In 1774, a young Turudbe Fulani man named Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye’ began a social revolution that would change the entire map of Western, Central and Eastern Bilad’s-Sudan. Shehu Uthman began his career by traveling throughout the villages and metropoles of Hausaland, calling the people to the religion of Islam. His methodology of reforming Hausaland included going to the markets and singing Fulbe and Hausa songs to writing Arabic texts addressing the many social ills which effected the people. The blameworthy characteristics, which he rose to correct, were: the persistent pagan customs that prevailed among Muslims and non-Muslims alike; the heretical innovations that the evil scholars allowed to proliferate among the people; the injustice of the rulers; and the illicit behavior and immorality that afflicted family and community life.

Shehu Uthman initiated the practice of teaching as he learned. Thus, around him there emerged a cadre of learned colleagues who shared his zeal for erudition and reform. Among these colleagues were his brother Abdullahi, his best friend Umar Kammi, and many of his sons and daughters - like Muhammad Bello, Muhammad Sanbu, Khadija and Nana Asma'u. Whenever the Shehu recognized that an issue was unresolved or not clear to his colleagues, he would set out immediately to compose a book dealing with the fundamentals of that issue. Thus, around him grew a very learned group of men and women, who were inspired to spread education and reform as the Shehu had done. Murray Last quotes a Hausa poem that gives an accurate picture of the extent of the social revolution that the Shehu had created in Hausaland at that time,

"Verily a cloud has settled on Allah's earth
A cloud so dense that escape from it is impossible
Everywhere between Kordofan and Gobir
And the cities of the Kindin (Tuareg)
Are the settlements of the dogs of the Fulani
Worshipping Allah in all their dwelling places
In reforming all districts and provinces
Ready for the future bliss
So in this year of 1214 they are following their beneficent theories
As though it were time to set the world in order by preaching."2

From 1774 to 1788, Shehu Uthman established himself as a pious and upright scholar dedicated to giving life to the Sunna of Prophet Muhammad and destroying non-Islamic heretical practices. Most of the writings and preaching the Shehu was involved with during this period covered the science of *tawhid* (theology), *aqida* (doctrine), *fiqh* (jurisprudence), and *tasawwuf* (sufism). Among his more outstanding works during this period were *Tanbih’-Taulab `Ala Allah Ma’ruf bi’l-Fitra, Sawu’l-Umma li ‘Itiba’u s’-Sunna* and *al-Amr bi’l-Ma’ruf wa’n-Nahyi ‘an’l-Munkar*. As a result of his dedication and steadfastness, he accumulated a multitude of students and scholars as supporters. This also brought him to the notice of the rulers throughout Hausaland. At the end of the year of 1788, the Shehu was summoned along with all the scholars of the country by Bawa the ruler of Gobir during the `id prayer celebrating the end of Hajj season. According to Professor el-Misri, Bawa intended to assassinate Shehu Uthman. However, this plan failed and the ruler instead presented the Shehu with 500 mithqals of gold. Shehu Uthman’s response to this was:

"Neither I nor my *jam`aat* are in need of your money. However, we want five ‘cloaks’ from you. [1] To allow me to invite the people to Allah in your land. [2] Not to stop anyone who intends to respond to my invitation. [3] To treat every person wearing the turban or a veil with respect. [4] To free all political prisoners. And [5] not to burden your subjects with unjust taxes."  

The ruler Bawa acquiesced to all of Shehu Uthman’s demands and then said as the Shehu got up to leave, "Do you see that Fulani man? After me there will no longer be any king over Gobir, with the exception of common village heads." During this meeting more than one thousand scholars accompanied Shehu Uthman, giving some indication of the amount of support he held among the intellectual community of Hausaland. Soon after this event during the same year Bawa the ruler of Gobir died and his son Yakubu was appointed as ruler of Gobir.  

