

**THE NATURE AND CHARACTER OF SHAYKH 'ABD
ALLAH B. FODUYE**

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**BEING A PAPER PRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE OF
ULAMA ORGANISED TO COMMEMORATE THE TWO
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INTRODUCTION.

Much has been said and written about Shaykh 'Abd Allah b. Foduye both by his contemporaries and by later generations. A lot has been written about his scholarship and his military prowess, qualities which no-one can contest because they are as obvious and clear as the daylight. Similarly there is a general consensus that Shaykh 'Abd Allah was extremely pious and God-fearing and had very strong, deep and un wavering faith. However, although this much was known about Shaykh 'Abd Allah, no in-depth study known to me has been made about the whole nature and character of this icon of light.

I believe that the study of history is very important because, among other things, history tells you about people and events so that you can learn from the interplay of individuals and groups, people and environment, those elements that can help you in your current situation and environment. I believe that in times like ours we need to learn about the character of people like Shaykh 'Abd Allah and try to emulate them. Our time in particular needs the likes of the character of Shaykh 'Abd Allah because our present circumstances and environment are in many ways very similar to those under which Shaykh 'Abd Allah lived. To be specific, our society today witnesses hypocrisy of the highest order, where-in even the most highly placed officials are generally known to be hypocritical in their utterances and actions, just as was the case during the time of Shaykh 'Abd Allah. We are living witnesses to corruption of the highest order everywhere, including in the building of Churches and Mosques. We see the elites, who constitute a small proportion of the population, cornering most of the resources of the nation. We see venal and corrupt people parading themselves as *Ulamā'* and *Shuyukh*. We see those who claim to be representatives of the people sucking such people dry. We see Muslims and Christians who would dedicate their lives to studying in various fields of human endeavour but who will not be willing to make a little time to learn even the most basic things regarding their religion. The last time such people would learn about religion may be when they would have taken Senior Secondary School Certificate

examination or even before. The Muslims among them forget or may not even know the verse of the Holy Qur'an which explains the whole purpose and meaning of creation.

In our days the Muslims have even succeeded in the total and wholesale adoption of the modern Christian philosophy which confines the jurisdiction of God to matters relating to rituals only, believing that in all other matters - social, political and economic - God should have no say. Indeed, as far as such modern Muslims are concerned, morality and ethical questions have no intrinsic value: the end justifies the means. If such people would only acknowledge that their brand of Islam was distorted and that they were ignorant of what Islam is all about, there would be some hope. Unfortunately, however, they would regard their own whims and caprices as the true and only correct Islam which they so clearly understand and which no-one else understands. They, therefore, have no apology to God or Man for what they do, nor do they have to beg God for forgiveness or try to learn the true Islam from its sources.

In a situation like the one described above, there is need to learn about the qualities and character of people like Shaykh 'Abd Allah, and how such qualities helped not only their possessors but others in their communities as well.

Nature and character of Shaykh 'Abd Allah.

Shaykh 'Abd Allah b. Foduye, described by Hiskett as physically "tall, fat and black"⁽¹⁾ is a rare gem in many respects. His most important quality and the one from which all the others sprang was his deep and unshakable faith in Allah and his complete, unalloyed and absolute submission and resignation to the will of Allah. This is his source of strength. Armed with faith and with submission to the will of Allah, Shaykh 'Abd Allah tried to model the whole of his life on the teaching of Islam. He had the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) as a physical example to emulate and he did everything possible towards that end. It is no wonder, therefore, that the first serious poem he had composed was his *takhmis* (quintain) on the poem of Shaykh 'Uthman in praise of the Prophet (SAW)⁽²⁾. For Shaykh 'Abd Allah a true Muslim must always be God-conscious and must have Prophet Muhammad as a model to emulate. This quality means that Shaykh 'Abd Allah would direct his attention to the acquisition of learning, but whatever is learnt must be put into practice. This is the only way the individual, the group and the environment can interact and produce the desired objective of creation.

