Volume Three

The Life of Sultan Muhammad Bello and his Reformist Struggles

INTRODUCTION

All praise is due to Allah, the Lord of mankind. May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon our Prophet Muhammad, the Seal of the Prophets, the leader of the Messengers, his family, his companions, and all those who follow his path until the Day of Judgment.

This is the third volume in the series on the Usmaniyya Caliphate, titled "The Life of Sultan Muhammad Bello and His Reformist Struggles." Two previous volumes have preceded this one: one on the life of Sheikh Usman, and another on the life of Sheikh Abdullahi Bin Fodio. The first volume was published in the year 1419 AH/1999 CE, and the second was released in the year 1426 AH/2005 CE. This third one, by Allah's permission, is being released in the year 1431 AH/2010 CE. If one observes the gap between the publication of the first and second volumes, and similarly between the second and this third one, one will find a five-year interval. This occurrence is a result of the divine Will of Almighty Allah, the Most Glorious and Exalted; it was not a deliberate decision. My intention was to publish this volume soon after the completion of the previous one, but due to certain circumstances beyond my control, it has taken a considerable amount of time.

It is my hope that, as Allah Has decreed this undertaking, may it be the most beneficial. Ameen.

This volume which focuses on the life of Sultan Muhammad Bello comprises an introduction, ten main chapters, and a conclusion. The first chapter of this volume discusses the birth of Sultan Muhammad Bello and his upbringing: Chapter Two discusses his quest for knowledge and the aspects that characterised him. Chapter Three discusses his contributions

to the propagation of Islam through preaching and jihad during the lifetime of Sheikh Usman. It also examines the places where he resided for the purposes of da'awah and jihad. Chapter Four discusses his role as the Sultan and the situation in which he found himself during that period. Chapter Five focuses on the battles he fought after he became the Sultan. Chapter Six contains messages and correspondences exchanged between him and various rulers. Chapter Seven discusses his writings, particularly the books he authored and the issues he addressed in them. Chapter Eight explores his personality and character traits, along with selected excerpts from his insightful and wise teachings. Chapter Nine details the circumstances surrounding his illness, including the duration of his reign, and his death, as well as information about his family. Chapter Ten, which is the final chapter, presents a list of the books he authored. It ends with a summary that reflects on important lessons we can learn from his life and experiences.

In writing this book, the primary reliance was on the books authored by Sultan Muhammad Bello himself. The second source comprised works written by his contemporaries, his disciples and those who lived alongside him. The third category includes works by those who came after him including children and the descendants of those who established this Caliphate. Similarly, I referred back to the writings of Sheikh Usman and Sheikh Abdullahi on certain issues. However, this did not prevent me from consulting other Islamic texts to verify alternative understandings and perspectives that emerged. For instance, I referred to Ibn Majah on the hadith that addressed the issue of strategic surveillance (ribat), and likewise to the "Risala" of Ibn Abu Zaid. I also made use of some books written in English about this Caliphate. In interpreting some verses, I mainly relied on the translation and exegesis of the Qur'an by

Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gummi. These texts are listed at the end of this book for those who may wish to consult them.

At this point, I would also like to draw the reader's attention, as I highlighted in the second volume of the Usmaniyya Caliphate, that the key attributes of these devout servants of Allah was their profound commitment to knowledge. Their lives exemplified the fear of Allah, and as a result, He endowed them with knowledge. They used this knowledge for the benefit of society and disseminated it to the public. Any honour or success they achieved in life was firmly rooted in this knowledge, which ultimately preserved their legacy through the books they left behind. For example, in Volume One of the Usmaniyya Caliphate, 94 books were listed, gathered from the texts that I read which were written by Sheikh Usman. Likewise in Volume Two of the Usmaniyya Caliphate, 99 books authored by Sheikh Abdullahi were catalogued. Additionally, in this particular volume on Muhammad Bello, I was able to compile 152 books that he had written. When all of these are combined, the total comes to 345 books. This is no small task, and this is the reason why it is often stated if we were to rely on these books alone, they would suffice for us in the conduct of our quotidian existence as well as for our destiny in the Hereafter.

Another important point that the reader should note is that the era of the rule of Muhammad Bello was characterised by abundance, security, and peace of mind. Even European explorers who visited the region during his reign, such as Barth and Clapperton, attested to this.

I pray that Allah rewards them all abundantly with goodness. May Allah forgive them and forgive us, and may He unite us with them in His everlasting mercy. Ameen.

Sokoto Muhammad Isa Talata Mafara

25th Jumada al-Akhir 1431 AH

8th June 2010

CHAPTER ONE

THE LINEAGE AND BIRTH OF MUHAMMAD BELLO

His Lineage

The lineage of Sultan Muhammad Bello, is that of Sheikh Usman, whose genealogy we have previously discussed in the first volume on the Usmaniyya Caliphate. In essence, Muhammad Bello is the son of Usman, who is famously known as Shehu Danfodiyo. Usman is the son of Muhammad Fodiyo; who is the son of Usman; who is the son of Salihu; who is the son of Haruna; who is the son of Muhammad Gorɗo; who is the son of Jabbo; who is the son of Muhammad Sambo; who is the son of Ayyuba; who is the son of Masirana, the son of Buba-Baba, the son of Musa Jakollo. The term "Fodiyo", as previously mentioned, means a learned scholar in Islamic jurisprudence and theology. That is how the word is commonly used in spoken language. However, the native speakers of the language (Fulfulde) have indicated that the correct form of the name should be "Foduye." Similarly, the name "Bello" is thought to have derived from "Ballow" in Fulfulde, meaning "assistant." It is likely that Muhammad Bello was given this name due to his role in supporting the jihad led by Sheikh Usman. Muhammad Bello

himself belonged to the Fulani ethnic group from both paternal and maternal sides. His mother, Hawwa'u, was the daughter of Malam Adamu, son of Muhammadu Igga. She was a woman committed to the path of Islamic mysticism (Sufism). Hawwa'u was also the mother of Abubakar Atiku, who later became the Sultan after the death of Muhammad Bello. Furthermore, Hawwa'u had three daughters, whose names are:

Fatima, who married the War Commander Aliyu Jedo; and Hannatu, who married Namoda; as well as Sa'adatu, who passed away at a young age.

His Birth

Waziri Gidado son of Laima, in his book "Alkashfu Walbayan", stated that Muhammad Bello was born on a Wednesday in the month of Dhul-Qa'dah in the year 1195 (after the Hijrah of the Holy Prophet, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). This Hijrah year corresponds approximately to 1781 CE. However, the specific Wednesday of his birth is not mentioned in any of the books available to us at the time of this writing. Research has however shown that the year 1195 AH began on Thursday, December 28, 1780; just three days before the end of that year. If we calculate the number of days spanning ten months in the Islamic calendar, from Muharram to the end of Shawwal, we get a total of 295 days. If we subtract these days from the months of the year 1781 CE and add the three remaining days of 1780, as previously mentioned, the result is October 19, 1781. This means that Dhul-Qa'dah would have begun on October 20. Therefore, it can be reasonably concluded that Muhammad Bello was born on a Wednesday between the second and third weeks of October, or between the first and third weeks of November in the year 1781. This

lack of exactitude is due to the absence of clear documentation pinpointing the specific Wednesday on which he was born.

As for the exact location of Muhammad Bello's birth, none of the historical sources we have consulted specify it either. However, if we go back to the previous book by Waziri Gidado, titled "Alkashfu Walbayan", we find a statement that there were 28 years between the birth of Sheikh Usman and that of Muhammad Bello. It is known that Sheikh Usman was born in Maratta, and that his parents later moved from there to Dagel. Moreover, it was in Dagel that Sheikh Usman studied and began preaching at the age of 20. It is confirmed that at the time he was 20 years old, as mentioned, he was residing in Dagel. Based on this, we may infer that Muhammad Bello was born in the town of Dagel. This is because Sheikh Usman did not cease living in Dagel until the time he migrated to Gudu in Kabi in the year 1218 (Islamic calendar).

CHAPTER TWO

HIS EARLY DEVELOPMENT, PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE AND HIS DISCIPLES

Regarding his early development, Waziri Gidado mentioned in his book "Al-Kashfu" that:

"Indeed, Muhammad Bello (may Allah be pleased with him) grew up with a commendable character, devoted to both the pursuit and dissemination of knowledge. He was gifted with insight, intelligence, and discernment, along with the ability to evaluate and comprehend matters to completion. Likewise, he possessed sharp intellect and profound thinking, eloquence in speech, and abundant rhetoric, qualities not commonly found in every individual. Because of these traits, within a short period, he acquired a vast amount of knowledge, something not usually achieved except over a long time."

In addition to this view, Dr. Abdullahi Muhammad Adamu stated in his presentation while reviewing and commenting on the book written by Muhammad Bello, titled "Nazmul-Awamil Annahwiyyah", that:

"Certainly, Muhammad Bello was nurtured and grew within a community that prioritised knowledge, and knowledge was something highly valued within it. The pursuit of knowledge

was regarded as a religious tradition and cultural practice that must be followed. Therefore, the means of attaining it were readily available and accessible. This applied to all branches of knowledge, including Arabic language and grammar."

At the beginning, Muhammad Bello was shown to have commenced his studies under his father, Sheikh Usman. Waziri Abdulqadir, son of Gidado mentioned in a book titled "Anisul Mufid" that:

"From his early years, he (Muhammad Bello) studied the Qur'an and sought other forms of knowledge and remained closely attached to Sheikh Usman, paying close attention to his personality and pronouncements while he was still a young boy. Because of Sheikh Usman's blessings, he (Muhammad Bello) gained vast knowledge which travellers of the time narrated and those engaged in conversations in public places disseminated."

Earlier in the foregoing book "Anisul Mufid", the various branches of knowledge that Muhammad Bello studied from Sheikh Usman were explained. It was shown that he learned Tafsir (Qur'anic exegesis), Tawhid (Islamic theology), and Hadith (Prophetic traditions) from him. He also studied a complex book that delves into deep spiritual knowledge of Sharia and Sufism. This book is "Al-Insanu AlKamil".

One scholar who taught Muhammad Bello was none other than his paternal uncle, Sheikh Abdullah Bin Fodio. Waziri Abdulqadir, in the aforementioned text, shows that Muhammad Bello studied the Arabic language and rhetoric (Balaga) under him (Sheikh Abdullahi Fodio). He also furthered his study of Tawhid from him. Furthermore, he studied the field of *Usul-al Fiqh* (Methodology of Islamic jurisprudence) from him; reading books such as: "Alkaukabus-Sati'i" and "Ida'atul-Dujnati". In

addition, he studied "Alfiyya" of Ibn Malik and his "Lamiyya", focusing on grammar (Nahwu) and morphology (Sarf). In the field of rhetoric (Balaga), he read "Talkhisul-Miftah" and "AlJawhar AlMaknunu", all of which were taught by Sheikh Abdullahi.

Another scholar from whom Muhammad Bello studied was Sheikh Sulaiman. In the book "Nailul Marami" by Waziri Junaidu, it is indicated that Muhammad Bello studied the field of logic (Mantiq) under this teacher, where he also studied the book of Isa-Gujji. It is also indicated that he studied the field of Philology and Algebra under Sheikh Barnawi and Sheikh Aliyu Dukku respectively.

His teachers in the field of medicine, as Sayyid Bashir Usman Ahmad mentioned in one of his scholarly papers, include: Sheikh Muhammad Tukur, who was a pious scholar (saint) distinguished by his engagement with sacred texts, and a close companion of Sheikh Usman. He authored the book "Qiral-Ahibba" on medical sciences, after Muhammad Bello had requested such a work from him. Muhammad Bello studied extensively under him in that discipline.

Another teacher of Sultan Muhammad Bello in the medical sciences was Qamarud-Dini, the son of Hamidud Dini Alqadiri, who came to Sokoto in the year 1252 AH. Muhammad Bello benefitted greatly from him. He also referenced him in his book titled "AlMawaridun Nabawiyyah". This is what he wrote:

"Indeed, in the year 1252 AH, Allah blessed us with the emergence of a luminous scholar, skilled and profound, Qamarud-Dini, who was affiliated with the Qadiriyya order. He benefited us with the principles of the Qadiriyya Sufi order and many of its invaluable teachings. Likewise, in other prestigious fields of knowledge, he provided us with great benefit regarding

matters that are difficult to enumerate or analyse. Among his contributions, he authored works for us in the subjects he had studied, which he also examined in this field and others. This indeed reveals that he was a scholar ahead of his time."

Another teacher from whom Muhammad Bello is known to have gained substantial knowledge in this field was Sheikh Sidi Shehu. Indeed the European, Clapperton indicated that he met a scholar who was a medical expert at Muhammad Bello's court, and even mentioned that he was one of the physicians of Sultan Muhammad Bello.

These were among the renowned scholars from whom Muhammad Bello studied. However, Dr. Abdullahi Muhammad Adamu's view is that all the scholars mentioned by Sheikh Abdullahi in his book "Ida'un-Nusukh", under whom Sheikh Abdullahi said he had studied, or that Sheikh Usman had studied under them; or both studied from the same scholars, could also be the same people that Muhammad Bello also studied from.

It is also possible that before all these scholars, Muhammad Bello acquired his first knowledge from his maternal grandmother, whose name was Hasanatu. This is because he lived with her in a place called Barayar-Zaki. There, a surprising incident occurred involving him. According to the narration of Gidado in his book "Al-Kashfu", Bello used to sit alone in the shade of a tree; he did not engage in play with other children. One day, while intending to return to his parents, he went missing. Some women herders found him and took him to his aunt who then took him to his grandmother. At that point, he said to them, "Return this child to the people he belongs to." His grandmother then sent word to Sheikh Usman, informing him about the child and his character. Sheikh Usman then

dispatched a man named Wudi to Barayar-Zaki to bring him back. At that time, he was about ten years old.

Similarly, there is also a report in the book "Nailul Marami" by Waziri Junaidu which mentioned that Bello studied under a scholar named Modi Mama'ru. Likewise, there is also information indicating that he once studied under his elder brother, Muhammad Sa'ad.

Now, after knowing his teachers, let us consider what he himself said about the knowledge he acquired. This statement appears in the introduction of his book titled "Shifa'u Asqami Fi Ma'arifati Madarikil Ahkami." This is where he explains his pursuit of knowledge and the fields he studied. He did this during a time when he was responding to critics regarding certain issues related to governance, and some accused him of ignorance. He then clarified his status about his knowledge in these areas. He did so with humility and submission to Allah, without arrogance or self-righteousness. His intention was not to boast or show off. At this point, I will quote his statement with slight modification. It goes as follows:

"Indeed, Allah, the Almighty, has granted me knowledge of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, sound, authentic knowledge. I adhere to the schools of thoughts of scholars, especially the school of Imam Malik. I studied the science of *Usul-al-Fiqh* and the science of *Furu'* (subsidiary legal matters), including the controversies therein. I also studied their principles from the foundational and branch perspectives."

"Indeed, I studied Tafsir (exegesis) from my father by listening and reading. I studied the book "Anwar" of (Sheikh) Baidawi from beginning to end, as well as "Dubabut-Ta'wil", "Mada'rikut Tanzil", and Tafsir of Bagawi, including "Ahkamut

Tanzil". I also studied parts of Tafsir from the books of Hadith particularly the book "Al-Iktifa'u" by Kala'i and others."

"Likewise, I studied books of Hadith from my father and received authorisation (ijazah) in some of them. From him (my father) and my paternal uncle, I studied Sahih al-Bukhari and thoroughly studied it, including the commentary Fathul-Bar'i, as thoroughly as possible. I also studied Sahih Muslim, and the collections of Tirmidhi, Abu Dawud, al-Nasa'i, and Ibn Huzaima. I equally studied Ibn Sayyid al-Nas's works in the field of Sirah (Prophetic biography), "Al-Iktifa'u" by Kala'i and "Mawahibul Ludanniyya."

In the field of Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence), he said:

"I studied al-Risala by Abu Muhammad, "Mukhtasar", and the various commentaries of al-Risala, especially the commentary of Nafarawi and "Mukhtasar" of Bin Hajib as well as its commentary..."

In the field of Tawhid (Islamic Theology), he indicated that he studied "Ummul-Barahini" under his father and parts of "Al-Aqidah Alkubra". He studied "Ida'atud-Dujnati" under Sheikh Abdullahi. Likewise, he studied "Al-Kawkabus-Sati'i" and "Jam' ul-Jawa'mi'i of Usulul-Fiqh under Sheikh Abdullahi.

He also noted that he studied (under Sheikh Abdullahi) the sciences of Arabic Grammar (Nahwu), Rhetoric (Balaga), and Morphology (Sarf); and he mentioned the specific books he studied in each of those fields.

At the conclusion of his discussion in this section, Muhammad Bello mentioned that one day, he compiled a list of all the books he had studied, and upon reviewing them, he found that their number totalled twenty thousand three hundred (20,300). He said that this number does not include

the knowledge referred to as "Ludanni" (divinely endowed knowledge), which Allah had gifted him directly.

At this point, Muhammad Bello continued by quoting texts which clarify that Allah grants knowledge directly from Himself to whomever He wills. Here, he cited the position of scholars such as Ibn Abu Jamra and Sheikh Kastalani, in their commentary on the Prophet's hadith, where he said: "Whomever Allah intends good for, He grants him understanding of the religion." This also shows that scholars have said that intuitive knowledge (Ilmul-Ludanni) is granted to those who serve Allah and obey Him through the way of the Prophet (may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him).

So, with the brief explanation we gave earlier taken from the previous volume, we can understand that: there is no known field of knowledge that Muhammad Bello has not studied whether by learning directly from a teacher, or through research, or through what was divinely inspired, i.e., intuitive knowledge (Ilmul-Ludanni). Here, we present some of the fields he studied as he stated in the book "Shifa'ul-Asqami" mentioned earlier. They include:

- Tafsir (Exegesis) and its related fields
- Hadith and its related disciplines
- Tawhid (Theology), what is known as Ilmul-Kalami in their time
- Usul al-Fiqh (Methodology of Islamic Jurisprudence)
- Furu'a (Branches of Islamic Law), i.e., Shari'a
- Arabic Language
- Grammar (Nahwu), Morphology (Sarf), and Rhetoric (Balaga)
- History and accounts of battles (Sira)

- Logic (Mantiq)
- Philology and Algebraic letter science

These are the areas through which we can understand what he studied based on what has been documented. However, there are still other fields of knowledge he may have studied which were not mentioned in this book, but undoubtedly, he was familiar with them and even excelled in them, as he authored books on the subjects. The areas of specialisation include:

A: Arithmetic

B: Astronomy

C: Medicine

Muhammadu Bello was particularly renowned in the field of medicine. If we conduct a study, we will find that there are no fewer than ten books attributed to him in this discipline. God willing, we shall provide an explanation of them.

His Disciples

As is the divine tradition of Allah on earth regarding the dissemination of knowledge and its transmission to others, namely, that when you learn, you can then teach others, so it was with Muhammadu Bello: he learned and he also taught. We do not possess a specific book that directly lists the disciples of Muhammadu Bello, but based on his status as the Caliph of the Muslims after the passing of Sheikh Usman, we can say that all followers of Sheikh Usman were effectively his disciples. However, according to Dr. Abdullahi Muhammad Adamu, Muhammadu Bello's disciples were primarily his children. In the preface of the book "Nazmul-Awa'mil", which we have already referred to, he cites Waziri Abdulqadir from his book "Al-Anis", where it is stated that Allah blessed Muhammadu Bello with many children, and their number was even mentioned. Based

on this, Dr. Adamu affirms that his male and female children were considered his disciples. Here is what he stated:

"Indeed, he took care in educating them both male and female." Because the Fulani were known for paying close attention to the upbringing of their female children, particularly due to the presence of educated women in the household. Indeed, Muhammad Bello took great care in raising his children with excellent education and morals, which led many of them to become scholars, authors, and notable individuals. One example is Sa'id, the son of Bello, who was also a prominent scholar and industrious man. He authored numerous books, among which is a notable work titled "Markabul Awwami Ila Daris-Salami", written in the Hausa language. This was one of several books he wrote. It is evident that they were among his earliest students. Four among them went on to become Sultans following the death of their father..."

The scholar then proceeded to mention these four individuals who later assumed rulership. They are:

1. Aliyu Babba, who became the Sultan after the death of Sultan Abubakar Atiku. He ruled for seventeen years.
2. Aliyu Qarami, who became the Sultan after the death of Ahmadu, the son of Atiku, also known as Maicimmola. His reign lasted for one year.
3. Abubakar Mairabah, who succeeded Sultan Ahmadu Rufa'i. He was the grandfather of Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto. His reign lasted five years and three months.
4. Mu'azu, the son of Bello, who became the Sultan after the death of his brother, Abubakar Mairabah. He ruled for four years and nine months.

After Dr. Abdullahi outlined the genealogy of Muhammad Bello's sons who became Sultans, he stated:

"This indicates that Muhammad Bello paid close attention to the upbringing of his children, ensuring they were educated, trained, and well-prepared from a young age to become individuals committed to Islam and to Islamic practice. From the time of their father's lifetime and even after his death, they were known to be dedicated students who were sincere in their devotion to Allah and committed to the correct religious path, which their father had instilled in them, emphasising both knowledge and action, as well as the fear of Allah and justice in judgment. May Allah have mercy on them all."

CHAPTER THREE

HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROPAGATION OF ISLAM (DA'WAH) AND JIHAD DURING THE LIFETIME OF SHEIKH USMAN AND THE PLACES WHERE HE RESIDED

Muhammad Bello was among the first people who pledged allegiance to Sheikh Usman in Gudu. He was also among Sheikh Usman's viziers and a major pillar in Sheikh Usman's jihad that was carried out in this region of Sudan. Because of this, we shall briefly examine the kind of contribution he made during the lifetime of Sheikh Usman. This is because the matter is evidently worthy of study, in order to derive valuable lessons that could assist the reader in this worldly life and enlighten him/her towards achieving success in the hereafter. History, as has always been perceived, means nothing other than documenting the lives of predecessors to be read; to emulate their good character and to avoid undesirable behaviours. Praise be to Allah, all these servants of Allah lived exemplary lives and are worthy of emulation. Here is what we are able to gather which mostly comes from his book "Infaqul-Maysur:

- Muhammad Bello was among those who encouraged Sheikh Usman to migrate from the land of Gobir. This is as stated in one of his compositions found in Infaqul-Maysur.
- When the war began, he was the one that went to various areas in the land of Kabi, where he distributed letters and sought the support of the people in helping Sheikh Usman.
- He was the second person to pledge allegiance to Sheikh Usman priety regardless of his personal inclinations provided that it is in accordance with the injunctions of the Qur'an and the Hadiths. The first person to pledge allegiance was his (Sheikh Usman's) younger brother Sheikh Abdullahi, and the third was Umarun Alkammu.
- He was the first person to whom Sheikh Usman gave a flag in the month of Rabi'u Awwal after their migration. This was during the battle of Karfi, a village close to Gudu. Muhammad Bello stated that in this battle, the enemies were routed, forcing them to flee, abandoning their animals and possessions. He mentioned that severe thirst gripped them, and in that state, they slaughtered the cattle left behind by the enemies and drank water from their stomachs due to lack of drinking water.
- He also led the battle of Za'rufi at the time when Sheikh Usman encamped at Remuwa.
- Likewise, he was the one who carried the flag in search of the enemies after the battle of Kwatto. This occurred after they received reports that the enemies were planning retaliation. This occurred due to the meeting of Sarkin Gobir, Yunfa, and the King of Gummi in the town of Tambagarka.

