INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

Dr. Muhammad Afifi al-Akiti, Oxford University, UK
Dr. Abdullah M. al-Syarqawi, Cairo University, Egypt.
Dr. Abdul Kabir Hussain Solihu, Kwara State University, Nigeria.
Dr. Anis Ahmad, Riphah International University, Islamabad.
Dr. ASM Shihabuddin, Uttara University, Dhakka, Bangladesh.
Dr. Fatimah Abdullah, Sabahattin Zaim University, Turkey.
Dr. Ibrahim M. Zein, Qatar Foundation, Qatar.
Dr. Khalid Yahya, Temple University, USA.

© 2017 IIUM Press, International Islamic University Malaysia. All rights reserved.
eISSN:26008432

Correspondence
Managing Editor, Al-Itqān
Research Management Centre, RMC
International Islamic University Malaysia
F.O Box 10, 50728 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Tel: +603 6196 5558
Website: http://journals.iium.edu.my/al-itqan/index.php/alitqan/index
Email: al-itqan@iium.edu.my

Published by:
IIUM Press, International Islamic University Malaysia
P.O. Box 10, 50728 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Phone (+603) 6196-5014, Fax: (+603) 6196-6298
Website: http://iiumpress.iium.edu.my/bookshop
# Table of Contents

Timeline of the Malay Jawi Works: A Revisit to the Oldest Known Malay Manuscript

*Che’ Razi bin Jusoh Aliza Elias @ Mayah*

Reflections on Taṣawwuf in the Sokoto Caliphate

*Shehu Abdur-Rahman Aboki Ja’far Makau Kaura*

A Discourse on Religious Pluralism: A Short Survey

*Abdul Salam Muhamad Shukri Mohd Abbas Abdul Razak*

Islam in Politics and Dakwah :A Reflection from Bapak Mohammad Natsir (1908-1993)

*Nadzrah Ahmad Ahmad Nabil Amir*

Human Rights in the light of Maqāsid al-Shari‘ah

*Lejla Delagic Bouheda Ghalia*

Dā’ish in Malaysia: A Case Study

*Dr. Maszlee Malik*

The Authenticity of the Book of Suleym Ibn Qays from the Perspective of the Imamate Shī‘a in Recording Hadith: A Critical Study

*Yusuf Oktan Mohammed Abullais*
Author Guidelines

1. Manuscript article can be either in English, Malay or Arabic using software Microsoft office (Word, and Excel), Font 12 Times New Roman. Only tables, figures and appendix can be written using Font 10, Times New Roman.
2. If there is a usage of Quranic verses or Hadith from Prophet P.B.U.H., it only needs to be done by translation only.
3. The manuscript should be in 1.5 single spacing and justified, with the margin of 2.5cm.
4. Article needs to have a title and author’s name and second author’s name along with the full address (institution’s or university’s address, e-mail, handphone’s number, office’s number, fax together with the second author’s details).
5. Every article must include an abstract in Malay and English. The length of the abstract is no more than 150 words including 5 keywords.
6. The length of each article must not exceed 6000 words.
7. The Arabic words in manuscript should be in a transliterated form.
8. Reference for each article must be written according to Chicago Manual.
9. Notification Letter :
10. Letter of Acceptance – editorial board will send an e-mail to the author to notify that the manuscript is received.
11. Letter of Acceptance/Rejection for Publication – editorial board will send a letter by an e-mail to the author to notify if the manuscript judged by the panels is approved or declined to be published.
12. Letter of Publication – editorial board will send a letter by e-mail to the author if the article has been judged, repaired, and corrected to be published in the college’s journal.
13. Certificate of Appreciation – editorial board will send a certificate of appreciation by mail to the authors who have sent their articles.
Abstract
This research offers an observation of the history and development of Sufism in the Western part of Africa in early 19th Century. The authors focus on the contribution of Sokoto Caliphates such as Shaykh ‘Uthmān bn Foduye (d.1817), his brother Shaykh Abdullah bn Foduye (d.1828) and Muhammad Bello (d.1837), the son of Shaykh ’Uthmān to the development of Sufism of the northern part of Nigeria. The research employs the qualitative methodology in which historical, textual and comparative analysis are applied on materials that are related to the topic. Finding reveals that the moderate (Sunni) and philosophical (falsafi) Sufism flourished during the Sokoto caliphate as all of them are well versed in the Islamic law (Shari‘ah) and Sufism.

Key Words: Taṣawwuf, Sufi order, Sokoto Caliphate, Islam, History.

Introduction
Taṣawwuf had played and is still playing important role in the life of Muslims in general and Sufis in particular. The spiritual uplift derived from it is therefore necessary not only for the benefit of Sufis but also for the generality of the Muslims. Yet, Taṣawwuf to non-Sufis is considered as a controversial phenomenon in the history of Islam.

Taṣawwuf had its roots in Islam, considering the prophetic tradition, then the revelation,¹ the spiritual activities of the Saḥābah represented by Aṣḥāb' al-Ṣūfah and the renunciation of the world and material enjoyments during the Umayyad and Abbasid periods. Yet, some sources claim that the Islamic devotional exercise (Taṣawwuf) must have its roots in non-Islamic tradition.² But a neutral source considers

---

¹ This normally refers to 'the act of retreat adopted by the Prophet (SAW) before he received revelations.
² The non-Islamic traditions include the revealed religions like Christianity and Judaism and Greek philosophy.
Taṣawwuf as a natural phenomenon that is common in all religions. Meanwhile, Taṣawwuf goes together with Islam wherever the latter finds itself and it is thus, believed that Taṣawwuf is part and parcel of Islam.

However, Taṣawwuf went through condemnations in its development and had withstood these condemnations. Part of the condemnations was directed "at the phenomenon itself" where it has been labeled as an innovation. More so, the Sufis of both early period like Dhun Nun al-Misri, Muhasab and Mansur al-Hallaj, and late period like Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijani have all been accused of one thing or the other.¹ But because of the vitality of Taṣawwuf as a spiritual force and the determination and belief of Sūfī leaders of the genuine context of their mission, Taṣawwuf survived and grew stronger all the times. This is equally true of reformists and jihadists.

