

Umarian Tijjaniyya in Hadejia Emirate c. 1903-2009

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Abstract

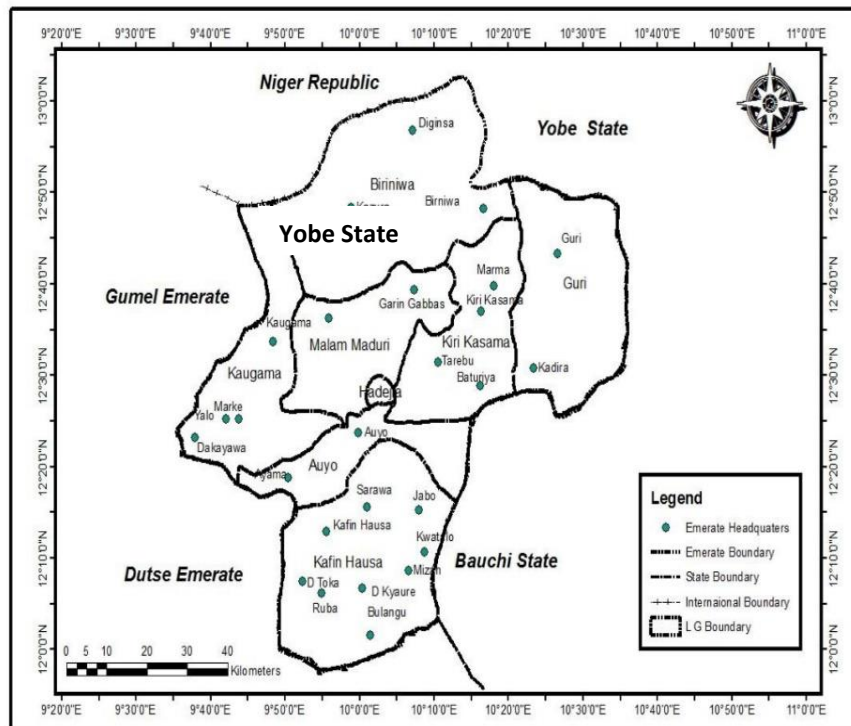
This paper is on the origin and spread of Umarian Tijjaniyyah in Hadejia Emirate c.1903-2009. Both primary and secondary sources were used to study it. The Umarian Tijjaniyyah is a version of the Tijjaniyyah that spread through the activities of Al-Hajj Umar bn Sa'id Al-Futi (1794-1864). The Umarians maintained the practice and principles of what was regarded as the older and original version of the Tijjaniyyah Sufi order. This paper establishes that the Umarian Tijjaniyyah was introduced into the area of study by the offspring and followers of its founder after they were expelled from their home (formerly Tukulor Empire) by the French army in 1891. They emigrated to Sokoto and participated in the historic battle of Bormi of 1903. The aftermath of this episode influenced them to settle in area called 'Yan Leman in Hadejia emirate. The development and expansion of the branch in the emirate had to do with initiation campaigns organized by the different Sarakunan Tijanai (Emirs of Tijanai) and other members as well as the support of traditional elites of Hadejia, which resulted in the initiation of people from different social class within and outside the emirate.

Introduction

Hadejia Emirate, like other Emirates of the old Sokoto Caliphate, took its name from its capital city Hadejia. It is located in the north-east between the former Kanem Bornu Empire and the Sokoto Caliphate. The Emirate has common borders with Gumel Emirate in the north-west, Nguru and Machina chiefdom to the north. Badde chiefdom to the north-east,

Katagum Emirate to the south, Dutse and Ringim to the west. The Emirate is situated in the north eastern corner of the present Jigawa State.³⁰⁵ It is ranked among the largest emirates in the state with eight local government areas, namely: Kafin Hausa, Birniwa, Mallam Madori, Auyo, Kiri-Kasamma, Guri and lastly its capital city, Hadejia. It is indeed the most cosmopolitan town and by far the largest in the whole state.³⁰⁶

MAP i Showing the District headquarters of the Emirate



Source: G.Isah (2006), "The morphology and patterns..." p. 19 Reproduced by Rabi'u Abdullahi cartography lab Department of Geography B U K

Islam was introduced into Hadejia in the first half of the 13th century through Kanem Bornu Empire during the military expeditions of the

³⁰⁵ U. F. Yaya (2006). "Perspective Issues of Development in Hadejia Emirate: 1906-2006" A paper presented at a two days conference on the British conquest of Hadejia Emirate and its aftermath, pp. 1-2

³⁰⁶ A.A. Abbas, (2011). "District Headship in Hadejia Emirate c. 1906-1967", Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano p. 15

Sayfawa.³⁰⁷ Prior to the introduction of Islam, the people of Hadejia were *maguzawa* (pagans). The founder of the settlement was said to have been a Kanuri hunter and his wife.³⁰⁸

Islam became a state religion in Hadejia in the 15th century under the reign of Borno ruler *Mai* Ali Ghaji (1472-1502), when he extended the empire of Borno to Hausaland.³⁰⁹ When *Mai* Ali Ghaji succeeded in establishing a capital, he was recognized by his followers as the Khalifah (vicegerent) of the land of Islam. The adoption of the title of the Caliph and the desire to establish an Islamic state made it important for the *Mai* to undertake intensive Islamization among his subjects including those of Hadejia.³¹⁰ Hadejia benefited from Borno Islamization policy under *Mai* Ali Ghaji, especially with regards to the immigration of *ulama* (Islamic scholars) and the development of Islamic learning and the establishment of *Tsangaya* Qur'anic Schools. This development made Hadejia become a second center of Qur'anic education after Borno.³¹¹

The *Tijjaniyyah* brotherhood was founded by Abu al-Abbas Ahmad bn Muhammad al-Tijjani (1737-1815). He was born at Ain al-Madi in the southern part of modern Algeria in 1737.³¹² Ahmad began his education in his home town and in 1758 went to Morocco to continue his studies. He

³⁰⁷ M.N. Alkali, (1978). "Kanem Borno under the Sayfawa: A Case Study of Origin, Growth and Collapse of a Dynasty," Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria pp. 134-139

³⁰⁸ M. D. Suleiman, (2006). "The Evolution of Hadejia Emirate: A Socio- Economic Perspective," A paper presented at a two-day-conference on the British Conquest of Hadejia Emirate and its aftermath. P. 3

³⁰⁹ M.N. Alkali, (1978), "Kanem –Borno under the Sayfawa...." p. 130

³¹⁰ Y. Mukhtar, (2006). "A Preliminary Survey of Hadejia – Borno Relation," A paper presented at a two-day conference on the British conquest of Hadejia emirate and its aftermath. p. 3

³¹¹ M. U. Mustapha, (2006). "The Establishment of Hadejia Emirate up to 1906", A paper presented at a two-day conference on British conquest of Hadejia emirate and its aftermath.