- Muhammad Bello was the one who delivered the letter written by Sheikh Usman to Sarkin Kabi Moyijo, who was in Yabo. In that letter, Sheikh Usman explained to Moyijo that he intended to move to Yabo together with his followers, because at that time, Moyijo had achieved victory over the enemy towns nearby. Moreover, Allah had blessed them with increased food supply. After receiving the letter, Moyijo began making arrangements to receive Sheikh Usman. Thereafter, after a few battles on his way, Sheikh Usman successfully arrived at the location of Moyijo, where he stopped at Magabshi. It was at Magabshi that he wrote the invitation letters calling people to the religion of Allah, addressed to the kings of the Hausa land. Details of these letters are documented in the Volume One of "The Usmaniyya Caliphate."
- He also led the Battle of Godawa. This occurred when Sheikh Usman settled at Sabongari in Zamfara.
- He was the one who led the Battle of Gungumi, and Allah granted him victory over it.
- He led the Battle of Fafara, which is in Zamfara, and he was victorious there. From there, he marched with his army to Samuwa and Zakuwa, and both were also defeated. The victories over these towns struck fear into nearly fifty cities in the region, causing their inhabitants to flee and abandon their homes.
- Muhammad Bello led the second Battle of Jata. Jata is located within Zamfara. This battle was prompted by calls for help from some of Sheikh Usman's followers who were living there and had been under attack from enemies. Bello pointed out that the battle involved nearly nine towns, over which Allah granted them

victory. After these towns were conquered, Muhammad Bello composed a poem describing the areas and the manner in which the battle was conducted, as well as the destruction inflicted upon the enemy. That poem is found in "Infaqu".

- Muhammad Bello also led the Battle of 'Yandoto. 'Yandoto, as mentioned earlier in Volume One of "The Usmaniyya Caliphate", was a city which had become famous for its scholars, it is noted that although the scholars were famous, they were among those who believed that Sheikh Usman and his followers were misguided. As a result, they actively incited the people of Hausaland to wage war against Sheikh Usman. They even went as far as expelling some of Sheikh Usman's disciples who were living among them. Among these were Alhaji Umar and Muhammad Dan Ashafa. Muhammad Bello attempted to hold a dialogue with them, but they refused. Eventually, war broke out, and Muhammad Bello achieved victory over them.
- At this point, it is appropriate to identify the type of battalion that fought in 'Yandoto. This battalion was composed of people from Zamfara, Katsina, Kano, and Daura. This occurred when Sheikh Usman sent for his disciples from the eastern region to come to him. He then decided to send Muhammad Bello as his representative, who went and met them in the East. They eventually gathered in Magami. During that gathering, on Sheikh Usman's instruction, Bello appointed Sulaimanu, the son of Aba Hama, as the Emir of Kano. It was also during that meeting that Muhammad Bello read Sheikh Usman's message to the people, urging the continuation

of jihad against the unbelievers, with strict adherence to the Qur'an and Sunnah, and the avoidance of envy, division, and the substitution of one Islamic legal ruling for another within the framework of Sharia.

- Muhammad Bello was the one who built the town of Gwandu when Sheikh Usman resided there. This was around the year 1222 AH, which corresponds approximately to 1807 CE.
- He led the military expedition to Kannu in Kiyawa which is in Zamfara. He was victorious in that battle, during which many people were killed, and a large number of war captives were taken. Muhammad Bello composed a poem about this battle. Please refer to "Infaqu".
- Muhammad Bello was the commander of the conquest of Alkalawa, which was the third of such wars. A detailed account of this battle was provided in Volume One of "The Usmaniyya Caliphate". The conquest of Alkalawa took place in the year 1223 AH, which corresponds to 1808 CE.
- Muhammad Bello also led the battle against the Gwari (Gbagyi) people. He was victorious in that war to the extent that their king was captured. Muhammad Bello noted that by the time he was writing his book "Infaƙu, the King of the Gwari was still in their custody.
- He also led the battle against the Dendi people and achieved victory over them. In "Infaƙu", he recorded that the Dendi were constantly launching attacks on them. As a result, they were attacked in return, defeated, and other surrounding towns were also overpowered.

The Places where he Resided in the Course of Religious Propagation and Jihad

Historians of this Caliphate have pointed out that it was a customary practice for Muhammad Bello not to reside in the same town with Sheikh Usman. Rather, he would often prefer to engage in strategic surveillance (Ribat) at various locations depending on the time and needs. Ribat refers to a form of military encampment or garrison, a defensive outpost established in a strategic area where enemy forces might invade. If Muslims from any region set up such a post to guard against threats, it would be called Ribat. Further discussion will follow regarding the locations where Muhammad Bello established Ribat posts during the period he became the Commander of the Faithful (Sultan), as well as the people he assigned to oversee those places. Muhammad Bello was always engaged in ribaṭ; because of its high virtue as reported in the numerous sayings of the Prophet (may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). With that, it would be seen that Muhammad Bello used to choose a region from among the territories which he feared that Sheikh Usman might be invaded from, and would station himself there. Whenever they shifted, he too would shift accordingly. Here are the places where he settled:

First was Ya'mulu at the time Sheikh Usman was residing in Dagel. Ya'mulu was, during that period, the most strategic region from where Muslim forces were expected to be attacked. Thus, he continued to remain at the most strategic region until Sheikh Usman moved to Gwandu.

Explanatory Note

Here, it is important for us to know that the word Gwandu appears in the writings of Jihad scholars as Qandu, spelled

with a "Q" and not a "G". In particular, Sheikh Abdullahi Fodio affirmed that it is indeed written with a "Q", and that is how it is pronounced. Perhaps after many instances of oral usage, it eventually changed to Gwandu. Similarly, with Gudu, Sheikh Abdullahi stated that it is spelled with a "Q", just as Degel was originally written with "q", that is, Deqel. So, it is probable that most of these shifts came from frequent oral transmission which led to these changes.

Second, he stayed in Salah town at the time Sheikh Usman resided in Gwandu. He stayed there with the intention of engaging in ribaṭ.

Third is the city of Sokoto, where he lived while Shehu was residing in Sifawa. Accounts showed that he did not settle in the same location with his father, except after Sheikh Usman left Sifawa with the intention to settle in Sokoto.

The City of Sokoto

Here, it is appropriate to mention something about the city of Sokoto, such as the year it was founded, and how many gates it had. What I will mention here is taken in summary from the book of Waziri Junaidu titled "Attuhfatus-Saniyyah Bi Tarikh Sakkwato Albahiyyah":

The word "Sokoto," according to some, is said to be the name of a certain weaver who used to reside in the area. As a result, the place was named after him. Before then, the location was just a small hamlet. Opinion holders chose this location to become a city, as Muhammad Bello also stated in his book "Infaqu".

This city of Sokoto was established in the year 1224 AH, after the Hijra of the Prophet (may peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). Waziri Junaidu said that this date was obtained

from a treatise by Muhammad Tukur, the son of Binta (this year corresponds to 1809 CE). The founder of the city was Sultan Muhammad Bello. Waziri Junaidu quoted from the book "Infaqu", in which Muhammad Bello said:

"At that time when the harvest season sets in, I decided to build a town for Sheikh Usman (may Allah be pleased with him) near our camp, and he moved to it from Sifawa. May Allah cause us to experience the goodness of its existence and ordain a favourable outcome at the end. I then built another city at the site of the camp. This later became the city of Sokoto, a city founded on Islamic principles.

Waziri Junaidu stated that "it is because of this, the city of Sokoto comprised two towns: the old city and the new city. Both of these merged to form what became known as Sokoto. People converged on the city and a central Friday prayer mosque was constructed in each of the two sections. The mosque in the new city was designated as that of Sheikh Usman (may Allah be pleased with him). This mosque was located to the west of Sheikh Usman's residence. The mosque in the old city, was designated as that of Sultan Muhammad Bello, which was located in the front of his residence. A market was subsequently established to the left of the old city."

This city of Sokoto has eight gates. Waziri Junaidu stated that these were named with an auspicious aspiration together with the gates of Paradise. These gates, two are on the eastern side of Sokoto, namely, Kofar Rini and Kofar Marke. Two are on the western side, Kofar Kade and Kofar Aliyu Jedo. Two gates are situated on the southern side, Kofar Taramniya and Kofar Atiku. The remaining two are on the northern side, Kofar Kware and Kofar Dundaye.

Waziri Junaidu further explained that the original structures of these gates were made of wood, dating back to the time the city was founded. They were later reconstructed in the era of Sultan Aliyu Babba, when they were replaced with iron.

Waziri Junaidu added that two of the gates were named after people: Kofar Atiku and Kofar Aliyu Jedo. He said it is possible that this was done either due to the presence of the homes of those people in the areas near the city gates, or it was perhaps because those individuals were instrumental in the construction of the gates. Two gates were associated with towns; these are: Kofar Kware and Kofar Dundaye. The reason for this is that they lead directly to those towns. However, the remaining four gates were linked to the names of trees, possibly either because those trees were in those areas at the time the gates were constructed, or for some other reason which suggests this. Allah is the All-Knowing.

Fourth place: Another place where Muhammad Bello stayed was Karandai. This happened after he became the Caliph.

Fifth place: That is Magarya.

Sixth place: This is the town of Wurno. The town of Wurno was originally a military encampment – a Ribat settlement, which Muhammad Bello built to defend against the attacks of the Gobirawa (the people of Gobir) and Azbinawa (the people of Azbin in the Air region of the present Niger Republic). Before the jihad of Sheikh Usman, this place was a forest. Muhammad Bello established his encampment there and left a Will that he should be buried there after his death. This instruction follows from the fact that a person engaged in ribat will not have the records of his deeds folded up (i.e., his reward continues to be recorded even after death).

Wurno continued to be the residence of successive Sultans who succeeded Bello, and it is evident that the graves of those rulers are still located in Bello's residence in Wurno. These rulers include: Sultan Muhammad Bello, Aliyu Babba, Aliyu Qarami, Abubakar Mairabah, and Abdurrahman.

CHAPTER FOUR

HIS ASCENSION TO THE POSITION OF THE SULTAN AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH HE FOUND HIMSELF

After the death of Sheikh Usman in the year 1232 AH, which corresponds to 1817 CE, allegiance was paid to Muhammad Bello to become the Sultan. But how was the allegiance pledged to him? Where, when? These are the questions we will try to answer here, God willing. Here is what Waziri Abdulqadir Maccido, the son of Waziri Buhari, in his book "Tabshirul-Ikhwani" states:

"Allegiance was pledged to him and he became the Caliph the next day following the night that Sheikh Usman died, inside the house of his father, along with a Will from him (that is, his father) to him. He stood by the Will with great steadfastness and fairness, governed with justice, and admonished that the common people be treated equitably. He consistently reminded the people about their religious and worldly affairs, and he guided them to what would benefit them both in this world and the hereafter..."

Here, Waziri Maccido explains that Sheikh Usman had bequeathed his position to Muhammad Bello, and also

emphasised that the pledge of allegiance to Muhammad Bello occurred in the day time. If we consider what Waziri Maccido stated, that Sheikh Usman passed away on Sunday night, that is, in the early hours of Monday morning, then it is not surprising that the process of his burial extended into the morning. This would become clearer if we consider the statement by Waziri Junaidu, who also noted that Sheikh Usman's death occurred during the late hours of Monday morning. Here is what was said in "Labtul-Multaqatati":

"His death occurred (may Allah be pleased with him) in the early hours of Monday in the year 1232 After Hijrah of the holy Prophet, may peace and blessings of Allah be upon him..."

From that, we understand that he witnessed the early morning of Monday, as stated explicitly.

As for his (Muhammad Bello's) appointment as the successor, Waziri Junaidu wrote in his book mentioned earlier: "Allegiance was pledged to him according to the will left by his father, in the house of Sheikh Ashafa on the day following the night of Sheikh Usman's death. The first person who pledged allegiance to him was his brother, the pious ascetic, Muhammad Sambo."

Here Waziri Junaidu affirms what Waziri Maccido also stated, that Sheikh Usman had left a will in which he stated that Bello be appointed as his successor. It is also affirmed that the allegiance took place during the day. However, the point of contention lies in where the pledge of allegiance occurred. Maccido stated that it took place in his (Muhammad Bello's) father's house, while Waziri Junaidu claimed it happened in the house of Sheikh Ashafa.

As for Sheikh Saidu of Massina, a disciple of Umar al-Futi who lived in Sokoto during the lives of Sheikh Usman, Bello,

and Atiku, his comment on the matter in his book "Tazkiratun-Nisyan" is as follows:

"Allegiance was pledged to him, after the funeral of his father, inside his father's house. The great scholar, Sheikh Abubakar, read the document in which Sheikh Usman wrote that he should be appointed as his successor. After the allegiance was pledged, he rose and went to the house of Danjada and remained there. He did not return to his own house until people from different places came and pledged allegiance to him..."

Here, Sheikh Sa'idu confirms that Sheikh Usman had written a will stating that Muhammad Bello would be his successor (caliph) after him. This was documented in writing, and the document was read to the people after Shehu's death by Malam Abubakar.

Similarly, in the book "Tartibul Ashabi" by Sheikh Sa'ad, the son of Abdurrahman, it is mentioned that Sheikh Abdullahi expressed allegiance to Muhammad Bello when he saw the document in which Sheikh Usman had written his will confirming Muhammad Bello as his successor. This incident happened after the battle of Kalambaina.

The information here shows clearly that Sheikh Usman indeed wrote a will appointing Muhammad Bello as the Caliph after him. This was the basis of authority implemented after Sheikh Usman's death. However, the challenge in following this will led to discord between Muhammad Bello and Sheikh Abdullahi, as documented by me in Volume Two of the Usmaniyya Caliphate. Nonetheless, matters were ultimately settled after the battle of Kalambaina.

What remains now is the discussion on two issues:

First: Where and when was allegiance pledged to Muhammad Bello?

Second: What is the Islamic perspective on a leader writing a will about who should succeed him, rather than leaving the choice to the people to elect the most qualified person?

Regarding the first issue, we find that Waziri Abdulqadir Maccido indicated that the allegiance occurred in the household of Sheikh Usman. Likewise, Sheikh Sa'idu of Masina also affirmed this. However, Waziri Junaidu indicated that the act of allegiance took place at the house of Sheikh Ashafa, otherwise known as the Son of Ashafa, as is reflected in the poem "gewaye". At this point, we may reconcile the two perspectives if we consider the account of Sheikh Sa'idu of Masina, who stated: "At the time allegiance was pledged to him, he rose and entered the house of Danjada and remained inside. He did not return to his own house until people from different places came to pledge allegiance to him…" If we consider this, then it appears there were two separate acts of allegiance. One took place at the house of Sheikh Usman by those who attended the funeral, and the other occurred later when people from outside joined.

It is possible that the allegiance at the house of Son of Ashafa was the one referred to by Junaidu while Waziri Abdulqadir and Sheikh Sa'idu might have been referring to the first allegiance (in the house of Sheikh Usman). This interpretation is plausible when we consider that Son of Ashafa's house was situated at Kofar Rini, close to the house of Sa'idu, the son of Bello, which later became the location of the mosque situated near the house of Malam Maigwandu. Furthermore, if we consider the poem "gewaye" in which it was stated: "At the house of Son of Ashafa, right there that the Muslim allegiance was declared…" it becomes evident that the allegiance was a public event. This

implies that Bello moved from the house of Danjada to the house of Son of Ashafa for this purpose. Allah knows best.

However, regarding the second point on whether there are any legal or religious basis for a leader to write a will on who should succeed him, the answer to this question is that this issue was one of the major points of contention among the scholars of jihad themselves. Sheikh Usman and Muhammad Bello hold the opinion that it is permissible and has a basis in Islamic law. As for Sheikh Abdullahi, his opinion is that this contradicts a known principle which allows people to choose whoever they see fit and are satisfied with. I will briefly mention what each of them has said in summary.

In his book "Najmul-Ikhwani", Sheikh Usman discussed this issue in section three, where he raised the following question: "If you say: indeed, you affirm that their legal system is inherently predicated on the principle of hereditary succession, and this principle is not legitimate within our own legal framework, is it permissible that a leader should unilaterally move to bequeath the leadership; that is through a will to his son or his father without consultation with the people (the rightful owners of the vote) or not?"

Sheikh Usman then responded: "The answer to this is: indeed, scholars have differed on this matter. Among them are those who, based on lineage, prohibit it; while others, based on rank, permit it."

Following this, Sheikh Usman brought forward evidence, citing from the book "Fathul-Ali'mul-Khallaqi", a commentary on "Lamiyyatuz-Ziqaqi", by Sheikh Mayyarah. The views presented are in three points. These opinions are summarised as follows:

First Opinion: If the person on whom leadership is to be bequeathed is the son or father of the predecessor, then it should not be conferred upon him without consultation with the people of authority. If they agree to his suitability, then the appointment can be made; but if they do not, then it should be abandoned.

Second Opinion: It is lawful to bequeath leadership to a person who is a son or father of the predecessor without consulting anyone, because he is a trustworthy member of the community, and his decision is binding upon them.

Third Opinion: It is permissible for a son to bequeath to his father, but it is not permissible for the father to bequeath to the son. However, making a bequest to someone close (by relationship) or because of kinship ties is allowed, it is similar to making a bequest to a person not connected by blood ties.

Muhammad Bello held a similar view to that of Sheikh Usman, although he did not elaborate as extensively as the latter did. Muhammad Bello discussed this issue in his book "Ifa'datul-Ikhwani". He quoted the words of Sheikh Khalil from his book "Attaulihu", in which permissibility on this matter is shown.

Sheikh Abdullahi also discussed this issue in several of his books. But here, I will briefly cite what he mentioned in his book "Diya'u Ulil-Amri Wal-Muja'hidin". Here is a summary of what he discussed, citing from the book "Nailul-Ibtihaji" by Ahmad Baba.

"Abubakar was the Caliph after the Prophet of Allah, and the companions unanimously agreed upon him. Then he sought to appoint Umar as Caliph after him in order to preserve the interest of the Muslim community. Thus, he removed succession in leadership from hereditary transmission whereby a son

will inherit leadership from his father to selection through consultation, based on the interests of the Muslim community. Then Umar assigned the matter to a council of consultation (shura) consisting of notable companions. They unanimously selected Uthman. Umar thus removed the succession from his own children to the council of advisors.

This is an indication that it was not a rule per se at the time. Then Ali was appointed, and after him came Hassan. After that came Mu'awiyya, who was the first to convert leadership into hereditary succession through the counsel of his governor, Mughirah bin Shu'uba"

Here, we see that Sheikh Usman and Muhammad Bello considered this issue to be lawful; however, Sheikh Abdullah did not view it that way.

The Circumstances in which he Found Himself Following his Accession

After becoming the Caliph, Bello found himself in an unenviable situation. This was due to a series of internal and external uprisings. That is to say, Zamfara rebelled under the leadership of Banaga Danbature; at that time, the Sarkin Burmin Bakura Sonallah, the King of Mafara, Agwaragi, and the King of Kiyawa, Dagazau supported him.

From another angle, Abdussalami, a disciple of Sheikh Usman also rebelled in Kware and went as far as calling people to pledge allegiance to him.

In yet another part, there was a rebellion in Kabi, particularly the uprising led by Danboya, a disciple of Sheikh Abdullahi, whose activities became a source of severe distress to Sheikh Abdullahi.

There was also a rebellion in Gobir under the leadership of two individuals: Gwanki and Gunga.

Furthermore, a similar unrest and rebellion came from the Azbinawa, led by Ibra, who allied himself with the King of Gobir, Ali, and the King of Katsinar Maradi Rauda, with the intention of launching an attack on Sokoto. However, despite all these revolts, Muhammad Bello was able to subdue them. God willing, we shall briefly explain to the reader how he was able to manage and overcome these challenges. This will lead us to a discussion of the battles he fought after becoming the Sultan.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE BATTLES HE FOUGHT AFTER BECOMING THE SULTAN AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STRATEGIC MILITARY SURVEILLANCE (RIBAT) OUTPOSTS

In the previous accounts, we discussed the battles he (Muhammad Bello) fought during the lifetime of Sheikh Usman. Now, we will mention some of the battles he engaged in after becoming the Sultan. The ones mentioned here are among the most significant. These were also battles he personally led, excluding those that he sent his warriors to fight.

Waziri Abdulqadir Maccido stated in his book "Tabshirul Ikhwani" that the battles led by Sultan Muhammad Bello after he became Caliph numbered forty-seven. He then listed some of them. Among those he mentioned were: the Battle of Kadaye, the Battle of Kalambaina, the Battle of Dakurawa, the Battle of A'dar, the Battle of Nabazame, and the Battle of Kunya. Others included the Battle of Gawakuke and the Battle of Anka. Sheikh Saidu of Masina also mentioned that among Bello's battles was the Battle of Bakura, which was the first of his battles after becoming the Caliph. There was also the Battle of Kwaido in

the land of Kabi, and the Battle of Bubuće, also in the land of Kabi. Additionally, there was a battle between him and Sheikh Abdussalami, a disciple of Sheikh Usman. This battle, Bello himself mentioned in his book "Sardul-Kalami". It was also mentioned by Waziri Abdulqadir Maccido and recounted by Sheikh Saidu of Masina. Similarly, there was the invasion that the King of Gobir Ali, Ibra of Azbin and Rauda, the King of Katsina, brought to Sokoto. In this discussion, I will focus on only three wars: the war that took place between Muhammad Bello and Abdussalami, the joint invasion of Sokoto by the Kings of Gobir, Katsina and Azbin, and a similar one that occurred in Gawakuke.

The Battle Between Bello and Abdussalami

This battle that occurred between Bello and Abdussalami has been recorded in several books. These include "Tabshirul Ikhwani" by Abdulqadir Maccido, "Labtul-Multaqakatati" by Waziri Junaidu, and "Tazkiratun-Nisyan" by Sa'idu Masina. Sultan Muhammad Bello, also described this war in his own book "Sardul-Kalami". Here, it is beneficial to briefly discuss who Abdussalami was before diving into the details of the war, so we understand his background. The information I will mention here is taken from "Sardul-Kalami" by Muhammad Bello. Here is what it says:

Abdussalami belonged to the Arewa tribe; his name was Mika'ilu. He eventually came and settled in a place near the town where Sheikh Usman resided, and named that area Darussalami; for that reason, he came to be known as Abdussalami. He was a disciple of Sheikh Usman and emulated the latter in his preaching. A large number of people from his tribe gathered around him and became his followers. Amidst these developments, one of the chiefs under the King of Gobir

Nafata, waged a war against Abdussalami and he was victorious over him in that confrontation. Consequently, Abdussalami fled from the land of Gobir to the region of Kabi, where he settled in a place called Gimbana. Still many people gathered around him; some even migrated from Gobir to join him. After the death of the King of Gobir Nafata, his son Yunfa was appointed. Yunfa sent for Abdussalami to return, but he replied that he would first consult with his teacher, Sheikh Usman. When he consulted, Sheikh Usman told him that he would neither ask him to go, nor would he forbid him, because he could not stop them from oppressing him, as he (Abdussalami) had been oppressed by them before. Therefore, Abdussalami decided not to return and continued to build a wall to fortify his town. This angered the King of Gobir, who then dispatched a battalion in alliance with the King of Kabi, Hudi, to attack Abdussalami. Abdussalami managed to escape the war and sought refuge with a Fulani community. His people, however, were massacred, and some were taken captive. This battle occurred in the year 1218 (After the Hijrah of the Holy Prophet peace be upon him).

