The Description of the Land of the Blacks

By

The Lordly Scholar the Spiritually Realized and Knower of the Eternal

Shaykh Abd’l-Qaadir ibn al-Mustafa
Ibn Muhammad at-Turuudi
May Allah engulf him in His mercy Amen

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Revised, Edited and Annotated by the Needy One of Allah ta’ala

Abu Alfa Umar Muhammad Shareef bin Farid
May Allah pardon him and forgive his parents, wife and children, Amen
In the name of Allah the Beneficent the Merciful
May Allah send blessings upon the Generous Prophet
All praises are due to Allah the Exalted the Helper
If it were not for Him there would be no elevation nor assistance
May His blessings along with eternal peace
Be upon the Master of those who struggle, the Seal
And upon his family and chosen Companions
Those who were victorious over the band of the disbelievers
To continue: the objective in this poetry
Is to narrate the historical reports through investigation
For this is the Description of the Blacklands
It will be of benefit after to those in times to come
I will narrate in it what Asma’u put in poetic verse
Of hers composed in non-Arabic in which she dictated

1 What the author, may Allah be merciful to him means by the appellation as-Sudan is the lands of Hausa as he clarified in his Rawdat al-Afkaar: “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. The Lower regions are the lands of Baaiyawa.” It is not the author’s objective in this poem to narrate on the events of the entire Bilad as-Sudan, but exclusively on the events which occurred in Middle Sudan which are the lands of Hausa, and only during that period in which the Uthmani Sokoto government was established and consolidated.

2 She was Umm Abd’l-Qaadir, Asma’u, the daughter of Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ Muhammad ibn Uthman ibn Saalih ibn Harun ibn Muhammad Ghurtu. Her mother was Maymuna, who was nicknamed Muna, the daughter of the learned Muhammad Haaj ibn Ibrahim ibn Maani ibn Muhammad ibn Haaju bint Latti. The mother of this Maymuna was Inna Kabbu, the blood sister of Muhammad Fuduye’. The husband of Asma’u bint Shehu Uthman was the learned Wazeer Envoy Uthman Gidadu ibn Laima. She had four boys: Waziri Abd’l-Qaadir, Waziri Ahmad, Uthman and Muhammad Laima. The Waziri Junayd ibn Muhammad al-Bukhari said about his great-grandmother in his `Urf ar-Rayhaan: “She, may Allah be pleased with her, was a righteous sage, ascetic, erudite, fearfully aware and a giver of sound admonition. She produced many works of counsel, and her non-Arabic poetic compositions were innumerable. She also composed many songs in praise of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. She always remained persistent in commanding the good and forbidding evil, and encouraging the people to follow the shar’ia, to adhere to the Sunnah, maintain the ties of kinship, and to adhere to excellent character. She, may Allah ta’ala be pleased with her, had memorized the Qur’an, and was always extremely patient with the evils of people. She possessed sublime spiritual states. The bottom line is that her virtues were too innumerable to count.” Among these virtues is what the author of this book Mausufat as-Suudan said when he put her Fulani poem in Arabic, by his words: “I will narrate in what Asma’u put in poetic stanza…” to the end of what he said about her in the coming stanzas.

3 The poem which Asma’u dictated is called in Fulani Fitilaagu and his Hausa it is called Waka’r Ghiwaaya. She composed this poetic song first in Fulani and then translated it herself into Hausa. These two compositions became renown throughout the Hausaland even to the present day. She
A woman of noble attributes and the mother of dauntless heroes⁴
An assessment of her by the universal judgment of the times as is well known
Where her fragrance diffused among the Nujaba⁵
And the People of Contentment⁶ numbered her among the Nuqaba⁷
I compose it seeking baraka from her and from that of the Reformer
Her father, the spiritually unveiled and master of distinction⁸
Rather, I compose it in order to attain the dominion of success

composed them in the year 1282 during the time of the rule of her nephew, Amir’l-Mu’mineen Ahmad ibn Abu Bakr Atiqli ibn Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduy, and made its stanzas equal 134. It was in that same year that the author, Shaykh Abd’l-Qadir ibn al-Mustafa translated it into Arabic, which is the present work. He did not follow every detail laid out in her poems, rather he added information and omitted others. He composed this work when he was sixty-one years old.

⁴ The phrase means that Asma’u was the mother of many noble scholars and freedom fighters. Among them were hers sons: Waziri Envoy Abd’l-Qadir, Waziri Envoy Ahmad, the learned Uthman, the learned Abdullahi, and the learned Muhammad Laima. All of them were from among the right acting scholars who gave victory to the religion, as well as among the governmental leaders in the Chancellery and Diplomatic section of the government of the Uthmani Sokoto Khalifate.

⁵ The meaning of his words: “Where her fragrance diffused among the Nujaba...”, means that the influence of her spiritual stations, states and sainthood had reached and influenced the sages and saints who were below her rank, which are the Nujaba. The appellation nujaba is the plural of najib, which is a name given to protected friends/sages of Allah who are eight in number whose spiritual responsibility is setting right the affairs of mankind, employed to take up the burden of creation, for they do not expend their spiritual energy except for the benefit of others. They are the People knowledgeable and well acquainted with the eight Divine Attributes, which are Existence, Living, All Knowing, Omnipotent, Volition, All Seeing, All Hearing and Speaker. Their spiritual station is the ‘Footstool’ of Allah and they have a firm foothold in the science of the management and operation of the stars and planets with respect to mystical disclosure and unveiling, not from the perspective of the well known way of those astronomical and astrological scholars of this science. On the contrary, the nujaba possess the science of the eight universal orbits and all the universal orbits underneath them. They are people of noble character and Divine gnosis. The station ofNama Asma’u, the daughter of Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ was above their station.

⁶ The People of Contentment are the People of Perfection from among the Awliyya, who include the Aqtab (the Spiritual Poles), the Two Imams, the Awtaad (the Spiritual Pegs), the Abdaad (the spiritual Substitutes), the Rajabiyun (the People of the Month of Rajab) and the Rubbaan (the People of Dread). These are among the Perfected Awliyya who exist in every age and whose stations are above the spiritual rank of the Nuqaba. [see my forthcoming translation and commentary upon the Munajat of Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’].

⁷ This stanza means that the above mentioned Perfected Awliyya during the time of Asma’u bint Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ counted her among the awliyya named Nuqaba, who are those protected friends of Allah who have the ability to extract what is hidden in the souls. There are twelve Nuqeeb in each age, based upon the twelve orbits of the constellation. Each Nuqeeb is well acquainted with the special properties of each constellation and what Allah has deposited in its station of secrets and effective influences as well as with what is specified for each in its phases from the planets, orbital movements and fixed stars. And realize that Allah has placed in the hands of these Nuqba knowledge of the sciences of all the revealed religions, and they have the ability to extract what is hidden within the souls, its dangers, deceptions and tricks. And as for Ibris, he is completely unverified and exposed to the Nuqaba, for they know about him what he doesn’t even know about himself. They also are acquainted with a science such that when anyone of them examines the traces of the footprints of any person in the earth, they immediately know if the footprints are that of a spiritually blessed person or that of a wretched person.

⁸ This stanza is talking about Shehu Uthman, who was known as Dan Fuduye’ Muhammad ibn Uthman ibn Saailih ibn Haruun ibn Muhammad Ghurtu ibn Jubba ibn Muhamad Sanbu ibn Masiraan ibn Ayyub ibn Buba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokoli, who was the from the children of Imam Dambuba, may Allah be pleased with all of them. This Musa fled the land of Futa Toro until he reached the lands now referred to as Hausaland. The mother of the Shehu was Hawa, the daughter of the learned Muhammad ibn Harun ibn Hamma ibn Aal ibn Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Ayyub ibn Buba Baba ibn Abu Bakr the son of the above mentioned Musa Jokoli.
And that we may congregate tomorrow based upon Divine approval
Upon both of them be the Divine pleasures of our Lord
Along with bounty, mercy and spiritual excellence
And I seek the assistance Allah in the arrangement
Of this narrative along with its sound rectification

Introduction
When Allah desired to give victory to the religion
He gave His assistance to the trustworthy gnostic
The light of the age, the one who gave nobility to Islam
The reformer of the religion, the father of noble ones
The Shaykh of all the shuyukh, Master of the masters
The reviver of guidance, the possessor of the war banners
He was our Imam and our spiritual guiding model
The succor of sciences, the axis of direct experiential knowledge of Allah
He was the reliance of the spiritual traveler and the novices
He established them against all forms of the trials of the rejected one
I will inform what you used to be informed about
From the news of the Shehu, yes, and his coalition

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9 It is here that folio 2 of ‘manuscript b’ ends after which is written the name of the text “the Description of the Lands of the Blacks”, immediately after which is transcribed an advantageous note in a different style from the inscription of the original manuscript’s scribal hand. It says: “Note: The throne of Bilqis had an immense distance whose length extended 80 cubits, whose width was 40 cubits and rose a height of 30 cubits. It was decorated with gold and silver and garnished with pearls, red rubies, green emeralds and flower blossoms. Its domes were made from red rubies, green emeralds and were embellished with flower blossoms. Her throne also had seven locked doors, each of which concealed seven compartments as big as a living quarters.”

10 That is, the above mentioned Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’. His blood brother, Shaykh Abdullahi ibn Fuduye’ said in his Tazyeen al-Waraqaat: “Realize that his affair began by calling people to the religion in the year 1177 of the hijra, (which corresponds to 1774 of the Common Era).”