Though Shehu Uthman had composed more than fifty works during this period, his most outstanding work of this time was a book he wrote when he reached the age of 41 in 1795 called *Ihya’s-Sunna wa Ikhmad’l-Bid’a*. This text became his *magnum opus* and it propelled him above all the scholars of his time, earning him the title of *mujjadid* (reformer) of the twelfth Islamic century. The *Ihya* became the handbook for most of the revolutionaries of *Bilad’s- Sudan* and was his largest work, covering all aspects of theology and law. It must be pointed out here that the Muslims believed at that time that there had been eleven *mujjadids* (reformers) whose job was to revive the *Sunna* of

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3. _Abdullahi Dan Fuduye*, p.86.
6. _ Ibid., f.7-8.
7. _Ibid., f.7-8.

During this same period Yakubu the ruler of Gobir died and his brother Nafata was appointed as ruler.\footnote{J.A. Burdon, Northern Nigeria: Some Notes on Certain Emirates and Tribes, (London, 1909), p.66.} It is during his reign that Shehu Uthman began to face intense hostility and opposition to his mission. As a result, Nafata repealed all of the concessions made by his father Bawa to the Shehu. According to Muhammad Bello, Nafata passed the edict forbidding anyone to preach except the Shehu, forbidding anyone to convert from his father's religion, ordering all who had converted to Islam to return to their previous religion, and forbidding anyone to wear the turban or veil.\footnote{Muhammad Bello, Infaq'l-Maysur, (Abu Bakr Gummi, Cairo), 1964, p.69.} These edicts were designed to reintegrate the Shehu's community back into the jurisdiction of Gobir and to break the increasing influence, which Shehu Uthman had over the people of Hausaland.

In 1797, the Shehu wrote a series of poems in Fulbe encouraging his followers to wear the turbans, veils and to start collecting weapons, because all of these practices were apart of the Sunna of the Prophet.\footnote{F.H. el-Misi, p.23.} This marked the beginning of the break with the Habe authorities. Throughout Hausaland the Fulani, Hausa, Nupe and other supporters of the Shehu began gathering weapons and preparing for the hijra from under the jurisdiction of the disbelievers. By 1803, Shehu Uthman had written his Masa'il'l-Muhimma pointing out among many issues: the obligation to make hijra from the lands of the disbelievers; and more importantly, the obligation of all Muslims taken the oath of allegiance to an Amir. He demonstrated in this work that it was not permissible for any Muslim to be left alone without being under the oath of allegiance to an Amir or Caliph. The precedence that he relied upon was the Qur'an, the Sunna and the consensus of opinion of the scholars. He said:

"I say, and success is with Allah, that entering under the oath of allegiance (bay'at) to an amir'l-mu'mineen is an obligation upon every Muslim, if he finds one. Muhammad ibn Abd'l-Karim al-Maghili said in his Ajwiba where he replied to the inquiries of the Askia (Muhammad Toure'); 'It is not permissible (laa yahilu) for a group (ta'ifa) among the Muslims that they be left to themselves. Allah ta'ala says; 'Hold firm to the rope of Allah all together, and do not become disunited.' It has been related in the Sahih of Imam Muslim on the authority of Ibn Umar, that the Messenger of Allah (P.B.U.H.) said, 'Whoever removes his hand from obedience, will meet Allah on the Day of Judgment
without any proof. And whoever dies and the oath of allegiance is not over his neck, has died the death of jahiliyya (disbelief).’ In this is what is sufficient as an answer to this problem.”

This work was written to guide the jama’aat during a time of the greatest tension between them and the Habe authorities. The key policy, which emerged as a fundamental principle in dealing with oppression, was the theme of hijra -jihad. This theme was an attempt to imitate the classical response made by Prophet Muhammad and his community in 622 A.D., when they made their famous hijra from Mecca to Medina. Soon after this hijra Prophet Muhammad declared the jihad against the disbelievers of Mecca and was granted a major victory in the battle of Badr. The hijra -jihad theme would be repeated over and over again throughout the history of the expansion of Islam in Asia, Africa and in Europe. In Africa this dual theme became fundamental principles in the formation of many of the Islamic states, which emerged in the Bilad’s-Sudan.

