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Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio and His Economic Ideas

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In an attempt to investigate Muslim economic thinking in the 12th century Hijrah, corresponding 18th century C E, the present paper explores economic ideas of one of the greatest Muslim personalities of the period, Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio (1167-1233/1754-1817), who is commonly known as revivalist and renovator of religious beliefs and practices and founder of the Sokoto Khilafat. At the outset, to provide background knowledge of the personality of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio, the paper sheds light on time and environment in which he lived, his life and work, and his impact.

Time and Environment

Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio¹ (1167-1233/1754-1817) belonged to the Fulani tribe². The Fulani people are found all over West Africa from the Futa Jalon region to the Cameroons (Balogun, 1981, p. 15). Some of Fulani had settled and had become actually integrated with the Hausas. The ancestors of Uthman Dan Fodio moved into Hausaland³ in the fifteenth century under the leadership of Musa Jokollo and settled in the Hausa State of Gobir (Sulaiman, 1986, p. ix).

According to Sulaiman, in early eighteenth century, ‘Hausaland was at a critical stage in its history, needing a profound challenge to stir its conscience’ (ibid, p. xviii),. Unbelief, iniquity and open defiance of Allah’s laws became the order of the day. The social system was immoral; women were oppressed and neglected like animals.’ ‘Christianity had gained ground, and cheating and fraud were rife. The Shari’ah was significantly altered – property laws were geared to benefiting the rulers.’ These circumstances were demanding a reformer, a renovator and a revolutionary figure. The Shehu worked in these conditions.

In his work *Tanbih al-ikhwan 'ala ahwal al-Sudan* Uthman dan Fodio writes: “As for the sultans, they are undoubtedly unbelievers, even though they may profess the religion of Islam, because they practice polytheistic rituals and turn people away from the path of God and raise the flag of worldly kingdom above the banner of Islam⁴. All this is unbelief according to the consensus of opinions.” He points out many of the flaws and demerits of the African non-Muslim or nominal Muslim rulers. Some of these are corruption on various levels of the

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administration along with absurdity and injustice regarding ordinary people's rights.

Life and Works

Early life and education. Uthman Dan Fodio was born at Marata in December 1754 (Balogun, 1981p. 27). He lived in the city-state of Gobir until 1802 when motivated by his reformist ideas he led his followers out of the state. His father was a learned man. Uthman first studied with him. He was educated according to traditional system. After finishing at home his basic education of reading and writing Arabic, memorization and translation of the Qur'an, some knowledge of *hadith* and jurisprudence, grammar and arithmetic, the Shehu obtained the advanced knowledge of Shari'ah sciences from specialized professors of the subjects. His teachers include Shaykh Abd al-Rahman b. Hammadah, his maternal uncle Uthman Biddrui, Muhammad Sambo, Muhammad b. Rajab, and Jibril b. Umar. It is not reported whether Uthman Dan Fodio himself ever traveled to Hijaz. But most of his teachers were Madinah trained; some of them were students of al-Sindi (Sulaiman, 1986, pp. 10-11). Thus his educational line tree coincides with that of Shaykh Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab and Shah Wali-Allah al-Dihlawi. He was much influenced by his teacher Jibril b. Umar. The latter had twice visited the holy places of Islam, Makkah and Madinah (ibid. pp. 28-29). It was the time when especially Madinah assumed the center of Muslim world's most renowned scholars who called their students to return to the original sources of Islam – the Qur'an and the Sunnah.

Two parts of his life. Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio's life may be divided into two parts. The first part, which falls in the eighteenth century, is characterized by teaching, writing, preaching, reforming and renovating. This concerns with our topic and we shall deal with this part only. The second part of his life, which started in 1802 is related to his migration and struggle against the unjust and tyrant rules of North Africa and his characteristic as the founder of the 19th century empire of the Sokoto caliphate in what is today northern Nigeria and surrounding areas. This part is briefly introduced here. Its detailed study is left to a researcher who wants to investigate the nineteenth century Muslim situations.

