

Understanding Of Sokoto *Jihād* Leaders On Some Major *Sūfi* Concepts And Their Impact On The Society

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Abstract

Like every other Islamic sciences, *Tasawwuf* has been distinguished with certain technical terminologies that are peculiar to its studies and practices. It is therefore inconceivable to discuss *Tasawwuf* and its doctrines without placing in proper perspective the concepts of *Wilāyah* and *Karāmah*. Along this line the Sokoto *Jihād* leaders also followed suit and these concepts were part of the many aspects of *Tasawwuf* they received to which they contributed to their development. This paper thus examines the belief and understanding of the Sokoto *Jihād* leaders about these concepts as evident in some of their literary contributions. A general review approach was adopted to provide a critical understanding of the terms and as understood by the *Jihād* leaders. This is also to enable a fair assessment of the impact of these concepts on the society. The paper concludes that it will be no exaggeration to say that Shaykh 'Uthmān bn Foduye and some of his associates as well as students and children were identified as *Awliyā'* whose *Wilāyah* was by the grace of Allah. This afforded them the performance of *Karāmāt* and, by their status in the *Jihād* process, impacted significantly on the life of his community which accounted for several successes they had been able to achieve.

Key Words: *Wilāyah*, *Karāmah*, Sokoto *Jihād*, *Sūfi* concepts.

Introduction

Tasawwuf refers to the means through which the soul finds tranquility 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, fulfilling of all promises and covenants from Allah and following the footsteps of Prophet Muhammad (SAW).³ *Tasawwuf*, according to this definition, is nothing more than checking the excesses of the carnal soul. Its aim is the Reality⁴ and its objective is serving humanity and the medium of achieving them is following the foot-steps of Prophet Muhammad (SAW).

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³ A.T. Iyad, *Al-Tasawwuf al-Islam*, Angilo al-Misriyyah, Cairo, 1970, p. 62.

⁴ This in the realm of *Tasawwuf* and in this context refers to Allah (SWT).

However, a common definition adopted from the prophetic tradition portraying *Tasawwuf* as *Ihsan* has now been accepted as the meaning of *Tasawwuf*. From whatever perspective that *Tasawwuf* is assessed, it is linked to consciousness of the Reality in mundane and spiritual activities which is the real meaning of *Ihsan* as explained by the Prophet (SAW) in his famous *Hadith*.⁵

The *Sufis* recognized *Wilāyah* and *Karāmah* as having their basis in Islam and they received favorable treatment from *Sūfī* writers from the early period. Specifically, one of the aspirations of a *Sūfī* is to attain, at least, the rank of *Wilāyah*.

Some contributions made by *Jihad* leaders are found in the area of *Wilāyah* (sainthood), *Karāmah* (charisma), *Shafā'ah* (intercession) and *Ighāthah* (succor). They displayed their wealth of experience which they acquired through association with *Sūfī* masters and study of different *Sūfī* works.⁶ However, this study will be limited to *Wilāyah* and *Karāmah* only.

To them *Wilāyah* does not mean piety and holiness, but it as well, means 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*, as perceived by the Jihadists, is a token of benevolence of Allah on His servants and could be bestowed by Allah (SWT) upon any chosen Muslim at any given time. However, it seems that they did not give much weight to practical aspect of *Karāmah*. In any case this paper concentrates on the understanding of Sokoto Jihad leaders on *Wilāyah* and *Karāmah* as well as their impact on the society.

2.0 Conceptual Purview

2.1 *Wilāyah* (Sainthood)

The concept of *Wilāyah* which developed in the early period of *Tasawwuf* was associated with *Ma'rifah*⁷ by some *Sūfīs* like Muhy al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabi. There is no significant distinction between an '*Arif billah* and *Walīyullāh* since according to Ibn al-'Arabi both concepts signified perfection of man in relation to the Reality. He therefore considered a perfect man to be both an '*Arif* and a *Walī*.⁸ A *Walī* is therefore an '*Arif* who possess mystical knowledge and sometimes *Karāmāt* as privileges from Allah (SWT). **Such knowledge affords him the power to unite with Him thereby annihilating his human characteristics and adopting the attributes of the Reality.**⁹ However, scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah maintained that a *Walī* is a believing and pious

⁵ Sayyid Hossein Nasr, *Ideals and Realities of Islam*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1975, p. 134. *Ihsan* is to adore Allah as thou didst see Him, and if thou don't see Him, He nonetheless sees thee. *Sahih Bukhari*, Book 6 :: Volume 60 :: *Hadith* 300.

⁶ Works of celebrated Sufis like al-Ghazali, al-Jili and Ibn al-Arabi were in circulation during the time.

⁷ This signifies Gnosis; knowledge of the 'Reality', referred to in *Sūfī* circle as the knowledge of Allah.

⁸ A. E. Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibnul Arabi*, S. H. Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1979, P. 93.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 94.

Muslim who abides by the commands and prohibitions of Allah (SWT) that is; strict adherence to *Shari'ah*.¹⁰

The term *Wilāyah* has been used in both Qur'an and *Hadith* in which the *Sūfī* construed it to mean a class of people who loved and are being loved by Allah (SWT). For instance, Allah says in the Glorious Qur'an:

God is the Protector of those who have faith; from the depths of darkness He will lead them forth into light.¹¹

The *Sūfīs* asserted that the name was originally for Allah since it is one of His attributes. Therefore, when it is used in respect of His servants it denotes Muslims, who have faith in Allah and strictly follow His guidance as a result of which they realize their essential oneness with Him.¹²

In another verse, the term *Awliyā'* has been referred to as the friend of Allah.¹³ Even though the verse is general in its assertion, the *Sūfīs* found in it a reference to *Karāmāt* which are believed to be the reciprocal gesture of Allah (SWT) to His friends, *Awliyā'*.

The genesis of those terms *Wilāyah* and *Awliyā'* could be traced to both *al-Hadith al-Qudsi* (Holy *Hadith*) and *al-Hadith al-Nabawi* (prophetic *Hadith*). Allah (SWT) describes *Awliyā'* as His saints, but Known to Him alone¹⁴. However, Allah in an unequivocal term referred to *Awliyā'* of *Tasawwuf* in another *Hadith al-Qudsi* which the *Sūfīs* often quote to back-up the concept of *Wilāyah* thus:

Whoever shows enmity to my saints I declare on him my hostility.¹⁵

In this *Hadith* also, the readiness of Allah to protect and help His *Awliyā'* is evident. Perhaps, this is the basis for *Sūfīs'* believe that a *Walī* is always in the protection of Allah. Meanwhile, enmity against them could be avenged by Allah either in this world or postponed to the Day of Judgment.