After the migration of Sheikh Usman from Gobir to Gudu in the land of Kabi, and the pledge of allegiance (muba'ya'a) to him, Abdussalami was among those who pledged allegiance. He participated in nearly all the battles that Sheikh Usman fought. When Sheikh Usman was at Sifawa, after the conquest of Alkalawa, he divided the administration of the state between his brother Sheikh Abdullahi and his son Muhammad Bello. Sheikh Abdullahi was given authority over the Western region, while Bello was given the Eastern region. Abdussalami was among those under the command of Sheikh Abdullahi. He resided in a place called Sabuyel, where he oversaw seven towns. Subsequently, there was a disagreement between him and Sheikh Abdullahi. As a result, Sheikh Usman instructed

Abdussalami to leave the place where he was. After he left, Sheikh Usman consulted with Bello and advised that Abdussalami should stay under his (Bello's) authority. Bello agreed, and thus Abdussalami settled in the town of Kware. Subsequently, his relatives and many of his students followed and stayed with him there. Abdussalami continued to live in Kware throughout the life of Sheikh Usman. After Sheikh Usman passed away, people pledged allegiance (mubaya'a) to Bello. People continued trooping to the residence of Muhammad Bello to condole with him (over the death of his father) and to pledge allegiance. However, Abdussalami did not come; he only sent his message of condolence. He (Abdussalami) then summoned people to come and pledge allegiance; some of his supporters accepted, while others declined. Upon hearing this, Bello sent for him. When Abdussalami came, which happened to be on a Friday, after the Friday prayers, he stood up and renewed his allegiance in the presence of the people, and he delivered a commendable speech. When he was about to return, Bello escorted him and made him a promise, acknowledging Abdussalami's status and assuring him that he would not be constrained in taking his rightful share God willing, whenever the opportunity arose. Bello documented this promise in writing and gave it to him.

After Abdussalami returned home, things began to deteriorate. According to Muhammad Bello, Abdussalami had continued to associate with the opposition and had allowed them to trade in his territory, while his own people were conducting commerce in theirs. Bello remarked that this corresponded to fighting some of those who rebelled after the death of Sheikh Usman, but their army did not succeed. This development increased his (Abdussalami's) resolve to continue inciting conflict.

As matters escalated and became more complicated, written documents were exchanged during the conflict between Sultan Muhammad Bello and Abdussalami, in which both sides presented their arguments at various stages of the conflict. Here, I will present one of the documents written by Abdussalami and the response he received from Muhammad Bello. It was as a result of this that war broke out between the two, during which Abdussalami was wounded, and later died in the town of Bakura.

The document I will mention here is the one that Bello said Abdussalami had sent during a time when affairs had deteriorated, and their relationship had grown hostile and intense. This document contained two separate parts. One part provided Abdussalami's reasoning for why he believed it was not appropriate to continue interactions with the followers of Sheikh Usman, led by Bello. The other part included a document with a diagram that outlined the structure of the state (Caliphate) founded by Sheikh Usman, but showed how it had been divided among others, with Abdussalami stating he was not given his rightful share. Bello's response was as follows:

"He then wrote me a letter accompanied by another document that contained a diagram, which in itself, was another (second) correspondence."

Abdussalami's Letters

"I begin in the name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Sustainer. Blessings and peace be upon the Noble Prophet and his family and companions, who followed his upright path.

From Abdussalami, son of Ibrahim, to the Commander of the Faithful..." Muhammadu Bello, may the Almighty and

Glorious Allah elevate and support you and assist you with unparallelled help.

Following that, we send eternal greetings of peace and blessings to you, O Leader of the Muslims, and to those who are with you among the Muslim community, the common people, and the leaders.

Moreover, indeed you inquired about the reason that led me to cease interactions between us. The reason is none other than the Qur'an, the Hadith, and the consensus of the scholars. Because, first and foremost, we became Muslims as explained by Abdullahi Bin Fodio in his poem:

"Most of them are not as they used to be, for their young man may have the wisdom of an elder,

while their boy may have the insight of a hero.

The tents are truly like their own but their occupants are not the same as those who used to be inside."

Likewise, I heard directly from the mouth of the Sultan, Muhammad Bello, when he was preaching to us during our condolence visit on the death of the Muslim leader, (Sheikh) Usman (may Allah have mercy on him). He said: "The truth is that the people are engaging in actions that are not for the hereafter, but I have chosen what is with Allah." That is where the matter ended.

Thereafter, we then became outright oppressive Muslims. Interactions on this basis cannot be permissible on the rulings of the Qur'an and Hadith, and the consensus of scholars.

The reason from the Qur'an is the statement of the Almighty Allah, where He says: "And help one another in righteousness and piety, but do not help one another in sin and transgression." Similarly, His statement: "And do not incline

toward the transgressors.", up to the end of the verse. Likewise, His words. The Most Glorious and Exalted: "Do not provoke one another", up to the end of the verse.

Now, as for the reason from the hadith, know, O brothers in faith, that the Almighty Allah has ordained for us to be obedient to Him, that this hadith is a prominent one. The hadith is the one in which the Prophet (may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) said: "There should be neither harm, nor reciprocating harm" (La darara wa la dirar). If you do not know the meaning of harm, it is the opposite or the absence of the provision of benefit, as explained by Sheikh Jauhari. Therefore, according to him, "harm and reciprocating harm" are one and the same. In his view, these two expressions are used solely for emphasis. However, in popular usage, these sayings are distinguished. The first, "There is no harm", is taken to mean that one should not visit harm on others. That is, whether or not they visit harm on you. The second, "There is no reciprocating harm", is interpreted to mean that you should not retaliate by inflicting harm upon another, even if they have harmed you, even if your retaliation should be proportionate, exceed or fall short of the original harm. As stated in a poem:

If you are a seeker of honour through justice, then

I command you to treat others with fairness and justice.

If someone meddles in your affairs, let it go,

For time will surely return their deed upon them, and is the one to grant you your due.

Indeed, Allah the Glorious and Exalted has forbidden the blood of a believer, along with his wealth and dignity. This is further affirmed in the hadith that says: "Indeed, your blood, your wealth, and your honour are sacred to one another."

The benefit of this discussion lies in the severity of the punishment for harming a believer. Mujahidu narrated from his authority regarding the statement: "The Hellfire has a shore like the seashore. In…" that shore, there is...[24]*

Scholars have emphasised this statement. A portion of it is also found in Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim.

Shouldn't you consider the words of the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) during the Farewell Pilgrimage when he said: "Which city is this?", up until when he said: "Indeed, your blood, your wealth, and your honour are sacred to one another, just as this day, in this month, in this city, is sacred. Gradually, you will meet your Lord, and He will ask you about your deeds." Up until when he said: "Have I conveyed the message?"

He repeated it twice, and emphasised it a third time.

And know this: people are divided into four groups, and there is no fifth category among them. The first category is of a person who is delivered from all the forbidden things: "Those are the ones whom Allah has guided, so follow their guidance." "And those who are protected. Those protected ones, are the ones who were brought close (to Allah). These ones are rightly guided by their Lord, and they are the successful ones.

The second category is the opposite of the first, that is, a person who has the power and strength to engage in all the forbidden acts.

"These are the party of Shaytan (Satan)." We seek Allah's protection and His guidance.

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[24] •This is how it appears in all the books that are available to us. Probably something has been deleted.

The third category is a person who does not have the power to shed blood, but steals wealth and violates the honour of the people; thus, this sin pertains to the two acts he actually committed, and likewise to the act he did not commit, because if he had the power to commit it, he would have done so.

The fourth category is a person who refrains from shedding blood or seizing wealth, but ends up violating the honour of others, because he has the power to do so. He has sinned by violating people's dignity, and he will be treated by his intention, alongside those who engaged in bloodshed and seizing of people's wealth. This is because the Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) said: "If two Muslims confront each other with their swords, both the killer and the one killed will be in Hell." They asked: "O Messenger of Allah! We understand the killer (the reason for his being in Hell), but what about the one who was killed?" He replied: "Because he also had the desire to kill his brother." That is where the matter ends.

Indeed, an authentic hadith has been transmitted from the Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him), where he said: "I remind you of Allah, and testify to you that I am but an admonisher, a bearer of glad tidings. Do not be arrogant to Allah among His servants and His territories. For Allah, the Majestic and Exalted, revealed to me and to you that: "That Home of the Hereafter, We assign it to those who do not seek exaltation in their worldly lives, and denounce evil. And the best outcome is for the righteous." Allah also said: "Is there not in Hell a residence for the arrogant? And other numerous verses and hadiths.

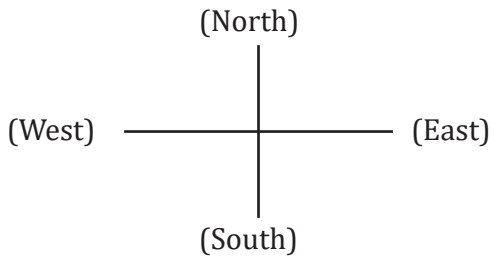
We ask Allah, the Most High and Glorious, the Giver and Bestower, to save us and deliver us from all such things and deliver others, may He intervene for us and intervene for others

as well. May Allah protect us from the evil of our lives and the harm of our deeds. Ameen. O Lord of the worlds. Peace and blessings of Allah be upon our leader (Prophet) Muhammad. It is narrated in a hadith: "Indeed, the oppressors and those who assisted them will be gathered on the Day of Judgment together."

We seek from Allah the Almighty complete well-being.

Here ends the first letter.

What is written in the second letter is as follows:



This is the map of the land granted by Allah the Almighty, who elevated and entrusted it to all Muslims with its blessings, its eastern part, western side, southern region, and northern territory. We thank Him, and we praise Him for that. Praise be to the Bestower, praise be to the Helper. There is no plan and no strength except with Allah, the Most High, the Most Great.

The eastern region belongs to Muhammad Bello, son of the Sultan, Sheikh Usman.

The western region belongs to Abdullahi Bin Fodio, the brother of the Sultan, Sheikh Usman.

The southern region was given to two sons of the Sultan, namely Atiku and Buhari.

The Northern region belongs to Aliyu, son of Jedo, the in-law of the Sultan, Sheikh Usman and Muhammad, son of Sheikh Usman.

So, I, Abdussalami, where is my own territory? From what I see, nothing has changed from the things I possessed during the time of unbelief, namely, my house and my farmlands. Or is there any restriction in sharing as severe as this? Glory be to Allah! This is a selfish and oppressive allotment in terms of land. We are from Allah, and we return to Allah. Praise be to Allah.

This was the last of the two letters written by Mallam Abdussalami. Now follows the reply given by Muhammad Bello to him:

Muhammad Bello's Response to the Letters of Abdussalami

"I begin in the name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate. May peace and blessings be upon the Noble Prophet and his family and companions, those who followed his straight path.

'O you who believe! Fear Allah and speak words of appropriate justice. He will improve your deeds and forgive your sins. And whoever obeys Allah and His Messenger has indeed achieved a great reward.'

May Allah's complete peace be upon the Prophet Muhammad, his family, and his companions.

To Sheikh Abdussalami, greetings and peace from us. Furthermore, we have indeed seen both of your letters and have understood the messages they contain. But according to your own words, your relationship and dealings with us are not permissible based on the state we are in, because of injustice.

Know that we are among those who have been rescued from injustice, and that injustice has been distanced from our courtyard. Except for genuine mistakes and unintentional slips for which..." indeed, we repent to Allah and seek His forgiveness. For salvation from sin is something exclusive to the prophets; while complete perfection belongs only to Allah.

But as for the points you raised based on some verses and hadiths, you have not established them from the proper sources. This is because the statement of the Almighty and Exalted Allah (when He said): "And do not support one another in sin and transgression;", what is known is that this verse was revealed to prohibit mutual assistance in sin. We, therefore, seek your assistance only in something that is obligatory upon us and upon you as well, that is, Jihad.

Indeed, the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) affirmed this when he said: "Jihad will continue, and oppression by the oppressors will not diminish it…" until the end of the hadith. It also appears in the "Mukhtasar" that performing Jihad, even under an oppressive leader, is still valid.

But regarding the statement of Allah: "Do not incline towards those who do wrong lest the fire touches you", indeed, the scholars of exegesis (tafsir) have mentioned that this verse was revealed concerning Muslims forming affectionate ties with disbelievers.

As for the other issues you raised from the hadiths, indeed by the grace of Allah, we strive to restrain ourselves from falling into shedding blood, seizing wealth, and dishonouring others. Therefore, should anything arise concerning this matter, we seek Allah's help to protect us from such trials.

But regarding welcoming the enemies to your location, truly, this will lead to multiple forms of destruction. So do not

be negligent about this. If anything comes of it, its consequences will be upon you. Therefore, sever all affectionate ties with them, because this matter is tantamount to an open invitation to infidelity, which is being guarded against by the system.

Regarding what you wrote, that we have restricted your share of land. I want you to know that your status is not hidden from us. Likewise, we are not ignorant of the fact that you deserve more than what has been mentioned; but you should know that attaining leadership is a function of all judgments and actions. Certainly, if Allah wills, we will gradually allocate to you a significant share. We beseech Allah's grace, and to Him all affairs return. Assalamu Alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuhu.

After these letters, matters continued to worsen between the Sultan and Sheikh Abdussalami, until finally Muhammad Bello passed judgment that Abdussalami had apostatised. This was due to a rebellious word he uttered and confirmed. Muhammad Bello explained that the word was commonly used by the unbelievers of that land, and its usage indicated alignment with their system and a turning away from their religion. After this, Muhammad Bello wrote three letters: one to Sheikh Abdussalami, the second to his son, Bukhari, son of Abdussalami and his mother Ummul-Khairi; and the third was addressed to the Muslims who were staying with Abdussalami. In the first letter, Muhammad Bello asked Abdussalami to leave his current location and move to a place where he would feel comfortable, since living together involves trust and good interaction.

In the second letter, Muhammad Bello told Bukhari and his mother that he was not interested in conflict, nor did he want to wage a war against Abdussalami. This was to avoid inflicting

harm on the innocent among them. It was because of this that he ordered Abdussalami to depart. But if he did not go, then certainly he would be attacked, and he would bear the full responsibility for everything that happened.

In the third letter, Muhammad Bello informed the Muslims who were with Abdussalam that, indeed, if he did not leave the place, he would be attacked. Muhammad Bello clarified that it was his intention to attack the people; that was why he informed them, explaining that migration from that place had become necessary for them.

In spite of all those letters and similar ones such as the letters sent by the King of A'hir and other leaders who all admonished Abdussalami – which he did not heed – Muhammad Bello began attacking Abdussalami from time to time. Eventually, the final expedition that defeated Abdussalami in battle was the one Muhammad Bello described in "Sardul Kalam" as follows:

"This indeed coincided with the arrival of the King of A'hir Muhammad Guma to support us. So, we organised an army, and with the support we received, they set out and fought him in his town on the 27th of Safar. And Allah granted victory instantly, as effortlessly as untangling a rope. His people, who had been expelled, gathered at a given spot in the town, anticipating the setting of the sun. Our forces entered, collected all that was within the town, killed those who resisted, and captured others...

When the news of victory reached us, we set out with the remaining people, and met them there around sunset. When the news of our advancement reached them, they scattered and fled toward Bakura. Our warriors pursued and surrounded them, killing and capturing them. At that moment, an arrow..." hit Abdussalami and wounded him, so he got up and headed

toward Zamfara. By the time he entered Bakura and spent a few days there, he passed away.

This is, in summary, the story of Abdussalami, from his arrival at Sheikh Usman's place to his death. The conflict that occurred between him and Muhammad Bello lasted for about eight to nine months, that is, from the month of Jumada al-Akhir in 1232 AH to the month of Safar in 1233 AH, which corresponds to April 1817 to January 1818.

At this point, it would be helpful for the reader to understand that the legal ruling (fatwa) issued by Muhammad Bello that Abdussalami had committed apostasy (ridda); was issued, just as Sheikh Sa'idu of Masina reported, after a long period of refusing to believe Sheikh Abdussalami's apostasy. Sheikh Sa'idu further stated: "It was only after Abdussalami attacked Danjada, killed him, and captured his family that it was confirmed he had indeed committed apostasy." It is also important to recognise that Sheikh Abdullahi Fodio differed in opinion with Muhammad Bello on the issue of Abdussalami's apostasy. This discussion is presented in Volume Two of my book The Usmaniyya Caliphate: "Sheikh Abdullahi Fodio and His Reformist Struggles." There, I mentioned seven issues that Sheikh Abdullahi gave, hoping that based on those issues, Abdussalami might be forgiven (by Allah). Similarly, there is a narrative from the book "Aslu Gimbana", which indicates that after Abdussalami was wounded (during the war), he gave an instruction or a will to his son to follow Muhammad Bello.

This is the final account of the events that transpired between Muhammad Bello and Sheikh Abdussalami.

The Joint Invasion by the King of Azbin, Ibra, and the King of Gobir, Ali

This battle occurred, according to popular accounts, in the third year of the reign of Muhammad Bello, which corresponds to 1235/1820. However, another account states that the battle took place in 1237 AH/1822 CE. This war, was recorded in the book "Alkashfu Walbayan" by Gidado, as well as in "Labtul Multaqatati" by Waziri Junaidu, who transmitted the story from Alkashfu. Waziri Gidado said:

"Among the most astonishing things in his (Bello's) miraculous gift is his ability to foretell events, for he never ceased informing us about what would happen on a Friday. He said, 'None of you should be late on that day,' referring to the arrival of Ibra in Sokoto on a Friday. He said that "I noticed the camels of the people of Azbin, outfitted with their traditional riding seats, kneeling within the precincts of the Muslim households (as part of a military expedition). When his arrival drew near, he (Muhammad Bello) departed for the camp and stayed with him until Thursday evening. Then he said to me: 'Stay here. I will go to the assembly to preach to the people. Everything you hear, make sure to convey it to me.' So, he mounted and went, leaving me behind at the camp. Not long after, we heard the war drums of Ibra at Dundaye. When I went to the assembly, I found him preaching to the people and informed him, but he did not pay any attention to what I told him, because he was engrossed in his sermon, until he finished. Then we returned to the camp. When Ibra arrived in Dundaye, the black magic that he was boastful about, concerning his dark-coloured donkey, became ineffective. That is, what he usually instructs his donkey to perform. He then picked up soil from the ground, perceiving it like ash. At that moment, he ordered his donkey, to

perform the mystical act that he usually instructed it to do, but the donkey refused. Then he again picked up soil and looked at it. He then asked his people, "Is this ash (soil) that of the territory of Sokoto?" At that time, he called the king of Gobir, Ali, and said to him, "What I have always depended on is no longer effective (it has been overturned), let us return to where we came from." Then Ali said to him, "If we turn back from here, we will all perish." Then he said to him, "Let us pass the night here, as if intending to wage war on the city. After passing the night, then let us pass through the western side and the right side of the city until we reach Gwandu." At the time they did that, our front-line warriors advanced on them and opened fire, eventually routing them; and Allah dispersed them. Ibra fled and in the process, fell from his horse and his turban rolled to the ground. Then they abandoned their camels with their traditional riding seats. It was even narrated that one of the Muslims obtained ten camels (as war booty).

The Battle of Gawakuke

The story of this battle is mentioned in the book "Tabshirul-Ikhwani" by Waziri Abdulqadir Maccido; it is also mentioned in "Labtul Multataqatat" by Waziri Junaidu; as well as in "Tazkiratun Nisyan" by Sa'idu Masina. However, in all these books, the year of the battle is not stated. But in another book that gives chronological accounts of events that occurred in the Caliphate, titled "Chronology of Sokoto History" by Jean Boyd, there is information indicating that the battle took place in the year 1251 AH/1835 CE.

The cause of this battle was that Ibra, the ruler of Azbin, together with Ali, the ruler of Gobir, and Rauda, the ruler of Katsinar Maradi, formed an alliance to launch an attack on the Sultan. The first thing they did was to attack Katuru town,

which they turned into rubble and slaughtered both women and children. When the news reached the Sultan, he immediately went out to address the people, preaching to them and urging them toward jihad. He preached and recited for them verses from the Qur'an, particularly Suratul-Qitali and Suratu Bara'ah. After that, he told them: "By the grace of Allah, tomorrow I shall set out. Know, O you people, that what these people have committed is not permissible, killing women and children. But if Allah grants us victory, then whoever is captured and is fifteen years or older should be executed." He then set out on that day which he mentioned, going to Wurno, where he stayed for several days making preparations and sending messages to people in various regions to gather together, telling them the place at which to meet. He set out on a Friday afternoon intending to go to the land of Gobir. Waziri Abdulqadir Maccido described Bello's outing for this war and how it was launched and conducted. Here is a summary of what he said:

"He departed from his town of Wurno after the Friday prayer and arrived in Giyawa at the beginning of the month of Zulhijja. From there, in the morning, he proceeded to Shinaka, then to Falaliya, then to Masha'ya, and finally to La'jinge. He stayed there for two days, where he met with the rulers of the eastern region. It was here that the Emir of Kano, Dabo, pledged allegiance; similarly, the Qa'dirawa people made a vow in the presence of Muhammad Bello that no one would flee until they died." He then continued with an uncountable number of people. They proceeded to Maijibda, then to Rajefa, and continued their journey from there to Buleshi. It was there that Allah revealed a miracle to the saint among His servants; because when they arrived there, the place was desolate and barren – an arid area where nothing grows except for small shrubs. And the timing was right in the peak of intense heat and

thirst in mid-dry season. Thirst overwhelmed them, terrifying them to the point they lost the hope of living; the only thing left for them to anticipate was death. Then they gathered and decided to send word about this situation to the Sultan.

"At the time they informed him, he directed that each person should dig a pit where he was, and by the will of Allah, water would be found. They did as instructed and indeed, water gushed from every pit. From there, they drank and watered their animals, cooked food, and bathed. Allah relieved them of the distress and gave them a way to quench their thirst and that of their horses and camels. All of them saw this miracle that Allah bestowed upon His servant, with their own eyes."

"From there, they set out and arrived the wells of Lema on the night of the Eid al-Adha, and camped there for the night. He forbade them from lighting any fire that night. In the early morning, they departed and descended the Gawakuke mountains. There he camped, for he was aware of the direction Ibra would come from. In no time, Ibra, the king of Gobir, and 'Ali the king of Katsina Rauda, arrived, and they too encamped and prepared. Then the Sultan commanded that the jihad flags be turned towards that direction. He also ordered all Muslims to exert themselves with the utmost effort and resolve. He said, this is the day to shame the unbelievers. Then the young men and the brave warriors rose up in fury and confronted the lines of the unbelievers. The believers launched the attack, jihad flags were dispersed everywhere, every..." warrior drew out his sword, spears were brandished; arrows were fired, and the warriors engaged fiercely. It was at this point that the king of Gobir, Ali, and the king of Katsina, Rauda, were killed. As for Ibra, he clung to the reins of his horse and fled at full speed without looking back. The Muslims pursued them, capturing

thousands and slaughtering them. Thereafter, Muhammad Bello advanced and continued launching attacks on the nearby towns. From there, he bid farewell to the rulers of the eastern region and proceeded to La'jinge, where he stationed his son, Fodio for the purpose of strategic surveillance. Similarly, his son, Aliyu was stationed in Shinaka for the same purpose. At this point, the Muslims found security from the danger posed by their enemies. Muhammad Bello then commanded the people to repent and return to Allah. He preached to them with powerful sermons. Afterward, he returned home.

These are just a few of the battles that Muhammad Bello led. As already discussed, one of his lifelong missions was to remain at ribat (Islamic frontier outposts for military defence) outposts up until the end of his life.