It follows from the above that Shaykh 'Abd Allah would be expected to dedicate himself to study and learning - which he actually did until he became recognized throughout West Africa as one of the most learned scholars. Muhammad al - Bukhari described him thus:

--- a Shaykh who has no equal in knowledge
in these countries.

I mean the *Imam* of his time, 'Abd Allah', who
led the noble Shaykhs since he was a youth.

Master of sciences, their servant and their follower;
friend of piety, learned, generous, perfect; ---

Wide sea of learning, ---

Firmly grounded in every branch of knowledge,
deeply learned, rightly guided in everything he says. ⁽³⁾

Shaykh 'Abd Allah is a great authority in *Tafsir*, *Hadith* and *Fiqh*, having to his credit, two Tafsirs: *Diyā' al- Ta'wīl* and *Kifāyat Du'afā' al- Sūdān*, a work on *Hadith Science: Sirāj Jāmi' al- Bukhari* and a number of works on *fiqh*.

After the acquisition of knowledge 'Abd Allah did the next logical thing: he taught and wrote. As an author and a teacher he achieved quite a lot. Even in his youth, he participated in the preaching tours of Shaykh 'Uthman b. Foduye. He continued, throughout his life learning, teaching and writing at the same time. An idea about the number of his students can be gauged from the number of his ashāb (companions) who, according to Sa'ad b. 'Abd al-Rahman numbered about 750.⁽⁴⁾ It is assumed that all these were advanced students who came to him from different parts of West Africa and sat to learn at his feet.

Although one has no concrete evidence of Shaykh 'Abd Allah having been directly involved in teaching at primary level, yet one would assume quite reasonably, that he must have undertaken that at some stage in accordance with the general practice during his time. This assumption has some support in the fact that he showed a lot of understanding of the atmosphere in a primary school environment as depicted by his views on the handling of small children in the *maktabah*. Such detailed and precise discussion can only normally come from someone who has experienced the teaching himself. ⁽⁵⁾

While dealing with the issue of Shaykh 'Abd Allah as a teacher, one would like to refer to his wonderful methodology of addressing his students according to their level of understanding and their standing in

society. This methodology was employed also in addressing audiences, readers and others. Examples of this can be seen in the way Shaykh 'Abd Allah writes his books. Those of them meant for the ordinary people are written in a simple language and are all based on the Maliki School of Law. Even within that School, only the views acceptable to the majority of the Maliki scholars were adopted. The book *Diyā' 'Ulūm al- Dīn* is an example of this sort of writing, so in *Taqrib Darūri al- Dīn*. When writing for scholars and those in authority on the other hand, Shaykh 'Abd Allah would include a lot of details such as differences of opinion of scholars from within the Maliki School of Law. He also at times brought in opinions from outside that School. An example of this is his *Tafsīr, Diyā' al-Ta'wīl* meant for advanced students, and his book on constitutional theory and the administration of the state *Diyā' al- Hukkām*. In such books Shaykh 'Abd Allah would treat issues in some detail, providing various options to a given issue, hoping thereby that those for whom the book was written, who were supposed to be qualified to use it, would consider the various options and use the one most appropriate in their particular situation. Such scholars were learned enough not be confused by the various views and opinions expressed on one issue, unlike the ordinary readers. However, in order to ensure that justice is not miscarried with the resultant negative consequences, Shaykh 'Abd Allah restricted the judges to the application of only the most well-known rulings (*Mash-hur al- Mazhab*) which must be drawn from the Maliki School of Law. With this, uniformity is achieved and the danger of personal, selfish and capricious actions by the judges was curtailed.