While calling upon his followers to associate themselves with *Awliyā'*, Bello referred to a *Hadith* of the Prophet (SAW) to prove the importance attached to *Awliyā'* by the Prophet (SAW).¹⁶ This *Hadith* is believed to refer to *Awliyā'*, who are the friends of Muslims since they

¹⁰ A. I. Qasim, *Fatawa ibn Taymiyyah*, p.62

¹¹ A. Y. Ali, *The Holy Qur'an, Text, Translation and Commentary*, the Islamic Foundation, London, 1975, Q 2:257

¹² M. I. 'Arabi, *Fusus al-Hikmah*, edited by Abul-Ala Affifi, Cairo, 1946, p. 51.

¹³ Qur'an 10:62

¹⁴ Annemarie Schemmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, p. 203

¹⁵ M. Bukhari, (nd). *Sahih al-Bukhari*, transl. by Muhammad, M. K. Lebanon: Dar al-Arab Publishers. The same *Hadith* has been quoted by the *Jihad* leaders in support of the recognition accorded the *Sufis* by the Prophetic traditions.

¹⁶ *Musnad Imam Ahmad bn Hambal*, no. 785, also quoted by Y. A. Qadiri, "A critical edition and translation of Muhammad Bello's *Raf' al-Ishtibah fi al-Ta'alluq bi Allah wa bi Ahl Allah*", upp. M. A. Dissertation, University of Ibadan, 1978, p. 114

are the friends of Allah. Similar *Ahadith* have also been used by the *Sūfis* to justify the concept of *Wilāyah* in *Tasawwuf*.¹⁷

Ibn Taimiyyah observed that the *Walī* of Allah (is he who) draws near Him through conforming with and accepting what Allah loves. The *Walī* also approaches Allah with what He commands.¹⁸ According to this definition, *Wilāyah* does not only mean holiness or piety, rather it shows the determination of not only a *Sūfī* but also a believer in accomplishing the commands and prohibitions of Allah. He argues further that holiness and piety should be major qualities of a man designated as *Walī*. It is as well necessary to see in him strict adherence to *Sharī'ah*. This may be the reason behind disagreement between the *Sūfī* Shaykhs and those who considered themselves as orthodox Muslims on the definition of a *Walī*. However, the difference could be that the orthodox Muslims consider the *Walī* to be a believing and pious Muslim who abides by the commands and prohibitions of Allah while the *Sūfis* see him as just a special friend of Allah in whom he finds solace by living in Him.

A pantheistic approach of the *Sūfis* indicates that a *Walī* is a Gnostic who attains the knowledge of the Reality. In other words, *Wilāyah* is here made synonymous with *Ma'rifah* in the sense that it is only the knowledge of Allah attained by a *Sūfī* that could make him a *Walī*.

Similar conception was upheld by Jurjan who describes a *Walī* as he who possesses mystical knowledge. Such a *Walī* has the power to bind and unbind as part of his *Karāmah* resulting from his *Ma'rifah*.¹⁹ However, scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah refuted the concept of *Karāmāt* as exclusive power of the *Walī*. According to him *Karāmāt* are not bestowed only on a *Walī* but also on *aduwwullah* (foe of Allah) like pagans, people of the book and unbelievers generally. Here, Ibn Taymiyyah seems to equate magic with *Karāmāt*. While *Mu'jizat* of Prophets and *Karāmāt* of *Awliyā'* came from the same source (Allah), magic is normally linked to associates of Shaytān who in most cases are pagans and unbelievers.

2.2 *Karāmah* (charisma)

Karāmah is inevitably discussed when dealing with *Wilāyah*. *Karāmāt*²⁰ which, in the early days of Islam, is referred to as *Āyāt* were synonymous with *Mu'jizāt*. However later generations have made distinction between the two terms. They ascribed *Mu'jizāt* (miracles) to Prophets and *Karāmāt* (charisma) to *Awliyā'*. But both terms have common characteristic which is defying the natural custom of events.²¹ The major difference between them is that the Prophets in addition to their followers, believed that *Mu'jizāt* are from Allah, and believing in them by both the Prophets and their followers is obligatory. On the other hand, *Karāmāt* should necessarily emanate from

¹⁷ Y. A. Qadiri, *ibid*, p.115.

¹⁸ A. R. Ibn Qasim, *Fatawi Ibn Taymiyyah*, *op cit*, p.62.

¹⁹ H. A.R. Gibb & Co., *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, *Op cit.*, p.629.

²⁰ Plural of *Karāmah*

²¹ A. R. Ibn Qasim, *Fatawi Ibn Taymiyyah*, *op cit*, Pp. 311-312.

Allah as magic comes from Shaytān, for the latter at times takes the form of the former in a Muslim. Therefore it is not obligatory upon a Muslim to believe in *Karāmāt* until they are found to be within the precinct of *Sharī'ah*.²²

In the early period of *Tasawwuf* certain *Sūfī* Personalities performed what was considered as *Karāmāt*. A comprehensive survey was compiled by Aṭṭar in his famous book *Tadhkirah al-Awliyā'*. Such stories about *Karāmāt* of *Awliyā'* include those of Hasan al-Basrī, Rabi'ah al-Adawiyah, Ibrāhim bn Adhama, Malik bn Dīnār and Habīb al-'Ajmi. Hasan al-Basrī for example was said to have converted a Jew to Islam by thrusting his hands into burning fire without being burnt.²³ As for Malik bn Dīnār, he was reported to have been rescued by a fish from being thrown overboard in a ship when it held two golden coins in its mouth for him to pay its fare.²⁴

Another *Karāmah* attributed to *Awliyā'* generally is the belief that they are servants of Allah through whom He sends down His blessings to the universe. Through them it rains from its sky, and plants spring up in the places touched by their feet, and victories are won by Muslims at battle fields through their help.²⁵ In addition *Awliyā'* are believed to be governors of the universe, whose daily routine is that:

Every night the *Awtād* must go round the whole universe, and if there is a place on which their eyes have not fallen, next day some imperfection will appear in that place, and they must inform the *Qutb* in order that he may fix his attention on the weak spot and that by his blessing the imperfection may be removed.²⁶

With the penetration of *Tasawwuf* into Africa, the concepts of *Wilāyah* and *Karāmah* permeated the circle of the *Sūfīs*. For instance, the North African *Sūfīs* developed the concept of *Wilāyah* and turned the tombs of great *Awliyā'* in towns and cities into visiting places. The most important and most revered ones are the tombs of Sidi Abu Madyan in Algeria and that of Al-'Arabi al-Darqawī, the founder of Darqawīyyay *Sūfī* Order in Fas²⁷ just to mention a few.

