ABDULLAHI B. FODIO AS A MUSLIM JURIST

BY

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ABSTRACT.

This work is a critical and objective study of 'Abdullahi as a Muslim jurist. Chapter one deals with the background to 'Abdullahi's society and gives a brief account of the political, social, economic and religious conditions of the peoples of the Hausa States in the 18th century. Chapter two gives a brief account of 'Abdullahi's life. It covers his education and preaching, and the part which he played in the Sokoto Jihad. It concludes with a brief sketch of his character. In chapter three we have tried to trace the personalities that most influenced 'Abdullahi's thinking. It is hoped that a knowledge of these personalities would help to account for 'Abdullahi's views. Chapter four deals with 'Abdullahi's ideas on constitutional theory and government, and in particular hi3 conception of the Caliphate and various departments of its administration. Chapter five deals with 'Abdullahi's ideas on Islamic society and the vital role which he ascribed to religious revival in the process of social reform. It deals with his ideas on the significance of rituals and the relationships between the various sections of Islamic society, and his attitude towards non-conformists like rebels and zindiqs. It deals with 'Abdullahi's ideas on the institution of marriage, the upbringing of children, and the lawful and unlawful means of the acquisition of wealth. In chapter six we have attempted to make a critical assessment of 'Abdullahi as a mujtahid or an independent Muslim jurist. We dealt first with the principles which guided him in formulating his opinions. While stressing his independent

juristic approach, we placed him as a mujtahid within the Malikl School of Law. We also showed how his choice of sources extended to the three orthodox schools of law.

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CONTD.

PREFACE.

This work is intended as a critical study of ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio as a Muslim jurist. Of the trio who formed the leadership of the Sokoto Jihād movement in 1804, ʿAbdullāhi was the most widely misunderstood by his contemporaries. While he was rightly regarded as the jurist of the movement, many people failed to understand his views. Some people considered him as an extremist who was concerned with the literal meaning of the Sharīʿah and its outward observances. Some saw him as a sufi who was so engrossed with his ascetic pursuits that he had no time for normal earthly matters, while others regarded him as an idealist who had little regard for the realities of life. Some accused him of being too strict and narrow-minded , while yet others complained that he was too liberal and generous in his attitude towards the opponents of the Sokoto Jihād.

With all these conflicting views on ʿAbdullāhi, I felt that there was a great need for an objective study, with a view to establishing the basis of ʿAbdullāhi's ideas, and to identifying what unifying factors, if any, underlie them. This, it is hoped, will help to clear much misconception and misunderstanding concerning ʿAbdullāhi's personality and his ideas.

Moreover, ʿAbdullāhi was the most senior leader in the Sokoto Jihād movement after Shehu ʿUthmān. He was one of the intellectual and military leaders of the movement. In order to assess the part which he played in the jihād movement, it is necessary to understand the principles which guided him in his juristic approach.

While scholars have shown considerable interest in Shehu ʿUthmān b. Fodio, who was the overall leader of the Sokoto Jihād movement, little has been written on ʿAbdullāhi. As far as I know, the only serious work which has been written on ʿAbdullāhi is a thesis by P. D. Ayagere entitled "The Life and Works of ʿAbdullāhi b. Fūdi". However, this is a general work dealing primarily with ʿAbdullāhi's life, and does not attempt to make a serious study of ʿAbdullāhi as a jurist. There is, therefore, a great need for a full and comprehensive work on ʿAbdullāhi as a jurist. I hope that my present work will contribute towards satisfying this need.

I have dealt with ʿAbdullāhi's ideas in three stages: First, I have tried to establish the historical events leading to the Sokoto Jihād movement. I gave a brief account of ʿAbdullāhi's own education and intellectual background. We have discovered that his sources stemmed from the four orthodox Schools of Law and included both jurists and sufis. This explains ʿAbdullāhi's wide and comprehensive juristic approach, and why his fiqh was tempered to a great degree by sufism. In calling upon those in authority to follow the well-known and recognized views of their own Mālikī School, he was prompted not by partisanship to a particular School of Law, but by the practical need to establish and maintain uniformity in the administration of justice.

Second, I have dealt with ʿAbdullāhi's ideas on some important aspects of the Sharīʿah. Since Islamic jurisprudence covers the whole field of rituals and social relations, it is not possible in a work like this to deal

with all the subjects which it covers, I have, therefore, selected some important representative areas, which, I hope, will serve to illustrate ʿAbdullāhi's views.

Finally, I have tried to make an objective assesement of ʿAbdullāhi as an independent jurist. I discussed the principles which guided him in the formulation of his views. These principles are basically identified with the Mālikī School of Law. To this extent, he was a mujtahid within the Mālikī School of Law. But in his works, ʿAbdullāhi always tried to distinguish between the ordinary people and the intellectuals. Whenever he addressed the latter, he did not confine himself to any one School of Law. This issued from his genuine belief and conviction that all the orthodox Schools of Law are equally valid and legitimate. It is important to understand this in order to appreciate ʿAbdullāhi's juristic contribution.

My research on ʿAbdullāhi included a period of fieldwork which lasted for ten months from July 1974 to May 1975, in which I visited many towns and villages in Nigeria and consulted all available sources in the National Archives, Kaduna, the Arewa House, Kaduna, the Department of Antiquities, Jos, the University Library, Ibadan, the Sokoto Divisional Library, the ʿAbdullāhi Gwandu Library and the Shahuci Judicial School Library. I had special access to the manuscripts in the private collections of the Marafa of Sokoto, al-Ḥājj Aḥmad Dan-Baba, the Wazir of Sokoto, al-Ḥājj Junaid, al-Ḥājj Jibrīl Gwandu, M. Yūsuf of Bunza, the Imām of Raha and many other scholars.

While I think that I have exhausted all the available material, more material relevant to the Sokoto Jihād movement

may still be discovered for further research in the future. Such material may add to our knowledge of ʿAbdullāhi's role in this movement. I hope that the present work has contributed to a better understanding of his ideas as a Muslim jurist.

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I am indebted to the Staff of the National Archives, Kaduna, the Sokoto Divisional Library and the Department of Antiquities, Jos, for the assistance which they gave me during my fieldwork.

To the staff of the library of the University of Durham and particularly the School of Oriental Studies Library, I also wish to express my thanks for all their assistance and co-operation.

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To all these and to many others who extended their help, I wish to express my sincere thanks.

Table of Transliteration

Consonants

ء	=	ʾ	ض	=	ḍ
ب	=	b	ط	=	ṭ
ت	=	t	ظ	=	ẓ
ث	=	th	ع	=	ʿ
ج	=	j	غ	=	gh
ح	=	ḥ	ف	=	f
خ	=	kh	ق	=	q
د	=	d	ك	=	k
ذ	=	dh	ل	=	l
ر	=	r	م	=	m
ز	=	z	ن	=	n
س	=	s	ه	=	h
ش	=	sh	و	=	w
ص	=	ṣ	ى	=	y

ة = ah, at (construct state)

ال = al, ʾl- (even before the antero palatals)

Dipthongs

ـَو	=	au
ـَى	=	ai
ـِيّ	=	iyy (final form ī)
ـُوّ	=	uww (final form ū)

Long Vowels

ـَا ـَى	=	ā
ـُو	=	ū
ـِى	=	ī

Short vowels

ـَ = a

ـُ = u

ـِ = i

I have followed the above system of transliteration except in the following cases:

(a) When I quote other sources.

(b) In writing ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio. In all other cases I write ʿAbd Allāh

(c) In writing Medinah thus.

List of Abbreviations.

B.S.O.A.S. - Bulletin, School of Oriental and African Studies.

Ḍ.A.R. - Ḍiyā' Ahl al-Rashād fī Aḥkām al-Hijrah wa 'l-Jihād wa 'l-Sunnah fī Siyāsat al-'Ibād.

Ḍ. Ḥ. - Ḍiyā' al-Ḥukkām fī-mā lahum wa 'alaihim min al-Ashyā'.

Ḍ.M.K. - Ḍiyā' al-Muqtadīn li 'l-Khulafā' al-Rāshidīn.

E/1[1] - Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edition.

E/1[2] - Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition.

Ḍ. Su. - Ḍiyā' al-Sulṭān.

Ḍ. Sy. - Ḍiyā' al-Siyāsāt wa Fatāwī al-Nawāzil.

I.M. - Infāq al-Maisūr fī Ta'rīkh Bilād al-Takrūr.

I.N. - Idā' al-Nusūkh.

J.A.H. - Journal of African History.

J.A.S. - Journal of the African Society.

J.H.S.N. - Journal, Historical Society of Nigeria.

J.R.A.I. - Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

J.R.A.S. - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

L.M.T. - Lubāb mā fī Tazyīn al-Waraqāt wa Infāq al-Maisūr.

R. A. - Rauḍāt al-Afkār.

T.A.U. - Al-Taqrīb bi- mā yajib 'alā 'Āmmat al-Ummah.

T.Ḍ.D. - Taqrīb Ḍarūrī al-Dīn.

T. T. - Kitāb al-Targhīb wa 'l-Tarhīb.

T. W. - Tazyīn al-Waraqāt.

CHAPTER ONE

'Abdullāhi b. Fodio's Environment.

Political, Social, Economic and Religious Conditions in the Hausa States in the Eighteenth Century.

(a) Political Situation.

The Hausa states were a group of city-states the earliest of which seem to have been formed during the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. by the coming together of a number of walled towns which formed the political units of the Hausa.[1] These walled towns, which were partially self-supporting, sometimes provided refuge for the inhabitants of smaller and unprotected villages nearby in time of enemy attack. The weak villages did not receive this protection free of charge, however. They had to surrender part of their political authority and independence to the protecting town as a price. In due course, more and more villages and weaker walled towns came to accept the overlordship of the most prominent walled town, which then developed into the capital town of the state. The chief of such a town consequently became the chief of the city-state so formed. He then spared no effort to bring more and more villages and towns under his authority by persuasion, alliance or coercion. In this way, it seems, the Hausa states came into existence.[2]

The inhabitants of these states, the Hausa people, were and still are one of the largest linguistic groups in Africa. They do not form a single ethnic group, but

consist of diverse elements with different ethnic origins united by a common language and culture. These elements are a mixture of Saharan nomads from the North, Nilotic Sudan peoples from the east, as well as the indigenous population.[3] Later migrations brought a new people who established their authority as a ruling class. The arrival of these latter people is associated with the famous legend of Bayajida and the origin of the Hausa states.

According to this legend, one of Bayajida's children, Bawo, is said to have begotten six sons, each of whom became the founder of a Hausa state. The six sons and the states they founded were said to be as follows: Bagauda who founded Kano, Gunguma who founded Zazzau, Duma who established Gobir, Kumayo who became king of Katsina, Kazuru (Gazaura) who founded Daura and Zama-gari (Zamna-Kogi, Zamadugi) who became the king of Rano.[4] A seventh state, the state of Biram or Garin-Gabas is said to have been founded by another son of Bayajida called Biram, according to another version of the legend.[5] Yet another version claims that the seven states were all founded by Biram and his children.[6]

Besides these Hausa Bakwai, the "Seven Legitimate" or "Original Hausa States", there were seven other states where the Hausa language, although spoken, was not the original language of the inhabitants. These states are referred to as the Banza Bakwai, the "Seven Upstart States", to distinguish them from the original Hausa states. These Banza Bakwai were the states of Kebbi, Zamfara, Nupe, Yauri,

Yoruba, Borgu and Gurma according to some sources.[7] Other sources substitute Gwari and Kwararafa for Borgu and Gurma.[8]

For our purpose we shall consider as the Hausa states the seven original states with the addition of Kebbi and Zamfara. All these states lie roughly between the latitudes 10°N and 14°N, and longitudes 3°E and 10°E. Most of them fall into the northern part of Nigeria today, with a small part in the Republic of Niger.

The history of the Hausa states follows the normal pattern of the history of other states. The analogy with a living organism is very apt. Soon after its birth, a state would grow fast. Like a living organism, it is most active and energetic in this phase of its life. Full of young blood, strong, ambitious and sometimes rash and lacking in restraint, it would soon pass the stage of consolidating power at home, and start venturing into the stage of agression and expansion. The prime of life would soon be reached when everything seemed to be functioning in perfect order, and when few, if any problems could be conceded to be difficult to surmount. Then the over-stretched muscles begin to weaken; old age and inefficiency would creep stealthily in. At last, the inevitable would happen. Its power would come to an end, and the state would be superceded by a new one, ready to go through the same process in its turn.

The relationship between the Hausa states before the jihād was most of the time one of hostility and belligerence. Their records are full of accounts of internecine strife, and give little credit to the legend of their single origin. Whenever one state rose to power, it sought to

expand at the expense of the other states. Long-drawn wars ensued, and in the end the weaker (in most cases the older) state was whittled away by the younger and stronger. This process continued throughout their history.

By the beginning of the 18th century, the Hausa states, with the possible exception of Gobir, were in decline. The statees of Daura, Biram (identified by some as Gãrin-Gabas) and Rano remained relatively small and weak. Biram, sandwiched between the empire of Bornu in the east and the rest of the Hausa states in the west, lost its independence and fell under the hegemony of Bornu.[9] Rano, together with Kano, traditionally assumed the role of trade and industry, especially dyeing and weaving.[10] Its proximity to Kano, which had for centuries played a dominant role in the trans-Saharan trade, militated against it, and it became squeezed out of competition by its superior neighbour. Kano, enjoying brisk and prosperous trade with North Africa, might even have attracted some craftsmen from its weak rival.

Kano, well-known for its dyeing, weaving and leatherwork, reached the zenith of its power during the reign of Sultãn Muḥammad Rumfa (1463-99). It had passed through many vicissitudes in its long history, having being subjugated by Songhai early in the 16th century.[11] From the beginning of the 17th century it became an object of constant attacks by the Kwararafa, who at one point, in 1671, forced the king of Kano, Dadi (1670-1703), to take flight to Daura.[12] By 1734, Kano became tributary to Bornu to which it paid tribute up to the time of the jihãd.[13] Constant wars with Katsina lasting on and off throughout the 16th and the first

half of the 17th centuries did much to weaken the power of Kano.[14]

By the beginning of the 18th century, Kano was at war with most of its neighbours. In 1700 the Zamfarawa inflicted on it a severe defeat at Argaye. The rising power of Gobir, too, proved a thorn in its side. The two fought each other continually until King Babari of Gobir succeeded in establishing his authority over Kano in about 1760.[15] Earlier, Kano's position as an important trading centre had been weakened by the exodus of many of the trading communities to its old rival, Katsina, to escape king Kumbari's heavy taxes.[16]

Katsina, the bitter rival of Kano, had also, like Kano, been subjugated by Songhai in the early part of the 16th century.[17] However, with the breaking up of the Songhai empire at the end of the century, it transferred its allegiance to Bornu.[18]

Katsina's power and prosperity were at their height around the beginning of the 18th century. It had become heir to the learning and commerce of Songhai, and had long surpassed Kano as the most important entrepot for the trans-Saharan trade. Caravans converged on it from the north, bringing to Hausaland rare commodities including the much coveted Arabic manuscripts from the north.[19] Its authority at one time extended over Maradi to the north, Zamfara borders to the west, and as far as Birnin Gwari to the south. By the close of the century, however, old age was settling on it and it succumbed to the strong attacks of the rising state of Gobir which was whittling it away.[2o]

Gobir played an active role in the fall of yet another Hausa state, that of Kebbi, which was established at the beginning of the 16th century by Kanta Kotal (c.1515-61), the governor of Leka, who helped Askia Muḥammad of Songhai in his campaigns against the Hausa states. A quarrel between Kanta and the Askia over the division of booty resulted in the former's rebellion in 922 A.G./1516 A.D. and in his setting himself up as an independent chief of Kebbi.[21] Through his energetic leadership and that of his immediate successors, the state expanded rapidly, being able to resist the attacks of both Bornu[22] and Songhai forces.[23]

At the peak of its power, Kebbi stretched from Aghades in the north to about Oyo and Ibadan in the south, and from Zazzau in the east to Gurma and the eastern Songhai to Tera in the west.[24] Under Kanta's later successors, the empire he had built up gradually started to crumble. By the beginning of the 18th century it was no longer a strong force to be reckoned with in the politics of the Hausa states. This ailing empire fell prey to the attacks of the forces of Zamfara, Air and the rising Gobir, the chiefs of these states each "taking possession of lands adjacent to him".[25] The greatest havoc was played by the Zamfarawa forces under their king Ya'qūb b. Babba who conquered the greater part of Kebbi and put to ruin its three principal cities.[26] As a result, the king of Kebbi, Tomo, had to build a new capital at Birnin Kebbi. Already internal strife had helped to hasten the disintegration of the state. By 1775, on the death of 'Abdullāhi Toga, his son Sulaiman had found it necessary to resort to witchcraft to consolidate his position. On his death in 1803, his son and successor Ukar reigned for only four days before he was murdered by his brother Hodi

during whose reign the jihād began.[27] Thus Kebbi, like the other Hausa states, was on the decline during the 18th century and the opening years of the 19th century when the jihād began.

Situated to the east of Kebbi was the state of Zamfara, which perhaps did more than any other state to weaken Kebbi. Like the latter, Zamfara too did not belong to the Hausa Bakwai. Its ruling class and its ethnic composition seem to have been different from that of the other Hausa statees.[28] They are said to have belonged to Beri-Beri peoples who are akin to the Yoruba, the Jukun and the Yaurawa.[29] According to Sultān Bello, they were said to have descended from a Katsina father and a Gobir mother.[30]

Zamfara was at the height of its power in the early 18th century. It gained a great victory over Kano forces in 1700, and during Ya'qūb b. Babba's reign (c. 1715) was strong enough to throw off Kebbi yoke and annex some of its territories.[31] But it began to weaken steadily during the century, particularly as a result of the constant wars which it fought against the other Hausa states, especially Gobir whose chief, Babari (c.1742-70) destroyed its capital of Birnin Zamfara and established his new capital of Alkalawa in the former territory of Zamfara which he had annexed.[32] The state was further weakened by internal division as was evidenced by king Maroki's lieutenants' decision to abandon their capital to the Gobir forces in protest against the king's high-handedness.[33]

Gobir was certainly the most powerful of the Hausa states in the 18th century. Here, the ruling classes were of a different origin from the rest of the population. They are believed to have been of Coptic origin,[34] while the

ordinary people were of common origin with the rest of the Hausa. Gobir was an important state and acted as a buffer state checking the Tuareg menace from the north against the other Hausa states. Because of this role it became recognized as the warlord of the Hausa states.[35] Having successfully held back the Tuaregs, it next turned on its Hausa neighbours in an expansionist policy.

Formerly expelled from around Asben by the Tuaregs, the Gobirawa pushed south and began a peaceful penetration of the fertile lands of Zamfara in the early part of the 18th century. The Zamfarawa received them with hospitality and offered them land.[36] However, they soon began to establish themselves and to carve out an independent state from the tottering Hausa states. By mid-eighteenth century they turned round and attacked a previous ally, Kastina, but their seven-year siege against Maradi failed to capture the town.[37] During king Babari's reigh (1742-70) the Gobir forces fought against Kano, Kastina, and Shirra.[37(a)] Later, Babari turned his attention to another former ally and host, Zamfara, whose capital he sacked, setting his own new capital in its former territory as has been noted above.[38] Throughout the 18th century, constant wars raged between Gobir and its neighbours- Zamfara, Katsina, Kano, Kebbi and the Asben region to the north. Gobir's influence extended as far as Asben in the north and Nupeland in the south.[39] In fact from the middle of the 18th century onwards it was the most powerful of the Hausa states, having dominated all the others. However, towards the end of the century, in the reign of Nafata (1796-1802), its power was relatively weakened.[40]

Zazzau, which was the state farthest away from the

rising power of Gobir, had already lost its power, which reached its apogee in the reign of Queen Amīnah (c.1421-38). At that time it was the most extensive of all the Hausa states.[41] Before the middle of the 18th century, however, Zazzau had lost its power like most other Hausa states when Bornu over-ran them about 1734.

Thus the 18th century was a period of relative weakness for the Hausa states, a period of incessant warfare in which all the states were involved. These wars sapped their strength, and no doubt the resultant insecurity made life very uncomfortable for the inhabitants of Hausaland who consisted of the Hausa farmers and traders, the nomadic Bororoen or cattle Fulani, the settled Fulani and a number of other small groups. The insecurity must have made it extremely difficult for these people to go about their business as they wanted. No doubt the chronic wars made it necessary for the Hausa kings to resort to the conscription of helpless peasants into their armies, where they were forced to fight sometimes unwillingly against fellow Muslims—a practice which earned these kings violent criticism and condemnation from the jihād leaders.[42]

(b) Social and Economic Life.

(i) The Hausa People.

It has been shown above that the Hausa people are not a single ethnic group, but a conglomeration of different peoples held together by a common language and culture. From the preceding account of their history, it is reasonable to suggest that their style of living, though much improved, has not basically changed much from what it was in the 18th and 19th centuries. The major difference is perhaps the

fact that whereas peace is taken for granted now, insecurity and internecine wars were the order of the day at that time. Otherwise, for the Hausa peasant, the way of life has little changed.

The Hausa people have been mainly peasants. Throughout the rainy season, which normally starts in late May or early June and lasts to late September or early October, they work on their farms. The number of people working on any given patch of land depends on the size of the family. The head of the family usually supervises the younger members who are strong enough to work in the field. These are usually males from the age of seven years upwards, and remain under the supervision of the head of the household until they get married. Then the family land is broken up between the younger generation. When the head of the household reaches the age when he can no longer work to earn a living, his children or grand-children take the responsibility of providing for his needs.

The staple food crops are millet and guinea corn and are planted with the first rains around May. After the first weeding, beans are normally planted, interspersed between the growing corn plants. Cotton, grown mostly for local textile industries, is normally planted after the second weeding of the corn around June. It is sometimes interspersed between the corn plants, and sometimes it is planted in separate plots. For people living along river banks and valleys rice, cassava and sweet potatoes are also planted early during the rainy season.

The harvesting season for millet is normally in August, followed by the harvest of beans, guinea corn, rice, cotton and ground-nuts in December. After harvest, the stalks of

corn are put to many uses—to build huts and fences, and as fuel and fodder, particularly for donkeys which are important beasts of burden. Rice stalk is used as hay and for thatching houses. The stalks of beans, potatoes and groundnuts are also used as fodder. In fact, all parts of the plants grown in the fields have economic value and are collected and used to best advantage by the Hausa.

In the past, men living in walled cities would take part in communal labour to repair the walls at the end of the harvest season when they had plenty of leisure time. In time of peace sporting activities would be organised, featuring boxing and wrestling contests, hunting and fishing. Friendly neighbouring villages would participate in these sports which had great social value as they fostered friendly relations and co-operation. This was of greater significance seen against the background of continual warfare between the neighbouring states in those days. Apart from this unifying factor, these sports had a military value. Participants made a show of valour, manliness, endurance and, in the case of hunting, they gained skill in handling horses, bows and arrows, and other weapons. Hunting and fishing had economic value as well: they provided a source of income and helped to supplement the food harvests.

During the dry season, some of the men would leave the towns and villages in search of trading. They would travel from one village to another exchanging their goods, to return home in time for the next rainy season.

Besides agriculture, the Hausa people played an active role in the basic trade and commerce of West and Central Africa. They travelled great distances and often settled in trading colonies in foreign lands. For this reason they

are to be found all over West and Central Africa and the Maghrib.[43] For centuries, their language has been recognized as a lingua franca of trade which was spoken and understood by millions of people from the North African littoral to the banks of the Congo river in the south.[44] This language, also called the Hausa language, belongs to the Chadic group of the Hamitic or Afro-Asiatic family of languages, and is the biggest member of the group.[45] It is a rich language, capable of rendering even the most complex ideas and idioms.[46]

The Hausa language possesses a very large vocabulary of mixed origion. This is to be expected, because it is the language of Muslims and traders who borrowed words extensively from other languages and cultures. Thus, a great number of Arabic words in the specialized spheres of religion, politics and commerce as well as in everyday use have found their way into it. The Hausa people borrowed also from other peoples with whom they came into contact. In all cases, the loanwords were adapted to the morphology and phonology of the Hausa language.

The Hausa people have been engaged in the trans-Saharan trade for many centuries, with Kano and later Katsina, as very important terminals of the trans-Saharan trade routes. As a result of this brisk trade, they were to be found on every Saharan and Sudanese trade route.[47]

The Hausa people are also known as hardworking and skilful artisans and craftsmen. For a long time they have been known for their pursuit of such crafts as smithcraft, weaving, dyeing and leatherwork. Kano and Rano distinguished themselves for centuries as centres of dyeing and leatherwork. Products of the Hausa states were exchanged

for the commodities from the north, like carpets from Europe along the caravan routes, and salt and books from Egypt and North Africa.[48]

(ii) The Fulani People.

Besides the Hausa people, there were also considerable numbers of Fulani living throughout the Hausa states during the 18th century. Despite the fact that they are "one of the largest tribal groups in Africa",[49] found all over West and Central Africa from Senegal in the west to the Cameroons and beyond in the east, and despite their religious and political importance in the history of West Africa,[50] little of their history is known. Vast interest has, however, been shown by many scholars in the subject.[51] But the answer to the question of who the Fulani are and where they originally came from is still not answered satisfactorily. Many theories have been put forward, but none seems to have gained general acceptance.

ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio and his nephew Sulṭān Muḥammad Bello - both of them Fulani - gave traditional accounts of the origin of the Fulani. According to them, they originated from a marriage between the Arab Muslim conqueror of North Africa, ʿUqbah,[52] and the daughter of a North African chief. The children begot from this marriage were the ancestors of all Fulani.[53] According to a version given by Bello, the Fulani are of Jewish descent.[54] Elsewhere, he ascribes to them a Canaanite origin.[55]

Many modern ethnologists, historians and students of African languages have advanced various theories on the origin of the Fulani and their language. Although there is no consensus on their racial origin, most are agreed that

the Fulani are a non-Negroid people who came to the Negro part of Africa where they settled and intermarried with the local peoples.[56] Meek, after a careful study of their physique, notes the great resemblance between them and the proto-Egyptians. He concludes from this that the Fulani must have come from an ancient Libyan tribe.[57] Among others who support the non-Negroid descent of the Fulani are Hopen and Kirk-Greene.[58] The latter regards them as being of an Indian origin.

Many scholars, regarding the Fulani people as non-Negroid, positively identify them as Hamitic by race. This seems to be the predominant view among modern scholars. This view is held by Delafosse, who gives them a Caucasoid origin and regards them as a group of Aramaic-speaking Judaeo-Syrians - a hybrid between the Jews and the local tribes.[59] Palmer believes that the earliest Fulani were the children of Phoenician colonists who came from Syria and settled in North Africa, intermarrying with the Gara Berbers. Their children spoke the Gara language of their mothers, which later became the parent of Fulfulde as the Fulani call their language.[60] These hybrids came to be known as the Canarii, and were described by Idrīsī (1150 A.D.) as Jews.[61] These Judaized Berbers, together with the Arabs who came into the Maghrib between about 650 and 750 A.D., eventually mixed with the Duradae to produce Fulani proper.[62]

Meinhof and Taylor, both arguing from a philological point of view, consider Fulfulde as a Hamitic language,[63] so does Jeffreys.[64] But Greenberg, after careful study of Fulfulde, rejects the theory of its Hamitic origin, and classifies it among the Niger-Congo group of languages.[65] Rowland Oliver and Fage also believe that Fulfulde is a

Negro language.[66]

Besides the uncertainty regarding the racial origin of the Fulani, there is also uncertainty about their country of origin. Meek suggests that their original home was Egypt or Asia.[67] According to Kirk-Greene, they are of Indian origin.[68] They are also ascribed Syrian and Iraqi origins.[69] Some scholars advance the theory that the original home of the Fulani was East Africa, and that they moved northwards up the whole length of Egypt where they turned westwards until they eventually settled in the Maghrib.[70]

It seems that sometime before the middle of the 8th century A.D., probably due to some sort of pressure, the Fulani moved southwards from the Maghrib until they came to the region around Tekrur, Futa Toro and the Senegal basin. Here they settled in the neighbourhood of the local population of Serer and Wolof, and mixed with them, the resultant mixture evolving as the pastoral Tucolor.[71] This group of Fulani seems to have been the nucleus from which other Fulfulde-speaking groups broke off and migrated eastwards and southwards.[72]

These migrations seem to have started sometime before the end of the 13th century for, according to J.S.Trimingham, Fulani clerics were heard of in the Hausa states at that time.[73] These early migrations, however, represent only the advanced parties spearheading the great migrations that were to follow in the same directions in later centuries. By the 15th century, Fulani nomads were to be found all over West and Central Sudan, and Mūsā Jakollo, the 11th ancestor of ʿAbdullāhi, led a group of such Fulani from Futa Toro to Kwonni in the Hausa states about that time.[74] By the 16th

century, there were large numbers of Fulani in Massina,[75] and by the end of the 18th century they were to be found everywhere, and they appeared to have been a dominant race in the Sudan by this time.[76] It seems that these migrations occurred in small groups, moving slowly eastwards with their herds in the Savannah and open grassland country lying between the southern fringes of the Sahara in the north and the northern limit of the tsetse-infested forests in the south. This continual influx of wave after wave of Fulani is reflected by 'Abdullāhi's statement in his Idā' al-Nusūkh that his forbears preceded [other] Fulani to Hausaland by seven years.[77]

While most of the Fulani at that time remained pagan and kept away from urban life, there were some who were attracted to the towns and villages. Here they would settle and intermarry with the local people and adopt their language and culture.[78] Such Fulani soon took to Islamic learning and scholarship. This resulted in the formation of an elite of Fulani scholars who became experts in Islamic Law and related subjects. By virtue of their knowledge, they filled such posts as qāḍīs (judges) and Imāms (leaders in prayer), and were no doubt consulted by the rulers.[78] In this way they came to acquire substantial influence and authority. By the end of the 18th century, both types of Fulani, the settled and the nomadic, were to be found all over West and Central Africa. It is the settled Fulani, given to Islamic learning, who led the jihād movements in various parts of West Africa in the 18th and 19th centuries.[79] 'Abdullāhi b. Fodio is closely associated with one of these movements - the jihād movement which is variously described as the Sokoto Jihād, the Fulani Jihād, or the Jihād of

Shehu Uthmān Dan Fodio.

The settled Fulani almost constituted a class by themselves in the Hausa states. They usually lived in villages or permanent camps outside the big towns. It should be pointed out that these settled Fulani (called Fulanin Gida, that is: House Fulani or Town Fulani, by the Hausa people) are not necessarily settled or sedentary in the sense that Hausa peasants were. They were, and still are, more mobile than the Hausa, and are less tied down to a particular place. They were, therefore, less tied to the society around them. This proved to be an important asset to the jihād because even the settled Fulani could migrate with relative ease to join the jihād leaders in Dār al-Islām (land of Islam), away from Dār al-Ḥarb (land of war). It is therefore important to remember that when these Fulani are described as "settled", this should be seen in relation to the habitual mobility of the nomad Fulani, who roam incessantly about with their cattle from place to place in search of pasture. Even such settled Fulani families as those of Shehu ʿUthmān and ʿAbdullāhi at Degel, which seem to have taken up settled life for centuries, were not as permanently settled as the Hausa families. Rather, they had Degel as their permanent base from which they travelled widely to various parts of Hausaland. But wherever they went, it was to their permanent base that they returned.

Many Fulani scholars like Shehu and ʿAbdullāhi would, after exhausting the intellectual resources of their locality, travel to various parts of Hausaland in search of scholars specialised in the teaching of particular disciplines and study under them. After completing their studies and receiving an ijāzaḥ (licence) to teach what they had

learned from that particular scholar, they would move on to another expert in another field of study.[80] In this way they continued until they began to travel about teaching and preaching themselves. At times a scholar could spend many years on this peripatetic schooling, master-seeking and preaching before going back home. But no matter how far he had gone or for how long he had been away, in the end a settled Fulani would always return to his permanent camp. But there were occasions when the settled Fulani might move their "permanent" camp to another area.[81]

Although having settled and having largely adopted the way of life of the Hausa people, the settled Fulani tended to intermarry with their own clansmen or with other Fulani scholarly families. Marriages with the nomadic Fulani also took place on some occasions. Some Fulani might settle in the townships and take Hausa wives. In such cases, they would become almost completely Hausanized; they would own land and take to agriculture; they would speak Hausa language while still retaining their own language, and they would adopt much of the Hausa way of life. With the passage of time, they might be so completely assimilated by Hausa culture that they completely forgot their language.[82] Even such Fulani people, however, would not always cut themselves completely off from their pastoral kins and their original way of life. Like their nomadic kins, they may still keep a few cows as a symbol of their connection with their past. These were usually handed over to the nomadic Fulani who tended them together with their own herds for a fixed charge. Some might also be kept at home for milking. Visits and other social contacts were also maintained between the settled and the nomadic Fulani.[83]

As for the pastoral Fulani or the cow Fulani as they are sometimes called, they retained the life-style of the ancient Fulani. Unlike their settled kins, they had not generally accepted Islam, and they remained isolated, and separate from the settled communities. Fulfulde was the only language they understood, traditional pre-Islamic culture was their only culture, and their cattle were their only companions. Their whole life, in fact, centred then as it does today, around their cattle.

In the dry season when pasture becomes scarce, these herdsmen and their cattle both live a precarious life. The green pastures having dried up due to intense heat and lack of moisture, and the dry grass and leaves in the bush destroyed by bonfires started by enthusiastic peasant hunters to clear the bush, these cow-Fulani have to find their way with their half-starved cattle down to the river banks and marshes. Here, more often than not, they come into conflict with the peasants whose dry-season crops - sugar cane, cassava and the like - the hungry cattle stray into and destroy. The sight at the legal courts in Hausaland, of a wild-looking nomadic Fulani summoned on charges of causing his cattle to destroy the crops of the peasants is only too common even today. Sometimes the peasants, not convinced that they will be paid adequate compensation, and not prepared to spend many idle days at the courts awaiting the end of the case, form groups to beat up the offending herdsmen, thereby teaching them a lesson.

During the dry season, the cows yield very little milk. Consequently sour milk and butter, which the cow-Fulani trade for salt and food with the settled peasants, become scarce and expensive except near river banks and marshes

where there is a concentration of cattle which have all been attracted by the pastures around.

With the arrival of the rainy season, the herdsmen and their cattle start to move again. They must leave the valleys and marshes and make for the plateaux and high lands. With the rains, good pasture springs up everywhere and life once more is sweet and easy for the cow Fulani. The cattle now have enough to eat, and the milk-yield is greatly increased. It is now the turn of the peasant farmers to take advantage of the situation. With the abundance of milk, prices fall to a very low level. Fulani womenfolk who come to townships to hawk milk compete with one another in trying to catch customers. The Hausa peasant now bargains to his heart's content. Not only that, his food-stuff is bought by the cow Fulani at high prices because it is now scarce - last season's grains having been all but consumed, and the new season's crops not yet ready for harvest. The herdsmen accept this situation because they know that it is temporary, and that they will have their revenge in the long dry season to follow. But they are not ready to give up so easily when it comes to ensuring that their cattle find enough pasture.

As the farmers cultivate most of the fertile land, leaving the cow Fulani to tend their cattle on the poorer one, the latter, sometimes out of sheer malice, take advantage of the night and drive their cattle to graze on the crops of the farmers. Sometimes, however, when rains fail and pasture is scarce, it is not so much malice that drives them to graze on the farmers' crops but sheer economic necessity - to save their herds. But the peasants, concerned only with their crops, never forgive them

for destroying their crops. They claim that the cow Fulani's destruction of their crops has nothing to do with the need to find pasture for their cattle, but rather that it is connected with what they call the cow Fulani's superstitious belief that the prosperity of their cattle depends on the cattle grazing on peasant crops. For this reason there always exists some concealed tension between the two groups whose interests are so opposed to each other. But this tension is held in check by the mutual dependence of each on the other. The cow Fulani depend on the settled population for almost everything which they cannot obtain directly from their herds, and the peasants depend on the cow Fulani for milk and butter, and for cattle dung which ensures fertility to their farms.

The cow Fulani, as has been noted before, were in the 18th century and still are, mainly pagan. The settled Fulani and the Hausa people - particularly the urbanized Hausa traders - were, and still are, on the other hand, mainly Muslims. But the Hausa peasants living in the villages almost completely attached to the soil remained throughout the 18th century largely unenlightened Muslims who mixed Islam with pagan practices. This was also true of their kings. Now we must turn to the question: what was the true state of Islam in the Hausa states at that time?

(c) Religious Life.

In order to understand the true state of Islam in the Hausa states in the 18th century and at the time when the Sokoto jihād started, it is necessary to look back to see when and how Islam was introduced into this part of Africa.

There is some evidence of the spread of Islam in the

Sudan from Old Ghana down to Kanem as early as the 11th century, during the time of the al-Murābiṭ (Almoravid) dynasty.[84] The Hausa states, however, appear to have remained outside the influence of Islam until sometime around the first quarter of the 14th century when, according to the Katsina king-list,[85] Muḥammad Korau (c.1320-53 A.D.) was the king of Katsina. As the name "Muḥammad" suggests, the king must have been a Muslim. In Kano too, Muḥammad Korau's contemporary, king ʿUthmān Zamna-gawa, (1343-49 A.D.) bore a Muslim name. During the reign of his successor ʿAlī Yājī (1349-85 A.D.), steps were taken to spread Islam among the subject population. A Mosque was built in Kano city and every town was ordered to observe the daily prayers. This proselytizing mission was accomplished with the active participation of Wangarawa missionaries from Melle, who arrived in Hausaland at the time.[86] This coincided with the period when the power of Melle and of Islam in the Western Sudan was at its peak.[87]

That Katsina and Kano were the first cities in the Hausa states to come into contact with Islam is not surprising. They had for centuries been centres of trade, the terminals of the caravan routes running across the desert from North Africa and later from Egypt to Hausaland. The Muslim traders from the north must have brought with them not only their wares but their religion as well. The work of spreading the new faith was made easier by the continual arrival, at different intervals, of new missionaries. For instance, during the reign of Sulṭān Yaʿqūb of Kano (1452-63 A.D.), a group of Fulani missionaries arrived in Hausaland from Melle, bringing with them a new set of books on subjects which hitherto had not

received attention from the scholars in Hausaland. These were books dealing with tauḥīd (divinity) and etymology. Prior to this, the only books studied seem to have been the Holy Qur'ān, books on Ḥadīth (traditions) and on Law.[88]

It was during the reign of Yaʿqūb's successor, Sulṭān Muḥammad Rumfa (1463-99 A.D.), however, that Islam became firmly and permanently established. This was a time of great Islamic revival not only in Kano but also in Katsina, then under Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Maje (1494-c.152- A.D.).[89] It seems that the whole of Hausaland witnessed an increase in Islamic influence at the time. This might have been due to increased contact between Hausaland and Songhai which was also at the time undergoing a great Islamic revival initiated by Sulṭān Askia Muḥammad of Songhai. It was also about this time that a large part of Hausaland came under the political influence of Songhai.[90]

It was around this time, too, that the famous jurisconsult, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī (d.1504 A.D.) came to Hausaland. He was credited, according to traditional accounts, with the introduction of some Muslim missionaries, said to have come originally from Medinah.[91] He spent some time in Katsina and taught both there and in Kano, where he was said to have written, at the request of the Sulṭān, a book, The Obligation of Princes, which set out the proper way to administer an Islamic state.[92] Another famous Muslim scholar and contemporary of al-Maghīlī, the erudite polymath, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī -(d.1505 A.D.), came to Hausaland about the same time. The two seem to have become involved in a dispute over many questions.[93]

Although Islam had reached Hausaland as early as the

beginning of the 14th century and had become firmly established by the end of the 15th century, this is not to say that it was generally accepted by all the people of Hausaland. What seems to have happened was that Muslim traders from the north and the full-time missionaries from the north and from Melle came and settled in the Hausa states. They formed the nuclei of Islamic Communities, which gradually expanded and which were from time to time reinforced by fresh arrivals of missionaries. As time went by, the surrounding indigenous culture came to be more and more influenced by Islam. The first to be converted were the traders, the chiefs and their courtiers. Once in contact with the new religion, the chiefs saw it as a great asset. Its adoption boosted their image among their pagan subjects. Some of them found it convenient, for selfish reasons, to adopt at least a veneer of Islam, while at the same time they were not prepared to give up their traditional religion in its totality. As a result the two cultures, Islamic and indigenous, came to exist side by side, and at times merged to form a kind of indigenized Islam.

But there were many chiefs who converted to Islam with all their hearts and were totally committed to it. Their decision to convert was taken with no consideration other than their total conviction. With the help of pious scholars such chiefs spared no effort in their attempts to maintain and spread pure, uncontaminated Islam. As time passed, some of their successors might have been unable to maintain the balance between the demands of the Sharī'ah and those of power politics.

The conversion of the local population in Hausaland

seems to have followed the conversion of their rulers. They too, were anxious to follow the new prestigious faith. The demands of Islam were so simple that its adoption required little effort on their part. The missionaries would, no doubt, have taught them that by the simple pronouncement of the formula of faith they became Muslim. They would also have taught them how to pray, fast, give out alms to the poor, and perform the pilgrimage. None of these pillars of Islam would be regarded as unduly difficult by the common people.

But it should be realized that these common people were mainly concerned with earning their living, and that they were not aiming at becoming learned doctors in Islamic Law. Very often they contravened many of the laws laid down by Islam. They continued to participate in some idolatrous rites of animism like making sacrifices and libations to various objects of worship.[94] They may have failed to observe the rituals of Islam through ignorance or neglect. In social and economic matters they followed their own indigenous customs and practices. For instance, there were complaints by some Muslim scholars at the time against some of the inhabitants not following the Islamic Law of inheritance,[95] and of women not dressing up in accordance with the demands of Islam.[96]

However, not all the learned scholars complained about these un-Islamic practices. There were some who, while calling themselves scholars, were ignorant even of their individual duties.[97] These pseudo-scholars who were described by ʿAbdullāhi as worse than un-believers,[98] employed every conceivable trick and deception in order to win the recognition, respect, and veneration of the

masses. They seized every opportunity to make a show of knowledge, often resorting to strange and unrecognized books as a source for their views. Their interpretation of Law was extremely wild and weird, and they were ready to go to any length to establish their hold on the simple-minded peasants. They went about sowing doubt and confusion into the minds of ordinary Muslims. Their menace was so real and widespread that Shehu 'Uthmān alone wrote over fifty tracts to expose their misrepresentations and to explain the true teachings of Islam.[99]

By the 18th century, many pseudo-scholars seem to have found their way to the courts of the Hausa kings,[100] who consulted them on many issues. They tried hard to please their patrons by giving farfetched interpretations of the Law, often based on unreliable sources. This may explain the presence of a long list of unreliable books circulating in the Central Sudan at the time.[101]

Whatever may be said against the pseudo-scholars, it is true that there were always pious scholars who gave their lives to an ideal: the proper observance of the Sharī'ah. These guardians of the true spirit of Islam often condemned the un-Islamic tendencies which they observed in their societies. The prevailing customs and practices of the communities were scrutinized and, with the best of their intention and knowledge, these scholars gave their verdicts as to the legality or otherwise of these customs and practices.

