

AN EXAMINATION OF THE *SALAFIYYAH* SCHOLARS' DISCOURSE ON SUFISM

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ABSTRACT

Taşawwuf is the process of realising the ethical and the spiritual ideals of Islam. The practice of Sufism has been generating controversies among various Islamic scholars including the *Salafiyyah* advocates, who uphold that Islam should be practised the way it was in the first three generations of Islam. There is, therefore, the need to clear the air in order to liberate the Muslims from the wilderness of doubts occasioned by these disagreements. The aim of the study was to examine the discourse and the submissions of some of the *Salafiyyah* scholars on Sufism with a view to appraising their arguments on Sufism and determining their objectivity and faithfulness to the primary sources of Islam. The objectives of the study were to: (i) determine whether *Salafiyyah* should be understood as a *Madhhab* or *Manhaj*; (ii) determine the level of compliance of the *Salafiyyah* advocates in the modern time with the teachings of the classical *Salaf*; (iii) evaluate the discourse of *Salafiyyah* scholars on Sufism; (iv) evaluate the discourse of the scholars on the concept of *Bid'ah* (innovation) in Islam; and (v) assess the relationship between the *Salafiyyah* and *Şūfī* adherents and their impacts on the Nigerian Muslims.

This work adopted historical, exegetical and empirical methods. Since the contentious issues between the two groups have a strong historical base in Islam, historical method assisted in tracing the accounts of both of them. The exegetical method was used to analyse doctrinal issues in their works. Also, the empirical method availed the study the opportunity to conduct interviews, where necessary, to substantiate the facts that are contained in the works of each of the two groups.

The findings of the study were that:

- i. the *Salafiyyah* is better understood and conceived as a *Manhaj* and not *Madhhab* as being demonstrated by the modern *Salafiyyah* scholars;
- ii. many *Salafiyyah* advocates in the modern time are not in absolute compliance with the teachings of the classical *Salaf*;
- iii. there are many irreconcilable disparities between the submissions of the classical and the modern *Salafiyyah* scholars on Sufism;
- iv. *Bid'ah* (innovation) is not a concept that is absolutely rejected in Islam and its divisibility is inevitable; and
- v. the relationship between the *Salafiyyah* and the *Şūfī* adherents in Nigeria is sour and this causes disunity among the Muslims with little or no move from anybody to address it.

The study concluded that some *Salafiyyah* scholars are not objective in their criticism of *Taşawwuf* because many of their submissions are based on assumptions and over generalisations. The study recommended a re-examination of the positions of the modern *Salafiyyah* scholars on Sufism by themselves, and that the Sufi should sanitise their members and get rid of pseudos in their midst. A further research to determine the similarities or otherwise between Sufism and groups like Shi'ah and Tablīgh Movements among others, is equally recommended. This will reduce misconceptions among the Muslims.

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DEDICATION

This PhD thesis is dedicated to **Prof. Y. A. Quadri** for being his last PhD student and for being an exemplary mentor, role model and a teacher of repute to me.

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this thesis: AN EXAMINATION OF THE *SALAFIYYAH* SCHOLARS' DISCOURSE ON SUFISM was written by YUSUPH Dauda Gambari, (02/15CI099). It has been read and approved as meeting the requirements for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Islamic Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria.

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ABBREVIATION S

A.D	-	After Death
A.H.	-	After <i>Hijrah</i>
C.E	-	Christian Era
d	-	Died
Dr	-	Doctor
FM	-	Frequency Modulation
ICT	-	Information and Communication Technology
IOTB	-	International Organisation of Tijāniyyah Brotherhood
JNI	-	Jamā'at Naşril Islam
MSSN	-	Muslim Students' Society of Nigeria
MWL	-	Muslim World League
NEPU	-	Northern Element Progressive Union
NPC	-	Northern People Congress
NSCIA	-	Nigeria Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs
OAU	-	Obafemi Awolowo University
PhD	-	Doctor of Philosophy
QAMSAN	-	Qādiriyyah Muslim Students' Association of Nigeria
TMC	-	The Muslim Congress
TIMSAN	-	Tijāniyyah Muslim Students' Association of Nigeria
VOL.	-	Volume

Glossary

‘Aqīdah - Belief

Aṣḥabu ‘ṣ-Ṣuffah –Companions of the Bench

Ahlu ‘ṣ-Ṣuffah – People of the Bench

Baqā’ - Continuance

Bāṭin - Esotericism

Bay‘ah - Allegiance

Bid‘ah – Innovation, Heresy

Dīniyyah- Relating to religion

Duniyawīyyah- Worldly

Fanā’ -Annihilation

Fāsiq – A libertine

Fatwā – Legal opinion

Ghayb - Unseen

Ijtihād- Exercise of Juristic opinion

Ilhām -Intuition

‘Iṣmat- Infallibility

I‘tikaf – Spiritual Confinement

Jadhb- Enchantment

Khalwah- Spiritual seclusion

Khalīl – Bosom friend

Khawf - Fear

Khirqah -Cloak

Kashf- Removing

Kufr -Infidelity

Kafir- Infidel

Kuffār -Infidels

Ḥaqīqah – Truth, Reality

Ḥulūl – Spiritual transformation

Madhhab- School of thought

Manhaj- Methodology

Maqāmah- Spiritual station

Maṣlah- Welfare (Public)

Mawlid – Celebration of Birthday

Mujtahid-- Someone who exercises legal opinion

Murtadd – An apostate

Qubūr - Graves

Rajā' - Hope

Raqṣ - Dance

Salaf- People of the first three generations of Islam

Salafī – An adherent of the methodologies of the *Salaf*

Salafīyūn- Plural of *Salafī*

Salafism- *Salafīyyah* (anglicized)

Salafīyyah- Propagation of the ideology of the *Salaf*

Sālik – A spiritual wayfarer

Samāʿ -Music

Siḥr- Magic

Sirr- Metaphysical power

Shaṭḥ- Theophatic locution

Silsilah- Chains

Ṣūf -Wool

Ṣūfī – A Mystic

Sufis – Plural of *Ṣūfī* (anglicized)

Ṣūfīyyah- Sufism

Ṣūfīyūn – Plural of *Ṣūfī*

Sufism - *Ṣūfīyyah* (anglicized)

Sulūk – Spiritual journey

Tabarrūk – Seeking for blessings

Takfīr - Anathematisation, Excommunication

Takhlīf - Syncretism

Tasawwuf - Sufism

Ta'wīl - interpretation

Tazkiyyat Nafs Soul purification

Taqīyyah – Dissimulation

Tawḥīd - Monotheism

Ummah – Muslim Community

Wajd - Presence

Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd Unity of Existence

Waḥdatu 's-Shuhūd – Unity of perception

Wahy - Revelation

Wahhābiyyah – Adherence to the teaching of Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb

Wahhbism – *Wahhābiyyah* (Anglicised)

Wahhābī – A member of *Wahhābiyyah*

Wilāya' - Sainthood

Yaqīn - Certitude

Zindīq - A libertine

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Taṣawwuf, otherwise known as Sufism, is the process of realising the ethical and the spiritual ideals of Islam.¹ It is one of the core aspects of Islam which has attracted a considerable attention of scholars of different schools of thought. One of such schools, sects, groups or movements that play prominent role in this regard is *Salafiyyah*. Ordinarily, the *Salaf*, from which the nomenclature (*Salafiyyah*) is derived, refers to the first three generations of Muslims. It covers the generations of the Prophet, the *Ṣaḥābah* (companions of the Prophet Muhammad) and the *Tābiʿūn* (successors to the companions).²

Salafiyyah scholars are unequivocal and vehement in their condemnation of Sufism and declaration of an absolute war against it and its various components. They do not mince words in rating *Taṣawwuf* as *Bidʿah* (innovation) both in principles and practices.³ Works of *Salafiyyah* scholars are replete with series of allegations against the *Ṣūfī* personalities of different generations. Often, Sufism is tagged as an alien practice that crept into Islamic fold courtesy of pseudo scholars among the Muslims and other conspirators whose motive is mainly to cause confusion among the Muslims and to distort Islam.⁴

All these allegations are not without responses and reactions from the *Ṣūfī scholars*. They exploit all within their reach to defend their staunch adherence to what they describe as an integral and an essential aspect of Islam which caters for its spirituality. They equally establish the presence of Sufism in the period of *Salaf*.⁵ This is because they are able to substantiate their claims with facts by identifying some *Ṣūfī* figures from among the *Salaf*. They include Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī, Sufyān At-Thawrī, Abū Sulaymān Ad-Darānī, *Aṣḥābu'ṣ-Ṣuffah* (Companions of the Bench), and ʿAlī, the fourth *Khalīfah* of the Prophet. So, they tend to water-down the *Salafiyyūn*'s allegations on their cherished beliefs and practices.

This study is therefore an attempt to examine the arguments of each of the two opposing sides to determine the extent of the compliance of each to the rules of objectivity and faithfulness to the primary sources of Islam. This is considered necessary in order to justifiably come up with a unique position on Sufism.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

One of the issues in the contemporary Islamic thoughts that have drawn a substantial reaction of Muslim scholars is legitimacy or otherwise of Sufism in Islam. The main source of confusion is the frequent declaration of Sufism by *Salafiyyah* scholars as *Bid'ah* (innovation). This declaration covers both the doctrines and practices of the *Sufis*.⁶ The implication of declaring Sufism as *Bid'ah* together with its various components is that it is capable of ostracising one from the fold of Islam. In other words, in their view, a *Ṣūfī adherent* is either a *Kāfir* (infidel), *Murtadd* (apostate), *Fāsiq* (libertine), or a *Zindīq* (pretender).⁷ One will therefore bother on this allegation if one considers the number of *Ṣūfī adherents among whom are erudite scholars who ordinarily should have understood the truth about what they staunchly adhere to, which is being condemned by others*.

It may sound interesting if one reads through works of some *Salafiyyah* scholars and discovers the irreconcilable variations, disparities and contradictions within the bloc of *Salafiyyah* regarding their submissions on Sufism. This is because the massive subscription and admiration of many classical *Salafiyyūn* to Sufism and its adherents will be discovered. Although the classical *Salafiyyah* scholars made various attempts to raise some questions on some doctrines and practices of the *Sufis*, that does not connote their rejection of Sufism. On the contrary, the modern *Salafiyyūn* seem to have maintained another stand which is in opposition to the classical ones. That, notwithstanding, there is yet another split within the bloc of modern *Salafiyyah* scholars. The likes of Al-Qarḍāwī, Iṣṣām Al-Bashir, Ḥassan Shāfiʿī, Ḥasan ʿAlī and a host of others are favourably disposed to Sufism, while Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymin are sworn enemies of Sufism. These various splits and disparities need to be examined.

The practical aspect of the imbroglio manifests itself in Nigeria where the *Salafiyyah* and *Ṣūfiyyah* are living together like cats and rats. There are accusations and counter accusations in the land. The wave of Salafism is waxing stronger and they exploit every means to displace Sufism and the *Sufis* in the country. The *Sufis*, on the other hand, equally did not relent in their efforts to combat the menace of Salafism. This development has made many Muslims to stand aloof without being a member of either of the opposing groups while many Muslims are living in the state of perpetual confusion.

From the foregoing therefore, various issues that had been created as a result of the criticisms of the *Salafiyyah* scholars on Sufism need to be addressed with a scholarly objective work. This is imperative if one considers the perilous nature of those issues. In fact, if established, they can eject one from the fold of Islam unknowingly or distant one from intense spirituality if not properly understood and adequately digested.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The main aim of this thesis is to study the submissions and arguments of *Salafiyyah* scholars on Sufism and subject them (submissions and arguments) to a critical examination with a view to come up with a conceptual framework which will determine the rights and the wrongs in their views on Sufism. This is imperative because their campaigns on Sufism have left many in the wilderness of doubts and confusions.

The objectives are to:-

- i. determine whether *Salafiyyah* should be understood as a *Madhhab* (school of thought) or *Manhaj* (concept);
- ii. determine the level of compliance of the *Salafiyyah* advocates in the modern time with the teachings of the classical *Salaf*;
- iii. evaluate the discourse of *Salafiyyah* scholars on Sufism;
- iv. evaluate the discourse of the scholars on the concept of *Bid'ah* (innovation) in Islam;
- v. assess the interactions between the *Salafiyyah* and *Şūfī* adherents and their impacts on the Nigerian Muslims;
- vi. develop a framework that will assist in developing a mutual understanding between these two key Islamic groups. Such a framework will equally be useful in analysing issues among various other sects in Islam; and
- vii. make a modest contribution in the field and discourse about both *Salafiyyah* and Sufism.