Establishing Strategic Surveillance (Ribaṭ) Outposts

An explanation of the concept of Ribaṭ has earlier been provided, as strategic military surveillance or for a Muslim to reside at a location, especially at a strategic point from where enemies are expected to launch attacks on Muslims. The practice is an act of virtue. The author of "Risala" mentions that ribaṭ holds great virtue. Its merit (reward) is proportionate to the extent of fear among the people for whom a blockade at potential entry points of the enemy is made. What has been reported among the virtues of ribaṭ is that whoever dies while in a ribaṭ and is buried in that location, the person's record... (of good deeds) will not be sealed (until the Day of Judgement); meaning that he will continue to receive the reward of a deed that he was accustomed to performing. This is in why the Usmaniyya Caliphate, great emphasis is placed on such matters. A hadith recorded regarding this explanation was transmitted by Ibn Majah and others. Its narration is as follows:

"Yunus son of Abd al-A'ala narrated to us, Abdullahi son of Wahab narrated to us, Lais narrated to us from Ma'bad from his father, from Abu Huraira, from the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) who said: 'Whoever dies while engaged in ribat worship on the path of Allah will continue to be rewarded for their righteous deeds, which they used to carry out sincerely. Their sustenance will continue to be provided, and they will be protected from trials (that is, tribulations or questioning in the grave). And Allah will resurrect them on the Day of Judgment in a state of security and free from fear.'"

The distinctive structure of ribaṭ (a system of religious frontier defence and vigilance) in the Usmaniyya Caliphate was developed by Sultan Muhammad Bello, as a means of protecting the state from enemy incursions. This ribaṭ system was not confined to just the Sokoto region, but rather encompassed the entire Caliphate. However, it was more prominent in this region (Sokoto). Therefore, the assertion that it was not restricted to one particular region stems from what appeared in "Bastul-Fawa'iti", a book by Abdulqadir, son of Gidado, in which he mentioned a number of people from various regions as murabitun, meaning those who devoted themselves to ribaṭ. Among those mentioned was the Emir of Katsina, Muhammad Bello, son of Ummaru Dallaje. Others included notable figures engaged in ribaṭ such as: Mujaahid Modi Lema, Mudagel, Ahmad, son of Gidado, Ahmad, son of Doshiro, as well as Khalilu son of Alhassan.

There was also Abubakar, the son of Doshiro, and Hamma, the son of Hammada. Among them were also Sa'idu, son of Akkaya, Abdullahi, son of Alkali, and Yusuf, son of Sultan Muhammad Bello. These individuals were among those who

led ribats (military-religious outposts) whose ribat outposts were not specifically mentioned, but it has been confirmed that they indeed engaged in ribat.

But the ribats in this region of Sokoto which were founded by Muhammad Bello himself, for the protection of this state were organised as follows:

Sultan Muhammad Bello, as mentioned earlier, spent most of his life in ribat, but his last ribat locations were mainly in Sokoto and Wurno.

Fodiyo, son of Sultan Muhammad Bello had his ribat at La'jinge.

Aliyu, son of Sultan Muhammad Bello established a ribat outpost at Shinaka.

Ibrahim, son of Sultan Muhammad Bello also established a ribat outpost at Gandi.

Ahmad, son of Abubakar Atiku also had his ribat at Bakura.

Ahmad Rufai, son of Sheikh Usman too built a ribat outpost at Silame.

Abubakar, son of Sultan Muhammad Bello established a ribat outpost at Rabah.

All these ribat locations were planned in a way to protect the state (Caliphate) from invasion, whether from the direction of Zamfara, as well as from Kabi and Gobir.

In summary, the system of ribat was a form of security that protected both lives and religion, as well as property. Defending these was a significant responsibility placed upon every government. For in Islam, the protection of five things is incumbent upon every leader. These responsibilities are: the

protection of life, protection of religion, protection of wealth, protection of the mind, and the protection of lineage."

CHAPTER SIX

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MUHAMMAD BELLO AND CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS

The purpose of the title (of this chapter) concerns the discussion of various correspondences, letters, messages or misunderstandings that occurred between Sultan Muhammad Bello and certain individuals. For instance, as previously discussed in Volume One of "The Usmaniyya Caliphate", one notable misunderstanding arose between Alhaji Aminu El-Kanemi of Borno about the military expedition led by Sheikh Usman in Hausaland. This led to numerous written communications from El-Kanemi to Sheikh Usman; where Sheikh Usman, in turn, instructed Muhammad Bello to respond to the letters of El-Kanemi. Most of these correspondences are documented in the book "Infaqul Maysuri" authored by Muhammad Bello. After the passing of Sheikh Usman, the matter continued to escalate to the point where El-Kanemi wrote a letter to Sultan Muhammad Bello, warning that he would launch an attack on the Caliphate from a direction that is closer to him, which is Kano. This threat, as we will discuss later, prompted Sultan Muhammad Bello to send a message

to Yakubu, the Emir of Bauchi, instructing him to confront the warriors of El-Kanemi.

Similarly, in the Volume Two of "The Usmaniyya Caliphate", we presented the events that occurred between Muhammad Bello and Sheikh Abdullahi Fodio, particularly after the end of the Kware war against Abdussalam. At that time, some individuals spread rumours that Muhammad Bello intended to launch a military attack on Sheikh Abdullahi just as he had done on Abdullasalam. This issue escalated to the point that Sheik Abdullahi migrated from Bodinga to Gwandu. This issue was eventually resolved after the battle of Kalambaina when Sheikh Abdullahi pledged his allegiance to Muhammad Bello.

Now, what I want to mention here are some of the events that took place between him (Muhammad Bello) and some of the emirs so that the reader may understand how this state (Caliphate) was established, as well as the loyalty that existed, in addition to the circumspection with which matters were handled, usually after careful consideration of what Allah (SWT) decreed. But before that, it is important for the reader to recall that it was stated in Volume One of "The Usmaniyya Caliphate" that after the conquest of Alkalawa, Sheikh Usman divided the administration of the Caliphate into two: the eastern part was entrusted to Muhammad Bello, while the western part was placed in the hands of Sheikh Abdullahi. Muhammad Bello mentioned in his book, "Infaqu" that:

"Among the emirs under my section are: Abuhamid in Zamfara, Umar Dallaje in Katsina, Sulaiman, son of Aba Hama in Kano, Yakubu in Bauchi, Is'haq in Daura, and Ibrahim (Zaki) in the entire Borno (i.e., Katagum), Muhammad Manga in eastern Borno (Misau), as well as Buba Yaro for the towns of Bauchi area."

These individuals we have mentioned, along with others, used to send letters to Muhammad Bello asking questions concerning certain issues they were not clear about; or he would write to them about how they should handle particular matters. Therefore, by the will of Allah, we will mention a few of the documents relating to the interactions that occurred between him and some of them.

Correspondence Between Muhammad Bello and the Emir of Bauchi, Yakubu

Among those who had this kind of correspondence, there was the Emir of Bauchi, Yakubu. There are two books that Muhammad Bello wrote to the Emir of Bauchi. This is evident from the titles of the books as mentioned in the annotations that Dr. Abdullahi Muhammad Adamu Abu Nazifa wrote on the book "Nazmul-Awamil Alnahwiyyah" by Muhammad Bello. The books are "Algaith al-Shu'bubu Fi Tausiyatil Amir Yaqubu" and Alqaulul-Mauhu'bu Fi Ajwibat As'ilatil-Amir Yaqubu". The first book was written by Sultan Muhammad Bello as an admonition to the Emir of Bauchi regarding seven key responsibilities that every leader should adhere to when administering the affairs of the common people. These seven responsibilities are:

Number One: To organise military affairs and station soldiers into various units, and to determine their salaries, unless a senior caliph has already arranged this, in which case it should remain as the caliph has established.

Number Two: To conduct an analytical study of legal rulings, and to appoint judges and other officials responsible for implementing justice.

Number Three: To collect wealth meant for Bayt al-Mal from taxes and zakat, to appoint those who should collect it, and to distribute it appropriately.

Number Four: To protect the common people from anything that may harm them, and to bring about that which benefits them; also, to defend and protect their religion.

Number Five: To enforce limits (hudud) according to the rights of Allah and to uphold human rights.

Number Six: To lead the people in Friday prayers and congregational worship, or to appoint someone to lead them.

Number Seven: Management of the affairs related to the pilgrimage (Hajj).

If his region or town happens to be near the enemy's territory, then there is the eighth issue. This issue concerns warfare against enemies near him, and the distribution of the spoils of war (ganima), including the allocation of one-fifth (khumus) of the spoils.

Regarding the second book, Dr. Aliyu Abubakar pointed out in his book "Assaqafatul-Arabiyya" that it contains thirteen (13) questions about which the Emir of Bauchi sought clarifications from Muhammad Bello regarding their legal rulings; and the Sultan responded to him. I have not personally seen that book, even though Dr. Aliyu Abubakar mentioned that the book was available in the Nizzamiya library in Sokoto. He stated this over forty years ago. Currently, that library no longer exists. However, Dr. Aliyu did have access to the book. Based on that, the information presented about the book is from his account. Dr. Abdullahi Adamu also mentioned, citing Sayyid Bashir Usman Ahmad, that the book was translated into English, and that Bashir Usman even obtained a photocopy of the book.

However, I have personally seen the first book, and I have read it.

Another incident that shows the nature of that kind of relationship is one that occurred when Alhaji Aminu El-Kanem sent a letter to Sultan Muhammad Bello. Here is a summary of how the matter unfolded, as narrated by Sheikh Sa'idu of Masina. He said:

"It was during his time (i.e., Muhammad Bello's time), that Muhammad…"

Aminu El-Kanemi, popularly known as Kalumbi, mentioned the rulers that were subdued, who formed an alliance with him. He promised that he would return the authority to them if he triumphed over Muhammad Bello. Consequently, he mobilised a large army across various parts of Wadai and Bagarmi. His prestige grew, his affairs gained momentum. He rose with soldiers in multitudes, likened to the innumerability and unyielding solidity of stones. He then sent a letter to the Sultan. The letter contained statements that are of no advantage to mention.

Among the contents of the letter were:

"By Allah, I shall march to your town with well-prepared cavalry and beardless young men; and certainly, we will expel you from the town as a disgraced, humiliated and dishonoured person."

Sheikh Sa'idu said that when the letter reached the Sultan, he wrote at the back of the letter:

"In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful. Allah suffices for us, and blessed is the One in Whom we place our trust. There is no strategy or power except with Allah, the

Most High, the Most Great. I entrust my affairs to Allah; indeed, Allah sees His servants. Wassalam."

The Sultan then remarked, after sending the reply to him: "I surmise that the Almighty Allah will ruin his affairs through the hands of a humble disciple of Shehu (Sheikh Usman)."

Subsequently, Muhammad Bello wrote a letter to the Emir of Bauchi, Yakubu, instructing him to confront El-Kanemi. The Emir of Bauchi enthusiastically went to battle with a large number of soldiers, and fierce fighting broke out between them. Eventually, the Emir of Bauchi emerged victorious over El-Kanemi and captured a substantial amount of booty. El-Kanemi fled the battlefield, and Yakubu went after him for three days but did not catch up with him. This war apparently took place in the year 1243 AH/1827 CE. For, in a book titled "A Chronology of Sokoto History" by Jean Boyd, it is mentioned, based on a narrative from Clapperton written in his journal, that Yakubu of Bauchi came to Sokoto on 11/3/1827 and brought the spoils of the battle fought against El-Kanemi.

Correspondence Between Muhammad Bello and Umaru Dallaje

Malam Umar Dallaje was one of those who received the Jihad flags from Sheikh Usman bin Fodio. This occurred around 1220–1221 AH/1805 CE. Like Yakubu of Bauchi, there was also correspondence between him and Muhammad Bello. Among the books authored by Muhammad Bello, there are two written to Umar Dallaje. One of them is in the form of a letter titled "Khitabu Muhammad Bello Ila Umar Dallaje Amir Katsina" (A Letter from Muhammad Bello to Umar Dallaje, Emir of Katsina). The second book is titled "Usulus-Siyasah" (Principles of Governance).

The first book was cited by Dr. Abdullahi Muhammad Adamu in his scholarly validation (tahqiq) of "Nazmul Awamil al-Nahwiyya", written by Sultan Muhammad Bello. In that work, he quotes Sayyid Bashir Usman Ahmad as stating that the letter is available in the personal library of Malam Mujtaba Muhammad Bello Gyalyal in Sokoto. As for me, the author of this book (The Usmaniyya Caliphate), I have not personally accessed the letter let alone know its content.

However, regarding the second book (Usulus-Siyasah), it is well-known and widely accessible, available in different locations. It has also been translated into both Hausa and English. In this book, Muhammad Bello stated that the Emir of Katsina, Umar Dallaje, approached him and requested that he compose something that would serve a guide for him in the conduct of his leadership. That is why this book was written for him. In the book, it was indicated to him that running a government (or administration) is an aspect of politics. Politics, as it is called, is nothing but standing on the foundation of justice. He then went on to explain some key principles, seven in number, which he said are the foundation of politics. He said: "Know that the foundation of politics are seven principles, all of which revolve around justice, for justice is politics in its entirety."

Now I will briefly present the seven principles; but whoever desires more details should consult the book. They are as follows:

First Principle: The leader must be one who fears Allah and follows the tradition of the Prophet of Allah. He must be obsessed with the affairs of the Hereafter (i.e. he must not be preoccupied with worldly affairs), and he must uphold the boundaries set by Allah.

Second Principle: The leader must show kindness, be forgiving, avoid anger, be generous, and be patient.

Third Principle: The leader must be loving and caring toward religious scholars. He should be willing to listen to their admonitions. He should distance himself from corrupt scholars who have a penchant for worldly things and who are focused only on taking from his worldly possessions. Such scholars would praise and honour him but only to achieve their own material aims.

Fourth Principle: Whenever a leader appoints someone to a position, he must enjoin him to do justice. If he is to appoint someone to a post, he must ensure it is based on merit, selection, and competence.

Fifth Principle: He should command the common people to practice justice among themselves and that they should be kind to one another and avoid injustice.

Sixth Principle: He should create jobs for the people of his kingdom. This includes promoting occupations that are essential for daily life. These include farming, weaving, tailoring, and dyeing. Other occupations include medicine, blacksmithing, trading, and commerce, buying and selling. He should also encourage them to embrace farming, food production, and storage.

Seventh Principle: The ruler should be lenient in handling the affairs of the common people, especially in religious matters. He should not impose any burden on the people except what is clearly established in the Qur'an, the Sunnah and the consensus (ijma') of scholars. He should not prohibit something over which there is a divergence of opinion between scholars. What he should prohibit is that which the scholars have unanimously

agreed on its prohibition. Similarly, he should enjoin only what has been agreed upon as obligatory by consensus.

Correspondence Between Muhammad Bello and the Emir of Zazzau, Yamusa

The fact that Sultan Muhammad Bello was a scholar well-versed in all fields of knowledge, made the Emir of Zazzau, Yamusa to write a letter to him. This letter contained a complaint about an illness he was suffering from. When Muhammad Bello read the letter and its complaints, he confirmed that Yamusa was suffering from a kidney ailment. As a result, he wrote him a book titled "Risalatun Fi Amradil Kulyah Wa Ila'jiha", meaning "A Treatise on Kidney Diseases and Their Treatment." This book included an introduction and was structured into sections or chapters, up to nineteen in total as well as a conclusion. For example, in chapter one, he explained to him the causes of kidney inflammation and how it is identified. That is, if the kidney disease is due to renal immaturity, the patient's urine will be pale in colour and it will induce low sexual desire. Similarly, the lower back of the patient will become weak; similar to that of the elderly. This is how he proceeds with such explanations in each of the various chapters.

Anyone interested in this topic may refer to the paper presented by Sayyid Bashir Usman Ahmad during a conference on the life of Muhammad Bello. In that paper, he presented information about Muhammad Bello's contributions to the field of medicine, in which he provided a detailed explanation about the book. That conference was held in 1985 at the Centre for Islamic Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto. Alternatively, one can obtain the book and read it.

CHAPTER SEVEN

HIS WRITINGS

Sultan Muhammad Bello, like Sheikh Usman and Sheikh Abdullahi, was also a prolific writer. His writings spanned across all fields of knowledge, and he demonstrated expertise in whatever subject he wrote about. However, it has been affirmed that he was particularly well-versed in the area of politics and governance. Sheikh Usman also attested to this in his book "Najmu Ikhwani", where he stated: "Commit yourselves to the study of the books written by my son, Muhammad Bello because he has deep knowledge of Islamic history and has devoted himself to extensive research on political affairs." The difference between the writings of Muhammad Bello and those of Sheikh Abdullahi lies primarily in volume; Sheikh Abdullahi wrote a large number of books across various branches of knowledge, and one can find numerous writings by him on topics such as grammar (nahw), morphology (sarf), jurisprudence (usul al-fiqh), and others. In contrast, most of Muhammad Bello's books are relatively brief, as he often wrote based on specific needs or circumstances. Nonetheless, when he did write on a particular subject, his works were of substantial quality and depth. An example of this is his work "Infaqul Maysuri", which he wrote on history, and "Gayatus-Suli", which he wrote on the Qur'anic

sciences. His writing style bore greater resemblance to that of Sheikh Usman than to that of Sheikh Abdullahi. The reason for his prolific authorship was, as Sheikh Sa'idu of Masina mentioned in his book "Tazkiratun-Nisyan", which we have earlier mentioned, that Muhammad Bello was a man of deep knowledge and a passion for scholars.

Here is what he (Sa'idu) had to say in that regard:

"He lived, may the mercy of Allah continue to be upon him, after allegiance was pledged to him, for twenty-two years. During his era, the Hausa land attained remarkable development, and knowledge was extensively propagated throughout the region. Scholars came to him from every region; he received them with attentiveness and trust, and treated them with great kindness and generosity. There was no scholar who would come to him whether from the east, west, south, or north whom he did not receive well and continued to relate with. He was deeply engaged in writing. Whenever he wrote a book, he would present it to the people, and read it to them. Soon after, he would begin writing another. The reason behind the abundance of his works was the numerous questions he received and the frequent disagreements among scholars. Whenever he was asked about a problem, he would write a book addressing it. If a report was brought to him that certain scholar had diverging views with another on a particular issue, he would compose a book on the matter. He was also known for encouraging his children and relatives to pursue knowledge diligently; he consistently urged them to be committed to scholarly endeavours and frequently rebukes them for abandoning the path."

He (the narrator) said: "One day, I heard him say:

"Indeed, the Hausa people have brought our children to ignorance. They often say to them, "Indeed, your households

are homes of nobility (sainthood)." As a result, they have made them inclined to abandon the pursuit of knowledge. All of that is mere fabrication, a blend of deceit, confusion and calumny. For knowledge is never gathered passively, it must be sought. Those closest to it (knowledge) among the people are the scholars.'"

It was based on this reason that his writings proliferated, encompassing various fields. The purpose of this chapter is to present the views of Muhammad Bello on different branches of knowledge. We shall summarise this regarding certain fields of knowledge, not all of them.

We shall begin with his view on the field of Theology (Tawhid), considering that this discipline is of great significance.

His View on the Discipline of Theology (Tawhid)

An examination of the writings of Muhammad Bello will reveal that he did not compose a large number of works specifically dedicated to the field of Theology. This may be due to the fact that Sheikh Usman had already addressed the subject comprehensively, making further elaboration unnecessary. Muhammad Bello himself mentioned in the book "Infaqul-Maysuri" that Sheikh Usman had written over fifty books on Theology. Nevertheless, this does not mean that Muhammad Bello refrained from addressing theological issues when the need arose. For example, he engaged in discourse on the issue of takfir, declaring someone to be an unbeliever. This is found in his book "Miftahus-Sidadi Fi Aqsami Ahli Ha'zhil-Biladi". In this book, he raised the question: Is takfīr a matter of Islamic law or of rational judgment? And what are the conditions under which one may declare another a disbeliever? Muhammad Bello

responded to this by quoting the opinions of earlier scholars on the matter. Here is what he said:

"Know that declaring someone a disbeliever, as stated in the book "Bardut-Tashdidi Fi Mas'alatit-Taqlidi", is a matter of Shariʿa not of rational reasoning, according to the consensus of Sunni scholars. The principle of declaring someone a disbeliever is rooted in Islamic law and pertains to three issues: Firstly, forming a conviction that constitutes disbelief in itself, for example, associating Allah, the Almighty with the attributes of frailty, ignorance, mortality or that He has a partner with Him, and other such matters that invalidate the first part of the declaration of faith which is the declaration of our testimony that there is no God but Allah (La 'Ilaha Illallah).

"Secondly, to form a belief/conviction that entails the denial of the Prophet's (peace be upon him) message, i.e. that he (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) is not a Messenger of Allah or that the Prophet was not sent to entire mankind. This is inclusive of other such matters that invalidate the second part of the declaration of faith which is. Muhammadur Rasulullah (Sallallahu Alaihi Wa Sallam), which is the declaration that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him."

"Thirdly, that which the entire Muslim community has unanimously agreed that can only be associated with a disbeliever. This includes acts such as prostrating to idols as a form of reverence, (provided it is done voluntarily); and equally includes other acts and utterances that clearly demonstrate unbelief such as insinuating that humanity has existed since time immemorial, participating in acts that involve disbelief like commuting to churches out of respect, or wearing girdle."

Muhammad Bello further elaborated on this matter by referencing the views of Sheikh Maghili concerning this issue. He stated that what Magili addressed does not contradict what was mentioned earlier from the book "Bardut-Tashdid", except in terms of clarification. After citing the statements of the scholars, he then explained that people associated with certain sects, such as the Mu'tazila, Qadariyya, Jabriyya, and others, are not to be declared unbelievers merely based on their association with those sects.

The book, "Miftaḥus-Sidadi", was written by Bello in order to clarify his views on various people living in the Hausa land during his time, specifically in relation to their beliefs. He classified them based on theological criteria: those who are genuinely Muslims, those who are disbelievers by origin, those who have apostatised, and those who mix Islamic practices with acts of disbelief. He also discussed those who engage in infidelity. As a result, he came up with fourteen issues expressed in the form of questions and answers. The matter previously discussed regarding the ruling on declaring someone as an unbeliever is one of the issues that resurfaced, and has also been addressed here.

In this section, all of the (fourteen) issues are presented in the form of questions; thus, anyone who requires the responses should consult the book. Our objective here is to establish that Bello has indeed written on the subject of Theology, and to show some of his perspectives or interpretation. Below are the fourteen issues expressed as questions:

1. Is the issue of declaring someone as an unbeliever a matter of jurisprudence (Shari'ah) or of reason?
2. If you claim that there is a consensus among scholars that no one will be an unbeliever among the followers

of the Qibla and those committing sin, then do such statements, which suggest disbelief, and the acts that can only come from a disbeliever, themselves constitute acts of disbelief?

3. If you assert with certainty that these acts are not disbelief, then how should someone be declared an unbeliever for committing such acts, while he internally affirms belief, prays, fasts during Ramaḍan, performs pilgrimage, and generally engages in many righteous deeds?
4. If you assert that declaring someone as an unbeliever based on what the scholars have unanimously agreed upon, namely the act that can only come from a disbeliever is sacrosanct, then what is the ruling regarding declaring someone as an unbeliever based on an act where the scholars have differed?
5. What is the legal criterion for declaring someone as an unbeliever based on a clear and manifest devotional supplication without asking about his position on it?
6. Is the act of offering sacrifice to symbols such as trees and stones an act of disbelief or not?
7. Is the act of supporting unbelievers, i.e. assisting them, an act of disbelief in itself or does it only amount to disbelief when accompanied by a particular intention?
8. What is an example of original unbelievers in this country?
9. If you say that among the pagans there are those who proclaim *La Ilaha Illallah* (there is no deity but Allah) while maintaining their former idolatrous practices,

are those among them who profess *La Ilaha Illallah* considered original unbelievers, or are they apostates?

