¹ This occurred around the year of 1173 of the *hijra* (circa 1757 C.E.).

³² Baabaari resided in his newly constructed capital, Alkalawa, from 1173 until 1180 of the *hijra* (circa 1757 to 1764 C.E.). It was in the same year of the death of Baabaari that *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye' attained his first of a life long series of spiritual illuminations beginning at the age of 10, where he said: "Verily Allah established me from the time I was a youth until I reached the age of thirty-one, in a spiritual presence and earnest desire for a spiritual state, which attracted, drew and magnetized me to an uninhibited tranquil gravitational pull emanating from the Lights of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, as a result of the *baraka* of sending persistent prayers upon him. This spiritual gravitational orbit pulled me until I was made present in front of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, until I used to weep and desire to recite the poem in which Abu Sufyan ibn al-Haarith, may Allah be pleased with him eulogized the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Suddenly, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace ordered me to recite it before him, which I did." The *Shehu* then said after some words: "When I recited it and reached the words in that poem which says: '*He guides us and we do not fear errors befalling us and the Messenger is our Guide*', he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: 'Stop there.' I then stopped and he then gave me the Good News of his words: 'I am your Guide on the Path to the Absolute Being, for you will never go astray'. This bringing of Good Tidings was better to me than entire world and what is in it."

³³ This occurred in the year 1180 of the *hijra*, [circa 1764 C.E.] [See M. Last, pp. 6-7].

him. The men of Gobir carried Dan Guddi's body and buried him in the tomb of his father, Baabaari. His government lasted seven years.³⁴

The Era of Sultan Bawa ibn Baabaara

After Dan Guddi died, his brother, Bawa, was appointed ruler.³⁵ Among the first acts of his reign was to initiate military expedition against Zamfara, which he did until he completely destroyed it, causing the ruler of Zamfara, Maroki, to flee to Kiyawa. Subsequently, Bawa besieged him at Kiyawa for fifteen years, until he eventually took the town and destroyed it. He then departed heading in the direction of Katsina, where on the way he repeatedly attacked Maradi, until he conquered it. Initially, he could not breach the defenses of the town, but he eventually took the place by storm. Maradi had also proved too much for his grandfather, Thoba, as we had mentioned above. When Bawa finally conquered Maradi, he went on to Katsina avariciously seeking to wage war against it. He traversed the entire region and eventually built a military fortress called Birnin Karafi.³⁶ The ruler of Katsina came out and attacked him with military forces which were innumerable.

Previously the ruler of Katsina sent small presents to Bawa in order to appease him, but Bawa refused these being avaricious to conquer their lands. Consequently fighting took place at a place called Dan Kabshi, in a fierce encounter whose severity was unimaginable and whose slain were innumerable. However, Bawa and all his army were defeated as the men of Katsina slaughtered and took many as captives.³⁷

When Bawa's forces were defeated, he retreated and then made camp at a place called Naya. Unfortunately, in this war his son was killed and after forty days Bawa himself died out of grief for the death of his son and out of misery over the

³⁴ Dan Guddi reigned from 1180 to 1187 of the *hijra* (circa 1764 to 1772 C.E.). It was a few months after the death of Dan Guddi that the affair of the *Shehu* calling people to the religion began. He took excursions throughout the lands of the Central *Bilad as-Sudan* seeking knowledge and teaching it to the people. He established the principles of reviving the Living *Sunna* and eradicating heretical innovation, mobilizing the servants to repent from disbelief, disobedience and heedlessness. It was during this time that he composed one of the most famous of his earliest poems in Arabic where he said: "Is there a way for me to travel swiftly in the direction of Tayba; in order to visit the grave of the Hashimite Muhammad?" What he meant by the poem was: 'Is there a Path that he can travel that can carry him in the direction of the *Sunna* of Muhammad in order that this soul of mine can die and be revived by the Light of Muhammad?' The *Shehu* clarified in his poem that the principle of his spiritual Path was built upon: [1] adherence to the Muhammadan *Sunna* outwardly; [2] behaving in accordance with the character of Muhammad inwardly; [3] persistence on sending blessings and prayers upon the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace with his tongue and heart; and [4] yearning and passion for meeting the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace in night visions and in the waking state. At that time the *Shehu* was merely twenty years old.

³⁵ Bawa Dan Gwarzo was the ruler of Gobir who first saw the emergence of Islamic revivalism. [See Waziri Junayd ibn Muhammad al-Bukhari, *Dabt'l-Mulqataat Min 'l-Akhbar'l-Muftaraqaat fi'l-Muwalifaat*, ms. P. 20.]

³⁶ This took place around 1788. In that same year Bawa summoned all the Muslim scholars during the Eid'l-Ad'ha with the aim of killing *Shehu* Uthman. However, Bawa ended up acquiescing to five points which the *Shehu* demanded: [1] to allow him to invite the people of Gobir to Islam; [2] not to prevent anyone from answering his invitation; [3] to respect every Muslim wearing a turban (the mark of the scholars); [4] to free all political prisoners; and [5] not to burden the subjects with unjust taxes.

³⁷ Bawa sought by means of the blessings of *Shehu* Uthman that Allah would allow him to conquer Maradi because of the difficulty he had with them. The *Shehu* asked Allah to assist him and promised Bawa that he would conquer Maradi, but that he should not try to conquer lands beyond Maradi. Maradi was conquered just as the *Shehu* foretold. However, Bawa tried then to conquer Dankashi, a region inside of Katsina and his army was defeated as mentioned above. [See Waziri Junayd, pp. 22-24].

defeat he suffered. As a result his people carried his body to their land and buried him in the tomb of his forefathers.³⁸

By the way, the *Sultan* of Gobir was the first to refuse to pay the tribute which was normally given over to the ruler of Bornu. He was also the one to whom the ruler of Zamfara initiated the practice of sending five hundred female and five hundred boy servants. It was the custom for each boy to carry 20,000 cowries. Bawa used to send a still handsomer return present. He used to send in return a hundred horses of which twelve were superb Berber stallions³⁹, along with two female servants whose beauty outshone the sun, more stunning in form and resplendent in character than the finest ambergris and silk. In addition, Bawa was the one who assembled and then developed the two towns of Kardari and Kaura, a development achievement which was well known. The extent of Bawa's rule lasted eighteen years.⁴⁰

The Era of *Sultan Yakubu ibn Baabari*

When he died, his brother Yakubu ibn Baabari was made the ruler.⁴¹ He made military expeditions against Makara among the lands of Katsina. He also waged war against Ruma, destroyed and burnt it. He then equipped an army to attack Shirra eventually destroying much of it. At that time it was a precinct under the control of Bornu. Then he advanced on Kiyawa and laid siege to it for some time. The ruler of Kiyawa asked assistance from the ruler of Katsina; and complained of the conduct of the enemy which had befallen them while they were unawares.