‘Uthmān bn Foduye, ‘Abdullāh bn Foduye and Muhammad Bello professed moderate Taṣawwuf which largely deals with the compulsory form of Taṣawwuf – adoption of praiseworthy and rejection of blameworthy characteristics. But Sufis like Muhammad Sambo bn Shaykh ‘Uthmān, Muhammad al-Bukhārī bn Shaykh ‘Uthmān and ’AbdulQādir bn al-Mustafa concentrated on philosophical Taṣawwuf which is non-compulsory.² They did not concern themselves much with the spiritual and social benefit of Taṣawwuf, an ideal pursued by moderate Sufis. They instead examined the speculative aspect relating to prophetology, knowledge of the Unseen, the concept of perfect man, man as vicegerent of Allah on earth, and the concept of Tawḥīd from speculative Ṣūfī perspective. It however, seems that even though the thought was professed by these Sufis, it was only ’AbdulQādir bn al-Mustafa who committed it to writing. He displayed his wealth of experience which he acquired through the study of different Ṣūfī works.³ The Sokoto Caliphate was a religious and political entity, a vast territory - the Central Sudan -which in the 19th century was administered from Sokoto and Gwandu in Hausaland.⁴ It is calculated to have covered

---

¹ Dhun Nūn was accused of holding the view that Qur’an was created, al-Muhāsabī’s writing were called innovations, Mansur al-Hallāj was executed for Shathāt and Ahmad al-Tijānī was accused of professing unbelief under the veil of Tijāniyyah Order
² Non-compulsory Taṣawwuf deals with the history of Taṣawwuf, the concepts of Ma’rifah, and speculative thought of Taṣawwuf among others.
³ Works of celebrated Sufis like al-Ghazālī (d.1111), Ibn ‘Arabī (d.1240) and al-Jīlī (d. 1424) were in circulation during the time.
approximately 240,000 sq km in area.¹ No doubt, it was an Islamic State and in fact a product of Sokoto Jihād of 1804, an event which was brought about by the Islamic reform movement, started in Hausaland in the second half of the 18th century by Shehu Ja’far ʿUthmān bn Foduye.

It is suggested that Islam had reached Hausaland through ancient Gobir as early as the 8th century CE through Muslim merchants and traders.² By the middle of the 18th century, Islam had become part and parcel of the life of the people so much that leading revivalists of the time were not concerned with proselytization, but with reform.³ However, Islam in the pre-1804 Hausaland was more or less the preserve of the ruling classes, while in many areas the populace had not smelt a fragrance of Islam.⁴ This was because by this time, Islam seemed to have entered into a period of decadence in Hausaland with people openly engaging in major vices, mixing Islam with paganism and local practices and the government not only tolerated it but appeared to even encouraged it.

The Islamic reform movement of Shehu ʿUthmān bn Foduye thus started, aimed at peacefully making Muslims in Hausaland to practice Islam in its pristine purity. In the Shaykh’s movement were also Shaykh 'Abdullāh (‘Uthmān’s younger brother and his chief adviser), Shaykh Muhammad Bello (‘Uthmān's son) and many other able lieutenants. The Shaykh started with teaching and preaching tours to different places at the age of twenty years.⁵ He also wrote books and poems in Arabic and Fuldulde and a few in Hausa to demonstrate his points of view and appropriately citing his authorities. This created for him a large following in Hausaland to the extent that the king of Gobir in whose territory the Shaykh had settled together with his family became alarmed. Tension and hostilities began to build up and war eventually broke out

² M. Adamu, "A thousand years of Hausaland participation in the Trans-Saharan Trade", a paper presented at the International Seminar on the Trans-Sahara Studies, organized by the Centre for Libyan Studies, Tripoli, 1980
between the forces of Gobir and community of the Shaykh. This was the Sokoto Jihād launched in 1804 that culminated in the long run into establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate.¹

**Conceptual Definition**

Different groups of people have tried to define the term *Taṣawwuf* according to their background and approach adopted to represent the meaning of what they considered to be *Taṣawwuf*. While some of them were ardent Sufis, some others were merely theoretical. Hence different definitions were given by both Muslims and non-Muslims on one hand and Sufis on the other. Yet, *Taṣawwuf* to non-Sufis is considered as a controversial phenomenon in the history of religion. They have even linked it to the precepts of some religions like Christianity and Judaism. Thus non-Islamic root-word as the derivative of *Taṣawwuf* has also been ascribed to it, intended to expunge it from Islam.

*Taṣawwuf* is the means through which the soul finds solace in the worship of Allah (SWT). It is keeping away from the evils of the self and lowering the attributes of the soul. Similarly it is clinging to the knowledge of the Reality and doing what is good, giving good counsel to all, fulfilling all promises and covenants from Allah (SWT) and following the footsteps of Prophet Muhammad (SAW).² *Taṣawwuf*, according to this definition, is nothing more than checking the excesses of the carnal soul. Its aim is the Reality and its objective is serving humanity and the medium of achieving them is following the foot-steps of Prophet Muhammad (SAW).

However, a common definition adopted from the prophetic tradition portraying *Taṣawwuf* as *Iḥsān* has now been accepted as the meaning of *Taṣawwuf*. It shall be noted that in all the definitions, *Taṣawwuf* is linked to consciousness of the Reality in mundane and spiritual activities which is the real meaning of *Iḥsān* as explained by the Prophet (SAW) in his famous Ḥadīth.³

**Taṣawwuf in the Sokoto Caliphate**

The practice of *Taṣawwuf* in Hausaland dated back to the fifth century when Qādiriyyah Order was introduced into Hausaland by Muhammad bn ‘Abdulkarīm al-Maghīlī. This is one of the gifts brought by Islam to

---

³ Sayyid Hossein Nasr, *Ideals and Realities of Islam*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1975, p. 134. *Iḥsān* is to adore Allah as thou didst see Him, and if thou don’t see Him, He nonetheless sees thee.
Hausaland; and therefore they pursued it with fervor ever since. But Taṣawwuf in the Sokoto Caliphate started with the Jihād leaders under the leadership of Shaykh ‘Uthmān bn Foduye. Born in 1754 to a scholarly family Shaykh ‘Uthmān spent most of his youth either seeking or imparting knowledge. His first contact with Qādiriyyah could be through Shaykh Jibrīl bn Umar who was known to have shaped his thoughts towards reforms in Hausaland. It was Shaykh Jibrīl who initiated him into Khalwatiyyah and Qādiriyyah Orders. But the Shaykh received the word of testimony from Alhājj ‘Aliyu al-Magharībi and also al-Najīb Abūl-Taufiq 'Umar bn Jibrīl.