10. What is an example of an apostate in this country?
11. What is the ruling concerning the people of Azbin origin (Azbinawa) of this country?
12. What is the ruling concerning the Fulani of this country?
13. Under what condition is the land of apostates regarded as enemy territory (i.e., a land that may be lawfully attacked/invaded)?
14. If the people of a town commit apostasy, does their wealth become legitimate war booty?

There is no doubt that the reader of this book will understand the context in which Muhammad Bello lived, and the necessity for his people to be aware of the pressing issues of that era. In essence, they were engaging in jihad, but were those they were fighting unbelievers or Muslims? If they were unbelievers, were they original unbelievers or apostates? Furthermore, which actions constitute disbelief and warrant a declaration of unbelief, and which do not? What statements lead to unbelief, and which do not? Were the Fulani and Azbinawa of that country Muslims or unbelievers? Those who apostatised, if they were to be fought against, was it permissible to enslave them? What is the legal status of their wealth, does it become legitimate war booty or not? These were the core doctrinal issues which Sultan Muhammad Bello, sought to address in the context of his time. Allah is the One who guides (His servants) to the right path.

Exegesis (Tafsir)

Scholars involved in the compilation of books have indicated that Muhammad Bello authored two works concerning the sciences of the Qur'an (ulumul-Qur'an). These books are:

1. "Taʿliqun Wajizun ala Qasidatihi: Maudul-Qur'ani wa Maʿanihi"
2. "Gayatus-Suli Fi tafa'sirir-Rasul" – The first book is a commentary which expands upon the explanation he had previously given in a treatise relating to the Qur'an and its interpretations. According to Dr. Abdullahi Muhammad Adamu, this book is available and reportedly located at Waziri Junaidu's library.

However, the second book, titled "Gayatus-Suli", is the one he authored concerning the Qur'an and its exegesis, particularly addressing the reasons for the revelation of verses (asbabul-nuzul). As the title of the book suggests, "the book expresses profound hope in the exegesis (interpretation) of the Prophet (peace be upon him)". After invoking the Name of Allah **and the chain of transmission (salsala)**, (**or invoking blessings (salawat) on the Prophet, peace be upon him)** he (Bello) continued with the praise of Allah, and then declares: "Following what we have already mentioned, we hereby name this work: "A profound hope in the exegesis (interpretation) of the Prophet (peace be upon him)". I have compiled in the book, the pieces of evidence of revelation and the interpretation of the Prophet (peace be upon him)" of some verses from what is considered reliable and authentic, sourced from the five authoritative collections of ḥadith, namely: Ṣaḥiḥ al-Bukhari, Ṣaḥiḥ Muslim, Abu Dawud, as well as Tirmidhi, and al-Nasa'i (may Allah be pleased with them).

He then states:

"I declare this, I am seeking assistance from Allah, the Most High."

"Indeed, it is with Him that guidance rests."

Next, he began the introduction to the book, which addresses the admonition and prohibition against speaking about the Qur'an without proper knowledge or expressing personal opinions on an issue (without scholarly basis). He stated: "Tirmidhi narrated from Ibn 'Abbas that the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings be upon him) said: 'Whoever speaks concerning the Qur'an without knowledge, let him take his seat in the Hellfire.'" In another narration from him (Ibn Abbas), it was reported: "Refrain from speaking except about what you know. For whoever attributes something to me falsely, knowingly, let him take his seat in the Hellfire; and whoever interprets the Qur'an based on personal opinion, let him take his seat in the Hellfire."

Abu Dawud and Tirmidhi also narrated from Jundub, who said that the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings be upon him) stated: "Whoever interprets the Book of Almighty Allah based on personal opinion, even if he happens to be correct, has indeed erred." Ruzaynu added: "And whoever interprets it based on personal opinion and is mistaken, becomes a disbeliever."

Thereafter, Muhammad Bello proceeded to cite various hadiths in his exegesis for each chapter, focusing on what was rendered feasible to accomplish. From the outset, he had stated that he intended to focus on what was rendered feasible of the verses. He began with Al-Fatiḥah, followed by Surat al-Baqarah, and continued up to the end of the book.

From the foregoing discussion, we may conclude that Muhammad Bello was of the opinion that exegesis (tafsir),

according to infallible authority (Ma'thur tradition), is preferable, but he did not deem it blameworthy if such interpretation was based on ijtihad (independent reasoning) by scholars who had reached that level of scholarly competence.

Hadith

A critical examination of the books authored by Muhammad Bello reveals that he did not write extensively or specifically on Ulumul-Hadith, that is, the science of Hadith and its related disciplines. This is not necessarily due to a lack of knowledge or expertise in the field. On the contrary, it may be attributed to the fact that his paternal uncle, Sheikh Abdullahi, had already undertaken significant responsibility in that domain. Nevertheless, it is evident that he possessed substantial knowledge of Hadith studies. This is demonstrated in Chapter Two of this book which addresses his search for knowledge. It will be seen that he confirmed having studied Sahih al-Bukhari along with its commentary Fathul-Bari. He had also studied Sahih Abu Dawud, as well as the collections of al-Nasa'i, al-Tirmidhi, and Ibn Majah. Prior to that, he had studied Sahih Muslim, and similarly consulted Masa'bihul-Sunnah by al-Baghawi, Ibn Khuzaymah, among others.

Furthermore, a book he wrote on Ulumul-Qur'an, in which he discussed the pieces of evidence for the revelation of verses and made extensive use of Hadith literature from five books on hadith, illustrates his proficiency in this field. Similarly, his extensive citations from hadith books from various renowned sources such as Sunan of Ibn Mansur, al-Tabaranii, from his three-volume compilation Mu'jamus-Sagir, Awsat, and Kabir, as well as similar works, all affirm his expertise. We thus deduce that the reason he may not have composed a dedicated work on

Hadith science is likely because others had already addressed the subject extensively.

Jurisprudence (Fiqh)

With regard to Islamic jurisprudence, Sultan Muhammad Bello authored several texts, most of which are relatively brief, totalling approximately fifteen. Among these works are the following:

1. Tanbihur-Raqidi Fi ma Ya'tawirul-Hajja Minal-Mafa'sid
2. Tanbihus-Sahibi ala Ahkamil-Maka'sibi
3. Shifa'ul-Asqami Fi Ma'rifati Madarikil Ahkami
4. Kitabu Mas'alatu Tabidit-Tahrimi
5. Tanbihus-Sami'i Fi Ahkami Suquti Saqfil-Jami'i
6. Alman'utu Fin Nafaqati Wal-Mabiti
7. Hilyatul-Basa'ir Fil Ahkami al-Lazima Lil-Musa'fir
8. Alqaulul Muhibbu Fi Jam'in-Nuqu'li Izil-Juma'at Indaz-Zawali
9. Taqribu Masa'ilil Bai'i Lil-Ammah
10. Tanbihul-Ikhwani ala Ahkamil Ama'ni
11. Alqaulul-Mabzuli Fi Zikr Masal'ilil-Gululi
12. Jam'un-Nuqul Fi Masa'ilil Gululi
13. Assaiful Maslulu Fi Ahkamil Gululi
14. Almahsulu Fi Zikri Jumlah Min Mafa'sidil Gululi
15. Diya'ul Uquli Fi Bayani Tahrimi Gilzil Gululi

In the first book among this list authored by Muhammad Bello, the discussion centres on the Hajj (pilgrimage) and its legal rulings. It also addresses the pilgrimage of people from this part of Africa, during earlier times, when travel to the Holy Land was made over land or by sea using the types of ships available

at the time. Undertaking Hajj under such circumstances was fraught with considerable risks. Likewise, the book discusses the legal implications of performing Hajj using wealth acquired through unlawful means.

The second book focuses on the legal rulings relating to various professions and trades.

The third book provides explanations on how legal rulings are derived from scriptural texts. It also deals with the concept that legal rulings may evolve or change with the passage of time and in accordance with contextual shifts and similar factors.

In the fourth book, the author examines a particular issue recognised in the language of Islamic jurists as "Ta'abidut-Tahrim", meaning the perpetual prohibition (to remarry a woman whom one had divorced). What is meant here is a woman that can never be lawfully remarried to a man. Maliki jurists are of the view that this ruling is binding. For example, if a man proposes marriage to a woman during her prescribed waiting period (iddah) – usually after a divorce or the death of her husband – and then proceeds to marry her while she is still in iddah, and consummates the marriage during that period, the marriage will be nullified, and the woman can never again be lawfully married to him. However, other jurists from different schools of thought maintain that once the marriage contract has been annulled, the woman must complete her first prescribed waiting period (iddah), followed by another period of purifying herself from the intimacy with the new husband (istibra'). After this, the husband whose marriage was annulled may seek her hand again in marriage.

Sultan Muhammad Bello, held the view that marital issues constitute one of the four core areas on which scholars reach a consensus that they should not be vitiated provided there

exists opinions that point toward their permissibility, even if such pronouncements are based on unorthodox legal opinions, referred to as "Shazzi". These four issues are: marriage, prayer, slaughter (of animals and birds), and food. Based on this position, he stated: "The issue of perpetual prohibition is one in which no authoritative figure among the scholars (of the various schools of though) upholds, except the Maliki based on one of his two transmitted opinions."

He then referenced a statement from the book "Attaudihu", where Ibn Hajib said: "She becomes permanently prohibited to him." A commentator on this statement explained: "What this implies is that she becomes permanently prohibited for him, according to the majority of scholars. However, another opinion holds that she is not permanently prohibited, and there remains a possibility that she may remarry him afterwards."

Sultan Muhammad Bello further stated that this entire issue of perpetual prohibition arises if the woman married during her prescribed waiting period (iddah) was divorced and the husband had issued her the divorce three times. In that case, disagreement (among scholars) arises. However, if her husband had issued only one or two divorces, and another man married her during her iddah and consummated the marriage with her during that (iddah) period, there is no perpetual prohibition. This is because if a woman has been given a revocable divorce (saki raja'i), then she is just like a married woman. In such a case, engaging in sexual relations with her is deemed illicit, like fornication.

However, regarding the fifth book, Muhammad Bello addressed the issue of whether, in the event that a mosque collapses and lacks a roof, it is still permissible to conduct the Friday (Jumuʿa) congregational prayer in it. Is it acceptable to

observe the Friday prayer in such a mosque, or not? It appears that this issue was raised during his time as a matter of scholarly inquiry.

In his response, after referencing the opinions of notable scholars, he indicated that Friday prayers could indeed be conducted in such a mosque. Among the evidentiary bases he relied upon is the fact that during the caliphate of Caliphs Abubakar and Umar, the Friday prayer was held within the precincts of the Kaʿaba, even though it did not have a roof. Likewise, in the early period of Islam in Madinah, Friday prayers were established before a mosque was constructed. Those who contested this view and claimed that such a ruling had been abrogated presented a weak argument. Accordingly, Sultan Muhammad Bello affirmed that the most reliable opinion, one upon which scholars can depend, is the permissibility of holding the Friday prayer in a mosque of that nature.

In the sixth book, he addressed the issue of family maintenance, particularly the obligation of a husband to share his time equitably among his wives in a polygamous household.

The seventh book focused on a discussion concerning the regulations and etiquettes governing the conduct of travellers.

As for the eighth book, I, the author of this book "The Usmaniyya Caliphate", was unable to obtain a copy of it directly. However, it is confirmed that it is among the books authored by Muhammad Bello, as indicated by the title of the book: "*Zance abin so a game da tattara zantukan da a ka*..." (A desirable discourse on the compilation of transmitted statements...).

ruwaito a game da cewa Juma'a a na tsayar da ita a lokacin zawali" (...Friday congregational prayer (Jumu'a) is observed at the time of zawal (midday decline"). The book explains that there was an incident that occurred and there was a disagreement as

to whether the Friday prayer could be performed at midday or after it had passed. He explained that the established ruling is that the Friday prayer could not be observed until the sun had passed its zenith. Thereafter, the call to prayer (adhan) should be made, followed by the sermon (khuṭbah) to be delivered by the Imam, and then the congregational prayer should be performed.

The ninth book authored was specifically about the problems associated with trade, particularly for the benefit of those individuals who lacked formal knowledge, such that they could understand these issues within a short timeframe.

The tenth book addresses the matter of non-believers being entrusted (with responsibility) within an Islamic state.

But in the five additional works, Muhammad Bello discussed the problem of embezzlement of war booty (ghulul). According to the language of Islamic jurisprudence, ghulul refers to taking something from the spoils of war before it has been officially distributed. Some scholars have classified ghulul as a form of breach of trust wherever it occurs and have ruled it to be unequivocally unlawful. The effort to write five separate books on this issue indicates that it was a pressing concern during that era and one of the issues that deeply troubled Sultan Muhammad Bello. Anyone seeking further details may consult these works.

Politics and Administration

Dr. Abdullahi Muhammad Adam has noted that Sultan Muhammad Bello authored nearly twenty-two books on this field. Among these books are:

1. Usulus-Siyasa

2. Al-Isha'ah Fi Hukmil-Kharijina anit-Ta'a
3. Al-Ilamu Fi ma Yajibu alal-Imami min Hifzi Bidatil-Islam, and the rest of them.

Muhammad Bello was a man who excelled in politics and was adept in administering it in his dealings with the common people. We can confirm his moral and spiritual completeness and that of his government if we examine his interactions with Sheikh Abdussalami, a disciple of Sheikh Usman, with whom he had some disputes. It is evident that Bello did not initiate aggression against him until all the employed available peaceful means to avoid bloodshed were exhausted.

Furthermore, we have previously presented in this book the testimony of his father regarding this matter, in which Sheikh Usman stated: "Engage in reading the books authored by my son Muhammad Bello, for he possesses profound knowledge of Islamic history and is a meticulous researcher in political affairs."

His book, "Usulus-Siyasa" has already been discussed in the preceding sections, in which we made mention of Umar Dallaje. This book is among the books written by Muhammad Bello that encompass various issues related to politics and governance. As we have earlier mentioned the seven fundamental principles of politics presented in this book, here we highlight what he stated regarding the conditions governing leadership in the book. This is because it is a well-established fact that society cannot thrive without leadership. Leadership, therefore, is not a responsibility that can be undertaken by just anyone. It requires adherence to specific principles. For this reason, it becomes imperative that anyone aspiring to hold a position of authority within Islam must meet established criteria. These

criteria, as articulated by Muhammad Bello and documented in the book mentioned are as follows:

1. The leader must be pious, that is, one that fears Allah.
2. He must be a follower of the Sunnah of the Prophet (may peace and blessings of Allah be upon him).
3. He must be mindful of matters concerning the Hereafter.
4. He must uphold and adhere to the limits set by Allah.
5. He must not be overly attached to worldly pleasures.
6. He must not display a desire for leadership.

The most significant matter prior to all these is that he must be just. This is because justice is essential in politics, and it is the foundation upon which all forms of governance rest.

Beyond these traits, there are additional attributes that a leader should possess to ensure the sustainability of his rule. These qualities include:

A – He should be generous and charitable.

B – He should be forgiving and not prone to anger.

C – He should be noble and show perseverance.

D – He should be selfless and devoted.

In any case, some of the things sought in a leader are that he surrounds himself with righteous individuals who serve as his advisors or council members. He should also associate with upright scholars and avoid corrupt ones.

Sufism, Miracles, Intercession, and Seeking Help, etc.

Like Sheikh Usman and Sheikh Abdullahi, Muhammad Bello has also written extensively on Sufism. These writings are numerous and diverse. They range from the Sufism characterised by virtuous conduct and the avoidance of immoral behaviour, known in the Sufi parlance as "Tahalluq" (attachment), i.e.

emphasis on the inner purification. This is in addition to the Sufism that advocates for deep spiritual refinement until he attained a lofty spiritual status and elevated rank before Allah through performing some miraculous acts by the spiritual devotees in this field, as well as through the mystical unveiling of hidden realities (kashf) and other mystical experiences, which are generally referred to in Sufism as "Tahaqquq" (Realisation). Muhammad Bello equally wrote numerous books on the spiritual status of saints (Awliya') in the sight of Allah, affirming that saints are indeed the gateway for anyone who seeks to attain the state of "Hadarah" (spiritual illumination) with Allah. He also consistently affirmed the legitimacy of tawassul (seeking intercession) and istighatha (seeking help). In another instance, he acknowledged the various Sufi orders (duruq), and he himself belonged to the Qadiriyyah order to the end of his life as will be explained by the will of Allah. Likewise, Muhammad Bello followed the practice of *wird* (regular spiritual recitations), and wrote numerous treatises on the subject based from Qur'anic invocations and authenticated Hadiths, to traditions from righteous predecessors and other scholars. Here, by the will of Allah, we shall endeavour to mention all such references and provide textual evidence from his works and the writings of his disciples.

First, regarding Sufism: Muhammad Bello wrote a book titled "Taʿliqun Wajizun ala Manẓumatina Fīt Taṣawwufi." This book is in verse form and written in the Arabic language. It addresses matters of Sufism. He also appended a brief commentary (taʿliq) to it, which is essentially a concise explanatory note. In this book, he clarified that Sufism corresponds to the spiritual status of Ihsan (spiritual excellence), in accordance with the Prophetic tradition which states: "Worship Allah as though you see Him; and if you do

not see Him, then (know that) He sees you." He explained that this Hadith delineates two stages of Sufism: The first level is the status of Musha'hada (spiritual witnessing), which is the level of those described as Muqarrabun, those who have been drawn near (to Allah) through devoted proximity. The second level is the status of "Ahlil yamini"; that is, the people of the right hand. In this context, he further explains that the first stage of Sufism is repentance (tawbah) and turning back to Allah. For this reason, he mentioned repentance and elaborated on its conditions and stages, listing them as seven in number. Following this, he discussed piety (taqwa), which is the fear of Allah, along with its conditions and stages. Thereafter, he elaborated on reliance on Allah (tawakkul), detailing both its conditions and stages.

The second issue is another book written by Muhammad Bello, in which he discussed Sufism in relation to the practice of miracles of sainthood and the intercession (tawassul) of saints with Allah to fulfil people's needs. That book is titled "Fathul-Babi Fi Zikr Khasa'isis Shaikh Abdulqadir Jailani". Similarly, he wrote another book on this subject titled "Raf'ul-Ishtibahi Fitta'alluƙi billahi wa bi Ahlillah", meaning "The Removal of Doubts Concerning Attachment to Allah and the righteous servants of Allah." In the introduction to this book, he stated: "Aside from reliance on Allah, Exalted is He, there is no deed more beneficial for the servants of Allah than seeking intercession through the righteous servants of Allah." He argues that if punishment was mitigated for Abu Ṭalib due to his support and protection of the Prophet (may Allah's peace and blessings be upon him) then it was ensured for him that he would be placed in a shallow area of Hellfire; and if punishment was also alleviated for Abu Lahab every Monday due to his manumission of Suwaibah and giving her water to drink, despite his disbelief, then what about the one who sincerely relies on the Prophet (may peace

and blessings of Allah be upon him). Especially if he believes, performs righteous deeds, sends blessings upon the Prophet, and makes supplication for the Prophet and seeks intercession for the good of the Muslim community and remains steadfast in his religious practices and the Sunnah, then without doubt, Allah Exalted is He, will reward him abundantly. This is as it was reported, whoever sends blessings upon the Prophet once, Allah will bestow ten blessings upon him.

In another section of the book, he stated:

"Just as relying on the Messenger of Allah (may peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) represents the highest of spiritual gateways to Allah, so too does relying on the saints of Allah. This is because they are the ones who firmly stand for us (as his representatives) in his status, speech, and attributes, and they likewise stand, serving as intermediaries between us and him."

Another book that Muhammad Bello authored addressing this type of issue is titled "Irshadud-Dullab Fi Tashihil-Itiqadi Bil-Abwabi Wahum Awliya'ur-Rabbi". At the beginning of the book, he wrote:

"Indeed, the saints of Allah, the Most Exalted, are the gateways to His mercy. Whoever draws near to them with sound and sincere conviction and genuine belief, the gateway will be opened, and he shall enter, and his needs will be met." In relation to this, Sheikh Adi son of Musafir said: "You will derive no benefit from a righteous man unless your belief in his theological creed surpasses that of any other belief."

Then he narrated a statement from Sheikh Ibn Abujamrah, who said that three types of people will mostly not receive a share of benefit: the son of a scholar, the wife of a scholar, and the one who serves a scholar. He remarked that a scholar's son

will grow up witnessing the honour and respect shown to his father, and this admiration will take root in him. Eventually, as he matures, the love for that respect and honour will overcome, which in turn may lead to arrogance and lack of moral and personal refinement. Eventually he will become a man on whom preaching/admonition will have no impact. Thus, he may grow to show disdain for established scholars and deny their sagacity. As for the scholar's wife, she looks at him from the perspective of being his wife, wherein he requires her for the purpose of carnal desire; not from the perspective of his role as a scholar. As for the one who serves a scholar, his perspective (of the scholar) would be through the lens of his conduct concerning eating, drinking, and matters pertaining to his repose. Consequently, all of them would not benefit from his blessings.

Likewise, concerning the merits of devotional acts and the foundational practices of Islam, that is to say, those matters pertaining to litanies (adhkar) and their specific formulations, we find that Muhammad Bello produced numerous written works. Among the books he authored is: "Tamhidul-Imadi bima'zada ala Umdatil-Ubbadi". This is a book in which he presented additional merits of certain practices, supplementing those not mentioned by Sheikh Usman in his book "Umdatul-Ubbadi".

Another book which he wrote on this subject is "Attanbiha'tul-Wadihat Fi Maja'a Fil-Baqiyatis-Ṣaliḥat". In this book, he endeavoured to compile transmitted reports concerning the merits of litanies; particularly the litany of "Baqiyatis-Ṣaliḥat" (the Everlasting Good Deeds). By way of example, he cited instances where "Baqiyatis-Ṣaliḥat"" holds the status of ritual prayer (ṣalah), where it holds the status of

alms (ṣadaqah), and where it holds the status of fasting (ṣawm); likewise, he cited where it holds the status of the pilgrimage (ḥajj).

Yet another pertinent book related to this chapter which he wrote is "Kashful-Qina'i Wal Astari an Wajhi Sayyidil-Istigfari". In this book, he expounded upon the merits of "Sayyidil-Istigfar" (the Master Formula for Seeking Forgiveness) as its merits are established within the books of Hadith.

Additionally, he wrote the book "Albuduru Almusfirah". This book is structured upon an explication of deeds for which, if performed, forgiveness (from Allah) is attained.

Furthermore, Muhammad Bello also wrote his book, "Nurul-Fajri". In this book, he provided an exposition on the virtues of the first ten days of the month of Dhul-Hijjah and the acts of worship that should be performed during these days. He also elaborated on the practices pertaining to the days of the Eid al-Adha prayer and the three days following it.

Besides, Muhammad Bello authored a collection of devotional litanies (wird/awrad) which number no less than ten. Among these litanies are:

1. Hizbun-Nasri Walfathi
2. Hizbus-Sa'adati
3. Hizabus-Shakwal-Kabiri
4. Hizbus-Shakwal-Wusta
5. Hizbus-Shakwas-Sugra
6. Hizbul-Amani
7. Hizbul-Ibtiha'li
8. Hizbul-Muna'jati

9. Hizbul-Kifayah
10. Hizbul-Ismati
11. Wirdun Ja'miun Linuril-Ihtida'i Wal-Iqtida'i

These are the litanies (ahzab/awrad) which Muhammad Bello wrote and which he consistently recited, seeking the fulfilment of needs and nearness to Allah. He likewise bequeathed them to us, the succeeding generation, so that we may recite them with the same intention.