³⁸ This occurred approximately in the month of *Safar* in the year 1205 of the *hijra* (circa 1790 C.E.). It was during this same year that *Shehu* Uthman had his second mystical experience wherein divine favor and gnosis were bestowed upon him at the age of 36. He mentioned in his *Kitab al-Wird* that he had attained a sense of physical equilibrium and heightened perception where he became acquainted with every facet of his physic and was able to perform super empowered and miraculously enchanted feats [See Uthman Dan Fuduye', *Kitab'l-Wird*, ms., p.1; F.H. el Misri, (ed. & tr.), *Bayan Wujub al-Hijra 'Ala'l-Ibad*, p. 4.].

³⁹ Stallions were highly valued because of their utility in war and were imported in many cases in exchange for slaves and war captives. [See M. Hiskett, *The Development of Islam in West Africa*, pp. 90-91].

⁴⁰ Bawa ibn Baabaari ruled Gobir from 1187 to 1205 of the *hijra* (circa 1772 to 1790 C.E.).

⁴¹ That occurred in the year 1205 of the *hijra* [circa 1790 C.E.]. It was during the reign of Yakubu that *Shaykh* Uthman ibn Fuduye' attained the third major spiritual station, which was the illumination and gnosis of the station of one of the 'Two *Imams*' as well as the rank of those who attain 'forty'. The *Shehu* said in his *Kitab al-Wird*: "When I reached the age of forty years, five months and a few days, Allah magnetically attracted and spiritually gravitated me to His presence where I found the Master of men and *jinn*, my Master Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, along with the Companions and the Protected Friends of Allah. They all welcomed me and sat me in the middle of their assembly. Then the liberator of men and *jinn*, my Master Abd'l-Qaadir al-Jaylani came carrying a green cloak which was embroidered with – LAA ILAHA ILLA ALLAH MUHAMMADU 'R-RASUULULLAH; and a white turban which was embroidered with the *Quranic* chapter: 'Say He Allah is One'. He then passed them to the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, who then pressed them to his breast for some time. He then passed them over to Abu Bakr as-Siddiq, then to Umar al-Faruq, then to Uthman Dhu'n-Nurayn, then to Ali may Allah ennoble his face and finally to Prophet Yusef may Allah give him peace. He then returned them to my Master, Abd'l-Qaadir al-Jaylani, who was ordered with their permission, to turban me by saying: 'Dress him, turban him and name him with the name that is special to him.' He then sat me down, dressed me, turbaned me and then called me with the title *Imam* of the *Awliyya*. He then ordered me to what is good and forbade me from evil. He then girded me with the Sword of Truth and ordered me to unsheathe it against the enemies of Allah. They all then commanded me what they commanded me with." It was during this auspicious time for *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye' that he composed his *magnus opus* called *Ihya as-Sunna 'l-Muhammadiyya wa Ikhmad 'l-Bid'a 's-Shaytaniyya* (The Revival of the *Sunna* of Muhammad and the Destruction of Satanic Innovation), tr Muhammad Shareef bin Farid, Sankore' Institute of Islamic-African Studies, Fairfield, 1996.

The ruler of Kastina answered his call and came with an immense army, and brought his forces into Kiyawi. A fierce battle ensued where the encounter was extremely fierce, but eventually the majority of the forces of Gobir were completely annihilated and routed by the combined armies. Unfortunately, Yakubu, the ruler of Gobir was killed and his head was cut off and taken in a basket to the ruler of Katsina.⁴² He then withdrew his forces and returned to his country, carrying the head with him eventually burying it in his palace. The armies of Gobir were completely vanquished being interdicted at every turn; they fled retreating back to their land. The rule of Yakubu lasted for six years and five months.⁴³

The Era of Sultan Nafata

After the death of Yakubu, his younger brother, Nafata, was appointed ruler.⁴⁴ All during his reign, Nafata made military expeditions and destroyed much of the lands of Zamfara. As a result his army was very victorious up until he died. He, incidentally, was the one who fought and killed Ali al-Farsi, a famous military chief of Zurmi.⁴⁵ Nafata was established in his rule for seven years and two months, after which he died.⁴⁶ It was during his reign that the government of the people of Gobir broke into warring factions resulting in the structural debility of their political authority.⁴⁷ It was during his rule as well that the region of Zamfara withdrew and revolted from under the political sovereignty Gobir.

⁴² Although Yakubu conspired to kill *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye' on more than three occasions, the *Shehu* nevertheless sent his nephew, Rawan Manga, with a message to Yakubu warning him of the dangers of fighting against Katsina. Yakubu was almost persuaded to follow the advice of the *Shehu*, however, his military commanders prevented him from this which led to his destruction. [See Waziri Junayd, ms., pp. 24-25].

⁴³ The reign of Yakubu ibn Baabaari lasted from 1205 until the month of *Jumad al-Akhir* of the year 1211 C.E. [circa 1790 to June, 1796 C.E.].

⁴⁴ This occurred in the month of *Jumad al-Akhir* of the year 1211 C.E. [circa June, 1796 C.E.].

⁴⁵ Ali al-Farsi was a notable scholar and military chief of the Alibawa Fulbe' ethnicity, who assisted *Shehu* Uthman in his religious reform of Hausaland. The killing of this prominent scholar and war chief was indicative of the increasing persecution which Nafata unleashed against the scholarly communities of Hausaland. [See M. Last, pp. 12 & 30n].