Reformative Endeavors. At the young age of twenty, in 1188/1774 at his home town Degel, the Shehu started his career as a wandering teacher. He instructed people on the proper practice of Islam. During 1790s, the emphasis of his teaching and writing gradually shifted from personal instruction to a broader concern with social and political questions (Dallal, 1993, p. 50). Shehu was worried about the rigidity and the blind adherence of *ulama* to a particular school of jurisprudence,

the abuses of Sufism, and ignorance among the common people their exploitation by authorities. The Shehu directed his reform to these issues.

In the opinion of Sulaiman (1986, p. 19), ‘the Shehu’s methods of revising the generation that brought about the transformation of central Sudan encompasses, the three areas: the intellectual, the spiritual and the profound training in *tasawwuf*. The Shehu himself was follower of Qadiriya order. So he was not against sufism *per se*. He opposed the abuses and practices that were in variance to Shari`ah. He criticized *ulama* who supported authorities to protect their vested interest and tolerated all kinds of corruptions. In most of his books he addressed such *ulama*. He received from them severe persecution and scandalous attacks. Finally he emerged victorious over his adversaries.

The Shehu paid special attention to education and training of his people. According to Sulaiman (1986, p. 22), ‘the imparting of the idea of *tajdid*, or revolution, in his students and involving them in the process of *tajdid* as a necessary part of education was perhaps, Shehu Usman’s greatest contribution in Hausaland’. The Shehu asserted that any ruling in *fiqh*, opposed to the Qur’an, *sunnah* and *ijma`* must be rejected. For popularization of knowledge he authored *wathiqat al-Ikhwan*. Along with the intellectual training, he paid attention to spiritual development of the students. This is the subject of his work *Umdat al-Ubbad* (Sulaiman, 1986, p. 24). Internal purification and spiritual training was aimed by practice of *tasawwuf*. The Shehu’s brother Abdullahi reports about the Shehu that he called people to the revival of the Faith, and to Islam, and good works, and to abandon customs contrary to them (Shagari and Boyd, 1978, p. 12).

While the Shehu used his literary works specially written in Arabic language to reform *ulama*, he addressed masses of common people in his Friday sermons and speeches and taught them fundamental and original teachings of Islam. For this purpose he used local languages Hausa and Fulani. He was a gifted poet and used this effective medium to approach the common people. He also traveled to other cities to teach and preach among the wider circles of people. Both men and women were attracted to those meetings. For women separate sitting arrangement was made (Balogun, 1981, p. 34).

According to Sulaiman (1986, pp. xvi-xviii), ‘The Shehu divided the people of Hausaland into three ideological groups. The first believed sincerely in Islam, the second were idolaters who worshipped stones, trees or the like and the third comprised the syncretism – those who practiced the outward show of Islam alongside pagan rites. To the Shehu the last group constituted the main problem because it included the bulk of the leadership’.

Hijrah, Jihad and establishment of Sokoto Caliphate. For thirty years the base of the Shehu's academic and calling activities was his home town Degel. His personal life and his family's conduct inspired people (Shagari and Boyd, 1978, pp. 17, 19). The Shehu had cordial relations with the Sarakuna, the rulers. However, when number of the Shehu's follower enlarged and his fame increased, the Sarakuna became afraid of him and his followers and began to harass them⁵. The Sarakuna's men also attempted to assassinate him. These hostile actions against the Shehu and his follower led them to take up arms to defend themselves. This was in 1804. In this *jihad* the Shehu's follower won the battle and established caliphate in 1225/1810⁶. His son Muhammad Bello and brother Abdullah looked the state affairs. The Shehu engaged himself in scholarly pursuits. He expired in 1233/1817. In his work *Infaq al-Maysur*, Muhammad Bellow remarked about the Shehu: "He possessed pleasing qualities. He revived the *sunnah* and put an end to heresy. (quoted by Sulaiman, 1986, p. 17).