As early as the reigns of Sultāns Muḥammad Rumfa of Kano (1463-99 A.D.) and Muḥammad Askia of Songhai (1493-1528 A.D.), we see al-Maghīlī writing to both Sultāns[102] giving them advice on matters of government in order to ensure observance of the Sharī'ah. Later in the 17th century, two

native scholars of Hausaland - Shaikh al-Bakrī[103] and 'Abdullāhi Sika[104] - were known to have engaged in long arguments regarding the compatibility with the Sharī'ah of some nomadic Fulani customs.[105] Another Muslim scholar, famous for his zeal and rigour in championing the cause of true Islam and in trying to cleanse it of offensive innovations was Shaikh Jibrīl b. 'Umar,[106] the respected teacher of both Shehu 'Uthmān and 'Abdullāhi. He complained bitterly that some of his contemporaries profeseed Islam, but at the same time continued to practice pagan customs and rites. He also accused them of following their customary codes of life in matters concerning private and public behaviour.[107] Similar accusations came from other scholars.[108] There was widespread ignorance of Islam particularly among women whose husbands, often out of sheer selfish desire, tried to keep them in their state of ignorance. They were made to believe that blind and total obedience to their husbands was the only way to Heaven.[109] Animism was also common, with trees and other inanimate objects being venerated.[110] Superstition was rampant[111] and disregard for the demands of the Sharī'ah manifested itself in such acts as jeering at women who covered their bodies in accordance with the demands of the Sharī'ah.[112] In his Kitāb al-Farq,[113] Shehu 'Uthmān gave a comprehensive list of acts committed by the Hausa kings and their followers, which were totally against the precepts of Islam. It was an attempt to put matters right that eventually led to the hijrah (migration) in 1804 A.D. of Shehu 'Uthmān and 'Abdullāhi with their followers from Degel to Gudu, and which led to the jihād which soon followed. The jihād ended with the overthrow

of the syncretist Hausa administrations, and with the setting up of an Islamic government headed by Shehu ʿUthmān as its Caliph. One of the people who played a leading role in bringing about this change was ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio. We shall proceed in the following chapter to study his life.

Notes and Comments on Chapter One.

1. J. S. Trimingham, A History of Islam in West Africa (London, 1962), p.126.

2. See ibid., p.127.

3. Ibid., p.126.

4. See H. R. Palmer, Sudanese Memoirs, New Impression (London, 1967), III, 133-134.
   See also S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirates of Northern Nigeria (London, 1966), p.148.

5. Hogben and Kirk-Greene, p.149.

6. Ibid., p.149.

7. Muḥammad Bello, Infāq al-Maisūr fī Tārīkh Bilād al-Takrūr (I.M.) (Cairo, 1964), p.46.

8. S. J. Hogben, An Introduction to the History of the Islamic States of Northern Nigeria (Ibadan, 1967), p.50.

9. Trimingham, A History, pp.129-130.

10. Hogben and Kirk-Greene, p.149; Trimingham, A History, p.128.

11. See Hogben, An Introduction, p.102.

12. Palmer, op. cit., p.116; Trimingham, A History, p.153.

13. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. al-Muṣṭafā, Raudāt al-Afkār (R.A.), p.7.

14. See Palmer, op.cit., pp.112-118. Trimingham (A History, p.136), speaks of eighty years of warfare between Kano and Katsina, from 1570-1650 A.D. Kano had also been devastated many times by the Kwararafa, who were at the peak of their power in the 17th century. Attacks by Bornu, Gobir and Zamfara against Kano were also common in the 18th century.

15. R. A., p.11; Hogben and Kirk-Greene, op.cit., p.196.

16. Palmer, op.cit., p.124.

17. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Saʿdī, Tāʾrīkh al-Sūdān, ed. O. Houdas (Paris, 1898), p.78. Askia Muḥammad's forces defeated Katsina about the end of 919 A.H./early 1514 A.D. The troops returned to Gao in Rabīʿ al-ʾAwwal, 920 A.H., which corresponds to April-May, 1514 A.D.

18. Hogben, An Introduction, p.84.

19. M. Hiskett, The Sword of Truth (New York, 1973), p.6.

20. R. A., pp.11, 12. Trimingham, A History, p.136.

21. Al-Sa'dī, loc.cit.

22. R. A., p.5. Mai 'Alī of Bornu laid siege on Kanta's capital, Sūrāme, but failed to take it. After his departure, Kanta pursued him. A battle ensued at Nguru, which ended with the defeat of Bornu forces.

23. Al-Sa'dī, loc.cit. According to al-Sa'dī, Kanta's forces defeated the army of Askia Muḥammad Benkam (937-943 A.H./1530-1537 A.D.) at Wantarmāsa. In 959 A.H./1552 A.D., the two forces met again but the battle was indecisive. In the following year Askia Dāwīd (956-990 A.H./1549-1582 A.D.) concluded a peace treaty with Kanta (al-Sa'dī, pp.78, 103).

24. R.A., p.4.

25. I.M., p.47. Both Muḥammad Bello (p.47) and 'Abd al-Qādir b. al-Muṣṭafā (R.A., p.9) give the names of the kings involved as Muḥammad b. Chiroma of Gobir, (1694-1720 A.D.), Muḥammad b. Aghaba of Air (1687-1720 A.D.), and Ya'qūb b. Babba of Zamfara. Cf. Trimingham, A History (fn., p.137), and Hogben and Kirk-Green (p.371), where the king of Zamfara is named as Babba.

26. I.M., pp.46, 47. The cities are Gungu, which was the oldest one, Surama and finally Leka.

27. Hogben and Kirk-Greene, p. 247.

28. See Trimingham, A History, p. 129.

29. Hogben and Kirk-Greene, p.369.

30. I.M., p.46.

31. R.A., p.9; I.M., pp.46, 47.

32. R.A., p.11. Trimingham, A History, p.136), gives the date of Bābārī's reign as c.1743-1762 A.D.

33. R.A., p.11; Hogben and Kirk-Greene, p.372.

34. R.A., p.7; I.M., p.44.

35. Trimingham, A History, pp.128, 136; Hogben, An Introduction p.192; Hogben and Kirk-Greene, p.368.

36. R.A., pp.7, 9.

37. Ibid., p.9.

37a. Ibid., p.11.

38. Vide Supra, p.7.

39. Hogben and Kirk-Greene, p.374.

40. R.A., pp.11, 14.

41. See, for instance, I.M., pp.44-45.

42. Shehu ʿUthmān b. Fodio, Kitāb al-Farq bain Wilāyāt Ahl al-Islām wa - bain Wilāyāt Ahl al-Kufr, tr. M. Hiskett, in Bulletin, School of Oriental and African Studies (BSOAS), (London, 1960), XXIII, 568.

43. Joseph H. Greeneberg, Studies in African Linguistic Classification, reprinted from the Southwestern Journal of Anthropology (New Haven, 1955), pp.47-48.

44. I.A.B. Balogun, "A Critical Edition of the Ihyā' al-Sunnah wa-Ikhmād al-Bidʿah", unpublished Ph.D. thesis (School of Oriental and African Studies, London,1967), p.13.

45. F. W. Parsons, "Hausa" in Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edn. (E/I^2).

46. Ibid.

47. Trimingham, Islam in West Africa (Oxford, 1959), p.16.

48. D. M. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate (Bristol, 1967), p.1xx; see also A. D. H. Bivar and M. Hiskett, "The Arabic Literature of Nigeria to 1804: A Provisional Account" in B.S.O.A.S. (London, 1962), XXV, 131; and M. Hiskett, The Sword of Truth, p.6.

49. Greenberg, Studies in African Linguistic Classification, p.24. See also Joseph H. Greenberg, The Languages of Africa. (The Hague, 1963), p.24.

50. The Fulani people played an important role in the introduction of Islam into many parts of Africa. In the 19th century various revivalist movements sprang up in different parts of West Africa, headed by Fulani clerics. For a brief survey of these movements see, for instance, Trimingham, A History of Islam in West Africa, pp.155 ff.

51. For a brief survey of the views of experts, on the subject, and Greenberg's comments see Greenberg, Studies in African Linguistic Classification, pp.22-32, and his The Languages of Africa, pp.24-38.

52. Muḥammad Bello indicated that he was not sure whether the ʿUqbah in question was ʿUqbah b. Nāfiʿ, or ʿUqbah b. Yāsir, or ʿUqbah b. ʿĀmir (I.M., p.226).

53. See ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Tazyīn al-Waraqāt, ed. and translated M. Hiskett (Ibadan, 1963) pp.40, 58. See also Muḥammad Bello, I.M., p.226).

54. I.M., p.227.

55. See Hogben and Kirk-Greene, p.110.

56. For a brief examination of these views, see Greenberg, Studies in African Linguistic Classification, pp.22-32, and his The Languages of Africa, pp.24-38. See also Hogben and Kirk-Greene, pp.110-113.

57. A. Werner, "Pul", in E/I^1

58. Hogben and Kirk-Greene, op.cit., p.112.

59. Greenberg, The Languages of Africa, p.24. See also M.D.W. Jeffreys "Speculative Origins of the Fulani Language", in Africa, XVII, 1947, p.48.

60. Palmer, III. 69.

61. Ibid., p.71.

62. Hogben and Kirk-Greene, p.111.

63. Greenberg, The Languages of Africa, p.24. For Greenberg's discussion and criticism of Meinhof's argument in favour of the Hamitic origin of Fulfulde, see The languages of Africa, pp.28-30.

64. Jeffreys, op.cit., pp.49, 53.

65. Greenberg, African Linguistic Classification, pp.24-32.

66. Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa (London, 1962), pp. 151, 152.

67. A. Werner, loc.cit.

68. Hogben and Kirk-Greene, p. 112.

69. Palmer, loc.cit.

70. Hogben and Kirk-Greene, p.113.

71. Greenberg, The Languages of Africa, p.30; see also Greenberg, African Linguistic Classification, p.32; and Hogben and Kirk-Greene, pp.111-112.

72. I.M., pp.226, 227.

73. Trimingham, A History, p. 153.

74. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Idāʿ al-Nusūkh (I.N.), trans. M. Hiskett in B.S.O.A.S. (London, 1957) XIX, 552; Trimingham, A History, p. 153.

75. Hogben and Kirk-Greene, p. 113.

76. Trimingham, A History, p. 154.

77. I.N., p.552.

78. Hogben and Kirk-Greene, p.113.

79. See, for instance, the revivalist movements in Futa Jallon (1725 A.D.), Futa Toro (1776 A.D.), and Māsina (1805 A.D.) in Trimingham, A History, pp.160 ff. See also H.F.C. Smith, A Neglected Theme of West African History: the Islamic Revolutions of the 19th Century (Ibadan University Press, 1962), pp.174 ff.

80. For instance Shehu ʿUthmān and ʿAbdullāhi went to study under Shaikh Jibrīl in Qūduya (T.W., p.31). Next they went to study under their uncle Muḥammad b. Rājī. We see Shehu later going once more to Shaikh Jibrīl, and the two moved about until they reached Aghades where they parted, Shehu returning home and Shaikh Jibrīl proceeding on to Makkah for pilgrimage (I.N., p.555).

81. For example, sometime after 1754 ʿAbdullāhi's father moved with his people from Maratta to settle in Degel (Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, p.lxxiii).

82. It is not uncommon today to see settled Fulani who, although proud of their Fulani origin, yet cannot speak a word of Fulfulde. One of the remarkable features of the jihād in the Hausaland is that although the leaders were Fulani, they did not impose Fulfulde as an official language. Arabic remained the lingua franca and the language of scholarship. Shehu ʿUthmān was said to have known relatively little Hausa language, but he knew enough of it to enable him compose poetry in the language. ʿAbdullāhi excelled in Hausa language. Most of his non-Arabic poems were composed in Hausa. Muḥammad Bello, too, is known to have composed a poem in Hausa.

83. Evidence of this can still be seen in many towns and villages in the Sokoto State, for example.

84. Hogben, An Introduction, p.50.

85. Palmer, III, 79.

86. Ibid., pp.104-105.

87. It should be noted that the most famous king of Melle, Mansa Mūsā, made his pilgrimage to Makkah in 1326 A.D., and that in 1373 A.D. the Wazīr of Melle, Mari Jātah conquered Tekidda and thus brought Songhai under the suzereinty of Melle. This marked the peak of Melle power.

88. Palmer, III, 111

89. See ibid., pp.81, 110-111. Maje Ibrāhīm (c.1494-1520 A.D.) is reported to have issued orders that Mosques should be built everywhere. This is probably in order to cope with the growing number of Muslims. Earlier, during the reign of king Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd Allāh Burja of Kano (1452-63 A.D.) some Arabs arrived in Katsina. It is most likely as a result of their missionary activities that so many learned scholars sprang up by Ibrāhīm Maje's reign.

90. For instance, Kanta of Kebbi had been a governor for Askia Muḥammad of Songhai before he revolted and established himself as an independent king of Kebbi.

91. Palmer, III, 111.

92. Ibid., p.93.

93. Ādam ʿAbd Allāh al-Illorī: Misbāḥ al-Dirāsāt al-Adabiyyah fī ʾl-Diyār al-Nījīriyyah (n.p., 1967), pp.16-18.

94. Shehu ʿUthmān b. Fodio, Nūr al-Albāb (NORLA, Zaria, n.d.), p.2.

95. Ibid., pp. 22-23.

96. Ibid., p.17.

97. I.M., pp.69, 93.

98. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Ḍiyāʾ al-Sulṭān (Ḍ. Su.), (Manuscript), p.20.

99. I.M., p.69.

100. Ibid., pp.59, 93, 98-99. The pseudo-scholars in the court of King Yunfa of Gobir were blamed by Muhammad Bello for the way in which they mischievously helped to worsen the relationship between the Community and Yunfa. The scholar who read Shehu's letter in which Shehu put forward the conditions under which he would be prepared to return to Gobir territory after his migration to Gudu was, for instance, accused of doctoring the letter with intent to highten the anger of Yunfa against the Community.

101. Ibid., p.53.

102. For a resumé of both works, and ʿAbdullāhi's comments on them, see for instance ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Diyāʾ al-Sulṭān. Extensive excerpts from the epistle to the Emir of Kano are also to be found in a number of works by ʿAbdullāhi, particularly in his Diyāʾ al-Siyāsāt (D.Sy.) and Diyāʾ al-Ḥukkām (D. H.).

103. Shaikh al-Bakrī was a native of Bornu. He spent some time in the Hausa States studying Arabic in the town of ʾYandoto, which was then an important intellectual centre. He also studied under Shaikh al-Takiddāwī al-Ansamūnī. Finally he settled in Bornu, where he taught until his death.

104. ʿAbd Allāh Sikah was a Fulani scholar and a native of the Hausa States. He had been a student of Shaikh al-Bakrī, and he had travelled as far north as Aghades and Fezzan in search of knowledge.

105. I.M., p.50. The custom is a sort of initiation ceremony which involves taking children out for a night into the bush, where a cow was killed and its flesh roasted round a big fire. The children were then beaten by their elders and compelled to run round the fire. After partaking of the meat, the whole group would return to their families in the morning.

106. Shaikh Jibrīl b. ʿUmar was a zealous scholar filled with intense hatred of the moral and religious laxity which pervaded every aspect of the society in which he lived.

He was a teacher to both Shehu and ʿAbdullāhi, and he imbibed them both with his religious zeal and the desire to reform. However, he sometimes held extremist views which were not shared by his students.

107. See A.D.H. Bivar and M. Hiskett, "The Arabic Literature of Nigeria to 1804" pp.141-143.

108. For instance, Shehu ʿUthmān b. Fodio in Ihyāʾ al-Sunnah wa Ikhmād al-Bidʿah (Cairo, 1382 A.H./1963 A.D.), and in Nūr al-Albāb. See also Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, al-Shurb al-Zulāl, tr. A.D.H. Bivar and M. Hiskett, B.S.O.A.S., XXV, 118-129.

109. For example, Shehu ʿUthmān b. Fodio in Nūr al-Albāb, pp.10-11.

110. Ibid., p.2. I.M., p.58.

111. Nūr al-Albāb, p.12.

112. Ibid., p.3.

113. See Shehu ʿUthmān b. Fodio, Kitāb al-Farq, trans. M. Hiskett, in B.S.O.A.S. (London, 1960), XXIII, 558-579.

CHAPTER TWO

The Life and Career of ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio.

(a) His birth.

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Ṣāliḥ b. Hārūn b. Gurdo b. Jabbo b. Muḥammad Sambo b. Ayyūb b. Māsirān b. Būba Bāba b. Mūsā Jakollo was born in the Hausa state of Gobir around the year 1180 A.H./1766-67 A.D. He was about twelve years younger[1] than his brother Shehu ʿUthmān who, according to Gidado b. Lema[2] was born in 1168 A.H./1754-55 A.D. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Gidado b. Lema, on the other hand, states that ʿAbdullāhi died on a Wednesday night at the age of 66, at the beginning of the year 1245 A.H./1829 A.D.[3] Aḥmad b. Saʿd also gives the date of ʿAbdullāhi's death as Muḥarram 1245 A.H./July 1829 A.D. and says that that was eleven years after ʿAbdullāhi's move to Gwandu from Bodinga.[4] This gives the date of ʿAbdullāhi's birth as 1179 A.H./1765-66 A.D. - a difference of only one year from the previous date.

(b) Family Background and Education.

ʿAbdullāhi comes from a learned family. His father, Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān was nick-named Foduye (corrupted as Fodio), a Fulfulde word meaning faqīh, a jurist or learned man.[5] His uncles ʿAbdullāhi b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj al-Ḥasan, Muḥammad Buttugha b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Muḥammad b. Rājī were all great scholars, so were many of his cousins.[6] His mother was Ḥawwāʾ bint Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥamma b. ʿĀl.

ʿAbdullāhi was thus brought up in a learned environment.

The Toronkawa clan of the Fulani to which he belonged had a very long tradition of Islamization and scholarship. Various accounts are given of their movements. They were known to have moved to Futa Toro and from thence to have moved westwards until, by the 15th century, Mūsā Jakollo, ʿAbdullāhi's ancestor, led them to settle in the area of Birnin Kwonni.[7] From there they spread throughout the Hausa country.[8]

The Toronkawa brought with them to Hausaland their tradition of Islamic scholarship and learning. They lived in closely-knit families. They intermarried mainly among themselves, though marriages outside the clan could take place. These two features of Toronkawa Fulani are evident to anyone who casts even a cursory look at their genealogies: many of them were great scholars, and everyone seems to have been related to everyone else. Thus, of the eighteen scholars listed by ʿAbdullāhi as some of his teachers, ten are related to him by blood.[9] In addition, ʿUthmān Bindūrī and his nephew Aḥmad b. Muḥammad - both relations of ʿAbdullāhi - were among his teachers.[10]

ʿAbdullāhi left an account of his early education.[11] His first teacher was his father, who taught him the Qur'ān.[12] He may also have taught him to read and write, as he had done to his elder brother Shehu before.[13] ʿAbdullāhi did not tell us at what age he started his education. It will be reasonable to assume, however, that he started to learn the Qur'ān at about the age of five, which is still common practice in Nigeria at the present time. ʿAbdullāhi tells us that when he was thirteen years old he had completed the recitation of the Qur'ān by heart from his father. He was then ready to start his advanced studies under the guidance

of his brother, Shehu ʿUthmān.[14]

Under ʿUthmān, ʿAbdullāhi went through vigorous training in a wide range of subjects, all of which helped to prepare him for the important role which he was to play in later life. He read the ʿIshrīniyyāt,[15] a eulogy of the Prophet, the Witriyyāt,[16] another eulogy of the Prophet, and the Odes of the six pre-Islamic poets.[17] All these works, it should be noted, are in verse, and this is significant for verse was at that time a very important vehicle of expression. ʿAbdullāhi himself made extensive use of the skill which he gained in this way in a number of his works. It is significant to note that most of his early writings were in verse. Following the practice of this period of stagnation (ʿAṣr al-Jumūd), he reduced a number of prose works by earlier scholars into verse.[18] The eulogy of the Prophet in the ʿIshrīniyyāt and the Witriyyāt set the pattern for his later compositions. It also served to provide some historical literature surrounding the person of the Prophet. This is particularly important since the study of history does not seem to have occupied an important place in the curriculum of the period. Indeed, Sulṭān Bello draws attention to this fact in his book, Infāq al-Maisūr.[19] The pre-Islamic odes, on the other hand, provide the student with some knowledge of the pre-Islamic way of life, since they reflect the social, political, cultural, and economic life of the pre-Islamic Arabs. Besides, these odes are important for their rich vocabulary and more importantly for the background knowledge which they provide for the proper understanding of the Qur'ān and the Prophetic traditions. This explains why students of religion considered the study of these odes to be of great value.

Under his brother ʿUthmān, ʿAbdullāhi also studied Tauḥīd (the science of the Unity of God) based on the writings of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895 A.H./1489-90 A.D.) and their commentaries.[20] He became so interested in this subject that, in his own words, "rarely does a book on the science of Tauḥīd reach our land and I know of it without copying it."[21] This urge to learn everything on this most important subject is typical of ʿAbdullāhi. He drew heavily upon his knowledge of Tauḥīd when he came to define a Believer.[22]

With Shehu ʿUthmān, ʿAbdullāhi studied syntax, based on such books as al-Ājurrūmiyyah,[23] al-Mulḥah,[24] al-Qaṭr[25] and their commentaries. The importance of this subject cannot be over-emphasized. The importance ʿAbdullāhi attached to the study of the Arabic language can be seen in his statement that it is a duty to learn Arabic because it is the key to the understanding of the Qur'ān.[26]

ʿAbdullāhi also studied Sufism with Shehu ʿUthmān.

ʿAbdullāhi studied with Shehu ʿUthmān a number of traditional books on Islamic Law, like al-Akhḍarīriyyah,[27] al-Ashmāwīyyah,[28] the Risālah of Ibn Abī Zaid al-Qairawānī[29] and others. These were all text books in the Mālikī School of Law dealing almost entirely with rituals, which ʿAbdullāhi describes as the duties of the individual.[30] They are still the basic Law books studied in Nigeria, and serve as an introduction to more advanced books like the famous Mukhtasar Khalīl.[31] ʿAbdullāhi also studied with Shehu ʿUthmān the exegesis of the Qur'ān.[32] He also studied with him books on the science of Ḥadīth criticism (ʿilm al-ḥadīth dirāyatan) like al-ʿIrāqī's book.[33] and books dealing with the science of Ḥadīth transmission

(*ʿilm al-Hadīth riwāyatan*) like the *Sahīh* of al-Bukhārī.[34] His study of these branches of *Hadīth* was so thorough that it trained him to appreciate and understand other works on the subject, which he had not formally studied.[35] Lastly, he studied arithmetic with *ʿUthmān*, but unlike his religious and linguistic studies, his study of arithmetic was only elementary.[36]

Having studied and benefited so much from his brother, and having been permanently in his company from his youth until he was about fifty, ʿAbdullāhi came to conceive deep and lasting devotion and respect for him. It is little wonder, therefore, that he said that it was through *Shehu's* blessing and his teaching that he was able to gain clear understanding of the religion of Islam.[37]

Besides his relations, ʿAbdullāhi studied under many other scholars.[38] Through his teachers, each a specialist and a recognized authority in his subject, ʿAbdullāhi acquired his education. He was able, at the end of the day, to be an all-round scholar, qualified to discuss intelligently and to teach most of the traditional subjects and to write books on them.

(c) *Preaching*.

ʿAbdullāhi's activities were not confined to the field of academic studies. He was also active in the field of preaching since the age of twelve, assisting his brother *Shehu ʿUthmān* in conveying true Islamic teachings to all parts of Hausaland. According to ʿAbdullāhi's own account,[39] *Shehu* began preaching in 1188 A.H./1774-75 A.D. At this date ʿAbdullāhi was about eight years old, and was learning the Qur'ān from his father. From the age of twelve,

however, when he was placed under Shehu for his education, he accompanied the latter on all his preaching tours. Their preaching was directed, at least in the initial stages, against the un-Islamic practices which were rampant among the masses in Hausaland. These teachings were given in the local vernaculars - Hausa and Fulfulde - and were often in poetry.[40] Poetry seems to have been very widely used at the time, and must have been considered a better vehicle for the propagation of ideas, because of the ease with which the masses picked it up, for it is less likely to be forgotten than prose. Another possible explanation why poetry was popular then was the fact that scholars all over the Muslim world, in that period of stagnation and lack of inventiveness and creativity, had resorted to writing commentaries and super-commentaries on earlier works. Faced with so much details which had to be learned, many writers had recourse to verse, which tended to make repetitive learning easier.

Both Shehu and ʿAbdullāhi made extensive use of this medium, the former largely in Fulfulde and the latter mainly in Arabic and some Hausa.[41] That they were right in doing this is attested by the fact that in many parts of Hausaland today it is common to see preachers singing these poems in Mosques and in streets and public places. It is true to say that a great deal of what many among the Muslim masses know about Islam in these parts today comes from their knowledge of these poems. It is not uncommon to meet an illiterate Muslim who knows many of these poems by heart, and who depends almost entirely on them for his religious guidance.

The preaching activities of Shehu and ʿAbdullāhi

started in their hometown, Degel. As time went on, they began to widen the area of their activities. They went on their first preaching tour to Kebbi area. There they preached to the people and called them to do away with un-Islamic customs and practices, and to follow the true teachings of Islam. The emphasis seems to have been on the essential elements of true Islam, leaving out finer details. Bello's account of Shehu's preaching confirms this.[42]

After their return from Kebbi, Shehu and ʿAbdullāhi continued to preach in Degel. It seems that even as early as this time news of their activities had reached many parts of Hausaland. Disciples began to arrive in Degel from many places, all eager to listen to their preaching. Encouraged by their success, Shehu and ʿAbdullāhi organized more tours, and they received greater publicity. More success followed with disciples converging on Degel from all places, all wanting to listen to the preaching and to learn. With such great following, Shehu's influence must have been considerable; it made him feel secure enough to take his preaching to the kings. He went to Alkalawa, the capital of Gobir, and expounded Islam to the king, Bawa, about 1200 A.H./1786 A.D. The king was called upon to practice pure Islam and to rule his subjects with justice and equity.[43]

ʿAbdullāhi and Shehu next left Degel for a five-year preaching tour to Zamfara area (12-101206 A.H./1786-1792 A.D.). The inhabitants there, in common with the inhabitants of other Hausa states, lived in gross ignorance of true Islam. There were many who "had not so much as smelt the smell of Islam".[44] Even such simple matters like the Islamic injunction for the separation of sexes were unknown

to them. It so happened that, as they were preaching at Daura a Bornu scholar, al-Muṣṭafā Gwani, accused them in a poem of allowing men and women who attended their preaching sessions to mix together indiscriminately. On receipt of the poem, Shehu said to ʿAbdullāhi, "You, ʿAbdullāhi, are the best man to answer him on his verses."[45] ʿAbdullāhi's reply, also in verse, denied the charge. However, he did not stop there. He emphasized, perhaps with a hint of veiled criticism of the complaisance and even apathy of many of his contemporary scholars, that the ignorant masses must at all cost be educated at least in the essentials of Islam. The Muslim scholars should not shirk their responsibility to guide the masses. If this could be done only through mixing the sexes, then that becomes justifiable.[46] This incident is important in that it shows how 'Abdullāhi was playing an active role in preaching and teaching, even in the company of Shehu. It also shows Shehu's recognition of his competence as a scholar and a poet. His understanding of the spirit of Islam on this issue was great - and it was typical of ʿAbdullāhi all his life.

About two years later, in 1202-12-5 A.H./1787-1789 A.D., ʿAbdullāhi accompanied Shehu to Magami to which all the scholars in Gobir had been summoned by the king for ʿId al-Kabīr (Great Bairam) celebrations. Afterwards king Bawa addressed the scholars and distributed presents to them. Shehu and his people, however, refused the gifts and instead asked for some religious concessions which they were granted.[47]

After their return to Degel from Zamfara, Shehu and ʿAbdullāhi went westwards on yet another preaching tour. During this tour, they visited many places, reaching as far

south as Illo, across the Niger river. On their return to Degel, they prepared for another tour, this time to Zauma area. Their preaching took them to the capital of the chief of Zauma, Zugu, which was just south of Gummi. This tour, like the previous one, was successful, ending with the conversion of many people.[48]

About this time, c.1207 A.H./1792 A.D., many people, commoners as well as notables, were thronging to Shehu and joining his following, but few of his own fellow tribesmen showed any enthusiasm to join him. ʿAbdullāhi, therefore, sent a poem of advice to them, calling upon them to stop sitting on the fence, and to come out in full support of the cause which he and Shehu were championing. This poem was favourably received by these Fulani scholars, who henceforth began to preach pure Islam among their Fulani kinsmen. One of their leaders, ʿAbdullāhi's cousin, al-Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḥājj ʿUthmān, showed great enthusiasm in the poem, to which he appended a takhmīs or quintain in 1208 A.H./1793-94 A.D. Another cousin of ʿAbdullāhi, Zaid b. Muḥammad Saʿd, wrote a commentary on the poem. From now on, it seems, the support of this clan was gained, thanks to ʿAbdullāhi's preaching.[49]

By this time, Shehu's following had grown very large, and with it his fame. News of his activities spread far and wide. Now ʿAbdullāhi, the active preacher, always eager in his drive to recruit support for the movement, sent a poem to Shaikh al-Mukhtār al-Kabīr of the Kunta tribe (1729-1811 A.D.) appealing for his moral support.[50] In this connection, it is proper to mention that ʿAbdullāhi was also responsible for drafting some letters to al-Kanīmī of Bornu, explaining the Fulani point of view on the status of Bornu and the relationship between it and the Sokoto

Caliphate, in the long series of correspondence between the two sides.[51]

Now that the Fulani leaders had gained a very strong and wide following, they seem to have come under great pressure from their followers urging them for a complete break with the Hausa kings. Preparations had to start for the inevitable war to protect the Community when the break eventually came. Accordingly, Shehu began to call upon his supporters to be in a state of preparedness for self-defence.[52]

From now on, the whole thought of the leadership seemed to have been concentrated on wresting power from the ungodly Hausa kings through a holy war, and establishing an Islamic government. Shehu began to pray in earnest for God's help in achieving this objective. He composed a poem in Fulfulde to that effect. In 1212 A.H./1797-98 A.D., 'Abdullāhi composed an Arabic poem as a translation of it.[53]

The Hausa kings could not be expected to sit back and watch, as mere spectators, while these developments were taking place in their lands. They were very well aware that the threat to their authority was real. Something had to be done by them to survive. In Gobir a new king, Nafata, had succeeded to the throne about 1209 A.H./1794-95 A.D.[54] To check the growth of Muslim power, he issued a proclamation forbidding anyone but Shehu from preaching, and forbidding the conversion of people from the faith of their parents. He also ordered the converts to Islam to revert to the religion of their ancestors and forbade the wearing of turbans and veils by Muslim men and women.[55] This decree had the effect of taking away from the Muslim Community, the followers of Shehu 'Uthmān, the large measure of independence

which they had been allowed by king Bawa (c.1202-3 A.H./ 1787-89 A.D.) about ten years previously. With the death of Nafata his son, Yunfa, succeeded him to the throne of Gobir.[56]

The relations between the new king and the Community seem to have been good at first,[57] but they soon deteriorated. The growth of the Community and its influence had assumed alarming proportions, too much to be tolerated by Yunfa. Perhaps encouraged by the size of the Community and by the feeling that it would give them all the support they needed in case of a confrontation with the authorities, some members acted defiantly towards the government. They must have been craving for the start of the Jihād which would bring deliverance from the unjust rule under which they were living. One such defiant leader was ʿAbd al-Salām, a disciple of Shehu. Being afraid of threats of the former Sulṭān, Nafata, he had left Degel for Gimbana with his followers.[58] The new Sulṭān, Yunfa, had now ordered him to return to Degel, but he refused to obey the order after consultation with Shehu.[59] Shehu was summoned before Yunfa, and he went there accompanied by ʿAbdullāhi and ʿUmar al-Kammu. We have no record of what actually took place during this encounter.[60] However, from the way ʿAbdullāhi related the incident, the discussions must have been connected with ʿAbd al-Salām's refusal to leave Gimbana.[61] It may be reasonable to suggest that Yunfa demanded Shehu to give an undertaking to call ʿAbd al-Salām back, since as Shehu's disciple he would most likely accede to his request. Shehu might have refused to give the undertaking until some sort of guarantee was given, which was refused by Yunfa. Whatever actually happened, one thing is certain: that Yunfa

had had enough of the Community and its leadership. He would tolerate no disobedience. He would stop short of nothing to teach the Community a lesson. He tried to kill Shehu, but Shehu and his companions escaped unhurt. Tempers must have run high. Shehu, realizing that once the Community learnt of what Yunfa had done, some members might take a rash decision, told ʿAbdullāhi and ʿUmar al-Kammu to say nothing about the incident.[62]

But the final breach could not be delayed much longer. Perhaps incensed at Shehu's refusal to bow to his demands, Yunfa resolved to punish ʿAbd al-Salām. He sought and obtained the approval of the King of Kebbi, in whose territory ʿAbd al-Salām was residing, to attack ʿAbd al-Salām in Gimbana. The town was sacked in Ramaḍān 1218 A.H./December 1803-January 1804 and many people were taken captive.[63] Other sources claim that the immediate cause of this attack was ʿAbd al-Salām's refusal to bless the Gobir forces which were sent out to help the King of Kebbi to crush Dosso.[64]

Whatever the case may have been, ʿAbd al-Salām and some of his followers escaped to a friendly Muslim Fulani fortress. The people there refused to hand them over to the Gobir forces after they had consulted Shehu on the matter. In order to avoid a general uprising, the Gobir forces decided not to press the issue. However, on their way back to Alkalawa, they were forced to free the prisoners they had captured from Gimbana by some of Shehu's followers, probably without his knowledge.[65] Some sources[66] associate ʿAbdullāhi with this act of defiance of the authority of Yunfa. This brought matters to a head. Yunfa ordered Shehu to leave Degel with his family only, the implication being that he should abandon his followers. Shehu replied that he would

be willing to leave Gobir territory but he would never abandon his followers. Now Yunfa realized after second thoughts that by his action he had unwittingly strengthened Shehu's power by forcing the Muslims to choose between him and Shehu, and his subsequent plea that Shehu should remain in Degel came too late. The momentum for the hijrah, or emigration was too great to be stopped. For those who had been waiting patiently for the final break with un-belief, this was a golden opportunity which should never be allowed to pass away. Final preparations were made for the emigration to Gudu some twenty-five miles away to the north-west. Thus it came about that on the 10th of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 1218 A.H./ 21st February, 1804, the hijrah to Gudu began.[67]

However, the hijrah to Gudu did not take the Muslims far enough from the authority of Gobir to feel secure. Those trying to emigrate from towns and villages to Gudu were persecuted by Yunfa's men. Some were killed and many had their property seized by the government. Gudu itself was frequently raided.[68] 'Abdullāhi consulted with other senior Muslim leaders, and they decided to elect Shehu as Caliph - Commander of the Believers. 'Abdullāhi was the first to take the oath of allegiance to Shehu.[69]

(d) Military Contribution.

'Abdullāhi was not only a scholar and a preacher, he also made enormous contributions to the Sokoto jihād. He led the forcee of the Community to many victories against the unbelievers and the syncretists. In the first major battle between the two sides, the battle of Tabkin Kwotto in June, 1804, four months after the hijrah to Gudu, he successfully led a numerically weaker Muslim force to

victory over the bigger and better equipped Gobir forces.[70] This victory was a great morale booster for the Muslims, and it showed that they were a force to be reckoned with. Unlike the Hausa kings who had well trained armies experienced in warfare as a result of their long-drawn and incessant wars among themselves, the Muslim forces, at least in the initial stages, were less experienced. They were made up of a conglomeration of elements each with its own life-style and interests, gathered together hurriedly through common hostility to the Hausa rulers. The agriculturist and trading Hausa people, the Arewa people of ʿAbd al-Salām, the semi-nomadic Tuaregs and the mainly un-Islamized nomadic cow Fulani, all joined forces against the Hausa kings. At this battle, ʿAbdullāhi had the difficult task of moulding these diverse elements into a disciplined and well-organized army. The Gobir forces had a very large cavalry while the Muslims had only about twenty horses.[71] This disparity did not bother ʿAbdullāhi. His zeal and his total commitment to the jihād strengthened his spirit. He was determined to dash the hopes of the Gobir forces of crushing the movement in its infancy. The Gobirawa came to battle confident of a simple walk-over. Like the pagans of Makkah at the battle of Badr in 624 A.D., the Gobir forces brought with them luxurious beddings, fine clothes and delicate foods;[72] they expected easy victory and perhaps a party to celebrate it afterwards. Like the pagans of Makkah at Badr also the Gobirawa out-numbered the Jihadists, in this case in the ratio of about 2:1.[73] In both cases, however, the smaller Jihadist army full of enthusiasm for the cause they were defending, ready to die as martyrs or win victory and gain booty, and commanded by a courageous

general, defeated the enemy. The similarity between the two battles was so marked that this battle brought to 'Abdullāhi's mind memories of the battle of Badr.[74]

'Abdullāhi's other military successes were just as important. He commanded an army which included Shehu's official general, 'Alī Jedo, to a number of towns in Kebbi territory. He captured over twenty towns and fortresses including Birnin Kebbi, the capital of Kebbi kingdom, which fell in 1805.[75]

In the month of Sha'bān of the fourth year of the hijrah to Degel (1222 A.H./1807-8 A.D.), 'Abdullāhi took a sudden decision to abandon the Jihād army marching against the Gobir capital of Alkalawa, in protest against the lack of regard shown by some of the Jihādists for the principles of the Sharī'ah.[76] His argument was that if the Jihadists did not observe the prescriptions of the Sharī'ah, there will be no moral justification for their fighting. At first he intended to travel to Makkah and Medinah to live close to the tomb of the Prophet, away from the society with which he was at odds. When he reached Kano, however, he could not proceed further because the Muslim Community there insisted that he should stay with them, and requested him to write for them a manual to guide them in the proper administration of Islamic government. He complied to their request, and wrote Diyā' al-Hukkām.[77] This shows the recognition and esteem which 'Abdullāhi had gained as a scholar even in places far away from his home base.

We see 'Abdullāhi going back from Kano to rejoin the Jihadists before the fall of Alkalawa, which took place in October, 1808.[78] A reconciliation between 'Abdullāhi and the Jihadists must have been effected, although we have no

concrete evidence to support this. After the fall of Alkalawa, Shehu appointed ʿAbdullāhi to command an expedition to Gurma territory. In this campaign De'be was captured and the inhabitants of Tanda submitted and sued for peace. An unexpected crossing of the Niger river was made, and the inhabitants of the island of Fās were surprised. They also submitted and joined Islam.[79]

In the following year, (1809-10), Shehu decided to move from Gwandu to Ṣīfāwā farther east. When his followers in the western parts of Hausaland heard the news they were afraid of a possible reaction against Islam by their non-Muslim neighbours. To pacify their fear and to demonstrate to them that he had no intention of abandoning them to the mercy of their enemy, Shehu succeeded with some difficulty in raising a small army which he despatched, under the command of ʿAbdullāhi, westwards to Gurma territory across the Niger. In this expedition the territory of Sanbalgo was captured, and so was Jorori to the north.[80]

However, not all the campaigns led by ʿAbdullāhi were crowned with success. In November, 1804, he led a force which attacked Alkalawa. It was assaulted three times, without success. ʿAbdullāhi's men had to withdraw when they learnt of the advance of the enemy towards their camp at Kirare.[81] They met the enemy near Tsuntsua where a fierce battle ensued, which ended with the defeat of the Jihādists.[82] ʿAbdullāhi was not present at this battle because he had been confined to the camp due to an arrow wound which he had sustained a few days earlier during the assault on Alkalawa. When news of the defeat reached camp, ʿAbdullāhi, despite his wound, came out limping and was able to rally the fleeing remnants of the Jihādist forces

and to counter-attack and repel the enemy.[83] The courage and military ability which he showed in this battle was remarkable. In January, 1805, at Jaru which is about two miles from Alkalawa, the enemy fell suddenly upon the Jihādists, and ʿAbdullāhi, Bello and a small party totalling not more than ten men were able to hold their own until aid finally arrived.[84] Again in November of the same year, when Shehu, then staying in Gwandu, learnt of the advance of a combined force of Gobirawa, Kebbawa and Tuaregs towards Gwandu, he raised an army including such military leaders as Bello, ʿAlī Jedo and ʿAbd al-Salām, and appointed ʿAbdullāhi as its commander.[85] This force, weakened by internal dissention, received a crushing defeat in a battle near Alwassa. The Jihādists suffered heavy casualties and fled to Gwandu, the enemy following them.[86] At Gwandu, however, ʿAbdullāhi was able to rally his people and drive away the enemy, inflicting heavy casualties.[87]

Meanwhile, after ʿAbdullāhi's return from the western expedition of late 1809 -early 1810, he moved from Gwandu to Bodinga in order to be close to Shehu who had just moved to Ṣīfāwā, about two miles away. From Bodinga, ʿAbdullāhi led an expedition to Banaga in 1810. This was before the campaign of his son, Muḥammad to Illo.[88] Two years and six months after Shehu's move to Ṣīfāwā, he divided the Caliphate which had just been established into two parts: he put ʿAbdullāhi, his brother and senior vizier, in charge of the western part, and his son Muḥammad Bello in charge of the eastern part.[89] Since Shehu's move to Ṣīfāwā took place towards the end of 1809 or early 1810, this division must have taken place in 1812.

After the division of the Caliphate, Shehu, satisfied

that the military side of the struggle was over, withdrew from public life and devoted his time to academic work, writing books to guide the Muslims in running their affairs in accordance with the precepts of the Sharī'ah.[90]

From about 1810 on, one hears nothing about 'Abdullāhi personally leading campaigns against the enemy. He sent his son Muḥammad in command of an army to the west bank of Niger river. This expedition captured the fortress of Illo about the end of 1810 or early 1811.[91] 'Abdullāhi next despatched an army under Muḥammad to Nupe. Lemu was taken without much losses. In both of these campaigns Muḥammad and his forces first went to Shehu to seek his blessing and prayer for victory before proceeding to the battle.[92] This indicates that 'Abdullāhi, even after the division of the Caliphate, thought it necessary to consult Shehu in all important matters. This was in keeping with his position as vizier. As long as Shehu lived, 'Abdullāhi regarded him as the sole Caliph who had the final say in all matters. He must have regarded himself as Shehu's deputy and representative in the western part of the Caliphate. This view seems to be supported by the fact that on two occasions his son Muḥammad was appointed directly by Shehu to lead the Jihād forces in campaigns in the south, in areas which were under the supervision of his father. The first, which included 'Alī Jedo, captured Mokwa, and the second, reinforced by Bello who led the Zamfara Fulani under their chief Magajin Jada, captured Dabai, Zuru and a number of towns and villages in 1817.

Shehu lived in Ṣīfāwā till about 1815 when, at the request of Bello, he moved to Sokoto which had just been built. He fell ill the following year. A year later, in

1817 A.D. he died.[94]

Thus up to the death of Shehu, Bello, ʿAlī Jedo and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāhi were all fighting under Shehu's command in a region which was under ʿAbdullāhi's supervision. This seems to suggest that Shehu's partition of the Caliphate was not meant to be permanent, nor was it meant to be a division of the Caliphate into two independent states. It was only a temporary measure taken by Shehu to facilitate the administration of the Caliphate. Thus until his death, Shehu had the final word in matters connected with the affairs of the whole Caliphate: ʿAbdullāhi and Bello should be seen as representatives of the Caliph, Shehu, rather than as independent Caliphs. Perhaps the statement of Sa'd b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān that ʿAbdullāhi refused to regard himself as [an independent] emir as long as Shehu lived, should be understood to mean that ʿAbdullāhi considered himself no more than a deputy over the western provinces.[95] This relationship with the Caliph was retained when ʿAbdullāhi swore allegiance to Bello, recognizing him as Caliph over the whole Caliphate. Bello then confirmed him as emir over the western part of the Caliphate, which had been assigned to him by Shehu[96] before. ʿAbdullāhi, in line with the Medieval Muslim constitutional theorists, held the view that the Muslim Community could have more than one Caliph only if the territories were too vast to be effectively administered as one unit.[97] But the fact that he and Shehu and Bello all lived within fifteen miles of one another at Bodinga, Ṣīfāwā and Sokoto respectively, indicates that none of them could have entertained the idea that the Sokoto Caliphate was vast enough to warrant two Caliphs; if they did, they would have lived very far apart.