Some contributions made by Jihād leaders are found in the area of Wilāyah (sainthood), Karāmah (charisma), Shafā‘ah (intercession) Istigāthah (succor). They displayed their wealth of experience which they acquired through association with Sūfī scholars and study of different Sūfī works.

To them Wilāyah (sainthood) does not only mean piety and holiness, but it as well mean acting according to the wishes and commands of Allah. They identified two types of saints; the saint who acquires his Wilāyah through his own efforts and the saint whose Wilāyah was a gift from Allah. Karāmah (charisma or divine privilege), as perceived by the Jihadists, is a token of benevolence of Allah on His servants and could be bestowed upon any chosen Muslim at any given time. However, it seems that they did not give much weight to practical aspect of Karāmah.

Jihād leaders had exhibited sense of tolerance in their association with Tijāniyyah Order and its leader in the Western Sudan, al-Hājj Umar al-Fūtī was accorded warm reception by Muhammad Bello as against the treatment meted on the former by Muhammad al-Kanemi of Bornu when al-Fūtī was returning from pilgrimage. Long after al-Fūtī left Sokoto there was no report of intimidation of Tijāniyyah followers. Muhammad Rāji who left Gwandu with some of his fellow Tijjianites complained of lack of freedom for his followers to profess Tijāniyyah in Sokoto Caliphate. But he was granted such freedom in Adamawa which is part of the Caliphate. This may indicate a different reason for which he left Gwandu. There was also no report indicating the Caliphate participation in the war between al-Futi's army and

4 Works of celebrated Sufis like al-Ghazālī, al-Jilī and Ibn al-Arabi were in circulation during the time.
the Oādiriyyah state of Masina, a stand which depicts the tolerance preached by Islam that was strictly adhered to by the Jihād leaders.¹

**Ṣāfī Genre of Shaykh ‘Uthmān bn Foduye**

Muhammad Bello, one of the sons and biographers of the Shaykh posited that spiritual attainment was evident in the Shaykh since his boyhood. According to him:

...and know that this Shaykh grew up in the service of calling to the way of Allah. And surely, Allah supported him with numerous illuminations; and drew him to His presence and uncovered to him the essence of Divine deeds, Names and Attributes... as a result of which he became among the saints of Allah.²

According to Bello, Shaykh ‘Uthmān taught Taṣawwuf as an independent field of study. He made distinction between laymen and learned ones. In the curriculum of both categories, Taṣawwuf found a place. As for the laymen, the Shaykh stressed the need to polish their hearts from evils, temptations and anything detrimental to spirituality. He was teaching them that the characteristics of the soul are of two types, the destructive and the redemptive.³ According to him, the destructive characteristics are vanity, conceit, rancor, miserliness, sanctimoniousness, love of leadership and material well being for show of pride and forming evil opinion of a Muslim. These characteristics he posited destroy the soul and render its engagement in this world a useless venture. That the soul could only be redeemed from destruction through adopting other Godly characteristics such as repentance, sincerity in worship, patience, asceticism, trust in Allah, piety and fear of Allah.⁴

The teaching of the two characteristics of the soul to laymen by Shaykh ‘Uthmān, was a means of bringing to his audience, the obligatory aspect of Taṣawwuf that must be known and adopted by every Muslim. This is elementary form of teaching Taṣawwuf.

The Shaykh also taught the advanced form of Taṣawwuf which requires a great deal of mental exercise to comprehend. This form of Taṣawwuf was taught by the Shaykh to learned scholars and students. He adopted two methods of teaching this form of Taṣawwuf. The first

---

¹ Ibid, Pp 7-8.
³ Ibid, p. 57.
⁴ M. Bello, *Op Cit*, p. 57.
method involved teaching selected books on Tašawwuf in a conventional way. He for example taught Insān al-Kāmil on theory of perfect man to Muhammad Bello and Muhammad Sambo. The second method involved spiritual training known as Tarbiyyah which denotes initiating and taking a Muriel (novice) along Sūfī practices and" experiences. In this area, the Shaykh had trained many individual Sufis. He confirmed this in Ta’dhīr al-Ikhwān thus:

... I trained people on the path of Taqwa (piety) which is keeping to the commands of Allah and keeping away from his prohibitions in pursuance of the characters of the Messenger of Allah. But as for the saying that I train people to attain Kashf, as the perfect men from among the saints used to do, is totally untrue.

Therefore, the Shaykh trained his Sūfī students on the obligatory Tašawwuf which bordered on Zuhd. Gidādo bn Lema has provided a list of such Sufis who were trained by the Shaykh. He gave about forty-nine names of such students. One interesting thing about the list is that it cuts across tribes, gender and age. Some of the students were Fulanis, Hausas, Tuaregs, males, females, young and old. This list includes friends, relatives, wives, sons and daughters as well as normal students of the Shaykh. On top of the list was Umar alKammū, the friend of the Shaykh; followed by his brother ‘Abdullāh. Mention was also made of three sons of the Shaykh namely-Muhammad Sa'ād, Muhammad Bello and Muhammad Sambo. The three were known Sūfī figures in the Caliphate. There are also two daughters of the Shaykh namely Khadījah and ‘Āishatu. Wives of the Shaykh also mentioned include Maimūnatu, ‘Āishatu, Hāwwā’ and Khadījah. Other known Sufis mentioned include al-Mustafa the chief scribe of the Shaykh, Muhammad Kwairanga, Imām Muhammad Zangi, Khalīl bn Abdullāh and a host of others.

Shaykh ‘Uthmān had written extensively on Tašawwuf. He had also abridged some Sūfī works like Mulakkhas min Asrār al-Shaykh al-Faqīh al-Muḥāsābi, a Sufi work authored by al-Muhāsābi and Tarīq al-Jannah min Asrār Kalām Abī Hāmid al-Ghazālī. Two independent works on

1 M. Bello, Infāq al-Maisūr, Op Cit, p.190; Al-Kashf wa al-Bayān Limā Ashkala min Kitāb al-Insān, Op cit., f.1a
4 Ibid, p. 76.
Qādiriyyah were known to have been written by the Shaykh. This is in addition to general works on Taṣawwuf contained in other works credited to him. Among such works are those writings related to refutations and attack on some corrupt Sūfī ideas. For example, he refuted the allegation that he was a Murabbī (a Sūfī master that trains novice) to the way of Kashf in his book Ta'dhīr al-Ikhwān. He also condemned the way some Sufis attempted to seek for obscurity with unpleasant conditions, branding themselves with fire to increase devotional exercise and tying themselves with chains in order to punish the sinning body. The Shaykh disapproved celibacy and abstaining from what is necessary in life as a means of attaining Zuḥd, likening it to a forbidden innovation.