Works. It is said that the Shehu wrote more than one hundred books concerning his thoughts about religion, government, culture and society. Balogun (1981, PP. 43-48) has compiled a list of 115 works through various sources. In fact most of those titles are essays or chapters of some other works. For example, his work *Bayan al-Bid`ah al-Shaytaniyah* is largely identical with the *bid`ah* section of his work *Ihya' al-Sunnah wa Ikhmad al-Bid`ah* (ibid. P. 49n). There are some repetitions also. The major works are only few.

1. According to Balogun (1981, p. x), *Ihya' al-Sunnah wa Ikhmad al-Bid`ah* (The revival of the Prophetic practice and obliteration of false innovation) is the Shehu's *magnum opus*. After exposition of the two terms - *Sunnah* and *Bid`ah* - the book emphasizes the need for adherence to the Sunnah and avoidance of the *bid`ah* (pagan innovation). Then it discusses the nature and requirements of faith (*iman*). After this the major portion of the book is assigned to jurisprudential matters. The subject of mysticism has also been discussed before an effective conclusion. As the title shows the objective of the book is to present the true prophetic teachings on matter of the faith, jurisprudence and mysticism and warn against pagan practices on those issues. Sulaiman (1986, p. 64) considers this work as 'a textbook of *tajdid*' [revival]. Shehu's some other works are as follows:
2. *Bayan Wujub al-hijrah `ala'l-`ibad`*⁷ (description of the obligation of migration for People).
3. *Siraj al-Ikhwan* (Lamp for the Brothers)
4. *Kitab al-Farq* (Book of the Difference)

5. *Bayan Bid'ah al-Shaytaniyah* (Description of the Satanic innovations)
6. *Najm al-Ikhwān* (Star of the Brothers)
7. *Nur al-Ibad* (Light of the Slaves)
8. *Usul al-'Adl* (Principles of Justice)
9. *al-amr bi'l-ma'ruf wa'l-nahy 'ani'l-munkar* (enjoining the good and forbidding the evil)

As against the two other revivalists of 18th century - Shah Wali-Allah and Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab – the Shehu's works largely remained unpublished.

His Impact

Stating the impact of Uthman Dan Fodio, Sulaiman (1986, pp. vii-viii) observes that the revolution of Uthman Dan Fodio was the most spectacular and far-reaching of all revolutions seen in Africa in recent centuries. 'It brought the various peoples that made up Hausaland into one single polity, unprecedented in scope and complexity, and gave them the security, stability and justice they lacked under the warring Hausa State.'

In the call of Uthman Dan Fodio there was hardly a new thing. 'What was new was that the social and moral values were being put into practice' and dedication 'to establish a better and superior social order' (ibid. p. 46).

According to Shagari and Boyd (1978, p. x), 'Over the last century and a half the influence of Shehu Dan Fodio and his companions had reigned supreme in this area and beyond'. They further say: "His teachings and his examples have inspired millions of Muslims throughout the length and breadth of Hausaland in particular and the Western Sudan in general; his influence continues to guide the action, hopes and inspirations of many religious leaders, scholars, administrators and statesmen in the newly independent states of West Africa to this day' (ibid, p. xi).

Observing over the entire struggle of Uthman dan Fodio, Shagari and Boyd (1978, p. xi) Remark: "He was both pious and ascetic. He assumed leadership of a movement but never ruled". 'For thirty years – from 1774 to 1804 – the Shehu carried his message to the people of the Sudan, telling them to return to the Way of the Prophet Muhammad Gradually he won over most of his opponents through reason, persuasion and an exceptional display of the sincerity, honesty and piety. His home in Degel became a centre of scholarship and a rallying place of

Mallams (Arabic *mu'allim* = teachers) from all over the Sudan, who came in quest of knowledge and spiritual guidance. It was a mini university' (Shagari and Boyd, 1978, p. 5).