3.0 *Awliyā'* in the Sokoto Caliphate

There is no doubt that the leaders of 19th century *Jihad* in Hausaland were revivalists. They were determined to revive Islam and stamp out innovations. In line with this, they sought to revive Islam in general and *Tasawwuf* in particular. Regarding *Tasawwuf*, they dealt with the concept of *Wilāyah*, *Karāmah*, *Shafā'ah* and *Ighāthah* in such a way that these concepts became admirable elements of *Tasawwuf* in their time. Their views on them are in line with what obtained, more especially in Qadiriyyah in particular and *Tasawwuf* in general. In their definition of *Wilāyah* and

²² Ibid, p. 65.

²³ A. J. Arberry, (trns.), *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, Op cit, p.24.

²⁴ Ibid, Pp. 26-27

²⁵ Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Op cit., p.203.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 203.

²⁷ H. A. R Gibb & co. *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, Op cit, p.630.

Walī, they confined themselves to the precinct of definitions provided by early *Sufī* Shaykhs. They defined a *Walī* as an '*Arif bi Allah* (the man who possesses mystical knowledge of Allah) in relation to perseverance in obedience to Allah, observing His commands and abstaining from prohibitions and the acts of engrossing in sensual delight and carnal appetite.²⁸

Even though *Ma'rifah* featured in the definition, the concluding aspect of the definition does not portray them as pantheists. For they replaced in the definition of *Ma'rifah*, the annihilation of human characteristics and adopting Divine attributes, with the obedience to command and abstinence from prohibitions of Allah. This is reflected in the definition 'Abdulqādir b. Gidādo gave of *Wilāyah*, which he defined:

as light that Allāh casts in the mind of a believing servant as a result of which he finds pleasure in the worship of Allah at all times.²⁹

It is understandable that the perseverance of a *Walī* so described is not limited to only the observance of the obligatory duties, it also includes supererogatory deeds. Thus the servant abstains from indulging in pleasures and lusts thereby shunning both the major and minor sins.³⁰

The *Jihād* leaders might have the *Wilāyah al-Āmmah* (general Sainthood) in mind while defining *Wilāyah* and *Walī*. This provides the ground to assume that *Shaykh* 'Uthmān, for that purpose, took the pains to disabuse the mind of his followers who attribute certain *Karāmāt* to him. The Jihadists classified *Awliyā'* among categories of specialized scholars who could commit mistakes even though they are protected by Allah. They further explained that the difference between a Prophet and a *Walī* is that the former is infallible while the latter is only protected by Allah. However, protection from Allah does not preclude committing mistake.³¹

Therefore, it is part of pre-requisites for *Wilāyah* that a believing servant should persevere in the worship of Allah (SWT). A *Walī* never thinks that his attainment of *Wilāyah* could waive the obligatory duties placed on him by Allah (SWT). Such a notion is described by *Shaykh* 'Uthmān as a forbidden innovation.³² Since *Wilāyah* in part is attainable through piety and virtuous deeds, it then follows that a servant should, after attaining *Wilāyah*, continue to observe his spiritual exercises. 'Abdullāh has, in his *Ḍiya' al-Qawā'id*, provided the procedural ways of acquiring *Wilāyah*. He argues that a novice should observe his spiritual activities meticulously. He should also repent and seek Allah's forgiveness whenever he commits a sin.

These procedural ways of attaining *Wilāyah* indicate that total observance of *Shari'ah* and *Tarīqah* is indispensable. They stress the knowledge and practice of *Shari'ah* by a believer. Such a believer is then rewarded by Allah with the light of *Wilāyah* and protection which encompass his associates. This is in line with a prophetic tradition quoted by Muhammad Bello in

²⁸ A. I. Foduye, *Shukr al-Ihsān fī Minan al-Mannān*

²⁹ *Al-Lawani' al-Nuraniyyah*, ff. 10a and 11a.

³⁰ *Ibid*

³¹ U. B. Foduye, *Ta'dhir al-Ikhwan min Iddi'ai' al-Mahdiyyah*, Op cit., ff. 9a and b.

³² U. B. Foduye, *Ihyā' al-Sunnah wa Ikhlāḍ al-Bid'ah*, Op cit, p.235.

which the Prophet (SAW) explained that the presence of such people of Allah in a village protects its inhabitants from the wrath of Allah.³³

The *Jihād* leaders did not only provide the prerequisites for *Wilāyah*, but also enumerated the characteristics of the *Awliyā'* which distinguish them from ordinary believers. In his *Tariq al-Jannah*, *Shaykh* 'Uthmān enumerated five characteristics with which a *Walī* could be distinguished. He also provided the characteristic of *Ghāfil* (an inattentive person) and *Munāfiq* (hypocrite) which markedly opposed the characteristics of *Awliyā'*. According to him:

...the characteristics of people of Allah are five. (They are) quietness, remembrance (of Allah), thankfulness (on the bounty of Allah), abstinence (from worldly enjoyment) and increase in good deeds.³⁴

The opposite of these characteristics which are five also in respect of *Ghāfil* are inattentiveness, forgetfulness, laughter, taking pleasure in rest and slumber. The remaining five in the case of *Munāfiq* are love of pleasure, hatred of devotion, oath-breaking, cunning and hypocrisy.³⁵

From these characteristics elucidated by the *Shaykh*, it is clear that the five characteristics of the people of Allah could help in identifying the genuine *Awliyā'* as against imposters more especially in the contemporary Nigeria, where materialism and love of ease have been indiscriminately accepted as ways of life. They can also disabuse the minds of those who expect super natural deeds from a *Sūfī* before his *Wilāyah* is accepted as opined by the *Shaykh*.³⁶

3. *Wilāyah* and *Karāmāt* in the Caliphate

Undoubtedly, the *Jihād* leaders were conversant with the ramifications of *Wilāyah*. This could result from their contact with various works on this aspect of *Tasawwuf*. It is evident from their works that they had read widely about eminent *Awliyā'* and their activities in both early and later periods of Islam. Some of these personalities whose names occur in the writings of the Jihadists include Hasan al-Basrī (d. 728), Junayd al-Baghdād (d. 910), *Imam* Muhammad Abu Hamid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), *Shaykh* 'Abdulqādir al-Jaylani (d. 1166), Ahmad al-Rifa'i (d. 1178), Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 1140) and recently *Shaykh* Ahmad al-Tijānī (d. 1815). Their knowledge of *Tasawwuf* and practical involvement in it may be enough ground to assert that whoever the Jihadists described as a *Sūfī* or *Walī* should have merited the rank.