³¹² M. S. Umar, (1984). 'Sufism and Anti Sufism in Nigeria', M.A Dissertation, Department of Islamic Studies, Bayero University, Kano, pp. 45-6

thereafter taught in various places in North Africa beginning with the Algerian Sahara, where he developed a special interest in *Sufism*. He also taught in Tunis at the Zaytuna University.³¹³ Before he founded his order, Ahmad al-Tijjani was a member of Sufi brotherhoods one of which was the *Khalwatiyyah* into which he was initiated by Sayyid Mahmud al-Kurdi in Cairo, while he was on his way to from Mecca in c.1774. He traced his genealogy through Hassan (the son of the Prophet's cousin, Ali) to the Prophet.

He settled at Abu Saghum, a village in the Algerian Sahara where, in 1782, he proclaimed that he had been authorized by the Prophet who appeared before him in a daylight vision to propagate the special spiritual guidance and litanies of the order, the *Tijjaniyyah*.³¹⁴ This connection confirmed the authenticity of the order and the origin of the teaching of the *Tijjaniyyah*. He was however, influenced by Ibn al-Arabi, a very important Andalusian Sufi scholar and philosopher of the 12th and 13th century.³¹⁵

There were two different versions concerning the period when the *Tijjaniyyah* was introduced into Hadejia. An informant pointed out that it was introduced into Hadejia by one learned scholar from Bornu whose name is not known.³¹⁶ While another informant holds the view that it was introduced in Hadejia by *Umarian* refugees from Tukulor who came after

³¹³ O. Jah, (1973). "Sufism and the Nineteenth Century Jihad Movement in Western Sudan: A Case Study of Al-Hajj Umar al-Futi's Philosophy of Jihad and its Sufi Bases," Unpublished PhD Thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Canada. pp.115-116

³¹⁴ A. R. Mohammed (2014). *History of the Spread of Islam in the Niger- Benue Confluence Area; Igalaland, Ebiraland and Lokoja C. 1900-1960*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press. p. 178

³¹⁵ L. C. Behrman, (1970). *Muslim Brotherhood and Politics in Senegal*. Harvard: Harvard University Press. pp. 18 – 19.

³¹⁶ Interview with Dr Muhammad Haruna at Hadejia, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on April 4, 2015. He was among the disciples of the famous reformed Tijjaniyyah Muqaddam Shaykh Ahmad Usman Nakaduna

the defeat of their empire by the French.³¹⁷ The *Umarian* group of *Tijjaniyyah* was founded by Al-Hajj Umar bn Sa'id al-Futi (Umar Tall) (1794-1864).³¹⁸

With the conquest of Sokoto at the battle of Bormi, Sultan Attahiru was killed, while al-Bashir (Sarkin Tijanai) was captured and exile to Lokoja in 1903.³¹⁹ This development led to the emergence of Ahmad Madaniyo as *Sarkin Tijanai*. Madaniyo and his followers moved towards Hadejia river valley and settle first at Jabo (a few kilometers from Hadejia) and later they were settled at 'Yan Leman by the Emir of Hadejia, Mai Shahada.³²⁰ In Hadejia the *Umarians* under the leadership of Ahmadu Madaniyo concentrated on the teaching and promotion of the *Tijjaniyyah* order. They established the first *Tijjaniyyah Zawiyah* (*Sufi Seminary*) in Hadejia Emirate which still exists. The emirs of Hadejia were initiated into the *Umarian* order in the twentieth century.³²¹ With initiation of the emirs of Hadejia into *Tijjaniyyah*, many *Zawiyah* were established all over the emirate.

Umarian Tijanis are those who accepted *Shaykh* Umar al-Futi as their spiritual leader many years before the emergence of *Shaykh* Ibrahim Niasse and see no justification in accepting anybody else as a leader other than their first *Muqaddam* (initiator). This branch of *Tijjaniyyah* does not have

³¹⁷Interview with Muhammad Ghali Kaugama, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on April 12, 2015. He was the direct grand grandson of Shaykh Umar al-Futy.

³¹⁸ L. S. Mohammed, (1988). "The Fall of the Segu Caliphate and Tukulor Exodus", Unpublished M.A Dissertation, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano. p. 18

³¹⁹ A. R. Mohammed (2014). *History of the Spread of Islam in the Niger- Benue Confluence Area...* p. 179

³²⁰ J. N. Paden, (1973), *Religion and Political Culture in Kano*. Berkeley: University of California Press. p. 76

³²¹Interview with Malam Muhammadu Dan Birni at, Hadejia, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on April 2, 2015. He was among the disciples of the leading *Umarian* *Muqaddam* in Hadejia Emirate Mallam Abdu Dan Waziri

a single *Muqaddam* who can be regarded as the head in a town, instead each *Muqaddam* lives on his own.³²² The Umarian *Tijjaniyyah* members in Hadejia emirate refused to recognize the leadership of *Shaykh Ibrahim Niasse* and his transformation of the *Tijjaniyyah*. These include *Tarbiyya* (spiritual education), celebration of *Maulud Annabi* (birthday of the Prophet), the practice of *qabd* (holding the arms crossed during prayer) and *jama'at al-faydah* (the community of the grace).³²³

The *Umarian Tijanis*, to a large extent, regard *Tijjaniyyah* as a supererogatory function. Each is independent to other except where a *Muqaddam* establishes some of his *murid* as *Muqaddam* in other places. Thus, such *Muqaddam* regard the others as their master. In some places, the chief *Imam* is often regarded by the *Umarian* members as head of the branch. It has become the tradition of the branch that the chief *Imam* is also the person to lead the daily *Wazifah* in the central mosques while the same venue also serves as the only place where the *Kubra* is held in the town on Friday under his leadership.