After Shehu's death, his son Muḥammad Bello was proclaimed his successor in Sokoto. Meanwhile ʿAbdullāhi, who was living in Bodinga some fifteen miles away, on learning of Shehu's death, travelled to Sokoto to pay his last respects to the man he had always held in high regard. ʿAbdullāhi must have hoped to succeed Shehu as Caliph. He was Shehu's chief vizier, one of the oldest Jihād leaders, and undoubtedly the most learned among them. With such qualifications it would not be surprising if he expected to be Shehu's successor.

On arriving in Sokoto, ʿAbdullāhi found the gates of the town closed in his face. Highly distressed, he returned to Bodinga where he stayed eight months "waiting for directions from Shaikh ʿAbd al-Qādir, the founder of the Ṣufī order of Qādiriyyah, as to where he should go".[98] All the time, he must have been trying to decide where to move to from Bodinga, which was too close to Sokoto, and too much on the periphery of the provinces under his supervision. Birnin Kebbi, the capital of the kingdom of Kebbi until its capture by the Jihādists, would have been a suitable choice, but it had two disadvantages: first, until its capture by the Jihādists in 1805, it had been the capital of a corrupt and un-Islamic regime, with which ʿAbdullāhi did not want to associate. Only a new capital symbolizing the new order would be suitable. Secondly, ʿAbdullāhi did not trust Kebbi notables, one of whom, Masa, had acted treacherously against the Jihādists.[99] As to the southern provinces of the western part of the Caliphate, these were still not fully subjugated, and it would not have been wise to establish his capital there. In the end, his choice fell on Gwandu where the Jihādists had camped before, and where

'Abdullāhi had a fairly large following.[100]

Gwandu town derives its name from a Hausa word gandū, royal farmlands. These lands originally belonged to Kanta, the king of Kebbi, whose head-farmer established the village, which gradually grew into a big settlement and came to be called Gwandu. Later Fulani nomads came and settled there as they found the area very rich with pastureland.[101] When the Jihādists used it as a base for their early campaigns, these Fulani nomads gave them some assistance. Many other Fulani had migrated there with the Jihādists, and a number of them settled permanently there and owned lands which were probably given to them out of recognition for their services to the cause of the Jihād.[102] Situated in a valley with ridges surrounding it in all but the southerly direction, where it is protected by marshy areas, Gwandu enjoyed an excellent natural defence. It was close enough to allow 'Abdullāhi keep constant watch on the activities of rebellious Kalambaina some three miles to the south and those of the Kebbawa with their camps at Kimba, Augi and later Argungu. Moreover, Gwandu was also well protected by a wall built by Bello in 1806.[103]

So it was that about 1818 'Abdullāhi moved to Gwandu which he made his permanent headquarters.[104] He now had the difficult task of establishing his authority over the loosely-knit parts of his provinces. About a year after the move to Gwandu, the people of Kalambaina rose in revolt against him under their leader Dan Boya, who had once been his student.[105] For two years 'Abdullāhi struggled but was unable to make headway against these rebels, who were made up of Kebbawa, the Arewawa, the Zabarmawa the Zamfarawa and the Dandawa.[106] They were mainly the followers of the Arewa

leader, ʿAbd al-Salām, who had formerly been a disciple of Shehu, but who later attempted to revolt because he felt that he had not been given a fair share of the spoils of war by the jihād movement. He was, however, brought back into allegiance. Soon after Shehu's death, he proclaimed himself Caliph simultaneously with Bello. Later, he agreed to renounce this claim, but when Bello's position was weakened by revolts in Zamfara, he took advantage of the situation and rose again in rebellion. All attempts by Bello to resolve the situation peacefully failed, and recourse had to be made to arms. Eventually in the month of Ṣafar, 1233 A.H./December, 1817-January, 1818 A.D., Bello defeated him and he fled from the battlefield wounded by an arrow. He died soon afterwards from his wounds.[107]

In the 18th year of the Jihād (1820-21) ʿAbdullāhi, with the help of Bello who unexpectedly came to his aid, was able to crush once and for all the Kalambaina rebels. This occasion marked the end of the estranged relationship between ʿAbdullāhi and his nephew. ʿAbdullāhi formally recognized Bello as Caliph and asked all his followers, including Bello's brother Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, to do the same, while Bello on his part, confirmed him on the lands which were given to him by Shehu.[108] It was also on this occasion that ʿAbdullāhi gave up his title of Vizier which he had received from Shehu in the early days of the Jihād, to Gidado b. Lema, who thus became his vizier as well as vizier to Sulṭān Bello.[109]

With the pacification of the area around Gwandu, ʿAbdullāhi next turned his attention to Nupe. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī b. Shehu and ʿAbdullāhi's two sons, Muḥamman and Muḥammad Sambo, led many campaigns into Nupe territories to

the south. During one of these campaigns led by Muḥammad Sambo, the people of Raba in Nupeland killed the emir of Nupe, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Muḥammad Sambo, misled by the culprits into believing that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān had rebelled against ʿAbdullāhi, approved of their action. However, on his return to Gwandu, ʿAbdullāhi reprimanded him for allowing himself to be misled by the people of Raba. He ordered the immediate release of all prisoners of war brought by Muḥammad Sambo's troops, because the circumstances in which they were captured were against the precepts of the Sharīʿah.[110]

ʿAbdullāhi's lieutenants had also to deal with other troubles. The former king of Kebbi, Hodi, who lost his capital to the Jihadists in 1805, led a revolt against ʿAbdullāhi from his camp in Kimba. ʿAbdullāhi sent his son, Muḥammad, and al-Bukhārī b. ʿAbd al-Salām, reinforced by a contingent sent by Sulṭān Bello under his brother Abubakar Atiku. The combined forces laid siege on Kimba and succeeded in setting part of it on fire, though they finally failed to capture it. The siege was lifted and they returned home, but later the inhabitants of Kimba, fearing another attack from ʿAbdullāhi's forces, drove Hodi out of their town. He tried to flee to Kebbe but was followed and killed at Jambango in 1826. His war drums were sent to Sulṭān Bello and his head to ʿAbdullāhi.[111]

After Hodi's death, his son Jibrīl offered submission to ʿAbdullāhi, who thereby appointed him Sarkin Kebbi, the king of Kebbi. Meanwhile another member of Kebbi ruling family, Karari, who had succeeded Hodi as Sarkin Kebbi of Argungu, rose in revolt. Once more ʿAbdullāhi sent al-Bukhārī b. Shehu, reinforced by Bello, and al-Bukhārī b. ʿAbd al-Salām to restore order. They sacked Kalgo, some

ten miles from Birnin Kebbi about 1828, and Karari's supporters in Birnin Kebbi fled the town to Gulma and Sawwa, leaving behind only the scholars and traders. ʿAbdullāhi now sent his son Muḥamman to declare amān, or pledge of security, to the inhabitants of Birnin Kebbi. The lands and houses abandoned by the fleeing rebels were taken over by Muḥamman's followers.[112]

Soon after Karari's defeat, ʿAbdullāhi died in Gwandu in the month of Muḥarram of the year 1245 A.H./July, 1829 A.D., at about the age of sixty-six.[113]

The events which we have described in this brief account have shown that ʿAbdullāhi did not neglect his duty in the administration of the western provinces. Until his death he was still directing the continuous wars. He was no longer leading the army in person, having entrusted this to his able younger lieutenants. He was fully informed about the events in all parts of the provinces under his administration. He was, for instance, able to know more about the activities of the people of Raba than Muḥammad Sambo who was in charge of the campaign.[114] This suggests that ʿAbdullāhi had a well organized and efficient intelligence service. This totally conforms with his oft-repeated instructions to the rulers.[115]

ʿAbdullāhi seems to have followed in the footsteps of Shehu. Like Shehu, he withdrew somewhat from active administration in his later years, from about 1810. He also continued to direct the affairs of the western provinces after this date. His scholarly pursuits did not cause him to neglect his duties as ruler of the western provinces.

(e) 'Abdullāhi's Character.

'Abdullāhi was a man of faith and religious conviction. His deep-rooted belief motivated him in all his actions. Throughout his life he was consciously trying to follow the example of the Prophet, at a time when many of his contemporaries were craving after pleasure.[116] The strength which he derived from his faith made it possible for him to strive for his ideals - ideals in ethics and morality which he saw as part of his faith.

A simple, straightforward and truthful man, he always called upon others to develop these qualities. He believed that in dealing with others one must possess the moral courage to stand up for the truth. Thus, despite the reverence which he always had for his older brother Shehu, he openly disagreed with him on many issues.[117] Moral courage is thus one of the most conspicuous qualities of 'Abdullāhi. He called on all Muslims to cultivate this virtue.

Next to moral courage 'Abdullāhi counted physical courage and bravery among the most important qualities required in a leader. As we have already seen from the account of the battles in which he was engaged, he set a remarkable personal example.

'Abdullāhi was magnanimous, tolerant and forgiving, but when occasion demanded he was firm and resolute. The way his firmness gave way to his magnanimity in victory can be seen in his treatment of the people of De'be and Fās,[118] and in his acceptance of the submission of Jibrīl on behalf of Hodi.[119]

'Abdullāhi was extremely pious and ascetic. These qualities which were rare in his day isolated him from the greater part of his society. He complained about his

contemporaries who:

> "... Neglect their prayers
> And obey, in procuring pleasures, their own souls.
> And the majority of them have traded their faith for the world,
> Preferring what they desire; their minds are full of temptations.
> They are bold in eating forbidden food; they eat like beasts...
> They do not listen to commands, and they disobey their Imām,
> And they ridicule anyone who stands and forbids them from evil."[120]

Realizing that such people formed the bulk of his society and that:

> "One who keeps away from them must be lonely,
> And one who stays with them will be contaminated",[121]

he took the difficult option. He would not sacrifice his religious conscience by falling in line with his contemporaries. Thus ʿAbdullāhi was driven to some sort of isolation, a thing which he had always advocated as a last resort.[122]

His piety and ascetic nature compelled him to abandon his sick society, and to flee to the neighbourhood of the Prophet's tomb in Medinah where he intended to spend the rest of his life. His journey, as we have seen,[123] ended up in Kano and his ultimate hope of going to the Holy Land was never realized.

ʿAbdullāhi was extremely kind and considerate, especially to the common people. He advised those in authority not to overburden them with excessive religious and mundane demands. They should be treated gently and compassionately following the example of the Prophet. When it came to dealing with the elite (khawāss), however, he was strict. They should be made to feel more responsible and should be encouraged to aspire to high ideals in life.[124]

ʿAbdullāhi was an idealist of a type rare in his time.

He lived among a people who, while professing Islam, were often far removed from a true understanding of its percepts and ideals. To have lived in such an environment while still maintaining the religious ideals which he set out for himself must be regarded as one of his greatest achievements. He spent his time writing books and composing poems preaching the cause in which he believed, and calling upon his contemporaries to abandon their hedonistic pursuits, and to live in accordance with the precepts of Islam.

Notes and Comments on Chapter Two.

1. T.W., p.27.

2. Gidado b. Lema, as quoted in [Wazīr al-Hājj] Junaid b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī b. Aḥmad b. Gidado b. Lema, Ta'nīs al-Aḥibbā', p.4.

3. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Gidado b. Lema, al-Anīs al-Mufīd, p.15.

4. Aḥmad b. Saʿd, Lubāb mā fī Tazyīn al-Waraqāt wa Infāq al-Maisūr (L.T.W.), p.10.

5. I.N., p.552.

6. See ibid., pp.557-559.

7. See ibid., p.552. M. Last (The Sokoto Caliphate, p.lxxiii) deduces this date from the genealogies of ʿAbdullāhi's ancestors. M. Hiskett (T.W., p.5) also gives the date as about the middle of the 15th century.

8. I.N., p.552.

9. These teachers are: his father, his elder brother Shehu ʿUthmān, his uncles Muḥammad Buttugha b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥājj al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. Rāji, and his cousins Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, Muḥammad Thambo b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, Muḥammad al-Firabrī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ḥamm, and al-Muṣṭafā b. al-Ḥājj ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad.

10. See M. Last, op.cit., end paper: Table of Genealogy of Shaikh ʿUthmān b. Fodiye and some scholars related to him c.1800, nos.48, 49.

11. Idāʿ al-Nusūkh, which is an account of his early life and education, and Tazyīn al-Waraqāt, which is a record of the Sokoto jihād.

12. I.N., p.552.

13. M. Hiskett, The Sword of Truth, p.17. ʿAbdullāhi describes his father as his mu'addib, a term which usually denotes not only one who teaches children to recite the Qur'ān, but also to read and write (I.N., p.558).

14. I.N., p.553.

15. The full title of al-ʿIshrīniyyāt is al-Qasā'id al-ʿIshrīniyyāt fī Madḥ Sayyidinā Muḥammad. It is a eulogy of the Prophet composed by Abū Zaid ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yakhlaftān b. Aḥmad, who is known as al-Fāzāzī (d. Dhū 'l-Qaʿdah 627 A.H./September-October, 1230 A.D. This work is still very popular in Nigeria. [ʿUmar Ridā Kaḥḥālah, Muʿjam al-Mu'allifīn (Damascus, 1958), V, 199)].

16. Al-Witriyyāt is a eulogy of the Prophet, composed by Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Witrī, a Shāfiʿī scholar who lived in Baghdād. He died in 662 A.H./1263-64 A.D. The full

title of this eulogy is al-Witriyyāt fī Madh Afdal al-Makhlūqāt. It is also referred to by some as Ma'dan al-Ifādāt fī Madh Ashraf al-Kā'ināt. (Al-Azhar, Fihris al-Kutub al-Maujūdah bi 'l-Maktabat al-Azhariyyah (al-Azhar Press, Cairo, 1949), V:256. This work should not be confused with Muhammad 'Umar al-Miraghinī's al-Witriyyāt fī Madh Khair al-Bariyyāt (Fihris, V:301).

17. Al-Shu'arā' al-Sittah, or the Six Poets, is the name given to a collection of six poems by the following pre-Islamic poets:

Nābighah al-Dhubyānī, 'Antarah b. Shaddād, Tarafah b. al-'Abd, Zuhair b. Abī Sulmah, 'Alqamah b. 'Abda, and Imru' al-Qais. This collection was edited, with full commentary by the Spanish philologist, al-A'lam (d.1083 A.D.).

Of the six, Imru' al-Qais, Antarah, Zuhair and Tarafah are among the composers of the collection of seven pre-Islamic odes which are referred to as al-Mu'allaqāt al-Sab'ah.

18. For instance, Minan al-Mannān (1201 A.H./1786-87 A.D.) on Sufism, and Nazm al-Wustā (1207 A.H./1792-93 A.D.), which is a versification of Muhammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī's commentary on his other work, al-'Aqīdah, on theology. Other examples are Dau' al-Musallī and Kifāyat al-'Awāmm fī 'l-Buyū'.

19. I.M., p.27.

20. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī, a native of Tlemcen in North Africa (d.895 A.H./1489-90 A.D.) was a famous theologian of the Ash'arite school of theology, to which 'Abdullāhi belonged. His compendium on tauhīd (science of the unity of God), which is called Umm al-Barāhīn was a well known book in the Western Sudan. He wrote a number of commentaries on this work. 'Abdullāhi versified one of these called Sharh 'alā al-'Aqīdat al-Wustā (Fihris, III, 244-245).

21. I.N., p.553.

22. For 'Abdullāhi's definition of a believer, see D. Su., pp.49 ff.

23. Al-Ājurrūmiyyah is an extremely popular work by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad (b. Muhammad) b. Dāwūd al-Sanhājī who was popularly known as Ibn al-Ājurrūmah (672-723 A.H./1273-1323 A.D.). He was a native of Fez. This work is also referred to as al-Muqaddimah.

24. Al-Mulhah was composed by Abū Muhammad al-Qāsim b. 'Alī al-Harīrī (446-516 A.H./1054-1122 A.D.). It is in verse. Many commentaries have been written on it, including one by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī who also summarised it.

There is another work bearing the same title by Ibn al-Sā'igh Muhammad b. al-Hasan (d.720 A.H./1320 A.D.).

25. The full title of al-Qaṭr is Qaṭr al-Nadā wa Ball al-Ṣadā. It is a short work by the well-known grammarian, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām (d. c.762 A.H./1360-61 A.D.).

26. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Lubāb al-Madkhal fī Ādāb Ahl al-Dīn, p.81.

27. Al-Akhdariyyah, or Mukhtasar al-Akhdarī is a short work by Shaikh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr of Algeria (d. 10th century A.H.). It deals with ritual purification and prayer. (Sarkīs, pp.406-407).

28. Al-Ashmāwiyyah is a handbook on Mālikī law, dealing with rituals. The author was Shaikh ʿAbd al-Bārī al-Rifāʿī al-Ashmāwī, one of the prominent 10th century A.H. Mālikī scholars.

29. Al-Risālah, or Risālat Ibn Abī Zaid is a widely read text book on Mālikī law. Its author was Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Zaid of Qairawān (d.386 A.H./996 A.D.).

30. I.N., p.553.

31. Mukhtasar Khalīl is perhaps the most famous text book on Mālikī law read by scholars in the Hausa States. It is a highly condensed book which needs extensive commentary to be fully understood. Its author was the North African Mālikī scholar Sīdi Khalīl b. Isḥāq b. Mūsā al-Jundī (d.767 A.H./1365-66 A.D.). ʿAbdullāhi tells us that one of his uncles, Muḥammad Sambo, memorised the whole of al-Mukhtaṣar and its commentary by al-Kharshī. One of ʿAbdullāhi's teachers, Muḥammad al-Maghūrī was highly regarded as a specialist on al-Mukhtaṣar.
    Many commentaries have been written on this work.

32. I.N., p.553.

33. Al-ʿIrāqī is the name given to a work on usūl al-Hadīth by Zain al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusain b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who is popularly known as al-ʿIrāqī (725-806 A.H./1325-1404 A.D.).. This work was compiled in 768 A.H./1366-67 A.D. Al-ʿIrāqī called it al-Tabsirah wa 'l-Tadhkirah, but it became popularly known as Alfiyyat al-ʿIrāqī because it comprised a thousand lines. (Fihris, I, 317).

34. Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī is one of the most authentic collections of the traditions of the Prophet. The compiler was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (d.870 A.D.).

35. I.N., p.553.

36. I.N., p.553.

37. I.N., p.553.

38. ʿAbdullāhi's teachers from outside his clan include Shaikh Jibrīl b. ʿUmar, Ibrāhīm al-Mandarī, Ibrāhim al-Barnawī, Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. Ghāl, Muḥammad Majji b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Muḥammad al-Maghūrī, Muḥammad Thambo b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Maḥmūd al-Zamfārī, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad.

39. T.W., p.27.

40. Ibid., p.27; I.M., p.74.

41. Shehu 'Uthmān is said to have composed no fewer than 480 poems mainly on religious themes. Most of these are in Fulfulde, but at least seven are in Hausa. For 'Abdullāhi's Arabic poems, see especially his Tazyīn al-Waraqāt. He has a large number of Hausa poems, and he has a few in Fulfulde.

42. I.M., pp.77 ff.

43. T.W., p.27.

44. Ibid., p.27.

45. Ibid., p.28.

46. Ibid., pp.27-29.

47. Ibid., p.30.

48. Ibid., p.39.

49. Ibid., pp.41-46.

50. Ibid., pp.49-51.

51. I.M., p.160.

52. T.W., p.51.

53. Ibid., pp.51-54.

54. According to Sultān Muhammad Bello in his Sard al-Kalām, p.2, the attack on Gimbana by Yunfa's forces was made in Ramadān, 1218 A.H./December 1803-January 1804 A.D. This was in the second year of Yunfa's reign, according to 'Abd al-Qādir b. al-Mustafā in his Raudāt al-Afkār. Yunfa must, therefore, have come to the throne around 1217 A.H./1802 A.D. But since King Nafata ruled five years and seven months, it means that he came to the throne in about 1209 A.H./1794-95 A.D. (R.A., pp.14-15).

55. I.M., pp.96, 162.

56. R.A., p.14.

57. Hausa tradition maintains that Shehu 'Uthmān taught King Nafata's son, Yunfa, who was later to become king of Gobir through Shehu's help. But later he turned against his teacher and the Community because he resented the restraint exercised on him by what the Community stood for.

58. T.W., p.54.

59. Ibid., p.54.

60. Ibid., p.55.

61. See ibid., pp.54-55.

62. Ibid., p.62.

63. I.M., pp.97, 162; T.W., p.55; Sard al-Kalām, p.2.

64. Hausa Chronicle, quoted in M. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, p.14.

65. Sultān Bello says that it was some foolish people (sufahā') who were involved in this incident. This rules out Shehu's as well as 'Abdullāhi's involvement. Cf. al-Hājj Sa'īd's suggestion that 'Abdullāhi might have had a hand in the incident (Last, op.cit., p.15).

66. Al-Hājj Sa'īd, Ta'rīkh Sokoto, quoted in M. Last, op.cit., p.15).

67. T.W., p.55; I.M., pp.97, 163.

68. T.W., p.55; I.M., pp.100, 163.

69. T.W., p.55; I.M., p.100.

70. T.W., p.56; I.M., p.105.

71. I.M., p.105.

72. T.W., p.60.

73. Ibid., p.57.

74. Ibid., p.57.

75. Ibid., pp.62-65.

76. Ibid., pp.70-71.

77. Ibid., p.70; 'Abdullāhi b. Fodio, Diyā' al-Hukkām (D.H.) (Cairo, n.d.), p.4.

78. T.W., p.75.

79. Ibid., pp.75-77.

80. Ibid., pp.78-

81. Ibid., p.61; I.M., p.118.

82. T.W., p.61; I.M., p.119.

83. T.W., p.62; I.M., p.119.

84. I.M., p.121.

85. L.T.W., p.2.

86. T.W., pp.66, 67; I.M., pp.133-134.

87. T.W., p.66; I.M., pp.134-135; L.T.W., p.2.

88. T.W., p.81; L.T.W., p.3.

89. Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Tartīb al-Aṣḥāb wa Tajmī' al-Arbāb min Aṣḥāb al-Shaikh 'Abdullāhi b. Fodio, p.9.

90. Among such books are Najm al-Ikhwān (1227 A.H./1812 A.D.), Shams al-Ikhwān (1228 A.H./1813 A.D.), Ta'līm al-Ikhwān 1228 A.H./1813 A.D.), Tauqīf al-Muslimīn 'alā Ḥukm Madhāhib al-Mujtahidīn (1228 A.H./1813 A.D.), and Tahdhīr al-Ikhwān (1229 A.H./1814 A.D.).

91. T.W., p.81; L.T.W., p.4; Tartīb al-Aṣḥāb, p.13. Cf. T.W., p.81 where 'Abdullāhi states that it was Shehu 'Uthmān who raised the army and gave its command to Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāhi. The explanation for this apparent contradiction between 'Abdullāhi's report and Sa'd's is that 'Abdullāhi did not wish to attribute such action to himself in deference to Shehu, who was alive at the time.

92. L.T.W., p.4.

93. Ibid., pp.4-5.

94. The exact date of Shehu's move to Sokoto is not known. However, 'Abd al-Qādir b. al-Muṣṭafā places it in the twelfth year of Yunfa's reign, and about two years before Shehu's death on 3rd Jumādā al-Ākhirah, 1232 A.H./ 20th April, 1817 A.D. This places Shehu's move to about 1815 A.D. (R.A., p.18).

95. Tartīb al-Aṣḥāb, p.9.

96. L.T.W., pp. 6-7.

97. See, for example, D.H., p.12.

98. Tartīb al-Aṣḥāb, p.8.

99. T.W., pp.62, 69; I.M., pp. 135, 137. 'Uthmān Masā, a Kebbi prince, came over to the side of the jihādists and participated in the conquest of Kebbi. He was made King of Kebbi when Birnin Kebbi, the Kebbi capital, fell to the jihādists in 1804. However, when the jihādists were badly defeated at Alwassa, 'Uthmān Masā transferred his allegiance to the winning side.

100. Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān says that 'Abdullāhi's companions numbered about 750. Some of them remained permanently in Gwandu from the time the jihādists first used it as a camp. Others followed 'Abdullāhi wherever he went. Sa'd names only about 240 of these companions in his list.

101. The area is very fertile, with rich marshland where cattle can graze during the dry season, when everywhere else is dry and lacking in pasture. Competition between the cow-Fulani and the peasant farmers who grow crops in these areas is a source of much friction between the two sections of the community.

102. See, Tartīb al-Ashāb, where some of ʿAbdullāhi's companions are identified only by reference to the farmlands which they owned.

103. I.M., p.146.

104. Tartīb al-Ashāb, p.8.

105. Ibid., p.11.

106. L.T.W., p.6. See also, ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Wākar Cin Kalambaina.

107. For a fuller account of ʿAbd al-Salām's relationship with the jihād leaders, see Sultān Bello, Sard al-Kalām fī-mā jarā bainī wa bain ʿAbd al-Salām.

108. L.T.W., pp.6-7.

109. Tartīb al-Ashāb, p.9.

110. L.T.W., p.10.

111. Ibid., pp.9-10.

112. Ibid., p.9.

113. Al-Anīs al-Mufīd, p.15.

114. L.T.W., p.10.

115. See, for instance, D. H., p.13.

116. T.W., pp.70-71.

117. See, for example, D. Su.

118. T.W., pp.75-77. When ʿAbdullāhi captured the entire population of the fortress of De'be, he spared their lives and moved them to the territory of Islam where he set them free. He also set free all the people of the island of Fās after their capitulation, and allowed them to stay in their island.

119. Hiskett, T.W., p.21.

120. Ibid., p.67.

121. Ibid., p.67.

122. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Diyā' al-Qawāʿid, p.10.

123. Vide supra, p.50.

124. D. H., p.5.

CHAPTER THREE

'Abdullāhi's Ideas - Personalities that Influenced Him.

In the following chapters we will attempt to show that Shaikh 'Abdullāhi drew from sources both from within and from without the Mālikī School of Law to which he belonged. He had been a keen student who read with avidity and enthusiasm the writings of his contemporaries and those of earlier scholars. These scholars and their works played a crucial role in shaping his ideas.

In this chapter an attempt will be made to treat in fair detail some of these scholars and their works. To avoid unnecessary detail, the works of leading Mālikī scholars and famous authors whose influence is too obvious to require any special mention here are omitted. Thus, I propose to say nothing about Mālik b. Anas (d.179 A.H./795 A.D.),[1] Khalīl b. Isḥāq al-Jundī (d.767 A.H./1365 A.D.),[2] or Ibn Abī Zaid al-Qairawānī (d.386 A.H./996 A.D.)[3] for instance. It will serve no useful purpose to do this, since these scholars are synonymous in the whole of Western Africa with the Mālikī School of Law.

The influence of Shaikh 'Abdullāhi's brother and teacher, Shehu 'Uthmān, has already been dealt with. The difference in their approach to the problems which they had to deal with will be discussed later. Of the two, Shaikh 'Abdullāhi will be shown to be more of an idealist than Shehu 'Uthmān, and an attempt will be made to explain the reason for his strict adherence to the formalistic approach to Law whenever this is thought essential. This strict approach may have alienated some younger members of the Community who showed

resentment to it.[4]

'Abdullāhi has often been characterized as a scholar too much given to the letter of the law. This characterization, however, is very misleading. It is true that Shehu 'Uthmān, in summing up his opinion of the Sokoto jihād leaders, described 'Abdullāhi as the one among the trio whose specialization was the "externals of the Sharī'ah" (zāhir al-Sharī'ah).[5] It is entirely true, as Shehu had said, that of the three, 'Abdullāhi laid most emphasis on the juristic sphere. But this should not be taken to mean that 'Abdullāhi was less concerned with politics and sufism for example. Far from that. Even in the sphere of strict ritual observances like prayer and fasting for instance, 'Abdullāhi had made it quite clear that a believer's mechanical and absent-minded observance was of little real value.[6] His oft-repeated statement that laws change with the changes in circumstances, and his fascination with siyāsāt shar'iyyah are evidence enough of the incorrectness of the interpretation given by some people to Shehu 'Uthmān's statement. Nor should it be forgotten that before Shehu made this statement he had been well aware of the sufi tendencies of 'Abdullāhi, who had already compiled works on the subject,[7] and who was already a member of at least two sufi orders.[8] This is important because sufism is certainly concerned mainly with the internal, esoteric part of the Sharī'ah. Thus both fiqh and sufism played a very important part in 'Abdullāhi's thinking, and Shehu 'Uthmān must have realized and acknowledged the fact. A look at 'Abdullāhi's writings since the death of Shehu seems to suggest an even greater shift towards sufism on his part.[9] Perhaps it is precisely for this reason that some scholars acclaim him as a sufi while others regard

him as a jurist.

To fully understand 'Abdullāhi's stand in relation to the formal externalities of the Sharī'ah and its spiritual, inner meaning, one must go back to al-Ghazzālī (d.1111), one of the most remarkable and most dominating figures in the intellectual history of Islam, a man whose unquestionable influence on 'Abdullāhi was tremendous and permanent. One of al-Ghazzālī's greatest achievements has undoubtedly been his success in effecting a rapprochement between the legalistic formalism of the jurists and the over personalized approach of the Sufis.[10] Despite initial opposition to his writings by some scholars, including some prominent Mālikī scholars like Ibn Rushd,[11] his works came to be accepted by many Muslims - jurists and sufis alike. Thanks to these writings, more and more Muslims came to understand and appreciate the vital inter-relationship between that form of Islamic teaching represented by fiqh and that represented by sufism. The two are complementary to each other, like body and spirit. 'Abdullāhi adopted these ideas and made them the guiding principle of his life. This underlying idea pervades all his writings.

Al-Ghazzālī's influence on Shehu and Bello was also great. Together with 'Abdullāhi they drew heavily from him. 'Abdullāhi based a number of his works on al-Ghazzālī's writings, particularly on the famous Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn. This book was at first regarded with some suspicion in the Western Sudan, North Africa and Spain.[13] But it survived all opposition and eventually came to be regarded with great admiration and respect in these areas. By the time of 'Abdullāhi it must have been one of the most important books

circulating in the Hausa states. Despite this, however, one does not find it among the books taught to students of higher learning probably for two reasons:

(a) The fact that, strictly speaking, it is not a book on fiqh - fiqh being the most sought-after branch of learning in the Hausa states at the time.

(b) Al-Ghazzālī was a member of the Shāfi'ī School of Law, and in an area where almost the entire Muslim population belonged, and still belongs, to the Mālikī School, the tendency was to acquire mostly books by Mālikī authors. Even in disciplines which cut across the school boundries the tendency had been to read books written by fellow members of one's own school as long as these were available.

To 'Abdullāhi, al-Ghazzālī was a great champion of Islam. He recommended the reading of al-Ghazzālī's writings to everyone who wanted a proper understanding of the essential requirements of Islam.[15] However, despite that 'Abdullāhi drew less from him in matters of fiqh than one might reasonably expect. This is simply because his audience was predominantly, if not entirely, Mālikī, and drawing details of jurisprudence from other sources could result in confusing the ordinary Muslim and in providing an opportunity which pseudo-scholars and corrupt officials could seize to mislead people and pervert justice. Thus 'Abdullāhi concerned himself generally with al-Ghazzālī's sufi teachings and his political ideas.[16] It is true that his book, Kitāb al-Halāl wa 'l-Harām which categorises permitted and prohibited things, is based on al-Ghazzālī's Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn. It is also true that the subject covered generally comes under fiqh, but at the same

time the sufiès regard it as almost their exclusive area.[17] It is very likely that when he compiled it, ʿAbdullāhi regarded it more as a book on sufism than on fiqh.

There must be a reason to explain why al-Ghazzālī, more than any other non-Mālikī scholar, engaged the attention and interest of ʿAbdullāhi and his colleagues. That reason must be sought in the solution provided by al-Ghazzālī to many of the problems with which they were grappling, like the relationship between fiqh and sufism, between the spiritual and the formal elements in a Muslim's life. Another reason is the similarity in the political and social situation both had to deal with. Political instability with all its attendent social and economic consequences was the order of the day in al-Ghazzālī's time, and so it was in ʿAbdullāhi's. The moral depravity, the political corruption, the ignorance and helplessness of the masses - these were features common to the times and social milieu of both.[18]

In his attitude towards sufism, ʿAbdullāhi owed a great deal to al-Ghazzālī and other sufi-jurists like Aḥmad al-Zarrūq, who had also been influenced by al-Ghazzālī. Apart from seeing in proper perspective the relationship between sufism and fiqh, ʿAbdullāhi adopted the attitude that incomprehensible sufi expressions should be avoided. Such exclamations which could be shown to contravene the Sharīʿah should be discouraged. They are to be tolerated only in so far as they could be reconciled with the Sharīʿah. This cautious approach should, however, not be taken to imply a rejection in principle of the proposition that sufis could experience such intense ecstacy as could render them incapable of expressing their experiences except in words incomprehensibl

to non-sufis.[19] But the fact remains, nevertheless, that not every Muslim is a sufi - far less a gnostic. The principles of Sadd al-dharī'ah or thwarting the means, and Maslahah or the common good, demand that ordinary Muslims should be protected from being confused by such utterances. The advice of 'Abdullāhi was simple: if one hears or reads about such statements one should accept such of them as comply with fiqh. Those that apparently contradict it should be rejected, the idea being not to reject them as blasphamous, but to suspend passing judgement on them until one obtains enough evidence of their truth or falsity. In line with the principle of Istishāb, the author of the utterance is to be presumed innocent of any contravention of the Sharī'ah until there is clear evidence to the contrary.[20]

For 'Abdullāhi, as it was for al-Ghazzālī, sufism comprises basically two things: total subjugation of one's will in obedience to God's commands, and great consideration and deep concern for others.[21] Nothing else is required. Thus it is not the popular maxims and the outward show of piety, the wearing of shabby clothes or the working of miracles, the bodily rythmic movements or the vociferations accompanying them, that make a sufi. It is rather the purity of his heart, the avoidance of such vices as hypocrisy, vaingloriousness and deception.[22] The same insistence, typical of al-Ghazzālī, on reminding his readers of what constituted true, balanced Islam was thus shown by 'Abdullāhi: all Muslims must realize that the purity of the heart and the acts of the limbs must always go together, hand-in-hand. Like al-Ghazzālī also 'Abdullāhi saw it necessary to teach the common people and the elite at levels most appropriate to them. Even the teaching and explanation of the creed must be made in such

a way that the intelligent intellectual as well as the average man in the street could grasp its essentials, each according to his own ability.[23] Again his idea, advocated especially for dealing with people taken before the law, that each individual should be treated according to his own circumstances,[24] is to be seen as no more than the extension of this principle.

Another sufi whose writings were familiar to ʿAbdullāhi was the North-African sufi-jurist Aḥmad al-Zarrūq (1442-93 A.D.), one of whose works on sufism ʿAbdullāhi twice abridged. Like al-Ghazzālī, he was also a Sunnī sufi-jurist, and belonged to the Ashʿarite School of theology. Both defended moderate sufism against foreign influences and objectionable innovations. Both started as jurists and ended up as sufi-jurists, symbols of the strong link between the two aspects of the Sharīʿah.[25] ʿAbdullāhi shared all the above attributes and in addition shared membership of the Mālikī School of Law with Aḥmad al-Zarrūq.

The link between al-Zarrūq's sufi order (al-Zarrūqiyyah) and the other major orders prevalent in North Africa at the time has been established.[26] This order, which is regarded by some as merely a branch of the Shādhiliyyah order,[27] had strong connections with the Qādiriyyah order of which ʿAbdullāhi was a member.

All the above factors combine to explain why it is that ʿAbdullāhi should have appreciated the writings of Aḥmad al-Zarrūq. This should all the more be so since both have often drawn upon the same earlier sufis and jurists.[29]

ʿAbdullāhi differs from al-Zarrūq in a number of ways chief among which is that he was more of a jurist than a

sufi, and he did not found an independent sufi order. But it should be borne in mind, as stated before, that this does not in any way imply a belittling of his sufi standing. His involvement in sufism is once again demonstrated by his initiation into the Khalwatiyyah order by his and Shehu ʿUthmān's great and renowned sufi teacher and reformer, Shaikh Jibrīl b. ʿUmar.

Shaikh Jibrīl's influence on both ʿAbdullāhi and on Shehu ʿUthmān was tremendous. He had striven earlier - before the jihād - to reform the Hausa society and eradicate all traces of corruption and un-Islamic accretions to the true faith. Incensed, no doubt, by the flagrant neglect of the requirements of the Sharīʿah everywhere in Hausaland, he reacted too strongly by formulating the doctrine that he who disobeyed the injunctions of Islam was not only a sinner but he was an infidel as well. Such things as the uncovering of the body and the indiscriminate mingling of men and women, depriving the orphan, taking more than four wives at a time, and the like, constituted, according to him, not only sin but total unbelief.[30] It is no wonder, therefore, that even such of his students as Shehu ʿUthmān, despite all the respect and reverence they had for him, found it necessary to take him to task for these extremist views which Shehu condemned as heretical and as being the views held by the Khawārij and the Muʿtazilah.[31] Indeed this doctrine smacks of khārijism although it is difficult to establish how Shaikh Jibrīl came to hold it.

Khārijism had been introduced into North Africa as early as the first half of the 8th century A.D. By the early part of the 10th century some Khārijite refugees forced out of

Tahert by pressure from the north, moved farther south in the desert area and built the city of Sedrata "within striking distance of the Negro Kingdoms in the south". This city was on a caravan route linking the western Sudan and the Niger valley with the Mediterranean world. By the middle of the 11th century five cities were built in the Saharan region by these Ibādite group of Khārijites. The early 17th century saw the springing up of another important Khārijite city in the Sahara - the city of Guerrara. Despite their tendency to lead an exclusive life, these Khārijites, mainly because their cities were situated on trans-Saharan caravan routes, engaged in trade and therefore found themselves mixing with those whom they came into contact with.[32] It is quite possible that some of their ideas passed into the Western Sudan through the medium of the traders. Jibrīl might have acquired some of these ideas in the Western Sudan, perhaps during the period of his travels first as a student and later as a scholar.

Apart from Khārijite influence, there are other possible explanations for these extremist views of Shaikh Jibrīl. They could have represented a reaction to the extreme laxity and moral degeneration of the nominal Muslims in the Western Sudan in his days. This is the interpretation suggested by Shehu ʿUthmān when he wrote: "Nothing brought the Shaikh (May God most High be pleased with him) to this other than the greatness of his compassion for this Muḥammadan community."[33]

The most widely held opinion regarding the source of Shaikh Jibrīl's extremist views is that which suggests Wahhābī influences. It is known as a fact that he had performed pilgrimage twice to Arabia and spent considerable time there.[34]

The possibility that he had been influenced by the climate of opinion there cannot, therefore, be totally ruled out. However, it is rather odd that Shehu ʿUthmān attributed Shaikh Jibrīl's ideas to the influence of Khārijism and Muʿtazilism and made no mention whatever of Wahhābism of which, one may venture to say, he could not have been totally unaware. It is thus reasonable to assume that Shehu ʿUthmān did not think that these ideas stemmed from the influence of the Wahhābīs. This assumption is further supported by the following factors. In the first place, Shaikh Jibrīl was a sufi, and the antagonism of the Wahhābīs towards sufism is well-known. Secondly, there was a complete absence in his strictures of any condemnation of the veneration of saints and visitations to their tombs, a practice most obnoxious in the eyes of the Wahhābīs. Nor could it be argued that these practices were not present in the areas in which Shaikh Jibrīl was operating.[35] Furthermore, the Wahhābīs do not consider as constituting unbelief the sins which he considered so.

Thus, while it is difficult to pinpoint any particular influence which determined Shaikh Jibrīl's ideas, it may be reasonable to suggest that some or all of these factors were responsible for his holding the views which he held. However, one thing is certain: Shaikh Jibrīl's extremist views were not shared by Shehu ʿUthmān and ʿAbdullāhi. The former had made his views quite clear in his writings.[36] As for ʿAbdullāhi, he did not make any direct and specific comment on his teacher's ideas, Shehu ʿUthmān's criticism having sufficed. However, elsewhere he made his stand quite clear. Like his great mentor al-Ghazzālī, he maintained that as long as a

person professed to be a Muslim, he could not be anathematized on grounds of disobedience unless it is established beyond reasonable doubt that his sins are true reflections of his unbelief.[37] In that case it is not the act that makes the person unbeliever but the lack of faith which underlies it and which is not always easy to ascertain or *infer from the act. Because of this uncertainty as to the* significance of an outward act as an indicator of the underlying idea in the mind, ʿAbdullāhi disagreed not only with Shaikh Jibrīl but with Shehu ʿUthmān, al-Maghīlī and Sulṭān Muḥammad Bello as well, who all anathematized a Muslim who, for example, would side with unbelievers to fight against other believers.[38] While ʿAbdullāhi considered this act as a grave sin, it did not nullify the faith of a believer.[39] This is diametrically opposed to the Khārijite doctrine which equates grave sin with unbelief.[40]

As regards Wahhābism, it is quite obvious that ʿAbdullāhi did not share their characteristic views. It is true that he was opposed to the extremist form of sufism, but not to sufism as such. His membership of the Qādiriyyah and the Khalwatiyyah sufi orders is evidence of this. More significantly, however, he approved of many practices which are strongly condemned by the Wahhābīs. For instance, he urged his readers to pay visits to living saints and the tombs of saints. He regarded this not only as permissible but as a meritorious religious act.[41] He even believed in seeking the intercession of saints before God on the Day of Judgement. Thus, we read in his Tazyīn al-Waraqāt the following lines taken from his eulogy of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the founder of the Qādiriyyah order:

"O my Lord, O Thou Who gives favour to His servants,
Bring me near, by Thy grace, to ʿAbd al-Qādir.
Indeed the wrong-doer takes refuge with the noble ones,
So I take refuge with Shaikh ʿAbd al-Qādir.
Though I might not have done well, yet my shāikh has done well;
Indeed I claim descent[42] from ʿAbd al-Qādir.
Even though I might not be worthy of answer, yet answer,
Because my intermediary is the rank of ʿAbd al-Qādir.[43]

This cannot issue from one holding Wahhābī ideas. The same conclusion suggests itself when one reads the final section of ʿAbdullāhi's Diyāʾ al-Hukkām which deals with pilgrimage. In it he urged Muslims to visit the tombs of the Prophet and his Companions and Successors - Abū Bakr and ʿUmar b. al-Khattāb. He urged them also to visit the tombs of the prophets in Syria as well as those of the Companions and the Successors in Medina, and the tombs of leading scholars.[44]

It is therefore quite safe to conclude that neither the Wahhābī nor the Khārijite ideas influenced ʿAbdullāhi. On the contrary, the emphasis placed by him on the desirability of visiting the saints and their tombs might have been meant as a counterpoise to the Wahhābī criticism of these practices. The success of his view is to be seen today in the large number of pilgrims flocking to his tomb in Gwandu and to Shehu ʿUthmān's in Sokoto.

It seems rather strange that one reads practically nothing in the Sokoto jihād literature to suggest that the jihād leaders had any awareness of the Wahhābīs and their movement. Even before the jihād, many pilgrims started their long journeys to Arabia from the Hausa states.[45] Others passed through the region in transit.[46] This traffic would, with the increased security subsequent to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, have increased. There is no doubt, therefore, that news about the Wahhābī movement and their campaigns

could not have escaped their notice. Many of the returning pilgrims who were closely associated with the jihādists, like Shaikh Jibrīl, must have spoken about their experiences in Arabia and through them the jihād leaders must have learnt something, albeit through second-hand sources, about the Wahhābiyyah.