The study therefore hopes to fill the gap of the needed intellectual analysis on the causes and effects of the strange relationship between the Sufis and *Salafiyyūn*.

1.4 Significance of the Study

This work will achieve the objective of developing a framework for sustainable mutual understanding between the *Salafiyyūn* and the *Sufis*. It will equally widen the horizon of the readers' comprehension on *Salafiyyah* and Sufism both within and outside academic circles. It will equally appreciate the painstaking attention of the Muslim scholars who have written on

both the *Salafiyyah* and Sufism. Also, the work will go a long way in giving the gist of the contents and the views of the *Salafiyyah* scholars' works on Sufism, which are mostly written in Arabic language, a wider coverage, especially among the English audience. It is a known fact that, at present, there are thousands of non Arabic speaking people who are interested in familiarising themselves with Islamic literatures, works of this kind provide that rare opportunity. Also, it is obvious that many contemporary scholars of Islam are more familiar with English language than Arabic which is the *lingua franca* of Islam. So, this provides a level playing ground for such scholars who have little or no working knowledge of Arabic language to understand and transmit pristine knowledge of Islam.

Adequate and appropriate recommendations on practical ways to achieve the needed mutual understanding and reconciliation between the *Salafiyyah* and *Ṣūfī* scholars and the way forward to reconcile and settle the rifts that may arise among various other Islamic sects will not be left out. Therefore, the methodology, findings and recommendations of this work will be useful in this regard. Furthermore, this work will undoubtedly trigger different reactions and a further research on the subject matter of this work and its various branches will be imminent.

1.5 Scope and Limitation

Issue surrounding each of both the *Salafī* and *Ṣūfī* circles is a comprehensive discourse in Islam which scholars over the years have written extensively on. The works of scholars cover a wide range of topics as they are related to either of them. Practically, there are no aspects of Islam that *Salafiyyah scholars* do not discuss to a great extent and contribute majorly and meaningfully on them. The scope of this work will therefore cover every major discourse of the *Salafiyyūn* on Sufism both in principles and practices.

However, this work will on one hand limit itself to some key scholars among the classical and modern *Salafiyyah* scholars. Therefore, Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah and Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb's works among the classical scholars will be concentrated on, while Ibn Bāz and Al ʿUthaymīn will be focused on among the modern scholars. Each discourse will however be juxtaposed with the relevant works, views and submissions of different scholars, both from within and out the *Salafiyyah* and *Ṣūfī* circles as may be necessitated by our discussion.

What informs the inevitable limitations of this work is the scattered nature of mystical themes across the contents of the works of each of these scholars. The key areas and issues therefore will gain prominent attention and higher concentration. This however will not affect the

value or quality of this work because the key scholars, so selected and the core areas to be concentrated on would enrich the contents of this work at each stage. The decisions or conclusions reached there from can be basically relied upon as the determinants for others. These limitations are imperative considering the limited time and other logistical constraints some of which are beyond the ordinary control of the researcher.

1.6 Research Methods

The methods adopted for the purpose of achieving the aims and objectives of this work are historical, exegetical and empirical methods. This is necessitated by the nature of the topic of the work. Both *Salafīyyah* and *Şūfīyyah* need to be carefully threaded and properly understood from the historical perspectives because the bone of contention between the scholars of these two Islamic blocs is greatly connected to historical facts without which the objectives of this study may not be achieved and the findings and conclusions may be built on faulty grounds. Consequently, the thesis may therefore be easily criticised and simply rejected. The exegetical method assisted this work in analysing doctrinal issues from the works and writings of both groups, while the empirical method availed the thesis the opportunity to conduct interviews, where necessary, to substantiate the facts that are contained in the works of each of the two groups.

1.7 Literature Review

Scholars over the years have taken painstaking efforts to write extensively on both Sufism and Salafism both in Arabic and English languages. Their writings and submissions cover wider range of issues on each of the two variables as could be drawn from the topic of this work. Therefore, the literatures on both (Sufism and Salafism) are not only legion but also multitudinous. However, the reviewed literatures in this work are those that are relevant and will provide insights for understanding the genesis of the present inter and intra ideological conflicts between the *Şūfī* and *Salafīyyah* adherents. It is believed that this will offer the best methods to address the age-long enmity within the two key Islamic sects and enhance the much needed understanding, cohesion and cooperation.

This review, therefore, brings into focus, the major contentious issues and controversial areas which neither of the two sects is ready to bend. To this end, the literatures to be reviewed are thematised along those major issues.

- Origin and legitimacy of Sufism in Islam
- Concept of *Salafiyyah*
- The concept of *Bid'ah* (Innovation)
- *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* (celebration of the birthday of the Prophet)
- *Ziyāratu 'l-Qubūr* (grave visitation)
- *Sufism and Salafism in Nigeria*

Origin and Legitimacy of Sufism in Islam

Aṣ-Ṣaliḥ in his book, *Sufism: Origin and Development*,⁸ which is written to discredit Sufism and dissociate it from Islam, traces the origin of Sufism and submits that it (Sufism) has no specific origin, even as it is evident from the various accounts of the Sufis themselves. He concludes his accounts stating that Sufism accommodates several belief systems of the like of Christianity, Buddhism and philosophies like Hellenism and those of Persians and their methodologies which are alien to the Qur'ān, the *Sunnah* and the practices of the *Salaf*. The author also attempts to identify the exact time when Sufism began and developed in Islam. He aligns himself with the different known accounts on appearance of Sufism among the people of the second generation of Islam. Nevertheless, he is lucid in claiming that it all began from extremism in worship and asceticism which were held in high esteem by some people in effects of which the importance of *Shari'ah*, knowledge among others are downplayed. He describes all of these as deceptions of devil which he (devil) has beautified in their eyes.

Aṣ-Ṣaliḥ continues that Sufism later developed and encompassed various unislamic thoughts and practices such as *Fanā'* (annihilation), *Baqā'* (continuance), *Wajd* (presence), *Samā'* (music) and others. The writer proceeds to give some explanations on some doctrines and practices of Sufism. He claims that Sufis adopt separate teachings which are outrightly different from what the early generations from the Prophet to the Companions and early scholars have handed over to the latter generations. He cites the instances of the concept of *Tawhīd*

(monotheism) and its branches, where he submits that the Sufis laid claim to *Al-Ḥulūl* (spiritual transformation) and *Waḥadat al-Wujūd* (Unity of Existence) instead.

Aṣ-Ṣaliḥ equally makes particular references to the esteemed position accorded to the Prophet by the Sufis. He condemns the Sufis on the concept of *Ḥaqīqatu 'l-Muhammadiyah* (Reality of Muhammad) and *Al-Insānu 'l-Kāmil* (perfect man) stating that these two attributes qualified him as combining the Essence of Allah and essence of creations. The former which he (the Prophet) is far from. He finally condemns the concept of *Zuhd*, which according to him, permits man or the adherent not to engage in any lawful activities allowed by the *Shari'ah*. Equally, he laments that poverty, hunger, abandonment of lawful things among others as alien and strange to Islam. He concludes by giving his admonitions that people should shun Sufism and take to the part of *Shari'ah*. It is a relevant book, though it discusses Sufism only from the *Salafī* point of view, while this thesis intends a combination of the two. (*Salafī* and *Ṣūfī*).

In another dimension, Ishaq writes, *All of Sufism is Misguidance*⁹ which is a translation from the *Fatāwā* of *Lajnat 'd-Dā'imah*, under the headship of Shaykh 'Abdul-'Azīz Bin Bāz. The work is opened up with a quotation which is alleged to have come from Imam Shāfi'ī stating that: *Whoever joins Sufism in the morning loses his intellect before the night falls*. The work condemns Sufism at length with evidences from both the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* based on the understanding of the committee that issued the *Fatāwā* (legal opinions). The writer exonerates both Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim from the Sufis and Sufism bringing partial evidence from their works. Equally, Sufyān Al-Thawrī and Fuḍayl Ibn 'Iyāḍ in the submission of the writer are scholars of *Ahlu 's-Sunnah wal-Jamā'ah* and not *Ṣūfī* in any way and that the duo had nothing to do with it (Sufism). Ḥarith Al-Muḥāsibī, in the view of the author and the issuer of the *Fatwā*, is a moderate *Ṣūfī* and that he is not as projected by the general *Ṣūfī* adherents.

In furthering the aimed condemnation and disassociation of Sufism with Islam, the writer links *Tablighiyyah*¹⁰ to Sufism stating that they shared almost the same ideology, and more so the founder of *Tablīgh* movement, Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas, was a *Ṣūfī*. He concludes by

further equating and linking the two sects (Sufism and *Tablīgh*) to Khawārij (Kharajites). It is therefore a relevant work as it clearly states the explanations and position of the *Salafiyyūn* on Sufism. This thesis is however aimed at examining those allegations of *Salafiyyah* scholars on *Sufis*.

In the view of Turāsun in his, *At-Taṣawwufu fil-Qarnayn 'l-Thānī wal Thālith 'l-Hijriyyayn wal Mawqifu 'l-Fuqahā 'Al-Arba'*¹¹ who opens up with the general discourse on definition, origin, development and spread of Sufism in the first two chapters of the book, Sufism lacks credence in the primary Islamic sources but was imported into Islam from other cultural, philosophical and belief systems of other religions like Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, Hellenism, Shi'ism, and Platonism among others. Turāsun nevertheless agrees that there is close link between *Zuhd* (asceticism) and *Taṣawwuf*. He, in fact, submits that the former metamorphosed into the latter between the second and the third centuries of *Hijrah*. He identifies the early Sufis of the second century to include, Ibrahim Ibn Adhām, Daud Aṭ-Ṭāi, Fuḍayl Ibn 'Iyād, Shaqiq Al-Balkh, Abū Sulaymān Ad-Darrānī, Abū Qāsim Al-Junayd among others. Specifically, he identifies the Sufis like Dhū-Nūn Al-Mirṣrī, Abū Yazīd Al-Bisṭāmī, Ḥusayn Al-Nūrī, Rābi'ah Al-Adawiyyah, among others, as personalities who have contributed in no small measures to the crystallisation of *Ṣūfī* doctrines and practices.

Turāsun equally discussed, with strong aversion, the doctrine of *Wilāyah* (sainthood), *Karāmāt* (miracles), *Fanā* (annihilation), *Baqā* (continuance) *Sama* (music), *Maqāmat* (stations), *Aḥwāl* (states) and their different segments. He condemns them all and alleges their non-compliance with the rules of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*. The author picks each of the four Imams and discusses their views and submissions on Sufism. He starts from Imam Abu Hanīfah, Imam Mālik, Shāfi' to Hanbali. He displaces all pro- *Ṣūfī* statement accredited to some of them, especially Imam Malik and declares them as unfounded. To buttress his claim further, he mentions some students of each of them who are sworn enemies of *Sufism*. In a nutshell, Sufism is outrightly condemned in the views of these great Imams and should be disregarded by all Muslims who follow their footsteps. It is a relevant work, though it only discusses the views of the four Imams who founded the four schools of thought in Islam on Sufism.

Abdul-Hamid, *Ad-Dawat 's-Salafiyyah*¹² is a work written in Arabic that links Sufism and Shi'ism together as an entity. The author does not tow the pattern of other writers with the same

background or ideology but goes straight to what matters to him. He proves that *Salafiyyah* group is the most righteous of all groups and sects in Islam and that it has not derailed from the path of the Qur'ān, the *Sunnah* and the footsteps of the first three generations of Muslims (*Salaf*). Switching to his discourse on Sufism and Shi'ism, he submits that the two originated from the same ideological source, hence the founders and the leaders of the Sufis are as well the leaders of the Shi'ites. To drive home this allegation, he adduces various proofs to that effect. The premises created to buttress this includes the following; Mahdism, *Wahy* (inspiration), *ʿIṣmat* (infallibility), veneration of saints, *Taqiyah* (dissimulation), understanding of *Sunnah*, *Kashf* (revelation), *Ziyāratul-Qubūr* (grave visitation), *Jihād* among others. He submits that both the Sufis and the Shi'ites hold similar beliefs and ideologies in respect of each of the above points and therefore, there is no difference between the two. It is a relevant work, though it compares Sufism with Shi'ism while the scope of this thesis is wider than that.