⁴⁶ Nafata ibn Baabaari ruled Gobir from *Jumad 'l-Akhir* of 1211 until *Sha'baan* of 1218 of the *hijra* [circa from June 1797 to June of 1803 C.E.]. Nafata, like his brother Yakubu, feared the growing influence of the *Shehu*, however he respected him enough to send his son Yunfa to the *Shehu* to study Islam and take from his *baraka*. It was during Nafata's rule that the *Shehu* advised his *Jama`at* to start collecting weapons by his famous edict: "The making ready of weapons is a *Summa*." [See Waziri Junayd, ms, p. 27; and F.H. el-Misri, p. 4].

⁴⁷ One of the causative factors for the decline of the Gobir government under Nafata's rule was that he attempted frantically to deal with *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye' and his *Jama`at*, seeking to break their growing strength and influence before their affair could become formidable. Consequently, Nafata met with his consultative assembly and conspired on how to restrain and deter those who were dedicated to inviting people to Allah as well as how to preempt their abilities to give public lectures. The government passed an edict ordering that every person was obligated to return back to the religion that their parents and ancestors adhered to. The edict from the ruler included three decrees: [1] that the government was not content for any person to give public lectures to the people, except the *Shehu* alone; [2] the government was not content for anyone to embrace the religion of Islam except those who had inherited it from their forefathers. Those who did not inherit the religion of Islam from their forefathers, then it was incumbent for them to return to what religion their fathers and grandfathers adhered to; and [3] henceforth no one will be allowed to wear a turban, nor will women be permitted to wear face veils." [See Muhammad Bello, *Infaq al-Maysuur fi Tarikh Bilad 't-Takruur*, tr Muhammad Shareef bin Farid, Sankore' Institute of Islamic-African Studies International, 2007, p 58.

An Appraisal of the Beginning of the Uthmani Government And What Events Occurred Then Until Now

The Events of the First Year⁴⁸

When Nafata died the authority was given over to his son Yunfa.⁴⁹ In the first year of his rule, he made a military expedition against parts of the lands of Zamfara and conquered Thama there. During the same year Gwozo,⁵⁰ the ruler of Katsina, responded by fighting them until he reached the land of Burmi. He then proceeded on to Gwandu, which he conquered and eventually destroyed. He subsequently passed through the country fighting until eventually camping with his forces in a place called Rikini. From this locale he dispatched small companies as well as large invading forces throughout the lands. In response to this, the ruler of Gobir furiously came out in preparation to encounter the ruler of Katsina, traveling until he reached the place of the *Shehu*.⁵¹ The ruler of Katsina began war, but returned and the ruler of Gobir also returned to his land.

The Events of the Second Year

In the beginning of the second year war broke out between the *Shehu* and Yunfa, the ruler of Gobir.⁵² Yunfa initiated this by ordering the *Shehu* to meet with him, with the objective of assassinating him, however Allah was sufficed the *Shehu* against his evils.⁵³ In this same years, an army was dispatched against Ginbana wherein were some of the *Jama`at* which were connected to the *Shehu*.⁵⁴ The army of

⁴⁸ The first year here is in reference to year of the emergence of the political hegemony of *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye' over the Gobir kingdom led by Yunfa, the remaining seven kingdoms of Hausaland and their seven dependent states to the south. Yunfa's rule began in the month of *Sha`baan* in 1218 of the *hijra* [circa July 1803 C.E.]

⁴⁹ Yunfa ibn Nafata was at one time a student of *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye'; during which time the *Shehu* foretold him of the impending death of his father and informed him that he would eventually inherit his father's position. He warned him to make strenuous effort in doing what was right. Yunfa promised the *Shehu* that he would not do what his father had done and that he would obey the *Shehu* in all matters. However, Yunfa had outdone his father and other former rulers in bringing sanctions against the Muslim scholars and their communities. Yunfa also reinforced the earlier decree of his father. [see Abdullahi ibn Fuduye', *Tazyeen al-Waraqaat*. Ms. folios. 28-30; Waziri Junayd, ms., folio 28; M. Last, pp 12-16; R. A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria: 1804-1906*, pp. 12-14].

⁵⁰ M. Last, pp. 13-14.

⁵¹ The settlement of the *Shehu* at that time was in Degel. It is said that when Yunfa reached Degel he sought to obtain the *baraka* of the *Shehu* in his fight against the people of Katsina, in the same manner that his grandfathers sought his *baraka* against their enemies. This incident demonstrates that Yunfa was well aware of the charismatic and miracles powers of the *Shehu*, even though his heart was full of enmity and envy towards him. [see Waziri Junayd, *Dabt*, folio 32; and M. Last, p. 13].

⁵² This occurred in the years 1218 *hijra* (circa 1804 C.E.) [see R. A. Adeleye, pp. 13-14].

⁵³ *Shaykh* Abdullahi ibn Fuduye' said in his *Tazyeen al-Waraqaat*: "Then this ruler sent word to the *Shehu* that he should travel to him, so we traveled to him. His objective in ordering us to come to him was in order to destroy us, however Allah did not permit him to have power over us. When we entered his palace, he approached us, we being three: the *Shehu*, myself and the *Shehu's* close friend, Umar al-Kammawi. He then fired his firearm in order to burn us with its fire but the fire turned back on him, and nearly burnt him, while we were watching. During this none of us moved, but he sped away. After a while he returned and sat near us. We approached him and spoke to him. He said to us: 'Know that I have no enemy on earth like you!', and he made clear to us his enmity; while we made clear to him that we did not fear him and that Allah has not given him authority over us." [see page 55, also see Gidadu ibn Layma, *Rawd'l-Janaan*, ms., pp. 40-41].

⁵⁴ This was the community under the leadership of *Shaykh* Abd's-Salaam, an Awera Hausa, who was one of the disciples of the *Shehu* from the beginning of his mission until his death. He rejected the order of the ruler of Gobir preventing anyone except the *Shehu* from establishing the religion.