In the copy of 'Abdullāhi's Diyā' al-Siyāsāt in my possession, there is what appears to be a reference to the Wahhābiyyah (written therein وهبية = Wahbiyyah), which is described as a religious sect so far removed from orthodoxy that even inter-marriage between them and orthodox Muslims was not permitted. These people were not even to be allowed to worship in the Mosque with other Muslims.[47] At first sight, this may lead one to suppose that the reference was to the Wahhābīs. But on further investigation, when it is realized that the above legal opinion had been issued by 'Abd al-Khāliq Abū al-Qāsim al-Suyūrī of Qairawān (460 A.H./1067-68 A.D.),[48] and that his student al-Lakhmī (d. 498 A.H./1104-5 A.D.)[49] also issued his own legal opinion concerning them,[50] it becomes clear that the reference could not have been to the Wahhābiyyah which was born only in the 18th century A.D.

A figure that undoubtedly played an important part in the thinking of 'Abdullāhi and his contemporaries is the famous Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī (d. 1504 A.D.) whose influence in religious and political teachings all over the Western Sudan was tremendous. A native of Tlemcen in North Africa, he travelled to the Western Sudan and wrote two important epistles, one at the request of Sulṭān al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Askia of Songhai (1493-1528 A.D.), and the other at the request of the Sulṭān of Kano, Muḥammad Rumfa b. Ya'qūb

(1463-99 A.D.). These epistles were frequently and extensively quoted by the Sokoto jihād leaders.[51]

The importance of these epistles in the thinking of the Western Sudan scholars was great. Unlike most other sources, they had the advantage of being products of the local Western Sudanese situation: they were attempts at dealing with problems facing real historical persons and situations - in Songhai of which Hausaland was at one time a part, and in Kano which has always been a member of the Hausa States. The jihād leaders had already drawn attention to the fact that the situation and conditions to which particularly the epistle to Sulṭān Muḥammad Askia referred were almost exactly like those prevailing in their time in Hausaland.[52] This helps to explain why al-Maghīlī's influence through these epistles had been so great among these jihād leaders. This is of course apart from the legend that it was he that introduced the Qādiriyyah order into the Western Sudan.[53]

Although ʿAbdullāhi, like Shehu ʿUthmān and Sulṭān Bello, made quite extensive use of al-Maghīlī's ideas especially as enunciated in al-Ajwibah ʿalā As'ilat al-Hājj Muhammad Askia, yet it is clear that he did not accept all of them, although al-Maghīlī was a Mālikī scholar. This confirms the observation that ʿAbdullāhi was guided not by personalities but by ideas. His attitude on this question may be summed up in his saying, "This is according to our understanding. But if anyone has a clear proof (for his assertion), let us see it, and we will follow it".[54] We have noticed earlier how he completely disagreed with al-Maghīlī, Shehu ʿUthmān and Bello on the question of non-Muslims fighting against fellow-Muslims. He was liberal in his definition of a Muslim, a fact reminiscent of the influence of his admired mentor al-Ghazzālī.

A contemporary of al-Maghīlī, whose writings were known to ʿAbdullāhi was the famous polygraph, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505 A.D.).[55] Like al-Maghīlī, he had visited Hausaland and taught in some cities like Katsina where the two met and argued about the merit of the study of logic.[56] Al-Suyūṭī's influence on ʿAbdullāhi and his contemporaries was, however, much less than al-Maghīlī's. But, the well-known commentary on the Qur'ān, popularly called Tafsīr al-Jalālain[57] of which al-Suyūṭī was a co-author, was widely read throughout the Hausa states. It was one of the books from which ʿAbdullāhi often drew when he compiled his commentary on the Qur'ān, Diya al-Ta'wīl. He also compiled an abridged and annotated version of al-Suyūṭī's Tārīkh al-Khulafā', which he called Diyā' al-Muqtadīn li-'l-Khulafā' al-Rāshidīn, and quoted him in many of his works.

Another contemporary whose writings influenced ʿAbdullāhi was the sufi-jurist al-Mukhtār b. Aḥmad al-Kuntī (1729-1811 A.D.), whose support ʿAbdullāhi solicited for the jihād. He seemed to have been aware of the situation in the Hausa states even before the Jihād started.[58]

Sīdi al-Mukhtār must have read the works of Aḥmad al-Zarrūq and quoted extensively from them. In his Shifā' al-Nās, based on al-Mukhtār's Zawāl al-Ba's, ʿAbdullāhi included a quotation of al-Zarrūq's words by al-Mukhtār.[59]

A measure of how ʿAbdullāhi was impressed by al-Mukhtār is perhaps to be seen in the special request he made to him for his writings and for what he had acquired from his own Shaikh concerning knowledge and religious sufi invocations. This request probably never reached Sīdi al-Mukhtār and if

it did, it was never replied, as ʿAbdullāhi indicated.[60] However, ʿAbdullāhi was able later to get possession of at least one of his writings - Zawāl al-Baʾs - with which he was so impressed that he summarised it twice within a period of two months. The first summary he called Shifāʾ al-Nās. This was completed in the last month of the year 1241 A.H.[61] A month later in Muḥarram 1242 A.H.[62] he abridged the Shifāʾ al-Nās into Dawāʾ al-Waswās.

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī (d. 1565)[63] the author of Kashf al-Ghummah is another of those scholars whose ideas had considerably influenced ʿAbdullāhi. Like those so far mentioned in this chapter he too was a sufi-jurist. Apart from citing his views on a number of issues, ʿAbdullāhi also based his Diyāʾ al-Ummah on his Kashf al-Ghummah, which is a collection of ḥadīth and the practices of the Companions of the Prophet.

The name of the Damascene scholar Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Naḥḥās (d. 1411)[64] may also be mentioned. ʿAbdullāhi summarised his book on the conduct of jihād, which he called Mashāriʿ al-Ashwāq and called the summary Diyāʾ al-Mujāhidīn. Apart from this, no other mention of this name has been found in ʿAbdullāhi's works at hand. It is not quite clear why ʿAbdullāhi chose to summarise the contents of Ibn al-Naḥḥās' book. One probable reason may be the fact that the book was compiled by a man who, like ʿAbdullāhi himself, had lived through a jihād and experienced it. ʿAbdullāhi, therefore, saw in Ibn al-Naḥḥās a reflection of himself. More important perhaps is the probability that ʿAbdullāhi wrote the book in response to the situation in Hausaland. At the time of writing, (1226 A.H./1811 A.D.), the jihād was still in progress, especially against Borgu area. Gwari country was also

still unconquered and Sokoto jihād was far from over, although most of Hausaland had been pacified. Already by late 1809 - early 1810, ʿAbdullāhi had complained about the apathy shown by many of his people towards taking part in the jihād. A book like Ibn al-Naḥḥās' was therefore just the kind of thing he needed to help raise the morale of his people and rekindle their passion and enthusiasm for jihād.

Finally the sufi-jurist Ibn al-Ḥājj,[65] a Mālikī scholar, must also be counted among those who influenced ʿAbdullāhi. His famous book, al-Madkhal, was summarised by ʿAbdullāhi under the title Lubāb al-Mad-Khal. ʿAbdullāhi regarded Ibn al-Ḥājj's Madkhal as an example of the kind of book which must be read because it complies with the sunnah.[66]

These are the scholars who had the greatest influence on ʿAbdullāhi's thinking. Even a cursory look at the list will show that the vast majority of them could not be described as outright jurists or outright sufis. They were moderate scholars who had combined elements of both. This is what ʿAbdullāhi expected of a good and pious scholar, and this is how he looked upon himself. It is because of this subtle blending together of fiqh and sufism that some scholars regard him as a jurist[67] while others see him as a sufi.[68] In actual fact he was simply a good Muslim.

Notes and Comments on Chapter Three.

1. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Mālik b. Anas b. Mālik (714-795 A.D.) was the founder of the School of Law named after him. Almost the entire Muslim population in West Africa belong to this School.

2. Khalīl b. Ishāq b. Mūsā al-Jundī (d. 767 A.H./1365-66 A.D.) was a North African scholar. He was a member of the Mālikī School of Law and the author of the work al-Mukhtasar, one of the most studied textbooks on Law among the Mālikīs in the Western Sudan.

3. Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Zaid was a North African Mālikī scholar. His al-Risālah has been (and still is) a standard textbook on Mālikī Law throughout the Western Sudan. He died in 386 A.H./996 A.D.).

4. ʿAbd al-Qādir b. al-Muṣṭafā, Masā'il al-Ikhtilāf, pp.I,II.

5. Shehu ʿUthmān b. Fodio, Najm al-Ikhwān, 67.

6. See, for instance, ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Kitāb al-Targhīb wa 'l-Tarhīb, (T.T.) p.53.

7. These works include:
   Minan al-Mannān, (12-1 A.H./1786-87 A.D.).
   Sabīl al-Najāt, (1220 A.H./1805-06 A.D.).
   Ta'rīb mā ʿÁjjam al-Shaikh, (1st Shawwāl, 1222 A.H./ 2nd December, 1807 A.D.).

8. It should be noted that Shehu's comment was made in Dhū 'l-Qa'dah of the year 1227 A.H./ around November, 1812 A.D., when he wrote his Najm al-Ikhwān.
   ʿAbdullāhi was a member of the Qādiriyyah and the Khalwatiyyah orders. His affliation to the Bakka'iyyah order (which is a branch of the Qādiriyyah order) was established through Sīd Mukhtār b. Aḥmad al-Kuntī. (See J. S. Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, p.94). Muḥammad Bello also received the wird (office) of al-Kuntī which was identical with the Qādiriyyah wird. (I.M., pp.222-224).

9. Among the works dealing with sufism which he wrote since the death of Shehu ʿUthmān are the following:

   Matiyyat al-Zād (8th Jumādā al-Ākhirah, 1233 A.H./ Wednesday, 17th April, 1818 A.D.).

   Shifā' al-Nās Min Dā' al-Ghaflah wa 'l-Waswās (Saturday 23r Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah, 1241 A.H./ 31st July, 1826 A.D.).

   Dawā' al-Waswās (Friday, 13th Muḥarram, 1242 A.H./ 20th August, 1826 A.D.).

   Al-Nasā'h fī Ahamm al-Masāliḥ, (Thursday, 2-th Jumādā al-Ākhirah, 1242 A.H./20th January, 1827 A.D.).

   Tahdhīb al-Insān min Khiṣāl al-Shaitān (Thursday, 1st Muḥarram, 1243 A.H./28th July, 1827 A.D.).

Diyā' al-Qawā'id wa Nathr al-Fawā'id li ahl al-Maqāṣid (Sunday, 8th Sha'bān, 1243 A.H./26th February, 1828 A.D.).

Qawā'id al-Salāh ma' Fawā'id al-Falāh (Friday, 10th Shawwāl, 1243 A.H./ 27th April, 1828 A.D.).

10. See, for example, G. C. Anawati, "Philosophy, Theology, and Mysticism", in The Legacy of Islam, ed. J. Schacht with C. E. Bosworth, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1974). See also R. N. Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs (Cambridge, 1969), p.382; and Al-Ghazzālī, Book XX of al-Ghazālī's Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, trans. L. Zolondek (Leiden, 1963), p.8.

11. Muḥammad Riḍā, Abū Hāmid al-Ghazzāli, (Cairo, 1924), pp.29-31.
Mūḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad, called Ibn Rushd, and generally known as Averroes to European scholars, was a native of Cordova in Spain. He was a great philosopher, and he belonged to the Mālikī School of Law. He accused al-Ghazzālī of inconsistency and wrote a rejoinder to al-Ghazzālī's Tahāfut al-Falāsifah which aimed at refuting the doctrines of the philosophers. He died in Morocco in 595 A.H./1198-99 A.D.

12. These are as follows:
Ādāb al-Mu'āsharah li Tullāb al-Najāt, adapted mainly from the third volume of Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn. See Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, pp.189-190, 211.

Diyā' al-Anām fī 'l-Halāl wa 'l-Harām, summarised from Kitāb al-Halāl wa'l-Harām, the fourth "book" in the quarter on 'adāt. See volume three of Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, pp.89-154.

Diyā' Ahl al-Ihtisāb 'alā Tarīq al-Sunnah wa 'l-Ṣawāb, epitomised from the ninth "book" of the second quarter on 'adāt entitled Kitāb al-Amr bi 'l-Ma'rūf wa 'l-Nahy 'an al-Munkar. (See Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, volume two, pp.302-351).

Tahdhīb al-Insān min Khisāl al-Shaitān, a summary based on the whole of volume three of Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn.

Usūl al-'Adl, (section 1), is based on al-Ghazzālī's Nasīhat al-Mulūk which al-Ghazzālī originally composed in Persian. It was later translated into Arabic by 'Alī b. Mauhūb of Irbil. The Persian original was most probably addressed to the Seljuq Sultān Muḥammad b. Malikshah. The date of composition was either between 1105-1111, or between 1109-1111 A.D. The Arabic version sometimes bears the title al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Nasīhat al-Mulūk. (see F.R.C. Bagley, trans. Ghazālī's Book of Council for Kings (Nasīhat al-Mulūk), (London, 1964), pp.XVI-XXI).

13. M. Riḍā, Abū Hāmid al-Ghazzālī, 29-30.

14. Ibid., p.30.

15. T.W., p.12.

16. Eg. The contents of Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, and those of Nasīhat al-Mulūk.

17. See al-Ghazzālī, Raudat al-Tālibīn wa 'Umdāt al-Sālikīn, in Farā'id al-Lālī, ed., Muḥammad Bakhīt. (Cairo, 1924), p.144.

18. For a description of al-Ghazzālī's society see Ann K. S. Lambton, "The Theory of Kingship in the Nasihat ul-Muluk of Ghazali in Islamic Quarterly, Vol.I, 1, 1954,p.53.

19. 'Abdullāhi b. Fodio, Al-Nasa'ih fī Ahamm al-Masālih, wa huwa al-Dīn (al-Nasā'ih), p.13.

20. Ibid., p.13.

21. See al-Ghazzālī, Khulāsat al-Tasānīf fī al-Tasawwuf, tr. Muhammad Amīn al-Kurdī (Cairo, n.d.), p.21. See also 'Abdullāhi b. Fodio, Minan al-Mannān li-man arāda Shu'ab al-Imān, p.1.

22. See, for instance, 'Abdullāhi b. Fodio, Lubāb al-Madkhal, pp.95 ff. See also al-Nasā'ih, p.23. Diyā' al-Anām, pp.30-31.

23. See al-Ghazzālī "Kitāb Qawā'id al-'Aqā'id" of Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, trans. as The Foundations of the Articles of Faith, by Nabīh Amīn Fāris (Lahore, 1963), p.53. See also 'Abdullāhi b. Fodio, Fath al-Basīr fī 'Ilm al-Tabsīr, ch.I. 'Abdullāhi criticises those scholars who insist that an ordinary Muslim must understand and expound the faith in the manner of the scholastics and the philosophers.

24. See, for instance, 'Abdullāhi's Diyā' al-Siyāsāt, p.8. See also his Diyā' al-Hukkām, pp.75-76.

25. 'Alī Fahmī Khushaim, "Ahmad Zarrūq: His Life and Works", unpublished Thesis (Durham University, 1971), pp.9-10.

26. Ibid., 162.

27. Ibid., 161(a).

28. Ibid., 162.

29. See Khushaim, op.cit., p.32 for list of authors studied by Ahmad al-Zarrūq. These include Ibn al-Hājj and al-Ghazzālī.

30. A. D. H. Bivar and M. Hiskett, "The Arabic Literature of Nigeria to 1804" in B.S.O.A.S., XXV,1, 1962, 142. See also M. Hiskett, "An Islamic Tradition of Reform in the Western Sudan", B.S.O.A.S., XXV,3, 1962, 589. I.M., p.59.

31. 'Uthmān b. Fodio, Nasā'ih al-Ummah al-Muhammadiyyah, quoted in Hisket, "An Islamic Tradition of Reform...", p.588.

32. E. A. Alport, "The Mzab", in J.R.A.I., LXXXIV, 1-2, 1954, 34-44.

33. Nasā'ih al-Ummah al-Muhammadiyyah, p.590.

34. T.W., p.31.

35. Visitation to the tombs of pious scholars seems to have been a common practice in Hausaland before and after the jihād. The tomb of one of Shaikh Jibrīl's teachers, Shaikh 'Alī Jabbo, in Marano, was an object of visitation by many people. Bello tells us that he visited the tomb of Shaikh 'Umar b. Muhammad b. Abī Bakr at Barayar Zaki on a number of occasions. Another tomb, that of Shaikh Muhammad al-Manqūrī at Marnona, was visited twice by him, on one occasion in the company of Shehu 'Uthmān. (See I.M. pp.53,56). The tombs of Shehu 'Uthman, 'Abdullāhi b. Fodio and Muhammad Bello are also visited by hundreds of pilgrims every year even today.

36. See, for example, his Shifā' al-Ghalīl fī hall mā ashkala min Kalām Shaikh Shuyūkhinā Jibrīl. See also his Nasā'ih al-Ummah al-Muhammadiyyah. A.D.H. Bivar and M. Hiskett give a slightly different title for Shifā' al-Ghalīl. They call it Shifā' al-Ghalīl fīmā ushkila... B.S.O.A.S., XXV,1, 1962, 141. W.E.N. Kensdale, "Field Notes on the Arabic Literature of the Western Sudan", in J.R.A.S., 1955, p.167 gives the title as Shifā' al-Ghalīl fī kull mā ashkal min kalām Shaikhinā Jibrīl. The title which has "al-Qalīl" for "al-Ghalīl" is obviously a copier's error.

37. Abū Hāmid al-Ghazzālī, Al-Iqtisād fī al-I'tiqād, (Cairo, n.d.), pp.112.114.
'Abdullāhi b. Fodio, D.Su., pp.50.51.

38. See Najm al-Ikhwān, Ch.IV., pp.52 ff.
D. Su., p.52.
I.M., pp.163, 167.

39. D. Su., p.53.

40. See Ann K. S. Lambton, "Islamic Political Thought", in The Legacy of Islam, ed. J. Schacht, 2nd ed., (Oxford, 1974), p.406.

41. See, for instance, Diyā' al-Qawā'id, p.12; Qawā'id al-Salāh, pp.5-7. Also D.H., pp.98-99.

42. The reference is to spiritual relationship.

43. T.W., p.51.

44. D.H., pp.98-99.

45. For example Shaikh Jibrīl b. 'Umar, Muhammad Sambo who spent over ten years in Arabia, Muhammad Rāji, etc. Muhammad Sambo returned from the pilgrimage in the month of Ramadān (1207 A.H./April, 1793 A.D.) while Muhammad Rāji returned in 1209 A.H./1794-95 A.D. (See T.W. pp.31, 37, 39.)

46. For example Ahmad Bāba's grandfather, Ahmad b. ʿUmar b. Muhammad Aqīt of Timbuktu, who left Songhai for the pilgrimage in 890 A.H./1485 A.D., on his return passed through the Hausa states. He stayed for sometime in Kano where he taught (Taʾrīkh al-Sūdan, p.37). Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Abī Muhammad of Tāzakht, known as Aida Ahmad, on his return from pilgrimage settled in Katsina where he became a judge. He died there around 936 A.H./1529-30 A.D. (Taʾrīkh al-Sudān), p.40

47. D. Sy. p.27.

48. See Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī:b. Farhūn, Al-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab fī Maʿrifat Aʿyān ʿUlamāʾ al-Madhhab (Cairo ,1351 A.H./ 1932-33 A.D.), p.158.

49. He is Abū al-Hasan ʿAlī b. Muhammad al-Lakhmī, a native of Qairawān. He was a Mālikī scholar, but he often adopted views from other Sunnī Schools of Law. (See al-Dībāj, p.203).

50. D.Sy., p.28.

51. The epistle to Sultān Muhammad Askia of Songhai is entitled Ajwibat Asʾilat Askia (See Najm al-Ikhwān, 7th fasl, pp.52, 54, 57, etc..)
The epistle to Sultān Muhammad Rumfa (Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad b. Yaʿqūb) is entitled Misbāh al-Arwāh according to ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio. See Diyāʾ Ahl al-Rashād (D.A.R.), pp.45, 53). See also D.Sy., p.10. Shehu ʿUthmān also distinguishes between Ajwibat Asʾilat Askia and Misbāh al-Arwāh but does not say to whom the latter was addressed. (See Najm al-Ikhwān, pp.52-53., 57). Cf. Bivar and Hiskett, op.cit. p.107.

52. See, for example, Najm al-Ikhwān, p.65; D.Su., p.31; I.M., p.183.

53. Bivar and Hisket, op.cit., pp.106-7.
Cf. Thomas Whitcomb, "New Evidence on the Origins of the Kunta", B.S.O.A.S. XXXVIII, 2, 975, p.409, where it is claimed that no mention of the Qādiriyyah order was found in the Western Sudan before the time of Sīd Mukhtār al-Kuntī (1729-1811). However, as the order had been firmly established north of the Sahara even before the 16th century, there could have been some adherents to it in the Western Sudan as early as that date.

54. D.Su., p.33.

55. He was Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūtī (d. 1505 A.D.). He was an Egyptian scholar and belonged to the Shāfiʿī School of Law.

56. Ādamu ʿAbd Allāh al-Ilorī, Misbāh al-Dirāsāt al-Adabiyyah fī ʾl-Diyār al-Nījīriyyah, pp.16-18.

57. This Commentary was started by Jalāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī (d. 1459-60 A.D.), an Egyptian scholar of the Shāfiʿī School of Law. He died after finishing the Commentary on the 17th Chapter, Surat al-Isrā'. His contemporary and fellow countryman and his namesake Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī completed the Commentary of the whole Qur'ān in 871 A.H./1466-67 A.D. The Commentary is often referred to as Tafsīr al-Jalālain, or the Commentary of Two Jalāl al-Dīns. The part of the Commentary written by al-Suyūṭī is sometimes referred to as al-Takmilah. (See, for instance, Najm al-Ikhwān, p.53).

58. See T.W., p.49. Also I.M., pp.221-222.

59. See Shifā' al-Nās min Dā' al-Ghaflah wa 'l-Waswās, p.2.

60. T.W., p.49.

61. Saturday, 23rd Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah, 1241/31st July, 1826,A.D.

62. Friday 13th Muḥarram, 1242 A.H./20th August 1826 A.D.

63. His name is ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Shaʿrānī. He was an Egyptian scholar and belonged to the Shāfiʿī School of Law and the Shadhilliyyah Sufi order. He is generally regarded as a sufi scholar. He died in 1565 A.D.

64. He was a jihādist and was killed in 1411 A.D., fighting against the Europeans. He was learned in jurisprudence, engineering and mathematics. He followed first the Hanafī School of Law and later he changed over to the Shafiʿī School.

65. He was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAbdarī, a North African scholar popularly known as Ibn al-Ḥājj, (d. 1336 A.D.). He was a follower of the Malīkī School of Law and a well known sufi.

66. T.W., p.45.

67. Najm al-Ikhwān, p.67; see also Sulṭān Muḥammad Bello, quoted in [Wazīr] Junaid b. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, Taḥnīs al-Aḥibbā' bi-Dhikr Umarā' Gwandu al-Asfiyā', p.19.

68. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, quoted in ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿUthmān (Gidado b. Lema), al-Anīs al-Mufīd, p.14, describes him as "the bearer of the banner of sufism". See also ʿAbd al-Qādir's Al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyyah fī Taḥqiq al-Ṭarīqah al-Qādiriyyah, p.2.

CHAPTER FOUR

'Abdullāhi's ideas on Islamic Government.

(a) The Caliphate.

In his writings, 'Abdullāhi gave a good deal of attention to the administration of the Muslim Community. This is because of his realization of the fact that it is upon the proper administration of the Community that the happiness and well-being of Muslims in this life and in the hereafter depends. The whole purpose of life on earth is to prepare for the eternal life after death. Salvation is achieved only by submitting to the will of God as embodied in the Sharī'ah, the Islamic way of life. While he lived, the Prophet received divine revelation which he transmitted and interpreted to the faithful. On his death revelation ceased, but the faith remains and so does the Muslim Community. The faith must be upheld and protected, and proper administration is essential to secure and maintain conditions under which members of the Muslim Community can live a good Muslim life. This cannot be achieved without a leader, a successor to the Prophet in all but his prophetic function. It is this head of the Muslim Community that is referred to as Khalīfah, the Caliph, the successor to the Prophet. 'Abdullāhi refers to him variously as Khalīfah, Imām, Amīr al-Mūminīn and Sultān.[1]

According to 'Abdullāhi, the election of a caliph is a religious duty obligatory upon the Community at all times and under all circumstances.[2] This insistence on the necessity of the Caliphate is very important. A community without a leader is like a flock without a shepherd, a

disorganized and, therefore, weak lot, unable to thrive. The Community must have a leader, a symbol of its unity and solidarity. This symbol must be maintained at all costs, for upon it rests the strength of the Community. That is why ʿAbdullāhi, like most Muslim constitutional writers, maintains that as far as possible there should be only one caliph to head the whole Muslim Community.[3] This is how it should be, for the Qur'ān[4] and the Prophet[5] have always spoken of the Muslim Community as a single community (*Ummah*) and, with divided loyalty there will be no single Community; multiplicity of leadership reflects division and disunity which in turn leads to conflict and insecurity. The very existence of the Muslim Community is thus threatened by it.

The unity of the Caliphate is thus the ideal which the legists aim at achieving. But the ideal is one thing and its realization quite another. What are the Muslims to do in a situation where they are faced with hard facts of life, when two or more caliphs come to power in different parts of the Muslim world? This is by no means an ideal situation, but it must be faced. On this issue some legists like al-Māwardī adhere to the theoretical and the idealistic. They maintain that under no circumstance should there be more than one caliph. If at a certain time two or more claimants have assumed the office, the first in point of time is the rightful Caliph.[6] Al-Māwardī (991-1031 A.D.) lived at a time when the Umayyads in Spain (929-1031 A.D.) and the Fāṭimids in Egypt and North Africa (929-1171 A.D.) proclaimed themselves independent caliphs and claimed the leadership of the Muslim Community. He totally repudiated them both and gave recognition to the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs as the only true ones. The reasons for this are not hard to

find: the Fāṭimids were Shī'ah who were rejected by the Orthodox Muslims. As for the Umayyads in Spain, while being Orthodox Muslims, they were bitter enemies of the 'Abbāsids who had overthrown their dynasty in Syria. To give them recognition would have been tantamount to placing them on an equal footing with the 'Abbāsids, thus implying that the 'Abbāsids had no legal right over the territories under their control. Again by refusing to recognize them, al-Māwardī perhaps hoped to forestall subsequent attempts by other ambitious rulers to carve out independent caliphates for themselves and thus break up the Community.

The non-recognition of all but one caliphate has far reaching implications. It means that the actions of the unrecognized government are null and void, which in turn implies that the Community living under such government lives permanently in sin.

While agreeing in principle that all attempts should be made to ensure a single united caliphate, 'Abdullāhi was nonetheless willing to concede that there could be circumstances where maṣlaḥah (public good) demands that more than one caliph can be recognized. He maintains that in a situation where a Muslim Community exists outside the sphere of authority of a caliph, it is permissible for someone to provide leadership there so that "the rights and government of the individuals should not be left un-attended."[7] Thus when faced with a choice between the maintenance of the symbol of the unity of the Islamic Community on the one hand and the maintenance of law and order and the application of the Sharī'ah on the other, he opts for the latter alternative. Applied to the situation in the Hausa states in the nineteenth century, this meant that the Sokoto Caliphate was legally

constituted. This explains why in ʿAbdullāhi's writings and in the whole Sokoto literature there is total silence about the caliphate in Turkey. It was considered too remote to have any authority in the Hausa states at that time.

According to ʿAbdullāhi, the ideal caliphate lasted for only thirty years. That was the caliphate of the first four Successors of the Prophet, the four rightly-guided Caliphs as they are often referred to. It was the period when the caliphs were guided by the Sunnah, the tradition of the Prophet, in all they did.[8] Most later successors were, properly speaking, royal dynasties guided in their administration not by the Sunnah of the Prophet but by the exigencies of government.[9] Among the few exceptions ʿAbdullāhi counted al-Hasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib[10] and ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.[11] By implication, the other Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid Caliphs were regarded as kings rather than caliphs, and as such they were recognized as providing necessary leadership to the Muslim Community.

To be fit for the office of caliph, a person must, according to ʿAbdullāhi as it is according to most Sunnī legists, possess all the qualities which are necessary for the proper performance of the caliphal duties. The qualities listed by ʿAbdullāhi[12] correspond almost exactly to those stipulated by al-Māwardī,[13] though stated in a different way. But unlike al-Māwardī, ʿAbdullāhi was quite prepared to allow the caliphate of a non-Quraishite when circumstances demand that[14] - hence the validity of the Sokoto Caliphate which ʿAbdullāhi justifies.

An examination of these qualities reveals their significance in the proper discharge of the caliph's duties.

That he should be a Muslim is obvious for he is the religious as well as the political head of the Muslim Community, whose first duty is to uphold and protect the faith and to administer the caliphate in accordance with the demands of the Sharī'ah. He also leads the faithful in prayer.

As a successor to the Prophet in all but his prophetic functions, one of the caliph's duties is to guide the Community in all matters of religion. It is his responsibility to see that basic religious education is given to all Muslim members of the Community. He sees to the proper observance of prayers and fasting, the proper collection and distribution of zakāt and to the affairs of the pilgrims and the fighting of jihād.[15] To be able to perform these duties properly, the caliph must be learned. New situations may arise for which no precedents are available. The caliph should be learned enough to be capable of ijtihād, i.e. passing independent judgement on points of law, based on the sources of Islamic Law. If he is not so qualified, he must refer to the learned doctors of Law to advise him on all matters.[16]

Next the caliph should be just and of honourable record ('adl). This means that he should have reached legal majority, be in full control of his mental faculties, and be of considerable political acumen. Justice is particularly important since judgement between litigants is one of the important duties of the caliph. But justice is more than the passing of objective and unbiassed judgement between disputants: it means absolute fairness and objectivity in all dealings with all people.[17]

'Abdullāhi attaches great importance to the administration of justice and to the need for absolute impartiality

in deciding cases. The parties involved in disputes should be treated in exactly the same way even in such seemingly trivial matters as the order of their appearance before the judge, and the way he looks at them and speaks to them.[18] Anything likely to interfere with this must be avoided. Thus no gifts or services should be accepted from either party if it is feared that they can influence the decision in favour of the benefactor. For the same reason one is advised not to judge cases where a relation is involved.[19]

Judgement is to be passed only after the caliph or judge has thoroughly examined all available evidence. Ideally only the evidence of witnesses of irreproachable character is to be admitted, but where that is difficult to obtain, discretion must be used in admitting the testimony of the best witnesses available. In the circumstance 'Abdullāhi recommends more witnesses than the usual minimum of two.[20]

A caliph may not possess the necessary learning to enable him to decide cases in accordance with the precepts of the Sharī'ah. In that case he must have at his side pious 'Ulamā', or religious doctors, to advise and guide him. There are times, however, when his decision is determined by public interest, maṣlahah and by expediency. He may, for instance, allow intercession on behalf of decent people who inadvertently happen to commit some offence.[21] But the hardened criminals must be apprehended as soon as they are suspected of a crime. They should be remanded and thoroughly questioned. These are treated as a special category, outside the normal cases where suspects are remanded for only a short period pending the completion of investigations.[22]

The candidate for the caliphate must also be mukallaf, i.e. legally responsible. That is to say, he must reach legal majority and be sane. Since the office of caliph is the highest one in the caliphate, the encumbent must possess those qualities which enable him to administer the Caliphate in a responsible manner. This provision helps to protect the Muslim Community against having their most important institution headed by a young, inexperienced and mentally deranged underling. Another reason, and from the legal point of view perhaps even a more important one, why this condition should be satisfied, is the fact that Muslim jurists regard the Caliphate as a legal contract, or 'aqd, between the Caliph and the Muslim Community. But a legal contract is valid only if both parties satisfy the condition of taklīf,[23] or legal responsibility - hence the insistence of the Orthodox legists on this qualification.

Another qualification is that the candidate should be male. The duties of the caliph are such that their proper and efficient performance requires a man rather than a woman.

Freedom is another pre-requisite for candidature to the caliphate. The importance of this is to ensure the effectiveness of the caliph. During the days when the earlier legal theorists expounded their views, as in the days later when 'Abdullāhi wrote, slavery was a recognised institution throughout the world. Islam was always concerned with the improvement of the lot of slaves and with their ultimate emancipation.[24] But for practical reasons it was not possible at that time to abolish slavery. When dealing with the question of the Caliphate the Orthodox legists found themselves faced with two categories of

people: the free and slaves. They could have shut their eyes to social realities and follow the ideal according to which no distinction could be made between the two classes of mankind who are equal before God. But at the same time they realized how vital it was to ensure that whoever occupied the office of the caliph should be one who commanded the respect of the Community. In their society it was evidently the free who commanded this respect. This was a stark reality which had to be recognized.

Next, a caliph must possess kifāyah or the ability to fulfil the material requirements of his office. This is necessary if he is to perform his duty of defending the land of Islām, of fighting jihād and of supervising the administration of the caliphate.

Finally, the caliph should be a member of the Quraish tribe to which the Prophet belonged and which was powerful and respected by all Arab tribes even before the advent of Islam. It was thus easy and natural that its leadership should be acceptable to all the Arabs and consequently to all Muslims. ʿAbdullāhi was quick to point out, following al-Nafrāwī, that in the event of there not being a suitable Quraish candidate, a suitable one from any tribe can be elected.[25] The important consideration is that the person so elected should command the respect and obedience of the whole Community.

The candidate who satisfied the above requirements was considered to be fit for election to the office of the caliph. This election is valid only if it is effected by the persons who are commonly recognized as representing competent opinion in the Community, the ahl al-ḥall wa 'l-ʿaqd (those who have the competence to tie and untie).

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It is they who, after due consultation, ensure the selection of the most suitable candidate.[26] As for selecting a caliph through designation, this method is to be permitted only if the reigning caliph designates his successor during his death illness. That designation should be made without any partiality, after due consultation with the religious leaders of good counsel.[27] The Community can refuse to recognize a successor designated in an improper manner.[28] There were precedents in Islamic history to support this view. Abū Bakr, the first caliph, designated ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as his successor in his last illness, in the firm belief that he was the most suitable person to succeed him. ʿUmar made sure that the caliphate was not to be retained in his family. This was taken as a proof of his impartiality.[29] Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān (661-680 A.D.), on the other hand, was sharply criticized for designating his son Yazīd as his successor, especially as he did so while he was in good health.[30]

Unfortunately, Diyāʾ al-Muqtadīn in which ʿAbdullāhi expressed the above views is undated. The tone of his criticism in it is sharp and often made in the second person singular.[31] All this suggests that he had a specific person in mind and was referring to a real situation. We have already noted how, in the fourth year of the jihād, ʿAbdullāhi became so critical of the way the jihād was being conducted that he decided to withdraw altogether from it.[32] At the time Diyāʾ al-Muqtadīn was written, he seems to have been critical of the leadership and the method of succession. We must conclude that the book must have been written not long after the death of Shehu and the succession of Sulṭān Bello, and certainly before the reconciliation between the

latter and ʿAbdullāhi after the fall of Kalambaina in 1821. A date between 1817 and 1820 seems most likely. During this period, ʿAbdullāhi and his supporters did not recognize Sulṭān Bello's succession, because they believed that it did not satisfy all the necessary conditions. ʿAbdullāhi must have considered himself a better candidate. His statement that the strictness of a candidate does not disqualify him so long as he is upright may be seen as a defence of his candidature against possible criticism.[33]

Once the caliph assumes office by properly constituted means, all Muslims must recognize him and give him their loyalty and allegiance. But they must obey him only as long as he acts in accordance with the demands of the Sharīʿah. This is because the allegiance of the Community is to the Sharīʿah and not to the person of the caliph who, like everyone else, is bound by it. This point is emphasized by ʿAbdullāhi when he insists that the oath of allegiance to the Caliph must be taken only on the specific condition that he promises to be guided by the provisions of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah.[34] As long as he keeps his promise, the Community is morally bound to give him allegiance and support. If he fails to observe his part of the contract, the Community is not bound to fulfil its obligations to him. Thus should there be a rebellion against an oppressive caliph, the Community is advised not to come to his help.[35] By implication, the Community is advised to help rebellion against an unjust caliph. Thus rebellion is permissible if it is motivated by a genuine desire to replace a corrupt government by a good one based on the precepts of the Sharīʿah - the welfare of the Community and the commitment to the Sharīʿah being the ultimate criterion determining whether a government

is a good one or a bad one. Here ʿAbdullāhi seems to have departed from many earlier legists[36] who taught that an unjust ruler could not be removed by force. He agrees with them that even an oppressive tyrant is better than no ruler at all. But he maintains also that if a better alternative can be found after the reigning caliph has forfeited his right to rule by his failure to carry out his obligations in accordance with the demands of the Sharīʿah, that better alternative must be supported provided that his caliphate is in the best interest of Islam and the Community.[37] In this, ʿAbdullāhi's view is not far removed from al-Qurṭubī's and al-Nafrāwī's. The former agrees that open and clear moral depravity (fisq) on the part of the caliph constitutes valid ground for his deposition.[38] Al-Nafrāwī advances the view that if the continued exercise of authority by a caliph is detrimental to the welfare of the Community, he must be removed.[39]

Other grounds for the removal of a caliph include anything which militates against his ability to carry out his duties properly. Apostasy, physical and mental disability as well as permanent captivity are listed. The caliph can also resign if he believes that he is no longer capable of performing his functions properly.[40]

(b) Wazīr or Minister.

Of all the caliph's officials who help in the administration of the caliphate, the most important is the wazīr, or minister. ʿAbdullāhi distinguishes three categories of wazīrs, the highest being wazīr al-tafwīd (Minister with delegated authority), one to whom the caliph has delegated full authority. This type is similar to a modern Prime

Minister and is likened to a father in his relationship with the caliph: "He awakens him when he sleeps, guides him when he becomes blind and reminds him when he forgets. He is the caliph's partner in the organization [of the affairs of the realm], his chief support in the political administration, and the refuge to whom he resorts in times of crisis."[41] His authority is co-extensive with the caliph's, and therefore he exercises general supervision over all the affairs of the caliphate. He is competent to make political decisions and is invested with judicial authority, the first and most important requirement being knowledge of the Law and its application in courts.

That the wazīr al-tafwīd must be extremely learned is inferred from 'Abdullāhi's statement that the caliph "gains from him knowledge about what he is ignorant of, and confirms from him knowledge of what he knows."[42] The suggestion here is that the caliph himself need not necessarily possess learning which allows for ijtihād. This seems to contradict the requirement of such learning which 'Abdullāhi lists among the qualifications for the caliphate. There is, however, no incompatibility between the two statements: one represents the ideal, and the other represents a compromise solution which becomes acceptable as a result of the recognition of the practical impossibility of achieving the ideal in a given situation. This somewhat ambivalent attitude of craving for the realization of the ideal while at the same time being prepared to be realistic when necessity makes it imperative, is a familiar attitude of 'Abdullāhi, as it is indeed the general attitude of Islam itself. In the event of a man of mediocre learning becoming a caliph, his shortcoming in this respect must be made up for by his obligation

to consult the learned of whom the wazīr should be one.

The extent of the power of wazīr al-tafwīd of whom Reuben Levy says that "From his important official duties, and from his great powers of patronage he filled a position akin to that of a modern Prime Minister"[43] is to be seen in 'Abdullāhi's statement that his powers are identical with the caliph's, except in three ways: he cannot appoint an heir-apparent to succeed the caliph, he can not ask to be relieved of his duty, nor can he remove from office those appointed by the caliph.[44]

In contrast with this powerful official, the second type of wazīr, wazīr al-tanfīdh (Executive Minister) cannot initiate decisions nor can he exercise judicial authority. His duty is to see to it that the decisions of the caliph are carried out.[45]

The third category of wazīr is wazīr al-istishārah (Advisory Minister). His function, as the name suggests, is to advise the caliph whenever he is consulted. He must be a man of wisdom, learning and piety whom the caliph is urged to consult on matters relating to all sections of the Community. It is the duty of an advisory minister to make sure that the caliph does not act despotically.[46] Learned scholars to whom the caliph turns for advice on legal decisions in novel cases may belong to this category of wazīr who, like the executive wazīr, has no judicial authority.

These distinctions between the three different categories of wazīrs may have evolved historically from one prototype, with the fluctuations in the balance of power between the individual caliphs and their wazīrs eventually determining the relative power of each one of them. As

Reuben Levy has observed, "Its [the vizierate's] importance fluctuated according to the personality of the caliph and of the official himself".[47] A strong and capable wazīr easily dominates the caliph and represents the delegated authority type, while a weak one under an able caliph represents the executive type. The history of the 'Abbāsids[48] and the history of the Sokoto Caliphate[49] both furnish examples of this relative increase in the power of the wazīr with the relative decrease in the power of the caliph.

(c) Emirs or Provincial Governors.

Emirs are officers in charge of the provinces of the caliphate. Like the wazīrs, they are of different categories. The highest in rank are the provincial governors who have general overall powers delegated to them, at least in theory, over their provinces. These governors enjoy a wide latitude of freedom and autonomy and are in fact, though not in theory, often independent of the central authority. The extent of their power and authority can be inferred from 'Abdullāhi's statement that they are like kings and caliphs.[50] They exercise in their areas of jurisdiction the same duties and functions of the caliph. Political, military, financial and judicial administration as well as religious matters all fall under their authority.

These emirs are obliged to raise contingents for the caliph and send them to join his forces in fighting the jihād. This is probably the only outward demonstration of the recognition of the caliph by these powerful governors who, presumably, cannot have been included among those officials whom the caliph is called upon to remove from office and to have their illegally acquired wealth

confiscated.[51] He simply has no physical power to discipline them, and ʿAbdullāhi must have realized that. It is interesting to note that so far as the sources available show, nowhere has ʿAbdullāhi called on the emirs to mention the name of the reigning caliph in their Friday Khuṭbah (sermon) as a sign of recognition of his overlordship and of loyalty to him - a practice so important in the ʿAbbāsid times, and one upheld by many scholars.[52] ʿAbdullāhi's own Khutbah included no mention of a caliph.[53] The explanation for this may be the fact that Mālikīs regard even prayer for the Caliph during the Khutbah to be a reprehensible innovation, much less mentioning his name in other connection therein.[54]

Of the three categories of emirs charged with the provincial administration, one is authorized to deal with military matters only, while the other is delegated with authority to deal with the political and military administration. Both these officials may, however, exercise judicial authority although, strictly speaking, it does not fall within their jurisdiction. There are no fixed rules regarding these appointments, much seems to depend on local customs and traditions.[55]

This flexible attitude towards local administration seems to show a readiness to recognize the hard facts of life. As in the case of the wazīr, ʿAbdullāhi was aware that the types of emirs and their powers preceded the theories expounded by the constitutional theorists and, in this case, are no more than their rationalization.

The first category of emirs represents those emirs who succeeded in setting themselves as de facto independent rulers, but who would seek to legitimize their rule through a nominal recognition of the authority of the caliph. That ʿAbdullāhi, while recognizing them as a practical necessity, does not give them full approval is evidenced by his reference to them as mulūk (kings),[56] a term which, in his view, had a derogatory connotation. However, not all emirs who belonged to this category were regarded with disfavour. Thus Askia Muḥammad of Songhai (1493-1528 A.D.), who exercised in his territory powers identical to the caliph's, is looked at with admiration and respect. It is true that Sulṭān Askia Muḥammad, while on pilgrimage in 1496-97 A.D., was appointed as the caliph's representative over Songhai territories with the title of Khalīfah,[57] but this took place years after he had made himself the ruler of Songhai. ʿAbdullāhi's approval of Askia Muḥammad stems from his recognition of the fact that the province was too far removed from the Central Caliphate to make efficient direct administration possible, and from the fact that it had not been regarded as an integral part of the Central Caliphate. To set up a separate emirate or even an independent caliphate there was not only permissible, but obligatory, because the alternative would have been to leave Muslims without a leader.[58] The same argument was true of the emirate of Kano before the jihād, and of the Sokoto Caliphate later. In all these cases no deliberate refusal to submit to the authority of

the caliph is inferred. The over-riding principle of the public good of the Muslim Community dictated the necessity of establishing these administrations.