Muhammad Bello had also discussed the attacks made by the Shaykh on some Sufis who misconceived Taṣawwuf. According to him: ...an example of this is his attack on a group of people that appeared in this land ... and showed that they possess Kashf (contemplative knowledge) despite the fact that they have not guarded themselves against the Shavian and their whims, but do not even know what is obligatory on them pertaining to Furūd al-Aʿyān (personal individual obligations). They have read some books on Taṣawwuf and grasped veneration and hermitage as a fashion for the world providence ... and fought anyone who held a different view from theirs.

Sūfī Genre of 'Abdullāh bn Foduye

‘Abdullāh bn Foduye also wrote some works on Taṣawwuf in the Caliphate. He was first initiated by his teacher Shaykh Jibril bn Umar in Khalwatiyyah Order and latter in Qādiriyyah. He was also among the Sūfī students trained by the Shaykh. His Sūfī inclination manifested when he became dissatisfied with the conduct of the Jihadists. He found a solution in isolating himself from the Mujahidun, the Sūfī concept he always advanced in his Sūfī writings. Therefore he abandoned the army temporarily with some of his close companions and travelled Eastward,

1 These works are; Al-Salāsil al-Dhahabiyyah Lisādāt al-Sāfiyyah and Al-Salāsil al-Qādiriyyah
4 M. Bello, Infaq al-Maisur, Op cit, p. 44
5 He was the second in command in the Jihad waged by his brother Shaykh ‘Uthmān bn Foduye to cleanse Hausaland. He was a student and colleague of the Shaykh during his days of itinerant scholarship.
intending to perform Ḥajj.\(^1\) Even though ‘Abdullāh could not perform the Ḥajj as intended, his intension portrayed him as a committed Sūfī who saw 'Uẓlah (isolation) as a remedy to associating himself with corrupt people among the Mujāhidūn.

Shaykh ‘Abdullāh's commitment to Taşawwuf and belief in the theory of perfect man as represented by the Prophet (SAW) influenced his translation of panegyrical Dalīyah, the poetic composition of his brother, the Shaykh, from Fulfulde to Arabic.\(^2\)

Another important aspect of Sūfī life of ‘Abdullāh was related by Hiskett on the authority of Shaykh Abubakar Mahmūd Gummī. According to Asif:

> ...When the town of Kalembina (Kalambaina) was sacked around 1236/1820, a copy of the Ishrinīyyat was found in the ruins. ‘Abdullāh have jokingly claimed this as his share of the booty.\(^3\)

The above observation indicates that ‘Abdullāh had respect for anything that has connection with Taşawwuf so much that he could forsake his material share of the booty sanctioned by the Sharī‘ah for only a panegyrical composition which he might have a copy at home; and which he had studied under the Shaykh.

Khalīl bn ‘Abdullāh, a onetime Sūfī student of the Shaykh might have also continued with Sūfī studies under ‘Abdullāh more especially after the Western Emirates were placed under the supervision of ‘Abdullāh. Similarly, the same division which placed Western Emirates under ‘Abdullāh may compel one to assume that ‘Abdullāh may have made effort to see that Taşawwuf and Qādiriyyah in particular were fully established in the Emirates under his control.

‘Abdullāh had written on Taşawwuf generally and Qādiriyyah in particular. His works which deal with Taşawwuf as a science and as seen by a practicing Sūfī include Minan al-Mannān, Shukr al-Iḥsān alā Minan al-Mannān, Sābīl al-Najāt, Ṭarīq al-Ṣalihīn, Sābīl Ahl al-Salāh ilā al-Falāḥ and Tahdhib al-İnsān min Khīṣāl al-Shayṭān. Others are Matiyat al-Zād ilā al-Ma‘ād, ‘Alāmāt al-Muttaṣī‘in li al-Sunnah al-Rasūl and Ḍiyā’ al-Qawā’id.\(^4\) In these works, ‘Abdullāh treats Taşawwuf in all its

\(^1\) A. B. Foduye, Tazyīn al-Waraqāt, Pp. 45-46.
\(^2\) Ibid, p. 2.
\(^4\) Quite a number of these works have been edited, translated into both English and Hausa languages and published by Iqra' Publishing House Gusau, Zamfara State of Nigeria, in a collection entitled; "Selected Writings of Sheikh Abdullahi Bn Fodiyo".
ramifications. He also wrote a monumental work in which he limited his discussion to the Khalwatiyyah and Qādiriyyah on the essentials of Sūfī Orders entitled Bayān al-Arkān wa al-Shurūʿ al-Tarīqah al-Sūfīyyah.

In his general works where he discussed Tašawwuf, mention could be made of Ḍiyāʿ al-Siyāsāt wa Fatāwī al-Nawāzī.\(^1\) In the work ‘Abdullāh treated the definition of Zuḥd and Tašawwuf including their classifications. He also touched the relationship between Tašawwuf, Fiqh and Tauhīd. He has also highlighted both obligatory and non-obligatory Tašawwuf.

**Sūfī Genre of Muhammad Bello**

Muhammad Bello, the son of Shaykh ‘Uthmān,\(^2\) was also another pillar of Tašawwuf in the Sokoto Caliphate. He started learning Tašawwuf from his father when he was young. It was later in life that he became deeply involved in Tašawwuf.\(^3\) During his scholarship outside the family, Bello came across Sūfī scholars, who broadened his Sūfī perception. A possible example was a Qādirī Sūfī scholar Shaykh Muhammad al-'Afiya. Even though Bello did not mention that he read any Sūfī work under him, he mentioned that he received Qādirī litanies from Shaykh Muhammad al-'Afiya, who in turn received it from Shaykh Mukhtār al-Kuntī, a famous Kuntī saint.\(^4\) However, Bello's perception of Tašawwuf owed most to his association with his father.\(^5\)

At the age of forty, Muhammad Bello involved himself in reading works and stories of great Sūfīs around 1819. A source claimed that he acquired Ism Allāh al-Aʿẓām, the greatest name of Allah, around this period which was facilitated by his father, the Shaykh.\(^6\) His interest and services to Tašawwuf could be seen from the number of works he had undertaken in that area.