11 This stanza means that Shehu Uthman was the father of 41 children, all of whom were among the right acting scholars, the perfected awliyya who had drawn near to Allah and those who made strenuous effort in establishing the jihaad. The most outstanding of them as enumerated by Waziri Junayd were: Muhammad Sa’d, Muhammad Sanbu, Muhammad Bello, Abu Bakr Atiku, Muhammad al-Bukhari, Hassan, Abd’l-Qaadir, Ahmad ar-Rufai’, Isa, Khadija (the mother of the author of this text), Fatima, Maryum, and Asma’u (the author of the poem from which this text was composed).

12 This stanza means that Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ has reached the spiritual station of ‘redeeming spiritual pole’ which is an expression referring to an immense personage and generous spiritual master upon whom the people seek out in times of danger, and who is able to clarify what is concealed from important affairs and mystical secrets. He is normally sought after for his supplication because his supplications are always answered. If he were to take an oath or to vow Allah affirms his vow. Only the form of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace manifest to him during his spiritual concentrations because he is upon the very heart of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Thus, the redeeming spiritual pole (al-Qutb al-Gawth) is singular and unique in each age and he is the pivotal locus through which Allah observes the entire cosmos purely in each age. Ontologically, he is upon the spiritual center of the Arch Angel Izafeel, upon him be peace. He is the perfected human of the age and the Viceregent of Allah on earth. It is believed that no one can have the spiritual station of spiritual axis (qutbaniyya) established for them until he attains complete comprehension of the mystical letters which open some of the Quranic chapters, like {alif, lam meem}, {yaa, seen}, {taa, haa}, {haa, meem} and its like. When Allah ta’ala acquaints a person with the concealed meanings and numinous realities of these mystical letters, then and only then is that person deserving of the station of Thus, the earthly ruler or leader of the Muslims when he is just and upright, then he is the spiritual pole of the time, and this is based upon the saying of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace who said: “The Sultan is the shade of Allah on His earth”. All praises are due to Allah that Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ attained all of that.
For he began by commanding the good
And forbidding evil and reprehensible traditions
He reinforced this with repeated admonitions and writings
Ordering people to make repentance from procrastination
He commenced with pertinent correspondences
Which he had dispatched to all the rulers of the lands
His Master gathered for him the fruits of acceptance
And there came to him from all directions people of intelligence
He persisted in forbidding people from bad customs
And from all the paths that lead people to devastation
As well as from heretical innovations in conflict with the Sunna
And that which disavowed conventions and sound religion
And his partisans are like the water or like a ship
The one who takes them as necessities will never fear destruction
When examined closely they are like a single body
In mutual love, trust and giving spiritual benefit to others
As well as in arranging the teachings of the Imam
While the misdeeds of others have become apparent without restraint
That was like the one who humiliated himself, the shedder of blood
Yunfa who committed tyranny in the religion, and he had a disease

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13 His hizb (party or company) means his jama`at who inherited his khilaafa, and knowledge by means of his baraka may Allah ta`ala be merciful to them and make them persist until the appearance of the rising of Imam al-Mahdi.

14 This means that the mission of the Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ began with inviting people to the religion of Islam in the year 1187 hijra (circa 1774 C.E.). He toured all the lands seeking learning and instructions in the sciences as well as teaching them to the people. He then stood and began to revive the Living Sunna and destroy heretical innovations, mobilizing the servants to repent from disbelief, disobedience and heedlessness. During this period he composed what some believe was his first Arabic poem where he said: “Is there a way for me to swiftly travel to visit the burial chamber of the Hashimite Muhammad?” Which means: ‘Is there a spiritual path that I can follow which will take me in the direction of the Muhammadan Sunna in order that my soul can expire by the resuscitation of the primordial Muhammadan Light?’ Here in this poem, the Shehu clearly indicates that his methodology of his spiritual path was built upon: [1] adherence to the Muhammad Sunna outwardly; [2] behaving in accordance with the Muhammadan character traits inwardly; [3] persistence in sending blessings upon the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace by tongue and heart; and [4] ardent passion and yearning to meet the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace in dream visions and in visions of the waking state. At this initial period when this poem was composed the Shehu was twenty years old.

15 That is to say, they are those who arrange the teachings, sciences, books, mystical knowledge and methodology of Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ during his time and after it until the appearance of the Mahdi. The meaning of the expression of the author: ‘The Imam’ here refers to Shehu Uthman because he was known as the Imam of the Protected Friends of Allah.

16 That is to say, those who withdraw from the methodology of the Shehu, have gone astray and are moving without any proof of guide because they broke from and divided the Jama`at and removed the noose of Islam from their necks. The Shehu foretold in many of his Ajami poems and Arabic compositions that there would emerge from his own jama`at those who would alter his teachings, break from and disrupt his Jama`at, befriend and assist the disbelievers in obscuring his unique methodology and rupturing his political authority.

17 He was Yunfa ibn Nafata ibn Baabari, who was appointed as the ruler of Gobir in the year 1217 of the hijra (1803 C.E.). In the past he was among the students and disciples of the Shehu, who in the beginning of his affair was determined and acknowledged what Allah ta`ala had conveyed to the Shehu from baraka and other than that. His father, Nafata placed him with the Shehu in order that he could learn the religion and take on the courtesies of Islam. However, after he was appointed to rule after the death of his father, he began to manifest his envy and enmity towards the Shehu, by embarking on the course of earnestness and fervor in fighting the Shehu and his Jama`at. It is for this reason author
And he said what he said showing pure arrogance, towards
The teachings of the Shehu, while he experienced its opposite
He, the Shehu, undertook commanding first the disassociation
From the lands of the disbelievers, those who followed Satan
And he was answered by all the People of guidance
Not a single one from among them were seen to holdback
He then ordered the preparation of weapons
And clarified that the neglecting of doing so was a misdeed\(^\text{18}\)
He also urged them to start binding and training of horses
And to some he encouraged them to alter the behavior in their souls
All followed his example desirous for the Precise Goal
They took hold of his teachings by pure submission
In the east, the west, along with the south and the north
He dispatched the son of Jedo\(^\text{19}\) to the lands of Gudu
In order to inform the people about an order that had been praised\(^\text{20}\)
Mahmud Ghurdam\(^\text{21}\), when he heard the news
Prepared a home for the Shehu, along with al-Aghar
And with camels came the learned Aghal
In order to carry the feeble as well as that which was heavy
Our Shehu set out on 12\(^\text{th}\) of Dhu'l-Qui' da
First to Kuri Naghinda and then followed by Timbaa
Likewise Kalmaalu, a place essential for taking water
He stayed the night at Farkaji\(^\text{23}\) and likewise at Ruwaawuri\(^\text{24}\)
And the rendezvous was at Gudu, the place of victory

included Yunfa among those who revolted against the methodology of the Shehu and those ‘whose misdeeds have led them astray without constraint’.
\(^{18}\) Shaykh Abdullahi ibn Fuduye’ said in his Tazeyeen al-Waraqaat: “Then our Shaykh Uthman, may Allah by means of him make the honor of Islam everlasting, when he saw the increase of the jama`at, and their desire to separate from the disbelievers and establish jihaad, he then encouraged them to start preparing of weapons, by his words: ‘The getting ready of weapons is a Sunna.’ So we then began to make weapons ready. He also began supplicating Allah to make the sovereignty of Islam strong in these lands of the Blacks.”
\(^{19}\) This was Ali Jedo, who was later appointed as the supreme military commander after the hijra to Gudu. Before the hijra he was the recognized military chief of the Fulani of the region of Konni. He was the husband of Faatuma, the daughter of the Shehu from his wife Hawa, the daughter of the learned Adam ibn Muhammad Agh. He had two sons from her named: Abdullahi and Umar.
\(^{20}\) This command was the order to make the hijra from the land of Degel to the region of Gudu. Hijra is an action which is praised in both the Qur’an and the Sunna. Among these is His word: “Those who make the hijra for Allah after being oppressed We will settle him in this world excellently, and the reward of the Hereafter will be greater if they only but knew.”
\(^{21}\) Shaykh Mahmud Ghurdam was among the early helpers of the Shehu during his hijra to Gudu. He also was the one appointed over the military raid which conquered the town of Keemaa among the first military encounters with the enemies. He attained martyrdom in the war of Thunthuwa along with about two thousand Muslims from the Jama`at.
\(^{22}\) This means that the Shehu set from Degel on Thursday, the 15\(^\text{th}\) of February 1804, C.E.
\(^{23}\) It is also called Fankaaji. It was at this time during the rest over in this town that the author of this text. It was said that the Shehu actually postponed continuing for one day until his daughter, Khadija, was able to give birth to her son, the author of this poem, Shaykh Abd’l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa. Is for this reason that the author has always maintained a special place in the heart of the Shehu and those of the Jama`at.
\(^{24}\) It is possible that the Shehu stayed overnight in Ruuwaaruwi in order that his daughter, Khadija, could recover from giving birth.
The parties merged and met beneath the tree
In the assembly of the Shehu for the purpose of mutual counsel
They all agreed upon him absolutely, with certainty
They all said to him: ‘You are the Amir al-Mu’mineen’
The first to give the oath of allegiance was his brother
Abdullahi, likewise did he and others narrate the story
He then ordered Ali over the military armies
He eventually turned out to be severe against the enemies
He ordered the establishment of the judiciary, likewise to Modibo
Who initiated the punitive punishments of the shari`a that was incumbent
Then the people of Muwejju accepted Islam at that time, likewise
All the tribes in the country of Kebbi approvingly with out exception
They all submitted to the commands of the Reformer
Thus, he became like a guide that prevents from harm
Maman Yitti and Laadan were two men
Who helped the religion of Allah and were stalwart
They banded together in Kebbi with the best company
In preserving the guidance of religion they were extensive
The Shehu fought in five military campaigns
Consecutively with the praise of the Lord of the Throne
And during this time we received news of the disbelievers
Who were under the command of Yunfa, the father of tribulations

25 Muhammad Bello ibn Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ said in his Infaq al-Maysuur: “When we realized out of necessity that the cord of trust had been broken between us and them, and that all the Blacks and Tuaregs who were like them were determined to assist them against us; and that there was recourse or refuge for us with any of the rulers of these lands due to their joint determination of enmity, mutual confederation and united desire to seize us; we subsequently gathered and took mutual consultation between us in this affair of ours. We all agreed that it is not possible for any people to remain irresponsible without having over them a government, so we then gave the oath of allegiance to the Shehu on the condition of hearing and obedience in that which we liked and disliked. We gave the oath of allegiance to him based upon the Book and the Sunna.”