After the composing of the Masa’il, Shehu Uthman composed his manifesto called Wathiqa ila Jamî’ Ahl’s-Sudan (A Letter to All the People of the Blacklands). This treatise summed up what had been detailed in the Masa’il and it was written to the rulers as well as his supporters. It was written in the form of a ‘declaration of independence’, summarizing in thirty-nine points, all the fundamental aspects of the hijra -jihad theme. The following is a summation of the first twenty-three arguments of the ‘declaration of independence’ outlined in the Wathiqa. Citing them is important because the themes discussed in them will be echoed throughout the history of the Caliphate up until 1903.

"I say, and success is with Allah, realize O brothers!:
[1] that commanding the good is obligatory by consensus (of the Qur'an, the sunna and the agreement of the scholars); [2] that forbidding indecency is obligatory by consensus; [3] that emigration (hijra) from the lands of the disbelievers is obligatory by consensus; [4] that taking the believers as protecting friends is obligatory by consensus; [5] that appointing and amir'l-mu'mineen (commander of the believers) is obligatory by consensus; [6] that obedience to him and his representatives (nuwwaab) is obligatory by consensus; [7] that jihad (struggle) is obligatory by consensus; [8] that appointing amirs (governors) over the countries is obligatory by consensus; [9] that appointing judges (qudaa) is obligatory by consensus; [10] that they (the judiciary) discharge and implement the precepts of the shari‘a is obligatory by consensus; [11] that the judgment of a country is based upon the judgment of its ruler (this

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16 _F.H. el-Misri, p.24._
is by consensus) - if its ruler is Muslim then the country is a land of Islam - if its ruler is a disbeliever then the country is a land of disbelief which makes it obligatory to emigrate (hijra) from it; [12] that fighting the disbelieving ruler who has never said La ilaha illa Allah (there is no deity except Allah) is obligatory by consensus; [13] that taking the government from him is obligatory by consensus; [14] that fighting the disbelieving ruler who has never said La ilaha illa Allah because of the custom of his land nor has he claimed Islam is obligatory by consensus; [15] that taking the government from him is obligatory by consensus; [16] that fighting the apostate ruler who has left the religion of Islam for the religion of disbelief is obligatory by consensus; [17] that taking the government from him is obligatory by consensus; [18] that fighting the apostate ruler who has not left the religion of Islam because he outwardly claims Islam, but he mixes the acts of Islam with the acts of disbelief (like most of the rulers of Hausaland) is obligatory by consensus; [19] that taking the government from him is obligatory by consensus; [20] that fighting the Muslims who keep to themselves without entering under the oath of allegiance to an amir from the amirs of the believers when they have been invited to the oath of allegiance and they refuse is obligatory by consensus; [21] that declaring a Muslim to be disbeliever because of acts of innovation (bid'a) is forbidden by consensus; [22] that declaring a Muslim to be disbeliever because of acts of disobedience (ma’aasi) is forbidden by consensus; [23] that remaining in the lands of war is forbidden by consensus.17

This document is perhaps the most important work produced by Shehu Uthman because all the rest of his works are a commentary or detailing of the above. It was a formal announcement of his impending break with the Hausa rulers and a call of support from the Muslims. It was during this same period that the Muslims started collecting weapons.