---

1. The work has been edited by late Prof. A. N. Kani and Published in 1988.
2. Shaykh ‘Uthmān bn Foduye had several other children but Muhammad Bello appeared to be more popular and most learned of all.
5. Ibid
Research shows that he wrote about 145 works out of which about thirty were mainly on Tašawwuf apart from casual references to it in many other works.\(^1\)

It has been discovered that Bello wrote two works on Qādiriyah. One is entitled *Al-Budūr al-Ẓāhiriyah fī Salāsil al-Qādiriyah*\(^2\) in which he treated the chain of transmission of Qādiriyah Order. The other one is *Fath al-Bāb fī Dhikr Ba'ad Khasā'is Shaykh 'AbdulQādir*\(^3\) which deals with the biography and Karāmāt (charisma) of Shaykh Abdul-Qādir. Some of the works written by Bello in general Tašawwuf include: *Al-Nasīḥah Al-Wadī’ah fī Bayān anna Hubb al-Dunyā Ra’s Kulli Khatī’ah, Raf al-Ishtibāh fī Ta’alluq bi Allāh wa bi Ahl Allāh, Al-Tanbihāt al-Wadi’hāt fī mā jā’a fi al-Bāqiyāt al-Sālihāt, Al-Burd al-Yaman fī Akhbār ‘Uwais al-Qaranī.* Others are *Tahqīq al-Murabbīn wa al-Mushaqqiqīn, Al-Nisrīn fī mā Balagh min al-‘Umūr al-Arba’nīn, Al-Nishrīn fī mā Qīla fī Abnā’ al-Sittīn and Wathiqah Amīr al-Mu'minīn Muhammad Bello.*\(^4\)

Muhammad Bello was a committed Qādir Sūfī who considered it a noble duty to propagate Qādiriyah Order among his family, close associates, and the Emirates under his control. 'Abdul-Qādir bn Gidādo documented that Bello was keen in initiating his family into Qādiriyah and teaching them the litanies of the Order. He used to promise them that whosoever perseveres in the recitation of the litanies, Bello would stand as a surety for him on the Day of Judgment. Similarly, Abdul Qādir confirmed that those who attended Bello's assembly were followers of Qādiriyah and that he used to initiate those who wished to join the Order.\(^5\)

Apart from the three principal leaders of the Jihād, other Sufis who were either the children of the Shaykh and his brother ‘Abdullāh, or students of the Shaykh and his viziers, or viziers of his children and grand children contributed to the teaching of Sūfī doctrines and Qādiriyah in the Caliphate. They include Muhammad Sambo, Muhammad al-Bukhārī, Khalīl bn ‘Abdullāh, Abdul Qādir bn al-Mustafa and Muhammad Tukur al-Fullāti. The vizier Gidādo bn Lema and his son AbdulQādir were both important figures in the history of Tašawwuf and Qādiriyah in the Caliphate. Gidādo bn Lema had in addition to

---

\(^1\) S. U. Balogun, "Arabic Intellectualism in West Africa: The Role of Sokoto Caliphate", in *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 6, no. 2, the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs, London, n.d, Pp. 405-408.

\(^2\) See note 32.

\(^3\) *ibid*

\(^4\) See note 32.

teaching Taṣawwuf wrote works in the discipline like *Raud al-Jinān* on the Sūfī charismatic deed of the Shaykh; *Raf al-Niqāb* and *Radd al-Jawāb 'alā man Yastahiqq al-Su‘āl.*

**Moderate Taṣawwuf in the Caliphate**

The first phase of *Taṣawwuf* in the Caliphate could be described as a moderate one. In this phase, the Sufis were occupied by the need to reform their corrupt society through the use of ascetical methods which seek to purge the soul of destructive tendencies. That could explain why the Sūfī thought of the Jihād leaders such as the Shaykh, ‘Abdullāh and Muhammad Bello encouraged the pursuit of good and highly esteemed moral life as against the philosophical thoughts. In other words, they were concerned with the compulsory form of *Taṣawwuf* which was in keeping with the ideals of the Jihād. Thus they dealt with the definition of *Taṣawwuf* from ascetic or Zuḥd perception as redemptive and a means of purifying the soul which has been polluted by the destructive characteristics.

The Jihād leaders being aware of controversies surrounding the conception of *Taṣawwuf*, perceived *Taṣawwuf* from definitions which conform to Sharī‘ah. ‘Abdullāh bn Foduye for instance, viewed *Taṣawwuf* as:

> Stripping off from the soul what is not Allah's in order to allow the soul to direct its attention to Him who deserves its conduct.

Such act can only be possible when the soul is cleansed through the guidance of Allah and concentration in recollections. To their understanding therefore, *Taṣawwuf* connotes ‘Iḥsān’ as also used by ‘Abdullāh based on the Hadīth of the Prophet (SAW) which declares:

> ...Iḥsān is to adore Allah as if you see Him, for if you could not see Him, He nonetheless sees you.

Elaborating the meaning of the Hadīth, Shaykh ‘Uthmān observed that Iḥsān is nothing more than emulating the Prophet (SAW) in all facets of life whereby a Sūfī presumes that he is in front of Allah and that He sees him, which is in line with the answer given by the Prophet

---

1 This work is found in manuscript in the Center for Islamic Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto.
2 This work is found in Bayero University, Kano, Graduate Research Section, catalogued "Ms no. 510".
4 This Hadīth is reported in Sahīh al-Muslim as used by Shaykh 'Abdullāh bn Foduye, *Diyā' al-Siyāsāt*, edited by A. M. Kani, 1988, p. 187
Reflections on Taṣawwuf in the Sokoto Caliphate – Shehu, Ja’far

Thus, it is evident from this Hadīth that Taṣawwuf is one of many aspects of Islam which Angel Jibrīl explained to the Prophet (SAW) who in turn taught it to his Sahābah (Companions R.A).