26 The blood brother of the Shehu, Abdullahi ibn Fuduye said in his Tazyeen al-Waraqaat: “The rulers of the lands then ordered the seizing of all those who fled to the Shehu. They began to create trials and tribulations against the Muslims by killing them and seizing their wealth. Then the order was given to prepare an army to be sent against us. As a result we all banned together when the trials became too severe and commanded the Shehu to ostanzae our affairs. Prior to this, he was our spiritual leader and amir. Thus, I was, with the praise of Allah, the first to give the oath of allegiance to him to obedience based upon the Book and the Sunna.”

27 This means that the Shehu ordered for the establishment of the judiciary and placed it under the charge of the learned Imam and Khatib Muhammad Sanbu the son of the learned Shaykh Abd’r-Rahman Ghabindu, who also was made the Imam of the central mosque. He in effect became the Chief Judge of the entire Sokoto Caliphate. He however, died a martyr in the infamous battle of Tsunthuwa.

28 He was the Magistrate Muhammad Jubede, nicknamed Modibo, the son of Muhammad ibn Ayishatun bint Saalih ibn Harun ibn Muhammad Ghurtu ibn Muhammad Jubbu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran. He was the cousin of the Shehu whom he appointed over the judicial magistrate responsible for public welfare, markets, weights and measures.

30 He was Muhammad Ghabdu, nicknamed Yitti, the son of Adama bint Abdullahi ibn Ghurru ibn Kulthum bint Muhammad Ghurtu ibn Buluku’u ibn Muhammad Ghurtu ibn Muhammad Jubbu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Buba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli, who attained martyrdom soon after this.

31 In the Arabic text his name is given as Daadan, but in Fulfulde’ his name is Laadan Kaalyiru, the son of Muhammad ibn al-Sina ibn Muhammad Sa’d.

32 These two military commanders fought in five consecutive battles while the Jama’at was camped in Gudu as Nama Asma’u narrated in her Fulfulde’ poem.
All of the disbelievers of the land of the Blacks had gathered
With hatred against the People of the religion and those of spiritual excellence
While Yunfa had dispatched letters throughout the lands
In order that they could give him assistance against the servants of Allah
Along with the people of Gobir were those of Katsina
Joined by the Tuaregs as well as the `Awadir equally
They all gave mutual assistance to one another and came
To the land of Kwotto which was the rendezvous for all those who came
The flag of the Party of Allah by the Lord of Truth had been elevated
On that day disbelief and injustice were completely humiliated
And Abdullahi came with massive amounts of troops
Along with a division of soldiers who were true hearted on the battlefield
He was the first among them who had fired
The arrows of Jihad in the encounters against the others
The whole battle zone became impassioned and heated
They drew near one another and the disbelievers lined up
The corrupt ones began to prance and whoop and yell
While the righteous shored up their ranks and then made the takbeer
They all then engaged one another and the dust darkened the sky
And then and there that fire of theirs was completely extinguished
Then the people of Gobir turned on their heals in flight
For nothing detoured any of them from fleeing the battlefield
Their ruler even left behind his shoes, and likewise
His cupola as well as his armor completely vanquished
He even left behind his throne and drums all together
As well as his sword, while he was perplexed in complete fright
All of their devices of government and instruments of war were found
On that day the people of Gobir had nothing to be thankful for
And the Muslims showed severity in the lands of disbelief
Against the tyrants and against the governments of the oppressive

Chapter On the Relocation of the Shehu from Gudu and His Heading for Magabshi

Then the Shehu made intention for departing after that
In assistance to the religion of Allah, I say: ‘Here you are!’
The Shehu took many lodgings after relocating
From Gudu, so listen, and these will be mentioned consecutively
Malibu, Ghungunghu, Inaame’, likewise
Ghaluji, Fawruughu, and likewise Laa’u
Then came Dinfaati, after which came Sifawa
Jaariti along with Maghabshi were reached the same day

Chapter On His Return to Rima

Then he alighted in Baghaarawa followed by Rikini
The people of Maanuuri accepted Islam, and the same with those of Ghubina
All of the people of Hayhi came and accepted Islam
They surrendered giving assistance to the religion of the Prophet

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33 This occurred on Thursday the 13th of Rabi al-Awwal in 1219 of the hijra (circa 21 June 1805 C.E.).
34 They reached Magabchi on Tuesday the 15th of Jumad al-Awwal in 1219 of the hijra (circa 21 August 1804 C.E.).
Then to the town of Sokoto in which he camped\textsuperscript{35}

The town of Raaba acted impetuously but the matter ended well
He then sent a military expedition to Dan Gida
And likewise to Ghuudawa, while the people of Rima acted immorally.

\textbf{Chapter On His Relocation from Sokoto to Mani}

Then he relocated to Ghuududu until he passed
The town of Hushi, and the people of Mita Ghawa caused no harm
After this he made Maghata’ a his settlement
And after that in the town of Qiraari became his settlement
Our \textit{Shehu} then equipped sufficient military forces
At that time to be sent against a crude and harsh enemy
During the return from this expedition Mo’i’yì died
Outstanding in his actions and his words were truthful
He then dispatched his army to the fortress of Mani
I mean, its fortress was protected from being destroyed
Among its martyrs was the one named Mammazi
And others, if you like you can ask Miyazi
And he encountered two groups of emigrants after it
Aghaali along with Mumman Tukur\textsuperscript{36} and his cadre
He is Muhammad Tukur, who was beloved
In the Presence of Arrival, the one passionate in Allah
Completely drowned in fervent love of the Master of existence
And crowned with honor in the Presence of Divine Witnessing
Completely encompassed with the vestment of absolute certainty
An extraordinary person of the age and a light giving lamp of the religion
It was there that the people of benevolence encountered another
And religious sciences and spiritual illuminations sprung forth
So follow upon their tracks until the termination
Of the words of our Lord comes to a termination.

Have you not heard verse of the Beneficent
When He said: “\textit{Everything upon it is in annihilation}”?\textsuperscript{37}
This is an indication of the spiritual Presence of Splendor
After the inferior level of annihilation comes the level of continuity
If you are a knight from among this spiritual cavalry
Then remove the shoes of existence and being
And set out to the One who gave being to existence
And be wary of the attire of humiliation and depravity
For the first stage is true repentance for the one repentant

\textsuperscript{35} This was on Sunday the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of \textit{Rajab} 1219 \textit{hijra} (circa 7 October, 1804 CE), where he camped for some days.
\textsuperscript{36} He was the outstanding \textit{shaykh}, the mystical sage, the jurist, the military commander, Muhammad Bello ibn Muhammad, more famously known as Muhammad Tukur. He was among the closest of the spiritual disciples of \textit{Shehu} Uthman ibn Fuduye’ who had inherited his illuminations, spiritual stations and had attained direct experiential knowledge of Allah ta’ala by the hand of the \textit{Shehu}. He authored majestic works, extremely beneficial texts and exceptionally beautiful poems. It is said that he died in the lands of Zamfara, his birth place in a village called Mutazighi where his grave is located and is visited by people every year during the \textit{Mawlid} of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.
\textsuperscript{37} This is from the words of Allah ta’ala: “\textit{Everything upon it is in annihilation. There only remains the Countenance of the Possessor of Majesty and Generosity.” Chapter \textit{ar-Rahman}: 26-27.
For the gate is wide open with no gate keeper
So leave us with the masters of hearts and return
Then these directed themselves towards the encounter at Alkalawa
Towards the place where the tyrannical oppressors had taken as a center
After this the disbelievers made the preparations
Of an army concealed prepared to inflict harm upon us
Insignificant kings of the Aadir, those who sought to extinguish lights
They made a recalcitrant surprise attack accompanied by the corrupt
They pounced upon the homes of the Muslims
After that, they were forced to turn tail and flee
However, they killed a company among the scholars
During the battle at the initiation of the encounter
Among them was the Imam Mumman Sanbu
And many of them were from the people of Jubbu
Those killed among them was the learned Sa’daara
The master of the sciences of grammar and historical narratives
And Zayd, Ditti, then Daadan whose lineage goes
to Dumaamu, mentioning these suffices the one astonished
Other than these were those who had memorized the Qur’an
And the students of knowledge, the possessors of certainty
May Allah shower His pardon upon all of them
And make our love for them a means of intercession for us
The martyrs at Tsunthuwaa can not be counted
Due to the extensiveness of their numbers which were innumerous
After this, the Shehu resided in a place called Buri
Sometimes making military expeditions and at other times being attacked