Gobir attacked and fought them, killing many and taking many as political prisoners. Yunfa disdainfully marched these captives passed the village of the *Shehu* in order to put fear in them. It was in this year and as a result of this action that the *Shehu* made *hijra* from under the jurisdiction of the Gobir authorities to a land on the outskirts of Konni.⁵⁵

Subsequently, the ruler of Gobir assembled and equipped an immense army whose vast numbers only Allah knew, and then marched to a place called Kwotto.⁵⁶ The result is that Allah destroyed the disbelievers and scattered them, causing their ruler, Yunfa, to flee retreating humiliated and thoroughly defeated. In that same year the military campaign of Manne' ensued. The *Shehu* then transferred his forces to a place called Magabshi on the outlying lands of Kebbi.⁵⁷ During the same year the *Shehu* withdrew his forces from the lands of Kebbi and returned to the lands of Gobir, defeating and conquering the town of Dan Gidda and others.⁵⁸ After this the *Shehu* equipped an army to take the fortress of al-Alkalawa, besieging them and subsequently establishing a military fortress there. In the end of that year the *Shehu* transferred his forces to the lands of Zamfara.⁵⁹ Its people became his followers and adherents, although certain fortresses in the lands of Zamfara remained belligerent. During this same period the *Shehu* transferred his forces to Kebbi and camped in Gwandu after which the battle of Alwasa took place in which many innumerable Muslims were killed and attained martyrdom.

Subsequently he made the *hijra* with his community to the land of Ghinbani. The resulting attack upon his community occurred in 1218 *hijra* [circa 1803-4 C.E.] It was his actions which precipitated the breach between Yunfa and the *Shehu*. [see M. Last *op.cit.*, pp. 14-15].

⁵⁵ This outlying land was called Gudu. Muhammad Bello said in his *Infaq al-Maysuur*: "The *Shehu* then made the *hijra* away from the central control of the lands of Gobir in the year of *shurayju* in the month of *Dhu'l-Qa`ida* of that year", that is 1213 of the *hijra* [circa 1798-99 C.E.]. This of course, is a transcription error of the scribe because it is well known that the *Shehu* made the *hijra* along with his *Jama`at* in the year *shurayhu* on Wednesday, the 3rd of *Dhu'l-Qa`ida* in 1218 *hijra* [circa 10th February, 1804 C.E.]. *Imam* Muhammad al-Amin ibn Muhammad Salame' said that the author of this text was born some ten days later on the 11th of *Dhu'l-Qa`ida* 1218 *hijra*. In 2000, the *Amir* of Salame', *Malam* Sarki ibn *Shaykh* Muhammad Sanbu ibn *Shaykh* Muhammad Mu`ayyidi ibn *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa narrated to me: "The *Shehu* stopped during his *hijra* in a place called Farkaaji for one night and postponed continuing for one day until his daughter, Khadija, gave birth to *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa. It is for this reason that we know that the author had a special place in the heart of the *Shehu* and his companions." It was after finally arriving at Gudu that the Muslims gave the oath of allegiance (*ba`aya*) to *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye' and appointed him as *Amir al-Mu`mineen*. [see Uthman ibn Fuduye' *Tanbeeh al-Ikhwaan*, ms., pp. 53-58; Abdullahi ibn Fuduye', ms., p. 30; Waziri Junayd, ms., pp. 29-33; Adeleye, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24; and Last, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-25; Muhammad al-Amin Muhammad Salame', *The Contribution of Shaykh Abd'l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa to Arabic Literature: An Introductory Research to the Scholarly Conference in the Sokoto Province, between the 23rd and 24th of July, 2003 C.E.*].

⁵⁶ This land was known as Tabkin Kwotto by most of the historians.

⁵⁷ This was during the spring season according to the *Infaq al-Maysuur*.

⁵⁸ According to the *Infaq al-Maysuur* the 'other towns' referred to above were the towns of Tabri, Kayma, Ghungurmi, Makadaa, and Karaari in that order.

⁵⁹ This occurred in the month of *Dhu'l-Qa`ida* in 1219 *hijra* [circa February of 1805 C.E.].

The Events of the Third and Fourth Years

In the third year Kano was conquered along with Yandoto.⁶⁰ In the beginning of the fourth year Katsina was conquered.⁶¹ In that same year fighting took place between the Muslims and the people of Bornu, where the encounter between them came to a standstill, however the Muslims eventually gained victory. After this battle the *Shehu* made his second attack against Alkalawa. Although victory was not achieved, yet more than twenty of their prominent warriors were killed. Madhumu was defeated, as well as Kano, on the outlying areas of Kiyawa and many fortresses remainder of the country.⁶²

The Events of the Fifth Year⁶³

In the fifth year there occurred the military campaign which led to the victory over Alkalawa, by which Allah completed the military victory, triumph and political prominence of the Muslims over all the hegemonies of the disbelievers of the lands of Hausa. As a result of this victory some of the kingdoms repented while others became subordinate kingdoms. During this period the social and political affairs of country became normalized and tranquility was established in all its regions; and to Allah belongs the praise for that.⁶⁴ In last part of this same year the military campaign against Bana took place, along with the conquering and seizure of Gwandu.

The Events of the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Years

In the beginning of the sixth year the armies of Islam crossed the Kuara River, and conquered various lands and military fortresses, and returned safely with much spoils.⁶⁵ Then in the first part of the seventh year the *Shehu* moved from Gwandu to Sifawa.⁶⁶ At the same time Muslim forces reached Zaberma and Gurma, conquered them and returned with much spoils. Another contingent reached the lands of Nupe and afflicted mighty victories against them; while others made campaigns against the lands of Bornu, eventually seizing and conquering them. In that same year the Muslim forces enjoyed many victories in the lands of Nupe' and obtain exceeding amounts of spoils. And again the Muslims sent military expeditions against Gobir, eventually defeating them at the hands of the military commander Muhammad Bello ibn *Shehu*.⁶⁷ In the eighth year the Muslim armies were able to establish security over all the former lands of the enemies and enjoyed many victories where wealth and spoils became abundant. In the end of the eighth year the Muslim forces reached the land of Kuta but were unable to conquer them.⁶⁸

⁶⁰ From 1220 to 1221 of the *hijra* [circa 1805 to 1806 C.E.]. Kano was taken in *Ramadhan* 1220 *hijra* [circa December 1805 C.E.] by the *Shehu's* forces led by Muhammad Bello. Jandutu (YanDoto) was conquered in the month of *Dhu'l-Qa'ida* 1220 *hijra* [circa January of 1806 C.E.] by the same forces. [see Waziri Junayd, *Dabt*, ms., pp. 52-53; Last, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37].