In addition to these, there is the litany of "Yada sanda," which originates from Sheikh Usman. However, Muhammad Bello stated that he received it from Sheikh Usman, and it was among his regular recitations, morning and evening. Furthermore, Sultan Muhammad Bello, would also recite the Litany of Hizbul- Bahri" by Abulhassan Asshazili, upon which he composed a commentary, wherein he explicated the number of verses and the names of Allah that are found within it. Likewise, within it, he provided an explanation of the method of its recitation and its specific numerical prescriptions, for the benefit of the Muslim community.

Another book, furthermore, which Muhammad Bello wrote concerning the miracles of saints and their status is "Miftaḥus-Sidadi Fi zikril Auliya'il-Khawwaṣ al-Afradi". At the commencement of his preface to the book, he stated:

"You must know that the matter of sainthood (Walayah) and the saints (Awliya') are matters of great import and their affairs are significant; many hadiths have been established concerning this. Among them is that which Al-Bukhari and others narrated from Abu Hurairah (may Allah be pleased with him) who said: The Messenger of Allah (may Allah's peace and blessings be upon him) said: 'Indeed Allah, the Majestic and

Exalted, has said: "Whoever shows hostility towards a saint (Wali) of Mine, I declare war upon him..."

Thereafter, he proceeded to cite textual evidence and elucidate the varying statuses of different saints. This is, for instance, where he stated that among the saints, there is one who will provide intercession for an innumerable multitude within this Ummah. He then cited the tradition narrated concerning Uwais al-Qarani, that he will intercede for a number equivalent to the tribes of Rabiʿah and Mudar.

He also mentioned in the book that among the saints is one who will provide intercession for the people of his era. He then recounted the statement of Al-Hasan al-Yusi, who said: "A trustworthy informant related to me that some people from the disciples of Ibn Mubarak al-Tastawuti had visited Muhammad al-Sharaki, whereupon..." he said to them: "O you disciples! What did Ibn Mubarak say?" They replied, "Verily, he said: 'The people of my era are an accountability upon me, or they are under my covenant,' or words to that effect." Thereupon, our master Muhammad al-Sharaki said: "Bear witness for us, for indeed we are among the people of Ibn Mubarak's era."

Likewise, within the book, he continued to enumerate examples of those who will provide intercession. In his explanations, he indicated that there is a saint who will intercede for those who accompany his funeral bier. Similarly, there is one who will intercede for whoever loves him until the Day of Resurrection. There is also one who will intercede for whoever saw him or saw whoever saw him, up to seven individuals, or fewer, or more.

In the book, Muhammad Bello provided an exposition on the status of Sheikh Abdulqadir Jai'lani; he also mentioned the litanies (awrad) of the Qadiriyya order, particularly the "Wird

al-Aḥlid-Dar" (Litanies of the People of the House), which entails the invocation of the testimony of faith (shahada) one hundred and sixty-six times. Furthermore, he cited their chain of transmission (isnad) with regard to the use of the Sufi piece of cloth (used as a Sufi symbol), and their chain of transmission for the appellations of the testimony of faith via the path of Sheikh Jibrilu, who was a teacher of Sheikh Usman, and a disciple of Murtala al-Zubaidi.

Moreover, still in the book, he narrated many of the litanies of Sheikh Abdulqadir; these include: "Hizbul-Kabir" (The Major Litany), "Hizbul-Saghir" (The Minor Litany), "Hizbul-Fathil-Basa'ir" (The Litany of the Opening of Insights), and "Hizbul-Majlis" (The Litany of the Assembly). Among the other litanies (ahzab) of Abdulqadir that he mentioned are: "Hizbul-Ishtiraq", "Hizbul-Itmam", "Hizbul-Nisfil-Layl" (The Litany of the Middle of the Night), and another litany that is recited after every obligatory prayer. Thereafter, he proceeded to list various types of blessings on the Prophet (salawat) of Sheikh Abdulqadir, following which he again cited other litanies of Abdulqadir. These include "Hizbur-Raja'i Wal Iltija'i Wal-Ibtihali" (The Litany of Hope, Supplication and Humble Entreaty), as well as "Hizbus-Sarimu" (The Litany of the Sword), and "Wirdis-Silsila" (The Litany of the Chain), and others.

Subsequent to all of these, he discussed the issue of the Rijalul-Ghayb (Men of the Unseen) and also the Diagram (Da'ira) by which their locations are known, as Ibn al-Arabi had elucidated. Here is how he spoke concerning them:

"Know that Allah has created certain men who are referred to as the Rijalul-Ghayb (Men of the Unseen) and also as Autadul-Ard (Pegs of the Earth); verily, they are present in each of the

four cardinal regions and what lies between them, as is clearly represented within the diagram..."

Thereafter, he continued with explanation about them and how they may be recognised, wherein he reproduced the diagram in the book and explained its application.

At the conclusion of the book, which comprises more than three hundred pages, Muhammad Bello discussed the visitation (ziyarah) of saints, the protocol for such visitation, and its benefits; likewise, he included the recitations to be performed during the visitation. Subsequently, he discussed the visitation of other members of the Muslim community to the cemeteries. Finally, he concluded the book with the hadith of Anas ibn Malik, who said: A man came to the presence of the Messenger of Allah and said: O Messenger of Allah! When will the Hour be established? The Messenger of Allah said to him: What have you prepared for it? He replied: I have not prepared for it through much prayer or fasting, except that I love Allah and His Messenger. Thereupon the Messenger of Allah (may Allah's peace and blessings be upon him) said to him: "You will be with whom you love." Anas said: The Muslims did not rejoice over anything after embracing Islam as they rejoiced over this good news.

His Spiritual Path (Tariqa)

Regarding the spiritual path (tariqa) he followed, Muhammad Bello explicitly stated that his father, Sheikh Usman and his disciples were upon the Qadiriyya path. Here is what he stated in his aforementioned book, "Miftaḥus-Sadadi Fi zikril-Auliya'il-Khawwaṣi":

"And indeed, by the gratitude of Allah and His excellent assistance and His grace, it is established (that we possess) love

for Sheikh Abdulqadir, we hold conviction and veneration for him, and seek to see the one who saw him, even seeing him in a dream, and following his path and receiving from him through the medium of others in accordance with the path of seeking blessings, and reliance on his authority, which is his banner, and invocation of his name, and dependence upon him."

Thereafter, he said:

"As for seeing him, then, verily, we saw Sheikh Usman bin Fodio, and he also saw Sheikh Abdulqadir, just as he himself reported this. Likewise, we also saw among the saints those who had seen him. However, adherence to his path (tariqa), this occurred for us through several channels. Among them is the chain of transmission (isnad) of spiritual status leading to Sheikh Abdulqadir (may Allah's pleasure be upon him). Likewise, there is our chain of transmission in the Sufi path according to his tariqa (may Allah's pleasure be upon him). And the chain of transmission for the exalted word (of Tawhid) according to his tariqa (may Allah's pleasure be upon him). And similarly, the chain of transmission for the authorisation of the use of the Sufi piece of cloth in Sufism according to his path."

He then proceeded to cite each of the chains of transmission (turuq riwayatihi) leading back to Abdulqadir.

Furthermore, Muhammad Bello wrote several other books on the Qadiriyyah path. These include his book titled "Addurarus Zahiriyya Fil-Masa'ilil Qadiriyya" and the one titled "Bayanul-Arkani Wa Shurutil Qadiriyya".

The Tijaniyya Path

Did Muhammad Bello follow the Tijaniyya path? There are those who have disseminated the claim that Muhammad Bello had abandoned the Qadiriyya path and followed the Tijaniyya

path. This circulated claim became severe and gained traction, to the extent that Waziri Abdulqadir son of Gidado son of Laima wrote a book, "Almawahibur-Rabbaniyya", to refute it. In the book, the author explained that the Qadiriyya path was indeed the one followed by Sheikh Usman, as well as Sheikh Abdullahi; and likewise, Sultan Muhammad Bello. He stated that Sultan Muhammad Bello wrote books in which he expounded upon the tenets of this path (Qadiriyya), affirmed its validity, and purified its doctrine; he also detailed its methods, its litanies (awrad), and its prerequisites (shuruṭ). After providing a detailed explanation, the author said:

"If you see what we have established and verified, then you will affirm with certainty the falsity of the ignorant discourse of certain disciples who have attributed to our teacher, Sultan Muhammad Bello, entry into the Tijjaniyya path. Along with the fact that they possess no knowledge concerning spiritual paths in general; likewise, they have not found this (claim) within his books, nor have they received it from any of his disciples except (the teaching of) the Qadiriyya path. Nothing has compelled them to this (falsehood) except the caprice of the soul and the misguidance of Satan. We seek Allah's protection from the deficiency of knowledge and the ignorance regarding the position of our Sheikh. Even though we do not deny the Tijaniyya path; no, we consistently affirm the sainthood of Ahmad Tijjani and seek blessings through him. We will not, by the will of Allah, be among those who deny any of the saints of Allah, for disparaging them predisposes one to incurring the wrath of Allah.

We seek Allah's protection from His wrath and His punishment. Our objective is merely to refute their statement

(attributing Tijaniyyah to Muhammad Bello) in order to block the path (of error) and to clarify what is correct."

This continues to where he says:

"These three individuals (Sheikh Usman, Abdullahi, and Muhammad Bello) are our exemplars in this path (Qadiriyya). And they did not cease to be upon it (may Allah's pleasure be upon them) until they departed to the mercy of Allah."

Subsequently, Waziri Abdulqadir proceeded to explain the Qadiriyya path as it is presented in the books of Sheikh Usman. He also mentioned its litanies (awrad). At the conclusion of the book, he presented several pieces of evidence further demonstrating that Sultan Muhammad Bello, never abandoned the Qadiriyya for another path until Allah took his soul. The pieces of evidence, as they appear in the book, are summarised thus:

1. He received this path from his father and never ceased to affirm it and to purify its doctrine until his father passed away. When his father died and he (Muhammad Bello) became the Caliph, he further dedicated himself to and cared for the path, and he authored books concerning it.
2. He entered his father's house and remained therein for three days, visiting the tomb of his father and intending to seek blessings from him. Waziri Abdulqadir stated that he was a witness to this, for he (Muhammad Bello) performed the visitation (ziyarah) with him (Waziri Abdulƙadir), and Bello was holding his hand. Had he inclined towards the Tijaniyya, then the visitation of the tombs of saints would have been forbidden to him, as abstaining from such visitations is among its (Tijjaniyya's) conditions.

3. He gathered his daughters and other female relatives and instructed them in the recitation of the minor litany (wird) of the Qadiriyya. He said to them that whoever adhered to it, he would assume responsibility for their affairs on the Day of Resurrection.
4. He affirmed the validity of this path at the end of his life by authoring numerous books concerning it and by frequently visiting the tombs of saints. For he did not remain in the world after visiting his father's tomb except for eight months. He passed away while he was upon the Qadiriyya path. He did not adopt any path other than it, and no one has reported the Tijjaniyya path from him. Likewise, we have not found it in his books. This is notwithstanding the fact that we do not deny any path from among the paths of the saints of Allah, for they are upon guidance from their Lord.

At the conclusion of his book, Waziri Abdulqadir said: "As for attributing our teacher and our leader, the follower of Allah, Muhammad Bello, to the Tijjaniyya path, it is a grave slander. It is due to this that I have strongly refuted them for this statement and have established clear proofs and strong pieces of evidence from both speech and action. So that this divisive statement does not become established in the hearts of the weak and the ignorant among the disciples."

This book, "Almawahibu", was written in the year 1272 A.H. (After Hijra) of the Messenger of Allah (may Allah's peace and blessings be upon him). This was approximately 22 years after the death of Sultan Muhammad Bello, as this was during the reign of his son, Sultan Aliyu Babba.

If we observe all the preceding statements, they indicate that Sultan Muhammad Bello, followed the Qadiriyya path and

did not abandon it until he returned to Allah. And he never followed the Tijaniyya path.

Now, the remaining question is: upon what basis was Sultan Muhammad Bello attributed to the Tijjaniyya path? The explanation has already been provided by Waziri Abdulqadir, son of Gidado, who was of the opinion that it was merely a temptation from Satan and his misguidance. However, despite this, if we examine the history of this Caliphate, we find that it (the Caliphate) did receive scholars who are strangers. Among such scholars was Sheikh Umarul-Futi, who arrived on his way to the Hajj during the time of Sheikh Usman, and he resided here and the wars waged by Sheikh Usman piqued his interest. Umarul-Futi came with his students. Among his students was Sheikh Sa'idu of Masina, who wrote the book "Tazkiratun-Nisyani". In this book, a history of the Usmaniyya Caliphate is provided, particularly the lives of Muhammad Bello, Atiku, and Aliyu Babba. Also, in this book, an account is given of Umar al-Futi's journey to the land of Mecca to perform the Hajj (pilgrimage), and it indicates that he returned during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Bello. It is also shown that the Sultan married one of his daughters, named Maryam, to Umarul-Futi; indeed, the book indicates that Muhammad Bello gave him permission to take her wherever he wished. Here is what Sheikh Sa'idu said:

"I heard Sheikh Umar saying: 'I entered the presence of Sultan Muhammad Bello on the night of Wednesday, the night before he passed away on Thursday, in order to bid him farewell.' He then said to our Sheikh (Umar): 'Take this daughter of mine with you wherever you go, and whoever intends to prevent you, then we shall meet (for judgement) before Allah, the Most High, the Sovereign."

Furthermore, if we examine the book "Raful-Ishitbahi", we will see that Muhammad Bello would make reference to the book "Jawahirul-Maʿani" as evidence, which is an occurrence seldom found in the writings of the scholars of the jihad. Likewise, we will also see that Muhammad Bello expressed the rank and status of Sheikh Ahmad Tijjani in the book.

It is possible that seeing such types of statements in books led some to attribute Muhammad Bello to the Tijjaniyya. However, it is also important to know that even Sa'idu of Masina, who was a disciple of Umarul-Futi (both of whom were upon the Tijjaniyya path) did not write, either explicitly or even by implication, that Muhammad Bello followed the Tijjaniyya.

His View Concerning the Community (Jama'ah)

"Jama'ah" here refers to the community of Sheikh Usman, those who assisted him in the jihad. This name was well-known for them, as explained previously in Volume One of "The Usmaniyya Caliphate". This view of his is based on what was evident. If we take a look, we will find an analogous interpretation, such as the interpretation of some scholars to hadith number one, found in "Al-Arbaʿun Annawawiyyah" (The Forty Hadiths of Imam Nawawi). This is where they (the scholars) said, as Shibrakhiti mentioned, there exists reason for the hadith, namely that at the time of the Prophet's migration (hijra), there were those who migrated for the sake of Allah and His Messenger, and there were those who migrated for worldly gain, and there was one who migrated to marry a woman called Umm Qais. Thus, outwardly, the name "Muhajirun" (Emigrants) encompassed them all, but before Allah, their intentions distinguished them. The meaning is that the name "Jama'ah" applies to them; but based on intentions and what is apparent, they differ. It is upon this rationale that Sultan Muhammad

Bello classified this Jama'ah into ten groups. This is found in his book "Bayanul-Amri" (The Elucidation of the Matter). This is what he stated after providing a preface, using the first hadith in the book of the Forty Hadith (Arba'una):

"Verily, within Sheikh Usman's community (Jama'ah), there are ten (groups): nine of them are not truly part of his community in the real sense."

Thereafter, he began to describe them and state the reasons that excluded each group from Sheikh Usma's true community.

The First Group: They are those who came to the Sheikh Usman, fleeing from rulers who would confiscate their wealth. The characteristic of this group is that after the victory at Alkalawa, they did not attend congregational prayers, nor did they attend sessions of learning and remembrance (dhikr), nor did they go to jihad even when the leader called them. Rather, you would find them on their farms, in their gardens, or in the marketplace.

The Second Group: They are the Fulani who came to assist him based on tribal solidarity. The characteristic of this group is their disdain for anyone not of their ethnicity, even if he is a deeply learned scholar. However, the harm of these is less severe than that of the first group; for they did go to jihad, even though they would not attend congregational prayers and sessions of learning and preaching; they operate under the assumption that their being Fulani like Sheikh Usman was sufficient. They were not concerned with religion nor with the regulations of jihad and its prohibitions.

The Third Group: They are those who were drawn by the fact that the Sheikh Usman was a scholar. The characteristic of this group is that they do not go to jihad, nor do they attend sermon sessions, nor are they concerned with guidance. This

is because they consider knowledge alone to be sufficient. However, there is deficiency and shortcoming in them. It is possible that at times, knowledge may lead them astray, and they may be destroyed along with those who go astray.

The Fourth Group: They are those who came to Sheikh Usman because their own disciples had scattered from them and returned to the Sheikh. Their characteristic is that when conversing privately with those whom they trust, they would engage in repudiation and reprehensible and offensive utterances.

The Fifth Group: Those whose families and children abandoned them and embraced Sheikh Usman's call to guidance. Their characteristic is abandoning jihad and ridiculing the "Jama'ah."

The Sixth Group: Those who came to him seeking worldly possessions whenever it was available. You will see them helping the "Jama'ah" if the situation making it necessary arises.

The Seventh Group: Those who were among the followers of Sheikh Usman but later deserted him for material reasons, after having been with him. So, these ones, Satan has led astray.

The Eighth Group: Those who were born into the "Jama'ah" but were obsessed with swaying followers to their side, looking for assistants, and acquiring horses. They do not attend learning and remembrance (zikr) sessions, and they are neglectful of the mosques. These are not upon the right path.

The Ninth Group: They are those who came to him due to a lack of any other refuge or shelter. Their characteristic is that you will find them in a state of apprehension and sadness without any apparent reason.

The Tenth Group: It is the Sheikh's true followers (Jama'ah). Who are those called the Sheikh's followers? The Sheikh's followers consist solely of people who came to him for the sake of Allah. They did not come for any worldly objective. They abandoned everything (wealth, status, friends, siblings, and parents) striving for the Hereafter. And they act in obedience to Allah. Trade or commerce does not distract them from the remembrance of Allah. This type is rare today; but glad tidings are confirmed for them through the saying of the Prophet (peace be upon him) who said: "A group from my community will not cease to be victorious upon the truth, and those who contend them will not be able to inflict any harm on them until the decree of Allah is manifested."

Historical Works

Regarding this field, Sultan Muhammad Bello has authored at least four books. The greatest among them is "Infaqul-Maysuri". This book is the most significant in terms of volume among Muhammad Bello's works. Furthermore, it is the primary source for historians of this region of West Africa. For no other written book in this region parallels it.

The second of his books is "Albardul-Yamani Fi Akhbari Uwaisul-Qarani". This book provides the biographical history of the renowned saint among the Successors (Tabi'in); namely, Uwaisul-Qarani, along with an exposition of the narrated Prophetic traditions (hadiths) concerning him; as well as his miraculous virtues and other matters.

The third book is "Maj'mu'ul-Ansabi" (The Compendium of Genealogies). This book contains explanations concerning the genealogy of Muhammad Bello himself.

That is, in the book, he explains about his kin, his lineage and origins on both his maternal and paternal sides.

The fourth book is "Annuqulun-Nawatik". In this book, Muhammad Bello provides the history of two specific ethnic groups; namely, the Berbers (Barbar), who are ethnic groups residing in the Saharan countries such as Algeria and Mauritania, and similar countries. The second ethnic group is the Azbinawa, who are also found in the aforementioned types of countries.

Jihad and those who Undertake it

In respect of this subject, Muhammad Bello wrote two books in which he elaborated on this issue. These books are:

* Kifayatul-Muhtadina Fi Aḥkamil-Mukhallifina Minal-Muja'hidina
* Kadahuz-Zinadi Fi Amri Hazal-Jihadi

The first book was not available to the researcher; but as the title of the book indicates, it shows that Muhammad Bello was discussing the legal rulings concerning those who remain at home without going to jihad. For it is well-known in Islamic law that jihad can be a collective obligation (Farḍ Kifayah), and there are times when it becomes an individual obligation (Farḍ 'Ayn). Therefore, when it becomes an individual obligation, it is not permissible for anyone to refuse to go out to undertake it unless they are among those with a valid excuse. Likewise, if the leader of the Muslims calls a specific individual, then it becomes obligatory upon him to go out. Thus, it is plausible that Muhammad Bello was elaborating on these categories of people.

As for the second book, Muhammad Bello wrote it to inform the people of the reasons for the wars that occurred between

them and the Hausa kings of this land. Here is what he stated in the introduction to the book:

"Furthermore, it has previously been mentioned that I wrote a book concerning the history of the benevolent events that occurred in this era, through which Allah bestowed upon us the manifestation of the one who strengthens the religion..."

Further on, he said:

"Therefore, it became relatively easy for me, after seeking guidance, to summarise the explanation concerning the reasons for this jihad and the legal rulings associated with it, in order to strive for the increase of divine benevolence and to seek it. Likewise, because some brethren in distant lands to whom the news reaches, its reasons and its sources may be concealed from them, and its rulings and objectives may become confused for them; especially if those conveying the news to them are among those who cannot accurately report it, or who report it in a distorted manner; or, furthermore, if some falsehoods from our adversaries, who seek to obscure the truth, are cast upon them. Therefore, I composed this brief treatise to safeguard the hearts of the believers and to guide all those who strive..."

The Arabic Language and its Literature

Regarding the Arabic language and its literature, Dr. Abdullahi Muhammad Adamu indicated that Muhammad Bello authored seven books on this subject. The books are:

* Nazmul-Awaʿmilil-Nahwiyyah
* Takhmiisu Baʿnat Suʿadu
* Takhmiisul Burdah
* Sharḥul-Kaṣidah Al-Badamasiyyah
* Takhmiisul-Kaṣidah Alqadiriyyah

* Sharḥu Al-Daʿiyyah
* Ifadatul-Ikhwani

This last book on the list is a "Diwani" (collection of poems) of Sultan Muhammad Bello, which was compiled by Waziri Junaidu. In this book, approximately thirty-five odes (qasa'id) composed by Muhammad Bello on various occasions and for diverse purposes are compiled.

Astronomy, Algebra and Logic

Scholars who compile works on the writings of this Caliphate have mentioned that Muhammad Bello wrote on these subjects. The books he authored on them are:

* Alka'fi Fi Ilmil-Jafri Wal-Khawa'fi

This book was written concerning the science of Algebra. The science of Algebra, in the view of its practitioners, is a branch of mathematics that employs letters; that is, variables (consonant letters) in place of numerals. Practitioners of this field claim to be able to know future events through this method.

The second book is:

* Masa'ilu Najmin Ẓahara Fi Ṣafar

It is possible that this book was written due to the appearance of a certain star in the month of Ṣafar, which is the second month of the Islamic calendar. The month of Ṣafar has often been subject to various superstitious postulations among people since ancient times. It is plausible that he wrote the book following the appearance of this star and the ensuing public discourse and controversy surrounding it.

The third book is:

* Manzu'matu Isa Guji

This book is a poem he composed concerning a book on logic (Mantiq) named Isa Guji; that is, he versified the book. The field of logic is a branch of the study of philosophy and proficiency in speech, ensuring sound reasoning and guarding against error when discussing matters. Scholars since ancient times have disagreed regarding the permissibility of studying it. Some have deemed it forbidden, while others have permitted it; and some hold the view that it is permissible for an individual who is a scholar of the Qur'an and the Sunnah. It is plausible that Muhammad Bello was among those holding the latter opinion.

It is important to note that none of these three books was available to the present researcher. However, we have described them based on what their titles indicate.