*A Ṣūfī Study of Ḥadīth*¹³ by Thanawi is a translated work from Arabic language into English language by Yusuf Talal DeLorenzo. The author compiles about three hundred and thirty (330) *Aḥadith* on *Ṣūfī* doctrines and practices from different collections of *Ḥadīth* purposely to defend the subject matter (Sufism), since *Ḥadīth* is often used by the anti-*Ṣūfī* scholars to negate some of its principles and practices. The method he adopts is to quote a *Ḥadīth*, translate and thereafter run commentaries on it. In establishing his standpoint, the author did not only bring traditions that support Sufism either in principle or practice alone but also brings others that are overruled by the Sufis with an attempt to modify them.

Some of the *Ṣūfī* doctrines and practices that the author brings *Aḥadīth* to justify their firmness or otherwise are those on group *dhikr* (remembrance), *Jadhb* (ecstasy), *Sukr* (intoxication), *Shatṭaḥāt* (theophanic or ecstatic utterances), prohibition of excessiveness in worship, *Khalwah* (seclusion) and *samʿ* (music). Others are radical means of testing *wuṣūl* (level of connection with the reality), wearing of woolen garment among others. The book is therefore very relevant as it supplies a lot of *Aḥadīth* from records of *Ḥadīth* on the subject matter of this work.

Concept of Salafiyyah

Ali, *The Islamic Doctrine of Al-Walā wal Barā (Loyalty and disavowal) in Modern Salafism*:²⁰ is an unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the University of Exeter. It is written on one of the core doctrines of the *Salafīyyah* movement (*Al-Walā wal-Barā*). The author dwells extensively on the issues relating to Salafism ranging from its meaning, historical account, characteristics, the difference between the early and modern *Salafīyyūn* and its connection with *Wahhābiyyah* movement. The writer identifies the different groups that laid claim to *Salafīyyah*. They include the *Wahhābiyyah*, i.e Saudi Scholars, The *Madkhali* or *Jami Salafis* of Yemeni (sic), *Al-Bānī Salafis* (sic) who followed Shaykh Nasrudeen Al-Bānī(d. 1999) *Ikhwān Salafī* (Muslim Brotherhood), *Surūrī – Salafī* (sic) named after Muhammad Surur Bin Nayif Zayn ‘l-Abidīn (b. 1938), *Qutbi Salafis* (sic), the follower of Sayyid Qutb, and Global Jihadists known as *Al - Qa’idah*. The book limits its discourse *vis-a-vis* Salafism to *Al-Walā wal-Barā* while this research focuses on Sufism and Salafism. It is however going to be of a great use considering its account on Salafism and different groups that laid claim to being its adherents.

*Wahhabism, Salafism and Islamism: Who is the Enemy?*¹⁵ by Moussalli, is a pamphlet written to differentiate between each of the opposing movements in Islam but which are mistaken as one entity. Having scrutinised each of the three groups, he concludes that Salafism is religiously and ideologically motivated trend without an identified group or authority. *Wahhābiyyah*, according to the writer, is directly opposite to Salafism because it has been domesticated to an individual and a place (Saudi Arabia). So, it can be rightly submitted that all *Wahhābis* are *Salafis*, but not all *Salafis* are *Wahhābis*. Islamism to him, includes moderate and radical movements but different from *Wahhābiyyah* movement. In other word, there is a political line of demarcation between these two movements (Wahhabism and Islamism). This classification is very relevant in the development of the contents of this thesis, though the scope is beyond differentiating between each of the groups that laid claim to Salafism.

Al-Malik in his book, *Mawqifu A’imati ‘l-Ḥarakati ‘s-Salafīyyah Mina ‘t-Taṣawwuf wal ‘ṣ-Ṣūfīyyah*¹⁶ which is an Arabic composition of the views of *Salafīyyah* scholars on Sufism, especially the classical ones from whom the scholars of later generations draw their inspirations, attempts to uncover and to reveal what most of the present day *Salafīyyah* scholars hide from the people in terms of the authentic submissions of the early *Salafīyyah* scholars on Sufism. This is

because hardly could one see any of them (the present day *Salafis*) presenting a balanced argument on Sufism as enshrined in the works of the early *Salafiyyūn*, rather they are one sided.

The work discusses the following prominent *Salafiyyah* scholars of early generations like:

- Aḥmad bin Muhammad Ibn Ḥanbalī As-Shaybānī (d.855 CE/241 AH)
- Taqīyyu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Abdil- Ḥalīm Ibn Taymiyyah Al-Harrānī (d.1328CE/728AH)
- Muhammad Ibn 'Abdullah Ad-Dimashqī Al-Ḥāfiẓ Ad-Dhahabī As-Shāfi'ī (d.1348CE/748AH)
- Muhammad Ibn Abubakr Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah (d.1349CE/757AH)
- Ismā'īl Al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Kathīr (d.1378CE/774AH)
- Zaynu 'd-Dīn Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abdur-Raḥmān Ibn Rajab Al-Ḥanbalī (d.795AH)
- Muhammad bin Abdul-Wahhāb (d.1792CE)

The work presents their pro-*Ṣūfī* thoughts as contained in their various writings. It is remarkable to mention that, none of them, including Ibn Abdul Wahhāb, condemned Sufism outrightly, rather they made efforts to redefine some of the practices and thoughts they considered as unwholesome and alien to Islamic teaching.

Generally, all of them condemned *Waḥadat* 'l-*Wujūd* (Unity of Existence), *Al-Ḥulūl* (spiritual transformation), *Fanā'* (annihilation) among others, linking them to Greek philosophy and other religious practices which are alien to Islam. It is in the light of this that Sufis like Ibn 'Arabī, Al-Ḥallāj, Ibn Sirīn and others whom they alleged have combined Sufism with Greek and other philosophical ideologies were condemned and rejected. This work is therefore relevant as it contains some of the pro-Sufis thoughts of the classical *Salafiyyah* scholars without any reference to the modern ones.

In *Fahm 's-Salaf 's-Ṣāliḥ li-Nuṣūṣ 's-Shari'ah*¹⁷ by Al-Damījī which is written to enlighten and enrich the understanding of the readers about *Salafiyyah* movement, the author gives technical definition of *Salaf* bringing evidence from both the Qur'ān and the *Ḥadīth* to support his arguments. He equally stresses the importance of taking to the footpath of the early *Salaf*. He adduces the reasons to that effect. They include the following:

- ✓ The *Salafīyyah*'s sources of inspiration are the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunnah* as understood and explained by the *Salaf*.
- ✓ They show exceptional love and appetite for pristine knowledge and understanding of Islamic sources.
- ✓ They tend to apply pristine Islamic knowledge and comply with the teachings of the Prophet as reported in the authentic *Aḥādīth*.
- ✓ They take to the foot-steps of the Companions because they are convinced that, since they lived with the Prophet and witnessed the revelation of the *Qur'ān*, they have a clear and better understanding of his life and methodology than anybody among the Muslims of later generations.
- ✓ They are the most learned group of Muslims of all generations and they guard jealously, what was bequeathed to them by the *Salaf*.

Al-Damījī writes that all these account for their emphasis on the glorious *Qur'ān* and the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet. The followers therefore believe that whatever that comes thereafter, which is not in line with the practices or belief of the first three generations of Islam, is an aberration because Allah has foreclosed Islam from any form of adjustment, inclusion or exclusion by any individual no matter how highly placed.

It is therefore pertinent, according to the author, to hold in high esteem the path of the *Salaf*. This is because:

- It is the way to get closer to Allah;
- It is the surest means of intercession on the day of resurrection;
- It is devoid of variations;
- It guarantees tranquility of soul; and
- It clearly distinguishes between *Bid'ah* (innovation) and *Sunnah*;

The work under review discusses *Salafīyyah* only without any reference to *Ṣūfī* or Sufism which this work intends to address, though it supplies useful information.

Concept of *Bid'ah* (Innovation)

Ali in his work, *Understanding the Evil of Innovation (Bid'ah)*,¹⁸ expounds on what he considers as evils occasioned by prevalence of *Bid'ah* among the Muslim *Ummah*. He starts his discourse by establishing the fact that revelation of Qur'ān 5:3 has foreclosed Islam from any form of innovative practices because any strange practice thereafter, especially after the period of *Salaf* is not part of Islam. He adds that Muslims should abide by the text of the Qur'ān as explained by the Prophet and understood by the early generations of Islam (*Salaf*). He is vehement in declaring every innovation as strictly forbidden in Islam and should be shunned by Muslims, else one gets astray. He states that Allah and His Messenger have strongly warned the Muslims against it (*Bid'ah*) citing various references from both the Qur'ān and *Sunnah*. He equally states that innovation is the way and methodology of the Jews and the Christians, therefore whoever practises or indulges in any act of innovation has left the fold of Islam for either of the two ways. The work discusses *Bid'ah* from general perspectives. It will be useful in discussing the *Ṣūfī* concept of *Bid'ah* in this thesis.

According to Jahar who writes, *Bid'ah versus Maṣāliḥ Al-Mursalah and Al-Istiḥsān: As-Shatibi's legal frame work*¹⁹ in order to discuss *Bid'ah* in relation to *Maslahah* and *Istiḥsān* both of which centre on the issue of public interest in *Fiqh* context, *Bid'ah* is defined in a way that shows similarities with the other two variables (*Al-Maslahah* and *Istiḥsān*). The question of whether or not every innovation is an aberration (*kullu Bid'atin ḍallālah*) therefore drags the writer to limit *Bid'ah* to the acts of *ʿIbādah* (worship), while the tool for *Muʿamalah* (transaction or non-spiritual matters) *Maṣāliḥ Al-Mursalah and Al-Istiḥsān* is *Ḥalāl* (lawful) or *Ḥarām* (unlawful). The relevance of *Ijtihād* (exercise of personal opinion) and division of *Bid'ah* into good and bad innovations (*ḥasanah wal sayyiat*) becomes an imperative. The writer submits in respect of *Bid'ah* and its relevance in *Fiqh* stating that in the realm of *Fiqh*, *Bid'ah* has little or no relevance. He therefore states that while dealing with human welfare matters, rational judgment to proffer a lasting solution to issues, especially for the progress and wellbeing of all subsists, but that there are limitations to it in spiritual matters. The article is relevant as its discourse on *Bid'ah* will constitute part of the contextual development of this work.

*Talbīsu Iblīs*²⁰ which has gained a wide range of perusal across both *Ṣūfī* and *Salafiyyah* circles is written by Ibn Al-Jawzī, a *Ṣūfī-Salafiyyah* scholar who tends to maintain a middle course between the two extremes. He equally wrote some other works on Sufism among which is *Ṣifātū 'ṣ-Ṣafwah*. The work under review (*Talbīsu Iblīs*) discusses various ways by which people have ignorantly fallen in to devil's trap of deception while the Sufis are not left out.

The chapter eleven (11) of the work centres on Sufism and it is the most lengthy of all. The writer differentiates between the early Sufis whom he claims adhere to the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* than the latter Sufis. He points out that in matters of belief, cleanliness, *Ṣalāt*, poverty, clothing, eating, drinking, *Samā'* (music) and *Raqṣ* (dance), *Wajd* (presence), *Tawakkul* (reliance), *Ṣalātu 'l-Jumu'ah* (Friday service) and *Jam'ah* (congregational prayer), abstinence from marriage, less desire for having children, going in to seclusion (*Khalwah*) without needed preparation for food and while travelling, playing down the importance of knowledge, most Sufis are found wanting. He caps it up with Mystics' accounts on the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet and identifies their excesses.

On a general note, Sufis' approach and explanation on each of the items above is condemned by the author who in turn sets a middle course that is neither of the two. The chapter also discusses *Wilāyah* (sainthood). He points out that devil has carried many away by their intents to perform *Karāmāt* (miracles) to establish their proximity with Allah. Therefore, he submits that working miracle is not a yardstick for proof of sainthood. Specifically, he condemns fortunetelling, horoscope reading, and states that in most cases Sufis are known for perpetrating them. He particularly mentioned Al-Ḥalāj as leaving the study of religion for the study of magic to work different miracles. The book did not discuss both the *Ṣūfī* and *Salafiyyah* from critical perspectives. The work is relevant in the contextual development of this work.

Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy (Celebration of the Birthday of the Prophet)

In the view of Yusuf who wrote, *Is Commemorating the Auspiciousness of Historical Events from the Sunnah or is it a Bid'ah* ?²¹ which is meant to defend the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet which has been condemned by different scholars, especially the *Salafiyyūn*, celebration of the great days or occasions is enshrined in the *Sunnah* of the Prophet. He buttresses this fact with the incident of the Jews of Madinah when he (the Prophet) arrived there and discovered that they used to fast on the 10th of *Muḥarram* to commemorate the day Allah liberated them from the hands of Firaʿwn courtesy of prophet Mūsā. He (Prophet Muhammad) directed the companions to do the same on 9th and 10th stating that Muslims are closer to Mūsā than the Jews. The writer therefore, uses this to establish two instructive facts. The first is that it demonstrates the silence approval to imitate the Jews and the second is his (Prophet) unique decision to enshrine the practice in his *Sunnah*. Therefore, commemorating his birthday as a day Allah sent the *Raḥmah* (mercy) to the entire world, in the opinion of the writer is the mightiest thing to do.

Furthermore, the writer argues that Allah Himself commemorates the birthday of Prophet Muhammad with different miraculous events that occurred the very day the Prophet was born. He therefore identifies about ten (10) incidents to that effect. Some of them are:

1. Allah caused the Idols in Kaʿabah to fall down.
2. He extinguished the fire of Persia.
3. Only male children were born on the day the Prophet was born.
4. The skies were illuminated.
5. Paradise was further decorated on this occasion.
6. Allah removed drought from Makkah, turned the earth to green, made the trees to bear fruits, and blessings came to the Quraysh from every direction.

The writer goes further in defense of this practice and to expose the ingenuiness of the critics, to cite some instances where the *Salafiyyūn*, especially the Saudi scholars who are staunch enemies of this celebration, are fond of doing same, which they should have ordinarily not, if they are absolutely conscious of their proclamations of *Mawlid* as an innovation. He itemises those celebrations which are held in high esteem by the Saudi *Salafiyyah* scholars as, the celebration of Shaykh Muhammad b. ʿAbdul Wahhāb’s birthday by Saudi government and scholar, tagged “*Usbūʿi Shaykh Abdul-Wahhāb*” *Mawlid* of the state, called *Yawmu ’l-Waṭinī* (National day),

celebrated on every 21st *Jimādā 'l-Ūlā*. It is equivalent to Independence Day in other countries of the world. *Mawlid* of the Nation's century: That is the celebration of the day, Shaykh Abdul Wahhāb established himself having got rid of all innovative practices. The day was called 100 *Ām 'l-Mamlakati 'l-ʿArabiyyati 's-Suʿdiyyah* “100 years of KSA”, January, 27th 1999. *Mawlid* of monuments and inscriptions. This is an annual event in Madinah where the King of Saudi will be presented with artistic inscriptions for being the custodian of the two holy mosques and in appreciation of his service to Islam.⁵⁷ The writer therefore concludes that if all these celebrations are not *Bidʿah* (innovation), how could the celebration of the noble Prophet of Allah be so called. The article is relevant as one of the controversial issues between the *Salafi* and *Ṣūfi* scholars on the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet, is one of the key issues this work intends to discuss at length.

Al-Azhari, *The history of the Mawlid*,²² gives a historical sketch of *Mawlid-Nabiyy* celebration. The work presents a synopsis of a work on the subject matter: *Tarikhu 'l-Iḥtifāl bi Mawlidī 'l-Nabiyy*, by an Egyptian scholar, Muhammad Khalid, translated into English language essentially for the English audience. He argues that *Mawlidu 'l-Nabiyy* celebration is a global event, mentioning some of the Muslim countries where it is being held annually as a national affair. He hints that this celebration needs to be carefully researched into considering the number of Muslims involved in it and its declaration as *Bidʿah* by some scholars. The writer submits that whoever does not show happiness for Prophet Muhammad has never experienced true happiness in life.

Al-Azhari equally presents an historical fact that the official celebration of the birthday of the Prophet started in Egypt, when it was formally celebrated by Fatimids (362AH/972CE-567AH/1174CE). On whether or not the celebration was ever held in Ḥijāz, present day Saudi Arabia, the seat of *Salafiyyūn*, he cites Ibn Jubayr (540-614AH), a sixth century scholar in Makkah and Ibn Batutah an eight century scholar, each mentioning how the celebration was held in the land of Hijaz in those two centuries.

The writer caps it up that about forty-seven (47) countries across the world today recognise and declare a public holiday to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet, in which some of them like

India, Fiji, Sri-Lanka and Guyana are not even Islamic countries. The writer finally concludes by nullifying several allegations against the celebration of *Mawlid* 'l-Nabiyy. He therefore, opines that it is never a Shi'ites event as claimed by some scholars. Since it is characterised by generosity and merriments, it should be encouraged by the *Salafiyyah* scholars as one of the beauties of Islam, instead of condemning it. The work is therefore relevant to this work because it provides useful information. This kind of work needs to be updated.

Owaisi in his book, *A Critique of Contemporary Puritan/Salafi Discourse on the issue of Mawlid and its Classification as Bid'ah* ²³ which is an unpublished dissertation submitted to the University of Cape Town, attempts to refute the claim of the *Salafiyyūn* who according to him laid false claims on towing the path of *Salaf* (the first three generations of Muslims) but in reality they are not, especially in their understanding and explanation of *Bid'ah* (innovation). He cites various instances where there had been one innovation or the other introduced in to the *Dīn* which was not there during the lifetime of the Prophet. The instances cited includes 'Umar, the second *Khalīfah* and 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Azīz vis-à-vis the number of *Raka'* in *Nāfilatu 't-Tarāwīḥ* observed during the nights of Ramadan. Another point of innovation by the companions was the innovation of Islamic calendar, the second *Adhān* on Friday *Jum'at* service and a host of others as contained in the work.

The researcher equally traces the trends of Salafism from the present adherents back to Ibn Abdul Wahhāb and Ibn Taymiyyah but disconnects them from Ibn Ḥanbalī, who was generally believed to have founded the movement. He argues that they have derailed from his (Ibn Hanbali) teachings. Having traced the history of celebration of the birthday of the Prophet, the researcher refutes the notion that *Mawlid* 'n-Nabiyy is a form of *'Ibādah* (worship) demonstrating that there is no connection between *Mawlid* and *Bid'ah* and if at all, it would be good innovation as understood from the tradition of the Prophet and other historical facts. The work is relevant because it discusses the celebration of the birthday of the Prophet which is one of the key issues this work is set to discuss extensively with special emphasis on modern *Salafiyyah* scholars' submissions.

Ziyāratu 'l-Qubūr (Grave visitation)

Zayāratu 'l-Qubūr wal-Istinjādu Bi 'l-Maqbūr,²⁴ is authored by Ibn Taymiyyah in response to a question posed to him by one of his disciples. Ibn Taymiyyah explains the etiquette of grave visitation as laid down in Islam having affirmed its credence in *Shari'ah* with evidence. He commences his general discourse with those who visit the grave of the Prophet in Madinah or those of saints purposely to seek for assistance. He divides grave visitors into three different categories. These are those who supplicate directly to the grave for curative and other purposes, those who visit the grave to seek blessing (*barakah*) from the deceased and those who take the grave as an intermediary or intercessor, through which they believe their prayer can get to Allah and be sanctioned. Ibn Taymiyyah condemns each of them categorically and vehemently declares them as *Mushrikun* (polytheists). He continues by further condemning the act of touching, rubbing and kissing the grave among other practices that people normally carry out on the graves of saints or that of the Prophet as alien to Islamic teaching as taught by the Prophet and the *Salaf*. Therefore, he enjoins the Muslims to shun those practices. The position of Ibn Taymiyyah shall be examined while discussing the contrary views of the Sufis on this matter in the relevant chapter of this thesis.

In *Al-Wajīz fi Ḥukmi Ziyāratī 'l-Qubūr 's-Shari'iyah wa 'l-Bid'ah*,²⁵ grave visitation is discussed in details, though with *Salafiyyah* background. The work has five (5) chapters, each focusing on a topical issue *vis-à-vis* grave visitation. The author starts his discourse by defining *Az-Ziyārah* (visitation) both from its grammatical and technical perspectives. He further examines the act of grave visitation in the light of Islamic primary sources (*Qur'ān* and *Sunnah*) and concludes that it is allowed by *Shari'ah*, though with some regulations. He therefore sets out the Islamic guidelines for grave visitation. Particular reference is equally made to the visitation to Prophet Muhammad's grave in Madinah and condemns the areas of excessiveness which those who visit the grave indulge in. Thereafter, the writer switches to issues of *Bid'ah* (innovation) in relation to grave visitation, especially as being perpetrated by the adherents of Sufism and others. He itemises the acts which constitute *Bid'ah* that are normally carried out by the visitors to grave yard. These are:

- Selection of a specific time for visitation like, a Thursday or Friday;
- Genuflection (*rukū'*) and prostration (*sajdah*) to the grave;

- Recitation of the whole or part of the Qur'ān at the grave site, especially *Sūratu 'l-Fātiḥah*, and *Sūratu Yāsin* among others; and
- Placement of decorative flowers, among others, on the grave.

The author submits without any hesitation that each of these acts constitutes *Bid'ah* (innovation), because the acts are not done by the *Salaf* but they are introduced into Islam from different religious and customary practices. The author therefore concludes his work by advocating observance of prophetic guidelines on the grave visitation and the need to shun acts that may lead to *Shirk* (associating partners with Allah). This book, no doubt, shall be found useful while discussing *Ziyāratul-Qubūr* vis-à-vis the position of the Sufis.

*Advice for the Muslim:*²⁶ It is a book written to explain and defend various *Ṣūfī* practices and to educate the Muslim populace against any misinformation. The author shed lights on grave visitation and some related matters. He discusses different grey areas and states categorically that each of them is not without proofs from both the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunnah*. The discussed areas include permissibility of seeking assistance through the Prophet and the saints or pious Muslim individuals. He also discusses the Islamic teachings on the dead, especially the saints and their souls and claims that the *Qur'ān* maintains their continuous existence even after their death (Q.3:169). The author equally discusses the grave visitation and claims that it does not constitute worship or acts of *Ibādah*. Intercession through the dead, building of tombs and the disappearance of some dead in their graves among others are clearly elucidated upon in the work and are confirmed by the author.

To intensify the genuineness of his claims and to expose the confusion of the anti-grave visitation advocates, he cites evidence from *Kitābu 'r-Rūḥ* of Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah where he (Ibn Qayyim) submits that the dead can hear and cheer if visited by people. He equally cites and refutes several other claims of *Salafīyyah* scholars who stood against the *Ṣūfī* on grave visitation to support some of his claims. The work is therefore relevant, though it does not provide more justifications of the Sufi on grave visitation which this work intends to cater for.

Sufism and Salafism in Nigeria

Olayiwola in his book, *Islam in Nigeria: One Crescent many focuses*,²⁷ examines various issues that are related to Islam in Nigeria. He particularly x-rays various controversial issues that are responsible for the unrest among the Muslims in the country. The discourse in the book spanned through the historical analysis of how Islam reached each of the three main ethnic nationalities that make up the country. The author discusses various issues that have played major role in dividing the Nigerian Muslims with particular reference to imbroglio between the Sufis and the *Salafīyyūn*. The work discusses both intra and inter- discords surrounding Sufism in Nigeria and how those factors have affected the Muslims negatively. Other issues discussed in the book include the scourge of Maitatsine cult, Ahmaidiyyah, Moon sighting and so on. The work equally identified some external factors that have contributed to the disunity among the Muslims in Nigeria and the effects thereof. Useful suggestions on the way to enhance mutual understanding and unity among the Muslims are made by the author. The book will therefore be useful while discussing Nigeria situation in this thesis.