As for the second and third types of emirs, their power seems to have been limited. In a historical context, they may have represented those emirs who, in the course of time, lost their initial power and came to occupy a position within the province lower than that of the treasury officer. There is even a suggestion that some of them were appointed to accompany the treasury officers and enforce payment of taxes.[59]

The fourth and last official listed under the emirs has neither political nor military functions. He is the Wālī al-Naẓr fī 'l-Maẓālim or Wālī al-Jarā'im (the reviewer of crimes), an officer whose function is similar to that of a judge, but much wider in scope. He can exercise the power of siyāsah in deciding cases, like the caliph. In fact his function was previously performed by the caliph who, ideally, was the only person able to perform it efficiently.[60] The court of Wālī al-Jarā'im concerns itself with acts of oppression of the citizens by the governors and other government officials occupying high rank over whom the judges are unable to enforce their decisions. Apart from the caliph himself, the only other people qualified to hold this office are those emirs who resemble him in their power and authority.[61] These are presumably the emirs who fall under the first category discussed above.

(d) Qādī, or Judge.

Although the officials treated so far in this section may have authority to administer justice - a fact which demonstrates how important it is - the qādī(judge) is the one official for whom it is the principal function. The importance attached to the office of qādī can be gauged from 'Abdullāhi's statement that for a suitably qualified person its occupation is "one of the greatest acts of worship". It is a function for which Prophets have been sent.[62] The settling of disputes, the suppression of the injustices of the wicked, the protection of the weak against the strong - these functions of the qādī are essential to the preservation of the Ummah, the Muslim Community. The Law acts as a deterrent against criminals. By locking them up in prisons the healthy members of the community are protected from their crimes and also from their infectious moral disease. Always very keen on the preservation of the unity of the Muslim Community and on the maintenance of its moral purity, 'Abdullāhi saw it necessary to dilate on the office of the qādī. His dilation may also be due to his concern with the trend he had observed in his society where judges did not always follow the right procedure in deciding cases.[63]

To ensure that only the best qualified people are appointed to this important office, 'Abdullāhi sets down the qualifications for the office of qādī. The encumbent must be a man of full age. He must be sane and free. He must be of honourable moral character and probity ('adālah). The importance of this prerequisite is such that 'Abdullāhi subscribes to the view that decisions passed by a judge who does not meet this requirement are null and void.[64]

Everything must be done to preserve this quality. The judge is enjoined to model his life on the demands of the Sharī'ah, to protect his integrity and to avoid anything likely to tarnish his religious image. Since justice is the most essential attribute of the judge, everything must be done to remove any impediment which might threaten it. The authorities are called upon to pay the judges adequate salaries so that they might not be tempted, for financial considerations, to favour the rich at the expense of the poor.[65] A judge is prohibited from accepting gifts from all but his close relations, because gifts often have a corrupting influence on those in authority. Again, with his material needs adequately provided for by his salary, it will be reasonable to expect a judge to abide by the injunction that he should restrict to the barest minimum his social intercourse. Indeed he should avoid all but the essential ceremonies like marriage.[66] The reason for all this is simply to restrict the circle of those who may develop relations with him strong enough to temper with his strict impartiality. It is for this very reason that he is not allowed to try cases in which his close relatives are involved. These cases and cases involving his own personal rights should always be referred to another court.[67] Another important requirement is that the judge should possess knowledge of the Law and its application in court. The great stress laid on learning, piety and justice in respect of a judge is such that in the absence of a fully qualified person, one who possesses these qualities takes the highest priority. In all circumstances, a dissolute and ungodly person must never be appointed to the position of qāḍī.[68]

The qādī's jurisdiction may include other functions besides his legal duties, depending on the terms of his appointment and on local traditions. Generally his duties include the administration of the property of orphans and of the mentally handicapped, the supervision of pious endowments (ḥubs), the execution of testaments (waṣāyā) and acting as guardian in the marriage of women without guardians.[69] In serious cases where ḥudūd or penalties specified by the Sharī'ah involve execution, the judge's decision must be ratified by the caliph or the emir. In lesser ḥudūd his decision is final.[70]

The judge must make himself easily accessible to all people. He should therefore hold court in public where everyone can reach him without hindrance. He must be fair and treat both sides in a dispute with absolute equality. To ensure fairness the judge is warned against passing judgement when in a physical or temperamental condition which is likely to influence his decision.[71]

The judge must follow the proper legal procedure in trying cases. His decisions must be based on the provisions of the Law as they are laid down in the Qur'ān, the Sunnah of the Prophet, and the consensus of the Community. Only when no provisions on the case at hand are available in these sources is the judge justified in resorting to ijtihād, if he is qualified to perform it, otherwise he must base his decision on the well-known and generally recognized view (mash-hūr) of the School of Law to which he belongs. Failure to observe the above procedure renders his decisions null and void, as does his failure to give the accused a chance to defend himself.[72]

The ultimate responsibility for the administration of the Caliphate rests with the Caliph. But, as we have seen, the Caliph delegates much of his authority to a number of officials, the over-riding principle being that he must ensure that they all act in accordance with the demands of the Sharī'ah. As such, the Caliph is responsible for removing from office any official who does not exercise his function properly; this general rule applies to all officials including judges.[73]

As the Caliph's representative, a judge may not appoint a deputy without the Caliph's approval.[74] The Caliph acts as the guardian of the Law whose supremacy is complete. In Islam everyone, from the Caliph to the most humble member of the Community, must submit to the rule of the Sharī'ah.

(e) Muhtasib or Censor of Public Morals.

The Muhtasib is the officer whose function is to see that the religious and moral precepts of Islam are observed. Although he is subordinate to the qādī in rank and power, his function is almost as important. 'Abdullāhi sees hisbah, or the duty of a Muhtasib, as one of the foundations upon which the religious and mundane well-being of the Muslim Community rests.[75] The duty to enjoin people to do good and to avoid evil, which is the essence of the Muhtasib's function, is one of the fundamental functions of the Prophets, comparable to prayers and giving alms in importance.[76] A society which neglets these functions does so only at its peril - moral depravity, corruption, crime and strife being the inevitable consequences.

'Abdullāhi attributes most of the religious, moral and

social evils which pervaded his society to the neglect of enforcing public morality. He complains that most of the people lived in abject ignorance even of the most fundamental religious principles. The scholars whose duty was to teach and guide, shirked this responsibility and thereby committed serious sins.[77] So long as ignorance remains, those who know are under an obligation to impart their knowledge to others. One's activity should start with one's closest circle and then gradually expand to all places within reach until ignorance is wiped out. For this purpose a learned man does not necessarily mean an all-round scholar. A person who learns even a little knowledge must impart it to those who do not know it.[78] Members of the Muslim Community should always be bearers of the torch of learning. Those who shut themselves up in their homes and refused to learn or teach are regarded as sinners because they neglected their responsibilities as enjoined by the Qur'ān, the Sunnah and the consensus of the Community.[79] 'Abdullāhi felt that this subject was so important that he wrote a whole treatise on it.[80]

'Abdullāhi sees hisbah, or the duty of the muhtasib, as a duty devolving upon every Muslim, but because of the wide area which it covers, it became necessary to appoint officials to devote all their time to it. However, this does not remove the responsibility altogether from Muslim individuals so long as these individuals possess the necessary qualification, and are able to perform this duty without serious danger to themselves or to others.[81]

The official muhtasib is competent to deal only with matters which are explicitly forbidden or disapproved by the Qur'ān, Sunnah and the consensus of the Muslims. He

is concerned with what people do and, for this reason, even the actions of persons who are not legally responsible come under his authority.[82]

The muhtasib's function covers actions done in public. He has no authority over offenders who confine their activities within their homes. But he can intervene to stop an evil act committed in a private place if a complaint is lodged with him.[83] However, in public places the official muhtasib, as well as any member of the Muslim Community, can intervene to stop evil-doing and enforce right-dealing on his own initiative and without having to receive a complaint.[84]

In performing his function, the aim of the muhtasib must be the enforcement of public morality and the reform of society. He is, therefore, expected to use persuasion and gentle argument and to appeal to the conscience of offenders.[85] Al-Ghazzālī advanced the view that a muhtasib, on his own initiative, could gather an army and fight offenders if necessary.[86] 'Abdullāhi disagreed with him on this issue. He maintained that a muhtasib must have the approval of the Caliph before fighting offenders.[87] According to him, this was what maslahah, or the good of the Muslim Community, demands, otherwise the result will be anarchy and strife. Here we see 'Abdullāhi's concern for the peace and stability of the Community. His readiness to disagree with the view of such renowned scholar as al-Ghazzālī, whom he highly respected and whom he often referred to by the title of Hujjat al-Islām, or the Authority of Islam, is proof of his independence of opinion.

The functions of a muhtasib cover a wide range of human activities, but the transactions in the market-place occupy

a central position. For this reason he is referred to as Sāhib al-Sūq,[88] or market inspector. He deals with such matters as dishonesty and cheating in sales, and refusal to settle debts. He inspects weights and measures to ensure uniformity of standard, and prevents the sale of items not recognized as saleable property by the Sharī'ah.[89]

Outside the market, the muhtasib inspects streets and stops obstructions to their users. He inspects public baths and other public places to ensure conformity to the standards of morality and hygiene set down by the Sharī'ah. In the Mosque he instructs those in need of help on the proper way of observing prayer.[90]

The foregoing represents 'Abdullāhi's ideas as to what constitutes the best political and administrative structure for the Caliphate. Most of the views expressed are not his own, but are views which he selected, after careful thought and consideration, from a mass of opinions expressed by earlier scholars. Even a quick look at his writings on this subject reveals that they contain views taken from scholars who lived in different periods under social, political and economic conditions often quite different from those obtaining in Hausaland when he wrote. For this reason, criticisms have been levelled against him, accusing him of accepting uncritically different and apparently contradictory opinions expressed by other scholars.[91] However, the fact is that he accepted nothing blindly, but that he was practical enough to recognize that although the Muslim Community is one, there are always diverse local conditions and peculiarities to be taken into account when dealing with the theory and practice of government. There are also changes necessiated by the natural process of the passage

of time. Due to these considerations, he put before the reader a number of different views which he regarded as acceptable under different circumstances. The reserve is always there from which to draw when the need arises.

ʿAbdullāhi was both an idealist and a pragmatist, and it is precisely these two qualities which are responsible for the variety of views which he held on a number of issues. He placed before the reader the ideal to be striven for, and at the same time provided alternatives where the ideal was impossible to realize. To determine, beforehand, that a particular ideal is impossible to realize and that, therefore, it should not be the constant guideline and goal, or conversely to rule that local situations should warrant no special consideration when it comes to political administration, were both equally unacceptable to ʿAbdullāhi. As far as he was concerned, the ideal should be always placed before the people, and everyone must strive to realize it. Any laxity in this endeavour on the part of the individual and society as a whole was, to him, immoral. It falls far short of the requirement of ihsān which requires a Believer to worship God as though he sees Him before his eyes.

Notes and Comments on Chapter Four.

1. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Diyā' al-Imām fī Salāh al-Anām, p.4; D. H., p.10; D. Su., p.4.

2. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, D. H., p.10; Diyā al-Muqtadin li-'l-Khulafā' al-Rāshidin (D.M.K.), p.2; Diyā' al-Imām, p.2.

3. Diyā' al-Imām, p.2.

4. Holy Qur'ān, 23:52.

5. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām, Sīrat Sayyidinā Rasūl Allah, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1858) Vol.I, part 1, p.341.

6. ʿAlī b. Muhammad al-Māwardī, al-Ahkām al-Sultāniyyah (Cairo, n.d.), p.7.

7. Diyā' al-Imām, p.3. See also D. Su., pp.35-36.

8. D. H., p.10. See, for example, the practice of the first Caliph Abū Bakr (632-634 A.D.) when faced with a new situation (D.M.K.), pp.10-11.

9. D. H., p.10.

10. D.M.K., p.60.

11. Ibid., p.64.

12. See Diyā' al-Imām, p.2; D. H., pp.11-12.

13. Al-Māwardī, op.cit., p.4.

14. Diyā' al-Imām, p.2.

15. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Diyā' al-Wilāyāt, p.1; Diyā' al-Imām, pp.15-16.

16. Diyā' al-Imām, pp.13, 14; D.Su., p.19.

17. D.H., pp.15-16; D.Su., p.10.

18. Diyā' al-Imām, p.25; D. H., pp.15-17.

19. D. H., pp.29, 30.

20. D. Su., p.10.

21. D. H., p.76; D. Su., pp.5-6.

22. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Diyā' al-Siyāsāt (D. Sy.), p.8; D. H., p.76.

23. See, for instance, Sālih ʿAbd al-Samīʿ al-Ābī, Jawāhir al-Iklīl, ed. Muhammad Muhaisin (n.p., n.d.), II, 2.

24. See, for instance, Holy Qur'ān 4:92, 4:93, 5:89.

25. Diyā' al-Imām, p.2.

26. Ibid., p.2.

27. D.M.K., p.30.

28. Ibid., p.30.

29. Ibid., p.55.

30. Ibid., p.63.

31. Ibid., pp.9, 11, 13.

32. T.W., p.70.

33. D.M.K., p.30.

34. Diyā' al-Imām, pp.5-6; D.M.K., p.18.

35. Diyā' al-Imām, p.29.

36. See D. H., p.12, where al-Nafrāwiwas quoted as having said that most of the authorities held the view that injustice and oppression are not grounds enough for the removal of a Caliph from office, as long as he had been just and pious when he was first appointed to the office.

37. D. Su., p.36.

38. See D. H., p.12.

39. See Ibid., p.12.

40. D.M.K., p.61.

41. D. H., p.20.

42. Ibid., p.20.

43. Reuben Levy, Social Structure of Islam (Cambridge, 1971), p.329.

44. D. H., p.20.

45. Ibid., p.20.

46. Diyā' al-Imām, p.13.

47. Levy, op.cit., p.328.

48. Consider, for example, the great power of Khālid al-Barmalkī the wazīr of the 'Abbāsid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, and the relative weakness of Hārūn.

49. For an idea of the power of some of the Sokoto wazīrs, see M. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, p.224 where J. Thomson was quoted as having described the wazīr of Sokoto in the 1880's as "really more powerful than the Sultan himself". Another traveller, W. Wallace, reports in 1890's that "the grand Vizier practically rules the whole Fulah

Empire [i.e. Sokoto Caliphate]" and holds "all the real power, the Sultans being completely hedged in by formalities".

50. D.H., p.21.

51. Ibid., p.15.

52. See T. P. Hughes, "Khutbah", in A Dictionary of Islam (London, 1895). See also "Khuṭba", in Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. H.A.R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers (London, 1953).

53. See ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Khuṭbat al-Jumʿah wa Kaifiyyat Ziyārat al-Amwāt.

54. See Ṣāliḥ ʿAbd al-Samīʿ al-ʾAbī, Jawāhir al-Iklīl, I. 95; see also D. Sy., pp.25-26.

55. D. H., pp.21-22.

56. D. H., p.21.

57. Al-Saʿdī, Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān, p.73.

58. D. Su., pp.35-36.

59. Levy, op.cit., p.355.

60. D. H., p.22.

61. Ibid., p.24

62. Ibid., p.25.

63. D. Sy., pp.16-17.

64. D. H., p.27.

65. Ibid., pp.28-29.

66. Ibid., p.30.

67. Ibid., pp.30, 32.

68. Ibid., p.27.

69. Ibid., pp.26-27.

70. Ibid., p.26

71. Ibid., p.29.

72. D. Sy., pp.15-16; D. H., p.33.

73. D. H., p.32.

74. Ibid., p.30.

75. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Diyā' Ahl al-Ihtisāb ʿalā Tarīq al-Sunnah wa 'l-Sawāb, p.1.

76. Ibid., pp. 1, 2.

77. Ibid., p.3.

78. Ibid., p.3.

79. Ibid., p.2.

80. This treatise is adapted from al-Ghazzālī's Ihyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn, and is called Diyā' Ahl al-Ihtisāb ʿalā 'Tarīq al-Sunnah wa'l-Sawāb.

81. Diyā' Ahl al-Ihtisāb, p.5.

82. Ibid., p.7.

83. Ibid., p.10.

84. Ibid., p.8.

85. Ibid., p.10.

86. Ibid., p.12.

87. Ibid., p.13.

88. Diyā' al-Imām, p.15; Diyā' al-Wilāyāt, p.6.

89. Diyā' al-Wilāyāt, p.7; Diyā' Ahl al-Ihtisāb, p.17.

90. Diyā' Ahl al-Ihtisāb, p.15.

91. P. D. Ayagere, "The Life and Works of ʿAbdullāhi b. Fūdi", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, (Ibadan, 1971), pp.305-309.

CHAPTER FIVE.

'Abdullāhi's Ideas on Islamic Society.

(a) Religious Revival and Social Reform.

In Chapter I we have seen how, by the end of the 18th century, Hausaland consisted of a number of small states which, although they had a common culture, were engaged in continuous warfare against one another. The kings, who were mostly nominal Muslims, based their power on long-established local traditions which contravened the teachings of Islam. It was not surprising, therefore, that some of them condoned not only adulterated forms of Islamic teachings, but paganism as well. They actively discouraged the conversion of pagans because they feared that Islam might subvert their position.[1] The kings were concerned with maintaining their power and were prepared to do everything to succeed. They extorted heavy taxes and levies from their subjects, commandeered their beasts of burden at will, and conscripted their Muslim subjects to fight against other Muslims.[2] All this created tension between the kings and their Muslim subjects, who wanted to practice their true faith. Under these circumstances, the believers had no choice but to emigrate to a place where they could practice their faith freely, but no such place existed in the Hausa states at that time.

But the Hausa kings did not l[illegible] support from some of their subjects. They often secured the services of ambitious pseudo-scholars who, in return for patronage from the kings, would try to reconcile their un-Islamic ways of government with the Sharī'ah, or at least tacitly approve of these practices.[3] Sometimes the kings patronized them

because they believed that they possessed special magical power derived from their knowledge of Islam, which could be used to protect the king against evil, and ensure his victory over his enemies.[4]

These superstitious beliefs were not confined to the kings, but were widely spread among the ordinary people. This was because of the deep ignorance of the true teachings of Islam throughout the region. For, although some missionaries had come to Hausaland from time to time to preach to the natives and to enlighten them, yet very little was done in the way of systematic education of the native population. Under some enthusiastic Muslim rulers like Muḥammad Rumfa (1463-1499 A.D.), the situation improved through the concern of the state with the propagation of the faith. This seems to have been the case in Katsina at the same time.[6] However, until the time of Sokoto Jihād in 1804, there does not seem to have been any systematic attempt to reform the Islamic Community in the Hausa states. It is true that a few individuals from time to time did speak out against certain un-Islamic practices, but Shaikh Jibrīl b. ʿUmar was perhaps the first to make a serious attempt at effecting reform in all Hausaland.[7]

For these reasons, it is no surprise that, by the end of the 18th Century, Islam, as it was practiced in the Hausa states, was a perversion of true Islam. It had been very much influenced and tinged by local culture. In some areas a sort of accommodation seems to have developed, with un-islamic practices being observed side by side with Islamic ones.[8] Sometimes a sort of synthesis took place with local culture, with the natives reading their culture into Islam.

Thus, scholars became identified with medicine - men and magicians and alms with sacrifice to the spirits.[9]

In social life, local customs and traditions, rather than Islamic precepts, governed the mode of behaviour. Islamic Law of inheritance, dress and festivals was flouted.[10] Even in purely religious observances like the rituals, there was much indifference and deep ignorance. Education, particularly that of women, was almost non-existent. Seen by conscientious Muslims who were concerned with reform and the establishment of a true Islamic Society in Hausaland, the picture was gloomy and depressive. This was the task which the Sokoto Jihād leaders had to undertake.

Shehu ʿUthmān and ʿAbdullāhi were aware that the only way to reform their society was to educate the people in the true teachings of Islam. But they also knew that so long as the rulers opposed them, little progress could be made through education alone. They had the example of two earlier movements of Islamization in the Western Sudan: one initiated by Sulṭān Muḥammad Askia of Songhai,[11] and the other by Emir Muḥammad Rumfa of Kano.[12] Both were successful because they were supported by the state. The example of Shaikh Jibrīl had shown that attempts of reform which received no government support were bound to fail.

With this in mind, Shehu ʿUthmān and ʿAbdullāhi began to preach, hoping to reform not only the ordinary people, but the rulers and their clients as well. So they decided to go to the courts of the kings and to preach to them. While they had some success with the ordinary people, they met with opposition from the kings and their supporters. They realized that there was no way to achieve their objectives but to fight, and in the end they won.

The overthrow of the corrupt and un-Islamic regimes in Hausaland meant the transfer of political power to the jihadists. This meant that an Islamic government could now be established under which Muslims could lead a truly Islamic way of life, and that for the first time it would be possible to carry out a comprehensive programme of reform.

ʿAbdullāhi paid great attention to the problem of political authority. He wanted to see a new government set up in accordance with the demands of the sharīʿah, and to ensure that the right conditions were created to preserve and maintain its purity and integrity. The choice of right leaders was, therefore, of vital importance. It is significant that ʿAbdullāhi was the first to pay allegiance to Shehu ʿUthmān as Caliph and head of the Muslim Community in Hausaland.[13]

With the political question settled by the overthrow of the Hausa kings, the way was now open for social reform. ʿAbdullāhi saw education as the key to reform in the new society. He saw the venal scholars or pseudo-ʿulamāʾ as the main obstacle in the way of educational reform.

(i) Pseudo-Scholars

There were two categories of venal scholars in the Hausa states. On the one hand there were those who were motivated by inordinate ambition and selfish desires, and who were prepared to sacrifice their conscience in order to gain favour with the kings. With the overthrow of the Hausa regimes, the influence and danger of this group was greatly reduced. What remained to be done about them was mainly reconciliation. ʿAbdullāhi adopted a lenient attitude

towards these scholars. He regarded them as no more than sinning Muslims. If their actions had been based on their ijtihād, or interpretation of the Sharī'ah, he did not even regard them as offenders.[14] In this way the right atmosphere was created for the venal scholars to return to the true teachings of Islam. Through the works of Shehu 'Uthmān, 'Abdullāhi, and other jihād leaders, these scholars were enlightened in the true precepts of the Sharī'ah, and in this way it was made easy for them to be integrated into the new Community.

The second category of venal scholars were those whose main problem was ignorance. In a society with widespread ignorance, it is easy to see how a relatively ignorant person could pass as a scholar. The jihādists tried to educate these people and to guide them to the true teachings of Islam. Shehu 'Uthmān usually resorted to polemics in which he refuted the arguments of these scholars and laid down the orthodox precepts of the Sharī'ah.[15] 'Abdullāhi sometimes did the same,[16] but more often, he preferred to compile books explaining the various views expressed by the Orthodox authorities on all questions,[17] hoping that his readers would adopt whichever views they wanted. He did this on the assumption that those scholars adopted perverted views out of ignorance. Once the Orthodox views were made available to them, they would have a better understanding of the Sharī'ah.

(ii) Ordinary People

Besides the scholars, 'Abdullāhi was very much concerned with the ordinary Muslims. Wherever he looked, he saw ignorant people having no more than a distorted picture of Islam. If any revival of the true teachings of Islam, and

a reform of the Islamic Community were to be achieved, these ordinary Muslims had to be taught at least the most elementary teachings of Islam. For their benefit he composed several poems in the Hausa language, on religious guidance and instruction. He also compiled several works in Arabic, which were meant to be handbooks to help the scholars teach the basics of Islam to the ordinary people.[18]

Apart from these measures aimed at dealing with the problems of the ordinary people and the scholars, 'Abdullāhi was very much concerned with the welfare of the Muslim Community as a whole. He had the strong feeling that the purely formal approach was not adequate to reform the society. People may be taught what they were expected to do or not to do by the Sharī'ah, but this would not help to solve the problems of social reform unless they were prepared to translate their knowledge into action. 'Abdullāhi's answer to this problem was a resort to asceticism and sufism. He urged all Muslims, regardless of their learning, to try to rid themselves of vice, and to cultivate virtue. They must shun greed, selfishness and hypocricy, and cultivate a high sense of morality and ethical values.[19] The ordinary Muslim must not only keep his religious observances, he must try to acquire learning, and aspire to live like an ascetic.[20] In this way, 'Abdullāhi saw education in the Law, and instruction in sufism, as the two pillars necessary for effecting religious revival and social reform.

(iii) Non-Conformists and Rebels

Another section of the Community who posed special problems to the cause of reform, and who deserved careful consideration were those people who covertly undermined or

overtly rebelled against the authority of the state. They comprised the murtaddūn, or apostates, the Zindīqs or atheists, and the bughāt, or rebels.

As for the apostates, 'Abdullāhi holds the view that they must be treated differently from non-believers, and from dhimmīs who have breached the terms of their treaty with the Muslims.[21] He maintains that although apostates who refuse to recant can be fought, yet, unlike harbīs, or infidels who are in a state of war with Muslims, neither they nor their women and children could be taken into captivity, nor could the property captured from them in battle be treated as ghanīmah like the property captured from harbīs, but as fai', or booty which goes to the state.[22]

There is nothing particularly new about this view. It had been held by many prominent Mālikī scholars including the well-known jurist, Ibn al-Qāsim,[23] and the great philosopher, Ibn Rushd.[24] Its importance in our study of 'Abdullāhi lies in the rationale behind his view, and in his readiness to maintain it when and where he did.

The alternative view favouring the identical treatment of apostates and harbīs was held by al-Aṣbagh[26] and others. Shehu 'Uthmān[27] also favoured this view, which seems to have become the official view of the Sokoto jihād.[28] 'Abdullāhi seems to have subscribed to it earlier, for he refers to taking ghanīmah,[29] as distinct from fai', after the defeat of Yunfa's forces. He also speaks of the jihādists taking the women of Yunfa's forces as captives after their men had fled from the battlefield.[30] This is clear evidence that Yunfa and his supporters were being treated like harbīs. But, by 'Abdullāhi's own definition, Yunfa and most of his followers were not harbīs but

apostates.[31]

Later, however, 'Abdullāhi abandoned this view.[32] He argued that it was based on a wrong premise, namely that apostates who take up arms against the Muslims are automatically transformed into harbīs, and thus cease to be apostates. He shows that this argument is fallacious. The right argument, in his view, was to continue to regard these people as what they really were, namely apostates. Taking up arms against the Muslim Community did not affect the status of apostates any more than it did the status of Muslim rebels.

Some scholars attempt to justify the treatment of apostates in the same way as the harbīs by drawing an analogy between them and those who breach their treaty. In support of this argument they point out the fact that the first Caliph, Abū Bakr (632-634 A.D.), with this interpretation in mind, waged war against the apostates in Arabia and treated them like harbīs.[33] This argument, however, proves nothing, because Abū Bakr fought the apostates not for their renunciation of Islam, but for breaking their treaty,[34] and for their refusal to recognize the authority of Central government. According to 'Abdullāhi's definition, such people are not, properly speaking, murtaddūn, or apostates, but bughāt, or rebels.[35] Moreover, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb reversed Abū Bakr's policy towards the apostates, and instituted the policy to which 'Abdullāhi now subscribed.[36] These arguments speak clearly for themselves, and that is probably why 'Abdullāhi did not consider it necessary to elaborate on them. He simply asserted that when fighting apostates, they must not be treated in the same way as those who breach their treaty.[37]

The fact that 'Abdullāhi strongly held this view which was opposed by the official policy of the Sokoto jihād, is indicative of his strong conviction in the validity of his ijtihād. The jihādists used to take as captive the women and children of their opponents who claimed to be Muslim, but whose claim was rejected on the grounds that their actions belied their claims. 'Abdullāhi criticized this policy,[38] and Shehu 'Uthmān, while disagreeing with him, respected him for being true to his convictions.[39]

As for the bughāt or rebels, they are defined as "those who wage war on the Muslims or who rebel against the Caliph and refuse to submit to his authority, or who refuse to pay zakāt taxes".[40] These must be called back to recant, and are to be fought only if they refuse to do so, with the object of bringing them back to loyalty. If captured in battle they must be remanded in custody until they repent.[41] But if the cause of rebellion was the injustice, tyranny and depravity of the Caliph, the rebellion should be tolerated and even encouraged, provided that it was a genuine attempt to remove evil, the ultimate consideration being the welfare of the Community.[42]

In contrast to the lenient attitude adopted towards apostates and rebels, the zindīqs, or atheists, are regarded as more dangerous to the Muslim Community. For this reason Mālikī scholars held the view that they must be severely punished.[43] True to his liberal attitude, 'Abdullāhi also subscribed to the view held by al-Shāfi'ī and Abū Ḥanīfah, that a zindīq's repentance is acceptable even if it came after his arrest.[44] He therefore did not rule out the possibility of granting reprieve to convicted atheists.

For him, the possibility of regeneration was never completely lost.

(b) Rituals.

In dealing with rituals, 'Abdullāhi's constant criticism was against the practice of his contemporaries of identifying rituals with the mechanical and habitual observance of a set of acts, almost devoid of inner meaning. He tried to draw the attention of his readers to the correct attitude in the performance of religious rituals. While the form must be observed as laid down by the Sharī'ah, it is the right attitude of mind reflecting the true spirit and essence of the ritual which is more important. Thus, in discussing prayer, which 'Abdullāhi regarded as the most important ritual, he stressed that if said absent-mindedly, it receives no reward.[45] Both body and mind must be involved in its performance.

'Abdullāhi reminds his readers that the Qur'ān does not merely ask us to say our prayer, it commands us to "establish prayer".[46] The "establishment" of prayer, or iqāmah, means saying it at the right time with all the necessary conditions for its proper performance being observed. This term is used whenever the Qur'ān enjoins prayer or praises those who pray, either explicitly or in words implying it. The conditions implied by iqāmah are presence of mind (hudūr), humility (khushū') and awareness ('aql).[47]

'Abdullāhi goes on to explain how proper prayer should be established.[45] His recommendations are quite different from what one would expect from a jurist, and are all

concerned with the attitude of the mind. Here we see a shift from the traditional juristic attitude to an attitude combining the juristic with the spiritual and Sūfī approach.

This shift of emphasis from the formalistic to the essential pervades all 'Abdullāhi's teachings on rituals. Thus, in dealing with fasting he emphasizes the need to observe not only the technicalities of fasting but also the spiritual complements involved, such as the recitation of the Holy Qur'ān, generosity to others, and pious and virtuous deeds which are essential to a perfect fast. Conversely, vicious and malicious actions would automatically nullify the fast and render it worthless.[48]

'Abdullāhi was critical of the extremist and literal attitude which many of his contemporaries took towards religious observances. Thus, when discussing the conditions under which one is allowed to suspend fasting to a more convenient time, he criticized the sick and those travelling on a journey who refused to suspend their fasting[49] and thereby exposed themselves to unnecessary suffering and hardship, and regarded them as ignorant of the true spirit of Islam. While it is praiseworthy to dedicate one's life to the cause of religion, it would be wrong to equate Islam with senseless bravado. In the same way, he criticized the practice common among some of his contemporaries, of refusing to terminate their fast immediately after sun-set, and to delay their pre-dawn meal until just before dawnbreak as recommended by the Sharī'ah.[50]

Similar criticisms were made against those who undertook pilgrimage without satisfying the necessary conditions

of possessing adequte provisions, and ensuring the safety of the way.[51] Many people in the Western Sudan seem to have disregarded these conditions. These men, out of ignorance of the true teachings of Islam, and in an unhealthy bid to acquire higher social status, continued to undertake the long journey to Makkah despite the risk of robbery, enslavement and massacre on their way, especially with the worsening of security along some pilgrim-routes due to the crisis which the whole Islamic world was undergoing through European penetration in the 19th century. These conditions were no doubt partly, if not wholly, responsible for the fact that no established religious leaders in Hausaland had undertaken the pilgrimage in this period,[52] while many ordinary zealots were not to be deterred, regardless of the provisions of the Sharī'ah. This contrast between the attitude of the religious leaders and the ordinary people is much evidenced by the fact that none of the Sokoto jihād leaders and their immediate successors and chief supporters had performed the pilgrimage. We have already pointed out that 'Abdullāhi, who had actually set out on a journey for pilgrimage, did not go in his quest beyond Kano.

Whereas pious Muslims would like to see that everyone who satisfied the requirements perform the pilgrimage, they must be aggrieved at the spectacle of foolhardy ordinary men and women subjecting themselves to unnecessary suffering in the name of Islam. 'Abdullāhi could not have failed to notice this, and he must have regarded it as the duty of religious leaders to criticize the practice and to enlighten people as to the right teaching of Islam on the

matter. It was, therefore, not a mere coincidence that, writing his DIyā' al-Siyāsāt in 1820 in response to repeated requests for a book to guide the people in the proper practice of their religious duties, 'Abdullāhi focussed his attention, when discussing pilgrimage, on the question of what constitutes capability to perform it.[53] He advised his readers to get their priorities right, and to follow the true teachings of Islam.

The complaint against people not having their priorities right in religious matters seems to have been common in Hausaland in 'Abdullāhi's time. Shehu 'Uthmān had made a similar complaint. He accused the people of giving priority to supererogatory acts while at the same time neglecting the compulsory ones.[54] Sometimes a reprehensible act was condemned more strongly than a forbidden one. This leads to a distorted picture of the teachings of Islam, and that is why everyone concerned with the revival of Islam must determine the right priorities.

In all his works dealing with rituals, 'Abdullāhi's main concern was to teach the ordinary people the real and spiritual meaning underlying these rituals and going far beyond their outward appearances, with the object of becoming good Muslims.

(c) Social Relations.

Islam being a way of life, it is not confined to religious beliefs and rituals. It covers the whole sphere of social relations: they are all aspects of the Sharī'ah and, as such, engage the interest of religious revivalists and social reformers. This is why 'Abdullāhi considered it as

his duty to instruct and guide his society in all social matters.

One of the most important social institutions is the family. It is here that children are born and brought up. Children brought up in a good family background grow to be good members of society, while those brought up in a bad one tend to grow into morally depraved people. 'Abdullāhi treated this subject in two parts: the institution of marriage, and the upbringing and education of children.

(i) Marriage

Since Islam governs the totality of human behaviour, 'Abdullāhi did not see one social institution in isolation from another. He looked upon the institution of marriage, for instance, as a reforming agent. He advised those who intended to get married not to venture into it unless they were capable of earning a decent and honest livelihood. Many of his contemporaries had utterly failed in appreciating the need for distinguishing between fair and foul means of acquiring wealth.[55] 'Abdullāhi wanted also to discourage those who did not have the means to provide for married life from embarking on marriage.[56] The unhappy marital lives of such people, and the suffering of their children were a source of decay in society, which must be avoided in order to ensure a healthy society.

'Abdullāhi insisted that good moral character should be a decisive criterion in marriage. A person of bad moral character is most likely to corrupt his partner. Parents are, therefore, strongly advised against approving their children's marriage to such men. Men were equally warned against taking as wives women whose excessive demands were

likely to force them into resorting to illegal means in order to satisfy their caprices.[57]

The husband is charged with the responsibility of providing for the material and spiritual welfare of his wife. In particular, ʿAbdullāhi stressed the duty of the husband to provide for the education of his wife.[58] This may sound strange in view of the fact that ʿAbdullāhi is here referring to basic religious instruction, which the girl should have received before her marriage. Perhaps the age at which girls got married in his day was so low that it was difficult for parents to give them proper religious instruction before marriage. Whatever the case may be, the husbands had the responsibility to educate their wives. This assumes that men generally received more education than women. We are told that men deliberately kept their womenfolk ignorant for their own selfish interests.[59] When a husband was unable to give adequate instruction to his wife, he was required to see that someone else did so.[60] ʿAbdullāhi considered the education of women to be a vital issue. As mothers, women have the important responsibility of bringing up a new generation. If they are ignorant of their religious and moral duties, their children could hardly be brought up differently.

In discussing marriage and the position of women in Hausaland in the 18th and 19th centuries, one problem which often crops up is that of the indiscriminate mixing of the sexes. Religious leaders found it necessary to explain this matter. We have already referred to Muṣṭafā Gwani's accusation against Shehu ʿUthmān's alleged condoning of the mixing of men and women during his sermons, and ʿAbdullāhi's reply to that.[61]

Shehu 'Uthmān also warned against this practice.[62] One of the accusations against king Nafata of Gobir was a proclamation in which, among other things, he prohibited women dressing in accordance with the demand of the Sharī'ah.[63] 'Abdullāhi's view has been consistently that the Sharī'ah must be followed in all matters.

(ii) Up-bringing of Children

The family is responsible for bringing up its children as good and useful human beings. To 'Abdullāhi, this meant that they should be brought up in accordance with the Islamic tradition. As a religious leader and revivalist, he naturally placed high dividends on the education of children who would be the future generation. With proper training and guidance they would grow into virtuous men and women. The resulting society would thus be as close as possible to the ideal society which he wanted to see in Hausaland. Such a society, brought up in virtue, was expected to be self-perpetuating, with each generation striving to train the next generation to be better.

This makes the birth of a child in such a society an occasion for happiness and joy. It is strange to see 'Abdullāhi earnestly trying to draw the attention of his readers to this self-evident fact.[64] A possible explanation is that on occasions the arrival of a baby girl was received with gloom. It is known that among the pre-Islamic Arabs, the birth of a female child was often seen as a disaster. Social and economic factors have been shown to be responsible for this attitude.[65] Could there have been a similar attitude to children in Hausaland in 'Abdullāhi's time? Although there is some reason to

believe that in the past women enjoyed high social status in the region,[66] yet it seems that by ʿAbdullāhi's time they had lost that position. In an agricultural economy which was, moreover, bedevilled by constant warfare, it is easy to see why many peasants would prefer male to female children: the males would help till the soil and provide protection against enemy raids.

From the baby's birth, the parents must begin to plan its future. Their duty is to bring it up as a good Muslim. Everything they do must be aimed at achieving this objective. Parents are advised not to allow the children to be brought up into materialistic men and women given to hedonistic pleasures at the expense of spiritual advancement. Such people are not only a danger to themselves but to members of the Community. A child should be trained to shun all behaviour which is regarded as despicable - vices like stealing, greed, boasting, obscenity and all types of indecency.[68] Parents must ensure that their children do not mix with depraved children.[69] They should be taught the Qurʾān, hadīth, or traditions of the Prophet, and the biographies of pious Muslims.[70] In this way, it is hoped that they will grow up with the ideals which they have been taught indelibly engraved on their minds.

Some of these ideals have to do with the social norms of society. Children should be taught to be modest and affable to their peers, courteous, respectful and obedient to their elders, particularly to their parents and teachers.[71] The whole Community should be seen as one large family. People should be seen as parents and grand-parents, as uncles and aunts, and brothers and sisters, depending on their relative age to the child. ʿAbdullāhi considered

this aspect of the life of the society which he was trying to reform as important and worthy of preservation because he believed that it was morally good and therefore conducive to the spirit of Islam. The proper functioning of the corporate body of the Community depended on the maintenance of these norms.

'Abdullāhi expected parents to give training to their children until they reached the age of seven.[72] This was necessary because play-groups and infant schools were not available. Some parents, more concerned with getting their children away for a while than with giving them training, took them to school when they were too young.[73] 'Abdullāhi criticized this practice which he regarded as a failure on the part of the parents to give home-training to their children in this formative period of their lives. He felt that school should be taken seriously and should not be seen as a dumping ground for troublesome children.[74]

Another category of parents which 'Abdullāhi criticized was those who did not care to send their children to school. These neglected children who lacked moral and material support from their parents, usually ended up as beggars and juvenile delinquents. 'Abdullāhi saw this as a serious threat to all effort aimed at creating a sound society.[75]

At the age of seven, children should be sent to school where they should be taught reading and writing based mainly on the Qur'ān. Religious instruction and moral training must be the backbone of training at this stage.[76] Much attention is given to the observance of rituals. The aim is to get the young children used to them so that in later life they would not neglect them.

ʿAbdullāhi hoped that his educational programme would produce pious and good members of a Muslim Community based on love and understanding, and on brotherhood and co-operation. This is the type of Community which he aspired to establish in Hausaland. To him education was the prescription for curing the religious and moral depradation of the society in which he lived.

(iii) Lawful and Unlawful ways of Acquisition of Wealth (Halāl and Harām)

One area of social relations which has been of great interest to Muslim jurists and reformers is the approved way by which a Muslim earns his living. Since this is an area in which every individual is involved, a guideline on the basic precepts of the Sharīʿah is an absolute requirement for Muslim society. ʿAbdullāhi paid great attention to this subject. He explained to his readers that every lawful vocation is good and honourable. If it helps to provide for the basic needs of society, it becomes an act of worship.[77] Hard work is virtuous, while indolence and dependance on others are despicable and degrading. He cites a tradition of the Prophet to support this: "The hand that gives is better and more honourable than the hand that receives".[78] No wealth is as good as one earned through hard work. Every capable person is, therefore, urged to work for a living. In doing this, however, a Muslim must conform to the demands of the Sharīʿah.[79] It is with this aspect that ʿAbdullāhi was particularly concerned. In the new society which he envisaged, all prohibited sources of earning a living must be avoided. Honesty, fair dealing, and a spirit of brotherhood should be the hall-mark of this new society. For this reason the greedy trader who buys

and hoards scarce and essential commodities is severely condemned, for his selfishness is incompatible with the spirit of common brotherhood and fellow-feeling which 'Abdullāhi preached.[80] 'Abdullāhi criticized the pseudo-scholars who issued legal opinions legalizing doubtful transactions, and he warned his readers against accepting their opinions.[81] In order to refute the opinions of the pseudo-scholars, he found it necessary to provide what he believed to be the right Islamic teaching on the subject.

'Abdullāhi was not alone in his concern with the subject of the proper way of the acquisition of wealth, and with the whole question of halāl and Harām, or lawful and unlawful things. Al-Ghazzālī, among many others, had lamented that in his time both the knowledge of this subject and its application in daily life had almost completely disappeared. He attributed this partly to the complacency of many of his contemporaries who acquired wealth by whatever means.[82]

The situation in Hausaland in 'Abdullāhi's time was, if anything, worse. 'Abdullāhi made frequent references to this subject in his works, and to show his deep concern, he devoted two treatises to it. In his Kifāyat al-'Awāmm fī 'l-Buyū' he deals with commercial transactions in all their aspects, and shows the right and proper rules of the Sharī'ah. In Diyā' al-Anām fī 'l-Halāl wa'l-Harām he attempts to set out a comprehensive guideline determining the question of halāl or lawful, harām or unlawful, and shubhah or doubtful cases.

Details of lawful and unlawful actions have always been available in fiqh or law books which circulated in

Hausaland long before 'Abdullāhi's time. But these works dealt with specifics, whereas 'Abdullāhi tried to set out general guidelines for the right identification of the category to which a given matter belongs. His work, Diyā' al-Anām should, therefore, be seen as a complement to the furū' works which deal with the specific details of the Sharī'ah.

'Abdullāhi reminds his readers that knowledge of halāl and harām is a duty on every Muslim. There are degrees or categories of both halāl and harām. An absolute halāl is something which is essentially free from a prohibiting element, and which is not acquired through prohibited or reprehensible means. The lower category of halāl consists of those things which are initially known to be halāl, but about which there is no certainty of the absence of a contingent and subsequent prohibiting factor.[83] The principle of istishāb, which assumes the confirmation of the initial or known nature of a thing until there is clear evidence that it has changed, operates here. This is one of the principles which 'Abdullāhi uses in his juristic approach.