A distinguishing feature of the Shehu's reform was his due attention to the training of womenfolk. He responded convincingly to objections raised against this (ibid. pp. 84-90). He paid full attention to the education of women. He equally educated and taught his sons and his daughters who carried on his mission after him. Several of his daughters emerged as scholars and writers.⁸ Especially his daughter Nana Asma'u translated some of her father's work into local languages. The Shehu criticized ulama for neglecting half of human beings and 'leaving them abandoned like beasts' (*Nur al-Albab*, p. 10, quoted by Shagari & Boyd, 1978, p. 39).

Dan Fodio's uprising inspired a number of later West African jihads, including those of Massina Empire founder Seku Amadu, Toucouleur Empire founder El Hadj Umar Tall (who married one of dan Fodio's granddaughters), Wassoulou Empire founder Samori Ture, and Adamawa Emirate founder Modibo Adama⁹.

Economic Ideas

Opposition to economic evils. The Shehu strongly criticized the Hausa ruling elite for their heavy taxation and violation of the Muslim Law. He 'condemned oppression, all unfairness, the giving and acceptance of bribes, the imposition of unfair taxes, the seizing of land by force, unauthorized grazing of other people's crops, extraction of money from the poor, imprisonment on false charges and all other injustices (Shagari and Boyd, 1978, p. 15). Once the sultan of Gobir invited all *ulama* including Uthman and presented them gifts, Uthman requested freedom of *dawah* (calling people to Allah), removal of hindrance in practicing the religion, respect to religious people, lessening the burden of taxation. The Sultan conceded to his request (Balogun, 1981, p. 35). This enhanced the prestige of Uthman Dan Fodio.

The Shehu's followers were required not to remain idle. They were encouraged to learn a craft in order to earn a living. It was considered improper to eat what one had not earned by one's own efforts'¹⁰. They engaged in various handcrafts to produce necessities of life (Shagari and Boyd, 1978, p. 18).

al-Siyasah al-Shar'iyah (The Shar'iyah Governance). On the pattern of Ibn Taymiyah, the Shehu wrote a treatise on *al-amr bi'l-ma'ruf wa'l-nahy 'ani'l-munkar*' (enjoining the good and forbidding the bad) in which he proposed basic

guidelines to discharge this obligation. The Shehu's brother Abdullahi and son Muhammad Bello, who were also his students, wrote books on the pattern of *al-Siyasah al-Shar'iyah*. Abdullahi's work is entitled *Diya' al-Hukkam* and the title of Muhammad Bello's work is *al-Ghayth al-Wabil fi Sirat al-Imam al-'Adil*. In these two works, their authors have elaborated principles of good governance and highlighted the socio-economic role of the state. Most probably they represented the views of their teacher and mentor Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio.

The state established by the Shehu had no written constitution. The Shari'ah was its manual for rule. Shagari and Boyd (1978, p. 47) write that after establishment of the Caliphate 'the foundations of the New Society in Sokoto were based on the Qur'an, the Sunnah and *ijma'* – the consensus of learned opinion'. The sources of government revenues were the same as prescribed by the Shari'ah – *zakah*, *sadaqat*, *ghanimah* and *kharaj* (Shagari & Boyd, 1978, pp. 53 – 56). Economic issues attracted the attention of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio. But he was not a philosopher or theoretician. His career had been that of an Islamic reviver and renovator. The same role is reflected in economic matters. He argued for revival of just Islamic economic institutions such as *al-hisbah*, *hima*, *bayt al-mal*, *zakah*, *waqf*, etc. Mostly his economic ideas are found in his work *Bayan Wujub al-Hijrah 'ala'-Ibad*. Other works in which some economic ideas are found are *Kitab al-Farq*, *Siraj al-Ikhwān*, *Bayan Bid'ah al-Shaytaniyah*, *Najm al-Ikhwān* and *Nur al-Ibad*.