⁶¹ Katsina was conquered in the month of *Muharram* of 1221 *hijra* [circa March 1806 C.E.].

⁶² These victories took place from Autumn of 1221 *hijra* [circa August 1806 C.E.] until the Spring of the same year [circa March 1807 C.E.].

⁶³ These are the major events that occurred between 1222 and 1223 *hijra* [circa 1807 to 1808 C.E.].

⁶⁴ The armies which conquered Alkalawa were led by the chief military commander of the armies of the *Shehu*, Ali Jedo, a prominent leader among the Konni Fulani and among the noted disciples of the *Shehu*. This took place on the 3rd of October 1808 C.E. [see Last, *op. cit.*, p. 39].

⁶⁵ Waziri Junayd, *Dabt*, ms., p. 53.

⁶⁶ This move from Gwandu to Sifawa took place in the dry season of 1809-10 C.E. [see Last, *op. cit.*, p. 41].

⁶⁷ Waziri Junayd, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

⁶⁸ Waziri Junayd, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

The Events of the Ninth Year⁶⁹

In the ninth year Musa, the ruler of Zakzak led the Muslim forces where they were able to establish security and conquered many lands.⁷⁰ Then the affair of Salih ibn Barbari took place. He took the authority and intrigued with the Tuaregs. He was seized after that and was crucified.⁷¹

The Events of the Tenth Year⁷²

In the tenth year Hamma revolted with the people of Maganga, in which he claimed that he was the *Mahdi*. However, the plot failed, and he was seized and crucified.⁷³ In the same year the military commander Jilani rose up clashing with the Tuaregs where he defeated them in swift encounters in numerous engagements, acting bravely on behalf of Islam in brilliant heroic military feats. Praise be to Allah for that.⁷⁴

The Events of the Eleventh and Twelfth Years

In the beginning of the eleventh year the Muslim armies reached Borgu, vanquishing their armies and then withdrew after many victories.⁷⁵ Following this in the twelfth year the *Shehu* transferred from Sifawa to Sokoto where he settled.⁷⁶ The city was subsequently developed, populated and well constructed, where it eventually became the 'Dome of Islam' in these lands and will remain so until the Day of Judgment.⁷⁷ In the end of the twelfth year Muhammad ibn Abdullahi continued to conduct military campaigns against the lands of Borgu, eventually conquering the entire region and killing its ruler.⁷⁸

⁶⁹ The events of this year took place between 1226 and 1227 *hijra* [circa 1811 and 1812 C.E.]. In during the beginning of 1226 the author, *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qaadir began his education with his mother, Khadija, the oldest daughter of *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye'. He then read and memorized *Quran* from his father, the learned *Shaykh* Mustafa ibn Muhammad at-Turudi, and studied with him many other religious sciences. He said in his *Tarjumat Ba'd Ulama Zamaanihi*: "As for my father it was with him that I studied the majority of the sciences that I now transmit and it was from him that I took most of what I read and studied. Rather, it is with him that I intellectually excelled and it was due to his overflowing erudition that I was able to mentally grow and expand." The author, *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qaadir began his education with his parents when he was seven years old and remained under the shade of the instructions of this father until he reached the age of fifteen.

⁷⁰ Malam Musa was a chief disciple of *Shehu* Uthman in Fuduye' who was appointed as the military commander over the armies that conquered Zakzak (Zaria), after which the *Shehu* then appointed him as its *Amir* in 1808. [see Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy*, pp. 28-29].

⁷¹ Waziri Junayd, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁷² These are the events which took place from 1227 until 1228 *hijra* [circa 1812 to 1813 C.E.].

⁷³ M. Last, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁷⁴ Muhammad Jaylani was Tuareg scholar who led a *jihad* in the Adar region. He was successful in the beginning, but he was eventually repelled by Ibra, a Tuareg chief from Damergu. According to Muhammad Bello, Jaylani was supported by the Sokoto Caliphate, while the Kunta scholars of Timbuktu, such as Umar ibn Ali gave a negative account of Jaylani attributing *Mahdist* claims to him. Waziri Junayd gives a positive account of Jaylani following the views of Bello. [see M. Last, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-111 and footnote # 73; Waziri Junayd, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.].

⁷⁵ These battles occurred between 1228 and 1227 *hijra* [circa 1813 to 1814 C.E.], see Waziri Junayd, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁷⁶ This occurred on Monday the 5th of *Jumad al-Akhir* 1225 *hijra* [circa January 1815 C.E.] see Waziri Junayd, *op. cit.*, p. 55.; M. Last, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42; Adeleye, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁷⁷ The founding and development of Sokoto as the capital of the Caliphate was established by Muhammad Bello and took place from 1229 until 1230 *hijra* [circa 1814 to 1815 C.E.].

⁷⁸ The military commander Muhammad ibn Abdullahi was the eldest of the sons of *Shaykh* Abdullahi ibn Fuduye', the brother of the *Shehu*. This event occurred in the Autumn of 1815 C.E. [see Waziri Junayd, *op. cit.*, p. 55].

The Events of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Years⁷⁹

In the thirteenth year began the sickness of the *Shehu* which eventually led to his death. In that same year the affair of Gagara occurred with all of its consequences.⁸⁰ In the beginning of the fourteenth year the military campaign of Banaaghu took place, in which the armies of the disbelievers attacked at night, but were completely defeated, and were forced to retreat humiliated.⁸¹ In the same year the Muslim armies journeyed into the lands of Bilaga, defeating their forces and subsequently withdrew, with the enemy completely routed and demoralized.⁸² In the same year Muhammad al-Bukhari ibn *Shehu* made military campaigns against certain distant lands in the Lower *Sudan*, conquering many towns and taking much spoils.⁸³ In that same year in *Jumad al-Akhir*, on the 3rd of the month, the *Amir 'l-Mu'mineen* Uthman ibn Fuduye' died, (may Allah be merciful to him and illuminate his grave).⁸⁴ The oath of allegiance was subsequently paid to his son the military commander Muhammad Bello on the same day. Unfortunately, the entire region of Zamfara revolted, turning away from the religion, resulting in *Amir al-Mu'mineen* Muhammad Bello in the month of *Rajab*, equipping an army against Burmi which was fought for some days. From there he withdrew to Banaaghu, where the two armies advanced against each other and he eventually defeated and routed them. In the same year in the month of *Dhu'l-Qa'ida*, Abd'Salaam revolted and led a campaign that lasted the *Amir* conquered his lands in the last part of the month of *Safar*.⁸⁵

The Events of the Fifteenth Year⁸⁶

In the fifteenth year the land of Kebbi revolted and turned away from the religion, this was followed by the towns of Gwanki and Gunga in the lands of Gobir that also revolted.⁸⁷ Subsequently, the Muslims forces were driven from among them and the people suffered tremendous afflictions because of that. The affair became extremely severe and the armies of the Muslims were routed in many military encounters.