Despite the distinction between absolute and relative halāl, all halāl is good and lawful.[84] A Muslim must ensure that he not only strives to acquire what is intrinsically halāl, but that he follows the Sharī'ah in its acquisition. 'Abdullāhi stresses the importance of both of these two provisions. He explains that things which are by themselves halāl can be lawfully owned only if they are acquired in one of the following six ways:

(a) That they belong to no previous owner and are now lawfully acquired by a person.

(b) That they are things captured from the enemy in battle. These are lawful only if they are acquired in accordance with the Sharī'ah.

(c) Sequestrations from people who refuse to meet their financil obligations voluntarily. These are lawful only if the provisions of the Sharī'ah are complied with in all respects.

(d) Things acquired by mutual consent, with compensation paid.

(e) Things obtained by consent, without payment of material compensation, e.g. gifts.

(f) Inherited legacy, if it is distributed in accordance with the provisions of the Sharī'ah, and was lawfully owned by the deceased.[85]

'Abdullāhi urges all Muslims to be scrupulous in the way they acquire their property. The above guidelines were meant to help even the least educated Muslim to know how best to do this. Recognizing halāl and harām, a Muslim must not only refrain from harām, he must aim at training himself to reach the peak of piety, whereby he not only keeps strictly to absolute halāl, but uses it exclusively in the service of God. Those who reach this ideal standard are designated Ṣīddīqūn, or the cream of righteous Believers.[96]

The standard of Ṣīddīqūn, however, can be attained only by a few people, and only through stages. The first of these stages is that of ordinary Muslims who are content with the lowest grade of halāl, comprising things not forbidden by fatwā or legal opinion, although not totally excluding the possibility of the presence of a prohibiting factor. This grade satisfies the minimum requirement of

the Sharī'ah.[87]

While ordinary Muslims keep within this grade of halāl, the Sālihūn, or pious ones, are urged to avoid it. This is the attitude which the Prophet recommended when he said: "Leave that which fills you with misgivings in favour of that which does not". The stage of the Sālihūn is that of those who take only absolute halāl, being halāl in itself, and having been acquired lawfully. However, it could lead to committing something illegal.[88]

The third, and yet higher stage, is that of the Muttaqūn, or devout ones. They avoid absolute halāl with which the Sālihūn are content, and are satisfied only with absolute halāl which, apart from being absolute, is not feared to lead to evil. It is to their stage that the Prophet referred when he said: "A worshipper does not reach the stage of taqwā (devoutness) until he leaves that which is harmless for fear of that which is harmful".[89]

The fourth and final stage is that of the Ṣiddīqūn. As we have seen, they avoid the absolute halāl which is accepted by the Muttaqūn. Its shortcoming, in their view, is that it is not meant to be exclusively for the service of God.[90]

'Abdullāhi sees Muslims varying from the negligent ones who do not care whether their earnings are halāl or harām, to the most scrupulous ones, the Siddīqūn. In the Hausa states the vast majority naturally belonged to the negligent class. He saw his task as that of regeneration. He wanted to carry the people with him from one lower stage to a higher stage. As it was his usual practice, he urged every - one to strive to improve. He set out the ideal before

everyone. What was important was that everyone should strive to the best of his ability. ʿAbdullāhi was aware that the most important transition was from the negligent class to the mindful one which strives to keep within the lowest grade of halāl. If this could be achieved in his society, it would be a remarkable achievement. But ʿAbdullāhi would not be satisfied with this - he would urge the people to aspire to the next stage. But he was a realist, and knew that not everyone could attain the same level in this moral quest.

Like halāl, harām too is either absolute or relative. An absolute harām is anything which either has an innate quality of prohibition in itself, or which is obtained through clearly prohibited means. harām is anything known to be harām, but in which the possibility of a permitting factor cannot be absolutely ruled out. All harām is unlawful, and a Muslim who takes it becomes a fāsiq or profligate.[91]

While halāl and harām are clear and can be easily identified, shubhah, or ambiguous and doubtful cases, are not. It is mainly in cases involving shubhah that opinions differ,[92] and it is here that extreme caution is advised. Shubhah is ambiguity and uncertainty over the legal position of a thing or situation, arising from conclusions drawn from two contrary premises of equal weight.[93]

For the benefit of his readers, ʿAbdullāhi identifies four factors which produce shubhah:

(a) Doubt in the presence of a factor which transforms the legal position of a thing from permission to prohibition, and vice versa. If there is equal uncertainty

as to the presence or absence of such a factor, the principle of istishāb applies, and the thing retains its normal legal position, otherwise it assumes the position determined by the dominant factor.

(b) Doubt resulting from indiscriminate mixing of halāl and harām. In this case, the legal position of the mixture follows that of the dominant category. If there are equal amounts of each, the mixture is considered harām if it is little, and halāl if it is much. Here, the principle of maslahah, or public good, demands that abundant halāl mixed with abundant harām, should be regarded as halāl, for otherwise, life will be very difficult for pious Muslims in a society in which a lot of harām circulates. But no such problem will arise if the amounts in question are little.

(c) Presence of sin in a factor which is used in a process leading to something lawful, like using a stolen knife to kill a lawfully owned animal.

(d) Doubt arising from conflicting evidence and ambiguity.[94]

Muslims are strongly advised to avoid all mutashābihāt, or things whose legal position is doubtful, including those on which the formal verdict is halāl. ʿAbdullāhi points out that in the final analysis, one's conscience, rather than a scholar's formal verdict, should be one's best judge.[95] For this reason an individual is required to check the lawfulness of whatever he buys or receives as a gift in cricumstances where he has strong reason to suspect that the property in question is not lawful.[96]

ʿAbdullāhi was, no doubt, aware that in his society there were many who if willing to reform themselves would

find themselves in possession of unlawfully owned wealth. As a reformer and jurist, it was his duty to guide them as to what they should do with it. Following al-Ghazzālī's example, he ruled that those who repented must return their unlawful possessions to their lawful owners, nd he gave a detailed account of how that should be done.[97]

'Abdullāhi also found it necessary, while dealing with halāl and harām, to discuss salaries, gifts and patronage received from unjust rulers. This subject was important because the kings in Hausaland were generally not guided by the Sharī'ah in the collection of government revenue and its expenditure. 'Abdullāhi's conclusion was that most of the possessions of these rulers were unlawful.[98] However, the welfare of the people who n[illegible] public servants and professionals had to be taken into consideration. Necessity and common sense, therefore, required that salaries and wages paid to these public servants should be declared lawful.[99] To do otherwise would have been to defeat one of the main purposes of the Sharī'ah, namely, the promotion of the public good, for without pay these essential services would not be made available, and society would suffer as a result. As for gifts and patronage from the rulers, these must be avoided, for those who received patronage were likely to support the policies of the rulers, or at least to condone them.[100]

(d) Minorities in Islamic Society.

'Abdullāhi was deeply concerned with the position of non-Muslim minorities in the Sokoto Caliphate. He had in mind the example of the first organized Muslim Community in

Medinah,[101] where Muslims and non-Muslims lived together in harmony, under the leadership of the Prophet, and he tried to follow the example of the Prophet and his companions.

'Abdullāhi saw a close parallel between the stages through which the Sokoto jihād passed, and those which the early Muslims in Makkah and later in Medinah had passed. In both cases the Muslims were persecuted and forced to leave their homes and take residence elsewhere where they could practice their faith freely. The new Community grew until it was able to defend itself. This struggle by Muslims for the defence of their faith, their person and their property, and for securing their borders is what is referred to as jihād.

Jihād is a religious obligati Muslims if it satisfies the conditions laid down by the Sharī'ah. If these conditions are not satisfied, jihād loses its religious significance and becomes unacceptable to true Islam.[102] These conditions as they are stated in 'Abdullāhi's works, are mainly the same ones held by traditional Muslim scholars. However, 'Abdullāhi shows an independent approach to many issues which deserves consideration.

One aspect of jihād to which 'Abdullāhi gave particular attention was the division of ghanīmah, or the spoils of war. He taught that no useful part of the spoils should be appropriated by a jihādist before the official division took place. 'Abdullāhi was gravely concerned at the arbitrary practice of some of the army commanders in his day, of appropriating to themselves, for instance, all the horses captured from the enemy.[103] These strictures occur in Diyā' al-Ḥukkām, which he wrote soon after abandoning the

battle against the synchretists in protest against the illegal practices of those who were supposed to be fighting in the name of Islam.

The problem of the division of booty seems to have been a serious one during the time of the jihād in Hausaland. There is no doubt that Shehu ʿUthmān and a number of his followers were religiously motivated. There is no doubt, also, that some of Shehu's followers had non-religious motives. Many of the ordinary fighting men were undisciplined and difficult to tame. It is with these that ʿAbdullāhi was greatly incensed.[104] But he was not the only one who was unhappy with this aspect of the jihād. Shehu has also drawn attention to the practice of illegally appropriating the spoils of war and warned strongly against it.[105] Bello had found it necessary to write at least two treatises on the subject.[106] Despite all this, there is evidence that up to the Caliphate of Bello, the ordinary fighting men were still not prepared to accept the principle of the division of booty according to the Sharīʿah. Al-Ḥājj Saʿīd described how Bello was forced to abandon the attempt to enforce the Sharīʿah in the division of booty after three consecutive occasions because the men refused to fight again.[107] The only practical way to change the attitude of the fighting forces was to preach to them and to guide them to the proper understanding of the meaning and purpose of jihād. ʿAbdullāhi's treatise on the subject, Diyāʾ al-Mujāhidīn, was no doubt meant to fulfil this purpose. The emphasis in it is on reward for those who fight for a purely religious motive and who accept the rules and regulations imposed upon them by the Sharīʿah.

But the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims need not be one of hostility and conflict. Islam is a universal religion which emphasizes the brotherhood of mankind. It therefore asks its adherents to invite their fellow men to share their faith. If they accept, they share the same rights and the same obligations as all other Muslims. No compulsion should be used to force anyone to convert to Islam. The Holy Qur'ān made this quite clear when it states, "There is no compulsion in religion".[108] Faith is a matter of free will, and any effort to impose it on an unwilling subject is futile and does no service to the faith.

If a people should reject the invitation to accept Islam on their own free will, they should be asked to conclude a Sulh or peace treaty with the Muslims. Under the terms of such a treaty, they accept the protection of the Muslim Community against the payment of jizyah, or poll tax. These dhimmīs, or protected Communities, are left free to organize their communal and religious affairs.

A short-term truce, or muhādanah, may also be concluded for the cessation of hostilities between Muslims and non-Muslims after the two sides have been engaged in war.[109] Amān, or pledge of security may also be given to non-Muslims giving them protection in their person and property until the amān expires.[110] Non-Muslims who come to Muslim lands from Dār al-Harb or the territory of war, on specific missions may also be granted isti'mān or guarantee of safety for the duration of their mission.[111]

In the event of non-Muslims neither responding to the invitation to accept Islam, nor voluntarily entering into

a formal agreement with the Muslims, fighting may ensue. If the non-Muslims are defeated they could be taken captive and their property taken as booty. Generally, however, they are allowed to continue living on their lands, recognizing the authority of Islam and paying poll tax to the Muslims. In return Muslims guarantee them security and protection for their person, their families and possessions.

Muslim scholars generally hold the view that the choice between Islam, dhimmī status, or war is extended only to Ahl al-Kitāb or the People of the Book, that is Jews and Christians. But some scholars interpret it as also covering Sabeans, Zoroastrians, Magians and others.[112]

What is ʿAbdullāhi's view regarding this question? In his Diyāʾ al-Ḥukkām, written to guide the rulers of Kano on how best to conduct the affairs of their government, ʿAbdullāhi states that Muslims have an obligation to invite infidels to embrace Islam. If the invitation is rejected, they should be offered dhimmī status. If this, too, is rejected, a resort to arms could then be made.[113] This suggests either that ʿAbdullāhi regards all infidels as being equally entitled to dhimmī status, regardless of the fact that they possess Scriptures or not, or that he interprets "The People of the Book" as including such infidels as were to be found in the Hausa States. The first proposition agrees with what ʿAbdullāhi, in his interpretation of the Holy Qurʾān, claims to be the view of Mālik, who is reported to have extended dhimmī status to all but renegades from Islam.[114] But in his Diyāʾ al-Mujāhidīn, ʿAbdullāhi makes it clear that dhimmī status could be extended only to the People of the Book, that is to Jews and Christians, and

to those who possess a semblance (shubhah) of a Scripture. He identified these as Majūs, or Magians.[115] This is the view of al-Shāfi'ī and it was held by some followers of the other orthodox Schools of Law. This view limits the option of idolators to either Islam or war. Clearly, therefore, 'Abdullāhi must have regarded the infidels of the Hausa States as belonging to one of the three groups that make up Ahl al-Kitāb in his view, otherwise he would not have insisted on the necessity of offering them dhimmī status when they reject the invitation to embrace Islam.

Neither 'Abdullāhi nor any of the scholars he quotes claimed that the infidels in the Hausa States were Jews or Christians. On the other hand, we see 'Abdullāhi in his Diyā' al-Siyāsāt quoting Makhlūf al-Bilbālī as having said that the Sudanese infidels were to be treated like Christians because they were Majūs.[116] It is interesting to note that "Maguzawa", which is a corruption of Majūs, is to this day the only name by which the pagans of Hausaland are known by the Hausa people. This anxiety by the Western Sudanese Muslim scholars to extend the interpretation of Ahl al-Kitāb to include the Sudanese animists under the name of Majūs may be a reflection of the preference they had for the view of al-Shāfi'ī that animists and idol worshippers must not be granted dhimmī status as such. This may explain why this view has been ascribed to all the founders of the Orthodox Schools of Law as has been observed earlier. Thus it seems that 'Abdullāhi, like Makhlūf, preferred this view to the all-embracing view ascribed to Mālik in the Diyā' al-Ta'wīl.

'Abdullāhi, like other Mālikīs, was of the view that

Muslims are under obligation to invite infidels to Islam or to payment of jizyah, or poll-tax prior to fighting only if two conditions were satisfied: first, that there was no strong reason to believe that the invitation would provoke the infidels into starting an aggression against the Muslims, and second, that the infidels did not occupy a strategically important position from which they could pose a threat to the security of the Muslim state.[117] Again he holds that infidels fought and vanquished in battle, in contra-distinction to those who conclude a peace treaty with the Muslims, could be permitted to remain in their territories in return for payment of jizyah only if they do not pose a danger to the security of the territories of Islam.[118]

However, 'Abdullāhi rejects the that infidels living in strategic positions must be removed to other areas even after they have professed Islam.[119] This view, held by such scholars as al-Kharshi[120] and al-Shabarkhītī.[121] could not be subscribed to by 'Abdullāhi because so far as he was concerned the first consideration is always Islam. Once a person professes the faith he must be treated like every other Muslim in accordance with the dictates of the Sharī'ah. We will see later[122] how 'Abdullāhi insists that those who profess Islam must always be regarded as such, even in cases where many scholars would be sceptical of the genuineness of their faith.

In dealing with the rules governing the rights and obligations of those with whom Muslims have entered into a peace agreement, 'Abdullāhi draws his material mainly from the commentary on Mukhtasar Khalīl.[123] What is interesting, however, is the way in which he selects the

views which fall in line with his ijtihād. For instance, Khalīl quite clearly states that when a dhimmī in a conquered territory dies, his land reverts to the Muslims[124] while his other possessions go to his heirs, whether these possessions were acquired before or after the conquest. ʿAbdullāhi rejects this interpretation. He holds that property acquired before the conquest belongs to the Muslims and should revert to them after the death of the dhimmī, and that what is acquired later belongs to the man and his heirs.[125] This view is based on the principle that on conquest the enemy land falls into the legal possession of the Muslims. The fact that dhimmīs are allowed to retain possession of their property in their lifetime does not take the real ownership away from the Muslims. However, property acquired by the dhimmīs after the conquest did not initially belong to the Muslims and, therefore, cannot go to them.

Notes and Comments on Chapter Five.

1. For example, King Nafata of Gobir forbade conversion to Islam, and he forbade women dressing in accordance with the precepts of Islam.

2. For details of these unlawful practices, see for example, ʿUthmān b. Fodio, Kitāb al-Farq in B.S.O.A.S., XXIII, 3, 1960, pp.559 ff.

3. See, for instance, Infāq al-Maisūr, p.99 where the court scholars are reported to have encouraged King Yunfa of Gobir to take a hard line against Shehu ʿUthmān and his followers. These scholars told Yunfa that he was right and that Shehu ʿUthmān and his followers were wrong.

4. For an example of this, see Ivor Wilks, "The Position of Muslims in Metropolitan Ashanti in the Early Nineteenth Century" in Islam in Tropical Africa, ed. I. M. Lewis (London, 1966), pp. 318 ff. The pagan King of Ashanti, Osei Tutu Kwame (? 1801-1824), employed the services of Muslim clerics. They produced protective amulets for the King and his soldiers (p.321) and prayed for the success of the King's armies (p.332). The King had protective charms made by the Muslim clerics, which he hung around his bed-chamber, and sometimes he wore a garment "studded all over with Arabic writing". p.333.

5. See Palmer, III, 111.

6. See Ibid., p.81.

7. I. M., p.54.

8. For examples of these practices, see, for instance, Nūr al-Albāb, pp.2-6.

9. For example, Bornu kings used to ride to special places where they killed animals as sacrifice. They claimed that this was not a sacrifice to trees and stones, but sadaqah, or alms, which is recommended by Islam. However, Muḥammad Bello rejected their explanation, and regarded their practice as animism. (I. M., p.173). See also Wilks, op.cit., pp.331-333; and Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, p.39.

10. Nūr al-Albāb, pp.17, 18, 22-23.

11. Askia al-Ḥājj Muḥammad, the Sulṭān of Songhai (1493-1528 A.D.) initiated a great Islamic reform in Songhai. He sought the advice and guidance of scholars, the most famous of whom was Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī (d. 1503-1504 A.D.), who wrote for him Ajwibat As'ilat Askia.

12. Muḥammad Rumfa, King of Kano (1463-1499 A.D.) also had a book written by al-Maghīlī to guide him on the duties and obligations of kings. He took measures to consolidate Islam in his Kingdom.

13. T. W., p.55.

14. D. Su., p.53.

15. I. M., p.69.

16. See, for example, his reply to al-Muṣṭafā Gwani's allegation that Shehu ʿUthmān did not separate men and women who came to listen to his preaching. (T. W.), pp.28-29.

17. For example, D. Sy.; D. H.

18. For example, al-Taqrīb bimā yajib ʿalā ʿĀmmat al-Ummah (T.A.U.); Taqrīb Darūrī al-Dīn (T.D.D.).

19. See, for instance, ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Tahdhīb al-Insān min Khisāl al-Shaitān (Tahdhīb al-Insān), pp.4-15.

20. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Sabīl Ahl al-Salah, pp.1 - ff.

21. D. H., pp.64, 66; Diyāʾ Ahl al-Rashād (D.A.R.), p.29.

22. D. H., pp.64-65.

23. D. Su., p.28. Abū ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim b. Khālid b. Junādah al-ʿUtaqī was one of the greatest Mālikī scholars. He studied for twenty years under Mālik b. Anas who always regarded him highly. He was one of the leading Egyptian scholars of his time and was universally recognized as the repository of Mālik's fiqh. He died in Safar 191 A.H./December 806-January 807 A.D. (Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Farhūn, Al-Dībāj al-Mudhahhab fī Maʿrifat Aʿyān ʿUlamāʾ al-Madh-hab (Cairo, 1351 A.H./1932-33 A.D.), pp.146-147.

24. D. Su., pp.28-29. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Rushd (d.595 A.H./1198-99 A.D.) was a native of Cordova in Spain and was a theologian and a recognized jurist of the Mālikī School of Law. He was the author of the well-known book on fiqh, Bidāyat al-Mujtahid wa Nihāyat al-Muqtaṣid (al-Dībāj, pp.284-285.)

25. D. Su., pp.28-29.

26. D. H., p.65; Shehu ʿUthmān b. Fodio, Najm al-Ikhwān, p.66.

27. Najm al-Ikhwān, p.66.

28. I. M., p.167. Muhammad Bello, in reply to al-Kanimī's charge that the Sokoto Jihādists enslaved free men and women captured in their wars against Bornu, admitted the charge, justifying it by pointing out that there are differences of opinion among Muslim scholars on this issue.

29. T. W., p.56.

30. Ibid., p.58.

31. D. Su., p.31. ʿAbdullāhi likened the Hausa kings and their followers to Sonni ʿAli and his followers, who had

been regarded as apostates.

32. D. H., p.65.

33. Najm al-Ikhwān, p.66.

34. Ibid., p.66.

35. See D. H., p.65 where ʿAbdullāhi describes those who refuse to pay zakāt taxes, or to recognize the authority of the Caliph, as bughāt, or rebels.

36. Najm al-Ikhwān, p.66.

37. D. H., pp.64-65.

38. D. Su., p.31.

39. Najm al-Ikhwān, p.66.

40. D. H., p.65.

41. Ibid., p.65; D.A.R., p.30.

42. D.A.R., p.29; D. Su., p.36.

43. D. H., p.67.

44. Ibid., p.67.

45. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Kitāb al-Targhīb wa ʾl-Tarhīb (T.T.) p.11. See also his Dawāʾ al-Waswās, pp.2-3.

46. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Shifāʾ al-Nās min Dāʾ al-Ghaflah wa ʾl-Waswās (Shifāʾ al-Nās), p.4; Dawāʾ al-Waswās, p.2.

47. T. T., pp.26-27, 51; Dawāʾ al-Waswās, p.2; Shifāʾ al-Nās, p.4.

48. Dawāʾ al-Waswās, pp.7-11; Shifāʾ al-Nās, pp.8-12; T. T., pp.12-25.

49. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, al-Nasāʾih fī Ahamm al-Masālih (al-Nasāʾih), p.6.

50. Ibid., p.6.

51. D. Sy., pp.50-51; al-Nasāʾih, p.6.

52. Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, p.86.

53. D. Sy., pp.49-51.

54. Nūr al-Albāb, p.16.

55. See T. W., p.71.

56. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Bayān Ādāb al-ʿIbādāt wa ʾl-ʿĀdāt, p.12; also ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Ādāb al-ʿĀdāt ʿalā Sunnat al-Rasūl (Ādāb al-ʿĀdāt), pp.4-5.

57. Bayān Ādāb al-ʿIbādāt wa ʾl-ʿĀdāt, pp. 10, 12.

58. Ibid., p.11; Ādāb al-ʿĀdāt, pp.7-8.

59. Nūr al-Albāb, pp.10-11.

60. Ādāb al-ʿĀdāt, p.8.

61. T. W., pp.28-29.

62. Nūr al-Albāb, p.17.

63. I. M., pp.96, 162.

64. Bayān Ādāb al-ʿIbādāt wa ʾl-ʿĀdāt, p.11; Ādāb al-ʿĀdāt, p.8.

65. See, for example, the Holy Qurʾān 6:151; 17:31.

66. For instance, Daura was ruled by a powerful queen who, according to the legend of the origin of the Hausa states, was their common ancestor. Queen Amīnah of Zazzau, who ruled in the first half of the 15th century, was the most powerful ruler in the Hausa States at the time, and her kingdom was the most extensive (I. M., p.44; Palmer, op.cit., p.109).

67. Tahdhīb al-Insān, pp.15-16.

68. Ibid., pp.18-19, 21.

69. Ibid., p.15.

70. Ibid., p.17.

71. Ibid., pp.18-20.

72. Lubāb al-Madkhal, p.68.

73. Ibid., p.69.

74. Ibid., p.69.

75. Ibid., pp.66-67.

76. Ibid., pp.69-70.

77. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Kitāb al-Niyyāt fī ʾl-Aʿmāl al-Dunyawiyyah wa ʾl-Dīniyyah (Kitāb al-Niyyāt), pp.19-20.

78. Al-Nasāʾih, p.22.

79. Kitāb al-Niyyāt, p.20.

80. Ādāb al-ʿĀdāt, pp.9-10; Bayān Ādāb al-ʿIbādāt wa ʾl-ʿĀdāt, p.13.

81. Bayān Ādāb al-ʿIbādāt wa ʾl-ʿĀdāt, p.13.

82. Abū Hāmid al-Ghazzālī, Ihyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn II, (Cairo, 1939), p.89.

83. 'Abdullāhi b. Fodio, Diyā' al-Anām fī 'l-Halāl wa 'l-Harām, p.2.

84. Ibid., p.5.

85. Ibid., pp.3-4.

86. Ibid., p.6.

87. Ibid., p.5.

88. Ibid., p.5.

89. Ibid., p.6.

90. Ibid., p.6.

91. Ibid., p.5.

92. Ibid., p.11.

93. Ibid., p.6.

94. Ibid., pp.7-11.

95. Ibid., p.11.

96. Ibid., pp.12-15.

97. Ibid., pp.15-17.

98. Ibid., p.19.

99. Ibid., pp.22-23.

100. Ibid., p.21.

101. See Ibn Hishām, Sīrat Sayyidinā Rasūl Allāh, Vol.I, part 1, pp.341-344 for details of the Constitution of Medinah which governed the relationship between the various sections of the Community.

102. D.A.R., p.12; T. W., p.80.

103. D. H., p.47.

104. See T. W., p.67 where 'Abdullāhi described such jihadists as young hooligans. See also J. M., pp.165-166.

105. See, for example, his Hausa poem Tabbat Hakika.

106. Muhammad Bello, Diyā' al-'Uqūl fī Bayān Ghilaz Tahrīm al-Ghulūl, and his al-Mahsūl fī Dhikr Jumlah min Masā'il al-Ghulūl.

107. Al-Hājj Sa'īd, Ta'rīkh Sokoto, ed. O. Houdas in Tedzkiret en-Nisiān (Paris, 1901), p.191.

108. Holy Qur'ān, 2:256.

109. D. H., p.60.

110. Ibid., p.56.

111. Ibid., p.58.

112. See G. Vajda, "Ahl al-Kitāb", in E/2.

113. D. H., p.39.

114. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Diyāʾ al-Taʾwīl fī Maʿānī al-Tanzīl (Cairo, 1961), II, 73.

115. ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio, Diyāʾ al-Mujāhidīn, p.27.

116. D. Sy., p.93.

117. D. H., p.40.

118. Ibid., p.39.

119. D. H., pp.40-41.

120. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kharshī (d.1101 A.H./1689-90 A.D.) was a well known Egyptian scholar of the Mālikī School of Law. His commentary on Mukhtaṣar Khalīl, which he called Fath al-Jalīl, was widely read in the Western Sudan. All the Sokoto Jihād leaders frequently quoted from it.

121. He was Burhān al-Dīn, Ibrāhīm b. Marʿī b. ʿAṭiyyah, popularly known as al-Shabarkhītī (d.1106 A.H./1694-95 A.D.). Fihris, II, 360.

122. Infra, pp.184-185.

123. See, for instance, Jawāhir al-Iklīl, I, 266-271.

124. Ibid., p.267.

125. D. H., p.63. This view was held by Ibn al-Mawwāz (Jawāhir al-Iklīl, I, 268).

CHAPTER SIX.

ʿAbdullāhi as a Mujtahid (Independent Jurist).

(a) Ijtihād (Individual legal opinion).

The term ijtihād and its derivative mujtahid are very widely used, and yet they are often surrounded with misconception. Their mention brings to mind great names in Islamic jurisprudence: Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik b. Anas, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who were undoubtedly the greatest mujtahids in the history of Islamic law. But it would be wrong to consider ijtihād as being their exclusive prerogative. Many men in different parts of the Muslim world and at different times must have achieved the status of ijtihād. This is because in the strict sense of the word, ijtihād means simply the exertion of the utmost intellectual effort on the part of a qualified Muslim Scholar to arrive at a decision on a certain matter of law.[1] The essential prerequisite of a mujtahid is therefore the qualification and the competence to derive details of law from the principal sources of the Sharīʿah, without blindly following the views and decisions of another scholar.

It is important at the outset to point out that there are various classes of ijtihād ranging from the absolute and independent to that which fades into blind imitation or taqlīd.[2] The absolute and independent mujtahid (al-mujtahid al-mustaqill or al-mujtahid al-muṭlaq) like Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik b. Anas, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, is one who evolves on his own a systematic method of deriving details of law from their sources. These principles give

his rulings a character of their own and often distinguish them from those of others, thus forming a whole School of Law which has come to be recognized as a madhhab.

Immediately below these come the associate mujtahids, (al-muntasibūn). These differ from the absolute mujtahids in that they do not evolve their own principles but adopt the principles of one of the independent mujtahids. They are therefore associated with the school which is headed by the absolute mujtahid whose principles they have adopted. As regards the details of their rulings, they are entirely their own derivations. If their views are almost identical to those of the jurist whose principles they have adopted, that is to be expected since the views are derived from identical principles.

Next come the mujtahid-within- the- school (al-mujtahid fī'l-madh-hab). This is a mujtahid who attaches himself to the principles as well as the details of law as they are expounded by the founder of his School of Law and the associate mujtahids. Such a mujtahid does not as a rule deviate from the interpretations of the law made by his predecessors except in limited circumstances. These include cases when a new situation has arisen for the first time and therefore no specific ruling concerning it has been made before by earlier jurists. The decisions of higher ranks of mujtahids can also be put aside if they had been based on customs, conventions, circumstances and situations which have changed. Since law is re-interpreted in the light of new circumstances and experiences, as long as the spirit of Islam is maintained, it follows that this category of mujtahids can re-interpret the law, taking into

account the changing conventions and circumstances. One thing to remember, however, is that whatever new rulings a mujtahid within-the-School expounds must be derived from the principles of the School to which he belongs.

This rank of mujtahids may also include those whose ijtihād is limited to making comparisons between views already expressed by earlier scholars, and deciding which of those views is the best one to adopt.

The lowest rank of mujtahids comprises those scholars whose only ijtihād consists of explaining the basis of the various views expressed by earlier scholars. They may be able to say, for instance, that one view is more consistent with analogy than the other, but they can not on the basis of that conclude that it is the better of the two. More understanding of the method of ijtihād is necessary before one could venture into making such decisions since, as already observed, the result of analogy is sometimes ignored in favour of istihsān, or preference based on the spirit of the Sharī'ah.

It is important to realize that, though in theory the above description is adequate to allow easy classification of jurists, yet in practice many problems may arise. For instance, a person born of Mālikī parents in a predominantly Mālikī area who receives his religious education from Mālikī scholars and Mālikī books may reach a stage in his education where, having mastered the Mālikī principles of jurisprudence, he may be capable of independently deriving from these principles details of law which are identical with those already expounded by other Mālikī jurists. The

problem arises in trying to place such a jurist: is he to be regarded as an associate Mālikī in view of the fact that he has adopted only the Mālikī principles, or is he to be seen as merely a muqallid, or imitator, since his views are likely to be found already expounded by earlier Mālikī jurists? Again, if a scholar independently evolves the same principles as Mālik or al-Shāfi'ī, is he to be classed as an absolute mujtahid like them or as their follower? The tendency seems to be to regard the first scholar to evolve the principles as the absolute mujtahid and the later one as his follower even if, in reality, the latter is independent as well. Thus, later jurists who in point of time come after the great mujtahids of the first order find themselves foreshadowed completely. No matter how brilliant and independent they may be, they find themselves relegated to the rank of restricted mujtahids. This attitude towards ijtihād, in addition to the social and political decay which prevailed in the late Abbasid period, may explain why the idea that the gate of ijtihād had been closed, has easily won acceptance among many scholars.[3]

Those who claimed the closure of ijtihād argued that the earlier absolute mujtahids had incorporated in their methodology principles which, if properly applied, are quite adequate in guiding later scholars to the right decisions. There is, therefore, no need whatsoever for the duplication of effort, only to end up with evolving principles which had already been enunciated and been made available by those earlier scholars. Rather it will be more reasonable and economical to use the existing principles as a basis for the derivation of new rulings.

The distinction between absolute and restricted ijtihād is important, because it explains why it is that although ʿAbdullāhi has always regarded himself as a follower of the Mālikī School of Law, yet at the same time he appears to be exercising some form of ijtihād. We see him in his Diyāʾ al-Ummah stating that dīn (religion) is based on tabaṣṣur (insight and perspicacity): that is to say a believer must try his best to understand properly the basis and the source of the details of the Sharīʿah.[4] This, no doubt, entails a clear understanding of the method by which details of the Sharīʿah are derived from the primary and secondary sources of Law. In short, this requires the ability to perform ijtihād. Thus ʿAbdullāhi confirmed at one and the same time his membership of the Mālikī School and the need for some form of ijtihād. What this has taught us about him is quite clear: he was not an absolute mujtahid, but he was a mujtahid of some degree. What type of mujtahid he was, will be the subject of the following section.

(b) ʿAbdullāhi's Methodology.

(i) The Qurʾān

Like all other Muslim jurists, ʿAbdullāhi's first and ultimate source is the Qurʾān. So long as there is a clear verdict in the Qurʾān it must be applied. Next he pursued the traditions of the Prophet (sunnah or ḥadīth) and the consensus of Muslim scholars (ijmāʿ).[5] It may be argued that this is superfluous since the Qurʾān, being the first and ultimate source of Law, does not need any support from other sources. ʿAbdullāhi's reason in this respect becomes clear once it is realized that he regarded sunnah as an

explanation of the Qur'ān. As for ijmā' and qiyās (analogy) he saw them as having had their basis in the Qur'ān and Sunnah from which they derive.[6] When a Qur'ānic verse is to be used in support of a point of view, therefore, it is proper for a scholar to look for Sunnah, ijmā' or qiyās to corroborate it.

In order to be able to draw a ruling from the Qur'ān, a mujtahid must possess all the essential tools of deep understanding of Arabic language and profound knowledge of the Qur'ānic sciences ('ulūm al-Qur'ān)[7] and the science of traditions ('Ilm al-Hadīth). Thus only those competent to exercise ijtihād should engage in the interpretation of the Qur'ān. However, care must be taken to ensure that the interpretation is not left to unrestricted reasoning.[8] Rather, a reasonable balance between textual evidence and intellectual reasoning is recommended. An example of this is seen in 'Abdullāhi's interpretation of the Qur'ānic verses:

> "Thou seest many of them making friends with those who disbelieve. Surely ill for them is that which they themselves send on before them: that Allah will be wroth with them and in the doom they will abide. If they believed in Allah and the Prophet and that which is revealed unto him, they would not choose them for their friends. But many of them are of evil conduct."[9]

These verses at first sight seem to suggest that he who befriends unbelievers automatically becomes one of them. This is the interpretation given by al-Maghīlī, Shehu 'Uthmān and Muhammad Bello who, therefore, see as unbelievers even

the Muslim scholars who may aid non-Muslim forces against the Muslims.[10] However, ʿAbdullāhi arguing on the basis of his knowledge of the occasion of the revelation of these Qurʾānic verses, concludes that siding with non-Muslims in their fighting against Muslim forces, while being a grave sin, does not by itself constitute unbelief. Befriending non-Muslims becomes unbelief only if the motive is to support unbelief against Islam, which is the case referred to by the above verses for, according to him, they refer to the Munāfiqūn (Hypocrites) who are by definition non-believers.[11] It would be wrong, according to him, therefore, to apply these verses to sinning Muslims.[12] He concludes this argument by saying that the sending of an army against Muslims does not by itself constitute un-belief, much less assisting such army: "and if a thing is not in itself un-belief, how does participation in it become un-belief?"[13] he asked. He went even further when he stated that siding with non-Muslims to fight Muslims may not constitute a sin if it follows from a genuine taʾwīl (interpretation of the sources of Law).[14] He claims that his view represents the dominant Orthodox Muslim view on this matter.[15]

(ii) Sunnah - Prophetic Traditions.

This is the second primary source of law after the Qurʾān, and is extensively used by all Muslim jurists. It plays a central part in the formulation of details of Law. But there are problems peculiar to it as a source of Law, namely, that unlike the text of the Qurʾān, some suspicion may arise regarding the authenticity of some traditions. For this reason ʿAbdullāhi is very cautious in the way he receives and makes use of the sunnah. Its authenticity

must be established to make it a valid source. But he is most strict about this where a question of halāl and harām (lawful and unlawful things) is concerned. In the area of targhīb and tarhīb (exhortation and warning), however, ʿAbdullāhi is quite prepared to accept weak traditions as a source of legislation.[16] This is because it is not necessary to have a hadīth to tell people that they should do good and refrain from evil, and that great reward awaits those who do good, and terrible consequences lie in store for the evil-doers in the life after death. If, therefore, a hadīth is found encouraging people to do good or urging them to shun evil, it can be accepted and worked upon even if it is of doubtful authenticity. Such a hadīth can hardly do any harm to Islam even if it is unauthentic, in contrast to the harm likely to result from an unauthentic hadīth permitting a prohibited act or prohibiting a permitted one.

Again, a hadīth, can be used as a source of Law only if it is not abrogated, is explicit and clear and is not contradicted by strong and clearer texts. If any of these conditions is not met, ʿAbdullāhi would not accept a hadīth as a valid source.[17] Thus, for instance, when Shehu ʿUthmān stated that it was permissible to have some drumming and sport during happy and festive occasions, supporting this statement by a hadīth reported by Ibn Mājah to the effect that the Prophet used to listen to drumming on the occasion of the Muslim Festivals, ʿAbdullāhi disagreed arguing that the hadīth referred to must be unsound or abrogated. He argued that the vast majority (jamhūr) of Muslim scholars had ignored it as evidence, and had subscribed to the well-

known ruling that drumming, even during festivals, is not permissible. This is evidence that the hadīth is not a sound one, otherwise it would not have been rejected.[18] In refusing to admit what he regarded as unsound or abrogated tradition, ʿAbdullāhi was only following the criteria he had set down of being cautious when sunnah involved the question of halāl and harām.

Some people may be tempted to argue that ʿAbdullāhi was basing the authenticity of sunnah on the opinion of scholars. This, they may argue, is a very dangerous precedent which can undermine the authority of the sunnah. ʿAbdullāhi's reply would probably be that he was leaving a single hadīth whose authenticity was doubtful in favour of a number of other hadīths contradicting it.[19] This explains, he may argue, why most scholars had ignored it. The fact that even those scholars who allow music and drumming allow only a little of it during such occasions as Islamic feasts and marriage ceremonies suggested to him that this practice was not regarded as a good thing. If this is so, it is difficult to see how it can be associated with the sunnah.[20]

On another occasion we see how ʿAbdullāhi understood and interpreted the sunnah. Shehu ʿUthmān had ruled that it was perfectly legal to wear jewellery and articles of clothing containing gold and silver, provided they were worn for a short time and as a display of God's grace (izhāran li 'l-niʿmah). He cited in support a hadīth according to which the Prophet was said to have remarked to Surāqah b. Mālik[21] "How will it be with you when you wear the armbands of Kisrā (Chosroes)?" Shehu explained that when, after the death of the Prophet, Persia was conquered

and the king's armbands were brought to the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, he caused them to be worn by Surāqah in fulfilment of the Prophet's prophecy. But they were removed from Surāqah soon after. Shehu ʿUthmān, using this incident as a precedent, stated that onyone could wear these otherwise forbidden things in similar circumstances. For him the deciding factors were the temporary nature of the use of these items and the motive behind wearing them.[22]

ʿAbdullāhi had a different interpretation. He saw ʿUmar's action as a confirmation of the Prophet's miracle in predicting the fall of Persia, the capture of the king's armbands and Surāqah's wearing of them. For him this is all there was to it. The case was a special one and should not be cited as a precedent. He argued that the wearing of these articles had nothing to do with displaying God's grace, for if it did ʿUmar, as the successor of the Prophet and as one of his greatest Companions, would have worn them himself and not Surāqah. He also pointed out that if the purpose of wearing an article was to display God's grace, then one would expect it to be on display for as long as possible. Of equal importance, the article so displayed must be of the type which is pleasing to God, and the wearing of gold and silver ornaments by males is certainly not pleasing to God since this is forbidden by the Sharīʿah. These arguments, in addition to the fact that no one before had used Surāqah's case as evidence to support the permission of temporary use of gold and silver ornaments as a token of showing God's grace, led ʿAbdullāhi to his own conclusion in the matter.[23] This is in tune with his criterion of using additional supporting evidence to interpret the Qur'ān and sunnah. It should be noted here as well,

that the discussion was over a question of halāl and harām.

These two cases show the great regard ʿAbdullāhi had for the generally recognized view of Muslim scholars in the absence of consensus. This generally recognized view carried its weight because the majority of scholars are more likely to form the right view than the minority. This is more so particularly with respect to the Companions of the Prophet and their immediate followers, as their views and actions are more often than not an explanation of the sunnah.[24]

(iii) Ijmāʿ (Consensus of Muslim Scholars).

Ijmāʿ forms the third source of Law in Islamic jurisprudence. Most Muslims agree that if a consensus has been reached by earlier generations on an issue, it is binding on later generations.[25] The validity of this source rests in the belief, expressed in a Prophetic tradition, that the Muslim Community shall never agree on an error. This is so because to form an ijmāʿ, the qualified scholars must find a basis for it in the Qurʾān or sunnah.[26] Thus there was ijmāʿ on all matters which have been clearly explained in the Qurʾān and sound traditions, like ijmāʿ on the five pillars of Islam, to give a most obvious example. In some cases ijmāʿ may be based not on explicit verses from the Qurʾān or on explicit traditions of the Prophet but on the spirit of Islamic teaching. Thus the early Muslims formed an ijmāʿ to the effect that lands conquered by the Muslim forces should not be distributed among the soldiers like movable property, but should be kept as the joint property of the Community.[27] This ijmāʿ was based on the belief that Islam approves of whatever is truly in the interest of mankind.

(iv) Qiyās (Judgement based on Juristic Analogy)

This is the fourth source of Law which all the Schools of Law recognize. It is resorted to when a situation arises on which there is no explicit ruling in the Qur'ān and sunnah, and on which no ijmā' has been formed. Since it derives from the Qur'ān and sunnah, it must not contradict them, nor is it valid if it contradicts ijmā'.

Qiyās did not feature much in 'Abdullāhi's writing. The reason is not that it was "regarded as one of the worse kinds of intrusions on the pure religion"[28] as Dr. Ayagore put it. As has been shown before,[29] 'Abdullāhi accepted its validity as a source of Law and made use of it when necessary. For instance, when discussing the practice of some scholars in the Hausa states in his time of taking a portion of the inheritance or legal claim which they calculated and divided among the claimants, he ruled that they could not claim anything except when they and the claimants had settled beforehand on the exact charges for their work. He arrived at this decision through qiyās, drawing an analogy between a scholar and an agent. Since a contract for hire was not valid until the parties involved knew and agreed upon the rate of pay in advance,[30] so was the scholar's selling of his services illegal unless he and the claimant had agreed on the charges in advance.[31]

(v) Al-Masālih al-Mursalah or Istislāh (Common Good)

By far the most important independent decisions which 'Abdullāhi made were derived from the principle of Istislāh or Masālih Mursalah, that is, unprecedented judgement motivated by public interest, to which neither the Qur'ān nor the Sunnah explicitly refers. This principle owes its

origin to the belief and conviction that the aim of religion is to look after the welfare of Muslims in their earthly lives and in their life in the hereafter. Whatever mankind has been enjoined to do by Islam, whether in the field of ritual or that of practical life, is meant to guard and maintain five fundamentals: belief, life, reason, offspring and property.[32] Every injunction in the Qur'ān and sunnah, when carefully scrutinised, can be shown to guard and protect one or more of these fundamentals. It is therefore reasonable to expect a Muslim scholar, when dealing with a problem on which he cannot find a specific provision in the Qur'ān and sunnah, and on which no ijmā' has been reached, to turn to this principle with a view to seeking a decision which ensures the Welfare of Muslims as individuals and as a community. But the welfare of the Muslims must be real and genuine; it must not be an imaginary good conjured up by ill-motivated people to serve their own ends. Once the genuine welfare of the Muslims is identified as such, decision is made accordingly to realize it.