4.1 *Shaykh* 'Uthman bn Foduye

³³ Y. A. Qadri, "A critical edition and translation of Muhammad Bello's *Raf' al Ishtibahah fi ta'alluq bi Allah wa bi ahl Allah*", Op cit., p.115.

³⁴ U. B. Foduye, *Tariq al-Jannah*, Op cit., f.7b.

³⁵ *Ibid*, f. 7b.

³⁶ U. B. Foduye, *Hisn al-Afhām*, n.p., n.d., p.71.

Shaykh ‘Uthmān bn Foduye occupied an exalted position in *Wilāyah* as well as *Karāmah* whenever anything on *Tasawwuf* in the Caliphate is to be discussed. His early life portrayed him as a prospective *Walī* of high degree. He occupied himself in learning and later in teaching and preaching when he attained the age of twenty.³⁷ His reform initiative marked him as a pious man, and his attack on the misdeeds of the venal scholars and corrupt rulers of Hausaland showed his concern for proper rule according to the dictates of Islam. But his refusal to accept the gift of Bawa Jan Gwarzo at Magamī is a credit that characterizes his ascetic life. Gidādo b. Laima has recorded a lot of such characteristics in his *Raud al-Jinān*.³⁸

Earlier, *Shaykh* Waldidah, a Bornu scholar and *Walī*, had foretold the emergence of *Shaykh* ‘Uthmān as a *Walī*. Likewise, ‘Ummu Hani foretold the advent of a *Walī* of Allah who was later identified as the *Shaykh*.³⁹ From this information, it will be no exaggeration to conclude that *Shaykh* ‘Uthmān was among the first category of *Awliyā*’ whose *Wilāyah* was by Grace of Allah. Muhammad Bello, in his *Infāq al-Maysūr*, dedicated a chapter to eulogize his father in which he enumerated his saintly virtues. Among such virtues were his strong determination and love of constant devotion, trustworthiness and leadership in scholarship and teaching. He was unrivaled in the characteristics of *Wilāyah*. He was so humble that he considered himself as inferior to insects. He was also described as the *Qutb* of his time.⁴⁰ According to Muhammad Bello:

(Allah) bestowed upon him perfection in *Wilāyah* and ability to overcome natural custom. (Also) Allah bestowed upon him the knowledge of the unseen and manifested through him wondrous things and *Karāmāt*...⁴¹

Of all the *Awliyā*’ in the Sokoto Caliphate, *Shaykh* ‘Uthmān b. Foduye is the only *Walī* whose *Karāmāt* had spread widely in the Caliphate. Almost all those who wrote on his personality ascribed one form of *Karāmah* or another to him. The *Karāmāt* ascribed to him were so numerous that his virtues were confused with his *Karāmāt*. Indeed, the *Shaykh* had refuted the performance of *Karāmāt* attributed to him like covering a distance in a short time, walking on water and flying in the air and power to manipulate the jinns to his advantage and use.⁴² According to him, all these are forbidden innovations.⁴³ However, his criticism was more on those who claim *Karāmāt* without attaining the status.

The most common identified characteristics of *Awliyā*’ are found with the *Shaykh*. Nonetheless, some of the *Awliyā*’ who knew themselves always, out of piety and humility, refused to be identified as such. *Shaykh* ‘Uthmān along this line may have denied the *Karāmāt* ascribed to

³⁷ M. Bello, *Infāq al-Maysur*, *Op Cit.*, p. 30.

³⁸ The work has been locally printed and is available in the Centre for Islamic Studies, UDUS, Sokoto.

³⁹ M. Bello, *Infāq al-Maysur*, *Op Cit.*, Pp. 11-12.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, Pp. 40-41

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 41.

⁴² U. B. Foduye, *Tahdhir al-Ikhwan*, *Op Cit.*, ff. 14b-15a.

⁴³ U. B. Foduye, *Ihya’ al-Sunnah wa Ikmal al-Bid’ah*, *Op Cit.*, p. 234.

him. Possibly, out of humility and perhaps due to resultant effect of the praises associated with *Karāmāt* he did not see anything special in them. It cannot be ruled out that his own perception of *Karāmāt* was the strict and practical observance of the *Sharī'ah*. Moreover, the Shaykh's goal at the initial stage of his *Jihad* was revival of the Islamic spirit, then the establishment of an Islamic State which was successfully achieved. It is not out of place therefore to assume that he felt that the sentiment of people in respect of *Karāmāt* overshadowed their desire to see a proper Islamic State functioning, which he felt, may lead the people astray. This may be responsible for his criticism against the *Karāmāt* in order to reduce the importance attached to them.

In the light of above, it is reasonable to assert that the *Shaykh* had refuted the *Karāmāt* attributed to him for certain purposes, and may have really performed them as found in the written sources available to researchers. For the avoidance of doubt, some of his *Karāmāt* as reported by eye-witnesses of his daily activities could here be cited.

Muhammad Bello observed that:

...and the *Shaykh* had *Karāmāt* which could neither be counted nor could be written except in a separate treatise...⁴⁴

Since Bello could not relate those *Karāmāt* in *Infāq al-Maysūr*, he promised to compile a separate work to treat them. But then there has not been a report on an independent work on *Karāmāt* of the *Shaykh* from Bello. So, it can be assumed that he was not chanced to fulfill his promise. There is, however, such a compilation by Bello's vizier, Gidādo b. Laima who may have compiled it with the consent of Bello. The work entitled *Raudh al-Jinān fī Dhikr ba'd Manāqib Shaykh 'Uthmān* examines the *Karāmāt* performed by the *Shaykh*.