In 1802 Nafata died and the authority was given to his son Yunfa, who was more oppressive towards the Muslims than his father.18 The following year because the foiled attempt to destroy a faction of the Shehu's community Yunfa attempted to kill Shehu Uthman which led to the famous hijra from under the jurisdiction of the disbelievers of

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18_ Abd’l Qaadir ibn al-Mustafa, ff.8-9.
The community of the Shehu fled to a land called Gudu where they appointed him as the caliph and Amir’l-mu’mineen. This appointment was significant because this new dispensation was based upon the belief that Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye’ was the eleventh of the 12 righteous Caliphs that Prophet Muhammad foretold about. There are two Prophetic traditions narrated in Sahih Muslim that deals with this subject. The first one was related from Jabir ibn Samr, who said:

"My father and I once visited the Prophet when we heard him say, 'This affair (i.e. the glory of the religion and rectifying the condition of the Muslims) will not cease until there has come twelve Caliphs.' He then said something, which I did not hear. I asked my father what he said. He replied, 'He said all of them will be from the Quraysh.'"

The second tradition is similar, except now the 12 Caliphs are connected to governance (wilayat). It was related by the above-mentioned Jabir ibn Samr, that he heard the Prophet say on the Friday evening that al-Aslami was stoned;

"The religion will continue firm and unflinching until the coming of the Hour, or until there is appointed over you twelve Caliphs. Each of them will be from the Quraysh."

According to Abdullahi Dan Fuduye’, Muhammad Bello and many of the Fulani historians, the 'Turudbe' clan of the Fulani were descended from the Companion of Prophet Muhammad, Uqba ibn Nafi’, who conquered North Africa and came with his army as far as Massina in the bilad's-sudan. He allegedly married a Fulani girl named Ba’ajo Manga, and fathered the Turudbe clan of the Fulani. Whether this claim can be verified outside the claims of their historians is outside the domain of this study. The point being made here is that those who gave the oath of allegiance to Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye’, did so with the belief that he was from among the Quraysh, allowing them to also believe that he was among the twelve righteous caliphs mentioned above. These Caliphs included Abu Bakr as-Sadiq (632-634), Umar al-Faruq (634-644), Uthman ibn Afan (644-656), Ali ibn Abi Talib (656-661), al-Hassan ibn Ali (661-661), Mu’awiyya ibn Sufyan (661-680), Abdallah ibn az-Zubayr (683-692), Umar ibn Abd'l-Aziz (717-720), al-Muhtadi Bi'amrillah (869-870), At-Thaahir Billah (1225-1226), and Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye’ (1803-1817). Each of these men was responsible for establishing justice, equity and reviving the religion.

Soon after the hijra of Shehu's community and the oath of allegiance were given to him, Yunfa raised an immense army from among his jurisdiction and from other rulers who could muster forces. Shehu Uthman appointed his illustrious brother Abdullahi as

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19 _Muhammad Bello,  pp.67, 130.
20 _Murray Last, p.23.
22 _Ibid., pp.121-122.
24 _Muhammad Bello, Infaq, p.21.
general of the armies (amīr īl-jaysh) of the Muslims.\textsuperscript{26} The two opposing forces met at a place called Tabkin Kwotto. Murray Last gives the account of the first confrontation between the Shehu and Yunfa:

"The Muslims were outnumbered and ill equipped to face the heavy cavalry. With only a few horses, they had to rely on their bows. On one flank the lake, which now had water, covered them; the ground itself, though flat for miles before the ridges in the east, favored the Muslims by being wooded. The advantage in morale was also theirs: facing destruction if they were captured, expecting the reward of martyrdom if they died, convinced Muslims and refugees from a pagan state, they had the Shaykh, the most powerful Muslim in Gobir, to encourage and pray for them. Conversely, the supernatural power, which the Shaykh was, credited . . . Thus with superior morale, the Muslims began the battle and charged the enemy. Although the Gobirawa overlapped both Muslim wings and drove them into the center, the center held: being bunched together was little hindrance, since each man with his bow could be effective. The Gobirawa were eventually turned back in a rout.\textsuperscript{27}\n
Muhammad Bello compared the battle of Tabkin Kwotto to the celebrated battle of Badr in which the forces of Prophet Muhammad completely defeated the disbelievers of Mecca.\textsuperscript{28} This battle manifestly improved the chances of success for the jama`aat of the Shehu, strengthened their morale immensely and sapped that of their enemies. Because the Muslims had the disadvantage of numbers and equipment, the victory at Tabkin Kwotto was seen as due to Allah's intervention on the side of the Muslims. Abdullahi Dan Fuduye' describes the joy and confidence which the Muslims enjoyed as a result of their victory over the forces of Yunfa.