38 This was on Sunday the 11th of Jumad at Thani 1220 hijra (circa 16 September 1805 C.E.).
39 This was the infamous encounter at Tsunthuwa on Tuesday the 13th of Jumad at Thani 1220 hijra (circa 18th September 1805 C.E.)
40 This was the previously mentioned Chief Judge, the learned jurist, the Imam and Khateeb Muhammad Sanbu ibn Shaykh Abd’r-Rahman Ghabindu, the jurist.
41 This means that the majority of those killed were from among the descendants of Muhammad Jubba ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Buba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli. The Amir ‘l-Mumineen Muhammad Bello said in his Majmu’ an-Nasab that the children of Muhammad Jubbu were: Muhammad Ghurtu, Aal, Umar, Abu Bakr, Binaa, Hawaa, and Huda. Muhammad Ghurtu had four sons, while Aal had five. Thus, the majority of the children of Muhammad Jubbu came from the children of Aal ibn Muhammad Jubbu.
42 He was the flag bearer, the learned Muhammad Sa’d who was nicknamed Sa’dara, the son of al-Hassan, known as Baba ibn Muhammad ibn al-Hassan ibn Hamm ibn Aal Muhammad Jubbu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Buba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli. The mother of Shaykh Sa’dara was Umma Hani, the daughter of Butughu bint Barki.
43 In the Infaq al-Mayyaur of Muhammad Bello ibn Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye it says that this Zayd was the son of Muhammad Sa’d, and he was a learned jurist and traditionist learned in the prophetic traditions.
44 He was the learned Dittu, the son of Alighu ibn Ghaga bint Hamm Yero ibn Bilku’ ibn Muhammad Ghurtu ibn Muhammad Jubbu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Buba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli.
45 He was the Magistrate Abu Bakr, nicknamed Laadan Raami, the son of Abdullahi ibn Muhammad al-Amin ibn Uthman ibn Hammad ibn Aal ibn Muhammad Jubbu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Buba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli. Shaykh Abdullahi ibn Fuduye’ made mention of him in his Tazyeen al-Waraqaat.
46 Muhammad Bello mentioned in the Infaq some of the names of the others. Among them were Muhammad Ghurdam, Muhammad Jamm and Abu Bakr Binghu.
Chapter On His Proceeding to Zamfara

Then the Shehu headed in the direction of the lands of Zamfara48
Seeking their loyalty, and they all believed not a single one holding back
They then all settled in the land of Rimu
   Causing the disbelievers to scatter, so listen well
Then the Shehu departed to Sabon Guri
   With Izzat ‘d-Deen and the assistance of filial son49
Namoda came accompanied with the people of Zurma50
   Who then accepted Islam, and the people of Birmi surrendered
Our Shehu then equipped an immense army
   During a time of difficulty and constricted food supplies
Abdullahi went forth as a vanguard carrying the banner
   The erudite one of the age the splendor of the scholars51
Towards the largest of the fortresses in the land of Kebbi
   And to the judgment of Allah there is no termination
They arranged themselves against them with determination
   For the battle, each of them were in a state of pure resolution
His Master made its victory easy for him
   By the sanctity of the Shehu who appointed him52
There they encamped behind the fortress
   While the tyrants of Kebbi became plainly saddened
Although their atheist were fought only a little
   But soon after that they encountered bad consequences
Their ruler fled in irritation in a flurry of dust
   Fleeing ahead of the faction of the disbelievers
And the Jama`at al-Islam gained much spoils
   And seized the treasures of the enemies without regrets
From silver and excellent gold
   And every kind of rare faultless jewelry
As well as shields from the instruments of war
   Gathering them all day up until the setting of the sun

47 The town of Buri was near the capital of Alkalawa. Thus, the Muslims were able to return and besiege the capital for more than two months from Sunday the 1st of Sha`baan 1220 hijra until Wednesday, the 30th of Ramadan of the same year (circa 4 November 1805 to 2 January 1806 C.E.).
48 The move of the Shehu to Zamfara took place on Tuesday the 12th of Dhu’l-Qa’ida 1220 hijra (circa 12 February, 1806 C.E.).
49 This means that the Shehu relocated from Rimu to an outlying region near Sabon Gari accompanied with his brother Abdullahi, also called ‘Izzat ‘d-Deen’ because through him honor was given to the religion by his noble character, his extensive knowledge and courageous sword. The Shehu was also accompanied by his son, Muhammad Bello, who is referred to in the poem as ‘the filial son’ because he key concern was being virtuous towards his parents, as is well known through the assistance he render to his father in establishing the religion as well as through the books he composed on the subject of showing virtue towards parents, like his Fawaa'id Mujmilat Fima Jaa Fi al-Birr wa’s-Silla.
50 He was the learned jurist and military commander, the knight Muhammad Namoda. He was among the close disciples of Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’. His wife was Hanna, the daughter of the Shehu with whom he had a daughter named Fatima. Muhammad Namoda came with a huge Muslim contingent from the peoples of Zurmi and Burmi which are two towns in the eastern regions of Zamfara.
51 Shaykh Abdullahi ibn Fuduye’ advanced with a vanguard army on Tuesday the 10th of Dhu’l-Hijja 1220 hijra (circa 12 March 1806 C.E.).
52 Allah conquered Birnin Kebbi on Friday, the 12th of Muharram 1221 hijra (circa 12 April 1806 C.E.).
He disseminated these riches many times
    And expelled Fodi the father of perdition
He was the best of wazirs, Shaykh Abdullahi
    In following the Chosen One he was unrivaled
He was seen standing firm in every situation
    Guiding the people of consciousness uninterruptedly
He stood firm to assist the Shehu in his objectives
    Likewise his close friends and close relatives
And our Shehu was like a defensive fortress
    Against the enemies and against every encounter
During the occasions of evil and deviations
    From true guidance, envy and antagonism
May Allah be merciful to him and reward him with good
    For his brother, how many times did he suffice him against harm?
After their return he appointed the regional amirs
    And to each of them he gave a flag of victory
And regarding their participants, say: Umar Dulaaji
    And from those who assisted him like the son of al-Hajji
They were dispatched against the tyrants of Katsina
    Which they conquered, for their affair in that was excellent
There was a faction from among the scholars
    In Kano who fought against armies of the enemies
They made strenuous effort until they gained victory
    They deposed Alwalla and thus the authority went
To the Muslims, who inherited the lands of the adversaries
    Removed the disbelief of the land and illuminated the lamps of guidance
Malam Jamu, Dan Daabu as well as Tahiru
    Malam Jabir, and the shaykh of literature Mahiru

53 After conquering Birnin Kebbi, the Muslim armies returned to Sabon Gari on Monday the 30th of Muharram 1221 hijra (circa 30th April 1806 C.E.). They stayed there for six months making raids against the disbelievers in various regions until Sunday the 29th of Jumad 't-Thani 1221 hijra (circa 23 September 1806 C.E.).
54 He was the military commander and regional Amir, Umar ibn Bello Dulaaji ibn Abu Bakr ibn Ma’llam Mighami ibn Ta’indu Ali ibn Muhammad Jubbu ibn Aal ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Baba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli. His origins were from the Toronkawa of Katsina who made the emigrated to the Shehu in order to take knowledge from him. When the jihad began, the Shehu sent forward with a flag to the people of Katsina and subsequently appointed him the Amir over their lands.
55 He was learned flag bearer Shaykh Muhammad ibn al-Hajj, who assisted the Shehu with his forces in the subduing of the regions of Katsina and Runku.
56 The conquering of Katsina took place on Monday the 7th of Dhu’l-Hijja 1222 hijra (circa 15 February 1807 C.E.).
57 He was Mallam Mamman, also known as Muhammad Jammu, the son of Ghuru ibn Kuthumb bint Ghurtu ibn Bilku u ibn Muhammad Ghurtu ibn Muhammad Jubbu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Baba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli. His daughter, Rahma, was the wife of Shaykh Abdullahi ibn Fuduye, who gave birth to nine children. Among them were Fatima, Umar, A’isha, al-Khird, Ali, Safiya, Maymuna, Uthman, and Imama. Ali ibn Abdullahi ibn Fuduye’ was renown for his knowledge and piety, who composed an excellent poem called at-Tawassul bi ‘Suwar l-Qur’an which he ‘arabized’ from a Ajami poem composed by Nana Asma’u bint Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’.
58 He was the learned Tahir, the son of Khadija bint Dussi ibn Dawshe ibn Dussi ibn Harun ibn Muhammad Ghurtu ibn Muhammad Jubbu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Baba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli.
Malam Bakashini these were the ones who
Assisted our Shehu against the enemies

Chapter on the Shehu’s Heading for Gwandu

Then the Shehu relocated from Sabon Gari61
And about his settlements thereafter, I will inform you
Dugu, Bunkaashawa, Saadawaa, Falam
Ghadhuuru, Marghaa, Baaghita in which there was some injury
Then finally Gwandu, but not before the Shehu passed Saamu and camped
He resided in that land for close to a month or less than that62
At that time the news reached our Shehu
From the land of Zuma of the demise of Umar63
Who was the locus of his secrets, the fearfully aware the ascetic
His close intimate friend who was erudite and a mujaahid
He was his beloved friend who assisted him in all his affairs
And Shehu was saddened while his heart called him to mind
He then rose and admonished the people to be resigned
And be patient with the divine decrees of the Overwhelming One
May Allah be merciful to him and reward him with good
For his close friend and may He substitute in place ease
They then entered at the ending of Sha`baan
The fortress of Gwandu, during the standing of the night of Ramadhan64
And from after the month of Shawwal during Dhu`l-Qa`ida
There came to the Shehu those who were accustomed to conspiracies65
The Tuareg whose leader was Aghunbulu