Gidādo b. Laima maintained that the *Karāmāt* of *Shaykh 'Uthmān* started at a young age. He related an episode in which the *Shaykh* was sent by his father, who was in Degel, to Marnona to fetch a book for him.⁴⁵ The father was then going to the Mosque to observe *Zuhr* prayer when he sent the young 'Uthmān. Upon the father's return from the mosque, he found *Shaykh 'Uthmān* at home with the book. When asked by the father whether he had sent jinns to fetch the book for him, the *Shaykh* replied that he tracked. When *Shaykh 'Uthmān's* mother was asked at Marnona, she confirmed that the *Shaykh* had actually gone to Marnona while she was performing ablution, in preparation for *Zuhr* prayers.⁴⁶ This act at a very young age, may serve as a pointer to *karāmah* of a *Walī* who was bestowed with *Wilāyah* as Grace from Allah.

It was reported by the *Shaykh* himself that Jinns used to appear to him when he was a boy and continued to do so even when he was old. He however cautioned that they did that out of their own wish and he had no power of bringing them into focus or manipulating them.⁴⁷ Based

⁴⁴ M. Bello, *Infāq al-Maysur*, Op Cit., p. 187.

⁴⁵ Marnona is perhaps a long distance from Degel which could not be expected to have been covered within a short period of time.

⁴⁶ M. Bello, *Infāq al-Maysur*, Op Cit., p. 187.

⁴⁷ U. B. Foduye, *Tahdhir al-Ikhwan*, Op Cit., ff. 15a and b.

on the voluntary appearance of the Jinns, Gidādo b. Lema and others asserted that the *Shaykh* manipulated the Jinns to his advantage, whereas the *Shaykh* made it clear that they appeared to him out of their own desire and that he had no control over them. This suggests that, since he had no control over their appearance to him and could not as well manipulate them, the *Shaykh* had every reason to refute the *Karāmah* ascribed to him.

There are however, two important instances relevant to this discussion. The first one was reported by Gidādo in which he claimed that some people requested the *Shaykh* to show them the Jinns. He took them to a mountain called Kwankwanbilo at sunset where he showed the Jinns in their true colour. The people were gripped with fear and they returned home perplexed.⁴⁸ The second occasion was in connection with the fall of Alkalāwa, the Gobir capital city. Bello said that when the city was captured and Yunfa, the king of Gobir killed, he dispatched a messenger to the *Shaykh* to inform him of the victory of the jihadists. Before the arrival of the messenger, the *Shaykh* had got information about the success from the Jinns.⁴⁹ These ideas are reports of eyewitnesses about the *Karāmāt* of the *Shaykh*.

Shaykh ‘Uthmān is said to have possessed supernatural power to “unmake” or “loose” natural occurrences like his mentor *Shaykh* ‘Abdulqādir al-Jaylāni. It was reported that *Shaykh* al-Jaylāni had once stopped a cloud from raining while he was preaching in order to retain his audience who might disperse when rain started.⁵⁰ An identical *Karāmah* was attributed to *Shaykh* ‘Uthmān by Gidāda b. Lema. He asserted that *Shaykh* ‘Uthmān had one day gone out to preach to people at night when he saw a cloud gathering up. The *Shaykh*:

...said to the cloud, do you want to prevent me from preaching?⁵¹

When the *Shaykh* uttered this statement, the cloud dissolved and it was raining at both sides of the *Shaykh*’s venue of preaching.⁵² Thus the *Shaykh* completed his preaching without any disturbance and without any drop of rain at the venue. This *Karāmah* may be assumed to have taken place since there has been precedence in the past in respect of *Shaykh* ‘Abdulqādir al-Jaylānī, a *Sūfī* saint like *Shaykh* ‘Uthmān.

Some of the *Karāmat* reported about the *Shaykh* illustrate consequences inherent in defying the orders of *Awliyā*. For example, when Bawa consented to the *Shaykh*’s request to call people in Gobir territory to the true religion of Islam in lieu of Bawa’s offer, the king requested the *Shaykh* to pray for his success in his battle against Maradi. The *Shaykh* prayed for the success of king Bawa but quickly remarked that the king should not proceed beyond Maradi. However, when king Bawa captured, he jokingly exclaimed:

⁴⁸ G. B. Lema, *Raudh al Jinān*, *Op cit*, p. 3.

⁴⁹ M. Bello, M. Bello, *Infāq al-Maysūr*, *Op Cit.*, p. 116.

⁵⁰ M. Bello, *Fath al-Bāb fī Dhikr ba’d Khasā’is Shaykh ‘Abdulqādir*, *Op cit.*, pp. ff.6a and b.

⁵¹ G. B. Lema, *Raudh al Jinān*, *Op cit*, p. 3.

⁵² *Ibid*, pp.26-27.

This is the work (*Karāmah*) of *Shaykh*, let us see the work (prowess) of our spears.⁵³

Due to his deviant attitude to the orders of a *Walī*, the king's army was routed and the king, later, died as a result of injuries he sustained in the encounter at Dankeshe.⁵⁴

These and several other accounts may indicate the authenticity of the *Karāmah* even though it may, to an ordinary man, appear very impossible. They equally portrayed *Shaykh* 'Uthmān as a *Walī* capable of performing *Karāmāt*. That could account for much reverence showed the *Shaykh* even though dead. His name was invoked by people who found themselves in perilous situation. Although the *Jama'atu Izalatil Bid'ah wa Iqamatis Sunnah* has been condemning such reverence accorded *Awliyā* and likened it to *Shirk* (polytheism), some Muslims invoke his name for assistance⁵⁵ for as little tribulation as stumbling. The *Shaykh*'s tomb attracts Muslims from the Northern parts of Nigeria. It is even considered by some Muslims as a prelude to *Hajj* (pilgrimage to Makkah). Therefore intending pilgrims must visit the tomb and some tomb of his children and associates before going to the Holy land.⁵⁶