Value based economic system. The Shehu advocates foundation of an economic system based on values such as justice, sincerity, moderation, modesty, honesty, etc. According to him justice is the key for progress while injustice leads to decadence. A just government can last even with unbelief but it cannot endure with injustice¹¹ (Dan Fodio, 1978, p. 142). On the other hand he warned against the unhealthy practices such as fraud, adulteration and extravagance and their bad consequences in the economy (Dan Fodio, 1978, p. 142). He exalted labour and hard work, and rejected begging. He encouraged his follower to engage in earning livelihood even through an ordinary occupation (Kani, 1984, pp. 86-87). Division of labour and cooperation occupy a very high place in his economic thought (Balogun, 1985, p. 30, quoted by Sule Ahmed Gusau, 1989). Property earned through fraudulent means would be confiscated on behalf of public treasury.¹²

The Shehu was very emphatic on fair market functioning. In his work *Bayan al-Bid'ah al-Shaytaniyah* (On Satanic Innovations) he forbade ignorant persons from dealing in market, as such people may indulge in prohibited actions (*Siraj al-Wahhaj* quoted by Gusau, p. 150n). This is reminiscent of caliph Umar's saying that only *faqih* (a Shariah knowledgeable person) should deal in the market¹³. It is for the sake of fairness in dealing in the market that he emphasized revival of the *hisbah* institutions whose functions include checking the prices, quality of goods,

correct weights and measures, prevention of fraud and usurious practices, removal of monopolization of products, etc. (The Shehu's work *al-Bid`ah al-Shaytaniyah*, quoted by Kani, p. 65).

Economic role of the state. There is sufficient discussion in works of Uthman Dan Fodio on economic role of the state, its sources of revenue and heads of expenditure. Perhaps he foresaw the need for such topics in the prospective caliphate that would emerge in the wake of his call for revival. To achieve welfare and prosperity a state must be based on values like *`adl* and *ihsan* (Balogun, 1985).

The Shehu considers the state responsible for the betterment of people's mundane and religious life. The government should remove obstacles lying in their way of progress. That the people enjoy peace and prosperity is more ensuring for the security of the country and strength of the government than maintaining huge army (Dan Fodio, 1978, pp. 65-66). From this Gusau infers that 'the Shehu saw the government as a guarantor of minimum livelihood for all subjects in need of such assistance. Also the government was to ensure the provision of public utilities such as roads, bridges, mosques, city walls that ensure comfort and a life of piety for the citizens' (Gusau, 1989, p. 143).

Public Finance. The Shehu considers the rule of rightly guided caliphs (*al-khulafa al-Rashidun*) as a true model for any government. Based on this he prescribes that the rulers should take only the ordinary man's share as their salary from the public treasury and live a simple life (ibid, p. 150). He considers the public treasury in the hand of the ruler as property of an orphan in the hand of a caretaker. Thus he says that it is preferable for the rulers to take only the ordinary man's share as their salary (ibid. p. 131). This is perhaps with reference to a verse in the Qur'an (4:6) which says that "If the guardian [of an orphan] is well-off, let him claim no remuneration. But if he is poor, let him have for himself what is just and reasonable". Thus, if the rulers have sufficient means to satisfy their basic needs, they should not take any thing from the *bayt al-mal* (Gusau, 1989, p. 150). The recipient from the *bayt al-mal* should get only that much which is necessary and sufficient for the year (ibid). This is also based on the Prophet's tradition who used to give his wives sustenance for a year (Abu Dawud, vol. 3, p.140, Hadith no. 2964). He forbade revenue officers to accept gifts from the subjects (ibid). There is famous report that the Prophet, be peace upon him, asked his collector to surrender everything collected – revenue and gifts – and when the collector resisted, he said why he had not sit in his mother's house and received gift (ibid. 3:135, Hadith no. 2946). Thus, it is clear that all these provisions are based on the Qur'an, Sunnah and practices of the rightly guided caliph. The Shehu endeavoured to inculcate them among his followers.

