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**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

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

**Institute of Islamic-African
Studies International**

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Institute of Islamic - African Studies

E-Mail: www.sankore.org/sankore.instituteinternational@yahoo.com

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا

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 Blacklands¹
It will be of benefit after to those in times to come
I will narrate in it what Asma'u² put in poetic verse
Of hers composed in non-Arabic in which she dictated³

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 Baaiyaaya.” 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-Qadir*, 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-Qadir; *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 *Quran*, 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 *Wakar 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 defused among the *Nujaba*⁵

And the People of Contentment⁶ numbered her among the *Nuqaba*⁷
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 Atiqu ibn *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye, 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 her 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 defused 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 of *Nana* 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 *Aqtaab* (the Spiritual Poles), the Two *Imams*, the *Awtaad* (the Spiritual Pegs), the *Abdaal* (the spiritual Substitutes), the *Rajibiyyuun* (the People of the Month of *Rajab*) and the *Ruhbaan* (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 *Munaajat* 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 *Naqeeb* in each age, based upon the twelve orbits of the constellation. Each *Naqeeb* 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 *Nuqaba* 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 Iblis, he is completely unveiled 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 Saalih ibn Harun ibn Muhammad Ghurtu ibn Jubba ibn Muhamad Sanbu ibn Masiraan ibn Ayyub ibn Buba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli, 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 Jokolli.

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 rectification⁹

Introduction

When Allah desired to give victory to the religion
He gave His assistance to the trustworthy gnostic¹⁰
The light of the age, the one who gave nobility to Islam
The reformer of the religion, the father of noble ones¹¹
The *Shaykh* of all the *shuyuukh*, 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 Allah¹²
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 coalition¹³

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 *jihad*. 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-Qadir, 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 Vicegerent 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 traditions¹⁴
 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*¹⁵
 While the misdeeds of others have become apparent without restraint¹⁶
 That was like the one who humiliated himself, the shedder of blood
 *Yunfa*¹⁷ who committed tyranny in the religion, and he had a disease

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 or 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 misdeed¹⁸
 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
 While some did it out of fear of the Divine punishment
 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 Jedo¹⁹ to the lands of Gudu
 In order to inform the people about an order that had been praised²⁰
 Mahmud Ghurdam²¹, 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 12th of Dhu'l-Qui`da
 On the day of Thursday from Degel, this was his place of joy²²
 First to Kuri Naghinda and then followed by Timbaa
 Likewise Kalmaalu, a place essential for taking water
 He stayed the night at Farkaaji²³ and likewise at Ruwaawuri²⁴
 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 *Tazyeen al-Waraqat*: "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 *jihad*, 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 15th 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 Ruwaawuri 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*’²⁵
 The first to give the oath of allegiance was his brother
 Abdullahi, likewise did he and others narrate the story²⁶
 He then ordered Ali over the military armies²⁷
 He eventually turned out to be severe against the enemies
 He ordered the establishment of the judiciary,²⁸ likewise to Modibo²⁹
 Who initiated the punitive punishments of the *shari`a* that was incumbent
 Then the people of Muweeju 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 Yitti³⁰ and Laadan³¹ 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 Throne³²
 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 banded 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 *Sunnah*.”

²⁷ This was the above mentioned Ali Jedo, the husband of Faatuma, the daughter of the *Shehu*.

²⁸ This means that the *Shehu* ordered for the establishment of the judiciary and placed it under the charge of the learned *Imam* and *Khateeb* 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.

²⁹ He was the Magistrate Muhammad Julde’, nicknamed Modibo, the son of Muhammad ibn Ayishtawa 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 Bulku’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 *Nana* 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 humiliated³³
 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 *Jihaad* 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 heels 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
 Ghaluuji, Fawruughu, and likewise Laa'u
 Then came Dinfaati, after which came Sifawa
 Jaariti along with Maghabshi were reached the same day³⁴

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

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 camped³⁵
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.

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 *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'iyi 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 Tukur³⁶ 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: "*Everything upon it is in annihilation*"?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

³⁵ This was on Sunday the 3rd of *Rajab* 1219 *hijra* (circa 7 October, 1804 C.E.), where he camped for some days.

³⁶ He was the outstanding *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 *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 *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 *Mawlid* of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace.

³⁷ This is from the words of Allah ta'ala: "*Everything upon it is in annihilation. There only remains the Countenance of the Possessor of Majesty and Generosity.*" Chapter *ar-Rahman*: 26-27.