59 His full name was Mallam Jabir, the son of Toronka Aal ibn Adde’ ibn Hamm ibn Aal ibn Muhammad Jubbu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Buha Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokoll. He was the brother of the erudite jurist Shaykh Modibo Juule ibn Toronka Aal ibn Adde’ ibn Hamm. The Shehu took knowledge from both of these profound scholars and after the hijra, Mallam Jabir assisted him in the jihad.
60 He was the military commander, the learned al-Mahir al-Mukhtar, reknown for his uprightness and piety. It was he who conquered the western regions of the lands of Bornu.
61 This stanza means that the Shehu relocated from Sabon Gari on Tuesday the 1st of Muharram 1223 hijra (circa 23 March 1807 C.E.)
62 This means that the Shehu relocated from Sabon Gari and from there went first to Dhugu, then to Bunkaashawa, then to Saadawa, and from there to Ghadhuri. From this village he camped in Maragha, then Baaghilu and finally camped in a place called Saamu on Thursday the 1st of Sha`baan 1223 hijra (circa 23 October 1807 C.E.). The Shehu camped there from Sha`baan until the end of the month on Thursday the 29th of the month 1223 hijra (circa 22 November 1807 C.E.). When he reached Saamu news reached him of the death of his close friend, Shaykh Umar al-Kamuni. There is no doubt that the reason that the Shehu decided to stop his journey was in order to fulfill the rights of his former companions by entreating Allah on his behalf using the well known “Hizb al-Fidaa” used by his chosen disciples and Jama`at. It was after this that the Shehu went on to Gwandu. The trip from Sabon Gari to Gwandu took about eight months to complete.
63 He was Abu Mudegel Umar al-Kamuni as-Sufi, the possessor of great piety, spiritual contentment, a sublime spiritual exemplar and possessing excellent worship. He was the close companion of the Shehu from the beginning who advised him and served him. He possessed a well known and famous station in the heart of the Shehu. He was married to the Shehu’s daughter Safiya who gave birth to the famous learned Wazir Mudegel Umar who was one of the chief advisors to Muhammad Bello ibn Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ during his rule.
64 That is to say that the Shehu arrived at Gwandu on Friday, the 30th of Sha`baan 1223 hijra (circa 23 November 1807 C.E.). There he and the Jama`at fasted the month of Ramadhan and continued there until after the following month of Shawwal.
65 On Friday the 2nd of Dhu`l-Qa`ida 1223 hijra (circa 21 February 1808 C.E.).
And the rendezvous was Alwasa for the eventual encounter
And they fought and killed in that place
And made endeavor as they usually did in past times
And al-Baasilu the possessor of true loyalty then gave praise
To Allah for supporting him abundantly against the enemy
Who plunged into the disbelievers until he was killed
And after his death he attained what he had hoped for
Then came Mujittu along with Duwaawi, likewise
Dhugu and many others like them were killed in like fashion
They fought until they reached the town of Kambidha
Where they stayed overnight as if to besiege the village of Munfadha
They then awoke in ranks behind the fortress
And they vanquished the foe beyond what was expected
The enemy turned on their heels swiftly fleeing being killed
Most running as if they were clubfooted with their noses humiliated
Allah showed them the miracles of the Waali
The inheritor of our Shaykh the Imam al-Jayli
The enemies after having beaten their drums and tambourines
There fell upon them the possessor of outstanding virtues
They thus scattered throughout the lands like lizards
They were afflicted with the most abominable kinds of hardships
This was followed by a destructive plague which also descended
Confirmed by the hedonism which had become excessive in the times
The plague afflicted the Muslims as well and even touched our Shehu
With the hardships of fever hitting many of our people without exception
Then however, Allah lightened this for him from that
And he became cured along with the army there

66 Among others who were killed were Shaykh Hamaadu, Shaykh Ghaani, Sayyid Bahru, and others.
67 This means that Allah showed them the miraculous powers of Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ who is the inheritor of the spiritual stations, baraka and secrets of al-Jaylani.
68 He is Muhy’id-Deen Abu Muhammad Abd’l-Qaadir al-Jaylani ibn Abdallah ibn Musa ibn Abdallah ibn Yahya az-Zahid ibn Musa ibn Muhammad ibn Dawud ibn Musa ibn Abdallah Abi’l-Karam ibn Musa al-Jun ibn Abdallah al-Kaamil ibn al-Hassan al-Muthnaa ibn al-Hassan as-Sabt ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib and Fatima az-Zahra, the daughter of Muhammad al-Mustafa, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. He was the Imam, illuminated scholar, Gnostic ascetic, a spiritual exemplar and the ruler of the awliyaa. He was born in the year 470 hijra in a place called Jaylan. His body was very lean and his skin was dark. And in spite of his majestic status, elevated rank and extensive knowledge he customarily played with young children, showed respect to the elderly, always initiated the greetings, sat with the oppressed, and showed sincere humility to the poor and destitute. It was he who said: “These two feet of mine are upon the neck of every waliyy of Allah.” Thus, he became the ruler of all the awliyaa among men and jinn. His outstanding virtues were many. The awliyaa extolled his virtues before and after his appearance. He died in the year 561 hijra and was buried in Baghdad. He had a special connection and close relationship with Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ although many centuries separated them, may Allah be pleased with both of them. For when the Shehu attained the Divine spiritual gravitation by means of the baraka of sending blessings upon the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, which he did persistently without weariness, fatigue or boredom; Allah supported him with overflowing of illuminations through the mediation of Shaykh Abd’l-Qaadir al-Jaylani, may Allah be pleased with him, as well as the mediation of his grandfather, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Then Shaykh Abd’l-Qaadir al-Jaylani announced to the entire cosmos: “This shaykh belongs to me!” From that point onward the Shehu continuously made tawassul with Shaykh Abd’l-Qaadir al-Jaylani in his outward and inward affairs, even during his hijra and jihad, as is well known with the historians. O Allah by the right of Abd’l-Qaadir al-Jaylani we ask you for success and to die in the religion of Islam.
Then after that, the reformer then made preparations
   Of an army to attack Alqaadawa, the well supported fortress. They were accompanied by the winds of victory
   With the help of the Benefactor against the people of Gobir
On that day they then commenced with fighting
   And the argumentative people of Gobir were vanquished
And they killed the ruler of Gobir, Yunfa
   They came unexpectedly upon him preemptively
And seized their treasures as spoils of war, like bracelets
   Of gold and every kind of jewelry made of pure gold

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The wide spread tribulations, affliction, and repulsive plagues which befell the people was a result of the disobedience of the people, their rejection of the Truth, the alteration of the times, the changing resolve of the brothers, their inclinations to this world and craving for it, the intense competition for political authority, wealth and rank, as well as the general neglect of the devotion to the masaajid, the schools of learning and other than that. This tribulation which befell the general population continued from the month of Dhu’l-Qa`da of 1223 hijra until the end of Jumad at-Thani of 1224 (circa February 1808 until June of the same year). At the beginning of the unfortunate time Abdullahi ibn Fuduyé’ received a spiritual indication from Allah to abandon the army, turn to the Best of creation, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, occupy himself with his own soul and head in the direction of al-Medina al-Munawara, the direction of the Chosen one, upon him be blessings and peace. He thus made the hijra accompanied with five of his trusted lieutenants until they reached the city of Kano. Subsequently, the people of Kano prevented him from continuing with his journey, requesting him to instruct them how to establish the religion and how remove the love for this worldly life from their hearts. Shaykh Abdullahi’s response to their request was: “This very thing which I see in you is exactly what I was fleeing from.” It was due to this that Shaykh Abdullahi changed his intention and stayed in Kano where he composed his excellent treatise on constitutional theory and government called Diya al-Hukaam and he also taught them the entire exegesis of the Qur’an. It is said that the real reason that the people of Kano prevented Shaykh Abdullahi ibn Fuduyé from reaching al-Medina was because his brother, the Shehu, when he heard that his beloved brother and chief advisor had left the army, he supplicated Allah ta’ala that He would stop him and not allow him to continue his journey. It is for this reason that the people of Kano prevented him, and eventually he returned to lead the army and Allah gave decisive victories to the Muslims as a result.

Preparations for this army began on the 30th of Rajab 1224 hijra (circa 3 October 1808 C.E.). The army subsequently reached Alkalawa on the 15th of Sha`baan 1224 hijra (circa 17 October 1808 C.E.). This army was placed under the command of Muhammad Bello due to the fact that Shaykh Abdullahi was still in Kano as we mentioned previously.