Kaura, *Relevance of Qādiriyyah Sufism in the Jihād and Its Moderate Effect On the Leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate*,²⁸ is another relevant work to the discourse on *Salafīyyūn* and Sufis interactions in Nigeria. The paper itself is a conference paper written and presented to re-establish and re-affirm the efforts of Shaykh Uthman Danfodio, a *Ṣūfī* and a Qādirī on *Jihād* and the establishment of Sokoto Caliphate. The writer demonstrates how the Shaykh took active part in the formation and consolidation of political administration of the Caliphate and displayed a high sense of technocratic expertise in line with *Sharīʿah* principle. Kaura also points out how Shaykh combined physical *Jihād* which led to establishment of the caliphate and the conquest of different major Hausa/Fulani towns in the northern region of Nigeria as we have it today. Kaura re-emphasises the effects of Sufism on the live and attitude of the leadership of the Caliphate. He states that they (leadership of the Caliphate) refrain from perpetrating any act contrary to the dictates of *Sharīʿah*, shunned corruption, and other vices that characterised the conventional administrative system pointing out that if not for the *Ṣūfī* background and deep rootedness in its doctrines, they might have derailed and the Caliphate may not be sustained for long. The work is

relevant and will be useful to the development of the content of this work. This is because one of the key accusations of the *Salafiyyūn* on *Ṣūfī* is neglect of worldly matters, physical *Jihād* inclusive but concentrating on worship alone. Sufis like Danfodio and many more therefore had demonstrated the contrary and will be brought into focus in the course of this work.

An Introduction to Islamic Movements and Modes of Thoughts in Nigeria,²⁹ by Hassan, is a working paper written to survey Islamic organisations, Movements, and Ideologies in Nigeria and the nature of their interactions. The paper categorises major organisations and Movements that existed in the pre-colonial and colonial periods in Nigeria and those that have been in existence between 1960 and 2015, according to what differentiates one from the other. Sufism in Nigeria with emphasis on Qādiriyyah and Tijāniyyah orders occupied a major portion of the entire discourse of the paper. Having provided a historical account of how each of the orders came into being, the paper established that the Qādiriyyah was the first to reach the country before the Tijāniyyah, but with the reservation that the former has a wide range of influence than the latter. It is stated in the paper that, unlike the Qādiriyyah which is not present in some places in Nigeria, the tentacles of the Tijāniyyah spread across the country, including the Igboland. The paper equally submitted that both orders predated the advent of Salafism in Nigeria which its (Salafism) advent is attributed to Gumi, via the formation of *Izālah*. The paper also gave the historical backgrounds of the formation of the Muslim Students Society of Nigeria (MSSN), Shi'ism in Nigeria, and some fringe Islamic movements like Mahdism, Maitatsine, Isawa (Qur'anic Christians or Biblical Muslims or Christo-Muslims), Chrislam, The *Qur'aniyyūn*, Yan *Haqiqa*, and finally Boko Haram among others. The paper is a relevant and useful one to this thesis because it provides up to date information on the key areas of the discussions of this work, especially on Nigeria.

In concluding this chapter therefore and in considering the literatures from which the above arguments and submissions of different scholars are drawn and examined, the present research work shall carefully examine the arguments of both sides on the subject matter with the sole objective of coming up with a unique position expected to shed lights on the matters that generate controversies between the two Islamic sects and clear the grey areas. It is therefore a gap that appears not to have been filled with any intellectual work in the recent time. This will undoubtedly go a long way in developing a mutual understanding between the two sides and

enhancing the much needed unity among the Muslim *Ummah*. It is therefore believed that this is a modest contribution of this work to knowledge generally, and the subject matter specifically.

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CHAPTER TWO: THE CONCEPT OF SALAFIYYAH

2.1 Definition of *Salafiyyah*

Salafiyyah is derived from *Salaf* which is often translated as precursor, forebearer, predecessor, primogenitor, ancestor¹ among others. According to Athari, who aligns himself with the definition given by *Lisān 'l- 'Arab*,² *Salaf* refers to the people who came before or who had gone ahead of one in an endeavour.³ Al-Bashir narrows it down to connote a forefather or a progenitor or someone who has preceded one in life, time and experience, while those who come after, who will take inspiration from them, are known as successors or *Khulafā'*.⁴ Therefore, anyone among the successors who takes after the practices of the *Salaf* is technically known and called *Salafī* or *Salafiyyah* as a body or group⁵ in the sense of *Ḥanafī* or *Ḥanafiyyah*, *Mālikī* or *Mālikiyyah*, *Shāfi'ī* or *Shāfi'iyah* among others.

According to Ibn Rajab, *Salaf* refers to the first three generations of Muslims starting from that of the Prophet, the generations of the Companions and the *Tābi'ūn* (Successors). The people of this period are technically called *As-Salaf 'ṣ-Ṣāliḥūn* (the pious predecessors).⁶ The period is described by the Prophet as the best of all generations to come thereafter. He says:

خير القرون قرني ثم الذين يلونهم ثم الذين يلونهم⁷

The best of generations is my generation, then those who come after them, then those who come after them

Apparently, the above *Ḥadīth* refers to the period of the Prophet as the best of all generations, then, followed by the generations of the Companions and the *Tābi'ūn* (Successors of the Companions). The period is otherwise called or known as *As-Salaf 'ṣ-Ṣāliḥ* because it is the formative and the golden period of Islam from where the Muslims of the generations that follow it, even till the present time, are expected to draw their inspirations. This is imperative due to the presence of the Prophet, his Companions who lived with him and their Successors (*Tābi'ūn*) during the period. Those Companions therefore have a better understanding of the Prophet's methods and practices which, if the generations that follow should take to, it will guarantee their righteousness. Also, since the *Tābi'ūn* are taught by the Companions who are the direct students of the Prophet, who witnessed the revelation of the Qur'ān, they (*Tābi'ūn*) therefore form an

integral part of *Salaf* and their deeds, all together, should be precedents to others who come after them.⁸ So, those people with interest in towing the path of the *Salaf* are regarded as *Salafīyyūn*.⁹ It should equally be pointed out that this people are equally being referred to with different names, such as *Ahlu 's-Sunnah wa 'l-Jamā'ah* or *Ahlu 'l-Ḥadīth*, *Ahlu 'l-Atharī* and so on.¹⁰

In the Qur'ān, the word *Salaf* appears in six (6) different places, while it is used as *Aslaftum* and *Salafan* in two other places. It is interesting to note that each of these usages has the same connotation. They connote previous deeds or a bygone. The following few instances from the Qur'ān suffice.

Firstly, in *Sūratu 'l-Baqarah*, Allah says:

...فَمَنْ جَاءَهُ مَوْعِظَةٌ مِنْ رَبِّهِ فَانْتَهَى فَلَهُ مَا سَلَفَ وَأَمْرُهُ ...
إِلَى اللَّهِ

...So whoever has received an admonition from his Lord and desists may have what is past, and his affair rests with Allah...(Q2:275)¹¹

The above is an excerpt from the verse wherein Allah legislates regarding interest (*ribā*) and the need for the perpetrators to desist from it. The verse states that whoever heeds the advice as given in the Qur'ān and desists forthwith, all his previous dealings prior to his acquaintance with the message and discontinuation of the act will be forgiven, while those who persist shall be duly punished.

Secondly, in *Sūratu 'n-Nisā'*, while mentioning the categories of people that are prohibited for one to marry, Allah says:

وَلَا تَنْكِحُوا مَا نَكَحَ آبَاؤُكُمْ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ إِلَّا مَا قَدْ سَلَفَ

And do not marry those [women] whom your fathers married, except what is past. (Q.4:22)

The expression (إِلَّا مَا قَدْ سَلَفَ) is repeated in the next verse of the same *Sūrah*. In the two verses (Q.4:22 and 23), Allah prohibits one from contracting marriage with one's father's wife or combining two sisters concurrently as wives. Then, Allah states: *except what is past* to bring in an exception to those general rules. Therefore, where the marriage of the father to his hitherto wife or one has engaged a sister and either of the marriages has been legally dissolved either by divorce or death, then one can establish a lawful and legally valid marriage with either of them as the case may be.¹²

Thirdly, in *Sūratu 'l- Zukhuruf* (Q.43:56), Allah states how He made Fir'awn and his people a scapegoat for the generations to come after them. It reads:

فَجَعَلْنَاهُمْ سَلَفًا وَمَثَلًا لِلْآخِرِينَ

And We made them a precedent and an example for the later the coming generations. (Q.43:56)

From the verse therefore, *Salafan* is used in the same sense as the previous ones. From each of the above Qur'ānic verses, it is shown how the word *Salaf* is differently used but with the same meaning. *Salaf* therefore as previously submitted connotes past or bygone or what has happened in the past. The *Salafīyyah* is often interchanged by the scholars as *Ahlu 's-Sunnah Wal-Jamā'ah*. Both therefore refer to the group of people who adhere to the practices of Prophet Muhammad, his Companions, and their immediate Successors (*Tābi'ūn*).

In demonstrating how the two (*Salafīyyah* and *Ahlu 's-Sunnah Wal-Jamā'ah*), linked together, Al-Athari writes:

...وَهُمْ سَلَفُ هَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ مِنَ الصَّاحِبَةِ وَالتَّابِعِينَ وَمَنْ تَبِعَهُمْ بِإِحْسَانٍ إِلَى
يَوْمِ الدِّينِ ؛ الَّذِينَ اجْتَمَعُوا عَلَى الْكِتَابِ وَالسَّنةِ ، وَسَارُوا عَلَى مَا كَانَ
عَلَيْهِ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ - ظَاهِرًا وَبَاطِنًا¹³

They are the predecessors of this Community. They include the Companions, the Successors to the Companions and whoever follows their footsteps on good deeds till the

Day of Judgment. Those are the people who are united on the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*. They take after the footsteps of the Prophet, peace be upon him, both in outward and inward matters.

From the above passage therefore, it is clear that there is no thin line between the *Salafīyyah* and *Ahlu 's-Sunnah Wal-Jamā'ah*, hence the interchange in the nomenclatures. It should however be noted that *Jihādī* like Abdullahi Faïsal Al-Jamāikī (Jamaican), and a host of other scholars of *Ahlu 's-Sunnah Wal-Jamā'ah* distance themselves from the *Salafīyyah* as understood and explained by Saudi Arabian scholars. They rather refer to them as Saudi *Salafī*, *Wahhābiyyah* or *Najdiyyah*.¹⁴ Details will be discussed later.

Equally, there are group of Sufis like Mawlānā Asrār Rashīd, Muhammad Yasir Al-Ḥanafī and adherents of Deobandi order generally who often referred to themselves as *Salafīyyūn* or *Ahlu 's-Sunnah Wal-Jamā'ah*. They claim that Sufis are the most righteous people who take after the *Salaf* in all ramifications,¹⁵ while they condemn and disassociate themselves from the likes of Saudi *Salafī* and their accolades. They equally tagged them as deviant and heretic groups.¹⁶ *Salafīyyah* and *Ahlu 's-Sunnah Wal-Jamā'ah* are therefore umbrella names that provide shades for different groups among the Muslims.

2.2 History of Salafism

Unlike *Shī'ah*, *Mu'tazilah* and other movements that have clear dates of emergence or have major incidents that took place which led to their formation or commencement, Salafism has no clear historical record of emergence. This is not unconnected with the fact that it is a trend that developed gradually over the time. So, there is no specific date of its formation. Modern scholars and writers like Wellen has however perceived Salafism as synonymous with Wahhabism, hence he attributes its (Salafism) formation to Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb and declares him as the founder or the originator.¹⁷ There are other insinuations which suggest that Ibn Taymiyyah is the founder of *Salafīyyah*. The pro-Ibn Taymiyyah suggestion appears substantive. This is because Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb's teachings stem from his (Ibn Taymiyyah) influences on him. Also, there are indications that Ibn Taymiyyah was the first to use the term *Salaf* to refer to

the people of the first three generations of Muslims and advocate the need to adhere to the tenets and teachings of the Prophet, his Companions and their immediate Successors (*Salaf*).¹⁸

In *Majmū'c 'l-Fatāwā*, Ibn Taymiyyah narrates how he was accused of propagating the teachings and tenets of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal in most of his opinions and how he (Ibn Taymiyyah) sharply rejects this stating that:

فَقُلْتُ : لَا وَاللَّهِ ؛ لَيْسَ لِأَحْمَدَ بْنِ حَنْبَلٍ فِي هَذَا اخْتِصَاصٌ وَإِنَّمَا هَذَا
اعْتِقَادُ سَلَفِ الْأُمَّةِ وَأَيْمَةِ أَهْلِ الْحَدِيثِ¹⁹

I replied that: I swear by Allah, this is not from the teachings of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal. It is indeed the teachings and tenets of the predecessors of this Community and the scholars of *Ḥadīth*.