The group also does not engage in publicity or practices which appear abnormal to attract some attention to them. They do not form any special association, nor do they practice anything by which they could be identified other than holding the *Wazifah* or *Kubra* congregationally in mosque.³²⁴

The *Umarians* in Hadejia continued to accept and recognize *Shaykh Umar Al-Futi* as their spiritual leader.³²⁵

³²² A. M. B. Solagberu, (2009). "A Study of Sufi Works of Shaykh Abubakar Atiq", Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of Islamic Studies, University of Ilorin, p.31

³²³ Y. A. Quadri, (1981). "The Tijjaniyya in Nigeria", Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of Islamic Studies, University of Ibadan, p. 193

³²⁴ Y. A. Quadri, (1981). "The Tijjaniyya in Nigeria... pp. 272-273

³²⁵ Y. A. Quadri, (1981). The Tijjaniyya in Nigeria... p. 273

Migration and settlement of the Umarian Tijjanis in Hadejia Emirate to 1903

Umarian Tijjaniyyah derived its name from its founder, Sheikh Umar bn. Said bn Uthman al-Futi, from Senegal. Umar was born in 1764 A.D. in a place called Halwar in the imamate of Futa Toro in the present-day northern Senegal.³²⁶ In another account, he was born in the Futa Toro near the town of Podar on the Senegal River.³²⁷ He was an erudite Islamic scholar, a talented author, a shrewd political leader, a dedicated social activist and a military commander, who founded a concise far-reaching empire after a holy war on the upper Niger encompassing much of what are now Senegal, Guinea and Mali.³²⁸

His father was a Muslim teacher who studied at the famous Islamic University of Pir Sanikhor in Senegal. Saidu, al-Hajj Umar's father, lived the life of a simple farmer, devoting himself to study and worship rather than to participate in the Fulani Jihad of Abdul-Qadir Kane, which took place in 1776. Al-Hajj Umar's mother, Soxna Adama Anse, was a saint who had great reputation for piety. She was pleasant of the renewed Qadiriyyah scholar and jihadist, Sulayman Bal.³²⁹

Al-Hajj Umar was a precocious student of Islamic sciences. He started his education with his father while he was young. Umar is believed to have memorized the Qur'an from his father when he was ten or twelve years old

³²⁶ J. A. Musa, (2015). "The Role of Youth in the Promotion of Tijjaniyya Sufi Order in Kano City 1963-2012" M. A Dissertation, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano. p. 21

³²⁷ O. Jah (1973). "Sufism and Nineteenth Century Jihad Movement in West Africa: A Case Study of Al-Hajj Umar Al-Futi's Philosophy of Jihad and its Sufi Bases" p. 126

³²⁸ L. S. Muhammed, (1988). "The Fall of the Segu Caliphate and the Tukolor Exodus 1891-1903" ... p. 18

³²⁹ R. David, (1985). *The Holy War of Umar Tal*. London: Oxford University Press. p. 15

and later got trained to be a Qur'an school-master by his oldest brother, Alfa Ahmadu.³³⁰ Then he travelled to Bismor, a village in Futa Toro, to study other Islamic sciences under his brother-in-law, Gherno al-Amin bn Abdallah, a reputable scholar who had been trained by Hammad Ibra of the same village, who had his education from Mauritania.³³¹

He also studied under many of the renewed and prominent Muslim scholars and teachers among the *Tijjaniyyah* brotherhood in Futa Toro and other scholars of his day, such as Yero Buso, Serin Demba Fal, Amar Saydi, Cerno, Lamin Saxo and Herefonde. Umar was able to be master of many Islamic sciences and was eventually recognized as a reputable scholar. Students flocked to him from as far as Mauritania in search of knowledge.³³²

He was initiated into the Sufi order before his pilgrimage to Mecca. He decided to travel to Mecca for the purpose of performing pilgrimage in 1823. He left Macina in early 1825 and passed through Sokoto, Gwandu, Bornu and Egypt via Fezzan (Libya) and finally arrived at Mecca in early 1826 and immediately visited the *Ka'abah* where he met Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghali, the Tijjani Khalifah in the East.³³³ After performing the pilgrimage, al-Hajj Umar spent the following four years in Mecca and Medina under the spiritual guidance of *Shaykh* al-Ghali.³³⁴ Umar was first initiated into the *Tijjaniyyah* as an ordinary *talib* (neophyte), mainly because his first spiritual mentor did not appear to have had the necessary

³³⁰ O. B. Oloruntimehin, (1972). *The Segu Tukulor Empire*. New York: Humanities Press p. 26

³³¹ J. S. Trimingham, (1962). *A History of Islam in West Africa*. London: Oxford University Press p. 181

³³² M. M. Ahmad Tal, (2005). *Al- Jawahir Wa Dirar Fi -Siratul Shaykh Al-Hajj Umar*, Lebanon: Dar Al Bouraq. p. 26

³³³ O. Jah, (1973). *Sufism and the Nineteenth Century Jihad Movement...* p. 133

³³⁴ H. A. Yero Bah, (2002). *Shaykh Umar Al- Futi, Kano*: Triumph Publishing Company pp. 16-18

authority to promote him to a higher rank. Thus, Umar had to resubmit himself to Sheikh Muhammad al-Ghali and therefore undertake a new spiritual guidance.³³⁵ Al-Hajj Umar seemed to have disengaged himself from all activities save the service of his Shaykh. He described this guidance period later when he said:

After a long time in the service of Muhammad al-Ghali, I was chosen to be his personal servant and chamberlain; thus I had to abandon all kinds of activities I was involved in, including learning, writing and the search for knowledge of certitude.....although I was always rebuked, and forced to repent wherever I tried to enquire about something of the secrets of the order, I remained patient until Allah facilitated for me the achievement of what I was interested in, one day at noon, while we were sitting inside the prophet's mosque in Medina, the Shaykh al-Ghali informed me that I was no longer a simple Muqaddam, rather I had been promoted to the rank of Khalifah..... he further conveyed Ahmad al-Tijjani's message to me, which read "I have authorized Umar b. Sa'id to use whatever he wished of the litanies and secret of my *Darikah*. You (Muhammad al-Ghali) are only a transmitter in conveying this to him."³³⁶

This appointment marked the beginning of *Umarian Tijjaniyyah* in which Umar was appointed as the *Khalifah* of Ahmad al-Tijjani in the whole of Western Sudan and was instructed to return there and bring about reform in the whole area.