Before we leave the subject of teaching, it is pertinent to point out that Shaykh 'Abd Allah expected parents to bear responsibility for the education of their children. Under no circumstance should a parent dump his child in school in order to get rid of his nuisance and escape responsibility for providing for him or her. No-one should be condemned to begging, a practice 'Abd Allah seriously criticized. Parents should cater for their children and pay for their children's education. Teachers should, therefore, have no cause to send the children begging.⁽⁶⁾

Now apart from preaching, teaching and writing, Shaykh 'Abd Allah as an admirer and emulator of the Prophet (SAW) turned his attention to the other qualities of the Prophet (SAW) among which is courage of conviction and action. Just as the Prophet (SAW) refused pressure from all quarters to give up his mission so did Shaykh 'Uthman and 'Abd Allah. No amount of gifts from the Gobir kings could influence them.⁽⁷⁾ They believed that worldly possessions are worth nothing compared to the reward they anticipated from Allah if they should remain steadfast in

pursing their objectives. These objectives are expected to lead to the creation of a just, Allah - oriented society that lives in happiness here on Earth and in the Hereafter. However, this mission can only be fulfilled by following the teaching of Islam as expounded by the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (SAW). These qualities of courage and steadfastness can also be seen when the *Jama'ah* (Community) of Shaykh 'Uthman b. Foduye, led by Shaykh 'Abd Allah, resolved to offer oath of allegiance to Shaykh 'Uthman as the *Amir al- Mu'minīn* - a decisive factor which marked a watershed in the struggle of the *Jihad* leaders to create a conducive environment in which the Muslim Community could live and practice their religion un-molested.⁽⁸⁾

Shaykh 'Abd Allah's courage is perhaps demonstrated best when he came out openly to disagree with some of the views expressed by his brother Shaykh 'Uthman, despite his high regard for the Shaykh and reverence with which he held him. While making public his disagreement with these views, however, he exhibited other important qualities he possessed. He was polite, courteous and respectable in the language he used and in the manner he expressed his disagreement. In all he did, he was guided by the general principle that people should act according to facts available to them, but should be prepared to accept the other point of view if and when evidence is made available to establish that view.⁽⁹⁾

Let us consider also the instance when Shaykh 'Uthman, basing his ruling on a *fatwa* given by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Karim al- Maghili, ruled that any scholar or student or ordinary Muslim who offered assistance to non - Muslims should be considered as an unbeliever. Shaykh 'Abd Allah said that Shaykh Uthman's :

"generalization in anathematizing those who mingle the truth with *bātil* (untruth) is clear if (that charge) is established. This is because the truth (here) means Islam and the *bātil* means unbelief; and clearly anyone who mixes Islam with *Kufr* (unbelief) is surely an - unbeliever as earlier stated. However, his anathematization of those who assisted the unbelievers in their armies against the Muslim armies is not clear to me because the verse which al-Maghili quoted (in support of his assertion) was revealed in respect of assistance given by the Muslims to unbelievers in furtherance of their unbelief in line with the normal practice of the hypocrites concerning whom the verse was revealed as the Mufassirun (Exegetes) have explained. Thus assisting them in unbelief is unbelief. However, he who assists them in sin cannot be regarded as an unbeliever so long as he

does not regard that (sinful action) as permissible and lawful. The sending of armies against Muslims itself definitely does not constitute unbelief, but rather it is a sin, if it is not based on *ta'wīl* (genuine interpretation allowing that). What more of merely assisting in that? And if an action itself does not constitute unbelief, how then can what it leads to constitute unbelief? As for Ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Maghili, he did not qualify the meaning of the word "*nasr*" (assistance). It should, therefore, be taken to mean assisting them in committing unbelief not in committing something sinful. This will bring (the ruling) in line with the views of Orthodox Muslims. May God protect him (al-Maghili) from making the taking up of arms against Muslims an act of unbelief. Were the Shaykh (Uthman) to delete his words "in their armies against the armies of the Muslims" it would have been better since we know, by necessity, that a Muslim does not become an unbeliever by fighting a fellow Muslim, what more of his just giving assistance (to unbelievers) in their fight against Muslims? ⁽¹⁰⁾

I have decided to quote this whole passage in order to show clearly the attitude of Shaykh 'Abd Allah to issues and individuals.