For the gate is wide open with no gate keeper
 So leave us with the masters of hearts and return
 To your words about which you were originally concerned
 Then these directed themselves towards the encounter at Alkalawa
 Towards the place where the tyrannical oppressors had taken as a center³⁸
 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, then they were forced to turn tail and flee
 However, they killed a company among the scholars
 During the battle at the initiation of the encounter³⁹
 Among them was the *Imam* Mumman Sanbu⁴⁰
 And many of them were from the people of Jubbu⁴¹
 Those killed among them was the learned Sa`daara⁴²
 The master of the sciences of grammar and historical narratives
 And Zayd⁴³, Ditti,⁴⁴ then Daadan⁴⁵ 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 certainty⁴⁶
 May Allah shower His pardon upon all of them
 And make our love for them a means of intercession for us
 The martyrs at Tsunthuwa can not be counted
 Due to the extensiveness of their numbers which were innumerable
 After this, the *Shehu* resided in a place called Buri
 Sometimes making military expeditions and at other times being attacked⁴⁷

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 Hudaa. Muhammad Ghurtu had four sons, while Aal had five sons. 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`daara, the son of al-Hassan, known as Baba ibn Muhammad ibn al-Hassan ibn Hamm ibn Aal ibn Muhammad Jubbu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Buba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli. The mother of *Shaykh* Sa`daara was Umma Hani, the daughter of Bu`tughu bint Barki.

⁴³ In the *Infaq al-Maysuur* 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 Hamm 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-Waraqat*.

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 *Ramadhan* 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 victory⁵³
 And regarding their participants, say: Umar Dulaaji⁵⁴
 And from those who assisted him like the son of al-Hajji⁵⁵
 They were dispatched against the tyrants of Katsina
 Which they conquered, for their affair in that was excellent⁵⁶
 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 Alwala 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 Jamu⁵⁷, Dan Daabu as well as Tahiru⁵⁸
 Malam Jabir⁵⁹, and the *shaykh* of literature Mahiru⁶⁰

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 Dulaji ibn Abu Bakr ibn Ma'llam Mighami ibn Ta'indu Ali ibn Muhammad Jubbu ibn Aal ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Buba 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 *jihād* 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 Kulthum bint Ghurtu ibn Bilku`u ibn Muhammad Ghurtu ibn Muhammad Jubbu ibn Muhammad Sanbu ibn Maasiran ibn Ayyub ibn Buba 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-Khidr, Ali, Safiya, Maymuna, Uthman, and Imama. Ali ibn Abdullahi ibn Fuduye` was renowned 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 Buba 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 *Ramadhan*⁶⁴
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 Buba Baba ibn Abu Bakr ibn Musa Jokolli. 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 Bunkaashawaa, then to Saadawaa, and from there to Ghadhuri. From this village he camped in Maragha, then Baaghithu 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 fashion⁶⁶
 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*⁶⁷
 The inheritor of our *Shaykh* the *Imam* al-Jayli⁶⁸
 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 there⁶⁹

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'd-Deen* Abu Muhammad Abd'l-Qadir 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 *awliya* 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-Qadir 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-Qadir 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-Qadir 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-Qadir 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 fortress⁷⁰
 He gave the flag of his army to the pride of the religion
 Bello, the *Imam*, the learned authority, the trustworthy⁷¹
 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

⁶⁹ 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`ida* 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 Fuduye` 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* Abdullah'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 Fuduye` 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.

⁷⁰ 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.

⁷¹ He was Abu Ali 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. 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 Moinna, Maryum, and Hanna. He was born on Wednesday in the month of *Dhu'l-Qa`ida* 1190 *hijra*. *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qadir 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 Fuduye` 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 counted⁷²
 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 government⁷³
 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 established⁷⁴
 And appointed the military commander Malam Musa⁷⁵
 To the country of Zakzak and added to his authority Muqbisah
 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 Excellence⁷⁶
 The *Shehu* divided the regions of the earth
 From its abundant length and its width
 Dividing its western parts for the Master of the scholars⁷⁷
 And its eastern parts for Bello⁷⁸, with equity⁷⁹

⁷² The conquering of Alkalawa occurred on Thursday the 10th of *Rajab* 1224 *hijra* (circa 1 September 1808 C.E.).

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 Fuduy` because he was the one responsible for consolidating and systematizing the Sokoto Islamic government, and Allah knows best.

⁷⁴ All of this occurred between the years of 1226 and 1227 of the *hijra* (circa 1811 to 1812 C.E.).

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.

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.).

⁷⁷ This refers to *Shaykh* Abdullahi ibn Fuduye`, the brother of the *Shehu*.

⁷⁸ That is Muhammad Bello ibn *Shehu*.

At that time the righteous marshal died
Imam Zanghi, the possessor of spiritual ranks⁸⁰
 And likewise the knower of Divine secrets
Kari`angha, the possessor of unveiling and illumination⁸¹
 May our Lord the Beneficent, the Owner of gratitude
 Favor both of them with His Divine Pleasure
 And then *Shehu* stayed equal to six years⁸²
 In the fortress of Gwandu, giving victory to Islam

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 *hijra*, *baraka* and true remnant of the *Shehu* would be on the banks of the Nile River, where his *Jama`aat* would gather to meet with *Imam* al-Mahdi; as Muhammad Bello said in his *Infaq*, Abu Bakr Atiku ibn *Shehu* said in his *Wathiqa* and Maryum bint *Shehu* said in her *Risalat* regarding the *hijra* to the east. The division of the west being given over to *Shaykh* Abdullahi means that the 'west' will 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 Maryum, 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-Qadir 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 `Azrafeel 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-Qadir 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 tratanza 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 years⁸³ based upon what was reported⁸⁴
There the *shari`a* was well established for all creatures
In the region and honor was given to the religion for the people⁸⁵
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 river⁸⁶
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 governors⁸⁷
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 Omnipotent⁸⁸