In 1852, a remarkable revolution which swept across the Senegambian region resulted in the establishment of the Tukulor Empire — a Muslim

³³⁵ O. Jah, (1973). "Sufism and the Nineteenth Century Jihad Movement..." pp. 128-9

³³⁶ A. R. Mohammed, (2014). *History of the Spread of Islam in the Niger- Benue Confluence Area*.... p. 179

theocracy founded by Umar Al-Futi. The empire extended from Senegal eastward to Timbuktu with the capital in Dinguiraye. Umar was successful in conquering much of the modern-day Mali but local forces ultimately defeated and killed him in 1864.³³⁷

When Umar al-Futi died in 1864, his son, Ahmadu Shehu (from the union with Saturu), became *Sarkin Tijjani* or king of the whole western Fulani Empire extending from Kayes on the Senegal to Aribintu in the East with Segou as the capital.³³⁸ Eventually, Ahmadu changed his capital to Niuro, and his son, Ahmadu Madaniyo, remained as his representative in Segou. Both Ahmadu Shehu and Madaniyo refused to allow free passage for French traders and in about 1893 French pressure caused them to flee to the east.³³⁹ It took them two years to reach Sokoto, where they were first settled at Maikulki (north-west of the Sokoto about sixteen kilometers north of the Sokoto River) by Sultan Abdurrahman Atiku. The refugees who numbered about 10,000 came under the leadership of Ahmadu, the son of Al-Hajj Umar al-Futi.³⁴⁰

From all indications, it would appear that the *Umarian* refugees were not happy with the settlement. For Maikulki lacked good and healthy drinking water and this might have been the reason for their relocation to a new settlement called Darussalam.³⁴¹ Ahmadu died there and was succeeded by his brother, Bassiru. They stayed for seven months at Sokoto. From Darul

³³⁷ Details for the establishment of Tukulor empire see: M. Crowder, (1977), *West Africa: An Introduction to its History*, London: Longman group Limited pp. 121-24

³³⁸ J. N. Paden, (1973). *Religion and Political Change in Kano...*P. 79

³³⁹ L. S. Muhammed, (1988). "The Fall of the Segou Caliphate and Tukulor Exodus 1891-1903" pp.88-89

³⁴⁰ Y. A. Quadri, (1981). "The Tijjaniyya in Nigeria..." p.81

³⁴¹ L. S Muhammed, (1988). "The Fall of the Segou Caliphate and the Tukulor Exodus 1891-1903..." pp. 92-93

Salam on the upper Rima in Zamfara they went through Gusau, Chafe and Kankara then to Kutama South- west of Gwarzo. They sent messages of greetings and respect to Aliyu Babba, the emir of Kano, who sent them a present of ten guns and ten horses and permitted them to pass through the southern part of his emirate.³⁴²

From Kutuma, the *Umarian* refugees continued to Rogo then through Beli to Gimi in Zazzau emirate where they were asked to proceed farther towards Zaria by Kwassau, the emir of Zazzau³⁴³ After Gimi, the *Umarian* refugees retraced their steps to Bebeji and then continued in a south-easterly direction until they came to Ningi territory. The *Umarian* refugees then continued from Ningi territory in an easterly direction until they got to Misau emirate.³⁴⁴

The refugees did not settle in Misau, but pushed on to Gombe emirate where they found the verdant upper Gongola Valley more attractive and suitable for them. In view of the large number of cattle and sheep in their possession, they became the guests of Umar Kwairanga, the emir of Gombe.³⁴⁵ In Gombe Emirate, they did not all stay in the same village. They rather spread their settlements along the upper Gongola Valley at the following places: Bawa Zego, Golo, Wuro, Bundu, Kunde, Gungura and Nafada. It was reported that Alfah Hashim was at Katagum.³⁴⁶

³⁴² L. S. Muhammed, (1988). "The Fall of the Segu Caliphate and the Tukulor Exodus 1891-1903..." pp. 108-109

³⁴³ J. N. Paden (1973). *Religion and Political Culture in Kano...* P. 79

³⁴⁴ L. S. Muhammed, (1988). "The Fall of the Segu Caliphate and the Tukulor Exodus 1891-1903..." p. 111

³⁴⁵ I. Abba, (1985). "Changing Pattern of Local Authority and the Evolution of the District Head System in Gombe Emirate c. 1804-1960", Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano. p. 223

³⁴⁶ I. Abba, (1985). "Changing Pattern of Local Authority...." p. 210

During the British conquest of Sokoto in 1903, which forced Sultan Attahiru to flee to Bormi, the *Umarians* remained neutral, because they were fugitives in the British territory with whom they had no quarrel, even with the later confrontation between the British forces, on the one hand, and the Caliph and the people of Bormi, on the other.³⁴⁷ By staying neutral, they would be doing themselves a great service as they could stay in peace and build for themselves new homes, since there was no question of their going back to the land they had migrated from.³⁴⁸

But the Umarian refugees were divided into two opinions. The first opinion was Bassiru's opinion in which he maintained that they should participate in the battle against the British, because it would amount to a great crime for the Umarians to stand by and watch their fellow Muslims defending themselves and their religion against the unbelievers. So, Bassiru and those not willing to leave their fellow Muslim brothers at the mercy of the British moved on to join the Caliph at Bormi.³⁴⁹ The second opinion had their spokesman in Amadu Madani (Karamagho) who maintained neutrality that they were not willing to take part in a struggle.³⁵⁰ According to colonial records,

Bassiru started on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but on reaching the Emirate of Misau, Ahmadu the father of the present Emir of Misau, persuaded him to stay and gave him a town. Subsequently the Sarkin Musulmi arrived in his flight from the British and Bassiru followed him to Bormi, where he was captured and then taken to Lokoja. Mr. Temple, Resident of Bauchi, made Ahmadu Madaniyo to be Sarkin Tijjani, but after the encounter at Bormi, the Tijjani scattered in all directions and settled in different parts of the country. Ahmadu