The Shehu enumerated the sources of income for the Islamic state. They include one fifth of the spoil of war (*al-khumus*), land tax (*kharaj*), poll tax (*jizyah*), booty (*fay* = enemy's property obtained without actual combat), tithe (*ushr*), heirless property and lost found whose owner is not traceable (Dan Fodio, 1978, p. 123). Zakah, with its specified beneficiaries formed a separate category, distinguished from the other sources of public revenue. In his book *Usul al-Adl* he also mentions the custom duties (*ushur*) as a source of public revenue.

If there is shortage of fund, the ruler may ask people to contribute as additional levy. But it should be according to the paying capacity of the person. Like Ibn Khaldun he is against heavy taxation. A lower tax would provide incentive for economic activity and result into prosperity.

Public expenditure. As far public expenditure is concerned, the Shehu based his ideas on Ibn al-Juza'iy (d.741/1340) and al-Ghazali (d. 505-1111). With reference to Ibn al-Juza'iy he says that 'the practice of just *imams* concerning *fay*' and *khumus* is to begin by securing the dangerous places and frontier posts, by preparing armaments and by paying soldiers. If there remains anything, it goes to the judges, state officials, for the building of mosques and bridges and then it is divided among the poor. If any still remains, the *imam* has the option of either giving it to the rich or keeping it (in the *bayt al-mal*) to deal with disasters which may occur to Islam...' (ibid. p. 131, quoted by Gusau, 1989, pp. 144-45). In his *Usul al-`Adl* which is summary of a work of al-Ghazali, the Shehu mentions heads of expenditure of *bayt al-mal* as fortification of Muslim cities, teachers' salaries, judges' salaries, *mu'azzins*' salaries, all those who work for Islam and the poor. 'If anything is left after all these heads, the surplus is to be kept in *bayt al-mal* for the emergencies. The fund may also be used for building mosques, free Muslim captives, freeing debtors, and can be used for helping those without means to marry or those without means to go for hajj, etc. (Gusau, 1989, p. 151).

The Shehu reiterated that the *zakah* revenue will be spent on those heads prescribed in the Qur'an. It will be spent in the same region from where it is collected, as ordained in the hadith.¹⁴ According to the Shehu, the *zakat al-fitr* (poor due at the fast breaking) would be spent on the poor and the needy only. *Bayt al-mal's* other income is not exclusively for the poor. Nor is it necessary to spend equally on all heads of expenditure (Gusau, 1989, pp. 144-145).

Land management. Land management also attracted the attention of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio. In this regard he followed the provisions found in books of jurisprudence. First he divides lands into two categories *ma`mur* (useable and inhabited) and *mawat* (dead land, uninhabited and uncultivated). Depending on whether such lands were captured by force, by peace treaty or their owner

embraced Islam, they have different rules for distribution, allocation, grants, endowment, or enclosure (*hima*) (Gusau, 1989, pp. 145-46).

As in case of other aspects of religion and life, the Shehu intended to correct economic corruption prevalent in the society by presenting the Islamic teaching in economic matters. As is clear from the preceding pages, he mainly targeted market, public finance, and land management, as these were the most affected areas of the economy. He reaffirms Islamic teachings on these topics without taking into account their new dimensions through rigorous analysis.