The Issue of the Mahdi

The issue of the Mahdi and his manifestation is a well-known matter within Islam. A researcher investigating it will find that it has been a subject of extensive discussion in the writings of earlier scholars. Some have denied the existence of such a figure as the Mahdi, while others have affirmed that the Mahdi indeed exists and that his manifestation is a confirmed matter, substantiated by authentic hadiths. It is for this reason that Sheikh Usman discussed this issue in his book "Tanbihul-Ummati ala Hujmi Qurbi Ashratis-Saʿati." He also wrote his book titled "Alkhabarul-Hadi Ila 'Amril-Imamil-Mahdi" (The Guiding Report Concerning the Affair of the Imam Mahdi). Likewise, Muhammad Bello also wrote two books on this issue. The first book did not come into the hands of this researcher, but authors have mentioned it in their lists of Bello's works. This book is "Tanbihul-Fa'him ala 'annal-Mahdi Wuḥal-Khitam" (Alerting the Understanding that the Mahdi is the Final Seal). The second book is "Alqaulul-Mukhataṣar Fi Amril Mahdi al-

Muntazar" (The Concise Statement on the Affair of the Awaited Mahdi).

This second book consists of an introduction and three chapters. In the first chapter, Bello cited the hadiths that have been established concerning the matter of the Mahdi. In the second chapter, he mentioned certain individuals who appeared and were thought to be the Mahdi, or who claimed it for themselves. In the third chapter, he provided an explanation regarding the time when the Mahdi will appear.

It is beneficial for the reader to know that the creed of the scholars of the Usmaniyya Caliphate was that the Mahdi exists, as many hadiths have indicated. They also believed that his appearance is among the major signs of the Hour.

Medicine

Sultan Muhammad Bello was the most prolific writer on the field of medicine among the scholars of the Usmaniyya Caliphate. This follows the assertion of Sayyid Bashir Usman Ahmad who wrote in his article titled "The Books of Muhammad Bello on Medicine" – due to his striving to disseminate Islamic education or culture among Muslims for general benefit. Another reason was his writing for general benefit. Another reason was that he would write to explain a particular disease that broke out, especially if it involved an epidemic. He would also write to explain certain types of diseases, how to diagnose them, and how to treat them, or how to prevent them. Another reason that prompted Muhammad Bello to write on this field was to demonstrate that the Islamic religion encourages its followers to conduct research in this field, acting upon what has been reported: "Knowledge is divided into two categories: religious knowledge and knowledge of healthcare." Yet another

factor that compelled Muhammad Bello to write in this area was to distance Muslims from falling into superstitions and delusions that they might become entangled in by sorcerers. Another factor that became a reason for his writings in this field was the fact that the Usmaniyya Caliphate was an Islamic state with defined borders, which necessitated self-reliance. Therefore, if it were to constantly require doctors from abroad, its affairs would not be as logical as desired.

Sultan Muhammad Bello composed his writings in this field relying on the books of his predecessors. These include books like the "Tadhkirah" by Dawudul-Antaki, "Mawahibul-Ludaniyya" by Kastalani, and "Kiral-Aḥibba'i"' by Muhammad Tukur, as well as the additional medicinal information he received from a physician who came to him named Kamarud-Dini Ibnu Hamid, and similar sources.

A researcher into Muhammad Bello's books on this field will find that he wrote ten or eleven books on this subject. The discrepancy in number occurs due to whether the book "Arrahamah Fittibbi" was written by him or not.

Now I will present a list of his books along with a brief description of the subject matter of each. In this description, I will rely heavily on what Sayyid Bashir Usman Ahmad wrote about them. They are as follows:

1. **Tanbihul-Ikhwani Ala Adwiyatid-Didan.**

This book consists of an introduction and eight chapters. In the introduction to the book, he discussed the nature of worms and insects, and how worm eggs hatch; and that the hatching of intestinal worms is due to putrefaction (majina) or because of consuming sour things, or drinking milk without physical exercise, or eating raw vegetables, and so on. Thereafter, he

mentions the types of worms, stating that there are long ones, flat ones, and also those that are round like rings.

In the eight chapters of the book, he discussed the symptoms associated with a person having intestinal worms; as well as explaining the types of medicine for each type of worm. He also explained the nature of each type, depending on the season (hot or cold), and so forth.

2. **Ta'liqun Wajizun Fi sharḥi Qaṣidatihid-tibiyya Li tafṣilid-Da'umi.**

In this book, the author discussed the types of food and their benefits, and the varying natural dispositions of people regarding it. He also discussed the suitability of food for different seasons of the year. For example, there is food that is suitable for the hot season; and likewise, there is that which is suitable for the cold season; just as there is that which is suitable for adults and that which is suitable for children.

3. **Talkhiṣul-Maqa'ṣidil-Mujarradah Fil Adwiyatil Faridah.**

As the title of this book indicates, it discusses the use of a single medicine instead of two or more for a particular disease. This likely follows the long-standing practice among physicians that it is part of a doctor›s expertise to treat a disease through dietary means first. If this is not achieved, then a simple (non-combined) medicine should be used; if that proves ineffective, then a mild combined prescription should be used.

4. **Risalatun Fi Amradil-Kulyati Wa Ilajiha.**

It is understood that Sultan Muhammad Bello wrote this book in response to a letter from the Emir of Zazzau, Yamusa, who wrote to him complaining about an illness he was suffering from. The Commander of the Faithful, Bello, understood from

the description provided by the Emir that he was suffering from a kidney ailment. Therefore, he wrote him a document which constitutes this book, containing an explanation of the disease and its treatment. This book consists of an introduction and eleven chapters; followed by a conclusion.

5. **Attibun-Nabawi.**

This is a book in which the author selected and summarised what has been reported concerning the medicines used by the Prophet (may peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) which the author of the book "Almawahibul-Ludaniyya" mentioned. He wrote in his introduction to the book that what prompted him to write it was his observation of the people's need for (information on) this field. Thereafter, he discussed medicine, stating that it is divided into two categories: there is the medicine of the hearts; that is, purifying them from diseases like envy, arrogance, and so on; and then there is the medicine of the bodies.

In the book, the author mentions that the Messenger of Allah used one of three things for treatment:

A– Treatment with verses of the Qur'an or something reported from the Messenger of Allah.

B – Treatment with natural substances.

C – Treatment with both of them together.

Furthermore, in the book, he mentioned types of prevention; such as prevention from falling ill, as well as that which prevents an illness from worsening. In the book still, he mentioned some medicines that the Messenger of Allah used, such as medicine for stomach aches, scorpion stings, and fever.

6. **Ujalatur-Rakibi Fittibbis-Ṣa'ibi.**

Sultan Muhammad Bello completed the writing of this book in the year 1245 A.H. (1829 C.E.). In this book, he discussed spiritual medicine (Attibbur-Rauḥani) and bodily medicine (Attibbul-Jismani); meaning, medicine through treatment with what has been reported from the Messenger of Allah via Qur'anic verses and invocations (adhkar); as well as medicine concerning physical remedies. In the introduction of this book, the author explained the importance of the science of medicine, stating that through it, religion is maintained and that the Qur'an and Sunnah have commanded it. Furthermore, in it, he indicated that this branch of knowledge had been neglected in this region. He cited statements from scholars who encouraged the pursuit of this field, such as the likes of Ibnul Hajji, author of the book "Al-Madkhal". The author also criticised the scholars of this region for neglecting this beneficial knowledge and occupying themselves with the science of letters and charms, which leads them to indulge in sorcery.

Next, he defined the science of medicine, stating that it is "a field concerned with maintaining health, and protecting from that which causes harm; as well as expelling any harmful substance from the body; in addition to the use of medicines."

Then he presented a chapter in which he explained that the most beneficial of medicines is that which is derived from the Messenger (may Allah's peace and blessings be upon him) for he reports from Allah. He said that if we believe the statements of those who have experimented with matters, then, believing the words of the truthful one (the Prophet); the one worthy of being trusted, is the most beneficial.

Furthermore, he presented another chapter which explains beneficial medicines. These include supplication (du'a) for one

afflicted by evil eye, medicine for magic, for insomnia, and so on. Thereafter, he concluded the book by mentioning beneficial medicines; such as charity (sadaqah), supplication (du'a), incantation (ruqyah), and recitation of the Qur'an. Among them are cupping (faṣḍ), consuming honey and cauterisation (kayy), that is, branding with fire. Likewise there is the use of Black Seed (Ḥabbatus-Sauda), camel milk, cow's milk, and other varieties.

7. **Alqaulus-Sana Fi Wujudit-Tamashi Bissana.**

This book discusses the use of what is known as *Filasko* (Senna italica). The author explained that this grass is widespread and available in Hausaland, among the Azbinawa, and in Arab countries. He cited hadiths that indicate its benefits. He also explained how it is prepared and how it should be used. He also showed its benefits and how to counteract its side effects if it causes adverse effects.

8. **Alqaulul-Mantsur Fi Adwiyatil-Basur.**

This book discussed the disease of Haemorrhoids, which is known in Hausa as "Dankanoma". The book consists of an introduction, nineteen chapters, and a conclusion. In the introduction, the author explained Haemorrhoids; what causes it and what it predisposes.

In the subsequent chapters, he explained prevention against contracting this illness, as well as describing its types. He also explained the treatment for this disease through various methods. Finally, in his conclusion, he mentions things that prevent constipation and the types of food that cause it; as well as the harm in holding back fart and stool, and so forth.

9. **Attibbul-Ḥayyini Fi Aujaʿil-Ayni.**

This book has an introduction and chapters. The author summarised his own book titled "Masugul-Lujaini". He wrote this book specifically concerning eye diseases.

He indicated therein that he would only mention medicines that are readily available in this region. In this regard, he mentioned treatments for eye pain using the gall of a crow, onion sap, and crocodile faeces. He also explained the benefit of the shell of the ostrich egg if burned and used as antimony for application to the eyelids. He equally mentioned the benefit of dripping tamarind water into the eye, as well as honey and other similar medicines.

In the book, he also explained the different types of eye diseases and how to treat them.

10. **Almawaridun-Nabawiyyah Fil-Masa'ilit-Tibbiyyah.**

This book was completed in the year 1252 A.H. (1836 C.E.). This was after the arrival of the scholar Qamarud-Dini, son of Sheikh Hamidud-Dini Alqadiri, who was an expert in the field of medicine. It was from what Muhammad Bello obtained from him in this field that he wrote this book. Muhammad Bello mentioned this in one of his papers in which he was praising this scholar.

A researcher examining this book will find no significant difference between it and the book "Ujalatur Rakibi". For this reason, we will not elaborate further on it.

11. **Arraḥamah Fittibbi.**

Scholars are uncertain as to whether this book is written by Muhammad Bello. Their reasons for this are:

* The book contains letters of the ABCD (**Abajada**) along with inscribed object (hatuma), the interpretation of the meaning of which is difficult.
* It contains severed/disjointed Qur'anic verses.
* It contains charms.

These aforementioned elements are part of the things that Muhammad Bello had criticised and warned against in his books. Furthermore, they are not found in his previous books. It is possible that there existed a book with a similar title written by him that was not accurately attributed to him, and his name was subsequently associated with this one. Allah is the All-Knowing.

CHAPTER EIGHT

HIS PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES, CHARACTER, OCCUPATION, ADMONITIONS AND EXHORTATIONS

This chapter will discuss the aforementioned aspects pertaining to the natural disposition of Muhammad Bello, his character, and his occupation.

His Physical Attributes

Regarding his physical attributes, Sa'idu of Masina stated in his book, "Tazkiratun-Nisyan":

"His appearance, may Allah be pleased with him, was characterised by a fair complexion and a tall stature, and he was also well-built; he possessed a long beard, albeit a thick one. He was used to wearing a turban and would cover his mouth and nose with it, and he consistently kept the face-veil portion of his turban."

His Character

Concerning his character, Sa'idu of Masina further stated:

"He was exceedingly generous to the common people and showed them great compassion. He was forbearing and

patient. He did not look covetously upon what was in people's possession from their wealth. He was a politician of sound politics. He was an investigator of judges, scrutinizing judgments they had passed based on their personal inclinations; he never overlooked them, along with their conduct..."

Waziri Junaidu reported to us many things concerning the character of Muhammad Bello. This is from his (Waziri Junaidu's) book, "Nailul-Marami". The following is a summary of his account:

* He was a profoundly learned scholar in both the exoteric and esoteric sciences.
* He was conspicuously and consistently devout in observing the commandments of Allah and in avoiding matters prohibited by Him.
* He was an implementer of the Shari'ah. The suspicion of an accuser would not deter him from the path of Allah.
* He ceaselessly reminded people of the affairs of their religion and encouraged them to be mindful of the matters of the Hereafter; likewise, he cautioned them against excessive attachment to this world.
* He was vehemently opposed to oppression, reprehensible acts, and all forms of infidelity.
* He was insistent on compliance with the Shari'ah for all who were under his authority and obedient to him, regardless of their status.
* He was a protector of people's honour and he would investigate into the conduct of both the weak and the powerful.

* He would always turn away from the ignorant, and he was observant of people (according to their respective status); likewise, he was mindful of times and places.
* He would fulfil all promises and honour every pact he entered into; and he was a seeker of lawful sustenance.
* He did not accept bribes or lost and found goods, nor did he appropriate the wealth of the authority.
* He was an organiser of affairs, whether at home, in the course of a journey, or during warfare and other such endeavours.

It has been previously stated that he was a lover of knowledge, had a great passion for scholars, and held them in high esteem.

Among the traits of Muhammad Bello mentioned by Waziri Junaidu is the implementation of the Shari'a, and that the suspicion of an accuser would not deter him from it. We can see evidence of this in the report by Sheikh Sa'idu of Masina that it was during the time of Muhammad Bello that the share of war booty was distributed as designated by Shari'ah. Furthermore, it was during his era that many female slaves and their children were taken from their masters because they were part of the undistributed spoils of war. Also, during his time, adulterous women were brought before him, and he commanded Sheikh Umarul Futi, the Imam of his mosque, and Khalilu son of Abdullahi, to carry out the prescribed punishment upon them.

His Occupation

Sheikh Sa'idu of Masina mentioned that Muhammad Bello practiced a craft, although he did not specify the type of craft he engaged in. This is what he stated concerning this matter:

"It is established that, may Allah be pleased with him, was a just and abstemious man; he did not take (at all) from the wealth of the Bait-al-Mal. Indeed, he said to his father at the beginning of their jihad, 'O Malam, lawful means have become scarce, so you will inevitably have to take out of necessity from this wealth (of the Bait-al-Mal). But I will practice a craft myself, for I am a young man.' Then he engaged in crafts and became independent of (the wealth of) the Bait-al-Mal. Because of this, he had never prayed against other people except that Allah would make them like the stalks that were devoured (by animals).'"

His Admonitions and Exhortations

Waziri Junaidu reported in his book, "Nailul Marami", narrating from Gidado, that Muhammad Bello admonished adherence to the commandments of Allah contained in the following two verses. He also informed his community that if they held fast to them, then blessings would be with them forever; but if they refused, then there would be no blessing with them. The first verse is:

"And hold firmly to the rope of Allah all together and do not become divided." (Qur'an 3:103). The second verse is: "And fear Allah, through whom you ask one another (by His Name), and kinship." (Qur'an 4:1). Another exhortation that Gidado mentioned is: "This is an exhortation that Sultan Muhammad Bello, gave to me in writing at a time when he noticed a slackening in me regarding the management of affairs on certain days; and he wrote it with his own hand. He said: 'O my brethren, whoever among you Allah has blessed with a favour, and has poured it upon him, and then has placed the needs of the people upon him, let him not be miserly and weary of giving. For it is a charity; its reward is from Allah, and its

benefit returns to Him. A servant is but a servant of Allah, and judgment concerning that person belongs to Allah. I caution you against making yourselves inaccessible to the people. Indeed, it is established in an authentic hadith, that: "There is no servant whom Allah has blessed with a favour and has placed the needs of the people upon him, who then shows reluctance except that he has caused this favour to vanish."'

Among his exhortations is a document he wrote to his brethren when he summoned them to him. Gidado. mentioned the document in his book, "Alkashfu Walbayan". The document reads as follows:

"In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful.

"Thereafter, the reason necessitating my summons to you is what is known according to the Shari'a and custom regarding the matter of my illness and my death. Indeed, the causes for apprehension have multiplied. Therefore, take heed of this matter should death occur, for its depth is profound and its ground is slippery except for whom Allah protects from its evil. So, I caution you against discord. The matter belongs to Allah. Therefore, consider what is obligatory."

Wassalam.

Another admonition he gave is one that Waziri Junaidu reported in his book, "Nailul Marami", attributing it to Gidado. He said that Gidado stated:

"Whoever has studied this book knows that Sultan Muhammad Bello (may Allah be pleased with him) admonished us, the Muslim community, regarding certain matters we had neglected, which we ought not to have neglected. Among these is the abandonment of weaponry and the lack of preparedness and earnest intention to maintain this, to the extent that we

nearly became like women or effeminate men, as if we were not among those engaged in jihad.

"Based on what is established, he obliged us to be prepared night and day; and likewise, to stockpile weapons, including horses and men. Furthermore, every man should test his weapon until he can confirm his proficiency and expertise with it. This is to be done with a sincere intention so that the outward aspect of his affairs aligns with the inward."

CHAPTER NINE

HIS ILLNESS, DEATH, YEARS ON THE THRONE, AND HIS FAMILY

His Illness

After all these benevolent works that Muhammad Bello carried out, he was afflicted by an illness which he endured for a period of seven months before Allah called him to His mercy. Sheikh Sa'idu of Masina stated that:

"He remained in ill health for seven months. When the illness became severe, he sent for his son Aliyu, who was at that time in Shinaka, and he came to him. He gave him his admonition and said to him: 'Do not seek the rulership after me; but if Allah grants it to you, then prioritise the scholars of zikr (remembrance of Allah), the supporters of the religion of Allah. And beware of the evil scholars, the aides of Satan. Honour the lowliest among the Fulani just as you honour their most esteemed.'"

Furthermore, Sa'idu of Masina also mentioned that Waziri Gidado asked him concerning the succession for his son Aliyu, but he refused (to designate him). Then Waziri asked him, saying: "In whose hands will you leave us?" He replied:

"I leave you in the hands of Allah." Thereupon Waziri Gidado said to him: "But you, the Sheikh (Usman Bin Fodio), put you forward." He replied, "The Sheikh knew me, but I do not know any one among you as the Sheikh knew me. I will not make a testamentary designation for any one from among you; to be savouring his rulership, while I would then be punished for that in the Hereafter. No! Again, no! I only caution you against causing discord."

Furthermore, Sa'idu reported from Mu'azu, his son, that: at the time death was approaching Bello, he (Mu'azu) was present with him. He (Bello) said to him, "What are you doing here?" He then ordered me to leave, so I left. At that moment, he was heard saying: "O Sidi Abdulkadir! O Shehu Usmanu! This is day belongs to you." He repeated this. Then he uttered the declaration of faith (Shahada). After that, he did not utter another word. He passed away on a Thursday, at the time of the 'Asr prayer; and he was buried before sunset, at the age of fifty-eight years."

Giɗaɗo, on his part, stated in his book "Alkashfu Walbayan" regarding Bello's illness and his death:

"Among these (matters) is that he, may Allah be pleased with him, built a room within his house before falling ill, and he would often indicate that this room would be his dwelling and that he would move into it. When he was afflicted by illness, he instructed that he be buried in this room; he also specified the garments in which he was to be shrouded. He further instructed that he should not be taken to Sokoto. His final words in this world were the declaration of faith. Indeed, he was heard, may Allah be pleased with him, uttering "La ilaha illallahu Muhammadur Rasulullahi" (There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah) three times. Then he

recited the verse (meaning): "And when their time comes, they will not delay it for an hour, nor will they advance it." (Qur'an 16:61). Then he leaned his head on his pillow, but his head did not rest upon it until his soul departed. He passed away (may the mercy of Allah be upon him) on the afternoon of Thursday, the 25th day of the month of Rajab in the year one thousand two hundred and fifty-three (1253 A.H.). At that time, he was fifty-eight years less one month old. The duration of his reign was twenty-one years."

His Death and the Years of his Reign

As previously stated in the account of Gidado, Sultan Muhammad Bello passed away on the afternoon of Thursday, the 25th of Rajab, 1253 A.H.; at that time, he was fifty-eight years less one month old. The length of his reign was twenty-one (21) years.

Sa'idu of Masina, however, stated: "He lived, may Allah be pleased with him, twenty-two years (22) after allegiance was pledged to him."

Likewise, Waziri Junaidu stated:

"He lived fifty-eight years, minus one month, and the length of his reign was twenty-one years."

If we consider what has been presented, we see that both Gidado and Waziri Junaidu indicate that Bello's age at the time of his death was fifty-eight years, minus one month. Sa'idu of Masina, however, did not reduce anything, indicating simply fifty-eight years.

The point of discussion here is that if the birth of Muhammad Bello occurred in the month of Dhu al-Qi'dah 1195 A.H., as previously stated, and he passed away in the month

of Rajab 1253 A.H., then his age would be fifty-seven years and nine months; equivalent to fifty-eight years, minus three months.

Here, I believe it is possible that those with the copy of the book which mentioned "minus one month" may have made an error in transcribing the Arabic text. Instead of the Arabic phrase "ILLA THALATHATA ASH'HURIN" (lacking three months), it was written as "ILLA SHAHRAN" (lacking one month). Allah is the All-Knowing. In summary, Bello lived from 1195 to 1253 A.H. But in terms of the Gregorian calendar, he lived from 1781 to 1837 A.D.

Regarding the years he spent on the throne, we see that the one who stated 22 years, just as Sa'idu of Masina mentioned, did not account for the partial year, as the Hausa saying goes, "a year is not killed" (i.e., a partial year is not counted as a full one). Those who mentioned 21 years, however, discarded the "fraction," meaning the portion of the year that had elapsed. We can ascertain this by considering the death of Sheikh Usman and the inauguration of Muhammad Bello. This is because Sheikh Usman passed away in the month of Jumada al-Akhir in the year 1232 A.H., and on the same day, allegiance was pledged to Bello. Likewise, Muhammad Bello passed away in the month of Rajab in the year 1253 A.H. Thus, it can be seen that this period is 21 years and one month. But in terms of the Gregorian calendar, his reign lasted 20 years and six months. This is because Sheikh Usman passed away in the month of April 1817 A.D., during which Bello was inaugurated. Bello himself passed away in the month of October 1837 A.D. So, by April of 1837, it had been 20 full years. Then, from May to October is six months.

Family

In the book "Nailul-Marami", Waziri Junaidu stated that Muhammad Bello married nine women in total. It is well-established in the Islamic religion that any Muslim who has the means and the need is permitted to marry up to four wives at a time. Meaning, marrying more than four women simultaneously is something specifically exclusive to the Messenger of Allah (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). The evidence for this leads us to say that these women whom Muhammad Bello married were wedded at different times. This was either due to the death of one or because one was divorced. Although, based on our research, we have not found any indication that he ever divorced any of his wives, but since divorce is permissible, we have included it as one of the possible reasons. In summary, Sultan Muhammad Bello married nine women in total throughout his lifetime. However, I have not been able to ascertain the exact number of his concubines, let alone their names. The only information we have been able to find concerning his concubines is one woman named Katambale, who is said to be the mother of his children Mu'allahyide and Fodiyo, as well as the mother of his son Aliyu Babba, whose given name is not mentioned but who was referred to as Ladi, as indicated by Sheikh Sa'idu. Here, I will mention the names of his wives as they appear in the book "Almajmu'u Fi Iradi Ashabi Bello" by Waziri Gidado as well as in "Nailul-Marami" by Waziri Junaidu. They are as follows:

1. A'isha, she was the daughter of his aunt Maunamu, who was nicknamed Gabɗo.
2. A'dama
3. A'isha, daughter of Umarun Alkammu
4. Hawwa'u, daughter of Malam Yaruɓi

5. Niyeju, daughter of Malam Zagu
6. A'isha, who was nicknamed Tuwwa
7. Maryam
8. Fatima, daughter of Malam Aga'li Ba'azbine
9. Ma'ze, daughter of Malam Muhammad Ba'azbine.