³⁴⁷ R. Adeleye, (1971). *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria*, London: Longman P. 260

³⁴⁸ L. S. Muhammed, (1988). "The Fall of the Segu Caliphate..." p. 120

³⁴⁹ R. Adeleye, (1971), *Power and Diplomacy in Nigeria...* pp. 306-310

³⁵⁰ L. S. Muhammed, (1988). "The Fall of the Segu Caliphate..." p. 121

Madaniyo went with a few followers to Hadejia where he was given a town Dakayyawa by the Sarkin Hadejia.³⁵¹

The final battle of Bormi took place on the 27th July, 1903. The Caliph, Attahiru, was killed and Bassiru escaped with his life only to be captured and exiled to Lokoja with his family. In

Madani's camp, on the other hand, they became the host of some of the belligerents who had

Survived Bormi.³⁵² Aliyu Usman Alfa, a cousin of Bassiru, was chosen as their interim leader.

But soon after, the Resident of Bauchi C.L. Temple endorsed the election of Madani as the substantial Sarkin Tijjanai in recognition of his neutrality.³⁵³ According Arnett, the Colonial

Residence in Kano:

“The Sarauta was given to Muhammad Madani with the consent of the Resident of Bauchi Mr. C.L. Temple at Gombe after the fall of Bormi, but he was said not to have used the title until after the death of Basiru”.³⁵⁴

Writing on the transformation of traditional rulership under colonial influence, Sa'ad opines that the British administrators appreciated the fact that:

³⁵¹ N A K, 1911, “An Assessment Containing Historical Note on Azare, Chinade and Shira by Assistant Resident Monroe and Tejani Fulani”

³⁵² L. S. Muhammed, (1988). “The Fall of the Segu Caliphate....” P. 122

³⁵³ L. S. Muhammed, (1988). “The Fall of Segu Caliphate....” p.122

³⁵⁴ A H A/121/ Tijjaniyya Brotherhood in Hadejia

...Nigerians trusted their chiefs who, even without police forces and large standing armies, exercised firm control over our subjects...³⁵⁵

This, further, points to the rationale behind the colonial intervention in the process of appointing a leader for the *Umarian* community. For the intervening political force might have seen and hoped to exploit the apparent support which Madani enjoyed from his kinsmen which Muhammed confirms.³⁵⁶ This episode brought another division in the camp between those who supported Madani as a leader and those who were not against Madani per se, but rather against the idea of a white man deciding who should lead them. The *Umarian* refugees were scattered all over the eastern emirates, except those at Kunde. Some went to Sakwa, Gamawa and Udubo while others continued eastwards under the leadership of Alfa Hashim in a large number towards the Holy land.³⁵⁷ They had intended to reach the Holy land but majority of those who followed him ended their journey in Chad while others continued until they got stranded on the White Nile at Sennar in the Sudan.

Madani stayed with a large number including his close relatives, brothers and others at Kunde. From there, he and his faithful followers moved to Sakwa in Katagum emirate.³⁵⁸ Madani and the rest of the people left behind in Nigeria in search of better settlement left the Katagum area. It has been

³⁵⁵ S. Abubakar, (2011). "Transformation of Traditional Rulership in North-Eastern Nigeria: 1903-2010", In S. B. Ahmad & I. K. Abdussalam (eds.), *Resurgent Nigeria: Issues in the Nigerian Intellectual History: A Festschrift in Honour of Dahiru Yahya*, Ibadan: University Press Plc. p. 359

³⁵⁶ L.S. Muhammed, (1988). "The Fall of Segu Caliphate...." p.122

³⁵⁷ J. N. Paden, (1973), *Religion and Political Culture in Kano*... p. 80

³⁵⁸ M. M. Belli, (1981). *Tushen Toronkawan Nijeriya. Zaria*: Northern Nigerian Publishing Company p. 15. Note that those who escaped from Bormi, Muhammad Bello Mai Wurno and Malam Bunu, with a sizeable following were mostly Fulanis largely from the eastern emirates for detail see S. M. Al-Hassan, (1990). "The Fellata in the Sudan c. 1850s – 1990" M.A. Dissertation, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano.

reported that, before they left, one of them, called “Yero Bailo,” who was an expert in exploring fertile land for farming and grazing, had embarked upon touring the neighbouring area until he reached Hadejia Valley. There, he explored and identified the area as suitable for this purpose. Yero Bailo informed their leader, al-Madani, of his discovery sequel upon which the leader mobilized the whole of them and led them to the area.³⁵⁹ It has been recorded that they settled at Jabo³⁶⁰ with 19 families³⁶¹ before they presented themselves to the then emir, Muhammadu Maishahada, of Hadejia. He responded to their demand for a settlement and made them the guests of the chief Imam of Hadejia, Mallam Muhammadu bn Ibrahim.³⁶² The emir instructed his chief Imam to settle the guests on his vast farmland, located at the west side of Hadejia town bordering Hadejia River.³⁶³

Spread and Activities of the Umarian Tijjanis in Hadejia to 2009

It is to be noted that before the arrival of the *Umarians*, the said vast farmland had been occupied by Hausa people most of whom were farmers. They were utilizing the farm and the neighbouring bush and pastures. The very time the refugees reached the farm, it was realized that it was not

³⁵⁹ Interview with Muhammad Hadi Ahmad (Chiromajo) at Kumbotso, Kano State, conducted by the author on November 4, 2015. He was one of the leading Muqaddams of the Umarian Tijjaniyya in Kano and ‘Yan Leman

³⁶⁰ Interview with Malam Abubakar Muhammad Kwaitah at Jabon Tijjanai Village, Kafin Hausa, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on Jan 8, 2016. He was the Imam of the village and one the Umarian refugees that stayed at Jabo.