"And there was nothing, except I saw that their waterless cloud
Had cleared away from the sun of Islam which was shining
By the help of Him who helped the Prophet against the foe
At Badr, with an army of angels gathered together.
And many a great man our hands flung down,
And axes cleft his head, spilt asunder.
And many a brave warrior did our arrows strike down,
And our swords; birds and hyenas cover him;
. . .
And we are an army victorious in Islam,
And we are proud of nothing but that.

\textsuperscript{26} Abdullahi Dan Fuduye', p.109.
\textsuperscript{27} Murray Last, p.26-27.
\textsuperscript{28} Muhammad Bello, p.77.
Tribes of Islam - and Turudbe is our clan
Our Fulani and our Hausa all united,
And among us other than these, certain tribes joined together
For the help of Allah's religion - made up the union.

None can destroy what the hand of Allah has built.
None can turn back the command of Allah when it comes.
Allah's promise has been completed and the victory of His religion:
There remains nothing but thanks to Him, and humble prayer. ”

The jama’aat of Shehu was exceedingly pleased with their victory over the forces of Yunfa. However, Shehu Uthman went into spiritual retreat and he saw a startling vision of the Prophet. In this vision he saw the expected Mahdi who would save Islam, the coming of the zaman’n-nasara (the hour of the Christians), and the hijra of the faithful from Sokoto to the Nile River and the Hijaz to meet the Mahdi. He saw that the people of the ribat and their successors, the true followers of the Shehu, would go on the journey to the east guided by the light and baraka of the Shehu. The apostates, collaborators and deceivers would not go and would remain in the west, settling among the Christian European's jurisdiction until the anti-Christ came out against them. The Shehu came out and informed his people not to rejoice because his green flag would be a passport to victory for 100 years, and exactly at the end of one century the 'hour of the Christian's' would emerge and eclipse the Sokoto Caliphate in the west. It was during this period that he wrote his famous 'Song of the Journey to the East', where he described in detail the very route of the hijra and disclosed its time:

"When the ruler of the Muslims goes to Mecca, we must pray, and make ready our goods to go with him.

We pray to the Lord, the King of the worlds, when we start, that we may obtain provision of the journey from the disbelievers. With our wives, our children, all our servants and our wealth, we Muslims will flee together. We will travel too without thirst or hunger; we will rejoice in that which is sweet one with another. By the power of Allah, and the blessing of our saint (Shehu Uthman), He will bring us to the place where a share shall be granted to all. When we start from here we travel diligently, we follow it, we travel east as far as Adamawa. When we start from Adamawa we come to the country of Bagu, we put down our goods. May Allah bring us to the town (on the Nile) without lack of anything; with joy we shall meet with the Arabs."

29 _ Abdullahi Dan Fuduye’, pp.110-111.
The subjection of Bilad’s-Sudan by the British and the French in the last decade of the nineteenth century caused the mass hijra towards the east as Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye’ foretold. According to the eschatological beliefs of the Hour of the Christians would be one of the signs of the end of the world and the key cause for making the final hijra to meet the Mahdi.33