Children

Regarding his sons and daughters, we can collectively say that he had over seventy children.

In the book "Anisul Mufidi" by Abdul-Qadir son of Gidado and in "Nailul Marami" by Waziri Junaidu, it is indicated that Bello had sixty-five children, both male and female. However, in the book "Al-Maj'mu'u" by Gidado, it is stated that Bello had seventy-three children: thirty-three males and forty females. But in the account provided by the author of "Nailul-Marami", it is shown as thirty-four males. Here, we have chosen to accept thirty-four, so that every opinion has been taken into consideration. This leads us to say that Bello had seventy-four children: thirty-four males and forty females. I will now present a list of his children.

First, the sons, then the daughters. I have arranged the list according to the Hausa A.B.C.D. order, not based on who was born first and then who followed. The Roman numerals used are also for ease of reference; not indicating that one was first and then another. For example, if we say Muhammad I and then Muhammad II, it does not mean that one was necessarily the firstborn. No, this was done simply to show that he had two sons named Muhammad. The names are as follows, and I will begin by presenting the names of the sons:

His Sons

1. Abdullahi I
2. Abdullahi II
3. Abdulqadir I
4. Abdulqadir II
5. Abdurra'uf
6. Aliyu I
7. Aliyu II
8. Abubakar
9. Ahmad I
10. Ahmad II
11. Abdurrahman
12. Bukhari
13. Fodiyo
14. Hammada'ni
15. Ibrahim
16. Junaidu
17. Khalid
18. Khaliru
19. Muhammad Sa'ad I
20. Muhammad Sa'ad II
21. Muhammad I
22. Muhammad II
23. Muhammad III
24. Muhammad IV
25. Musa
26. Malam Jabbo
27. Mu'azu

28. Sa'idu
29. Usmanu I
30. Usmanu II
31. Umar I
32. Umar II
33. Yahya
34. Yusufu

His Daughters

35. Asma'u I
36. Asma'u II
37. A'isha I
38. A'isha II
39. A'isha III
40. A'isha IV
41. A'mina I
42. A'mina II
43. Fatima I
44. Fatima II
45. Fatima III
46. Fatima IV
47. Fatima V
48. Fatima VI
49. Fatima VII
50. Fatima VIII
51. Halima
52. Hafsatu
53. Hawwa'u I

54. Hawwa'u II
55. Hawwa'u III
56. Hannatu
57. Khadija I
58. Khadija II
59. Khadija III
60. Khadija IV
61. Khadija V
62. Khadija VI
63. Khadija VII
64. Khadija VIII
65. Khadija IX
66. Maryam I
67. Maryam II
68. Maryam III
69. Maimuna
70. Ra'bia I
71. Ra'bia II
72. Rahamatu
73. Safiyya
74. Zainabu

CHAPTER TEN

BOOKS WRITTEN BY MUHAMMAD BELLO

The purpose of this chapter is to present a systematic list or catalogue of the books written by Sultan Muhammad Bello. However, before proceeding, it is important to understand that what will be presented is based on the findings of research and available sources, but it does not claim to be an exhaustive list of all his works. Furthermore, it is imperative to note that Muhammad Bello is renowned for his prolific writing and numerous books, as previously mentioned; consequently, it is difficult to assert that the full extent of his authored works is known. The material I present here is drawn from what Gidado, his son Abdulqadir, and Waziri Junaidu have written concerning his writings. I have also relied upon the commentary and analysis written by Dr. Abdullahi Muhammad Adamu on the book "Nazmul Awamil Annahwiyyah". Additionally, I have referenced the information found in the Annual History book written by Jean Boyd.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten, as previously stated, that these books encompass all branches of knowledge; meaning, there is no known aspect of life without Muhammad Bello having written about it. These books also demonstrate the blessed nature of the life of this servant of Allah.

Another point that should be noted here is that the books whose list will be presented are those written in the Arabic language; this does not include what he wrote in the Hausa or Fulfulde languages. It is also good to know that some of these books which I, the researcher myself, will list, I have not personally seen them, despite my long-standing passion and hope for them and my efforts to obtain them by any means. That notwithstanding, I can say that I have either read the majority of the material I will present, or I have studied some books that I quoted from them and explained their contents. With this, we can say that this presents a challenge for researchers concerning the books of these servants of Allah to rise to the occasion; for there is a great task before them. And with this, I will also say that these books of Muhammad Bello are the primary sources for this research; but anything not contained within them will be presented in a list of books from which each issue was sourced at the end of this book.

In organising the list of these books, I have used the Hausa A.B.C.D. order; but at times, when writing the title of a book, I have used the way a letter or an alphabet is spelled in the manner in which English speakers spell Arabic words. Here, I will present one hundred and fifty-two books that Allah made it possible to identify. They are as follows:

List of His Books

1. Attarjumanu an Kayfiyyati Wa'azi Shaikh Usmanu
2. Algaithul Wablu Fi Siratil Imamil Adli
3. Albahs Fil Ismil A'zami
4. Assaiful Maslulu Fi Ahkamil Gululi
5. Annazamu Li Isa Guji

6. Alqaulul Mabzulu Fi Zikri Masa'ili Gululi
7. Almahsulu Fi Zikri Jumlatin Min Mafa'sidil Gululi
8. Algaith Asshububu Fi Wasiyyatil Amiri Yaqubu
9. Albuduru Almusfirah
10. AddururaZ Zahiriyya Fil Auradil Qadiriyyah
11. Attanbiha'tul Wadihat Fi ma Ja'a fil Baqiyatis Salihat
12. Alkafi Fi Ilmil Jafri Wal-Khawafi
13. Al-Zikra
14. Alqaulus Sana Fi Wujubit Talyini Wat tamasshi Bis Sana
15. Attibbul Hayyini Fi Auja'il Aini
16. Attarbihu Fi Salatit Tasbih
17. Alkawakibud Durriyah Fi ba'd Mustalahatis-Sufiyah
18. Al Ilamu Fi ma Yajibu alal Imami
19. Al Insafu Fi Zikri Ma Lil Khilafah min Wifaqin Wa Khilafin
20. Almawaridun Nabawyyah Fil Masa'ilit Tibbiyya
21. Al A'dabu
22. Al Isha'a Fi hukmil Kharjina aniḍ Da'ah
23. Albardul Yamani Fi Akhbaril Uwaisul Qarani
24. Attibbun Nabawi
25. Alqaulul Mawhubu Fi Ajwibut As'ilati Yaqubu
26. Alqaulul Mukhtasar Fi Amri Mahdi Al-Muntazar
27. Annasa'ihu Wattambihatu ala Maqasida Muhimma
28. Annasihatul Wadi'a Fi bayani anna hubba Dunya ra'asu Kulli Khati'a

29. Annuqulun Nawa'tiq Fi Sha'anil Barbar Wittawariq
30. Albadarul La'mi'i Fil Wirdil Ja'mi'i
31. Adabut Tawassuli
32. Alqaulul Muhibbu Fi Jam'in-Nuqul Fi ma'ana hadis Bu'ithtu Li Utammina Makarimal Akhlaqi
33. Alqaulul Muhibbu Fi jam'in Nuquli izil Juma'ati indaz Zawa'li Wa inda Julusil Imami alal Mimbari
34. Attahriru Fi Qawa'idit Tabsiri
35. Annisrin Fi Man balaga Minas Sinini Arba'ina
36. Annisrin Fi Man balaga minal Umri Sittina Wal Khamsina
37. Alqaulul Man'uti Fin nafaqati wal Mabiti
38. Amru Jama'atis Shaykh
39. Aljumalu Annahwiyyah
40. Alqaulul Manthur Fi Adwiyatil Basur
41. Bayanul Arkani Wasshuruti Fit Tarikatis Sufiyyah
42. Diya'ul Uquli Fi bayani Tahrimil Gululi
43. Fathul Babi Fi zikri ba'd Khasa'isis Shaikhi Abdulqadir
44. Fathul Iglaqi Fi Ma'ana hadis "Bu'ithtu Li'utamminna Makarimal Ahlaqi
45. Fawa'idun Mujmala Fi ma Ja'a Fil birri was Silah
46. Ga'yatus Suli Fi Tafsirir Rasuli
47. Hizbul Ama'ni
48. Hizbus Shakwal Kabir
49. Hizbus Shakwas Sagir
50. Hizbus Shakawal Wasiti

51. Hizbus Sa'adah
52. Hizbul Ibtiha'li
53. Hizbul Muna'jati
54. Hizbul Kifa'yah
55. Hizbul Ismati
56. Hilyatul Basa'iri Fi Ahkamil Lazimah Lil Musa'firi
57. Hizbun Nasri Wal Fathi
58. Infaqul Maysuri
59. Infa'datul Ikhwani
60. Irshadut Tullabi Fi Tashihil Itiqadi bil Abwabi Wahum Auliya'ur Rabbi
61. Jala'us Sudur
62. Jam'un Nuquli Fi Masa'ili Gululi
63. Jala'us Samami Fi Maradil Aqwa'li Wal Afa'li Wal Himam
64. Jumalun Minal Maba'ni: Nasa'ihu Muhammad Aljailani
65. Jawabun Shafin Minna Ila Muhammad Aljailani
66. Jawabu Muhammad Bello ala Hawa'shi Ahmad Hamma Labbi
67. Kitabul Ada'hi
68. Kashful Kina'i Wal Asta'ri
69. Kifa'yatul Muhtadina ala Ahkamil Mukhallifina
70. Kafful Ikhwani an Ittiba'i Khutuwatis Shaitani
71. Kitabun Fi Mas'alati Dalaqis Salasi
72. Khitabu Muhammad Bello Ila Umar Dallaje Amiri Katsina

73. Kashful Gita'i Was Satri bi Muwa'lati! Kuffari
74. Kitabul Wilayah
75. Kita'bu Fadalul Fatiha
76. Kitabun Fin Niyyati Wal Ikhlas
77. Miftahus Sadadi Fi Aqsami Ahl H'a'zihil Bilad
78. Miftathus Sadadi Fi Sha'anil Arba'til Autad
79. Mir'atul Qalbi Fi Ma'rifatir Rabbi
80. Masa'ilul Jihad
81. Masugul Lujaini
82. Manzumun Fi Sha'anil Kutubi
83. Marthiyatus Shaikh Abdullahi
84. Masa'ilun an Sha'ani Najmin tala'a Fi Safar
85. Majmu'ul Ansabi
86. Miftahus Sadadi Fi Zikril Auliya'il Khawwasi
87. Manzumud Durari Fi Sharhi Hizbul Bahri
88. Masa'ilun Muhimma Wa Fawa'idun Azimah
89. Nurul Fajri Fil Ayyamil Ma'lumatı Wal Layalil Ashri
90. Nushun Ka'fin Wa bil Maqsudi Insha'allah Wa'fin
91. Nazmul Awamil Annahwiyyah
92. Nailur Raga'ibi Fi Silsilatil Kutubis Sa'alabi
93. Nushun Kafin Wa Lil Amrad Sha'fin
94. Nubza Fi Ila'jin Nafsi
95. Qadahuz Zi'na'd Fi Amri Ha'zal Jihadi
96. Qasidatut Tawassuli Bikhairir Rusuli
97. Qasidah Fi Mad'hi Sa'ad (R.A.)

98. Qasidah Fi Mad'hi Shaykh Mukhtar Alkunti
99. Qasidah Fit Tawassuli bi Asma'in Nabiyyi (SAW)
100. Qasidah Fit Tawassuli bi Ahlin Nawbati
101. Qasidah Fi Zikril Muhassabi
102. Qasidah Allati Ba'atha biha ilal Bakka'i
103. Qasa'idut Tawassuliyatu
104. Qasidatud Daliyya Fi Madhi Khairil Bariyyah
105. Qasidah Fi Zikril Mauti
106. Qasidah Fi Mad'hil Bu'Siri
107. Risa'latun Fil Amradi Sha'fiyah
108. Raf'us – Shubhati
109. Risa'latun Fi Amradil Kulyati Wa Ila'jiha
110. Risa'latu Amiril Mumimina Ila Jama'til Muslimina
111. Raf'ul Ishtiba'hi Fit Ta'alluqi Bil Lahi Wa bi Ahillahi
112. Shamsuz Zahirah Fi Manahiji Ahili Ilmi Wal Basirah
113. Shamsuz Zahirah Fi ma Yajibu alal Wali Min Husni Sirah
114. Sharhu Wirdil Jami'i li Nuril Ihtida'i
115. Sardul Kalami Fi Ma jara baini Wa baina Abdussalam
116. Sharhul Badmasi
117. Sua'lun an Ujratil Ka'simi
118. Shifa'ul Asqami Fi Ma'rifati Mada'rikil Ahkami
119. Sharhus Sadri Fi Tahriri Jina'yatir Raqiqi alal Hurri
120. Sharhut-Ta'iyyah
121. Silku Juma'nud Durri

122. Ta'atul-Khallaqi Bi Maka'rimil Akhlaqi
123. Tamhidul Imadi Fi ma za'da ala Umdatil Ubbadi
124. Takhmisu Kasidatil Qadiriyyah li Abdullah Ibn Fodiyo
125. Tanbihul Gafili alat Tawassuli bi A'zamil Wasa'ili
126. Tanbihul Raqidi ala ma Ya'tawirul Hajja Minal Mafa'sidi
127. Tanbihul Fa'himi ala Annal Mahdi Huwal Khitami
128. Tanbihul Jama'a ala Ahka'mis Shafa'ah
129. Tanbihul Ikhwani ala Adwiyatid Didani
130. Talkhisul Maqasidil Mujaradah Fil Adwiyatil Faridah
131. Ta'liqun Wajizun Fi Sharhil Kasidatit Tibbiyyah
132. Tanbihus Sami'i ala Ahkami Suquti Saqafil Jami'i
133. Tanbihus Sahibi ala Ahkami Makasibi
134. Takhmisu Kasidati Ba'nat Sua'du
135. Takhmisul Burdah
136. Tanbihu Ahli Uqu'li ala jitinabil Khaudi Fi Anwa'il Fuduli
137. Tahqiqul Murabbibina Wal-Mushakkikina
138. Ta'liqun Wajizun ala Manzumatina Jama'nud Durri
139. Ta'liqun Wajizun ala Manzumatina Fi Maqamatis Tasuwwufi
140. Ta'liqun Wajizun ala Qasidathii al Muta'alliqah Bil Kur'ani
141. Tauqiful Jahu'li ala Anwa'i Mafasidil Gululi
142. Tanbihul Ikhwani ala Ahkami! Ama'ni
143. Tanbihu Ahli! Fuhumi ala Wujubi Ijtinabi AhlisSha'awazah Wan Nujumi

144. Ta'liqun Wajizun Fi Qasidath Tibbiyyaha Li Tafsilil Izami
145. Taqribu Mas'illi Bai'i Lil Ammah
146. Ujalatur Rakibi Fi Tibbis Sa'ibi
147. Usulus – Siyasah
148. Wasiqatu Amiril Muminina Muhammad Bello Ila Akhihi Abibakar Atiku
149. Wirdun Ja'minu Li Nuril Ihtida'i Wal Iqtida'i
150. Wasiqatu Muhammad Bello Ila Shaikh Hamid Bi Sha'anil Mahdi
151. Zikral Mujaddidina ala Ra'asi Kulli Mi'ah
152. Zikru Man Yusalli alaihil La'hu Wa Mala'ikatuhu

Conclusion

This is the conclusion to this third volume on the Usmaniyya Caliphate, namely the book on "The Life of Muhammad Bello and his Reformist Struggles." As the reader would have observed from what he or she has read, the life of Muhammad Bello was replete with astonishing, fascinating, and exemplary matters for every individual. Here, as is customary, I will briefly reiterate for the reader some of the points that have been presented; so that they may serve as clear lessons for him/her to consider and implement in his/her own life. These points are as follows:

First: The life of Muhammad Bello demonstrated a life of complete obedience to parents; this is because he upheld every matter that Sheikh Usman advocated. For example, the founding/building of the cities of Gwandu and Sokoto and his presence at the frontier posts (Ribats) during Sheikh Usman's lifetime. He did this primarily as a protection for Sheikh Usman;

and likewise, as a protection for the Muslim community; because Islam was the primary concern of Sheikh Usman, and so it was for Bello as well.

Second: The life of Muhammad Bello was a life of knowledge/scholarship; meaning, the pursuit of knowledge and its teaching. Consider the books he is reported to have read in his lifetime, which number over twenty thousand books. Likewise, consider the books he wrote, of which even in this research we have one hundred and fifty-two. Also, consider the statement by Sheikh Sa'idu of Masina that Muhammad Bello was a man who loved knowledge and scholars, to the extent that whenever a foreign scholar arrived, he would host him and retain him so that he could benefit from him. Consider his statement concerning the Hausa people having misled their children by preventing them from seeking knowledge under the claim that they were 'children of saints'. He said all of that is falsehood. Knowledge is obtained only through diligent pursuit.

Third: The life of Muhammad Bello was a life of jihad in all its aspects. It was a life of jihad of the soul, a life of jihad in the pursuit of knowledge; it was a life of jihad with weapons. It suffices to note that at the time Sheikh Usman undertook the Hijra (migration), Muhammad Bello was only twenty-three years old. From that time, he began the struggle of leading military contingents, until the time he conquered Alkalawa in battle. Consider the account stating that he led forty-five military expeditions after becoming the Sultan; this is in addition to the battles he led during Sheikh Usman's time.

Fourth: Leadership and Expertise in Politics. Muhammad Bello was a courageous leader and one who was skilled in politics and administration. The proof of this is the manner in which he led this Caliphate. Because, as previously presented

after allegiance was pledged to him, there were uprisings within the Caliphate. These ranged from the revolt of Abdussalam to uprisings in Kabi and Zamfara, but with the help of Allah, he overcame these challenges. Even while he was engaged in this, it did not prevent him from studying and teaching, nor did it prevent him from writing books; likewise, it did not hinder him from performing acts of worship as he was accustomed to doing.

Fifth: The life of Muhammad Bello demonstrated to us the importance of determination, meaning that whoever applies determination to a matter, then everything becomes easy for him/her, and even a difficult matter becomes simple for him/her.

After all these aforementioned matters, the greatest lesson from the life of Muhammad Bello is that which pertains to knowledge. Because, as I mentioned in the conclusion of the second volume on the life of Sheikh Abdullahi, the greatest legacy of these servants of Allah is the books they authored. This is the major inheritance they bequeathed to this community, which remains enduring until the end of time. These diverse books on life are sufficient for this community to manage its affairs by itself without needing to borrow from any other source. Here, I wish to call the attention of the reader that the books written by these devoted servants of Allah can compete with any other books written in any part of this world.

With this, I call upon the Muslim community, particularly the people of Sokoto, especially the descendants of Danfodiyo, those whom Allah has blessed with wealth, to strive to publish and disseminate these books to the global community at large. This represents the least token of appreciation that we can show for the immense work they have done.

Finally, it is important to know that all these accomplishments that Muhammad Bello achieved were done within these fifty-eight years that Allah had decreed for him.

I pray that Allah forgives Muhammad Bello and rewards him with goodness for the services he rendered to the Muslim community. I ask Allah to unite us with him in the abode of His mercy. Amen.

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5. *Dira'satun Wa Tahqiqun Wa Sharhu Nazmul Awa'mil Annahwiyyah*: Dr. Abdullahi Muhammad Adamu.
6. *Anisul Mufidi*: Waziri Abdulqadir son of Gidado.
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14. *Risala*: Ibn Abu Zaid Al-Qirawan.
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BOOKS TRANSLATED BY THE AUTHOR OF THIS WORK

	Book Title	Author	Translation Language
1.	Nurul Albabi	Sheikh Usman	Hausa
2.	Hukumuj-Juhali	Sheikh Usman	Hausa/English
3.	Irshadul-Ikwani	Sheikh Usman	Hausa
4.	Bayanul-Bida'i	Sheikh Usman	Hausa
5.	Tanbihul-Ikwani Fi Ta'alimis-Naswani	Sheikh Usman	Hausa
6.	Usulul-Adli	Sheikh Usman	Hausa/English
7.	Taufiful-Muslimina	Sheikh Usman	Hausa
8.	Udadu al-Da'i	Sheikh Usman	Hausa
9.	Kitabul-Amri	Sheikh Usman	Hausa
10.	Tamyizul-Muslimina Minal-Kafirina	Sheikh Usman	Hausa
11.	Mira'tud-Dullabi	Sheikh Usman	Hausa
12.	Kitabun-Niyyati	Sheikh Abdullahi	Hausa
13.	Attibyanu	Sheikh Abdullahi	Hausa
14.	Liya'ul umaru'i	Sheikh Abdullahi	Hausa
15.	Akhlaqul-Mustafa	Sheikh Abdullahi	Hausa
16.	Ida'un-Nusukh	Sheikh Abdullahi	English
17.	Ta'limul-Anami	Sheikh Abdullahi	Hausa
18.	Taqribul-Laruri	Sheikh Abdullahi	Hausa
19.	Ila'hu Zadul-Ma'adi	Sheikh Abdullahi	Hausa
20.	Annasa'ihu	Sheikh Abdullahi	Hausa
21.	Tariqus-Salihina	Sheikh Abdullahi	Hausa
22.	Masa'lihul Insani	Sheikh Abdullahi	Hausa
23.	Kawa'idus-Salah	Sheikh Abdullahi	Hausa
24.	Dubab al-Madkhal	Sheikh Abdullahi	Hausa
25.	Sabilu Ahlis-Salah	Sheikh Abdullahi	Hausa

	Book Title	Author	Translation Language
26.	Sardul-Kalam	Sultan Muhammad Bello	Hausa
27.	Attanbihatul-Walibat	Sultan Muhammad Bello	Hausa
28.	Tanbinus-Sahibi	Sultan Muhammad Bello	Hausa
29.	Kashful-Kina'i	Sultan Muhammad Bello	Hausa
30.	Birrul-Walidaini	Sultan Muhammad Bello	Hausa
31.	Usulus-Siyasat	Sultan Muhammad Bello	Hausa
32.	Albudurul-Musfirah	Sultan Muhammad Bello	Hausa
33.	Nurul-Fajri	Sultan Muhammad Bello	Hausa
34.	Risalatun Lil-Amrad Shafiyah	Sultan Muhammad Bello	
35.	Raf'us-Shubhati	Sultan Muhammad Bello	
36.	Tanbihul-Gafilina	Nana Asma'u	Hausa
37.	Tanbihul-Ikhwani	Umaru Ibnu Bukhari	English

BOOKS WRITTEN BY THE AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK

1. Mabudin Ilmin Zakka
2. Muhimman Fatawoyi
3. Aqidar Musulunci a game da saukar Isa
4. Daular Usmaniyya Littafi Na Daya
5. Daular Usmaniyya Littafi Na Biyu
6. Giya da Taba: Illolinsu da Hatsarorinsu
7. Yadda Za'a Warware Matsalar Almajirai da Naqasassu
8. Hukunce-Hukuncen Hajji da Umra da Ziyara
9. Mace: Aikinta da Shugabancinta
10. Kimiyya da Kere-Kere
11. Gaskiya da Riḳon Amana
12. Kishi da Zamantakewar Ma'aura
13. Tarihin Rayuwar Malam Bello na Malam Mahrazu
14. Tarihin Mujazun Anil-harakah al-Islamiyya (Arabic)
15. Ma'asi al-Istimar al-Oroby (Arabic)
16. Daular Usmaniyya Littafi na Uku