This was how he came up with the idea of *Salaf*. To substantiate this, there is an indirect reference in the tradition of the Prophet which indicates that when he was instructing his daughter, Fatimah, he is recorded by Al-Bukhari in his compilation to have stated:

فَإِنِّي نِعَمَ السَّلَفِ أَنَا لَكُمْ²⁰

I am indeed, the best predecessor for you

The *Salafiyyah* scholars have argued that this is an evidence that justifies the *Salafiyyah* as a nomenclature. From this, therefore, Ibn Taymiyyah, in many of his *Fatāwā* (legal opinions) and works called on people to adhere to the teachings of the *Salaf* because they are the people of the best generations of Islam.²¹ He therefore used to refer to those who adhere to the teachings of the *Salaf* as *Salafī* or *Salafiyyūn*.²²

Salafiyyah as branded by Ibn Taymiyyah was later built upon by Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb and continued to metamorphose gradually. Even prior to his (Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb) campaign, scholars like Adhahabī in *Sīru 'c Alām 'n-Nubulā*²³ and Ibn Kathīr in *Al-Bidāyah Wal-Nihāyah*²⁴ use the term *Salafī* to refer to some scholars who adhere to the *Sunnah* and propagate the teachings of Ibn Taymiyyah. There are some other prominent scholars who played key roles in the

crystallisation of Salafism, especially as we have the movement today in different fragmentations. The likes of Jamālu ‘d-Dīn Al-Afghānī (d.1897CE),²⁵ Muḥammad Abduh (d.1905CE), Rashīd Riḍā (d.1935CE)²⁶ and a host of others play major roles in making Salafism a household nomenclature in the Islamic scheme of things, especially when they realise that the growing influence of western imperialism in the Muslim lands would alter the true spirit of Islam. They therefore call for pan-Islamism.²⁷

A further trace on the origin of the *Salafīyyah* shows that the ideas and concepts are not different from what Imām Abū Ḥanīfah tagged as the belief system of *Ahlu ’s-Sunnah Wal-Jamā’ah* in his *Kitābu Fiqh ’l-Akbar*, though he does not use the term *Salaf*. He (Abū Ḥanīfah) discusses the names and attributes of Allah in details in this work. It will be recalled that one of the most contentious issues among theologians was *Al-Asmā’u wa ’ṣ-Ṣifāt* (Names and attributes of Allah).²⁸ Also, it would be remembered that he was the first of the four major *A’imah* (founders of schools of law in Islam) to tackle the menace of the scholastic theologians, hence he is often regarded as the Imām of *Ahlu ’s-Sunnah Wal-Jamā’ah* or Al-Imām Al-Akbar (the greatest Imam).²⁹ He (Abū Ḥanīfah) thus adopted the name in reflection of the prevailing circumstances during the time to distinguish between those who are on the path of the Prophet and those who had drawn in philosophical thoughts that are detriments to the Islamic belief.

It is equally pertinent to state that the nomenclature, *Ahlu ’s-Sunnah Wal-Jamā’ah* itself could be traced to Ibn ‘Abbās, a companion of the Prophet whose expertise is well pronounced in the aspect of *Tafsīr* (Qur’ānic exegesis). While interpreting the third chapter of the Qur’ān where Allah says:

يَوْمَ تَبْيَضُّ وُجُوهٌ وَتَسْوَدُّ وُجُوهٌ...

On the Day [some] faces will turn white and [some] faces will turn black..... (Q.3:106)

Ibn ‘Abbās says:

يعني: يوم القيامة، حين تبيض وجوه أهل السنة والجماعة، وتسود وجوه أهل البدعة³⁰

Meaning, on the day of resurrection when the faces of *Ahlu 's-Sunnah Wal-Jamā'ah* will turn white while those of the people of Innovation will turn black.

Therefore, it could be submitted that the term is first used by Ibn 'Abbās and by implication it has been in use since the days of the *Salaf*. So, there is no difference between it and what later develops into *Salafiyyah*.

However, having traced the historical background of *Salafiyyah* and *Ahlu 's-Sunnah Wal-Jamā'ah* to *Salaf*, it is pertinent to state that the concept and perception of the earlier scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah on *Salaf* and *Salafiyyah* shows that they understood it as a (*Manhaj*) concept and not as *Madhhab* (school of thought). But today, *Salafiyyah* is being taken as a school of thought with particular interest and emphasis on *Ḥanābilah* to the exclusion of others. In fact, other schools and non-*Ḥanābilah* scholars are seen as inferior. This is clearly demonstrated in the understanding and explanation of Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn in recent times. It is evident in their works that both scholars have taken the *Ḥanābilah* School as having an exclusive right to *Salaf*.³¹ This is the extreme that the modern *Salafiyyūn* have gone to.

On the contrary, Al-Bashir's opinion appears to be more appropriate in describing the *Salaf* and how it should be understood and approached as an all inclusive concept and methodology. He submits:

السلف الصالح منهج رحب..... فلا ينبغي ان نجعل الاجتهادات بعض الأئمة او بعض الأشخاص من الأقدمين عنوانا للانتماء الى السلف الصالح ثم نطرح بقية³²

As-Salaf 'ṣ-Ṣāliḥ is a broad methodology...It is inappropriate for us to adopt the juristic opinions of some scholars or individuals from among the previous scholars as representing the entire *As-Salaf 'ṣ-Ṣāliḥ* (the pious predecessor) then we reject others' views...

The above submission of Al-Bashir reflects the minds of early *Salafiyyah* scholars and writers like Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah, Ibn Kathīr, Adhahabī and a host of others in

whose opinions *Salaf* is understood as a broad concept which should be taken by the later generations as a template and not as a school of thought as being claimed by *Hanābilah* scholars.

2.3 Characteristics of the Period of *Salaf*

The intent here is to examine various events and activities that took place during the period of *Salaf* in order to determine their impacts and influences on the generations that followed them till the present time. This is imperative because a cursory assessment of issues that took place during that period provides a clear understanding of the status of the *Ummah* as it is today.

There are pockets of misunderstanding among scholars on the constituents of the period of *Salaf*, which the above tradition of the Prophet refers to, especially whether or not the *Tābiʿu 'l-Tābiʿīn* should be included. Scholars like Atharī³³ and other writers³⁴ exclude the period when the Prophet was alive from their estimations. They therefore count from the Companions, their Successors (*Tābiʿūn*) and Successor to the Successors (*Atbāʿu* or *Tābiʿu 'l-Tābiʿīn*). Also, in another estimation, some other scholars fused the Prophet and his Companions as one generation.³⁵ This therefore enables them to incorporate the Successors to the Successors among the *Salaf*.

The advocates for inclusion of the Successors to the Successors of the Companions (*Atbāʿu* or *Tābiʿu 'l-Tābiʿīn*) in the bid to buttress their view cite the following Quranic verse:

وَالسَّابِقُونَ الْأَوَّلُونَ مِنَ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَالْأَنْصَارِ وَالَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوهُمْ بِإِحْسَانٍ
رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ وَرَضُوا عَنْهُ وَأَعَدَّ لَهُمْ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ
خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا أَبَدًا ذَلِكَ الْفَوْزُ الْعَظِيمُ

And the first forerunners [in the faith] among the *Muhajirūn* and the *Anṣār* and those who followed them with good conduct – Allah is pleased with them and they are pleased with Him, and He has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow, wherein they will abide forever. That is the great attainment.(Q.9:100)

The above verse in the view of those scholars should be understood in determining the commencement of the period of *Salaf*. Since it starts from the Companions (*Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār*) therefore, the Prophet should be left out of the constituents. This therefore enables them to incorporate *Tābiʿu ʿl-Tābiʿīn* among the *Salaf*.³⁶

This is absolutely uncalled for because the above *Ḥadīth* is clear and does not need any interpretation, especially the one that may be far from its intended meaning and brings about confusion. The Prophet as indicated in the above tradition and many more of its kind is both instructive and categorical and did not leave anyone in the wilderness of doubts when he mentioned his era, period or generation and those of the two immediate Communities after his demise comprising the Companions and the Successors to the Companions (*Tabiʿūn*). Therefore, there is no basis for the inclusion of the *Atbāʿ* or *Tābiʿ ʿl-Tabiʿīn* as opined by those scholars.

Delimitation of *Qarnu* (القرن)

Qarnu is the core element of the above tradition of the Prophet. Scholars differ on what constitutes *Qarnu* as contained in the *Ḥadīth*. Ordinarily and according to Arabic dictionaries including *Lisānu l-ʿArab*, *Qarnu* is explained or translated as a century, which in other words, refers to one hundred (100) years.³⁷ There are other variations or varieties of meanings like “horn” and “confinement”, among others,³⁸ which however are not within the context of this discourse. Some Qurʾānic commentators like Al-Qurṭabī, Ar-Rāzī, Al-Andalūsī, As-Shawkānī among others also explain *Qarnu* as a century which simply refers to one hundred years in their various works.³⁹

Going by the above definition and explanation of a century *vis-a-vis* the period of *Salaf* as contained in the above *Ḥadīth* and explained by different scholars, it shows that the period of *Salaf* covers three *Qurūn* (centuries). In other words, three hundred (300) years should be put into consideration starting from the commencement of Muhammad’s prophethood in 610 CE.

This will automatically approximate to 910 CE as the end of the period of *Salaf*. This is equivalent to 313AH if converted to *Hijrā* date.

Another interpretation of *Qarnu* which may be substantiated with evidence from the Qur'ān, *Ḥadīth* and historical facts and which will equally underscore the objectives of the *Salafiyyah* proponents is understanding of *Qarnu* in the sense of existence of individuals or a group of persons who lived together.⁴¹ This could be otherwise understood and regarded as a generation. In this wise therefore, the first generation ends with the demise of the Prophet in 10AH/632CE. The second generation equally ends with the death of the last of the Companions of the Prophet which according to Aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ibn Ḥizām, Ibn Khalidūn, Ibn Ḥajar, Ibn Kathīr, Adhahabī and other historians is Abū-Ṭufayl ʿAmr who died in 110AH.⁴² The third and the last generation of *Salaf* also ends with the death of the last *Tābiʿ*. Khalaf Ibn Khalīfah is therefore unanimously agreed upon by the historians as the last *Tābiʿ* to depart this world in the year 180AH.⁴³

The above proposition tallies with the explanation of Al-Khaḍirī who explains in the light of another version of the same *Ḥadīth* which reads:

حدثنا عبدان عن أبي حمزة عن الأعمش عن إبراهيم عن عبيدة عن
عبد الله رضي الله عنه : عن النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم قال (خير
الناس قرني ثم الذين يلونهم ثم الذين يلونهم ثم يجيء من بعدهم قوم
تسبق شهادتهم أيمانهم وأيمانهم شهادتهم) البخاري⁴⁴

We were told by ʿAbdān on the Authority of Abi Ḥamzah who reported from Al-ʿAʿamash from Ibrahim from ʿUbaydah from Abdullah, May Allah be pleased with him. He reported from the Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him who said: The best of people are those that live in my generation, then those who come after them, then those who come after them. Then, there will come after them another group of people who will bear witness before taking oaths and take oaths before bearing witness. (Al-Bukhārī)

Al-Khaḍirī submits that the above tradition is most appropriate than the earlier one above.⁴⁵ He demonstrates his intention to elevate and adopt this *Ḥadīth* version as the exact text of the statement of the Prophet and that there is an error in the earlier report.⁴⁶ In other words therefore,

Qarnu as it appears in the earlier tradition harbours an error, an interpolation, a distortion or an interference during the course of reportage. This is further substantiated with the facts that a check through the books of *Ḥadīth* shows that the second has higher frequency than the first. It therefore testifies to this fact. Strengthening this further, Ibn Taymiyyah identifies Abubakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī as the best individuals who have lived after the Prophet.⁴⁷

Furthermore, *Qarnu* appears at different places in the Qurʾān. Understanding the Qurʾānic usage or connotation is imperative to grasp the intended message of the Prophet in the *Ḥadīth*. The exegetes of both classical and modern periods have explained its meaning as referring to an age or a period or an era with each being determined by the passage of the last individual in a given generation.⁴⁸ The word *Qarnu* first appears in the Qurʾān in *Sūratul-Anʿām*. Allah says:

أَلَمْ يَرَوْا كَمْ أَهْلَكْنَا مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ مِنْ قَرْنٍ مَكَّيْنَاهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ مَا لَمْ نُمَكِّنْ لَهُمْ
وَأَرْسَلْنَا السَّمَاءَ عَلَيْهِمْ مِدْرَارًا وَجَعَلْنَا الْأَنْهَارَ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهِمْ
فَأَهْلَكْنَاهُمْ بِذُنُوبِهِمْ وَأَنْشَأْنَا مِنْ بَعْدِهِمْ قَرْنًا آخَرِينَ

Have they not seen how many generations We destroyed before them which We had established upon the earth as We have not established you? And We sent [rain from] the sky upon them in showers and made rivers flow beneath them; then We destroyed them for their sins and brought forth after them a generation of others. (Q.6:6)

Explaining *Qarn* in this verse, Ar-Rāzī submits:

القرن القوم المقترنون في زمان من الدهر فالمدة التي يجتمع فيها قوم
ثم يفترقون بالموت فهي قرن ، لأن الذين يأتون بعدهم أقوام آخرون
اقتربوا فلهي قرن آخر⁴⁹

Al-Qarnu refers to a group of people that live together in a given period. It lasts for the period that a certain group of people spend together before they are dispersed by death. So, those who come after them are a set of another people who belong to another generation.