Here he is, faced by a very difficult situation. His revered brother, relying on a famous and worldly renowned scholar, al-Maghili, has given a ruling on an issue. Shaykh 'Abd Allah, as a scholar, found it impossible to accept the position of these two respectable and learned scholars. He had one of two options to choose from: either to let things pass as they were, due to the high regard he had for the two personalities, or declare his position, reflecting his understanding and knowledge though it contradicts theirs. Shaykh 'Abd Allah's courage of conviction, reinforced by his piety, led him to opt for what he believed in. However, his humility and the respect he had for others manifested themselves in the way and manner he managed the differences of opinion. In the case of al-Maghili, he gave him the benefit of doubt by arguing that his ruling that anyone, no matter who he is, "who gives assistance to anyone of the (unbelievers) becomes an unbeliever by the testimony of God the Vanquisher of all" he must have meant by "assistance" assisting non-Muslims in unbelief, which is in order and in line with the orthodox view. He considered al-Maghili innocent of condemning, as unbelievers, Muslims who assisted non-Muslims in their armies. This is in line with Shaykh 'Abd Allah's principle of searching for an excuse to justify the action of every Muslim. In the case of the view of the Shaykh, however, he was un-able to find an acceptable interpretation in line with his view,

which he claimed was the view of the Orthodox Muslims. The only thing he could do in that case was, therefore, to suggest how, by removing a few words from the Shaykh's statement, the rest of the passage could stand.

Similarly Shaykh 'Abd Allah disagreed with the view expressed by al-Maghili in his *fatwa* to the Sultan of Songhay, Askia Muhammad b. Abi Bakr where al-Maghili ruled that whenever Muslims voluntarily settled among *Muhāribun*, (Muslim rebels) and were captured along with the rebels they should be considered as being part of them. Thus they should be killed and their property confiscated and their repentance should not be accepted. Shaykh 'Abd Allah opined that this is not correct, because the property of Muslim rebels could not be confiscated when they are fought nor could their wives and children be enslaved since they still remained Muslims. However, as usual, he looked for a way out for al-Maghili, by suggesting that he might have meant by *Muhāribun* (rebels) the *Mustaghraq al-Dhimmah* (those whose property had earlier on been ruled to belong to the *Bayt al-Mal* (Muslim Treasury). He also suggested that perhaps by *Muhāribun* (rebels) al-Maghili might have meant unbelievers at war with the Muslims (*Harbiyyun*).⁽¹¹⁾

So it is with Shaykh 'Abd Allah. He would on all occasion say his mind and express his views, but at the same time try to find an excuse to explain the point of view of others. Sometimes also he tries to find an interpretation for the statement of others in order to reconcile it with what he regarded as the correct or acceptable view. In doing this, his politeness and respect for others are always manifested, while his courage to say his mind is not sacrificed.

The courage of Shaykh 'Abd Allah and his bravery also manifest themselves on many occasions during his military campaigns. Take for instance the battle of Alkalawa in which he commanded the *Jihad* forces. 'Abd Allah was struck by an arrow during the first of the three assaults the Jihadists made on the fortress. Before they could prepare for the next assault they learnt that the Touareg were raiding their families. Having made straight for home they, along with Shaykh 'Uthman and the whole family and the rest of the Community left for Tsuntsuwa. The Gobir forces and their Touareg allies now made a surprise attack on the Community at Tsuntsuwa and gave them a crashing defeat in which many notable personalities were killed. Now Shaykh 'Abd Allah, who was not able to rise up on account of the arrow wound which he suffered earlier at the battle of Alkalawa, rose up lame, confronted the fleeing *Jihad* soldiers and was able, with a lot of difficulty to rally some of them whom he led

in pursuit of the enemy. They eventually met the army who were busy killing and taking booty. He formed those who followed him into ranks and fought and defeated the enemy.⁽¹²⁾