He was Abu Ali Muhammad Bello ibn Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduyé’ Muhammad ibn Uthman ibn Saalih ibn Harun ibn Muhammad Ghurtu ibn Muhammad Jubbu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Baba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli. His mother was Hawwa, the daughter of the learned Adam ibn Muhammad Agh. He had five immediate brothers and sisters. Among them were Abu Bakr Atiku, Fatuma Moimna, Maryum, and Hanna. He was born on Wednesday in the month of Dhu’l-Qa`da 1190 hijra. Shaykh Abd’l-Qudr ibn Mustafa said in his Tarjuma: “He, (Bello) was the author of the Infaq where he mentioned himself in the text. Some of the most learned of the scholars included him among the magnanimous of the scholars of the age. He was swift in comprehension, a brilliant intellect, distinguished and keenly sharp. His nature was naturally tolerant and he was thoroughly acquainted with all the religious and social behaviors. He brought no harm to people and only benefited them. He had a genuine love for knowledge and was perfect in his researched insight. His intellect was all encompassing, meticulous having literally conquered mental fatigue. He possessed an uncanny and mystical comprehension of the Qur’an and none of the People of Allah rejected this from him…I studied with him the al-Jawhar al-Maknuun, some poetic works, some of the teachings of the sufiyya, some works on the fundamental principles of medicine, and other works as well.” Muhammad Bello was among the notable helpers of Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduyé’ and he was the one who subsequently was given the authority after the death of his father, as we will mention, Allah willing.
War horses, clothing and precious items
   All praises are due to Allah for His exaltation of us
For they drove the entire enemy out of their palaces
   Those of affluence whose number could not be counted\textsuperscript{72}
And they took captive women and children
   With the pleasure of our Lord for Uthman
And for Izaa `d-Deen the might of Islam
   And the establisher of the Sunna and government\textsuperscript{73}
And his good spread exceedingly throughout the lands
   And the people of disbelief submitted, a people given to violent disputes
He then dispatched forces repeatedly and continuously
   Throughout his time, and made the religion exalted and established\textsuperscript{74}
And appointed the military commander Malam Musa\textsuperscript{75}
   To the country of Zakzak and added to his authority Muqbisa
He appointed Malam Naakiji over al-Qanuri
   Likewise Mukhtar, the father of military commanders
Then Sulayman, the just military commander
   He gave authority over Kano, the most blessed of favors
He appointed Is'haq as the Amir of Daura
   When Dam Duto was conquered, Sanbu was made its Amir
Likewise with Ya`qubu, the powerful one of valor
   The Shehu, appointed him the Amir of the lands of Bauchi
He appointed the professor over the lands of Adamawa
   Buba Yero he appointed as Amir, so listen for what comes next
He appointed Dardima, and likewise Dagimsi
   They all gave victory to Islam and disbelief was flung away
And the cities of lands of the Blacks were conquered
   With the praises of the Lord of Throne and the Lord of Excellence\textsuperscript{76}
The Shehu divided the regions of the earth
   From its abundant length and its width
Dividing its western parts for the Master of the scholars\textsuperscript{77}
   And its eastern parts for Bello\textsuperscript{78}, with equity\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{72} The conquering of Alkalawa occurred on Thursday the 10\textsuperscript{th} of Rajab 1224 hijra (circa 1 September 1808 C.E.).
\textsuperscript{73} As I mentioned previously, I think that the author, may Allah be merciful to him was referring by his words: “Izza `d-Deen the might of Islam” to Shaykh Abdullahi ibn Fuduye’ simply because the Shehu said in one of his Fulfulde’ poems that Izza `d-Deen was the inward name of Shaykh Abdullahi, because every Waliy of Allah has an outward name and an inward name. Subsequently, the meaning of the author’s words: “the one who established the Sunna and government” refers to Muhammad Bell ibn Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ because he was the one responsible for consolidating and systematizing the Sokoto Islamic government, and Allah knows best.
\textsuperscript{74} All of this occurred between the years of 1226 and 1227 of the hijra (circa 1811 to 1812 C.E.).
\textsuperscript{75} He was Mallam Musa whose origins were from Mali who emigrated to Hausaland in order to study and be a disciple of Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ in Degel. After completing his education with the Shehu, he then traveled and settled in the lands of Zakzak in order to teach the people the sciences of the religion. Before war broke out between the disbelievers and the Muslims in the Hausa, Mallam Musa returned to Degel. It is said that he accompanied the Shehu on his hijra to Gudu, and he was the first to be given a flag from the Shehu who ordered him to return to his country in Zakzak and establish the jihad there.
\textsuperscript{76} The Shehu gave the flags to these military commanders and appointed them over the respective lands to subdue them between 1224 and 1227 hijra (circa 1809 to 1812 C.E.).
\textsuperscript{77} This refers to Shaykh Abdullahi ibn Fuduye’, the brother of the Shehu.
\textsuperscript{78} That is Muhammad Bello ibn Shehu.
At that time the righteous marshal died

_Imam Zanghi_, the possessor of spiritual ranks

And likewise the knower of Divine secrets

_Kari’angha_, the possessor of unveiling and illumination

May our Lord the Beneficent, the Owner of gratitude

Favor both of them with His Divine Pleasure

And then _Shehu_ stayed equal to six years

In the fortress of Gwandu, giving victory to Islam

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79 Outwardly the _Shehu_ divided the Sokoto government into two divisions where the east was placed under the authority of his son, Muhammad Bello and the west was placed under the authority of his brother, _Shaykh_ Abdullahi. This division of the government and apportioning of the ‘world’ to his other disciples and military commanders took place in the external terrestrial world. As for the inward and esoteric division of the world where the east was given to Muhammad Bello means that the east was the place and direction where the ‘east’ would be a place of the revival of the religion, the reviving of the Living Sunna in the Last Days in the lands of the Romans by the hands of those ‘Lost Tribes’ from among the descendants of Abraham, upon him be peace who will be connected to the methodology and spiritual Way of the _Shehu_, and who will be among the helpers of the Mahdi and Isa ibn Maryam, upon him be peace in the Last Days. Muhammad Bello said in _Infaq_ giving the ‘Good News’ to the people of the eastern region of the government: “I inform you all of that which he (the _Shehu_ ) informed me regarding the nearness of the appearance of the Mahdi, and that the _Jama’aat_ of the _Shehu_ are his forerunners and with the permission of Allah the _jihad_ will not cease until it reaches the Mahdi.” The author, _Shaykh_ Abd’l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa gave indication of the by words when he said: “And his partisans are like the water or like a ship * The one who takes them as necessities will never fear destruction; When examined closely they are like a single body * In mutual love, trust and giving spiritual benefit to others; As well as in arranging the teachings of the _Imam_. While the misdeeds of others have become apparent without restraint.” All praises are due to Allah for this wonderful blessing.

80 He was the _Imam_ and _Khateeb_ the ascetic scholar, Muhammad Zanghu. He was among the close disciples of the _Shehu_ who, along with his wife the ascetic and righteous Habiba attained Allah, direct experiential knowledge of Him and spiritual mastery by the hand of the _Shehu_. The _Shehu_ appointed him to the post of _Imam_ in once of the prominent _masajid_ in Sokoto. It was concerning him that one of the miracles of the _Shehu_ occurred as _Shaykh_ Gidadu ibn Laima said in his _Rawdat al-Afkaar_. “When the time of the death of the erudite _Imam_ Zanghu neared in Gwandu, it was heard that he suddenly said out loud: ‘Welcome! Have you come in order to greet me or in order to seize my spirit?’ A voice was heard to say: ‘In order to seize your spirit.’ He then said to his family members: ‘That is _Azafeel_ who had come in order to seize my spirit.’ I am asking him to wait so that I can meet the _Shehu_ one last time.” So immediately someone was sent in order to fetch him, and when the _Shehu_ came they spoke with one another. It was not long after their talk that he seized his spirit, may Allah be pleased with him.”

81 _Shaykh_ Abd’l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa said in his _Salwat al-Ikwaan_. “He was the spiritual master Muhammad who was known as Kari’ angha. He was among the elite of the people of spiritual unveiling and divine assistance. He possessed many astounding miracles and verified spiritual unveilings. He was among those _awliyya_ who trastanza the earth. _Shehu_ Uthman used to often mention him and narrate many amazing stories about him. Among the things that I heard from the _Shaykh_ discussions about him was that _Shaykh_ Kari’ angha could fly in air and visit the _awliya_ in many regions of the earth. He said that he traveled as far as reaching the primordial _Qaaf_ mountain.” [See my forthcoming commentary upon the _Munaajat_ of _Shehu_ Uthman for a more comprehensive discussion of the mountain of _Qaaf_ and what it is.]

82 The author used an _abjadi_ indicator to designate the number of years the _Shehu_ resided in Gwandu by combining the Arabic letters _baa_ and _daal_, which in the science of the cipher and letters equal 2 and 4 respectively and whose sum is 6.
Chapter on the Shehu’s Transferal to Sifawa

Then he transferred to Sifawa until he reached it

Staying there about five years based upon what was reported

There the shari’a was well established for all creatures

In the region and honor was given to the religion for the people

The conquering of Hausaland prevailed throughout all its lands

Like Nupe’, Thuway, Borgu and Yoruba all of them together

The land of the people of Gobir was conquered without hesitation

And the tyrants were taken as political captives out of caution against intrigue

The people inclined to the Shehu being diligent in following him

In the lands of the east, the west in southern lands and those of the north

They made military expeditions among the largest of the people of disbelief

In the lands of Ilo, a land which is situated in the south beyond the river

The Muslims fought and seized large amounts of wealth

And took large amounts of war spoils, and this was the paradigm

And praises are due to Allah for what was attained

For the intentions of the Shehu in his resolution was appreciative.