3.2 'Abdullāh bn Foduye

Shaykh 'Abdullah bn Foduye is also a noted *Walī* of high repute produced by the Sokoto Caliphate. He was the younger brother of *Shaykh* 'Uthmān and his right hand man in the execution of the *Jihād*. 'Abdullāh had written quite extensively in the area of *Tasawwuf*. One of such areas is his exposition of what constitute *Karāmah*. He maintained that the befitting *Karāmah* of a *Walī* is strict adherence to the Qur'an and *Sunnah* of the Prophet (SAW) and the path of the forbearers of this 'Ummah.⁵⁷ By this exposition, 'Abdullah might be referring to his own experience since he was known to have strictly adhered to the Qur'an, *Sunnah* of the Prophet and the path of forbearers. Like his brother, Abdullah did not claim *Karāmāh* because a *Walī*:

...does not claim it (and when it occurs) he does not declare it (because) it could be a deception and stratagem.⁵⁸

He also believed that a *Walī* is free to discuss his *Karāmah* with people of his position and even those who are not *Awliyā* if he thinks that he can win their heart to obedience of Allāh. But if he could not, he should refrain from it.⁵⁹

This could possibly be the reason why his *Karāmāt* were not reported. There were however variety of *Karāmāt* discussed by 'Abdullāh which could be attributed to only a *Walī*. Part of these *Karāmāt* include response to supplication of a *Walī*, appearance of food and water to a

⁵³ *Ibid*, pp. 36-37

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 36-37

⁵⁵ This is called *Igatha* which will, hopefully, be part of subsequent publications.

⁵⁶ The places of visit include Sokoto, Wurno and Gwandu.

⁵⁷ A. B. Foduye, *Maṭīyyah al-Zād ilā al-Ma'ād*, n.p., n.d., p. 32

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 32.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 4.

Walī in times of hunger and thirst as well as covering of a long distance in a short time. Others include deliverance from enemy and collecting a message from an invisible caller.⁶⁰ At least some of these *Karāmāt* are known to have manifested in the life of *Shaykh* ‘Abdullāh.

Sometimes, in the course of his preaching tours in Zamfara, *Shaykh* ‘Uthmān was invited by king Bawa to his court. There were in the company of *Shaykh* ‘Uthmān, ‘Abdullāh and ‘Umar al-Kammu. The king’s intention was to assassinate them. He therefore threw naphtha to burn them. They were however, miraculously rescued and the naphtha back-fired.⁶¹ This *Karāmah* was originally attributed to the *Shaykh*, of course, the two companions could not be denied of that *Karāmah*. The second episode shows ‘Abdullāh deserting the camp of the *Jama’ah*⁶² when he felt that the *Jihad* was becoming rowdy. He travelled east ward, accompanied by five of his close companions. He narrates:

...we spent three nights and could not see any body and not even the track of someone except the track of many elephants in that jungle, until Allah made us reach human habitation.⁶³

He had made the journey in the jungle that an ordinary man could not have dreamt of coming near let alone passing through it. This could be *Karāmah* bestowed upon him.⁶⁴

‘Abdullāh recollected, in his *Matīyyah al-Zād*,⁶⁵ certain *Karāmāt* of some chosen people of Allāh through ages. ‘Abdullāh has done this in order to demonstrate his reverence for *Awliyā*’ and that *Karāmāt* cut across religion and time. He enumerated *Karāmāt* like the provision of the physical and spiritual sustenance to Maryam, the mother of Prophet Isa (AS) in somewhat isolated temple.⁶⁶ The case of the People of the Cave was cited. The people, he said, slept for a long period and were awakened by Allāh. In the course of their stay in the cave, the Divine power kept turning them over to right and left, and were Divinely sustained throughout the duration of their sleep.⁶⁷ The miraculous event in the palace of Prophet Sulayman (A.S.) becomes another example of *Karāmāt*. He narrated the wonderful way in which the throne of Bilqis, the Queen of Sheba was transported from Saba’ (Sheba) to the court of Prophet Sulayman in the twinkling of an eye, by an adept scholar, who it was said possessed *Ism’Al-llah al-A’zam*.⁶⁸ ‘Abdullāh considered these *Karāmāt* as famous ones worthy of being contemplated upon.

In addition to these famous *Karāmāt* of the past, ‘Abdullāh observes in the work that there are other categories of *Karāmāt* which were performed in the past and could also be

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 32-33.

⁶¹ A. B. Foduye, *Tazvīn al-Warakāt*, *Op Cit.*, p. 29.

⁶² This is a term referring to the community of *Shaykh* ‘Uthman and indeed, his followers.

⁶³ A. B. Foduye, *Tazvīn al-Warakāt*, *Op Cit.*, p. 45.

⁶⁴ The point here is that the journey was made simple for him, and the harmful wild animals were tamed from harming him and his companions.

⁶⁵ A. I. Foduye, *Matīyyah al-Zad*, *Op Cit*, p. 33.

⁶⁶ Q3:37

⁶⁷ Q18:9-26

⁶⁸ Q27:22-40

performed in the present time by a *Walī*. Some *Karāmāt* like walking on water by a *Walī* as if he is walking on the ground⁶⁹ or in the sky like a bird⁷⁰ and the provision of food and water to a hungry and thirsty man respectively could still be performed nowadays.⁷¹ Other *Karāmāt* include response to supplication, Divine help in times of need, communication with inanimate and disappearance from sight by a *Walī* when recognized by people.⁷²

4.3 Sultān Muhammad Bello bn ‘Uthmān bn Foduye

Muhammad Bello is another outstanding *Walī* of the Sokoto Caliphate. His career in *Tasawwuf* started when he was young under the care of his father the *Shaykh*, and his uncle ‘Abdullāh. According to Wazīr Junayd, Muhammad Bello was influenced by the Divine light (of *Wilāyah*) in the *Shaykh*. He was also covered by the grace and blessing of the *Shaykh*. He, as a result of these favours, became familiar with Divine secrets and intricate issues of life resulting from the Divine felicity he acquired and *Sufī* upbringing.⁷³ Bello was also gifted with understanding of the Qur'an and *Sunnah* of the Prophet (SAW) which is one of the characteristics of *Awliyā’*. According to Bello:

Surely the most High has opened my sense of understanding of His noble Book and bestowed upon me the ability to comprehend and become familiar with its meaning. He had also made me to comprehend the extraneous and substance of its meaning⁷⁴

Wazīr Junayd in his book ‘*Urf al-Rihan* reported that Bello was said to have attained the status of *Gawth* and had risen to the highest rank attained in *Tasawwuf*. This status was further said to have afforded him to perform *Karāmāt* which earned him the nick name "the sign of Allah in His universe".⁷⁵ Performance of *Karāmāt* by Bello could not out rightly be disputed since some of them were reported. But the attainment of *Gawth* status by Bello seems to be an exaggerated praise by those very close to him, because in all the available sources, it seems only this source had reported it.