The above explanation of *Ar-Rāzī* seems to have summarised the opinions of various other exegetes such as *Al-Andalūsī*, *Al-Qurṭubī* among others on the interpretation of *Qarnu* in the *Qur'ān*.

This work therefore subscribes to the above positions or definitions by *Al-Khaḍirī* and *Ar-Rāzī*. To this end, the period of *Salaf* starts with the prophethood of Muhammad and ends with the death of the last *Tābiʿu* in 180 *Hijrah* which is equivalent to 796 CE. This position equally corresponds to and could be strengthened with another *Qur'ānic* reference (Q.9:100) cited above which the pro-*Tābiʿu* 't-*Tābiʿīn* inclusive scholars have used as the yardstick for their submission. The verse describes the Companions of the Prophet and the *Tābiʿūn* (Successors to the Companions) as those whom Allah is pleased with first before others. If Allah had not stopped at the *Tābiʿūn*, those scholars perhaps, would have had a case but He did.

Major Event and Activity During the Period of *Salaf* that Shape the Generations that Follow it

As established above, the period of *Salaf* houses the golden period of Islam, that is the period when the Prophet was alive which should serve as a template for both spiritual and mundane matters to the later generations. This is because it is the period of revelation of the *Qur'ān*, when the Prophet was present and his Companions who were his direct students and eye witness to the revelation of the *Qur'ān*, were equally alive. *Al-ʿUthaymīn* and *Ibn Bāz* describe the period with a short, simple but all-encompassing word. They write:

فإن السلف الصالح صدر هذه الأمة مجمعون على إثبات ما وصف الله
به نفسه ، ووصفه به رسوله⁵⁰

Indeed, the period of the *Salaf* is the source of guidance to this Community. They (Companions, during the period) are united in establishing the qualities with which Allah describes Himself and those ones with which His messenger describes Him with.

Therefore, later generations from *Tābiʿu 't-Tābiʿīn* (Successor to the Successors) till the present time should borrow a leaf from them both in theory and in practice.

However, despite the importance of this period to the later generations of Muslims, there are a lot of events and incidents that took place which have both positive and negative effects on the generations that follow. It is important to point out that the majority of the events in the period centre on socio-political and economic issues. There are as well some pockets of others on religious matters. In facts, the occurrences during this time which led to the emergence of sectarian divisions shaped the fate of the coming generations both in remote and immediate senses. This work does not list out all of those events, it however discusses the one that is most relevant to its course.

Ahlu 's –Şuffah (Companions of the Bench)

One of the noticeable groups with distinct activities during the period of *Salaf* is *Aşḥābu 's-Şuffah* (Companions of the Bench). *Aş-Şuffah* is a courtyard or a shade at the mosque of the Prophet in Madinah.⁵¹ There are some Companions that the Prophet kept there for distinctive spiritual exercise and other purposes. He attended privately to them and gave them special attention.⁵² Scholars and historians have written a lot on these Companions and their activities, though with diverse interests. They are described as the guests of Islam among the *Muhājirūn* who possessed nothing in terms of shelters, clothes among others.⁵³ This, however, may not be absolutely correct because there are some Madinites known as Al-Anṣār among them. What is more appropriate is that there are some Companions who intentionally wanted to shun worldliness and engaged themselves in intense spiritual activities, they therefore lived in the court of the Prophet's mosque to fulfil their desires.⁵⁴

The Qur'ān in three different places makes reference to them and their activities. In the first place, Allah describes them and their attitudes to worldly materials, thus:

لِلْفُقَرَاءِ الَّذِينَ أُحْصِرُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ لَا يَسْتَطِيعُونَ ضَرْبًا فِي الْأَرْضِ
يَحْسَبُهُمُ الْجَاهِلُ أَغْنِيَاءَ مِنَ التَّعَفُّفِ تَعْرِفُهُمْ بِسِيمَاهُمْ لَا يَسْأَلُونَ النَّاسَ
إِلْحَافًا وَمَا تَنْفَقُوا مِنْ خَيْرٍ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ بِهِ عَلِيمٌ

(Charity is) for those in need, who, in Allah's cause are restricted (from travel), and cannot move about in the land, seeking (for trade or work): the ignorant man thinks, because of their modesty, that they are free from want. Thou shalt know them by their (Unfailing) mark: They beg not importunately from all the sundry. And whatever of good ye give, be assured Allah knoweth it well. (Q:2:273)

This verse therefore describes the asceticism of these pious Companions.

The other two places are Q.6:52 & 18:28 where references are made to the Companions of the Bench . There is unanimity of opinion among various exegetes of both classical and modern period, that each of the above verses of the Qur'ān refers to the Companions of the Bench .⁵⁵ The first verse reflects their dedication and desire to live an ascetic life, as there are among them those who wore woollen cloths.⁵⁶ The second verse describes their spiritual activities while the third specifically reflects the warning of Allah to the Prophet not to disperse them out of the complaints of some rich Companions. These verses are therefore codes of conduct to the Prophet and his Companions who associate with them (*Ahlu 's –Şuffah*).

In *Ḥilyat 'l-Awliyā'*, Abū Na'īm identifies over a hundred (100) of these Companions among whom are Abu Hurairah and Abu Dhar 'l-Ghifārī.⁵⁷ One notable fact about these Companions of the Bench is that none of them featured either prominently or otherwise in all the fracas and chaos that engulfed the Muslim *Ummah* after the demise of the Prophet not even Abu Hurayrah who lived longer after the demise of the Prophet.

Effects of the Events and Activities that Took Place During the Period of *Salaf* and their Implications on the Later Generations after them

The Prophet is reported to have described his mission as successful. This is because he was categorical in stating that he did not leave any stone unturned in whatever that may be

beneficial or detrimental to his *Ummah*. He laid better examples and indicated the Qur'ān and his *Sunnah* as the point of reference to his companions.⁵⁸ The Prophet elsewhere was equally reported to have been more specific by directing the Companions and the Muslims to adhere to the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* for guidance.⁵⁹ However, the period of *Salaf*, which the Prophet described as the best of generations, could not hold the *Ummah* together as one indivisible entity but bequeath both the good and the ugly to the generations of Muslims that follow them. Here are few of those legacies, especially as related to this work.

Mistrust and Distrust among the *Ṣaḥābah*

A tradition of the Prophet has earlier been quoted in this work which describes the Companions as the sources of inspiration to this *Ummah* in whom the Prophet expresses his confidence. Their precepts remain a unique template for the coming generations after them. However, the case was different after the demise of the Prophet. This is because there arose a high sense of mistrust and distrust among the Companions. What accounted for suspicion among them was not unconnected with different factors which border on leadership. It should be remarked that immediately after the death of the Prophet and the question of who succeeds him came up, the Muslim *Ummah* was engulfed with different shades of interests from different quarters. The emergence of Abubakar and the three other rightly guided *Khulafā'* was characterised with agitations from different interest groups.⁶⁰ The *Ummah* was shrouded in confusion and doubts as if the Prophet was silent on the question of successor after his demise or he did not set the rules for emergence of a leader in Islam at all. All these suffice to establish the point of mistrust and distrust among the Companions.

The high level of mistrust and distrust among the Companions and the *Tābi'ūn* brought about fabrication of stories, *Ḥadīth*, juristic position and so on just to drive home an individual or group interests. All these later led to suspicions and thus people were engulfed with different shades of confusion. Therefore, there is the necessity to search for the truth by different methods to scrutinise information. The books of *Uṣūl* and *Tarīkh* are replete with how people made enquiry in their bid to ascertain the truth. In the introductory chapter of *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Imam Al-Muslim, we find this report:

عَنِ ابْنِ سِيرِينَ قَالَ لَمْ يَكُونُوا يَسْأَلُونَ عَنِ الْإِسْنَادِ فَلَمَّا وَقَعَتِ الْفِتْنَةُ
قَالُوا سَمُّوا لَنَا رَجَالَكُمْ فَيُنْظَرُ إِلَى أَهْلِ السُّنَّةِ فَيُؤْخَذُ حَدِيثُهُمْ وَيُنْظَرُ إِلَى
أَهْلِ الْبِدْعِ فَلَا يُؤْخَذُ حَدِيثُهُمْ⁶¹

On the authority of Ibn Sīrīn who said (initially) there was no inquiry on the source of information. But when there occurred the crises (in the Muslim Community), people start to demand for source of information by saying: Mention to us your men, i.e informants. Then, people were so particular on the people of *Sunnah* before accepting information while those from the people of innovation (corrupt) individuals are rejected.

As-Sibā', and others submit that this situation particularly led to the formation of the science of *Ḥadīth* authentication due to large scale forgery during the period of *Salaf*.⁶²

Undoubtedly, the scepticism is occasioned by the unprecedented doubtful and unreliable situation people found themselves in at that time. Therefore, the seed of mistrust sown during the period of *Salaf* germinated as time passes by. In other words, mistrust and distrust were part of what was handed over to the later generations. It thus finally led to the development of different sciences to scrutinise information in Islam.

Documentations and Codifications

As a result of suspicions and confusions explained above, there arose after the *Salaf* the need to compile, codify, and distinctly document different aspects of Islam and its sciences for preservation and learning purposes and above all to secure and guard the real message of Islam against any form of interpolation, distortion or dovetailing into alien and corrupt religious and cultural practices that are prevalent at that time. Islamic scholars therefore found themselves in between two situations. The first is to preserve Islam from internal unwholesomeness necessitated by corrupt belief systems among the Muslims. The second is how to safeguard Islamic messages from other cultures and religious practices where Islamic territories have expanded to. The dire need to separate the chaff from the grains as a result of the expansion,

conquest, mixture of cultures and to study each in its depth led to the documentation and codification of various aspects of Islamic sciences which started during the third generation and continued thereafter. Hence, each is separated and codified as a distinct field of study. Therefore, we have *Tafsīr* as a distinct subject from *Ḥadīth*, *Fiqh*, *Tārīkh*, *Sīrā* among others.

Disintegration and Fragmentations

The Muslim Community that the Prophet left for the Companions was a single and indivisible entity. Despite all the untoward events during his life time, he was able to manage the *Ummah* and all its diversities in a way that things were not fallen apart. This, however, could not be sustained by the Companions after the demise of the Prophet. There were series of wars, conflicts, rebellious activities which led to different sectarian divisions among them. They therefore handed over to the later generations sects like *Khawārij*, *Mu^ctazilah*, *Ashi^cariyyah*, *Jabariyyah*, *Qadariyyah*, *Shi^riah* to mention but just a few.