⁷⁹ These are the events which occurred between 1231 until 1232 *hijra* [circa 1816 to 1817 C.E.]

⁸⁰ Waziri Junayd, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁸¹ In the month of *Muharram* 1231 *hijra* [circa January 1816 C.E.] see M. Last, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁸² Waziri Junayd, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-57.

⁸³ M. Last, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

⁸⁴ The date was Sunday night, the 3rd of *Jumad al-Akhir* 1232 *hijra* [circa 20th of April, 1817 C.E.] The author, *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa was thirteen years old at the time of the death of the *Shehu*. [see M. Last, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 64 & 74].

⁸⁵ The revolt of Abd's-Salaam is quite interesting because it demonstrates some dissatisfaction with the rule of Muhammad Bello. Abd's-Salaam was one of the earliest followers of the *Shehu* and probably the sole political cause of the *jihad* in 1218 *hijra* [circa 1804 C.E.]. It is clear that he was dissatisfied with the corruption which he saw spreading among some of the new converts to the revolution. However, there is evidence that the initial cause of his disaffection was because regions under his charge were taken from him and given over to *Shaykh* Abdullahi ibn Fuduye' in 1233 *hijra* [circa 1818 C.E.]. Abd's-Salaam's revolt failed and he fled to Bakura where, it is said, he was eaten by hyenas. [see Waziri Junayd, *Dabt*, pp. 42-43; M. Last, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-69].

⁸⁶ These are the events that took place between 1232 and 1233 *hijra* [circa 1817 to 1818 C.E.]

⁸⁷ These revolts occurred during the month of January 1818 C.E. [see Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy*, pp. 64-65; M. Last, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-69].

The Events of the Sixteenth Year⁸⁸

In the sixteenth year the affair of Gunga became extremely severe for the Muslims, causing great affliction for them. All of the disbelievers revolted against the Muslims, fighting them, taking captives, seizing military fortresses and recapturing lands. It was during this time that the unfortunate affair and revolt of Kalanbaina took place.⁸⁹ Verily we belong to Allah and to Him is our final return.

The Events of the Seventeenth Year⁹⁰

In the seventeenth year the war with the people of Kalemabaina escalated and became very severe; however Allah destroyed Gunga, and brought relief to the Muslims.⁹¹ At the end of that year this was followed with the conquering of Kadaie, which altered completely the previous perilous affairs of the Muslims and their hearts were made tranquil and set at ease.⁹²

The Events of the Eighteenth Year⁹³

In the eighteenth year Kalemabaina was finally conquered and the *Amir* advanced with the army to Dakurawa, but was unable to gain any military advantage so they withdrew their forces returning homeward. During this year the people of Gobir appointed Aal the son of Yakubi, who was previously mentioned, as the ruler of Gobir, subsequent to this their ruler Gunga was killed at the battle of Kaidaie.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ These are the events which occurred from 1233 to 1234 *hijra* [circa 1818 to 1819 C.E.]. In the last part of this year, the author, *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qadir began his spiritual training and education with his spiritual master, *Shaykh* Muhammad Sanbu ibn *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye'. He said in his Bayaan at-Ta'budaat: "Realize that the first time that I began to follow him and became aware of his station with regard to the Spiritual Path was in the year 1234 *hijra* [circa December 1818 C.E.]; about two years after the death of *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye'. At that time I was fifteen years old. The period between the first relationship with him and my attaining the station of spiritual mastership was three years. From that time he continued to show me his spiritual states and guided me with the subtlety of his words until I became thoroughly guided in the Spiritual Path. As a result I became acquainted with all the customs and duties of the Divine Reality, and there occurred for me things which I will not mention here. SO therefore have a good opinion or do not even question me about the good I attained. Then he ordered me after that to place myself at the service of knowledge and the outward religious sciences, and to be occupied with studying them, ...since it was his usual custom and state not to be burdened by constant intermixing with people. Thus, in the beginning I used to study with him the books on the Spiritual Path and the Divine Reality, and I studied the remainder of religious sciences with others." It was at this time that *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qadir composed the first of his works called Atrab al-Adhaan fi Ulama az-Zamaan, which is a small biography of the scholars with whom he studied the sciences of the religion.

⁸⁹ In Kalemabaina were some of the followers of the late Abd's-Salaam who revolted and resisted the forces of *Shaykh* Abdullahi ibn Fuduye' for more than two years from 1235 to 1237 *hijra* [circa 1820 to 1822 C.E.]. It was not until the combined forces of Caliph Muhammad Bello ibn *Shehu*, the military commanders Abu Bakr Atiku ibn *Shehu*, Muhammad al-Bukhari ibn *Shehu* and Muhammad ibn Abdullahi ibn Fuduye' who assisted *Shaykh* Abdullahi ibn Fuduye' against the people of Kalemabaina and defeated them. [see M. Last, *op. cit.*, p. 70].

⁹⁰ These are the events which occurred between 1234 to 1235 *hijra* [circa 1819 to 1820 C.E.].

⁹¹ The conquering of Kalemabaina occurred during the dry season in the month of *Ramadhan* 1235 *hijra* [circa June 1820 C.E.] see M. Last, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁹² Adeleye, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Last, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁹³ These are the events which occurred between 1235 and 1236 *hijra* [circa 1820 to 1821 C.E.].

⁹⁴ He was Ali ibn Yakubu who allied himself with the Tuareg leader, Ibra, who raided Sokoto. Eventually, he was caught and executed as will be mentioned. [see H. Clapperton, Journal of An Expedition into the Interiro of Africa, (London, 1855), p. 107.