Chapter on the Relocation of the Shehu to Sokoto

I was informed by a group from the scholars

And likewise from a group from among the governors

That the arrival of the Shehu to Sokoto occurred on Tuesday

And he remained living there two years just short by half a day

The passing of our Shaykh, the sublimity of the religion

May Allah the Mightiest of all affairs shower him with mercy

As in the past it was indicated by many of the poets

And will continue until the coming of the Divine Decree of the Omnipotent

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83 Again using the abjadi indicator the Arabic letter haa equals 5 in the science of cipher and letters.
84 This occurred in the month of Ramadhan 1224 hijra (circa January 1810 C.E.).
85 Bahija as-Shaadhili said in her annotation of the Infaq al-Maysuur in footnote # 135 page 170: “Sifawa, the Shehu remained there systematizing and consolidating the government and political affairs, and being completely engrossed in instructing and teaching the people the matters of the religion.” For this period was one of the most fruitful eras for the Shehu with respect to: [1] the arrival of his spiritual disciples to direct gnosis of Allah and spiritual mastership; [2] the transmission of his ijazas in the foundation of the religion and the sciences of outward and inward to his disciples and students; [3] the creation of beneficial books regarding that and in the matters of government, politics and the matters of justice an equity in it.
86 The conquering of the lands of Ilo lasted from 1225 to 1226 hijra (circa 1810 to 1811 C.E.).
87 There is no doubt that these scholars and governors were among those whom the author, Shaykh Abd’l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa took religious knowledge from as he mentioned in his Turjumat and his Salwat. Some of them, as he mentioned were scholars who were not directly connected to the government and some scholars who were directly connected to it. For it was the custom of the Shehu not to appoint anyone to the affairs of government except those who were connected to knowledge and piety, as is well known with him. Among them were: his mother, Khadija bint Shehu; his father, the scribe and scholar Mustafa ibn Muhammad at-Turudi, the amir of Sallame’; his maternal uncle and spiritual master, Shaykh Muhammad Sanbu ibn Shehu; his maternal uncle, the Amir al-Mu’mineen Muhammad Bello ibn Shehu, the historian; his maternal uncle the learned Muhammad al-Bukhari ibn Shehu, the military commander; his paternal uncle Shaykh Gidadu ibn Shaykh Muhammad Aaru, the man of letters; his paternal uncle, the erudite Mudi ibn Laima; the learned sage Muhammad Yero ibn Gharu, the military commander; and others whom he mentioned in his Salwat. These are those from whom Shaykh Abd’l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa took the history and biography of Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ and its secrets.
The affair of his death was extremely hard upon humanity
Then they appointed Bello to take authority of the affairs of Islam
At that time he sent out his armies against
Due to the earlier shock of the Shaykh of illumination
May Allah illuminate his burial chamber for him
Thus, due to the loss of the Shehu the misfortunes became dreadful
The people of Kuri disdainfully nullified and cast off their allegiance
However, Allah sent down his Divine relief
Upon Bello the Imam whose affair He exalted
Then Namoda along with Dan Jade were among those killed
And the disbelievers equipped an army that were as numerous as the sands
Who then attacked Qirari and made military excursions
And the jurist Hamdan attained martyrdom
The disbelievers made examples by torturing men and women
And they made exceeding ridicule of Islam and made fun of it

88 Here the author, may Allah be merciful to him indicates that the memoirs and biography of Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ will continue to be remembered until the Day of Judgment, Allah willing.
89 This is to say that Muhammad Bello was appointed to the authority on the day of the death of the Shehu, Tuesday in the presence of the people and many of his brothers, some who were more senior than him in years; and this was based upon the bequest of Shehu Uthman, may Allah be merciful to him, as Shaykh Bello ibn Uthman al-Fulani as-Sokoti said in his concise history. Waziri Junayd ibn Muhammad al-Bukhari said in his Miftah al-Ikhwaan that when the Shehu was stationed in Sifawa there came to him some of the scholars from the town of Kadaaya to visit him after first visiting Muhammad Bello in Sokoto. They said to the Shehu: “The authority of you two has become problematic for us. So tell which of you two has the true possession of the governmental authority?” The Shehu said: “To me belongs the authority, however return to Muhammad Bello and be with him in the land. He is the one more suitable to your needs. Go to him and he will protect your rights with regard to us.” They then returned to Sokoto and kept company with him throughout the period of their lives. In this dialogue is an clear indication of the Shehu’s contentment with the authority over the khilaafa after him.
90 This was the above mentioned learned military commander Muhammad Namoda, who was married to the sister of Amir al-Mu’minen Muhammad Bello, Hanna bint Shehu.
91 He was the learned Shaykh Hamdan, the son of the Shaykh of Islam, realized erudite Abu’l-Amaana Jibril ibn Umar, may Allah be merciful to him.
92 Shaykh Abd’l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa said in his Rawdat which gives the meaning of these poetic stanzas: ‘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 Banaagh, 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’s-Salaam revolted and led a campaign that lasted the Amir conquered his lands in the last part of the month of Safar. 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. 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. 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
Yet, Allah eventually gave victory to the *Amir’l-Mu’mineen* Bello, against all the belligerent disbelievers of the lands of Hausa.  
Like those revolted against him from the people of Kuray  
He smashed them and reduced them to being political prisoners  
He was witnessed to manifest all the noble characteristics  
Like kindness, beneficent pardon and financial expenditure  
Towards those who envied him as well as those who caused agitation  
And as is well known those who possessed the trait of disaffection  
He stood up and established with supervision the reconciliation  
Between the true believers, the common Muslims and those who had deviated  
He made straight the affairs of the representatives of the military fortresses  
By every form of investigations and likewise by every form of circuit  
Likewise he established a system of training equestrian horses for the *jihad*  
And manufacturing and increasing instruments of war and their preparations.  
He carried the burden of the servants of Allah  
And gave assistance to the Path of the Chosen One  
He was the starting point of all the military citadels in the regions  
And the dispatcher of military expeditions against the disbelievers  
He was dutiful, virtuous, good natured and veracious  
He was source of guidance, and had no sign of blundering  
In every single science he possessed clarity  
And in the science of the art of medicine he was its analyst  
He consumed his times in the dissemination of knowledge  
To the ignorant as well as the scholar who possessed comprehension  
He became sick in the seventh of the month of *Rajab*  
He took leave of us on the admirable day of Thursday  
In the citadel of Wurno, which became a great misfortune  
And then the administration leaders and regional governors took council  
Subsequently, they all agreed upon the `Ateeq of Allah  
They all made him their ruler, without any reservations  
He was a *mujtahid* in the religion with regard to *jihad*  

was during this time that the unfortunate affair and revolt of Kalanbaina took place. Verily we belong to Allah and to Him is our final return.” All of these afflictions occurred from Sunday night, the 3rd of *Jumad al-Akhir* 1232 hijra [circa 20th of April, 1817 C.E.] until the unfortunate affair of Kalanbaina. In Kalembaina were some of the followers of the late Abd’s-Salaam who revolted and resisted the forces of *Shaykh* Abdullahi ibn Fuduyee for more than two years from 1235 to 1237 hijra [circa 1820 to 1822 C.E.].  

That is Allah gave victory to him by the coming of 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 Fuduyee who assisted *Shaykh* Abdullahi ibn Fuduyee against the people of Kalembaina and defeated them.  

According to the *Tarikh Sokoto* of al-Hajj Sa’d, *Amir’l-Mu’mineen* Muhammad Bello placed his brother, Abu Bakr Atiku and his paternal cousin, Modibo Aal over the matter of the training of the horses, the instruments of war and the military training of the *mujahidaan* for *jihad*.  

Muhammad Bello became sick on the 7th of *Rajab* 1253 hijra [circa 3 October 1837 C.E.].  

Muhammad Bello died on Thursday the 21 of *Rajab* 1253 hijra, (circa 20 October 1847 C.E.). He was buried in the military which he built called Wurno. The author, *Shaykh* Abd’l-Qaadir was 34 years at that time.  

Then the oath of allegiance was given to the brother of Muhammad Bello, Abu Bakr Atiku ibn *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduyee on Thursday 2nd *Sha baan* 1253 hijra (circa 27 October 1837 C.E.). His mother was Hawwa, the daughter of the learned Adam ibn Muhammad Agh. Atiku was younger than Bello in years. His nickname ‘Atiku Allah’ is the same nickname given to Abu Bakr as-Pagea, may Allah be pleased with him. He was named with this name because Allah ta’ala saved him from the Fire.
He was persistent in taking care of the general welfare of the servants, He constantly warned the people against following Satan, and he brought excellence to the lands, like the improvement of the markets. He was the dispatcher of many armies against the enemies and he was the benefactor for all the governors and the dispossessed. The purification of the heart was his binding engagement, and having a peaceful heart was well known with him. Then the Divine decree was determined for him at Katuura, but he encountered it with piety as is well known with him. May Allah be merciful to him and reward him with good. As a result of his piety, he then suffer from all dangers. Then the leaders of all the lands agreed, and then appointed the Aliyu over the servants.

He stood firm making effort in following the footsteps of those before him, in the matters of implementing the law and customs for which he is praised. He seized the clear rights from the oppressors, and did not fear in that the criticism of those who criticize. Every person who possessed rights received their rights from him, and those who lacked rights he was a guaranteed support for them. He possessed tolerance and a firm standing in good character. He possessed resolute decision making ability and was grateful to the Creator. He met his Divine decree in the morning, on Friday while he was in a state of uprightness. May Allah show His pardon to him and to all, and everyone who was obedient to them.

98 Among the virtues of Abu Bakr Atiku is that he was the possessor of the secrets of his father, the Shehu. It has been narrated that the Shehu informed him of 115 varieties of secrets. He however only informed people of 15 of these, while the remaining 100 is did inform anyone until the day he died. The reason for him attaining this virtue was that he used to serve the Shehu constantly, and even during a portion of the night and would be the one to lock the door of the Shehu when left.

99 Abu Bakr Atiku ibn Shehu died returning from a military expedition on Thursday the 11th of Shawwal 1258 hijra (circa August 1842 C.E.). He was buried in a village called Katuura where his grave is located. Among his outstanding traits is that he, may Allah ta`ala be merciful to him was one of the ten hopeful awliyya whom the Shehu testified from his companions would attain Paradise. The remainder of them were: Abdullahi Firuwu; Uthman ad-Duhaak; Malam Is’haq; Uthman Jallo; Malam Umar; Muhammad ibn Ghurta; Muhammad Yero; Muhammad al-Ghadawi; and Muhammad as-Sawawwi. Oh Allah benefit us by them in the life and the Next. The age of the author, Shaykh Abd’l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa at this time was 40 years old. During the rule of Abu Bakr Atiku, the father of the author, the learned Shaykh Mustafa ibn Muhammad at-Turudi died on Tuesday the 12th of Rajab 1261 hijra (circa ), and his body was taken to Wurno where he was buried near Amir al-Mu’mineen Muhammad Bello, may Allah be merciful to both of them. Then Shaykh Abd’l-Qadir ibn Mustafa was appointed to rule the government of Salame and was made the rector of the Islamic university there.