³⁶¹ K HCB/ SNP/389p/1915 Hadejia Emirate Mabudi District Assessment Report

³⁶² Imam Muhammad bn Ibrahim was born in 1845 in Dakayyawa. As with all Muslim boy, Muhammad’s education began with the study of the Qur’an which was taught to him by his father, in which he memorized the whole of the Qur’an at the age of 14 years. He studied Islamic law, theology, grammar, mysticism and other subject from his father through the medium of Arabic. He was appointed as the 3rd Imam of Hadejia by Emir Muhammadu Mai Shahada bn Haru Babba in 1899. Imam Muhammadu served as the Imam of Hadejia for thirty-five years and died in 1925. For more details on Imam Muhammad see M. H. Abbas, (2006). “A History of Imamship of the Hadejia Central Mosque from 1906-2005,” Unpublished B.A Dissertation, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano.

³⁶³ M. M. Belli, (1981). *Tushen Toronkawan Najeriya*.... p. 17

possible for them to settle there, the reason being that the whole area was under cultivation since it was the rainy season. Hence, the Hausa people in the area alternatively provided shelter for them by sharing their accommodation with them. In some ways, some of the Hausa households hosted two, three or four of the refugees, depending on the capacity and capability.³⁶⁴ The leader, Madani, and his entourage proceeded to Askandu³⁶⁵ village where the village head hosted them. They established the second Zawiyah and initiated many people, including the village head, Ahmadu, and his Imam, Malam Ishaq, into *Umarian Tijjaniyyah*.³⁶⁶

After a while, Alfa Ahmadu Wan and his son, Seku Ahmadu, with a few people proceeded to Auyo where Sarkin Auyo welcomed and hosted them with generosity. In Auyo, it was reported

that they initiated many people into the *Umarian Tijjaniyyah*, including the Sarkin Auyo and some scholars, such as Malam Abubakar and Imam Malam Muhammad. They also established a *Zawiyah*.³⁶⁷ Some of them from Liman Quarters relocated to Dakayyawa and included Yero

Bailo, the grandfather of Alhaji Malle, father to Ali Bailo, Mammadu Bukar and great grandfather to Zarge, Sa'idu Kundi and Samiru, the grandfather to Baba Widi.

³⁶⁴ Interview with Salisu Abdullahi at 'Yan Lemana, Kaugama, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on December 12, 2015.

³⁶⁵ Askandu village is in Kaugama Local Government. One of the oldest settlements of Habe located north-west of 'Yan Lemana about two Kilometres from 'Yan Limana.

³⁶⁶ Interview with Isyaku Muhammad at Askandu village, Kaugama, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on April 16, 2016.

³⁶⁷ Interview with Na'ibul Imam, Malam Abubakar at Auyo, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on January 13, 2016. He was among the Murids of Shaykh Muhammad Ghali.

Many of them eventually settled at Dakayyawa and initiated many people into the *Umarian Tijjaniyyah*, such as the District Head and Imam, Alhaji Muhammadu Sa'id.³⁶⁸ After harvest, the chief Imam Mallam Muhammadu called the leadership of the Tijjani people and handed over the land to them as ordered by the emir. They conveyed their gratitude to him, but expressed that their stay there would be short, because they intended after a while to proceed for Hijra to Mecca. The chief Imam was not comfortable with their plan for departure. He, therefore, prevailed upon them not to leave. This consequently made them accept the suggestion sequel upon which they partitioned the farm among themselves and built houses.³⁶⁹

As noted earlier, this land had been inhabited by Hausa people and was called "Unguwar Liman", meaning Liman's or Imam Quarters. Thus, the new settlement was also called "Yan Liman", meaning the sons of Liman.³⁷⁰ The two distinct but close settlements therefore grew simultaneously with a mutual name. Later, the two settlements merged and were called 'Yan Leman a corrupt word of "Yan Liman", as earlier explained. The settlers later distinguished between the two settlements by referring to their part as 'Yan Leman Tijjanai that is the Tijjanai Quarters and the other as 'Yan Leman' Hausawa. The refugees' *Zawiyyah* in the area is still in existence.³⁷¹ According to the colonial record of 1924, the population of the *Tijjaniyya* community in Hadejia Emirate was about 341,

³⁶⁸ Interview with Malam Usman Muhd Sa'id and Alhaji Sa'idu at Dakayyawa, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on January 13, 2016. They are among those who were initiated by the Sarkin Tijjanai Muhammad Ghali

³⁶⁹ Interview with Baba Imam Dan Kwara at Hadejia, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on December 13, 2015. He was the direct grandson of Imam Muhammad.

³⁷⁰ Interview with Malam Ibrahim Kasim at Malam Madori, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on December 20, 2015. He was one of the leading Muqaddam of Umarian Tijjaniyya in Hadejia Emirate

³⁷¹ Interview with Ahmad Habibu Bah at Kaugama, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on November 18, 2015. He is well conversant with history of 'Yan Liman Tijjanai

including women and children. In the Emirate, one fascinating thing about them is that their settlements had local Madrasas where young children were taught how to read and write, observe ablution, the practices of five daily prayers as well as the daily *Zikr* in the mosque.³⁷²

There were also some refugees who went to Chirawa village in Malam Madori under the leadership of *Shaykh* Al-Mahdi, the son of Sultan Ahmadu Kabir, son of Umar Futi. They spread the *Umarian Tijjaniyyah* in the area. There are still many of their descendants in Chirawa village. Others went and settled at Chiutu and Yarda villages in Birniwa under the leadership of Muhammadu Hadi and Ahmadu Wan. They also established a *Zawiyyah* and spread the *Umarian Tijjaniyya* in the area and the neighbouring villages, such as Yusufari, Kasarwa, Gomari, Maisiyo, Fagi, Digginsa, Kakori and Kazura.³⁷³ It was reported that the *Umarian* refugees spread the *Tijjaniyya* to the neighbouring Hausa towns and cities within and outside Hadejia emirate, such as Marke, Yalo, Sabon Gida, Kuka Dabo, Karsha, Jarmari, Jajeri, Billachimari, Dunamari, Likori, Maikintari, Badawa, Sarawa, Jama'ar Mizan, Kafin Hausa, Kaugama, Jahun and Ringim.³⁷⁴

Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghali (1898-1977), the 3rd caliph of the *Umarian* branch of *Tijjaniyyah*, otherwise known as *Sarkin Tijjanai* in Hadejia Emirate had contributed to the development of the branch in Hadejia emirate and Nigeria in general. He was highly educated and he became a

³⁷² AHA/121/Tijjaniyya Brotherhood in Hadejia

³⁷³ Interview with Malam Manu and Abubakar at Birniwa, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on January 16, 2016.