Again when Shaykh Uthman decided to move to Sifawa from Gwandu, the need arose for Muslims in the Western fringes of the Caliphate to be assured that the move did not mean that they would be abandoned to the mercy of the unbelievers in that part of the country. Shaykh 'Uthman, therefore, equipped a small army under the command of Shaykh 'Abd Allah to pacify the area and give confidence to the Muslim community there. Shaykh 'Abd Allah, a highly dedicated man, accepted the challenge and was able to get only a few people to join him in this campaign because most people decided to move to Sifawa with the Shaykh in order to acquire houses and virgin land for farming. Despite the small number of his troops, Shaykh 'Abd Allah moved on until he reached River Niger where he joined some Muslim soldiers from Jarma. Here he had an injury from a horse kick and for five days when the army was crossing the river he could not stand up. But the brave and courageous 'Abd Allah was able to conceal this from his companions until they had reached the country of Jawaru in Qurma from the northern side, beyond the river and conquered the area.⁽¹³⁾

Next to courage and bravery Shaykh 'Abd Allah was humane, magnanimous and forgiving when occasion demanded that. For instance when he commanded the army which conquered the fortress of De'be in Gurma country beyond the Niger all the people there were captured, but Shaykh 'Abd Allah was so magnanimous and forgiving that he set them all free and sent them away to the countries of Islam.⁽¹⁴⁾

Again when the forces commanded by Shaykh 'Abd Allah made a surprise crossing of the Niger and sacked the island of Fas after destroying their crops, the enemy who had taken refuge in the various fortresses around all came to him for submission. 'Abd Allah accepted their submission and allowed all of them not only to go free but also to remain in their fortresses.⁽¹⁵⁾

Referring to this, he said in one of his poems:

Turwa and Komba saw destruction
and sought refuge with God
And Islam, for fear of misfortune
They were saved, after destruction
had seized their throats

By the copious rain of forgiveness
which came after despair.⁽¹⁶⁾

A similar act of magnanimity, tolerance and even compromise by Shaykh 'Abd Allah can be seen in his acceptance of the submission of the rebel Fodi, a former king of Kebbi led a revolt against the Jihadists shortly after the sack of Kalambaina. Shaykh 'Abd Allah, apart from accepting the submission made on behalf of Fodi, agreed to appoint the latter's son, Jibrin as Sarkin Kebbi after Fodis' death.⁽¹⁷⁾

We have said above that Shaykh 'Abd Allah could be humane, magnanimous and forgiving when occasion demanded that. We must add, however, that when occasion so demanded he could be ruthless as his attack on Fas demonstrate where his people not only killed and captured the enemy but destroyed all their crops.⁽¹⁸⁾

Listen to him again saying about some of the people they fought in Gurma country as recorded in one of his poems:

A victory for us through our spears and our arrows
And our swords in their bellies, and in their heads
Their children and their women were taken prisoner
And their men were slain with the axe.
After the spreading of our carpet on their crops,
And after our horsemen had shattered their shields.⁽¹⁹⁾

Shaykh 'Abd Allah had consistently throughout his life supported the rule of law and condemned tyranny, injustice and oppression. To check that he ruled that a ruler must make himself easily accessible every day so that he would hear complaints, if any, from the strong and the weak members of the community against oppression or injustices from his officials.⁽²⁰⁾ He also saw tyranny oppression and injustice as some of the basic things which distinguish muck (Kingship) from *Khilāfah* (Caliphate)⁽²¹⁾ He also said that if a ruler oppresses his people "whims will slaughter him by cutting veins of *taqwe* (God - consciousness).⁽²²⁾ He identified some acts of oppression from which a ruler must keep away. There include punishment by imposing fines in the form of cash or in kind for offences such as adultery and theft whose punishment has nothing to do with fines. They also include illegal taxes and surcharges on the subjects properties.⁽²³⁾ Shaykh 'Abd Allah's prowess as a great military leader needs no emphasizing. He was a tactician of the first order and used his military skillend expertise to great advantage as we have seen at *Kwotto* and during the attack on the island of Fas along the Niger river.⁽²⁴⁾ Before the

battle of *Kwotto*, Shaykh 'Abd Allah at first spent three days waiting for Gobir forces until the 4th day when he was convinced that the enemy was faint-hearted and afraid of advancing on them with the knowledge, the Jihadist forces morale must have risen very high and consequently they moved towards the enemy full of confidence. However when they learnt that the enemy had moved towards *Kwotto*, Shaykh 'Abd Allah hurried with the few people whom he could muster and met them near the lake of *Kwotto*. And experienced on skilful tactician, Shaykh 'Abd Allah ordered his people to ensure that they secured the water source and cut off the Gobir forces from it. They Jihadist forces, with these advantages were able to dislodge and send fleeing the Gobir forces who were twice their number. ⁽²⁵⁾