The Events of the Nineteenth Year⁹⁵

In the beginning of the nineteenth year the Muslim armies again advanced upon Dakurawa but were unable to reach their lands, and withdrew conquering military forces on their homeward return. In that same year the Muslim armies advanced upon the Tuareg and completely vanquished them. Their chief at that time was Ibra who had allied himself with the armies of the people of Gobir and their ruler, Aal. They were advancing on the city of Sokoto in order to destroy and sack it, however destroyed them, making them retreat completely humiliated. In the autumn of the same year the Muslim armies again returned to attack Dakurawa; fighting ensued but the town was not conquered.

The Events of the Twentieth Year⁹⁶

In the twentieth year, the *Amir* of the Muslims returned for the third time again with an army in order to conquer Dakurawa, until they reached Matakari. Yet again he was obliged to withdraw without reaching Dakurawa. During this campaign the armies of Zamfara made a daring raid into an outlying region of Gwandu, but they were defeated. In the same year Muhammad ibn Abdullahi and al-Bukhari ibn *Shehu* equipped an army and advanced until they reached the lands of Yawuri, subsequently conquering them. They then advanced with their armies until they reached the land of Nupe. On their return march, they encountered some of the forces of the people of Zamfara as well as the allies they had joined with from the people of Yawuri, Basa and other forces from the Nupe frontier. A bloody battle ensued where the fighting became extremely intense and lasted until the Zamfara forces were eventually routed and defeated. The Muslims mastered them and inflicted a sizable defeat on them these allied forces. The result was they were forced to flee the battle field completely disappointed and crushed; while our *Shaykhs* with their armies returned safely, triumphantly with much spoils. All praises are due to Allah for that. At the end of the same year, the *Amir al-Mu'mineen* made a military expedition against the land of Adar, in which he had the fortress burnt and devastated, seizing much spoils. After this expedition he withdrew his forces and returned homeward.⁹⁷

The Events of the Twenty-First Year⁹⁸

In the beginning of the twenty-first year the *Amir al-Mu'mineen* made a military expedition against Inni Kunna, which is a fortress under the sovereignty of the ruler of Gobir, who happened to be camped there at the time. However, he was not

⁹⁵ These are the events which occurred between 1236 and 1237 *hijra* [circa 1821 and 1822 C.E.]. On Friday the 20th of *Dhu'l-Qa'ida* 1236, *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qadir ibn Mustafa completed his first Arabic poem called *al-Mandhuumat Li 'I-Istilaah as-Sufiyya* which was a versification and commentary upon the mystical technical terminologies of the famous *al-Insaan al-Kaamil* of *Shaykh* Abd'l-Kareem al-Jilli. When he composed this poem he was seventeen years old, had completed his spiritual training and discipline with his master, *Shaykh* Muhammad Sanbu ibn *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye' and had attained the station of 'teaching *Shaykh*'.

⁹⁶ These are the events that occurred between 1237 and 1238 *hijra* [circa 1822 and 1823 C.E.].

⁹⁷ The years of 1823 until 1826 proved to be very trying for the leaders of the Sokoto Caliphate. They were being harassed on every side by all of the regions which they had previously conquered. However, in 1826, Muhammad Bello was able to resist them and establish general security over the lands and he then prepared an army setting his sights upon the lands of Yoruba. [see M. Last, *op. cit.*, pp 71-74.].

⁹⁸ These were the events that occurred between the month of *Shawwal* 1238 and 1239 *hijra* [circa September 1823 until 1824 C.E.].

able to conquer it.⁹⁹ In this same year a plague spread among the general population in which an unknown amount of people died. In that same year a regiment of the *Amir* advanced on the town of Magaara. Likewise in that year the Muslim armies marched against the ruler Ibra and the Tuaregs and defeated them in two engagements. Here ends the accounts of these years.

The Events of the Twenty-Second Year

We have now reached this year of ours, in which we ask Allah ta`ala in this year to provide for us from His goodness and bounty, which will wet the appetites of the souls and bring delight to the eyes.¹⁰⁰ We ask that He guide us to that which leads to our virtue and success. For He is the Sole Guardian (*Wali*) of that, and He alone is Powerful (*al-Qadir*) enough to perform it. He is the One who alters and transforms all affairs, and He is the One who directs disposes and administers the destinies of all the Ages.¹⁰¹

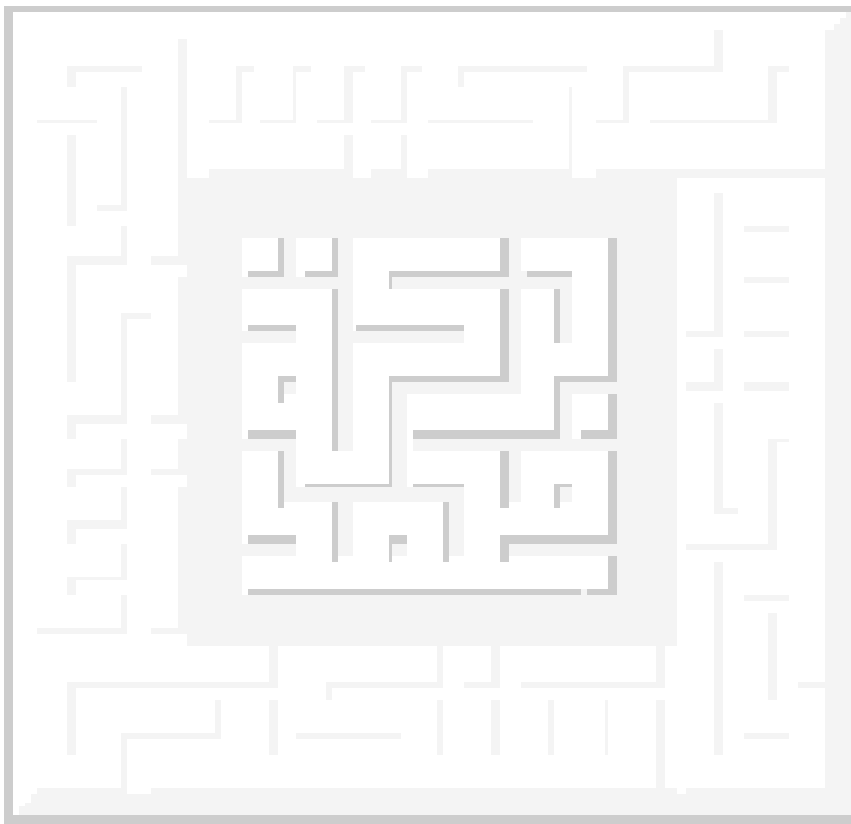
⁹⁹ The military campaign against Inni Kunna occurred in 1238 *hijra* [circa 1823 C.E.] see Clapperton, (2nd Journey), p. 186.