It is therefore believed by the Jihād leaders that learning the aspect of Taṣawwuf which allows one to adopt good virtues and shun vices is compulsory like the remaining aspects of Islam.2

The attempt here is to portray all the Islamic sciences like Usūl al-Fiqh and Taṣawwuf as components of Islam having their root in the Qur’an and Sunnah. ‘Abdullāh argued that while Usūl deals with command and prohibitions and Fiqh deals with the application of outward regulations, Taṣawwuf deals with the Reality in the light of the Sharī’ah. Thus, one finds no contravention of regulations in the conduct of Taṣawwuf since a Sūfī employs the necessary means laid down by the Sharī’ah for his Sūfī activities.3 Hence, Shaykh ‘Uthmān opined that:

... the knowledge of Taṣawwuf is of two types. The knowledge which affords one to adopt the way of life of the Prophet (SAW); which is compulsory on any responsible man, and the knowledge of Taṣawwuf which affords the realization of the Truth which is specifically meant for the Sūfī saints.4

The Shaykh further explains that the first type involves keeping away from pride, arrogance, anger, envy, greed and high expectations. He considered these as destructive characteristics of the soul. It also involves adopting redemptive characteristics of the soul which include repentance, sincerity, piety, patience, asceticism, trust in Allah and hope for His mercy. To the Shaykh, the knowledge of these destructive and redemptive characteristics of the soul is obligatory on all Muslims. The second type of Taṣawwuf, the Shaykh expounded, deals with the principle of initiation, hierarchy of the saints and the knowledge of manifestation of the Divine Deeds, Names and the Truth. This type according to the Shaykh is reserved specifically for ardent Sufis.5

The Jihād leaders attached great importance to Zuhd (asceticism) because it has relation with Tajdid (reform) which seeks to purge the souls of evils, vices and lust for materialism. According to them, Zuhd

---

means renunciation of forbidden things, obscurity and excessive lust for lawful material enjoyment of this world.\(^1\) Through this the Jihād leaders divided the soul into three. The first one is the soul, in which the fear of Allah is engraved; such soul cannot be overcome by the devil. The second one is the soul that has been abandoned and neglected which is a prey to pleasure; such soul is prone to the influence of Shaytān. The third one is the soul that is between Imān (faith) and Shahwah (pleasure). In this situation Shaytān tries to influence the Rūh (spirit) while the Angel tries to influence the 'Aql (reasoning faculty). The struggle between the two goes on until one overcomes the other.\(^2\) Therefore the soul is important since it determines the relation with the Reality and as such a Sūfī should as much as possible polish it.

Shaykh ‘Uthmān gave four prescriptions as ways through which the soul could be polished against the whispers of Shaytān. According to him, a Sūfī should always seek refuge in Allah from the whispers of Shaytān and try to shun its temptations. The second prescription is engagement in the remembrance of Allah with both heart and tongue. In the third place he shall contemplate over the proofs of the existence of Allah from the view point of Ahl al-Sunnah which is free from the views of philosophers and Mu'tazilites. And finally, the Shaykh gave encouragement to consult Sunni scholars on matters pertaining to the purification of the soul.\(^3\)

The Jihād leaders advocated Al-ʿUzlah (isolation), Tawbah (repentance), Tawakkul (trust in Allah) and a host of other concepts with the intention of reforming their already corrupted society. The conception of al-ʿUzlah is keeping away from backbiting, listening to falsehood and evil things. However, allowance is made for a Sūfī to meet people when the environment or atmosphere guarantees non-occurrence of evil things and also he can meet people for his intellectual needs.\(^4\) Tawakkul, according to them, curtails excessive quest for material pleasure. However, a Sūfī must obtain his lawful share from the bounty of Allah within the provisions of Shari‘ah.\(^5\)

Repentance is also considered by them as an effective weapon with which sins are whipped away. They classified sins into three: abandoning obligatory duties imposed by Allah on His servants like Salāh (prayer) and Sawm (fasting), the sins committed by a servant

---

between him and Allah like taking interest and alcoholic drinks. In both situations a servant is required to show remorse, repent and promise not to repeat the sin. The third one is the most difficult. It is the sin between man and man. It involves things like wealth, dignity and religion. In this case reconciliation with the wronged is necessary but if it seems impossible, the matter should be left to the mercy of Allah who may stand surety for the servant on the Day of Judgment.¹

The last important aspect of their contribution to Taṣawwuf could be seen from their numerous works on the history of Taṣawwuf and particularly Qādiriyyah from its early period to their time. The three principal leaders of the Jihād had each written on the genealogy of Qādiriyyah and Taṣawwuf.² It is believed by them that Angel Jibrīl brought down Taṣawwuf to the Prophet (SAW), and the Prophet (SAW) administered it on his Sahābah in groups and on certain individuals. Khalīfah 'Alī bn Abī Tālib (RA) was singled out by the Prophet (SAW) for a special initiation.³ They also gave historical accounts of some important Sūfī personalities like the legendary Uwais al-Qarni⁴ and Shaykh ‘AbdulQādir al-Jaylānī.⁵

On Qādiriyyah, the leaders wrote extensively on the conditions governing the correct practices of the Order and then developed basic elements for its successful observance.⁶ It was later however, that the philosophical Taṣawwuf emerged, which sharply contrasted the moderate form professed by the Jihād leaders even though its root goes down to the teachings of the Jihadists.

**Philosophical Taṣawwuf in the Caliphate**

The transformation of Taṣawwuf from its moderate form developed by the Jihād leaders to philosophical Taṣawwuf took place gradually under the students of the Jihād leaders. Even though the leaders were aware of philosophical Taṣawwuf, they did not pursue it possibly because of situational conditions. They rather occupied themselves with the reformation of their society. Moderate and Zuhd elements of Taṣawwuf

² It is noticeable that Shaykh ‘Uthmān wrote Salāsil al-Qādiriyah, Salāsil al-Dhahabiyyah and Tabshīr al-Ummah al-Ahmadiyyah. ‘Abdullāh wrote Bayān al-Arkān wa Shurūr Tarīqah al-Sūfīyyah and Bello wrote Al-Budīr al-Zāhiriyah.
⁴ Ibid
⁷ M. Bello, Al-Budūr al-Zāhiriyah. Op Cit., ff, 7a and 7b.
were the likely tools capable of meeting that situational demand. Possibly, the time was not ripe for philosophical Taṣawwuf since the populace was handicapped by lack of sufficient knowledge of Sharīʿah and Tarīqah. It therefore became necessary for the Jihād leaders to adopt Zuḥd in their dealing with the populace. On the other hand, the conduct of the Jihād and the administration of the Caliphate did not give room for indulging in Philosophical Taṣawwuf. They however imparted it on their learned students.