Since Islam is always after the welfare of the Muslims in safeguarding the fundamentals referred to above, it follows that no decision based on maslahah can, at least in theory, ever be in conflict with the Islamic injunctions, for then it cannot be a real maslahah. By the same token, any decision independently arrived at which conflicts with maslahah must be disregarded because it cannot be in the spirit of Islam. This is the reason why the Mālikī jurists in particular are quite prepared to reject the result of qiyās whenever it conflicts with the demands of maslahah. This preference of the demand of maslahah over the result

of qiyās is what scholars of Muslim principles of jurisprudence (Usūl al-Fiqh) refer to as istihsān.[33] But for Mālikī jurists this type of istihsān as well as any other application of maslahah, whether it follows the rejection of the result of qiyās or not, is also known as istihsān.[34] It is used so much by Mālik b. Anas, the founder of the School, that he referred to it as constituting nine tenths of religion.[35] It is no wonder, therefore, that a Mālikī like ʿAbdullāhi should make frequent use of it when the occasion arose.

The principle of maslahah falls into a number of sections all of which are dealt with in ʿAbdullāhi's works. As early as the pre-jihād period, we see him arguing in favour of the education of women even if this should make it necessary for them to mix with men. This is in accordance with a number of maxims one of which says simply: al-darūrāt tubīh al-mahzūrāt (Necessities permit forbidden things). Another states that when faced with two or more evils the lesser evil must be allowed. Of the five fundamentals mentioned, ʿAbdullāhi reiterates that religion comes first and must therefore be given preference over every other consideration - in this case over the protection of offspring which is the reason for the law prohibiting the mixing of the two sexes.[36]

The application of maslahah is also apparent when ʿAbdullāhi agreed with the view that, while under normal circumstances the caliph or his representatives have no legal right to impose taxes on their Muslim or non-Muslim subjects apart from those specified by the Sharīʿah, yet this illegality disappears when an essential service is to

be provided, for which no means are available without introducing such new taxes. Therefore, if the need arose, ʿAbdullāhi would quite readily approve of the introduction of levies and surcharges into the financial system of the Caliphate, provided that this was done as a temporary measure, to be lifted as soon as the necessity for it no more exists. Such rescue measures should, however, not be allowed to become a permanent feature of the Islamic system.[37] If they do, they must be strongly opposed because then they become exactly like the illegal taxes which were maintained by the leaders of the administration which ʿAbdullāhi helped to overthrow.

ʿAbdullāhi's use of this principle was therefore restricted to conditions of real necessity. He strongly opposed unrestricted use of it, fearing that it could be counter-productive if seized upon by unscrupulous and godless scholars who could easily turn it into a licence for permitting prohibited things. His cautious approach to the application of this principle led to differences of opinion between him and Shehu ʿUthmān. The latter accepted what was probably the status quo in Hausaland, where soon after the jihād some of the officials began to live in style and luxury, wearing gorgeous and gaudy robes, like the kings they had overthrown. Shehu, perhaps aware of the difficulty in stopping these officials from leading this sort of life, ruled that there was a case for allowing them to continue in it, although he himself always lived a simple and ascetic life. He drew an analogy between them and Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, the governor of Syria during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (634-44 A.D.). Muʿāwiyah, questioned by ʿUmar

as to why he was using expensive clothes and living a life of luxury, replied that his action was necessitated by the fact that the people he ruled would only respect those in authority if they acted the way he did. ʿUmar accepted the principle of the argument, because though living ostentatious life is reprehensible, it becomes acceptable when the alternative is chaos and the break-down of authority. Shehu ʿUthmān used this evidence to support his ruling, basing his decision on the assumption that the Muslims in Hausaland in his time would not submit to the authority of those who led simple life.[38] ʿAbdullāhi, on the other hand, maintained that there was no basis for an analogy between the Syrians in Muʿāwiyah's time and the Muslims in Hausaland at the time he wrote, only a few years after the jihād. At that time, the Muslims in Hausaland were sufficiently religious to respect and obey their leaders for their piety.[39] Perhaps he had in mind Shehu ʿUthmān himself as a living proof of what he was saying. This, he saw, was clear evidence that Islam had enough hold on most of the Muslims. There was therefore no justification for any Muslim leader to indulge in a life of ease, luxury and ostentation on the pretext that his action was conducive to the welfare of the community. A real, genuine reason must exist before recourse is had to rukhṣah (concession).[40]

ʿAbdullāhi, who always expected excellent examples to be set by those in authority because of their special place in society, was reluctant to allow them to take easy options which, in his view, were at best shubuhāt, i.e. doubtful cases. His principle where shubuhāt were involved was to avoid them and keep to what was clearly permitted - this was

the best way of assuring oneself that one is on the safe side. Therefore, whenever there is doubt as to whether a thing is prohibited or permissible, forbidden or compulsory, one should avoid it in accordance with the principle that "the avoidance of evil takes precedence over the aquisition of good."[41] In the same logic, whenever one is in doubt as to whether an action is compulsory or not, one should do it; and whenever one is faced with two alternative actions one is advised to opt for the more difficult. This is because the human soul usually craves for that which is easy and frivolous, and it therefore falls upon Man to subject it and make it subservient and obedient to God.[42]

'Abdullāhi's concern with Maslahah also manifests itself in his insistence on the necessity of issuing legal opinions and basing court verdicts on the generally recognized view of the School to which one belongs. (Mash-hūr al-Madh-hab), except in cases where necessity rendered that impossible. A court verdict based on unrecognized views must be regarded null and void and must be revoked.[43]

It is important to ask why 'Abdullāhi was so particular about the mash-hūr view, especially where court verdicts were concerned. The answer probably lies in the fact that he wanted justice to be done, and he wanted it to be seen to be done. Consistency was therefore essential, and this required the application of the same laws to all the citizens in identical circumstances.

'Abdullāhi was aware of the irregularities that were present in the dispensation of justice in the courts in the Hausa states in his time. He complained that contrary to the generally recognized practice some judges used to

pass sentences before giving the accused an opportunity to defend himself.[44] He also insisted that all judges must base their decisions on the recognised views of their School. The implication is quite clear: unscrupulous judges could take advantage of the presence of varying and sometimes even conflicting views to choose those views which satisfied their selfish whims and vagaries and base their judgements on them. Thus, unless the freedom of the judges in basing their verdict was narrowed down to the generally recognised views, nothing but a mockery and travesty of justice would follow. This would undermine the basis of the legal system, with all the attendant evils. This is completely against the very concept of justice. Such a situation would make it possible for pseudo-scholars and godless judges to confuse people and temper with the true teachings of Islam.

Having fully realized the danger of this type of situation, ʿAbdullāhi strongly opposed it. In this he differed from Shehu ʿUthmān who supported the freedom of the judges in basing their decisions on opinions derived from other Schools. His argument was that all the sunnī Schools of Law are equally right and valid.[45] However the difference of attitude between Shehu and ʿAbdullāhi was not on the question of the validity of the sunnī Schools. It was on whether the good of the community lies in the uniformity of law decisions or in the freedom of judges to base their verdicts on the views of different Schools. Perhaps Shehu ʿUthmān was trying here to find rukhsah, or concession, for the judges, who for one reason or another might have found it extremely difficult to satisfy ʿAbdullāhi's creterion. Indeed, ʿAbdullāhi himself recognised that in the face of

practical necessities it was difficult to attain the ideal. However, as usual, he set out the ideal which everyone must try to achieve. The road to it might be long and rough, but it was still there. With determination and perseverence, the goal would eventually be reached.

In some areas, ʿAbdullāhi went along with the view that strict adherence to the generally recognised view could be relaxed. These included cases concerning the validity of marriages and prayers, the permission of the consumption of certain foods, and the slaughtering of animals.[46] In such cases there was little likelihood of those in authority interfering unjustly with the individual, and therefore the need to protect the individual from their injustices was reduced. By recognising these as valid, moreover, life was made easier for Muslims whose good was thereby assured. A man was also allowed to use a view other than the generally recognised one in his School in matters concerning his own private life (fī khāssat nafsihi).[47] This is probably because, since no one else was involved, there was no fear of his doing harm to anyone. In this case the man knew best what his situation was and whether or not it warranted his deviation from the mash-hūr view.

(vi) Sadd al-Dharīʿah, or Thwarting the Means

This is another principle which ʿAbdullāhi, like other jurists, found useful, and on which he based many of his decisions. It involves transferring to the means leading to an action the ruling that applies to the action itself. Thus whatever leads to evil is considered evil and therefore prohibited, and whatever leads to good is considered good and encouraged.[48] Logically speaking, this principle should

be called dharī'ah (means) rather than sadd al-dharī'ah (thwarting the means) since the means is not thwarted if it leads to the good.[49] However, Muslim scholars are generally more concerned with the prevention of evil than with the opening up of new avenues of good, because once evil is removed nothing but good remains. This is summed up by the maxim referred to already that "the prevention of evil takes precedence over the acquisition of good".[50]

The principle of sadd al-dharī'ah can be regarded as falling within the wide domain of maslahah. But very often it is regarded by some authorities as an independent principle.[51] The reason for this is not hard to find; whereas the bulk of maslahah deals with ways of relieving hardship on individuals and societies, sadd al-dharī'ah is basically concerned with the protection of the spirit of the Sharī'ah from the excesses of those who are unduly concerned with its letter rather than its spirit. But ultimately sadd al-dharī'ah results in the realization of maslahah and this explains the lack of consensus as to whether it is part of maslahah or an independent principle. This is also why many issues can be resolved through the application of either principle - and the solution in principle is normally the same.

'Abdullāhi made use of this principle especially when dealing with contemporary problems. He might, at times, have been thought by some to be pedandic, quibbling over minor issues. But when the underlying implications of the issues involved are fully comprehended, his stand comes to be fully understood and appreciated. For this reason, we see him at times insisting on seemingly minor issues on

which many scholars would be prepared to compromise. He resisted, for example, any attempt at permitting the use of terms like malik (king) which have non-Islamic connotations to denote an Islamic leader, the Khalīfah or Imām.[52]

Many Muslims may argue that there is nothing significant about terminology, that what matters is not the title of the head of a Muslim Community, but the manner in which he carries out his obligations, and the degree to which his actions are determined by Islamic injunctions. ʿAbdullāhi agrees with this, but at the same time he maintains that the question of terminology is also important, for has not the Prophet recommended to us even the names we should give our children and those which are to be shunned?[53] And has not the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and other Companions of the Prophet recognised the difference between Khalīfah and malik?[54]

ʿAbdullāhi's concern was not with the title held but with the implications which it carried. A terminology borrowed from unbelievers can hardly be free from the values attached to it by them. As Dāwūd Rosser-Owen says: A "term, as with everything else borrowed from another culture, is value laden".[55] Well aware of this, ʿAbdullāhi therefore opposed the introduction of non-Islamic terms to describe Islamic institutions.[56] He explained that people used to the idea of a malik as being one possessed of worldly power based on force, and who does not have to account for his actions before a Supreme Authority, are bound to transfer this idea to any malik, even when the malik is supposed to mean a Khalīfah (Caliph) who is bound in his actions by the Sharīʿah.[57] It is this transfer of ideas that possibly

accounts for the fact that some ignorant people referred to their rulers as though they possessed absolute authority. ʿAbd al-Bāqī, for instance, complained that such irresponsible people in his days referred to "the property of the Sulṭān, the kharāj of the Sulṭān, and the country of the Sulṭān..."[58] as though all these were the Sulṭān's personal possessions. This is the sort of idea people used to associate with a king and, despite Islam's total disapproval, some ignorant people still associate these ideas with their Muslim leaders. Careful precaution must therefore be taken to avoid this happening. ʿAbdullāhi, in objecting to the use of non-Islamic titles was, in fact, concerned with safeguarding Islam from the possible infiltration of non-Islamic and corrupting concepts. This consideration was always foremost in his thinking. If the adoption of un-Islamic or non-Islamic terminology is likely to produce disastrous consequences for Islam, then it must be strongly opposed.

ʿAbdullāhi's ruling already referred to,[59] that the leaders in Hausaland at the time he was writing his Diyāʾ al-Sulṭān, had no justification for resorting to physical image boosting is another example of his use of the principle of sadd al-dharīʿah. The aim was to prevent the rulers from deviating from the course set by the jihād, that is the revival of the true teaching of Islam, and the establishment of an administration as close to the ideal as possible. He regarded every laxity in striving to attain the ideal as a dangerous tendency which must be stopped. His action was therefore an application of "thwarting the means leading to evil". For this reason, we see him in agreement with the view which al-Maghīlī expressed urging the Sulṭān of Kano to take measures to prevent the non-

Muslim members of the Community from drinking alcohol, uncovering their bodies, and observing polytheistic practices, in public.[60] The fear was that since a large section of the Muslim population was ignorant and many were new converts, the open display of such un-Islamic practices was likely to act as an incentive for them to practice these forbidden things. Those who may argue that non-Muslims should not be denied the right to do what their religion does not forbid to them, should then understand that ʿAbdullāhi's position refers to practicing these things in public, because of the effect this might have on others. The same principle is at work in the ruling that those in authority should not accept gifts because of their corrupting effect.[61]

These are but a few of many examples to be found in ʿAbdullāhi's writings. They show clearly his way of thinking and what influenced his rulings. Like the good Muslim that he was, his interest was in safeguarding the Community and its religious values. Sometimes he was not understood fully by some of his contemporaries, but those who understood him respected him for that.[62] In applying the principle of sadd al-dharīʿah, ʿAbdullāhi was trying to forestall any tendency towards evil practices in advance. His approach was in accord with the maxim: "prevention is better than cure".

(vii) Istishāb or The Assumption that things retain their natural state.

Another principle which is often used by ʿAbdullāhi is that of istishāb. It involves maintaining the assumption that things retain their natural or normal state until there is good reason to believe that the position has changed.[63]

Thus, for instance, every person is presumed to be innocent of a crime until there is good reason to believe that he is guilty. Also, all animals are presumed to be ritually clean except those specified by the Sharī'ah as unclean. In the same manner, a person known to be a Muslim is regarded as such until there is strong evidence to prove his apostasy.

According to this principle, the normal and natural assumption in respect of those living in a Muslim Community and who regard themselves as Muslims and perform the externalities of Islam is that they are Muslims. Once this is established, they should be presumed to be Muslims until there is a clear evidence of apostasy. On this all Muslims are agreed. But differences of opinion arise when it comes to determining what constitutes evidence of apostasy and unbelief. For some, like 'Abdullāhi, emphasis is placed on istishāb, that is, the situation as it is known to be at the moment. Unless there is conclusive evidence that there has been a change in the situation, there is no justification for the removal of the already established assumption. Therefore, 'Abdullāhi would not, for instance, admit the apostasy of a Muslim unless he clearly and explicitly rejects the tenets of Islam by declaring his non-recognition of them. But if a Muslim were to fail in observing them without explicitly declaring his non-recognition of them, then he was still to be regarded as a Muslim, albeit a bad, sinning Muslim.[64] The same is true of a Muslim whose words and deeds could be interpreted to mean either belief or unbelief.[65] For a verdict of unbelief and apostasy on a Muslim to be reached, nothing short of clear, explicit and unequivocal declaration of non-recognition is necessary. A Muslim's

actions and deeds alone are not sufficient ground to justify condemning him as an apostate.[66] His intentions and his motives must be ascertained first before a verdict can be passed on him.[67] For this reason, ʿAbdullāhi often emerged as a very tolerant scholar towards those Muslims who found themselves near the dividing line between Believers and non-Believers. For him, istishāb should continue until clear evidence emerged to necessitate its abandonment. We see Shehu ʿUthmān[68] and Sulṭān Muḥammad Bello[69] taking a different view. For them, the weight of istishāb was such that the evidence needed to neutralize it was not as great as that required by ʿAbdullāhi. Thus ʿAbdullāhi was prepared to accept the practice of some Fulani people involving killing animals and combing their hair with the blood as constituting a sin, but not unbelief, on the grounds that these Fulani did not expect this practice to bring benefit or to ward off evil.[70]

Sulṭān Bello, on the other hand, saw in this practice enough evidence to justify anathematizing these Fulani,[71] because no matter what they claimed their motives and intentions to be, the acts suggested to neutral observers nothing but unbelief. "Actions speak louder than words", he seemed to be saying, in contrast to ʿAbdullāhi's assertion that in the matter of faith, actions alone were meaningless apart from the motives and intentions behind them. ʿAbdullāhi might justify his view by the well-known tradition: "Actions are judged only by their underlying motives...," while Shehu and Bello might argue that "judgements are based on outward evidence".[72]

There is one practical problem in ʿAbdullāhi's view: careful investigation is necessary before a Muslim is branded

as an apostate. Evidence obtained from his words, deeds and motives must be pooled and weighed against the assumption of istishāb. Unless apostasy is proved beyond reasonable doubt, the suspect must be regarded as believer. This is because for ʿAbdullāhi, "a mistake in regarding Muslims and non-Muslims as Muslims is less serious than that of counting one Muslim as an infidel".[73] For this reason, istishāb is adhered to very strictly because it was seen by ʿAbdullāhi as a sure way of being on the safe side of the Law.

An example of the practical difficulties which can ensue from ʿAbdullāhi's view arose in his time on a number of issues. The Bornu rulers were accused of unbelief on the grounds of assisting the non-Muslim Hausa kings[74] and of taking part in some ceremonies which Bello saw as clearly pointing to polytheism,[75] despite the fact that the Bornu kings claimed that they were Muslims, and that those ceremonies were not intended to have anything to do with polytheism or idolatry.[76] On the basis of ʿAbdullāhi's criteria, these people, like the Fulani referred to above, must be regarded as sinning Muslims, but Muslims all the same. Still they could be fought to bring them under allegiance to the Caliph as they could be fought to rid them of their un-Islamic innovations.[77] It may seem somewhat paradoxical to see ʿAbdullāhi, who condemned Yunfa and other Hausa kings as infidels and apostates,[78] arguing that the kings of Bornu might not be so. But his criteria show that there was no contradiction whatsoever in that. In the case of Hausaland, he lived there and knew at first hand all that was necessary to see the situation and pass judgement. He was personally involved, and as such the situation was quite different from Bornu, where neither he nor Shehu nor Bello had lived before the jihād.[79]

In such a situation, he would most likely have given the Bornu people the benefit of the doubt. Still, however, they could be fought for supporting the Hausa kings against the Jihādists, but they were sinners and not infidels. So, in effect, the difference of opinion between him on the one hand, and Shehu and Bello on the other would, in the final analysis, have made little or no difference as regards the military situation in the Hausa states and in Bornu.

It is interesting to note that Sulṭān Bello referred to a "convincing reply"[80] sent by ʿAbdullāhi to al-Kānimī of Bornu in reply to the latter's request for an explanation as to why the supporters of the Sokoto Jihādists were attacking his people who were "innocent of un-belief".[81] This correspondence would certainly have helped to clear ʿAbdullāhi's view on this question. Unfortunately, Bello did not reproduce or quote from it, neither does one learn of any other correspondence between ʿAbdullāhi and al-Kānimī. Probably, there was none beside that referred to by Bello. This is understandable, since ʿAbdullāhi's view was different from the official one held by Shehu and Bello on this issue.

We see the principle of istiṣḥāb at work again when ʿAbdullāhi treated the question of halāl and harām,[82] and it plays an important part in his treatment of siyāsāt sharʿiyyah.[83]

(viii) Al-ʿUrf wa 'l-ʿādāt or Local Usage and Custom.

In addition to the above sources, ʿAbdullāhi, like the rest of Mālikī scholars,[84] recognized the validity of local usage and custom, so long as they did not conflict with the spirit of the Sharīʿah. Thus, in determining whether it is the duty of the husband or the wife to provide for household

goods, the usage and custom of the society in question should decide the issue, which then will be recognized by the Sharī'ah.[85] It is this principle also which permits a corn-measurer to take his due from the corn he measures without consulting the owner beforehand to seek his approval. This is because the owner's approval is taken for granted in accordance with the norm of the society in question. Under normal circumstances such a transaction would not be permitted, because the parties involved must agree in advance as to the exact value of payment for a job.[86] But here an established custom which meets common approval and makes business transactions easy, takes precedence over analogy, the crucial factor being the assumed approval of the owner of the corn.

Elsewhere, 'Abdullāhi relied on al-'urf wa 'l-'ādāt to determine whether the crops of the enemy with whom the Muslims are at war should or should not be destroyed.[87]

From the foregoing discussion it is easy to see that 'Abdullāhi's ideas were carefully formed; they were based on a number of principles whose relation with one another was maintained throughout. We have seen the considerations which influenced him in accepting or rejecting a particular point of view. We have seen how and why he seems to be rather strict in certain cases and almost too lenient in others. Looked at objectively, his views will be seen as forming a consistent chain of ideas, all methodically connected with one another and forming a well-balanced and coherent whole.

'Abdullāhi accepted the rulings of Mālik and the associate mujtahids of the Mālikī School. When a number of opinions

exist on a particular issue he analized them and indicated which ones he preferred, giving reasons for his preference. Also when a new situation arose he passed an independent legal opinion on it by performing his own ijtihād, based on Mālikī principles of jurisprudence. All this goes to fit him in the category of a mujtahid within a School of Law, al-mujtahid fī 'l-Madhhab.

So far we have been speaking of 'Abdullāhi as a faithful follower of the Mālikī School of Law. We must now raise the question: To what extent was he influenced by non-Mālikī scholars? What are his views regarding the other Orthodox Schools of Law? We shall attempt to answer these questions in the following section.

(b) 'Abdullāhi and Other Schools of Law.

As we have seen, 'Abdullāhi, the firmly committed Mālikī jurist, followed not only the views of Mālikī jurists and their methodology but, when it came to passing legal decisions, he followed the generally recognized view of the School. Many who do not understand why he took this stand are likely to regard him as a harsh and narrow-minded scholar, and may even be tempted to interpret this as a disregard on his part for the other Orthodox Schools of Law. How else, such critics may ask, could he maintain that legal decisions can be valid only insofar as they are based on the mashhūr view of a single School? What can this possibly imply other than the total rejection of all views which do not agree with those of his School? How can this be reconciled with the accepted Orthodoxy of the four Sunnī Schools of Law?

In view of the importance of these questions, it is necessary for us to explain 'Abdullāhi's attitude towards the other Schools of Law. This in turn requires an investigation into what other possible considerations may have influenced him in adopting his peculiar views.

Here it is important to draw attention to the fact that 'Abdullāhi conceives the Muslim Community as basically comprising the common Muslims, 'awāmm, and the religious and political leaders, the khawāss.[88] The former, who form the general public, are often ignorant of any but the most basic Islamic teachings. With little time to spare from their daily pursuits, they need simple and clear guidance from the religious leaders to enlighten them in their faith and to improve their knowledge of their religious obligations. For 'Abdullāhi, these people should be guided gently towards a proper understanding of Islam. Those concerned in guiding them must avoid complicated issues which may cause confusion in their minds. Nothing is more dangerous than exposing them to apparently conflicting views. All concerned must instruct them in their religious duties in a simple and non-controversial way.[89] Naturally this militates against giving them different views on one and the same issue. It is with this in mind that 'Abdullāhi strongly advocated basing legal decisions only on the mashhūr view of his School. This concern with the elimination of possible causes of confusion in the minds of the general public is evident in many of 'Abdullāhi's works. In his Diyā' al-Ummah, which he epitomized from al-Sha'rānī's Kashf al-Ghummah, he stated in the introduction that he would generally include in his epitome only the views which conform with those of the Mālikī School, "in order that students could not get mixed up".[90] Here then

is his own statement implying that he wrote generally for followers of the Mālikī School of Law - a point already assumed since he never made a secret of his membership of the Mālikī School. It is a known fact, moreover, that in his time practically all the Muslims in Hausaland were members of this School.[91] His concern is also evident in his demand that rulers and muftīs (jurists who deliver formal legal opinion) should explain the basis of their decisions to ordinary Muslims if such decisions were likely to cause confusion.[92]

When it comes to the learned scholars, however, the danger of causing confusion as a result of exposure to different views expressed on identical issues by scholars within their own School, and by scholars from other Schools, is smaller. With this in mind, 'Abdullāhi did not require such scholars to adhere to the mashhūr view of their School when they applied the Sharī'ah to themselves.[93] The assumption is that the learned scholars have attained such a degree of knowledge and understanding of the Sharī'ah that they are able to refer the details to the general principles, and thus understand the process through which the different interpretations came to be formulated. On the basis of this, they are in a position to make an objective assessment of the different interpretations and choose from among them. For this reason, 'Abdullāhi allows them freedom in the choice of their views, provided always that they are based on genuine religious considerations. It is probably for this reason that, while we see him strongly insisting on legal decisions being based on the mashhūr view of his School (because more often than not those decisions involve ordinary Muslims) at the same time he went on in his works to cite views from other

Sunnī Schools. An examination of his works reveals that, as a rule, only in those directed to learned scholars and advanced students do we find views from other Schools cited.[94] It is not surprising, therefore, to find in his Commentary on the Qur'ān[95] the views not only of the extant Sunnī Schools but of extinct ones as well, like the Ẓāhirite School[96] and the views of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.[97] Similarly, in works on politics and administration, where those in charge must be knowledgeable scholars, or at least should be guided by such scholars, we see ʿAbdullāhi constantly over-stepping the bounds of his School, into the inter-School sphere, without hesitation. Diyā' al-Ḥukkām is perhaps the best example of this type of work.[98] In it ʿAbdullāhi blends together ideas taken from all the Sunnī sources and adopts them and recommends them to the khawāss of his School, whose intellectual capacity can absorb them without conflict, and whose duty requires the translation of these ideas into concrete positive action.

In the sphere of sufism also, where guidance is provided by a learned shaikh to an aspiring student, ʿAbdullāhi does not require strict adherence to a particular School, the basic assumption being that the shaikh, a member of the khawāss, can fully understand the subtleties of the law, and has the capability to provide adequate guidance to his student who must be prepared, in the sūfī tradition, to be guided by him.[99] It is no wonder, therefore, that the views of sūfīs belonging to different Schools of Law are quoted even on questions of Law,[100] and these views are recognized as valid. But it should be realised that for ʿAbdullāhi sufism is nothing more or less than the total resignation to the will of God and the freeing of oneself from subservience to any creature.[101] As for that extreme type of

sufism which upholds ideas apparently in conflict with the Sharī'ah. 'Abdullāhi had nothing to do with it and was very apprehensive about it.[102]

The large number of 'Abdullāhi's writings based on the works of scholars from other Schools is evidence enough that he regarded all the orthodox Schools of Law as being of equal standing and validity. As has been observed earlier, however, if he had reason to believe that a particular view was weak then, regardless of the School or scholar holding it, he expressed his disagreement with it. For instance, much as he respected al-Ghazzālī, he disagreed with him when he ruled that a muhtasib (person who looks after public morality) could wage war on offenders without the prior knowledge and approval of the Caliph.[103] The differences in the interpretation of the Sharī'ah between 'Abdullāhi and his respected brother Shehu 'Uthmān, have already been discussed. In these and a number of similar cases, 'Abdullāhi's independence of opinion and judgement and his tenacious adherence to his principles is once more clearly demonstrated. He often made the point, when his interpretation differed from that of another scholar, that his interpretation was based on his own genuine personal understanding, and that he would continue to hold it only so long as he was not convinced by a stronger and more feasible argument.[104] For him, blind acceptance of the views of others when one was not convinced of the rightness of such views, was one of the most obnoxious faults in a Muslim scholar. Many who understood him respected him for this, while those who did not understand him saw his difference of opinion with other scholars as a sort of disrespect for them.

Whenever he was faced with different views on some

issue from different sunnī Schools, ʿAbdullāhi accepted them all as valid if, according to his own ijtihād, they were equally admissible. However, if those he wished to address were ordinary men and women, he chose for them only the Mālikī view.[105] If, on the other hand, learned scholars were addressed, he would place before them all the views, trusting their competence to choose from them.[106]

This methodology, this conscious effort to distinguish the elite from ordinary men, is a common feature of ʿAbdullāhi's works. For him, it is unfair and unrealistic to expect from the ordinary Muslim the same understanding of Islam and the same degree of commitment to it expected of the learned scholars. Reason demands, therefore, that the ordinary Muslim should not be inundated with a countless number of different views on the same point. Thus ʿAbdullāhi's method took full cognizance of the need for a gradual and stage-by-stage process in teaching. This is the method employed by the Qurʾān, where the verses were revealed piecemeal over a period of twenty-two years; this is the method employed by the Prophet who would confirm as a believer anyone who would testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His Messenger.[107] No educationist worthy of the name advocates teaching young pupils in the same depth and breadth as University students, for example. The recognition of this relativity is essential in a leader and in all those concerned with the affairs of Man. It is to his credit that ʿAbdullāhi not only recognized this, but positively worked throughout his life on its basis.

Our conclusion is that ʿAbdullāhi was essentially a Mālikī jurist. The society in which he was born and in which he lived and worked all his life was Mālikī. Almost the

entire readership he addressed was Mālikī. Hence it was no accident that he adopted Mālikī principles and that most of the details of law he adopted were those of the Mālikī School. But it should be remembered once more that his membership of the Mālikī School was by no means exclusive. He believed in the validity and orthodoxy of all the Sunnī Schools, and was not a blind follower of any one scholar. Similarly, he would not bind any learned, pious scholar to his own School. He would allow him freedom to adopt views from other Sunnī Schools, provided that these views did not confuse ordinary Muslims. For ordinary Muslims, ʿAbdullāhi recommended adherence to the Mālikī School,[108] the traditional School of the region in which he lived.

To sum up, ʿAbdullāhi was a mujtahid within the Mālikī School. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to draw freely from other Sunnī Schools whenever he thought that necessary. A competent scholar should be free to choose opinions from other Schools so long as he bases his choice upon clear understanding of Islam, and so long as the choice is in the overall interest of Islam and the Muslim Community. For ʿAbdullāhi, the preservation of the Sharīʿah both in letter and in spirit whenever possible, and in spirit rather than in the letter when occasion demands, is the most essential duty of a Muslim scholar. He was committed to the principle that changed circumstances necesitate change in the letter of the Law. He called people to the ideal all the time, but when the ideal could not be achieved, he was satisfied with the best that was possible. Like every good leader, he distinguished between the strong and the weak, the scholar and the ordinary Muslim, the ruler and the ruled, and he demanded

from each what was appropriate to him. His teachings are bound to appeal to all sections of the Muslim Community.

Notes and Comments on Chapter Six.

1. Abū Hāmid al-Ghazzālī, al-Mustasfā, 1st edn. (Cairo, 1937), Vol.II, p.101.

2. See Jam'iyyat al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyyah in Cairo, Mausū'at al-Fiqh al-Islāmī (Cairo, 1967), Vol.I, pp.54-61.

3. See N. J. Coulson, A History of Islamic Law, Islamic Surveys, 2, ed. W. M. Watt, reprint. (Edinburgh, 1971), p.202.

4. 'Abdullāhi B. Fodio, Diyā' al-Ummah, p.1. See also 'Abdullāhi's Miftāh al-Tabassur, p.1.

5. See, for example, D. H., p.6.

6. Diyā' al-Ummah, p.1.

7. Diyā' al-Ta'wīl, Vol.I, p.7.

8. Al-Nasā'ih, p.13.

9. Holy Qur'ān, V:80-81.

10. See D. Su., p.52 where 'Abdullāhi quoted al-Maghīlī's statement to this effect in his Misbāh al-Arwāh, and Shehu 'Uthmān's agreement with al-Maghīlī's view. See also I.M., p.167.

11. Diyā' al-Ta'wīl, I, 249.

12. D. Su., p.52.

13. Ibid., p.53.

14. Ibid., p.53.

15. Ibid., p.53.

16. D. Sy., p.16.

17. Diyā' al-Ummah, pp.1-2.

18. D. Su., p.61.

19. Diyā' al-Ummah, p.111.

20. D. Su., p.61.

21. Abū Sufyān, Surāqah b. Ju'shum b. Mālik (d.24 A.H./644-645 A.D.) converted to Islam in 630 A.D., the year of the conquest of Makkah by the Muslims. Before then, he had been on the side of the opponents of the Muslims. He had been commissioned by the Quraish to track down the Prophet when he emigrated from Makkah to Medinah. Tradition tells how Surāqah's horse miraculously got stuck up

on the way. [Ibn Hajar, Al-Isābah fī Tamyīz al-Sahābah (Cairo, 1907), Vol.III, pp.69-70].

22. D. Su., pp.56-57; Najm al-Ikhwān, pp.40 ff.

23. D. Su., pp.56-57.

24. See Muhammad Abū Zahrah, Fī Ta'rīkh al-Madhāhib al-Fiqhiyyah (Cairo, n.d.), pp.235-236.

25. Compare Dawūd al-Ẓāhirī and his followers, who did not recognize the validity of consensus reached after the time of the Companions of the Prophet (al-Ghazzālī, al-Mustasfā, Vol.I, p.119); see also ʿAlī b. Ahmad b. Hazm al-Ẓāhirī, al-Nubadh fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh al-Ẓāhirī, ed. Muhammad Zāhid al-Kautharī (Cairo), 1940, pp.9-16 for the Ẓāhirite arguments in support of their view.

26. Diyā' al-Ummah, p.27.

27. Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, Kitāb al-Kharāj, 1st edn. (Cairo, 1302 A.H./1884-85 A.D.), p.20.

28. P. D. Ayagere, op.cit., 274.

29. Supra, p.166.

30. Al-Juzarī, ʿAbd al-Rahmān, Kitāb al-Fiqh ʿalā al-Madhāhib al-Arbaʿah (Cairo, 1970) Vol.II, p.106; Jawāhir al-Iklīl, II, 184.

31. D. Su., pp.14-15.

32. Mausūʿat al-Fiqh al-Islāmī, Vol.I, pp.46 ff.; T. W., p.29.

33. See Muhammad Abū Zahrah, Ibn Hazm, 2nd edn. (Cairo, 1954), p.423.

34. Muhammad Abū Zahrah, Fī Ta'rīkh al-Madhāhib al-Fiqhiyyah, p.236.

35. D. H., p.80.

36. Tazyīn al-Waraqāt, p.29.

37. D. H., p.17.

38. See Najm al-Ikhwān, pp.34-37 for Shehu's views. See also D. Su., p.62.

39. D. Su., pp.62-63.

40. Ibid., p.63.

41. Ibid., p.22.

42. See Ibid., p.23.

43. D. Sy., p.15; D. Su., p.11.

69. I. M., p.173. Bello argues that the practice of the rulers of Bornu, of riding to special places and offering sacrifice is unbelief, regardless of what the rulers claimed to be the motive for their action.

70. D. Su., p.51.

71. See, I. M., pp.50-51.

72. D. Su., p.49; I. M., pp.51, 173; Najm al-Ikhwān, p.60.

73. D. Su., p.50. This is also the position adopted by al-Ghazzālī in his al-Iqtisād fī 'l-I'tiqād, p.112.

74. I. M., pp.163, 165, 167.

75. Ibid., p.173.

76. Ibid., p.158.

77. Diyā' Ahl al-Ihtisāb, p.12.

78. T. W., pp.56, 57; D. H., p.3; D. Su., p.31.

79. See I. M., pp.165, 171, 183. Bello states, on behalf of the Sokoto Jihād leaders that they had no direct knowledge of the rulers of Bornu, but that they relied on second hand information.

80. Ibid., p.160.

81. Ibid., p.158.

82. See Diyā' al-Anām, p.2.

83. See, for example, D. H., pp.75-76; D. Su., pp.8 ff.

84. See N. J. Coulson, A History of Islamic Law, p.144; 'Abd al-Wahhāb Khallāf, Masādīr al-Tashrī' al-Islāmī fī - mā lā Nass fīhi, 3rd edn. (Hātif, 1972), p.145.

85. Diyā' al-Ummah, p.137.

86. See Jawāhir al-Iklīl, II, 184.

87. Diyā' al-Mujāhidīn, p.27.

88. D. H., p.5. See also T. T., pp.47-48.

89. With such people in mind, 'Abdullāhi wrote works like Taqrīb Darūrī al-Dīn, and al-Taqrīb bi-mā yajib 'alā 'Āmmat al-Ummah in which he laid down the essentials of Islam, leaving out minor details and differences of interpretation among scholars.

90. Diyā' al-Ummah, p.2.

91. See Diyā' al-Ta'wīl, Vol.I, p.7 where 'Abdullāhi states that in his commentary he would place particular

emphasis on the details of law as they are expounded by Mālikī scholars because the Mālikī School was "our School".

92. D. Su., p.32.

93. D. Sy., p.16.

94. See, for instance, D. H.; Diyā' al-Ta'wīl; D. Su.; D. Sy.

95. See Diyā' al-Ta'wīl, Vol.I, p.66 for example.

96. The Ẓāhirite School of Law is named after Abū Sulaimān Dāwūd b. ʿAlī b. Khalaf al-Isbahānī (d. 883 A.D.). Its distinctive feature is the principle that law must be based on the literal and evident meaning of the verses of the Holy Qur'ān and the traditions of the Prophet. This school rejects qiyās or juristic analogy as a basis of law, although in practice Ẓāhirite jurists have found it necessary to use analogy disguised under another name. (Muḥammad Abū Zahrah, Ibn Ḥazm, p.267).

97. Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was one of the most respected scholars in the generation following that of the Prophet. Extremely pious and learned in all branches of Islamic sciences, he came to be highly respected by theologians, sufis and lawyers. He died in 110 A.H./728-29 A.D.

98. See particularly the section dealing with war and the division of booty, pp.38 ff.

99. Tahdhīb al-Insān, p.12.

100. For instance, al-Ghazzālī on ḥalāl and ḥarām, and on the position of prayer said without concentration (see ʿAbdullāhi's T. T., pp.52-56, and the whole of Diyā' al-Anām).

101. Minan al-Mannān, p.1.

102. Al-Nasā'ih, p.13.

103. Diyā' Ahl al-Ihtisāb, p.13.

104. D. Su., p.33.

105. See, for example, T.D.D., al-Nasīhah bi-Taqrīb mā yajib ʿalā ʿĀmmat al-Ummah.

106. See, for example, D. H., pp.52, 53. See also Diyā' al-Ta'wīl, Vol.I, p.66 where the interpretations of the founders of the four extant orthodox Schools of Law, as well as those of Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī are laid down. See also D. H., pp. 52, 53.

107. See Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, Kitāb al-Āthār, 1st edn. (Cairo, 1355 A.H./1936-37 A.D.), p.197.

108. See Diyā' Ahl al-Ihtisāb, p.9, where ʿAbdullāhi reiterates that a muqallid must follow his Imām in all matters.

APPENDIX

A List of ʿAbdullāhi's Works.

The following list of ʿAbdullāhi's works does not claim to be conclusive. Various scholars have compiled lists of works attributed to him. Since a great deal of material on the Sokoto Jihād literature remains virtually unexamined, new titles may come into light with further research.

One of the difficulties faced in compiling lists of works by any of the Sokoto Jihād leaders is that in some cases manuscripts which are attributed to them do not bear their names. A few works have been known to be forgeries. For example, a work entitled Kashf al-Laum lanā wa li - man tabiʿanā fī Amr al-Sharīf ʿAbd Allāh, which bears ʿAbdullāhi b. Fodio's name in the introduction, and which is purported to have been written in Shawwāl, 1220 A.H./December 1805-January 1806 A.D., is known to have been a forgery aimed at advancing the claim to a special religious pre-eminence of a certain ʿAbd Allāh Hannun Giwa, and at establishing the indebtedness of Shehu ʿUthmān to him. However, the genuineness of the vast majority of the works is beyond doubt.

The following is a list of the works bearing ʿAbdullāhi's name which I have been able to pursue. It includes a few which have been attributed to him. I have commented on these works wherever I felt that this was necessary.

In preparing this list, I have left out poems of ʿAbdullāhi which are found in Tazyīn al-Waraqāt. These have been entered as separate items in the National Archives, Kaduna, and in the Department of Antiquities, Jos.

In this list, I have indicated the works which I have used. The symbols used are as follows:

J. G. = Manuscripts belonging to al-Ḥājj Jibrīl Gwandu.

L.H.R. = Manuscripts in the private collection of Liman Haidara, the Imām of Raha.

M.D.B. = Manuscripts in the private collection of Marafa al-Ḥājj Aḥmad Dan-Baba, the Marafa of Sokoto. Most of these manuscripts had previously been kept in the Nizāmiyyah School, Sokoto, but they are now kept by al-Ḥājj Boyi Sokoto in his house.

W.J. = Manuscripts in the private library of Wazīr al-Ḥājj Junaid, the Wazīr of Sokoto.

Y.B. = Manuscripts belonging to M. Yūsuf Bunza.

Ibadan = Manuscripts in the University of Ibadan Library.

Jos = Manuscripts kept at the Department of Antiquities, Jos.

Kad. = Manuscripts preserved in the National Archives, Kaduna.

1. Ādāb al-ʿĀdāt ʿalā Sunnat al-Rasūl (M.D.B.)

This book deals with proper personal conduct in accordance with the precepts of the Sharīʿah, and covers all aspects of social relations in the Muslim Community.

2. Ādāb al-Muʿāsharah li-Tullāb al-Najāt (M.D.B.)

This work deals with the practical aspects of sufism. It calls Muslims to follow the tradition of the Prophet, to be modest and contented, to show compassion to mankind, and to rely on God and trust in Him. The contents are adapted from al-Ghazzālī's Ihyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn.

3. Akhlāq al-Mustafā (This work has been published by al-Ḥājj Sīdi Mode Hubbāre, Northern Maktabat Printing Press, Kano, n.d.).

This is an account of the life of the Prophet, giving details of his character, his actions, his commands and his prohibitions. It forms the concluding part of Ḍiyāʾ al-Ummah, but is presented as a separate work.

4. ʿAlāmāt al-Muttabiʿīn li-Sunnat Rasūl Allāh (M.D.B.)

The contents of this work are similar to those of Ādāb al-Muʿāsharah, both of which deal with practical sufism. It stresses the need to avoid actions which are contrary to the demands of the Sharīʿah.

5. Alfiyyat al-Usūl (Published Cairo, 1961).

This is a work on usūl al-Fiqh or the Principles of jurisprudence. It is based on al-Tilimsānī's al-Luʾluʾ al-Maknūn. The work is composed of a thousand lines in verse, hence the name Alfiyyah.

6. ʿAmal al-Yaum wa ʾl-Lailah (Y.B.)

This work is attributed to ʿAbdullāhi. It is on fiqh and is in the same style as a work bearing the same title by Ibn al-Sanā.

7. Asl al-Fulātiyyīn (M.D.B.)

This is a short work on the traditional account of the origin of the Fulani people and their migration to the Hausa States. Although it is attributed to ʿAbdullāhi, we may doubt this for the following reasons:

(a) The style is weak and faulty and contrasts with ʿAbdullāhi's precise and lucid style.

(b) The work gives the impression of extolling the virtue of the Fulani language, and assigning a special position to it. It shows strong prejudice against Fulani people learning other languages. This could not have been the attitude of ʿAbdullāhi, who mastered the Hausa language, and composed many poems in it. Besides, ʿAbdullāhi was not concerned with race or tribe; what mattered to him was piety and religious standing.

(c) ʿAbdullāhi gave an account of the origin of the Fulani in many of his works and Asl al-Fulātiyyīn shows a marked difference from all of them. For instance, this work gives the date for the migration of the Fulani to Hausaland under Mūsā Jakollo as the 5th century A.H./11th century A.D. ʿAbdullāhi did not give a date for this event in any of his works. In addition, most authorities have dated this event in the 15th century A.D. (e.g. Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, p.lxxiii).