Bello was reported to have performed a number of *Karāmāt*. ‘AbdulQādir b. Gidādo had related three of such *Karāmāt*, out of which, Bello's search for *Ism'Al-llah al-A'zam* is first on the list. He was said to have spent seven years in search of the Greatest Name which he realized

⁶⁹ Such *Karāmāt* appeared with Malik Ibn Dinar an early *Sufī* and is also ascribed to Muhammad Sambo of the Sokoto Caliphate

⁷⁰ Both *Shaykh* ‘Uthman and his son Muhammad Sambo were said to have possessed this *Karāmah*

⁷¹ Umar al-Futl was alleged to have offered to provide water through miraculous means to thirsty striking army of Muhammad Bello in a desert on the condition that Bello accepts Tijaniyyah

⁷² Abdullahi bn Foduye, *Matiyyah al-Zad ila al-ma'ad*, op. cit., p. 33.

⁷³ Wazir Junayd, *Urf al-Rihan*, op. cit., p. 33.

⁷⁴ AlHajj, Malam Boyi, *Nubdh an Tarikh Amir al-Mu'minin Muhammad Bello*, Seminar on Life and Works of Muhammad Bello, C.I.S., University of Sokoto, April, 1985.

⁷⁵ Wazir Junayd, *Urf al-Rihan*, OP-Cit., p. 33

through the help of his father, the *Shaykh*.⁷⁶ It is alpha and omega of *Karāmāt*, since according to some; with it everything is possible for a *Walī*. This seems to suggest that any *Walī* in possession of that Name can perform any *Karāmah*.

The second *Karāmah* reported about Bello is in relation to a certain 'Alim in Sokoto who was reciting the Qur'an. He was however disgusted to observe that despite all his efforts in the service of the Our'ān, Sultān Bello did not know his place and would not, therefore, appreciate his efforts. But to the surprise of this 'Alim Bello visited him at that very hour and informed him that he had been told about him.⁷⁷ This confirms the *Karāmah* attributed to him, that he could hear something that was said in a faraway place. It is a typical *Karāmah* of his father whom he had said could hear anything said afar away.⁷⁸ Similarly, this had happened to Saria, a commander of the Muslim forces during the caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khattāb while the latter was undertaking war against the Persians. 'Umar who was in Madīnah saw, through *Kashf* the maneuvers of the non-Muslim army to surprise Saria's army from behind. 'Umar ordered in a loud voice from Madīnah, to keep his own from a mountain. Saria heard and complied.⁷⁹

The third *Karāmah* attributed to Bello by AbdulQādir b. Gidādo shows that the former could predict an event which in reality will happen precisely as he foretold. According to AbdulQādir:

Among them (is) what he told my father: that every ear (person) would hear the fall of the fortress of Konni by the Grace of Almighty God. The event took place exactly as he had foretold.⁸⁰

This could be possible since it has earlier been asserted that Muhammad Bello had possessed the Great Name of Allah with which everything is possible.

Muhammad Bello's writings on *Tasawwuf* include the aspect of *Wilāyah* and *Karāmah*. In his book *Raf' al-Ishtibah*,² attention is focused on eminent *Awliyā'* and their *Karāmāt*, i.e. Abdul-Qadir al-Jaylani, Ahmad al-Badawi and Ahmad al-Tijani. His inclusion of Ahmad al-Tijani in his discussion demonstrates Bello's acknowledgement of the *Wilāyah* of not only Qadiri *Awliyā'* but also all *Awliyā'*, who had been elevated by Allah to that status regardless of their *Sufi* affinity. He concluded his observation by saying:

When Allah intends to acquaint you with a *Walī* from His *Awliyā'*, He conceals his human nature from your eyes and allows you to see his special characteristics.⁸¹

However, Muhammad Bello reserved special attention for the *Walī* of his *Sufi* Order. His book "*Al-Fath al-Bāb fī Dhikr Ba'd Khasā'is al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir*" is a biographical work

⁷⁶ S. U. Balogun, The works of Abdul-Qadir b. Gidado in the context of Nigerian History, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 169-170

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 170-171

⁷⁸ M. Bello, *Infaq al-Maysur*, *op.cit*, p. 41.

⁷⁹ This could be one of the bases upon which the Sufis developed *Karāmāt* especially the *Karāmah* of *Kashf*.

⁸⁰ S. U. Balogun, *The Works of Abdul-Qādir b. Gidado in the context of Nigerian History*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 171

⁸¹ M. Bello, *Raf' al-Ishtibah*, *Op. Cit.*, f. 13a

dealing specifically with historical, spiritual and *Karāmāt* of *Shaykh* Abdul-Qādir al-Jaylanī. In this work, Bello related the special characteristics of Abdul-Qādir and eulogized his saving powers of when alive or dead. The efforts of Bello in this respect had resulted in the production of a work that contains information about the *Awliyā'* in Hausaland before the advent of *Shaykh* Uthman. His book *Infāq al-Maysūr* is a mine of such information.

4.4 Muhammad Sambo

Among the notable Sufis of the Sokoto Caliphate identified as a *Walī* was Muhammad Sambo, the son of *Shaykh* 'Uthmān and elder brother to Muhammad Bello. Muhammad Sambo seemed to have not been saddled with administrative responsibility perhaps because of his unreserved attachment to *Tasawwuf*. He was known to have studied *Insān al-Kāmil* from the *Shaykh*,⁸² and was also among the *Sufī* students trained by the *Shaykh*.⁸³ He was described by Muhammad Bello as a *Sufī* who combined *Sharī'ah* and *Haqīqah* (reality) and a strict believer in '*Uzlah*'.⁸⁴

His practice of *Zuhd* and fear of Allah have been described in *Salwat al-Ahzān* as very deep of the highest rank. Most of his recollections were through vigil and hunger, and he preferred remembrance through the spirit to that of supererogatory and recitation of litanies.⁸⁵