One may venture to say at this juncture that Shaykh 'Abd Allah must have used military intelligence to find out the psychological readiness of the Gobir forces before the battle. It is not unlikely that the four days he and his army had been waiting for the Gobir forces had been used to gather intelligence because, as Shaykh 'Abd Allah has shown in his *Diya al-Hukkan*, the use of spies to gather military intelligence is very important in war as is the imperative of never under rating or under estimating the capability and resources of the enemy. He states:

Know that military tactics require that you do not under rate the enemy, and that you dispatch spies or military intelligence officers (to spy on the enemy). It also requires the choice of brave and courageous soldiers--- and none but a brave courageous person should be appointed to lead an army, a person who is experienced in war and in managing men. ⁽²⁶⁾

In Fas, Shaykh 'Abd Allah made use of one of the most important elements in fighting the enemy - the element of surprise. His people made a surprise crossing of the Niger river and fell upon the unsuspecting enemy and thus easily won victory. In connection with this incident Shaykh 'Abd Allah has this to say in one of his poems:

"They (the inhabitants of the island of Fas) thought that the river would prevent our army from crossing;
The devil with his suggestions deceived Them!
They saw multitudes to their right and to their left
To east and west, and it was a steadfast army. ⁽²⁷⁾

Celebrating this success Shaykh 'Abd Allah Said:

Then we came back home, hoping
For reward with which the sadness of penury would cease.
No arrow touched us, nor spear, no sword;
We were like those who return from marriage feasts! ⁽²⁸⁾

Shaykh 'Abd Allah was an ascetic of repute. Throughout his life he allowed the virtues of asceticism taught by Islam to guide his actions and behaviour. He was always un-easy in the face of temporal ambitions and the affairs of the world. Thus in the fourth year of the *hijrah* of the *Jama'ah* to Gudu Shaykh 'Abd Allah left the army on its way to fight Alkalawa. He was so disappointed with the way and manner his contemporaries had abandoned the ideals of *Jihad* in favour of the pursuit of material gains like wealth power, political authority and influence that he decided to abandon his country and people and travel to the Holyland of Arabia where he hoped to stay permanently near the Prophet (SAW) ⁽²⁹⁾ This asceticism is reflected in the number of works written by Shaykh 'Abd Allah on the subject, and in references made to it in other works.

---'Abd Allah, who led the noble Shaykhs since he was a youth.
Master of sciences, their servant and their follower; friend of
piety, learned, generous, perfect.
Landmark of right guidance, joy of the time; its pillar,
gentle, kindly towards mankind, a mighty chieftain.
Strong in his religion, humble, awe-inspiring, pious,
trustworthy, sweet as honey.
Famous Qur'an scholar, foremost in the science of Prophet
tradition, and rhetoric, one on whom others rely. ⁽³⁰⁾

CONCLUSION.

Shaykh 'Abd Allah, as we have seen, is a man of very strong faith. His faith is so strong that many people would not appreciate why he acted the way he did on many occasions. Because of his deeply rooted and strong faith he committed the totality of his life to the service of Allah. While doing this, he would not mind whose ox is gored. He rejected all forms of worldly interests if they were not lawful. To him wealth and happiness lie in contentment. Leadership is worth having and authority worth exercising only if the exercise is seen as service to Islam and humanity. This may explain why after the battle of Kalambaina, Shaykh 'Abd Allah, without rancour, formally stepped down in favour of Sultan Ballo. Shaykh 'Abd Allah would not be the type to bring about dissension and

division among the *Jama'ah*. That is why it is difficult to believe the claim made by Shaykh Ahmad Labbo of Masina that Shaykh 'Abd Allah claimed to be the legitimate heir to Shaykh 'Uthman. Certainly no-one who understands the nature and character of Shaykh 'Abd Allah would ever expect him to take such a drastic negative action.