³⁷⁴ Interview with Alhaji Muhammadu Dan Umami at Kaugama, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on December 23, 2015. He was among the members of the *Umarian* refugees.

popular *Muqqadam* of the branch and later a caliph.³⁷⁵ Perhaps the most significant period of Ghali's career as a *Muqaddam* of the *Umarian Tijjaniyyah* was the period when he returned from Mecca.

The branch received more boost in Hadejia Emirate with his return from Mecca in 1926 before he was appointed as Sarkin *Tjjjanai*. He initiated many people from different villages and towns within and outside the emirate such as Yusufari, Kasarwa, Gomari, Kakori, Digginsa, Karsha, Jajeri, Billachimari, Dunamari, Likori, Maikintari and Maini in Niger Republic. He appointed many *Muqaddams* of the order to the extent that it was speculated that majority of the *Muqaddams* of the *Tijjaniyyah* in Hadejia Emirate were his disciples.³⁷⁶ It also was reported that al-Ghali was responsible for the spread of the *Umarian Tijjaniyyah* in some towns and villages of Bedde chiefdom. In another words, most of the *Muqaddams* of *Umarian Tijjaniyyah* in Hadejia Emirate were either directly or indirectly linked to al-Ghali.

In Hadejia town, Ghali was reported to have initiated many Malams and members of Hadejia royal circle into *Umarian Tijjaniyyah* including Chiroma Sambo, Tafida Umaru and *Malam Ahmad Mai Mota*, the father of the famous *Muqqadam* of the reformed *Tijjaniyyah* in Hadejia, *Malam Usman Ahmad* (Nakaduna). Al-Ghali, as the caliph of *Shaykh Umar al-Futi*, was also credited with the initiation of the Emir of Hadejia, Alhaji Haruna Abdulkadir (1950-1984). He served as his teacher and initiated many other people including Maina Baban Kabo and Bura Rafa. Haruna

³⁷⁵ Interview with Malam Usman Ahmad (Nakaduna) at Hadejia, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on December 30, 2015. He was one of the leading *Muqaddams* of the Reformed *Tijjaniyyah* in Hadejia Emirate.

³⁷⁶ Interview with Malam Usman Ahmad (Nakaduna) at Hadejia, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on December 30, 2015.

was the first emir in Hadejia to establish a *zawiyyah* at the palace which allowed most of the ruling family members to recite *wazifah*.

Furthermore, al-Ghali's Sufi activities earned the branch acceptance in Hadejia. Many elites were initiated into its folds such as *Malam Mamuda*, *Alkali Musa*, *Malam Ayuba* and Chief *Imam* of Hadejia *Imam Abdurrahman Ya'u*, *Malam Amadu Makaho*, *Malam Haruna Wodi*, *Alkali Dahiru* and *Malam Usman Ahmad* (Nakaduna). In 1953, two additional *zawiyyas* were built in Hadejia by *Malam Mamuda* in Garko ward and *Amadu Makaho* in Wuriwa after they sought permission from *Sarkin Tijjanai Muhammad al-Ghali*. It was in these venues that they held congregational *wazifah* and *kubra*³⁷⁷ on Fridays. In 1961, another *zawiyyah* was built in Hadejia at Makwalla (A) by *Muqaddam Malam Usman Ahmad Nakaduna* a disciple of al-Ghali.³⁷⁸

Another important role which was also played by al-Ghali in the spread of *Umarian Tijjaniyyah* was his initiation campaign. Al-Ghali as *Sarkin Tijjanai* organized various campaigns tours to different towns and villages in Hadejia emirates and *zawiyyah* were also established in places like Bulungu, Kwatalo, Kaugama, Kakori, Dilmari, Kura Dige, Kazura, Marma, Kafin Hausa, Makaddari and Malam Madori. An informant posits that al-Ghali together with his subordinates spent five days or even a week for the initiation campaign.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁷ Kubra is a grand remembrance of God that the Tijjanis do on Friday evenings.

³⁷⁸ Interview with Malam Usman Ahmad (Nakaduna) at Hadejia, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on December 30, 2015.

³⁷⁹ Interview with Malam Usman Ahmad (Nakaduna) at Hadejia, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on December 30, 2015.

The reign of Emir Haruna bn Abdulkadir marked the completion of Islamization of Hadejia emirate. It was reported by the District Head of Guri, *Sarkin* Bai Muhammad Bashir (1950-1983), that the village of Lafiya and Madamuwa bordering Bornu province were non-Muslim.³⁸⁰ Therefore, in August 1965, the late Premier of the Northern Region, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto was invited to Hadejia (Kano Province) by the Emir, to preside over the conversion to Islam of over three hundred (300) Baddewa in the emirate.³⁸¹ Some of the informants who were eye-witness of the conversion campaign said that Sardauna was welcomed by various divisional officials and the new converts were invited to Hadejia. The Sardauna addressed the people, and tried to reinforce their affirmation that there is no God but Allah. He thanked Allah for his work in the conversions and asked for His guidance for the new converts.³⁸²

After the conversion exercise the chief Imam of Hadejia offered short prayers for the new converts and the Sardauna distributed gowns, bundles of textiles, rosaries, and money to each of the converts.³⁸³ After the conversion, the Emir of Hadejia sent some Islamic scholars and leaders to the converts for teaching concerning basic tenants of religious practices. Among them were the *Kalifah* of the *Umarian Tijjaniyyah Shaykh*

³⁸⁰ Interview with Wazirin Hadejia, Alhaji Hashimu Amar at Hadejia, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on August 23, 2015. Note: This information was confirmed by Alhaji Millah, an eyewitness of the event.

³⁸¹ For details on the Sardauna's Islamization campaign in Northern Nigeria see J.N. Paden (1986), *Ahmadu Bello Sardauna of Sokoto Values and Leadership in Nigeria*. Zaria: Hudahuda; I.A. Abba (1981). "Sir Ahmadu Bello the Sardauna of Sokoto's Conversion Campaign 1964-1965 in Adamawa Division and Northern Sardauna Province" *Kano Studies*, No 2 Vol. 2.