Some elements of philosophical Taṣawwuf were perceptible when Muhammad Sambo was reported to have studied Insān al-Kāmil in a conventional way from his father, the Shaykh, He in turn taught it to his student, ‘AbdulQādir bn Mustafa, the proponent of philosophical Taṣawwuf. In addition, the writings of the Jihād leaders contain elements of the thought which might have found its way into the hands of their students who developed philosophical Taṣawwuf.

It has been mentioned that works on philosophical Taṣawwuf like Futuhat al-Makiyyah of Ibn Arabī and Insān al-Kāmil of al-Jilī which were assumed to be in circulation among the 'Ulama' may have been studied and digested by them. Similarly some works and activities of the Jihād leaders contain some elements of philosophical Taṣawwuf. For instance, in describing the Shaykh, Muhammad Bello remarks that:

...he possessed Karamat (charisma) Divine secrets, Holy knowledge and Divine illumination on the true nature of things... unseen was transmitted through him and wonders and charismatic deeds manifested through him.

Though the Shaykh did not openly indulge in Philosophical Taṣawwuf, his life activities represent that of a mystical Sūfī who attain Divine gnosis. This might explain why the Shaykh did not forbid his advanced-Sūfī students from pursuing philosophical Taṣawwuf. He allowed the learned Sufis to consult the works of divinely illuminated Sufis provided that they are versed in the Qur’an and Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad (SAW). He discouraged those who could not fathom the contents of such works from reading them because of their incapability

---

1 'AbdulQādir bn al-Mustafa, Al-Kshf wa al-Bayān lima Ashkala min Kitāb al-Insān, "Ms", Private collection of Bashir Ahmad, C.I.S., Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto - Nigeria, f. 1.
to understand the advanced Sūfī knowledge. Hence his conclusive remark that it is not allowed for such a Sūfī to read their works.¹

This may be the reason why only very few people were known in this field. However, ʿAbdulQādir bn al-Mustafa had listed the names of some of the students and associates of Shaykh ʿUthmān who were deep in Zuhd and graduated from there to speculative Taṣawwuf. One of them, Muhammad Kwairanga, was described as an expert in Divine illumination and who was constantly mentioned by the Shaykh. He was one of the Sayyāḥīn (saints constantly on Sūfī mission); one of such missions was said to have taken him to mount Qāf.² Aliyu Dambai was a contemporary of Kwairanga in the school. Al-Mustafa related a number of strange happenings as exactly foretold by Dambai. Aliyu Dambai was said to have visited Khidr and dined with him.³ These and other examples⁴ are clear pointers to the fact that philosophical Taṣawwuf was in the making during the period of the Jihād leaders. But it was not vigorously pursued and taught to the populace as was the case with the moderate Taṣawwuf.

Some of these stories like meeting Khidr and dinning with him are very difficult to understand by a layman. Khidr who had died several years before the 18th century could come back with a corporeal body to dine with someone is a story that remains incomprehensible to a layman. However, this is an aspect of the beginning of philosophical Taṣawwuf in the Caliphate.

The proponents of philosophical Taṣawwuf in the Caliphate could be many but the most notable among them include Muhammad Sambo, Muhammad al-Bukhari, Khalil bn ʿAbdullāh i and ʿAbdulQādir al-Mustafa. Al-Mustafa described Sambo, Al-Bukhāri and Khalīl as Ahl al-Shaʾn - meaning men of speculative or philosophical Taṣawwuf. This is their advanced Sūfī thought not the Zuhd type. Sambo for instance related that he had perceived the Reality through the light of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and was accorded intimacy, friendship and love.⁵ His efforts were rewarded by the Reality with supernatural powers. His student ʿAbdulQādir al-Mustafa observed that:

---

³ Ibid, f. 4b.
⁴ These examples are some of the elements of philosophical Taṣawwuf that compelled some scholars to attack Taṣawwuf. However, they should be understood from metaphorical sense as the products of ecstasy.
Surely Allah has endowed him with power of walking in the space and on water; and was given the ability to halt (while walking in the space and on water). And surely he had seen the white soft earth, a remainder from the clay of Adam.\textsuperscript{1}

Muhammad al-Bukhārī was known to possess the Knowledge of illumination, influenced by his mentor, Muhammad Sambo and had experienced \textit{Jadhb} (trance).\textsuperscript{2} He was reported to have seen and possibly converse with Khidr\textsuperscript{3} not only in his sleep but also while awake during trance. However, seeing and conversing with Khidr should not be considered literally. A Sūfī according to Sufis receives inspiration about hidden things while asleep and also in trance. Trance itself is like sleep and even more than sleep as far as unconsciousness is concerned. Therefore Muhammad al-Bukhārī might have seen Khidr while awake to the world but unconscious and transported to another world of Reality to use the Sūfī Terminology.

The philosophical Sufis in the Caliphate looked at the issue of creation from the context of speculative Sufism through the medium of prophetology. They viewed the creation of man from non-existence to his perfection in the light of the career of Prophets of Allah. They symbolized Prophet Adam (AS) with the circle of creation from non-existence into existence, since he was the first human being created by Allah (SWT) from whom the generations of human beings evolved. Prophet Nun's (AS) career was perceived as preservation of mankind from extinction and the security of existence bestowed upon humanity by the Reality.\textsuperscript{4} Prophet Ibrahim (AS) represents the distinguished position of friendship with the Reality by mankind, while Prophet Musa (AS) symbolizes the manifestation of the Reality through whom mankind is saved and given law for their welfare. The life career of Prophets Dawud and his son Sulaiman (AS) represents the gift and favour of the Reality on mankind. Similarly, the life of Prophet Isa (AS) and hrs mother Maryam (AS) signify chastity and Divine power of creation.