¹⁰⁰ The author indicates by his words here that the year in which he completed his history *Rawdat al-Afkaar* was in the first part of the month of *Muharram* 1239 *hijra* [circa December 1824 C.E.] At the times of the completion of this seminal historical work he was twenty years old.

¹⁰¹ This statement here defines and delineates the historiographical perspective of *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qadir ibn Mustafa. That statement 'the One who alters and transforms affairs' (*muqallab 'l-umuur*) implies that Allah is the Manifestor of event and phenomenon, and that history is but the revealing of what was preordained by the Creator. This indicates that the Creator has exclusive knowledge of all things in priority, revealing to mankind what is to their benefit in accordance with their needs and their times. This conception allows for the intervention of Divine agency in the laws of nature and in the affairs of mankind. The second phrase which the author used to attribute to the Creator is 'the One who directs, disposes and administers the destinies of the Ages' (*masarrif 'd-duhuur*). This expression demonstrates that the Creator's perspective is one of Eternally Endlessness. This is true due to the fact that He alone is outside of time (*dahr*) and is not affected by the events of epochs or eons which are not independent of Him. *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qadir ibn Mustafa ended his small historical study in this way in order to illuminate an important facet of his historiographical method, which is that the Creator alone is responsible for what occurs in nature and that mankind participates actively in the Activity of the Creator in as much as he surrenders to His Will. History is the systematic manifestation of nature's complete surrender to the Will of the Creator. Historical wisdom is but the contemplation of the patterns in nature, the rise and growth of nations, the progress of human knowledge, the decline of kingdoms and states, resulting from the surrender or lack thereof to Divine Will. Ignorance is rebellion which throws mankind into being the slave of predetermined event and eternally preordained destiny. *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qadir further illustrates this unique world view in his *al-Bahth 'An 't-Tafaddal Bayna Jinsiyi 'l-Malik was'l-Bashr* (Research Into the Preferential Distinction Between Angels and Mankind): "The Perfect Man is familiar with the Divine Essence, Names, Attributes and Acts, with the subsequent manifestation of the worlds and those who possess them, and with the hierarchical conditions of the worlds and those associated with them. He is acquainted with every location and locus from all locations and with the demands of each world both generally and in detail. These are the details of the grades of the Perfect Man; for he is the summation of all things." It is this profound world view and cosmology which I believe induced *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qadir to compose a history of the *Bilad as-Sudan* as such a young age of 20.

I have gathered in this compilation all which I was able to recall from the changing conditions of these lands and their events in the form of summarization because of the brevity of the time. It is complete with the praises to Allah and the best of His assistance.¹⁰²

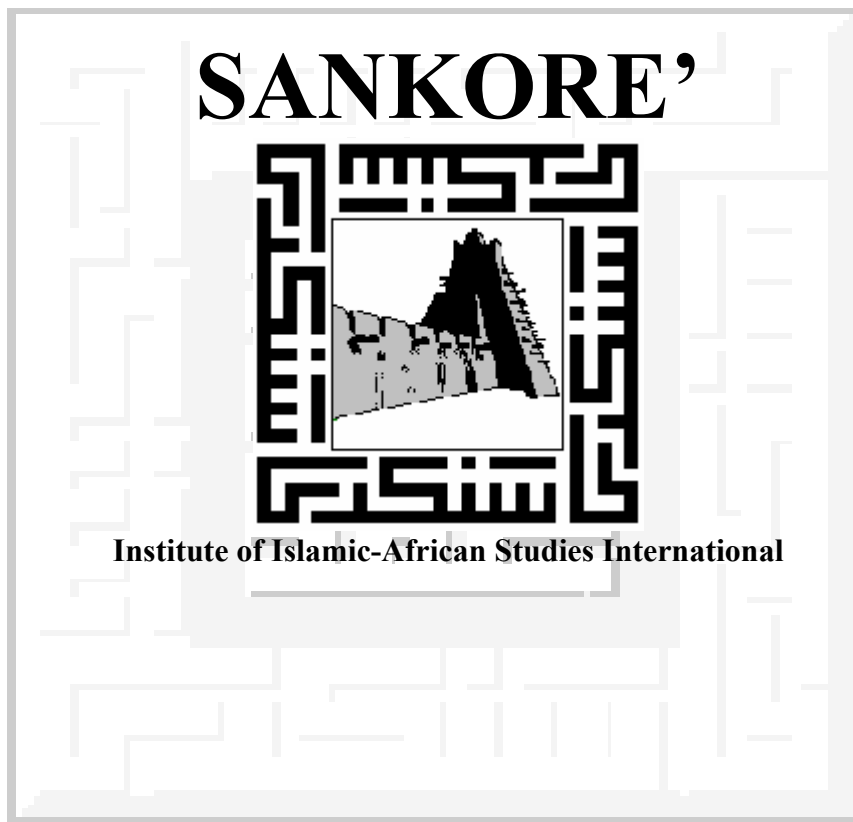
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¹⁰² On the final page of 'manuscript B' there are the following words transcribed: "*Its scribe is Abdullahi ibn Umar ibn Muhammad. O Allah forgive them Amen.*" I have not yet discovered who the scribe was, but hopefully with further excursions into Northern Nigeria, Niger and the Republic of Sudan, we can get a better picture of this scribe and his rank among the scholars of the Sakkwato intellectual tradition. All praises are due to Allah and with the best of His help I was able to complete the transcription, annotation and editing of this blessed text on Monday, the 12th of *Ramadhan* 1412 *hijra* [circa March 15, 1992]. All praises are due to Allah and all thanks are due to Him for that.

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