³⁸² Interview with Wazirin Hadejia Alhaji Hashimu Amar ...

³⁸³ Interview with Alhaji Millah at Guri, Jigawa State, conducted by the author on Jan 13, 2016.

Muhammad al-Ghali and his Chiroma Muhammad Hadi. Many of the convert were later initiated into the *Umarian Tijjaniyyah* by al-Ghali.³⁸⁴

In the intellectual spheres al-Ghali made an important impact on his disciples through the establishment of *ilm* and Qur'anic schools as well as direct involvement in teaching. During his lifetime he founded the said learning institutions at 'Yan Leman where different aspects of Islamic knowledge were taught. These include *Nahw* (Arabic grammar), *Tasawwuf* (mysticism), *fiqh* (Jurisprudence), *Tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis) and Hadith (Prophetic tradition). Some notables among his disciples, at 'Yan Leman and various localities, were *Malam* Amadu Mai Gaskiya, Muhammad Ahmad Lamin Khan (Madibbo), Malam Yero, Allhaji Umar Sanda, Tafida Umaru, Alhaji Makki, Muhammad Kolori, Chief *Imam* of Marma town Malam Muhammad and *Malam* Usman, the Chief *Imam* of Sansani village in Miga Local Government, Jigawa State.³⁸⁵

It was reported that, some of the senior learned people of the Umarian refugees under Malam Amadu Tijjani who had proceeded with their flight up to Damagaram in Niger Republic and established a *Zawiyyah* there, later they were returned back to Kano in 1904 by Emir Abbas, who built a house for their leader at Koki quarters and connected him with the famous Kano wealth businessmen, such as Sha Rubutu, Maikano Agogo Koki and Alhaji Alhassan Dantata.³⁸⁶ As the Tijjaniyyah *Muqaddam*, Malam Amadu Tijjani, appointed many *Muqaddams*, such as Emir Abbas of Kano, Ibro

³⁸⁴ Interview with Alhaji Millah Guri, at Jigawa State, conducted by the author on Jan 13, 2016.

³⁸⁵ A. Abubakar (1998). "The Contributions of 'Yan Leman Scholars towards the Development of Arabic Language" Unpublished B.A Dissertation, Department of Arabic, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria pp. 43-5

³⁸⁶ Interview with Abdurrahman Muhammad Lamin Haydarah and Malam Hassan Lamin Haydarah at Dala, Kano State, conducted by the author on May 29, 2016.

Bakin Zuwo, Shaykh Mijin Yawa, Abdullahi Sani Hausawa, Malam Amadu *Muqaddimi*, the grandfather of Malam Umar Sani Fagge, Malam Muhammad Sani, the father of the prominent *Tijjaniyyah* leader *Shaykh*, Aliyu Harazimi³⁸⁷ Malam Abdullahi Salga,³⁸⁸ Babban Malami Na Madabo, Yan Tandu and the Adahama family, who were said to have renewed their Silsilah from him. It was reported that Umarian Tijjanis in Hadejia Emirate went to Lagos in Southern Nigeria and established a Zawiyah in Kosoko area under the leadership of Alhaji Muhammadu Bambado and Ahmadu Mamadu Ali as their chief Imam.³⁸⁹

The *Umarian* refugees also used economic strategy as another means of spreading the ideology through acquisition of skills for the production of a local-type of soap:

The Tijjani women are the chief soap makers in the Hadejia Emirate and many of them came to Kano regularly to ply this trade. It is a popular remark that the chief difference between the *Tijjani* and other Moslems is their greater cleanliness.³⁹⁰

The statement above has clearly shown that the class of the *Umarian Tijjaniyyah* women in Hadejia Emirate did not depend on marital and spiritual way of life alone; they have means of sustaining their lives. They excelled so much in crafts making and other economic and trading activities within their jurisdiction. It also indicates their specialization in terms of socio-economic development through skills acquisition within their settlement. This form of mini commercial activities that involves

³⁸⁷ For more details see A.M. Hassan (2014), ‘‘The Role of Shaykh Aliyu Harazimi in the Promotion of the Tijjaniyya in Kano c. 1050-2010’’, M.A. Thesis Department of History, Bayero University, Kano.

³⁸⁸ For details see S. Y. Adam (2014). ‘‘The Evolution and Activities of the Salgawa Group of the Tijjaniyya Order in Kano 1923-2012’’ M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano.

³⁸⁹ H.A. Yero Bah, (2009). *Shaykh Umarul-Futi Hayatuhu Wa’A’amalihi 1794-1867*. Kano: Triumph Publishing Company p. 56

³⁹⁰ NAK/21/15, ‘‘Tijjaniyya Settlement in Hadejia (Kano Province)’’

women has no doubt motivated many people within and outside Hadejia emirate to convincingly accept the *Umarian* branch of the *Tijjaniyyah* brotherhood.

Conclusion

The Umarian Tijjaniyyah has been present in Hadejia region since the early part of the 20th century. This was coming as a result of Umarian refugees, predominantly from Segu Empire Senegal after the defeat of the Sokoto Caliphate at the battle of Burmi and spread of the Umarian branch of *Tijjaniyyah* in the emirate. They initiated many people into the order, including Hadejia emirs. Perhaps that has aided the development and spread of the order to diverse people of different cultural affiliation within and outside the emirate. From the above explanation, we have understood how and in what period the *Umarian* branch of *Tijjaniyyah* penetrated into the Hadejia emirate. The root of this development goes back to the head of the *Sufi* order in this settlement, popularly known as *Shaykh* Mahammadu Madani. As a grandson of *Shaykh* Umar al-Futi through his respected father Sarkin *Tijjanai* Ahmadu, the brotherhood gained a lot of followers both within the teaming population of the *talakawa*, tradesmen and rich people as well as the class of the royal people. From what we have seen so far, we can say that the rise and development of Umarian *Tijjaniyyah* in Hadejia could be attributed to the role played by the children and grandsons of *Shaykh* Umar al-Futi.