(d) This work claims that the province of Adamawa was named after one of the three children of Mūsā Jakollo. In fact the name derives from the name of the first amīr of the

province, Ādama (d.1848), who was appointed as Shehu 'Uthmān's representative over the province in 1806.

Therefore, we are reluctant to attribute this work to 'Abdullāhi despite the fact that the author refers to himself as the writer of Kitāb al-Nasab, who is known to be 'Abdullāhi.

8. Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīt: 1237 A.H./1821-22 A.D. (L.H.R.)

This is a work on Arabic grammar. Like the Alfīyat al-Usūl, it is also in verse, based on 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī's Jam al-Jawāmi' which is in prose.

9. Bayān Ādāb al-'Ibādāt wa 'l-'Ādāt (M.D.B.)

This book, besides covering the contents of Ādāb al-'Ādāt, deals with the observance of religious duties, avoiding un-Islamic innovations, and holding fast to the practice of the Prophet.

10. Bayān al-Arkān wa 'l-Shurūṭ li 'l-Ṭarīqah al-Ṣūfiyyah al-Khalwatiyyah (J.G.)

This gives an account of the ṣūfī order of al-Khalwatiyyah. It describes how a novice is initiated and what is expected of him to do. It describes the stages through which he passes until he reaches the highest stage of self-purification. Finally, the book gives the chain of transmission from the founder of the order down to 'Abdullāhi.

11. Bayān al-Naṣīḥah al Wāridah min al-Aḥādīth al-Ṣaḥīḥah (J.G.)

This is a compendium based on Shaikh Aḥmad al-Zarrūq's al-Naṣīḥah al-Kāfiyah li - man Khaṣṣahu Allāh bi 'l-'Āfiyah. It deals with sufism and calls on Muslims to resign themselves to God, and to follow the Sunnah of the Prophet. The work is undated, but it must have been written in, or before, 1242 A.H./1826-27 A.D., because it was referred to in al-Nasā'ih

fī Ahamm al-Masālih which 'Abdullāhi wrote in 1242 A.H.

12. Al-Dāliyyah fī Madh al-Nabī (Jumādah al-Ākhirah 1202 A.H./last week of June, 1788 A.D. (Kad., A/AR/9:2)

This is a sixty-three-line eulogy in Arabic, in praise of the Prophet, with rhyme in the letter 'd' - hence the name dāliyyah.

13. Dar' al-Kai'ah fī Haijā' 'Ilm al-Hai'ah (M.D.B.)

The contents of this work are extracted from al-Suyūṭī's al-Hai'ah al-Sanīyah. The work is a collection of reports mainly from the Companions of the Prophet and their successors on such matters as the nature of God's Throne, the Heavens, the Earth and the Sun.

14. Dau' al-Musallī (end of Shawwāl 1213 A.H./early April, 1799) (Published by Shoyemi Printing Works, Kaduna, n.d.)

This work is on the subject of prayer. It is in two parts - one on how to repay prayers which passed unsaid, and the other on how to mend prayers which were not said properly due to lack of concentration or fergetfulness. The work is a versification of the relevent section of Mukhtasar Khalīl, and is composed of 250 linee.

15. Dawā' al-Waswās wa 'l-Ghafalāt fī 'l-Salāt wa Qirā'at al-Qur'ān (Muḥarram 1243 A.H./August 1826 A.D.) (J.G.)

This work is mainly on prayer and its important position in Islam. It is intended to help those who have difficulty in concentrating during their prayers and recitation of the Qur'ān. Emphasis is laid on the symbolic meaning of every act of prayer performed. The work was derived mainly from another work by 'Abdullāhi, Shifā' [illegible]s, which was written shortly before.

16. Diyā' al-Anām fī 'l-Halāl wa 'l-Harām (M.D.B.)

The contents of this book have been drawn mainly from al-Ghazzālī's Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn. It defines halāl, harām, and shubhah, and explains how Muslims should deal with each other fairly and equitably according to the Sharī'ah. It ends with instructions as to how a Muslim should endeavour to control his limbs and stop them from committing sin.

17. Diyā' Ahl al-Ihtisāb 'alā Tarīq al-Sunnah wa 'l-Sawāb (M.D.B.)

This work is on hisbah. It with the qualifications and function of the Muhtasib, and the importance of his office. Like the previous work, it is summarised from al-Ghazzālī's Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn.

18. Diyā' Ahl al-Rashād fī Ahkām al-Hijrah wa 'l-Jihād wa 'l-Sunnah fī Siyāsat al-'Ibād .)

As the title indicates, this book deals with hijrah, or emigration, jihād, or holy war, and the administration of justice. Section one discusses the obligation on Muslims to emigrate from lands where they could not freely practice their religion, and under what circumstances they can return. Section two deals with the prescribed way of fighting jihād and matters relating to it such as the division of booty and concluding treaties. It discusses ways of combatting the threat of apostates and zindīqs. The section on siyāsah consists of advice to the rulers in the proper performance of their duties. The concluding part deals with virtuous qualities which rulers must possess if they are to carry out their duties properly.

19. Diyā' al-Hukkām fī - mā lahum w. alaihim min al-Ahkām (1219 A.H./1804-1805 A.D.). (Published, Cairo, n.d.)

This is a treatise on government, which was written at the request of the Muslims of Kano to guide them in the proper administration of their country. It was written when the jihād was still in progress in Hausaland. This explains why it begins by showing that hijrah from non-Muslim lands and solidarity with fellow Muslims is an obligation on every Muslim. It goes on to deal with the duties and rights of caliphs and their officials. It discusses jihād and al-siyāsah al-Shar'iyyah, and concludes with a section on the performance of the pilgrimage to Makkah, and the visit of the tomb of the Prophet in Medīnah. At the time of writing this book, 'Abdullāhi was on his way t.. ...m the pilgrimage.

20. Diyā' al-Imām fī Salah al-Anām (M.D.B.)

This work is on constitutional theory and the administration of the Caliphate. It comprises of three sections. The first deals with the meaning and necessity of the Caliphate, and with the qualifications for the office of caliph and his powers and duties. Section two is in the genre of "Mirror to Princes" literature. It is an advice on how a caliph should view his responsibility, and how best to organize the affairs of state in accordance with the precepts of the Sharī'ah. Section three deals with al-Siyāsah al-Shar'iyyah, and shows the conditions necessary for its proper application.

21. Diyā' al-Khulafā' wa man dūnahum min al-Aqwiyā' wa 'l-Duafā'.

This work has been listed as 'Abdullāhi's by the publisher of Diyā' al-Hukkām. I also saw it listed in a list of 'Abdullāhi's works, in the possession of Alhaji Boyi Sokoto. But I have not been able to see a copy of it.

22. Diyā' al-Mujāhidīn, Humāt al-Dīn al-Rāshidīn (1226 A.H./1811 A.D.) (Ibadan, 82/7).

This treatise deals with jihād. It was epitomised from Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Naḥḥās' Mashāri' al-'Ashwāq ilā Masāri' al-'Ushshāq. This work deals with the importance of jihād and its religious merit, and it gives detailed instruction on the code of conduct for jihādists.

23. Diyā' al-Muqtadīn li-'l-Khulafā' al-Rāshidīn (Ibadan, 82/397).

This compendium is based on 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī's Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā'. It deals with the history of those Muslim caliphs whom 'Abdullāhi regarded as [illegible]s to be followed and imitated by every Muslim ruler. On several occasions he would draw a moral from an anecdote in the [illegible]ories, and he would contrast it with the situation in Hausaland in his time, hoping to arouse the religious sentiment of his readers and effect an improvement in the quality of leadership.

This copy has been paginated wrongly, and I have put the page numbers in order. References are to the correct page numbers.

24. Diyā' al-Qawā'id wa Nathr al-Fawā'id li- Ahl al-Maqāsid (1243 A.H./1827-28 A.D.) (M.D.B.)

This is a short work which deals with the training which a Muslim has to go through in order to reach the rank of the pious ones. This training includes complete resignation to God, the eradication of the vices of the mind, and the reading of various litanies.

25. Diyā' al-Sanad (1228 A.H./1813 A.D.) (Kad. A/AR/3:3).

This work is in verse. In it 'Abdullāhi gives the chains of transmission through which knowledge contained in various

books was passed to him. Shaikh Jibrīl b. 'Umar had received an ijāzah, or certificate, from his Egyptian teacher Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā, authorising him to teach these books, and he in turn authorised 'Abdullāhi to pass them on to his students. Diyā' al-Sanad was based on Shaikh Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā's Alfīyyat al-Sanad which is also in verse, and gives the chain of transmission of these books to him. The books mentioned in Diyā' al-Sanad include the Holy Qur'ān, the Six Canonical Ḥadīth collections, the al-Muwatta' of Mālik b. Anas, the fiqh of the four Orthodox Schools of Law, the Aḥzāb of Abu al-Ḥasan al-Shādhalī of the Shādhaliyyah order, and the khirqah of the Qādiriyyah order.

26. Diyā' al-Siyāsāt wa Fatāwī al-Nawāzil mimmā huwa fī Furū' al-Dīn min al-Masā'il (M.D.B.)

This work comprises two parts and a concluding section. Section one deals with al-Siyāsah al-Shar'īyyah. It speaks in favour of its application when occasion demands, and quotes precedents of its use by the Prophet and his Companions. Section two discusses the subject of fatwā, or legal opinion, given by scholars on a number of questions varying from the proper way of organizing court proceedings to questions on ritual, foods, jihād and others. The concluding part deals with the principles of sufism. The contents of this section are adapted from Shaikh Aḥmad al-Zarrūq's introduction to his Qawā'id al-Tasawwuf. This deals with such matters as the relationship between fiqh, sufism and usūl al-dīn, or the fundamentals of religion. It condemns khilāf or controversy, and approves of genuine differences in interpretation of the Sharī'ah. It accepts iqtidā', or following the views of others because of their piety and learning, but it disapproves of taqlīd, or the blind imitation of others. It also

deals with the question whether an ordinary Muslim who is not qualified to make his own ijtihād should adhere to the School of Law to which he belongs, or whether he can adopt views from other orthodox Schools.

27. Diyā' al-Sulṭān wa Ghairihī min al-Ikhwān fī Ahamm mā yuhtāj fī Umūr al-Zamān (Muharram, 1227 A.H./January-February, 1812 A.D.) (M.D.Ḍ.)

This work is a commentary on four works: Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī's two epistles to the emir of Kano, Muḥammad Rumfa, and the Sulṭān of Songhai, Askia al-Ḥājj Muḥammad, and Shehu 'Uthmān's two books: Sirāj al-Ikhwān fī ahamm mā yuhtāj ilaihi fī Hādhā al-Zamān, dealing mainly with the identification of those who could legally be fought by the Muslims, and Misbāh Ahl al-Zamān min Ahl al-Sūdān wa man Shā' Allāh min Ahl al-Buldān. The general theme of this work is tolerance towards those who commit actions not unanimously regarded as forbidden, and those who neglect actions not unanimously considered as compulsory by Muslim scholars.

'Abdullāhi clarified many controversial points on these subjects, and made a number of constructive criticisms. This work is probably 'Abdullāhi's most important and original contribution to the science of fiqh. Shehu 'Uthmān referred to it when he wrote Najm al-Ikhwān soon afterwards, and he commented on the points raised by 'Abdullāhi.

28. Diyā' al-Ta'wīl fī Ma'ānī al-Tanzīl (1815-1816 A.D.) (Published by Aḥmad Aḥmad Abū al-Su'ūd and 'Uthmān al-Ṭayyib, Cairo, 1961).

This is a commentary on the Holy Qur'ān. 'Abdullāhi made it into two volumes. The first volume was completed on the 28th of Ramaḍān, 1230 A.H./ the 3rd of September, 1815 A.D.,

and the second volume was completed on the 13th of Sha'bān, 1231 A.H./the 10th of July, 1816 A.D. The principal sources for this work are Aḥkām al-Qur'ān of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Arabī (d.543 A.H./1148 A.D.), Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta'wīl of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Baiḍāwī (d.185 A.H./1286 A.D.), al-Jawāhir al-Hisān by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Tha'ālabī (d.875 A.H./1480 A.D.), and Ghāyat al-Amānī fī Tafsīr al-Kalām al-Rabbānī by Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Kuranī (d.839 A.H./1488 A.D.).

Although 'Abdullāhi had divided this work into two volumes, the publishers divided it into four volumes. References to volume numbers are to the published work.

29. Diyā' Ulī al-Amr wa 'l-Mujāhidīn (Kad., A/AR/4:30).

As the title indicates, this work is on the biographies of the Prophet and the first four rightly-guided Caliphs, and the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (717-720 A.D.). It was written to provide a model for those in authority in their conduct of the jihād. 'Abdullāhi wrote it as a reaction to the lax attitude of his contemporaries who paid little heed to the precepts of the Sharī'ah in the conduct of the jihād.

30. Diyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn (1228 A.H./1813 A.D.). (Kad., A/AR/22:5).

This work is in two sections. Section one deals with 'ilm al-mu'āmalah which comprises rituals and social relations. Section two is on 'ilm al-mukāshafah which deals with sufism.

31. Diyā' al-Umarā' fī- mā lahum wa 'alaihim min al-Ashyā'. (Kad., A/AR/43:4).

This work is on the duties and rights of rulers.

36. Fath al-Basīr fī 'Ilm al-Tabsīr (attributed) (Kad., A/AR/11:1).

This work deals with the basis from which Islamic teachings on theology, law and sufism are derived.

37. Fath al-Latīf al-Wāfī fī 'Ilmai al-'Arūd wa 'l-Qawāfī (Kad., O/AR/23:20).

This is a work, in verse, on the art of metrics and rhymes.

38. Al-Hisn al-Rasīn (J.G.).

This work is in verse, and deals with tasrīf, or grammatical inflection.

39. Īdā' al-Nusūkh man akhadhtu minhu min al-Shuyūkh (Published by M. Hiskett, B.S.O.A.S., XIX, 3, 1957).

This is an account of 'Abdullāhi's education from childhood, and it is a very important source of his biography. It lists the names of the scholars who taught 'Abdullāhi, and the books which he studied. The work depicts the peripatetic nature of learning in the Hausa States at the time, and gives an idea of the state of learning there and the type of books read.

40. 'Idāh Zād al-Ma'ād bi-Murāqabat al-Auqāt bi 'l-Aurād (Kad., A/AR/5:40).

This is a work on sufism. It stresses the importance of learning, placing it above dhikr, or incessant repetition of formulas in praise of God, and above other supererogatory religious observances. It also stresses the importance of earning a living. Most of the work, however, is a collection of prayers recommended for various occasions.

41. Jūdat al-Sa'ādah (1224 A.H./1809 A.D.) (M.D.B.).

In this work 'Abdullāhi complained about the deep and widespread ignorance of his contemporaries in Hausaland. He was particularly critical of men who neglected the education of their dependants. He appealed to fellow men to reflect on the mysteries of their creation, and to recognize the grace of God and to worship Him by following the precepts of the Sharī'ah and leading a virtuous and ascetic life.

42. Khulāṣat al-'Usūl (1227 A.H./1812 A.D.) (Jos. M.S.885).

This work is in verse. It is based on 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī's al-Kaukab al-Sāti' on the principles of jurisprudence.

43. Khutbat al-Jum'ah wa Kaifiyyat Ziyārat al-Amwāt (Published in Majmū' al-Kutub al-Mufīdah, by al-Hājj Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Binanci, Sokoto). (Northern Maktabat Printing Press, Kano, n.d.).

This is a short work. The first part comprises the Khutbah, or sermon which 'Abdullāhi recited during Friday congregational prayer. It consists of homily and a prayer for God's blessing to the Prophet and his Companions. The second part is an account of the manners of visiting the tombs of the dead.

44. Kifāyat al-'Awāmm fī 'l-Buyū' (Shawwāl 1214 A.H./March 1800 A.D.) (M.D.B.).

This treatise, which is in verse, deals with sales and contracts.

45. Kifāyat Du'afā' al-Sūdān fī Bayān Tafsīr al-Qur'ān (1238 A.H./1822-23 A.D.) (M.D.B.).

This is a commentary on the Holy Qur'ān, abridged from 'Abdullāhi's Diyā' al-Ta'wīl. In this work, 'Abdullāhi left

out some material which he considered not essential to the understanding of the Qur'ān. As it was meant for the general reader, discussion of grammar and variant readings was kept to a minimum.

46. Kifāyat al-Tullāb fī 'l-Nikāh (Ramaḍān 1232 A.H./August 1817 A.D.). (Ibadan, 82/96).

This is a lengthy work on marriage. It is in verse, and is based on Mukhtaṣar Khalīl.

47. Kitāb al-Nasab (M.D.B.).

This is a short account of the origin of the Fulani people and their migration from Futa Toro to Hausaland. The account gives the names of Shehu 'Uthmān's wives, children and relatives, as well as his officials. The work is not dated, but it must have been written after the death of Shehu 'Uthmān in 1817 A.D., because it contains references to the upheavals which occurred after his death.

48. La'ālī al-Mawā'iz wa 'l-Hikam. (1242 A.H./1826-27 A.D.). (J.G.).

Most of the contents of this book were adapted from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rashīdī's Khulāsat al-Qulūb wa 'l-Adh-hān wa Jalā' al-Kurūb wa 'l-Ahzān. This work is on sufism. It is in three chapters. The first is a collection of religious exhortations by the Prophet. The second contains exhortatory maxims by the Companions and pious Muslims of later generations. The third chapter is a collection of poems and wise-sayings.

49. Lam' al-Barq fī - mā li-dhī Tashābuh min al-Farq (Ramaḍān, 1237 A.H./June 1822 A.D.) (J.G.).

This is a work on Arabic grammar. It is in verse, and is based on the 4th fann (division) of 'Abd al-Raḥmān

al-Suyūṭī's al-Ashbāh wa 'l-Naẓā'ir.

50. Lubāb al-Madkhal fī 'Ādāb Ahl al-Dīn wa 'l-Fadl (M.D.B.).

This lengthy work was epitomised from Ibn al-Ḥājj, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Abdarī's Kitāb al-Madkhal fī Tanmiyat al-A'māl bi- Taḥsīn al-Niyyāt. It is in seven chapters, dealing with seven groups in the Community which are concerned with safeguarding religion. These are: scholars, students, Imāms, or leaders in prayer, mu'adh-dhins or callers to prayer, mu'addibs or elementary teachers, jihād fighters, and ascetics who devote their time to worship.

51. Al-Lu'lu' al-Masūn (1231 A.H./1816 A.D.).(J.G.).

This is a work on grammar.

52. Masālih al-Insān al-Muta'alliqah bi 'l-Adyān wa 'l-Abdān (M.D.B.)

The first chapter of this work deals with man's life from birth to death, and explains the demands of the Sharī'ah from him. Chapter two is on alchemy and the treatment of the sick. Chapter three is on 'ilm al-ṭabī'ah or physics, and it deals with the elements which influence character. Chapter four is on sufism. It centres on the ailments of the mind, like pride and envy, their causes and their cure. The final chapter deals with visitation to the tombs of Prophets and saints.

53. Al-Masā'il — Ma'rifat al-Aḥkām (Ibadan, 82/12).

This is a collection of answers to questions on fiqh. It is attributed to 'Abdullāhi, although its style is very much unlike his style. Besides the fact that its Arabic is poor, it starts very abruptly without the doxology with which

ʿAbdullāhi usually opened his works, particularly those on religious topics.

54. Matiyyat al-Zād ilā al-Maʿād (Jumādā al-Ākhirah, 1233 A.H./April, 1818 A.D.) (Published by al-Ḥājj Garba Dikkon Gande and Sīdi Mode Hubbare, Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, n.d.).

This is a work on sufism and asceticism. It contains much information on eschatological matters.

55. Al-Miftāh li - ʾl-Tafsīr (1209 A.H./1794-95 A.D.) (Kad., A/AR/5:23).

This is a work in verse, based on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī's two works: al-Itqān fī ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān, and al-Nuqāyah on ʿUlūm al-Qurʾān, or the science of Qurʾānic studies. It deals with such topics as the classification of the verses of the Holy Qurʾān, its Makkan and Medinan chapters and verses, and occasions of revelation. It also deals with the history of the revelation and recording of the Qurʾān.

56. Miftāh al-Tahaqqug li- Ghālib mā yuhtāj ilaihi fī al-Mantig (Kad., A/AR/5:30).

This work is on grammar and mantiq or logic. It is in verse.

57. Miftāh al-Usūl (Y.B.)

This work is on Tauhīd or the Unity of God, and theology.

58. Minan al-Mannān li-man arāda Shuʿab al-Imān (1201 A.H./1786-87 A.D.) (M.D.B.).

This work is in verse, and deals with sufism. It is in three parts. The first defines sufism and gives instruction to an aspiring student on what is expected of him if he is to achieve the status of full sūfī. The second part catalogues acts which are regarded as branches of faith, Shuʿab

al-Imān, and which a perfect believer is urged to perform. The final part is on the importance of learning, and on how a Muslim should conduct himself in society.

59. Misbāh al-Rāwī (M.D.B.).

This work is on relating the traditions of the Prophet.

60. Nail al-Ma'mūl min Jawāmi' Kalim al-Rasūl (M.D.B.).

This is a small collection of Prophetic traditions, mainly on homily, asceticism and ethics.

61. Nail al-Marām min Shiyam al-Kirām (J.G.)

Much of this work was epitomized from Mukhtār b. Aḥmad al-Kuntī's Nasīhat al-Munsif. It is on the character and way of life of pious Muslims.

62. Al-Nasāih fī Ahamm al-Masālih (1242 A.H./1826-27 A.D.) (M.D.B.)

This work is on sufism, and it derives from Aḥmad al-Zarrūq's al-Nasīḥat al-Kāfiyah li-man Khaṣṣahu Allāh bi 'l-'Āfiyah. It urges Muslims to resign themselves to God and worship Him, to follow the Sunnah of the Prophet and respect him, and to deal compassionately with others.

63. Al-Nasīhah bi-Taqrīb mā yajib 'alā 'Āmmat al-Ummah (M.D.B.).

This book deals with the five fundamentals of Islam. It starts with what 'Abdullāhi describes as the central belief of Orthodox Muslims (aqīdat Ahl al-Sunnah). 'Abdullāhi enunciates the meaning of Īmān or faith, and lists God's metaphysical and moral attributes. He also discusses the attributes of the Prophets and Messengers. Next he discusses eschatological questions, ritual observances, ascetic

pursuits and the cultivation of moral qualities.

64. Al-Naṣīḥah al-Wāridah min al-Aḥādīth al-Ṣaḥīḥah (Y.B.).

This is a work on sufism based on Aḥmad al-Zarruq's al-Naṣīḥah al-Kāfiyah li-man khaṣṣahu Allāh bi 'l-'Āfiyah. It is shorter than his other work, al-Nasā'ih fī Ahamm al-Masā'il which was based on the same source. Although al-Naṣīḥah al-Wāridah is not dated, it must have been written before 1242 A.H. when al-Nasā'ih was written, since there is a reference to it in the latter.

65. Nazm al-'Aqīdah al-Wustā (1207 A.H./1792-93 A.D.) (M.D.B.).

This is a versified version of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī's al-'Aqīdah al-Wustā on theology.

66. Al-Niyyāt fī 'l- A'māl al-Dunyawiyyah wa 'l-Dīniyyah (J.G.).

This work is on fiqh. It deals with the importance of intention and motive in religious observances and in everyday life.

67. Qawā'id al-Ṣalāh ma'a Fawā'id al-Falāh (1243 A.H./1827-28 A.D.) (M.D.B.).

This short work is on sufism. It deals with piety, which comprises repentance, conformity with the Sharī'ah, the glorification of God, respect for the Prophet and help to others.

68. Raud al-'Āshiq fī Madh Sayyid al-'Ibād (L.H.R.).

This is a eulogy of the Prophet.

69. Sabīl Ahl al-Ṣalāh ilā 'l-Falāh (M.D.B.).

This book is on sufism and asceticism. It urges Muslims

to avoid undue luxury and to concentrate on pious deeds which lead to their salvation. The greater part of the work deals with metaphysical and eschatological matters like the nature of Day of Judgement, the reckoning (hisāb), and Paradise and Hell. It ends with a section on visitation to the tombs of the saints.

70. Sabīl al-Najāt (M.D.B.)

This work deals with repentance and the way to salvation.

71. Sabīl al-Salāmah fī 'l-Imāmah (1232 A.H./1816-17 A.D.) (Y.B.)

This is a short work on the Caliphate, with emphasis on the proper manner of electing a caliph. It was written shortly after the death of Shehu 'Uthmān and the election of Muḥammad Bello as his successor.

72. Sabīl al-Sunnah al-Muwaṣṣilah ilā 'l-Jannah, wa-Jawāb Allāh Dhī 'l-Minnah (Y.B.).

This is a biography of the Prophet, and it urges Muslims to follow his example.

73. Sail al-'Ain (L.H.R.)

This is a commentary on al-Murshid al-Mu'in of Ibn 'Āshir.

74. Shifā' al-Nās min Dā' al-Ghaflah wa 'l-Waswās (Dhū 'l-Hijjah, 1241 A.H./July, 1826 A.D.) (M.D.B.).

This work is an aid to concentration during prayer and the recitation of the Qur'ān. It is the basis for 'Abdullāhi's other work, Dawā' al-Waswās .

75. Shukr al-Ihsān 'alā Minan al-Mannān (Rabī' al-Ākhir, 1244 A.H./October, 1828 A.D.) (W.J.)

This is a commentary on 'Abdullāhi's Minan al-Mannān which was composed forty-three years previously.

76. Sirāj Jāmi' al-Bukhārī (Sha'bān, 1212 A.H./February, 1798 A.D.) (M.D.B.)

This work is in verse, and consists of 267 lines. It was composed as an introduction to al-Bukhārī's famous collection of Prophetic traditions known as Jāmi' al-Bukhārī. 'Abdullāhi's work stresses the merits of this collection, and al-Bukhārī's criteria in accepting the traditions, and his method in arranging and interpreting them. It gives the number of these traditions and explains the nicknames of the transmitters used by al-Bukhārī. It also gives a list of commentaries on Jāmi' al-Bukhārī.

77. Sulālat al-Miftāh (1210 A.H./1795-96 A.D.) (Kad., A/AR/40:1).

This is a compendium, in verse, on the subject of Qur'ānic studies. It is based on 'Abdullāhi's other work, Miftāh al-Tafsīr.

78. Tahdhīb al-Insān min Khisal al-Shaitān (1244 A.H./1828-29 A.D.) (M.D.B.).

This is a work on sufism. It warns against indulgence in hedonistic pleasures. It suggests the cure for moral degeneration. It concludes with instruction on the up-bringing of children.

79. Takhmīs al'Ashriyyāt (Sha'bān, 1235 A.H./May, 1820 A.D.) (M.D.B.).

This is a quintain on the eulogy of the Prophet by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fāzāzī.

80. Takhmīs al-Dāliyyah fī Madh al-Nabī (Shawwāl, 1198 A.H./September, 1784 A.D.) (M.D.B.)

This is a quintain composed on Shehu 'Uthman's poem in praise of the Prophet, which Shehu 'Uthmān composed in 1188

A.H./1774-75 A.D. The takhmīs is made up of sixty-three five-hemistich lines.

81. Ta'līm al-Anām Ta'zīm Allāh (attributed). (Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 1240 A.H./June, 1825 A.D.) (Kad., A/AR/3:5)

This work is on the pre-eminence of the Prophet and on his miracles, and on the duty of Muslims to respect him and follow his Sunnah. Respect for other Prophets and for the Companions and family of Prophet Muḥammad are also urged.

82. Ta'līm al-Aṣḥāb.

The Wazīr of Sokoto, al-Ḥājj Junaid, listed this title under 'Abdullāhi's works, but I have not been able to see a copy of it.

83. Ta'līm al-Rādī Asbāb al-Ikhtiṣāṣ bi-Mawāt al-Arādī (M. D. B.).

This is a work on land ownership. It is divided into four sections, each dealing with one way of land ownership:

(a) Land acquired by reclamation from wasteland.

(b) Land immediately adjacent to, or giving access to private property.

(c) Land granted by the Caliph.

(d) Land reserved for public use.

The concluding section is on communal land.

84. Talkhīṣ al-Ḥiṣn (Muḥarram, 1226 A.H./January-February 1811 A.D.) (J.G.)

This is a compendium based on 'Abdullāhi's al-Ḥiṣn al-Raṣīn on grammar and morphology. 'Abdullāhi considered Arabic grammar as the key to the right understanding of the primary sources of Islam.

85. Taqrīb Darūrī al-Dīn (M.D.B.).

This book deals with the same issues as al-Nasīhah bi-Taqrīb mā yajib ʿalā ʿĀmmat al-Ummah, and may have been an abridged version of it. Conversely, al-Nasīhah may be an expanded version of Taqrīb Darūrī al-Dīn. Since neither work is dated, it is difficult to say which was written first.

86. Al-Targhīb wa ʾl-Tarhīb (M.D.B.).

This is a lengthy monogram devoted to the subject of prayer. It is in two sections, one dealing with warning against failure to observe prayer properly, and the other dealing with commendation for those who observe it properly.

87. Taʿrīb ma ʿajjam al-Shaikh (Shawwāl, 1222 A.H./December, 1807 A.D.) (M.D.B.).

This work is also known by the title: al-Taqrīb fī ʿIlm Ahl al-Dhauq. It is an Arabic translation, in verse, of Shehu ʿUthmān's composition in the Fulani language. The work is on theology and sufism.

88. Al-Tarīq al-Jāddah mā ihtawat ʿalaihi min al-Hāddah (J.G.).

This is a work on sufism. It deals with repentance from sin, avoiding forbidden and doubtful things, keeping the sunnah of the Prophet, devotion to worship, and reliance on God alone in all matters.

89. Tarīq al-Sālihīn (M.D.B.).

This is a guide for those who want to follow the path of piety. They should start by learning their religious obligations on belief, worship and sufism. They should avoid reprehensible things and perform recommended things and use permitted things only as a means of worshipping God. They

should accept God's decision cheerfully, show humility and kindness to others, and respect the Prophet, his Companions, their own parents and their friends.

90. Tazyīn al-Waraqāt bi-Jam‘ Ba‘d mā lī min al-Abyāt (Shawwāl, 1228 A.H./October, 1813 (A.D.) (Published, M. Hiskett, Ibadan, 1963).

This is one of the most important books on the history of the jihād movement in Hausaland. In the introduction to this work, ‘Abdullāhi explains that the purpose of writing it was to collect together some of the elegies and eulogies which he had composed in praise of his teachers, and in thanksgiving to God for the favours which He bestowed on the Muslims of Hausaland before and after their hijrah, and throughout their jihād. ‘Abdullāhi gives the historical context of each poem, and for this reason this work provides first hand information on the jihād movement and the lives of Shehu ‘Uthmān and ‘Abdullāhi. This work has been edited and translated by M. Hiskett who wrote an introduction to it. Other unedited versions have also appeared in the local press in Nigeria.

91. Al-Tibyān li-Huqūq al-Ikhwān (1243 A.H./1827-28 A.D.) (Kad. A/AR/10:5).

This is a work explaining the rights and obligations which various members of the Muslim Community have towards each other, like parents, children, slaves, neighbours, husbands and wives.

92. Usūl al-‘Adl (1224 A.H./1809-10 A.D.) (M.D.B.).

A work bearing the same title is also attributed to Shehu ‘Uthmān. This work is in the genre of "Mirror of Princes" literature, expounding the great reward for those who rule with justice, according to the Sharī‘ah, and

chastisement for those who oppress their subjects. It is in two parts. Part one is based on al-Ghazzālī's Nasīhat al-Mulūk, and part two is a summary of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī's epistle to the King of Kano, Muḥammad Rumfa. Its contents are similar to other works on the subject by ʿAbdullāhi, and this lends weight to the claim that it was his work.

93. Wākar Cin Kalambaina (Kad. O/AR/1:24)

This poem, in Hausa language, was composed by ʿAbdullāhi to celebrate the fall of Kalambaina in the 18th year of the Sokoto jihād (1820-21 A.D.).

94. Wākar Cin Kwotto (Kad.O/AR/1:24).

This is a poem, in Hausa language, composed by ʿAbdullāhi to celebrate the defeat of the Gobir forces at the battle of Tabkin Kwotto in 1804 A.D.

95. Wākar "Gode Allāhu Mai Wadā" (Ibadan, 82/508/M7. This is on microfilm).

This Hausa poem was composed by ʿAbdullāhi before the commencement of the Sokoto jihād in 1804 A.D. It is a religious sermon exhorting Muslims to follow the Sharīʿah and shun un-Islamic innovations. It calls specifically on members of different trades to ensure that they observe the Sharīʿah as it affects their trade. Hausa tradition has it that this poem was composed impromptu when the King of Gobir, Yunfa, demanded a sermon.

96. Wākar "Mai Dare duk da Sāfiyā" (Recorded from M. Umaru Gwandu, on 15th February, 1975 during my field work).

This is another Hausa poem. It is a religious sermon

depicting the transitory nature of worldly life, and urging Muslims not to neglect the permanent life after death. It describes most graphically the last moments of one's life before death, and the state of bliss awaiting the pious ones.

97. Wākar "Mu gode Wanda Ya yi mu Muslimīna". (Recorded from M. Umaru Gwandu, on 15th February, 1975).

This Hausa poem is on constitutional theory. It explains the procedure for the election of a caliph, his qualifications and duties, and the composition of the electoral college for his election.

98. Wākar Rā'iyya. (This is recorded from M. Zango, Sarkin Makafi, Birnin Kebbi, on 25th February, 1975.)

This is a long poem in Hausa with rhyme in the letter 'R', describing the creation of man, and his development from conception to birth and to a fully grown person, drawing attention to the complete functions of different organs of the body. It urges man to show his gratitude to God, the architect of these wonders and the bestower of grace upon man, by following His commandments. In this poem 'Abdullāhi supported his statements by quoting verses from the Holy Qur'ān. Since he does not translate these verses into Hausa language, it is reasonable to suppose that the work was aimed at those with good background knowledge of Islam and the Arabic language.

99. Waq'at Mālisa wa Kadaye (Kad., F/AR/5:12).

This is an Arabic poem describing an attempt by the enemy forces from Mālisa, some five miles to the east of Gwandu, to make a surprise attack on the jihādists, probably at Gwandu, and how they lost their way. It goes on to give an account of how the enemy was met and defeated at Kadaye in Gobir

territory in 1235 A.H./1819-20 A.D.

100. Wasiyyat 'Abdullāhi (Kad., A/AR/45:1).

This is 'Abdullāhi's counsel to his children. In it he exhorted them to follow the Sunnah of the Prophet, take to learning and scholarship, concern themselves with the care of the mosques and with the execution of jihād. He warned them against discord and against struggle for worldly power.

Glossary of Arabic Terms.

ʿAdālah - honourable moral character and probity.

ʿĀdah - tradition; custom.

ʿAdl (pl. ʿUdūl) - a person of honourable character and probity.

Ahl al-ḥall wa ʾl-ʿaqd - lit. those who have the competence to tie and untie; i.e. those who are competent to make decisions on behalf of the Muslim Community.

Ahl al-Kitāb - The People of the Book, i.e. Christians and Jews.

ʿĀlim (pl. ʿUlamāʾ) - Scholar; one possessed of knowledge.

Amān - pledge of security; safe conduct.

Amīr - army commander; provincial governor.

Amīr al-Muʾminīn - Commander of the Faithful; Head of the Muslim State; Caliph.

ʿAṣr al-Jumūd - period of stagnation; the period of intellectual stagnation in Islamic history, beginning roughly from the fall of Baghdād in 1258 A.D. and extending down to the French expedition to Egypt in 1798 A.D.

Athar (pl. āthār) - practice and statements of the Companions of the Prophet; precedent.

ʿAwāmm - ordinary people.

Bāghī (pl. bughāt) - rebel; dissenter.

Dār al-Ḥarb - territory of war; land where Islamic law does not operate.

Al-Ḍarūrāt tubīḥ al-maḥẓūrāt - the principle that necessities make permissible what is not permissible under normal circumstances.

Dhikr - remembrance of God; praise of God; litany; invocation of the most beautiful names of God.

Dhimmī - A member of non-Muslim community under the protection of the Islamic State.

Dhū ʾl-Ḥijjah - the twelfth month of the Islamic year.

Dhū ʾl-Qaʿdah - the eleventh month of the Islamic year.

Dīn - religion.

Fai' - booty which is taken by the Muslims without actual fighting.

Fann (pl. funūn) - art.

Faqīh (pl. fuqahāʾ) - a scholar who is versed in Islamic Law; jurist.

Farḍ ʿain - an individual duty.

Farḍ kifāyah - a communal duty or obligation.

Fāsiq - a profligate; a person of bad moral character.

Faṣl - section.

Fatwā - the formal legal opinion of a muftī.

Fī Khaṣṣat nafsihi - in his own private life.

Fiqh - Muslim Law; jurisprudence.

Fisq - depradation; bad moral character.

Ghanīmah - booty which is captured by the Muslims during fighting.

Ḥadd (pl. ḥudūd) - lit. boundry; penalty which is specified by the Sharī'ah.

Ḥadīth - tradition of the Prophet.

Ḥalāl - lawful; permitted.

Ḥarām - unlawful; forbidden.

Ḥarbī - one who is in a state of war with the Muslims.

Hijrah - migration, especially migration of Muslims from a place where they cannot practice their religion, to a place where the Islamic law operates, that is from dār al-ḥarb to dār al-Islām.

Ḥisbah - function of a muḥtasib; censorship of public morals.

Ḥuḍūr - presence of mind.

'Id al-kabīr - Greater Bairam; Feast which marks the day of sacrifice during the holy pilgrimage. It is held on the 10th day of Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah.

Iḥsān - lit. "beneficence"; consciousness of the presence of God, and worshipping Him as such.

Ijāzah - permission; licence; certificate given by a scholar to his student, authorizing him to pass on what he has studied under him to others.

Ijmā' - consensus of the Muslim scholars on points of Law.

Ijtihād - exercising oneself to the utmost degree in order to understand the Sharī'ah; interpretation of the Sharī'ah; passing independent judgement on points of law.

Ikhtilāf - healthy and meaningful difference of opinion; judgement honestly arrived at.

'Ilm al-ḥadīth dirāyatan - science of ḥadīth criticism.

'Ilm al-ḥadīth riwāyatan - science of ḥadīth transmission.

Imām (pl. a'immah) - leader in prayer; head of the Islamic state.

Iqāmah - proper observation of prayer.

Iqtīdā' - following the view of another scholar on the basis of genuine conviction.

Istiḥsān - juristic preference; the preference, on a certain issue, of the rule of a precedent to another rule for a more relevant reason that requires such preference.

Isti'mān - temporary pledge of security which is given to those at war with the Muslims, when they are allowed to enter the Muslim territories for specific business.

Istiṣḥāb - the assumption that things retain their natural state until evidence to the contrary is produced.

Istiṣlāḥ - this is the same principle as al-masālih al-mursalah, unprecedented judgement motivated by public interest, to which neither the Qur'ān nor the Sunnah explicitly refers.

Izhāran li 'l-ni'mah - for the purpose of displaying God's grace.

Jamhūr - generality; majority.

Jihād - holy war.

Jizyah - poll-tax.

Jumādā al-Ākhirah - the sixth month of the Islamic year.

Jumādā al-ūlā - the fifth month of the Islamic year.

Khalīfah - Successor of the Prophet; head of the Islamic State.

Khawāṣṣ - the elite.

Khilāf - Meaningless controversy; conflict based on subjective argument.

Khuṭbah - the formal sermon delivered at the Friday and festival prayers.

Kifāyah - ability to fulfil one's obligation.

Kisrā - Chosroes; King of Persia.

Majūs - Magians.

Manṭiq - logic.

Al-Maṣāliḥ al-mursalah - this is the same as istislāh, unprecedented judgement motivated by public interest, to which neither the Qur'ān nor the Sunnah explicitly refers.

Mash-hūr - well-known; generally recognized.

Mash-hūr al-Madh-hab - the generally recognized view of a School of Law.

Maṣlaḥah (pl. maṣālih) - public good.

Mu'addib - elementary teacher.

Mu'adh-dhin - the caller to prayer.

Muftī - a canon lawyer who is competent to give a fatwā or formal legal opinion; jurisconsult.

Muhādanah - agreement on the cessation of war; peace agreement.

Muḥārib - armed highway robber.

Muḥarram - the first month of the Islamic year.

Muḥtasib - censor or guardian of public morality.

Mujtahid - a scholar who is competent to perform ijtihād or interpretation of the law.

Al-Mujtahid fī 'l-Madh-hab - a mujtahid within-a-School-of-Law, who bases his ijtihād on the principles of jurisprudence of his School of Law in areas where no opinion has been expressed by the founder of the School of Law.

Al-Mujtahid al-muntasib - an associate mujtahid, who follows the principles of the founder of the School of Law to which he belongs.

Al-Mujtahid al-mustaqill - an independent mujtahid. This is the same as al-Mujtahid al-muṭlaq.

Al-Mujtahid al- muṭlaq - an absolute mujtahid. This is the same as al-mujtahid al-mustaqill.

Mukallaf - a person who is legally responsible.

Munāfiq - a hypocrite.

Muqallid - one who blindly follows the views of others.

Musta'min - person who enjoys temporary safe-conduct in the Islamic State.

Muttaqin (pl. muttaqūn) - the God fearing.

Qāḍī (pl. quḍāt) - a judge.

Qiyās - juristic analogy.

Rajab - the seventh month of the Islamic year.

Rabī' al- Awwal - the third month of the Islamic year.

Rabī' al-Thānī - the fourth month of the Islamic year.

Ramaḍān - the ninth month of the Islamic year, during which Muslims observe the fast.

Rukhṣah - concession.

Sadd al-dharī'ah - lit. "thwarting the means", judgement based on the principle that what leads to evil must be thwarted.

Ṣafar - the second month of the Islamic year.

Sha'bān - the eighth month of the Islamic year.

Ṣāliḥ - pious one.

Shaikh (pl. shuyūkh) - religious leader; teacher.

Sharī'ah - the God-given law of Islam; the Islamic way of life.

Shawwāl - the tenth month of the Islamic year.

Shubhah - doubtful case; uncertainty; ambiguity.

Ṣiddīq - the truthful, trustworthy.

Siyāsah - policy; discretionary power.

Siyāsah Shar'iyyah - lawful use of discretionary power; the administration of justice in accordance with the spirit of the Sharī'ah; also: the principle of legislation in accordance with the spirit of the Sharī'ah.

Ṣulḥ - peace treaty.

Sulṭān (pl. Salāṭīn) - ruler ; holder of political authority in the Islamic state.

Sunnah - the practice of the Prophet.

Sunnī - orthodox.

Tabaṣṣur - insight and perspicacity.

Takhmīs - verse rendered into a quintain.

Taklīf - legal obligation.

Taqlīd - blind imitation of the views of others.

Targhīb - exhortation.

Tarhīb - warning.

Tauḥid - science of divinity; branch of Muslim theology which is concerned with the unity of God.

Ta'wīl - individual interpretation of the primary sources of the Sharī'ah.

'Ulamā' al-sū' - venal scholars.

Ummah - The Muslim Community.

'Urf - local usage.

Uṣūl al-Fiqh - principles of jurisprudence.

Wālī (pl. wulāt) - inspector; superintendent.

Wālī al-Jarā'im - reviewer of crimes.

Wālī al-Maẓālim - reviewer of wrongs.

Wazīr (pl. wuzarā') - minister.

Wazīr al-istishārah - advisory minister.
Wazīr al-tafwīḍ - Prime Minister; minister to whom the caliph delegates his authority.

Wazīr al-tanfīdh - executive minister.

Ẓāhir al-Sharī'ah - the literal or apparent meaning of the Sharī'ah.

Zakāt - canonical alms.

Zindīq (pl. zanādiqah) - atheist; hypocrite.

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