Finally the career of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) represents the power of the Reality, defeat of mankind by the Reality and the appearance

---

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Ibid}, f. 4b.
\textsuperscript{3} This is the servant of Allah whose story of an encounter with Prophet Musa (AS) is told in \textit{Surah al-Kahf} 0.18:60-82.
\textsuperscript{4} From the Sūfī perspective especially the philosophical \textit{Taṣawwuf}, nothing is real except Allah (SWT). So reference to Reality is a reference to Allah (SWT).
of the Truth for mankind.\textsuperscript{1} Through this process therefore man’s creation followed the use of reproductive system, the distinguished position of man's authority, revelation sent down to mankind, chastity given to mankind and establishment of one Reality for mankind.

The theory of Perfect Man as perceived by the philosophical Sufis regards man (as the vicegerent of Allah on earth), to possess the capability of controlling the universe when he attains Kamālah (perfection), not in its literal sense. He can control the high creations and communicate with Angels, in the same way he can control the lower creations and communicate with Jinns. He therefore trends in the shoes of Prophets, saints, Quṭb and the seven Abdāl (substitutes) who have been endowed with that power by the Reality.\textsuperscript{2} Al-Mustafa used Al-Jilī to illustrate this theory. Al-Jilī, the author of Insān al-Kāmil, was believed to have stepped into the shoes of Angel Israfiil and as a result of which he (al-Jilī) acts accordingly.\textsuperscript{3}

Al-Mustafa indicated that there is a vast difference in control of the universe by the Angels and the Kummal (perfect men). While the former's activities are not from their own initiative but from the command of the Reality, the letter's activities in the universe emanate from their perfection. Therefore, mankind is, in this respect much more favoured over the Angels by the Reality.\textsuperscript{4} According to the philosophical Sufis, even though some animals, Jinns and Angels are more powerful than mankind, still man by his perfection stands as the most favoured by the Reality.\textsuperscript{5}

According to Hiskett, the idea of perfect man as studied from al-Jili’s Insān al-Kāmil receives the attention it deserves from Shaykh ‘Uthmān who versified the idea in a poem on Prophet Muhammad (SAW). For example, the first couplets’ of the poem runs thus:

\textit{All created beings; Ahmad (Muhammad) excels them in truth;}  
\textit{Truly, you (Muhammad) have been singled out;}  
\textit{Among the excellent ones (Muhammad) has been chosen;}  
\textit{The most perfect of us all - Gods Messenger.}\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{1} AbdulQādir bn al-Mustafa, \textit{Maqāmāt al-Ambiyā‘}, "Ms", Private collection of Bashīr Ahmad, C.I.S., Sokoto, ff. Ib and 2a.  
\textsuperscript{2} M. J, AbulFath, Allāh wa al-'Alam wa al-Inṣān fī al-Fikr al-Islāmī, Dār al-Ma‘arif, Egypt, 1971, p. 204.  
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{Ibid}, ff. 4b & 5a.  
\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Ibid}  
‘AbdulQādir bn al-Mustafa's understanding of Al-Jili's book was so deep that he selected some chapters he felt were ambiguous for analysis and comments, in order to simplify the complicated discussion in the book for the benefit of seekers. This he did with the knowledge that the language of the Qawm (Sufis) can only be understood by them. From the foregoing discussions it will be intelligible that philosophical Taṣawwuf received the attention it deserved in the Caliphate even though it remains a controversial aspect of Taṣawwuf.

Conclusion
The paper reflected on the practice of Taṣawwuf in the Sokoto Caliphate. It shows that the principal Jihād leaders namely Shaykh ‘Uthmān bn Foduye, ‘Abdullāh bn Foduye and Muhammad Bello as well as some of their associates were ardent Sūfīs who practiced the moderate Taṣawwuf even though they taught some elements of philosophical Taṣawwuf to their very learned and advances students and associates. The main concern of these leaders was reformation of character and perfection of spiritual wellbeing. This led them to contribute immensely in the teaching and development of Taṣawwuf through literal works and Da'wah endeavors. The general expectation therefore is to practice Taṣawwuf in congruence with the teaching of Prophet Muḥammad SAW.

References
‘AbdulQādir bn al-Mustafa, Al-Kashf wa al-Bayān Iimā Ashkala min Kitāb al-Insān, "MS", Private collection of Bashīr Ahmad, C.I.S., Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto - Nigeria.


‘AbdulQādir bn al-Mustafa, Salawāt al-Ahzān, "Ms", C.I.S. 4/6/10, UDUS.


---

1 AbdulQadir bn Al-Mustafa, Al-Kashfwa al-Bayanfī ma Ashkala min Kitab al-Insan, C.I.S., UDUS, f.1
Reflections on Taṣawwuf in the Sokoto Caliphate – Shehu, Ja’far


Asif, A. F., "The Qadi Riyyah and its Impact in Nigeria".


Bello, M. Al-Budūr al-Zāhiryyah. "Ms", C.I.S., 2/1/10 UDUS.


Bello, M. Al-Budūr al-Yamānī, "Ms", C.I.S., 3/10/40, UDUS.


Foduye, A. B., (nd). Bayān al-Arkān, "Ms", C.I.S., 2/1/10, UDUS.


Foduye, U. B. Salāsil al-Dhahabiyyah li Sādāt al-Sūfīyyah, "MS", Centre for Islamic Studies (C.I.S.), Usmanu Danfodiyo University (UDU), Sokoto.


Gidādo, A. I., “Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyyah”, “MS”, C.I.S. UDUS. 4/3/38,


Hiskett, M. *The Development of Islam in West Africa.*


AL-ITQĀN
JOURNAL OF ISLAMIC SCIENCES AND COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Volume No. 2  Issue No. 2  December 2018

EDITOR IN-CHIEF
Dr. Wan Mohd Azam Mohd Amin

MANAGING EDITOR
Dr. Masitoh Ahmad

EDITORIAL BOARD
Dr. Muhammad Afifi al-Akiti, Oxford
Dr. Muhammad Kamal Hassan, IIUM
Dr. Syed Arabi Aidid, IIUM.
Dr. Hassan Basri Mat Dahan, Universiti Sains Islam Malaysia, Nilai, Negeri Sembilan.
Dr. Kamaruzaman Yusuff, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, Kota Semarahan, Kucing.
Dr. Kamar Oniah, IIUM.
Dr. Mumtaz Ali, IIUM.
Dr. Siti Akmar, Universiti Institut Teknologi MARA, Shah Alam
Dr. Thameem Ushama, IIUM.