Endnotes

1. Shehu Usman dan Fodio is also referred to as Shaykh Usman Ibn Fodi, Shehu Uthman Dan Fuduye, or Shehu Usman dan Fodio.
2. Fulani tribe had migrated from Futa Toro in Senegal and settled in Kwoni in the Hausa city state of Gobir.
3. Hausaland is located in the central Bilad al-Sudan; bordering Kanem Borno in the east and Songhai in the west.
4. It may be noted that similar situation was faced by Ibn Taymiyah, when the raiding Mongol kings professed Islam but openly violated its rules.
5. In the way of preaching especially his brother Abdullah's poems were very effective (Balogun, 1981, p. 36). This alarmed the ruling class. In the meantime a new Sultan succeeded who re-imposed many restrictions on preaching and practicing Islam. Eventually this led to a conflict between the sultan and the follower of Uthman. The latter exhorted for migration to form a consolidated base for them and finally to take up arm and declaration of *jihad*. The uprising was largely composed of the Fulani, who held a powerful military advantage with their cavalry. It was also widely supported by the Hausa peasantry who felt over-taxed and oppressed by their rulers. After only a few short years of the Fulani War, Uthman Dan Fodio found himself in command of the largest state in Africa, the Fulani Empire. His son Muhammad Bello and his brother Abdullahi were carrying out the Jihad and were taking care of the administration. Dan Fodio worked to establish an efficient government, one grounded in Islamic law.
6. After 1226/1811, Usman retired and continued writing about the righteous conduct of the Muslim belief. After his death in 1233/1817 his son, Muhammad Bello, succeeded him as amir al-mu'minin or Sultan of Sokoto and became the ruler of the Sokoto Caliphate which was the biggest state south of the Sahara at that time. Usman's brother Abdullahi was given the title emir of Gwandu and he was placed in charge of the Western Emirates, Nupe and Ilorin.
7. The book has been translated and edited by F.H.el-Masri (1978) and published by Oxford University Press, Khartoum.
8. One of the most prominent members of the caliphate was Shehu Usman dan Fodio's daughter Nana Asma'u. She was very devoted to the education of the Muslim women and she was a writer herself like her father. She witnessed many of the Jihad wars and wrote about her experiences in her books. Nana Asma'u was very well educated and well versed in four languages (Arabic, Fulfulde, Hausa and Tamachek) which gave her a widespread

reputation of a scholar and the opportunity to communicate with the whole sub-Saharan African Muslim World. David Westerlund wrote: “She continued to be a source of inspiration to the present day.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nana_Asma%E2%80%99U Accessed on 12.7.2008

9. Usman dan Fodio's jihad created the largest empire in Africa since the fall of Songhai in 1591. By the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Sokoto Caliphate was at its greatest extent, it stretched 1,500 kilometers from Dori in modern Burkina Faso to southern Adamawa in Cameroon and included Nupe lands, Ilorin in northern Yorubaland, and much of the Benue River valley. In addition, Usman dan Fodio's jihad provided the inspiration for a series of related holy wars in other parts of the savanna and Sahel far beyond Nigeria's borders that led to the foundation of Islamic states in Senegal, Mali, Ivory Coast, Chad, Central African Republic, and Sudan. An analogy has been drawn between Usman dan Fodio's jihad and the French Revolution in terms of its widespread impact. Just as the French Revolution affected the course of European history in the nineteenth century, the Sokoto jihad affected the course of history throughout the savanna from Senegal to the Red Sea.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usman_Dan_Fodio Accessed on 12.7. 2008
10. Seems to be based on the *hadith* that the best on can eat is ones own earned livelihood. Prophet David used to eat from the earning of his own hand (al-Bukhari, 6: 569, Quoted by Monzer Kahf (1995) in *al-Nusus al-Iqtisadiyah min al-Qur'an wa'l-Sunnah*, Jeddah, Scientific Publication Center, KAAU.
11. Before him Ibn Taymiyah (1976, p. 94) also quoted this saying several times in his writings.
12. It is well known story that the guided caliphs used to check their governors' assets. Any property found beyond their known sources was deposited to the *Bayt al-mal*.
13. al-Sabiq, Sayyid, (1971), vol.3, p.44.
14. When the Prophet, be peace upon him, sent his companion Mu`adh to Yemen as governor, he advised him to collect zakah from their rich and distribute it among their poor. Based upon this, the jurists forbade shifting of zakah from one place to another place in normal conditions.

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