100 Aliyu was appointed on Thursday the 18th of Shawwal 1258 hijra (circa August 1842 C.E.). He was Aliyu, nicknamed Baba, or Aliyu al-Kabir, the son of Muhammad Bello ibn Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye’ Muhammad ibn Uthman ibn Saalih ibn Harun ibn Muhammad Ghurtu ibn Muhammad Jubbu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Buba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli. The oath of allegiance was given to him in Sokoto after the return of the army from the military expeditions.

101 Aliyu Baba ibn Muhammad Bello ibn Shehu died on Friday the 21st of Rabi al-Awwal 1276 hijra (circa 21 October 1850 C.E.). He was buried near his father, Muhammad Bello in Wurno. In the third year of his government the ruler of Gobir attacked the land under the authority of Shaykh Abd’l-Qadir
Then Allah gathered all our intellects\textsuperscript{102}
And connected all our affairs to Ahmad\textsuperscript{103}
The oath of allegiance was given to him with the pleasure of the Lord of Truth
He has subsequently established the laws of the shari`a with sincerity
He has led all of us, one and all to what is correct
In the shari`a in accordance with the Sunna and the Book
May Allah assist him with giving victory to the religion
And make him joyful with the joy of the two worlds
And may Allah extend his years for us so that we
Can give assistance to him, helping him in his affair\textsuperscript{104}

\textbf{An Advantage That Can Not Be Lifted}

So listen, and may Allah guide you to what I say
And not allow the absentminded reach this
From the time of the relocation of the \textit{Shehu} from the land of Gudu
To the time of his untimely death were thirteen when enumerated\textsuperscript{105}

From years, so listen carefully to my words
You will find that they are arranged consecutively
And then Abdullahi lived after the \textit{Shehu}
Fourteen years, so take that without any doubt\textsuperscript{106}

\textsuperscript{102} Here the Shaykh clearly indicates that during this time he was among the people of the governmental council just as his father before him was during his time.
\textsuperscript{103} The authority was given over to Ahmad Zaruku ibn Abu Bakr Atiku ibn Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye` on Sunday the 23\textsuperscript{rd} of \textit{Rabi al-Awwal} 1276 hijra (circa 23 October 1859 C.E.). When the oath of allegiance was given to Ahmad Zaruku, the author was fifty five years old.
\textsuperscript{104} It is clear from his words here that he was among those who gave council to \textit{Amir al-Mu'mineen} Ahmad Zaruku and assisted him in his government. The author Shaykh Abd'l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa was among the closest of friends to Ahmad Zaruku even before he was given the authority. Prior to being appointed over the government he was the regional governor of the military citadel named Chimola, which was near the land of Salame` over which the author, Shaykh Abd'l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa was the governor. Ahmad Zaruku saw then that Shaykh Abd'l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa had attained the highest stations in knowledge, personal piety, spiritual gnosis, in the secrets of Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye` as well as the mystical secrets with which Allah established his government. For this reason Ahmad Zaruku promised Shaykh Abd'l-Qaadir that when the authority is given to him that he would appoint him and the \textit{Wazir} and the Prime Minister over the Sokoto Caliphate. However, when Ahmad Zaruku was given the authority and he desired fulfill his promise to Shaykh Abd'l-Qaadir, Nana Asmau the daughter of the \textit{Shehu} rejected this outright because she claimed that the traditional custom of the appointment of the office of Prime Minister was always to go to her children from her husband Gidadu ibn Laima. She threatened that if he attempted to fulfill this promise to Shaykh Abd'l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa, the authority of the Caliphate would not be given to him. It is likely that as a result of this there emerged some difficulties between Shaykh Abd'l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa and Nana Asmau bint Shehu. It is therefore possible that the reason for the composition of this poem based upon the Fulfulde` poem of Nana Asmau bint Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye` was in order to bring about rectification between them by recognizing her rights as well as the same time showing clear proof that he was indeed deserving and qualified by the extent of his learning for the appointment which \textit{Amir 'l-Mu'mineen} Ahmad Zaruku promised him. And Allah knows best.
\textsuperscript{105} The summation of the letters equal 13 because the letter \textit{yaa} = 10 and the letter \textit{jeem} = 3 in the science of cipher. For the \textit{Shehu} made his \textit{hijra} to Gudu on Wednesday, the 12\textsuperscript{th} of \textit{Dhul-Qa'ida} 1218 hijra (circa 15 October 1804 C.E.). He then resided there for 5 months before relocating on Saturday the 1\textsuperscript{st} of \textit{Rabi al-Awal} 1219 hijra (circa 22 July 1804 C.E.). Thus, from that day until his death there was 13 years, because he died on Sunday, the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of \textit{Jumad al-Thani} 1232 hijra (circa 20 April 1817 C.E.) and he was 63 years old like the years of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.
And Bello lived after Abdullahi
   About seven years so wake up! 107
All together they lived from years
   After the reformer was twenty-one, so take them as a shelter 108
After him Atiku Allah lived
   For about five years, so hope and do not be heedless 109
And then Aliyu lived after him seventeen years
   So understand the words regarding it O virtuous one 110
And may our Lord show fortune upon them and upon
   Everyone who awakens from the state if the ignorant ones

Conclusion and may Allah Give Us an Excellent One

We ask for Divine Pleasure from our Lord
   For all of them and more appropriately for Uthman
Here ends the Description of the land of the Blacks
   With the help from the One who will revive dead bones
O my Lord, my Refuge, my Master facilitate
   Our redemption by the rank of all those mentioned
And make the meeting with them easy for us on the Day of Return
   And decree for us to witness them with our eyes without any veil
So that we can be their neighbors in the Land of Eternal Peace
   And make us fortunate with Your generosity at that Final Goal
By the rank of the Best of creation the possessor of radiance
   Muhammad the one who always responds, the possessor of secrets
And his family, companions and those help
   To guide us upon the Straight Methodology
And our cipher from the Prophetic hijra
   Is with sharif in an enumeration which is overt 111
As for its stanzas then examine the word kareema you will be guided 112
   By their enumeration I give praise to my Guiding Sustainer 113

106 The summation of the letters equal 14 because the letter daal = 4 and the letter yaa = 10 in the
   science of cipher. For Shaykh Abdullahi ibn Fuduye died on Wednesday, the 1st of Muharram 1245
   hijra (circa 3 August 1829 C.E.) and he was 66 years old.
107 This is seven years because the letter zaai = 7 in the science of cipher. For Muhammad Bello died on
   Thursday, the 25th of Rajab 1253 hijra (circa 1 December 1837 C.E.) and he was 58 years old.
108 That is to say twenty-one years in all because in the science of cipher the letter alif = 1 and the letter
   kaaf = 20.
109 This is five years because the letter haa = 5 in the science of cipher. For Abu Bakr Atiku died on
   Thursday the 11th of Rajab 1258 hijra (circa August 1842 C.E.) and he was 64 years old.
110 The summation of the letters is seventeen years because the letter yaa = 10 and the letter zaai = 7 in
   the science of cipher. For Aliyu Baba ibn Muhammad Bello ibn Shehu on Friday the 21st of Rabi al-
   Awwal 1272 hijra (circa 21 October 1809 C.E.) and he was 55 years old.
111 This enigmatic stanza means that Shaykh Abd’l-Qaadir ibn Mustafa completed this poem on
   Wednesday the 27th of Muharram 1282 hijra (circa 21st June 1865 C.E.) and he was at that time 61
   years old.
112 The number of the stanzas of this poem are 271 because in the science of cipher the letter kaaf = 20,
   the letter raay = 200, the letter yaa = 10, and the letter alif = 1, the summation of all of them being 271.
113 What is intended by these mysterious words is that if you desire to know the day and month in
   which this poem was composed then examine the number of its stanzas, only then will you be guided to
   its secrets which is 271 or 27-1 that is to say, the 27th day of the 1st month which is Muharram, which
   fell on a Wednesday. And Allah ta`ala knows best. It is also conceivable that what is intended by these
   mystical words is that the number of times which the author recites the litany of praise: “All praises are
The transcription has been completed with praise of Allah ta’ala and the best of His help and success, and blessings and peace be upon the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace – Amen.¹¹⁴

due to Allah the Lord of the worlds”, which is the litany of the station of gratitude, the last of the stations of uprightness

¹¹⁴ On the borders of folio 20 in ‘manuscript A’ is a vocative particle yaa followed by an unknown word kayakataja whose meaning is unknown to me. However this particular expression can be found transcribed at the end of many manuscripts discovered in the Bilad as-Sudan. Therefore, I assume that it is either a hidden Name or Names of Allah through the combination of the letters, or it is the name of an Angel or spiritual being that is perhaps responsible for the preservation of paper, books and knowledge. And Allah knows best. All praises are due to Allah and with the best of His success I completed the commentary upon the poem of our Shaykh on Sunday, the 6th of Rabi al-Awwal 1428 from the prophetic hijra in the city of Yanqing, in China. O Allah forgive the scribe of the text by means of the baraka of Muhammad, upon him be peace, while the scribe is buried in the earth. And the last of our supplications is “All praises are due to Allah the Lord of the worlds”.

SANKORE'

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