From 1804 to 1808 Shehu Uthman was able to bring under his jurisdiction all the regions of Hausaland. His main helpers in these wars were his brother Abdullahi and his son Muhammad Bello. From 1810 to 1815 the Shehu moved to Sifawa from Gwandu, where he amplified his lectures and teachings. His stay in Sifawa was the most intellectually productive period for the Caliphate. While there, the Shehu would hold lectures every morning and evening. Some days he would lecture on the Quranic interpretation, Quranic recitation, the circumstances surrounding the revelation of certain verses, and the jurisprudence of the Qur’an. He would lecture on the science of Prophetic traditions, discussing the whole range of the six sound collections of traditions, and the methodology of drawing out judgments from these. On appropriate days the Shehu would lecture on the circumstances of death, life in the graves, the resurrection and Day of Judgment, and the hell fires and Paradise. Some days he would teach on the corruption that would fill world and the injustice which would lead to the appearance of the Mahdi, the Anti-Christ, the return of Jesus ibn Maryum, and the conditions of the Last Days. Some days were singled out for the study of the science of the purification of the soul (tasawwuf) and the methodologies of spiritual advancement. Other days the Shehu would entertain questions on jurisprudence and pass legal judgments. On Thursday nights the Shehu would teach against injustices and oppression in the Caliphate, against extortion from the poor and against the corruption of government officials.34 While in Sifawa, Shehu Uthman composed eleven of his most thought provoking and revolutionary works.

In 1812 Shehu Uthman retired from active rule and appointed his brother and son at the head of the new empire. Abdullahi was placed over the western capital in Gwandu and Bello was placed over the eastern capital at Sokoto.35 In 1815 Shehu moved from Sifawa to Sokoto where he concerned himself with writing to consolidate the Caliphate or to check the limits of the various Amirs. Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye’ died two years later on Sunday night 20 April 1817, at the age of 63.36 Thus, the Sokoto Caliphate had been born out of the fundamental principles of hijra and jihad, and this theme will be repeated throughout the history of the empire as an eschatological belief saving them from the onslaught of the British invaders. The history of the Caliphate of Sokoto demonstrates a keen awareness on the part of the rulers of the events, which would lead to their destruction. Thus, the rulers attempted to implement policies, which would counter the blameworthy characteristics in the government, which Shehu Uthman foretold about. For this reason some mention must be given to the rule of the Caliphs after the Shehu up until the appearance of the 'hour of the Christians’ in 1903.

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34. Murray Last, p.58.
35. Muhammad Bello, p.190.
36. Gidado ibn Laima, f.75
After the Shehu died the ba`yat was given to his son, Muhammad Bello and for one-hundred years the Khilafat ’s-Sokotiyya Uthmaniyya continued to provide a dome of Islam for the entire western Bilad’s-Sudan. In 1903, just as the Shehu had foretold, the British invaded their blessed lands. The then Amir’il-Mu’mineen Muhammadu at-Taahiru, the twelfth Khalif after the Shehu refused to collaborate with the British. He chose the hijra from under the jurisdiction of the European Christians. The British, led by Lord Lugard, hastily appointed another ruler named Muhammad ibn Ali, who would yield to European hegemony. Later, the British forces caught up with at-Taahiru and his people in the town of Burmi and killed him along with thousands of his followers. However, before the massacre at-Taahiru, appointed his youngest son, Muhammad Bello Maiurno as the Khalif responsible for leading the mass exodus of Hausa, Fulani and other Muslims to the place foretold by the Shehu on the Blue Nile. Maiurno followed the exact route, which the Shehu described, from a vision some one hundred years earlier. Maiurno settled more than five hundred villages in the Sudan with the town of Maiuno being the epicenter.

Many Fulani, Hausa and others West African Muslims in the Sudan regard the present Sultan of Maiurno, al-Hajj Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad at-Taahiru ibn Muhammad Bello Maiurno as the rightful Sultan of Sokoto. They also believe in another prophecy of Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye’, that there will eventually emerge a great Islamic federation founded on the Nile connected to the Awaited al-Mahdi. From the town of Maiurno they believe that the descendents of the Shehu will return and recover their rule in Sokoto. Every Ramadan at the Eid festival, Sultan al-Hajj Abu Bakr receives the bay’at and tribute from Fulani and Hausa Muslims from as far as Chad and Ethiopia. In the United States there are at least seven Amirs formally connected with the Sultan of Maiurno, who are responsible for disseminating the teachings of Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye’ in the western hemisphere.

Muhammad Shareef
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