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 *ijaazas* 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 and 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-Qadir ibn Mustafa* took religious knowledge from as he mentioned in his *Turjumah* 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-Qadir 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 Islam⁸⁹
 At that time he sent out his armies against
 The military fortress of Bakuri, but his army had lost heart
 Due to the earlier shock of the *Shaykh* of illumination
 And the bereavement of his lost by the decree of the Omnipotent
 May Allah illuminate his burial chamber for him
 And confer on it His pleasant fragrances and breezes
 Thus, due to the loss of the *Shehu* the misfortunes became dreadful
 The people of Kuri disdainfully nullified and cast off their allegiance
 The buzzards of the time tried to weaken
 The affair of the Muslims who resided in Blacklands
 However, Allah sent down his Divine relief
 Upon Bello the *Imam* whose affair He exalted
 Then Namoda⁹⁰ 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
 Fighting and taking captives then made their encampment
 And the jurist Hamdan attained martyrdom
 The descendent of Abu'l-Amaana al-Hassan⁹¹
 The disbelievers made examples by torturing men and women
 And they made exceeding ridicule of Islam and made fun of it⁹²

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 'l-Mu'mineen* 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-Qadir 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 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'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 Hausa⁹³
 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 preparations⁹⁴
 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*⁹⁵
 He took leave of us on the admirable day of Thursday⁹⁶
 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 Allah⁹⁷
 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 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.].

⁹³ 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 Fuduye' who assisted *Shaykh* Abdullahi ibn Fuduye' against the people of Kalemabaina and defeated them.

⁹⁴ According to the *Tarikh Sokoto* of al-Hajj Sa'id, *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 *mujahiduun* for *jihad*.

⁹⁵ Muhammad Bello became sick on the 7th of *Rajab* 1253 *hijra* (circa 3 October 1837 C.E.).

⁹⁶ 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.

⁹⁷ Then the oath of allegiance was given to the brother of Muhammad Bello, Abu Bakr Atiku ibn *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye' 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-Sideeq, 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 follow Satan
 And commanded the entire population to adhere to spiritual excellence⁹⁸
 The possessor of generosity, kindness and sincere friendship
 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 him⁹⁹
 May Allah be merciful to him and reward him with good
 As a result of his cadre and then suffice him from all dangers
 Then the leaders of all the lands agreed
 And then appointed the Aliyu over the servants¹⁰⁰
 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 them¹⁰¹

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 he did not 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 Firuuwu; Uthman ad-Duhaak; Malam Is'haq; Uthman Jallo; Malam Umar; Muhammad ibn Ghuru; 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-Qaadir 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-Qaadir

Then Allah gathered all our intellects¹⁰²
 And connected all our affairs to Ahmad¹⁰³
 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 affair¹⁰⁴

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 *Shehu* from the land of Gudu
 To the time of his untimely death were thirteen when enumerated¹⁰⁵
 From years, so listen carefully to my words
 You will find that they are arranged consecutively
 And then Abdullahi lived after the *Shehu*
 Fourteen years, so take that without any doubt¹⁰⁶

ibn Mustafa, Salame` and its surroundings, where their armies caused much corruption and seized the books of the *Shaykh*, and he made the *hijra* to Sokoto.

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.

¹⁰³ The authority was given over to Ahmad Zaruku ibn Abu Bakr Atiku ibn *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye` on Sunday the 23rd of *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.

¹⁰⁴ It is clear from his words here that he was among those who gave council to *Amir al-Mu`mineen* Ahmad Zaruku and assisted him in his government. The author *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qadir ibn Mustafa was among the closest of friends to Ahmad Zaruku even before his 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-Qadir ibn Mustafa was the governor. Ahmad Zaruku saw then that *Shaykh* Abd'l-Qadir 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-Qadir that when the authority is given to him that he would appoint him and the *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-Qadir, *Nana* Asmau the daughter of the *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-Qadir 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-Qadir 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 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 *Amir 'l-Mu`mineen* Ahmad Zaruku promised him. And Allah knows best.

¹⁰⁵ The summation of the letters equal 13 because the letter *yaa* = 10 and the letter *jeem* = 3 in the science of cipher. For the *Shehu* made his *hijra* to Gudu on Wednesday, the 12th of *Dhul'-Qa`ida* 1218 *hijra* (circa 15 October 1804 C.E.). He then resided there for 5 months before relocating on Saturday the 1st of *Rabi al-Awwal* 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 3rd of *Jumad at-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 shelter¹⁰⁸
 After him Atiku Allah lived
 For about five years, so hope and do not be heedless¹⁰⁹
 And then Aliyu lived after him seventeen years
 So understand the words regarding it O virtuous one¹¹⁰
 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 overt¹¹¹
 As for its stanzas then examine the word *kareema* you will be guided¹¹²
 By their enumeration I give praise to my Guiding Sustainer¹¹³

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 *zaa* - 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-ones 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 *zaa* = 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-Qadir 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 *raa* = 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

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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*".