Shaykh 'Abd Allah tried to model his life on that of the Prophet (SAW). Many incidents in his life can be compared to similar ones in the life of the Prophet (SAW). In fact Shaykh 'Abd Allah so much imitated the life of the Prophet (SAW) that he saw in many things that happened a reflection of what happened in the life time of the Prophet (SAW). For instance, the battle of Tabkin Kwotto brought to his mind vivid memory of the battle of Badr. It is interesting to note that after the conquest of Makkah the Prophet (SAW) forgave the inhabitants of the city for all the injustices meted out to him and his followers earlier. Similarly Shaykh 'Abd Allah set free the inhabitants of Fas after he had got all of them under his control and mercy.

As someone modeling his life on that of the holy Prophet (SAW) Shaykh 'Abd Allah possessed virtually all the good virtues one could think of.

If our society of today can learn the virtues and adopt the character of Shaykh 'Abd Allah, most of its ills would be cured. Security, peace, and tranquility will prevail everywhere. Justice will be dispensed without fear or favour, love and understanding will guide mutual relations and honesty, integrity and rule of law will be the order of the day. If we succeed in emulating his character our nation will be as safe and secure as the Sakkwato Caliphate was during the 1820's when Clapperton described it as follows:

The laws of the Qur'an were in his (Sultan Ballo's) time so strictly put in force --- that the whole country when not in a state of war, was so well-regulated that it is a common saying that a woman might travel with a casket of gold upon her head from one end of the Fellata dominions to the other. ⁽³¹⁾

(Clapperton, Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa in the years 1822, 1823 and 1824, (Dixon Henjam, Hugh Clapperton, Dr. Oudney, second edn. (London, 1826), p. 206.

NOTES.

1. 'Abd Allah b. Foduye, *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt* (T.W) (edt. M. Hiskett) (Ibadan, 1963), p. 21.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 26, 84 - 85.
3. *Ibid*. p. 23,
4. Sa'ad b. 'Abd al-Rahman, *Tarfīb al-Ashāb*.
5. See 'Abd Allah b. Foduye, *Lubāb al-Madkhal*, pp. 59 -83 for details
6. *Ibid*, pp. 67 - 69.
7. *T.W*. pp. 30, 88 - 89
8. *Ibid*, pp. 55, 108.
9. 'Abd Allah b. Foduye, *Diyā' al-Sultān* (D.Su) in *Majmū' al-Diyā'āt* (published by Alhaji Dan-Ige, Tsamiyar Yaro) (Cairo, n.d), p. 189.
10. *Ibid*, p. 198.
11. *Ibid*, p. 191.
12. *T.W*, pp. 61 - 62, 114.
13. *Ibid*, pp. 78 - 79, 127 - 128.
14. *Ibid*, pp. 75, 125.
15. *Ibid*, pp. 75, 125
16. *Ibid*, pp. 77, 125
17. *Ibid*, p. 21.
18. *Ibid*, pp. 75, 77, 125, 126.
19. *Ibid*, pp. 76, 126.
20. 'Abd Allah b. Foduye, *Diyā' al-Umarā'*, in (*Majmū' al-Diyā'āt*. p. 222.
21. 'Abd Allah b. Foduye, *Diyā' al-Hukkam*, in (*Majmū' al-Diyā'āt*. p. 245.
22. *Ibid*, p. 247.
23. *Ibid*, p. 251.
24. *T.W*, pp. 56 - 57, 109 -110, 75 - 77, 125 - 126.
25. *Ibid*, pp. 56 - 57 - 109 -110.
26. *D.H.*, p. 273.
27. *T.W*, pp. 77, 126.
28. *Ibid*, pp. 78, 127.
29. *Ibid*, pp. 70 - 72, 120 -122.
30. *Ibid*, p. 23.
31. Dixon Henjam, Hugh Clapperton, Dr. Oudney, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa in the Years 1822, 1823 and 1824* (2nd edn) (London, 1826) p. 206.