He trained his students in his mysterious school comprising spirits and Jinns. It was in this school that Muhammad Sambo used to disclose to his students and companions what he wished. The presence of corporal body was not necessary in the school.⁸⁶ For a *Walī* who had attained his rank of spirituality, could be anywhere willingly or unwillingly. It may not be a surprise to him when he found himself in the presence of the Reality. Sambo's experience was facilitated by the light of Muhammad (S.A.W.). He had adopted a habit of fusing together *Sharī'ah* and *Tarīqah* and concealing the Divine secrets revealed to him from the public who had not reached that stage.⁸⁷

One of the close students and companions of Muhammad Sambo was 'Abdul-Qādir bn al-Mustafa. He was very close to him that he molded his own way of thought according to the thought of his teacher and mentor. This was described by Kani as blind adoption of Muhammad Sambo's way of life.⁸⁸ Kani might have in mind the tributes paid by Abdul-Qādir to Sambo by describing him as the teacher in the school of mystery where the former meet and acquires knowledge and experience from the latter. In any case Abdul-Qādir's respect and reverence for his mentor may have some effect on his life-style. This influence does not portray Abdul-Qādir

⁸² M. Bello, *Infāq al-Maysūr*,. *Op.Cit.*, p. 188

⁸³ *Raud al-Jinan*, *Op.Cit.*, p. 72

⁸⁴ M. Bello, *Infāq al-Maysūr*,. *op.cit.*, p. 188

⁸⁵ *Salwat al-Ahzān*, *Op.Cit.*, f. 2b

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, f. 3a.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, ff. 6° and 9a

⁸⁸ A. M. Kani, "*The Life and Time of Abdul-Qadir Ibn al-Mustafa*", *op.cit.*, pp.123-121

as a mere imitator. Because this could mean that his knowledge, wealth of experience in *Tasawwuf* were of no use to him. A special companion of Muhammad Sambo worthy of mention here is his brother Muhammad al-Bukhārī Ibn *Shaykh* 'Uthmān. He was also a student of Sambo in the latter's mysterious school.⁸⁹ Muhammad al-Bukhārī described Sambo as *Qutb* who got the light of *Wilāyah* from his father the *Shaykh*⁹⁰

When Muhammad Sambo died, Abdul-Qādir composed a eulogy in which he described the virtues of Sambo. He dwelt on the ascetic life of this great *Walī* who had forsaken power and material wealth. He also enumerated the peculiarities of Sambo like his knowledge and mystical vision, but lamented the loss of knowledge and *Sūfī* training as a result of the death of the great *Walī*.⁹¹ Muhammad Sambo's *Karāmāt* have, in Abdul-Qādir's works, been related as follows:

Allah has given him the *Karāmāt* of walking in the air and on water... he had also seen remainder of the white earth (clay from which Adam was created) ... also from the *Karāmāt* of this leader is that Allah has clothed him with secret.⁹²

4.5 Muhammad Al-Bukhari

Muhammad al-Bukhārī was comparatively a *Walī* who received instruction in *Tasawwuf* from Muhammad Sambo.⁹³ He was endowed with visions and ecstasy and was among the *Awliyā* possessed by Divine power. It was said that he used to see Khidr and talk with him in his sleep and state of trance. Abdul-Qādir bn al-Mustafa, who was a student of Bukhārī reported that the latter had told him wonderful things.⁹⁴

4.6 Other *Awliyā* in the Caliphate

Other *Awliyā*' in the Caliphate whose *Wilāyah* were recognized include Umar al-Kammu, the confident, friend and vizier of the *Shaykh*. He occupied an important position in the State and was known to be a *Sūfī* and student of the latter.⁹⁵ His piety and inclination to *Tasawwuf* might have been influenced by his close association with the *Shaykh*. He was in the company of the *Shaykh* when the latter performed some of his *Karāmāt*, when king Yunfa attempted his life⁹⁶ and when he went to Gonja.⁹⁷

⁸⁹ A. I. al-Mustafa" *Salwat al-Ahzan*, *op.cit.*, f. 5a.

⁹⁰ Wazir Junayd, *Urf al-Rihan*, *Op.Cit.*, p. 80

⁹¹ A. I. al-Mustafa" *Salwat al-Ahzan*, *op.cit.* f. 3b

⁹² *Ibid*, f. 2b

⁹³ *Ibid*, f. 4b

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, f. 4b

⁹⁵ G. B. Lema, *Raud al-Jinan*, *Op.Cit.*, p. 72

⁹⁶ A. I. Foduye, *Tazyin al-Waraqāt*, *Op.Cit.*, p. 29.

⁹⁷ G. B. Lema, *Raud al-Jinan*, *Op.Cit.* pp.5-6

The chief *Imām*, Muhammad Sambo, who was the *Imām* of the Shaykhs Mosque, was also regarded as a saint. He was described by Muhammad Bello as both a *Walī* and Companion of the *Shaykh*.⁹⁸

‘*Ālim* Muhammad Zangi and Muhammad Kwairanga were also reported to be *Awliyā*. The latter was described as *Majdhūb* (one who is in trance). He was said to have been serving as messenger between the Prophet (S.A.W.) and the *Shaykh*. It was said that he was the first person to bring solutions from the Prophet (SAW) to the *Shaykh*. He was also present when *Shaykh* ‘Uthmān met and talked to a visiting *Walī* from Baghdād.⁹⁹

From what has so far been discussed, it is evident that Sokoto Caliphate was not only endowed with *Sūfīs* but also with accomplished *Awliyā* some of whom had performed *Karāmāt* and some had also contributed to the development of the concept of *Wilāyah* through their numerous writings. Since it will not be possible to mention all the *Awliyā*’ the few ones discussed here would illustrate the assumption that there were *Awliyā*’ in the Caliphate.

Conclusion

From writings of the *Jihād* leaders, it is evident that they believed in the concepts of *Wilāyah* and *Karāmah*. *Infāq al-Maysūr*, for example contains reference to saints in Hausa land and adjacent lands. Even among the *Jihād* leaders some had been identified as saints. *Shaykh* ‘Uthmān bn Foduye was a recognized saint to whom *Karāmāt* were attributed. Some of his students and associates were also reported to have performed *Karāmāt*. Their discussions on various aspects of the saving power possessed by saints and the ability to render help in this world (*Ighāthah*) give the impression that they believed in what could be called sainthood.

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⁹⁸ M. Bello, *Infāq al-Maysur*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 189.

⁹⁹ One who is in trance is someone who has been pulled towards the Reality. Kwairanga referred to *Raud al- Jinan*, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 8 - 10.

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