Search for True Islamic Identity

As a result of different fragmentations and divisions that are handed over to the later generations which have left many in the wilderness, it is somewhat difficult to easily identify the real Islam from various fragments and lopsidedness. There arose, therefore, the need to search for the real and the true Islamic identity. It automatically gave birth to further divisions, each group laying claim to righteousness. The *Ṣūfī*, *Salafī*, *Aḥmadī*, *Tablighī*, *Sunnī*, Shi^cites, *Jihādī* among others are fond of laying claim to righteousness and being on the right path as exemplified by the Prophet. It is now difficult for one to reconcile the various divisions which are the effects of the various crises that engulfed the *Ummah* during the period of *Salaf*.

2.4 Salafīyyah's Ideology

Ordinarily, *Salafīyyah* does not have an ideology that is different from that of the rest of the Muslims. This is because whatever form of beliefs that one professes, as long as one belongs to the fold of Islam, the pillars of Islam as well as the articles of faith must neither increase nor decrease. It is on the basis of this that Shi^cah is declared by scholars as outside the fold of Islam.

They alter some Islamic belief systems, for example, the incorporation of ʿAlī as the saint of Allah in their *Shahhādah*.⁶³ What *Salafīyyah* however does that appears to be different is that they offer explanations to those Islamic belief systems in a systematic manner that somewhat indicates their clear departure from the norms of other groups or sects. To this end, *Salafīyyah* adopts the five pillars of Islam, *Shahādah*, *Ṣalāt*, *Zakat*, *Ṣawm* and *Ḥajj*, and made efforts to explain each according to their own conception of them. They do not also hold a belief that is contrary to that of others on the articles of faith. That is, belief in Allah, the angels, the revealed books, the prophets, Last Day and fate. They neither add nor remove from these six (6) articles.

However, *Salafīyyah* scholars offer explanations that are quite distinct and different from others and they consider their stand to be more appropriate than any other one, especially on the articles of faith. It is imperative in their opinion to offer a clear-cut explanation on ʿAqīdah (Islamic belief) and allegorical verses of the Qurʾān considering the factors that account for sectarian divisions in Islam. Also, it would be recalled that one major factor that leads to the formation of what has earlier been established as *Atharī* creeds which later metamorphosed into Salafism is the concept of belief in God. Initially, there have been various explanations on the nature of God, His attributes and works, especially in relation to man’s fate which according to them (*Salafīyyah*) have engendered misconceptions among the Muslims. Scholars like Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī, and Ḥanbalī are on records to have tirelessly fought it out with each of the scholastic theologians at their respective times. The *Salafīyyah* therefore attempts to offer an all-inclusive position on these controversial issues, hence the efforts to blend and amend various views of the earlier scholars. They equally attempt to make their path the most righteous, hence those who refused to be fused to them are declared as hypocrites, innovators and infidels among other derogative names and appellations.

A cursory study of *Salafīyyah*’s explanations on belief in Allah, destiny and other articles of faith and issues that accounted for the emergence of sects shows that they came up with these shade of explanations to afford the Muslims an alternative to what they considered as wrong beliefs of the Muslim theologians. The first to make such an attempt is Imām Abū Ḥanīfah who entitled his book, *Al-Fiqh ’l-Akbar*. Despite the resistance of Imam Shāfiʿī, Mālikī and their students from engaging in either inter- or intra-theological discourse, there are traces of such in

their various works. Imam Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbalī in his days equally engaged the theologians and even went into a physical war with them.⁶⁴

Ibn Taymiyyah was another prominent individual who introduced a systemic way into the explanations of *‘Aqīdah* according to *Salafīyyah*. Contrary to the general belief and explanation of *Salafīyyah* on *Tawḥīd* which was first divided into two (*Ar-Rububiyyah*, *Al-Hulūhiyyah* and *‘Ubūdiyyah*) by Abū-Ḥanīfah in his *Fiqh ‘l-Akbar*,⁶⁵ Ibn Taymiyyah adds the third one which is *Tawḥīd ‘l-Asmā’ Wa ‘ṣ-Ṣifāt* (names and attributes of Allah).⁶⁶ Several other *Salafīyyah* scholars after them have been explaining and conversing on them. Therefore, *Tawḥīd* has since been divided into three and every *Salafīyyah* scholar holds onto it tenaciously, except in the recent time when there is agitation for inclusion of the fourth one, which is *Tawḥīd Al-Ḥākimiyyah* by the *Jihādī Salafī*, like Sayyid Quṭb (d.1966) in his famous work entitled *Mu‘alim fī ‘ṭ-Ṭarīq*. Others are Ṣafar Al-Ḥawālī, Salmān Al-Awdā, Abdullahi Al-Faiṣal Al-Jamāikī and a host of others. They buttress this assertion with evidence from both Ibn Taymiyyah’s⁶⁷ and Ibn Kathīr’s⁶⁸ works. The move has however been met with serious rejection and condemnation from other *Salafīyyah* scholars like Ibn Bāz, Ibn ‘Uthaymīn, Shaykh Fawzān and a host of others.⁶⁹

Explanation of *Shahādah* (Islamic Testamentary Statement)

The *Salafīyyah*, in explaining the concept of *Shahādah* which is the first of the six (6) articles of faith comes up with the idea of *Shurūṭ ‘s-Shahādah* (conditions of testimony) which has seven (7) elements. These are:

- (1) *Al- ‘Ilm* (Knowledge about Allah, especially His names and attributes)
- (2) *Al- Yaqīn* (Certitude)
- (3) *Al- Qabūl* (Acceptance of Allah as God/Lord)
- (4) *Al- Inqīyād* (Compliance with the laws of Allah)
- (5) *Aṣ-Ṣidq* (Truthfulness)
- (6) *Al- Ikhlāṣ* (Sincerity)
- (7) *Al- Maḥabbah* (Love)⁷⁰

They offer this shade of explanations to avail the Muslims the opportunity to clearly understand Allah and appreciate how He operates.

Another aspect of belief which attracts distinct explanation and reactions of *Salafīyyah* scholars is *Qadar* (fate, destiny or predestination). The discussion about *Qadar* is essentially necessitated by the attitudes of the *Umayyad* ruling class who always appeal to people's senses over their misdeeds and corrupt practices under the pretext that Allah has destined and predetermined all that they were doing.⁷¹ This specifically accounts for the emergence of Mu'tazilites, Jabarites, Qadarites, Murji'ites among others.⁷²

In proffering a distinctive explanation to the menace which has aided the spread of corruption in no small measures among the Muslim Community, *Salafīyyah* gives the following explanations. They submit that:

Belief in divine decree entails four main components for its proper and clear understanding. These are:

- (1) Divine knowledge of everything before it happens.
- (2) Writing: This means having possessed the knowledge of everything by Allah, each is written down in *Al-lawḥu 'l-Mahfūz* (Preserved Tablet).
- (3) Divine will: It means everything that happens in the universe is in accordance with the will of Allah.
- (4) Creation: This connotes that Allah is the creator of everything including man and his actions. But man will be held responsible for whatever he does because Allah has given him the free will and power of reasoning to make his choice and whatever he chooses will determine whether he deserves rewards or punishments.⁷³

Other Distinctive Beliefs of the *Salafīyyah*

Al-Walā Wal-Barā: This correlative concept has been differently translated into English Language. Among such translations are loyalty and disavowal, association and disassociation, and to love and to hate for Allah's sake. In other words, every act of a Muslim should be determined and dedicated to Allah and His Prophet's sake.⁷⁴ This is an Islamic concept which is held in high esteem by the *Salafīyyah*. It connotes love for the sake of Allah and hate for His sake alone as a requirement for perfection of faith of every Muslim.⁷⁵

The concept (*Al-Walā Wal-Barā*) is based on the provision of the following verse of the Qur'ān:

وَقَالَ الَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوا لَوْ أَنَّ لَنَا كَرَّةً فَنَتَبَرَّأَ مِنْهُمْ كَمَا تَبَرَّءُوا مِنَّا كَذَلِكَ يُرِيهِمُ اللَّهُ أَعْمَالَهُمْ حَسَرَاتٍ عَلَيْهِمْ وَمَا هُمْ بِخَارِجِينَ مِنَ النَّارِ

Those who followed will say, "If only we had another turn [at worldly life] so we could disassociate ourselves from them as they have disassociated themselves from us." Thus will Allah show them their deeds as regrets upon them. And they are never to emerge from the Fire. (Q: 2: 167)

In explaining this verse, *Salafiyyah* relied on several traditions of the Prophet as the commentator on the Qur'ān per excellence; the following tradition was reported from the Prophet:

عن ابن عباس : عن النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم أنه قال لأبي : يا أبا ذر أي عرى الإيمان أوثق ؟ قال الله عز و جل و رسوله أعلم قال : الموالاة في الله و الحب في الله و البغض في الله⁷⁶

On the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās who reports that the Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, asked Abi Dhar: "Oh Abi Dhar! Which is strongest bond of faith? He responded stating that Both Allah and His messenger know the best. The Prophet then said: (The strongest bond of faith) is loyalty for Allah's sake, love for His sake and hate for His sake.

Scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah, have rendered several explanations in their works on the concept of loving and hating for the sake of Allah. *Salafiyyah* scholars ostracise and detest dealing with people who take pride in sin among the Muslims. Others are *Mushrik* (polytheist), *Munāfiq* (hypocrites), *Mubtadiʿ* (innovator) among others.⁷⁷ It (*Al-Walā Wal-Barā*) therefore an essential issue among the *Salafiyyah* scholars.

***Takfīr* (Anathematisation)**

This connotes the idea of excommunication of a fellow Muslim by declaring him a *Kāfir* (infidel) for committing a sin that constitutes *kufir* (infidelity), such as rejection of the existence of Allah (atheism), disbelieving in the message or messengership of any of the prophets, associating partners with Allah (polytheism), rejection of the messengership of Muhammad or disbelief in the finality of prophethood by his emergence among others.⁷⁸

Salafīyyah scholars do not make or pronounce *Takfir* on someone who acts under duress, coercion or unconsciousness among others.⁷⁹ They as well do not declare someone as a *Kāfir* for a sin that is lesser in degree compared to those that constitute *Shirk* or that are not so declared. They rather regard those who perpetrate petty sins as evildoers with weak faith.⁸⁰

There is a set of conditions laid down which must be fulfilled before someone is declared as a *Kāfir*. These are:

1. *Qiyām al-Ḥujjah* (establishment of the proof)
2. *Shubat al-Shurūṭ* (fulfilment of the conditions) which are:
 - (i) Evidence of acquisition of correct knowledge.
 - (ii) *Tahqīq 'l-Qaṣd* (proof of the wilful intent)
3. Absence of barriers.

This entails four things:

- (a) Ignorance (*Al-Jahl*)
- (b) Compulsion (*Al-Ijbār*)
- (c) Error (*Khaṭā'*)
- (d) *Ta'wīl* (Allegorical interpretation of the text of either the Qur'ān or *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet).⁸¹

Where all these conditions are fulfilled, one can be declared as an infidel according to *Salafīyyah* scholars.

Concept of *Bid'ah* (Innovation)

Bid'ah is a concept in Islam that has been triggering reactions from the scholars of both *Salafiyyah* and Sufism. These two key Islamic groups are not always on the same page when it comes to innovation. The former accuses the latter of immersing itself with different kinds of innovative practices, ranging from its nomenclature (*Ṣūfī*) to its origin, legitimacy and principles. The latter does not keep quiet but equally intensifies efforts in replying the former and clears itself of any form of complexities. Each has made several attempts to explain and defend its position on *Bid'ah*, especially against the accusations of the other based on its perception on *Bid'ah* and what constitutes it. This work therefore is an attempt to examine the discourse and submissions of both sides on *Bid'ah* and to determine the level of their compliance and faithfulness to the primary sources of Islam.

Definition of *Bid'ah*

Bid'ah, according to *Al-Mawrid*, is translated as innovation, new creation, heresy, heterodoxy and unorthodoxy.⁸² It is also defined in *Muʿjam Lughat'l-Fuqahā'* as:

كل محدث جديد على غير مثال سابق⁸³

Every new innovation without a precedent.

It explains further in its technical understanding and usage (*Shari'ah*), thus:

ما لم يرد عن الله سبحانه ولا عن رسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم ولا
عن أحد من فقهاء الصحابة⁸⁴

(*Bid'ah*) is whatever that emanates neither from Allah (Qur'ān) nor from His messenger, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, or the jurists among the Companions.

The above definition has given us the highlights of what *Bid'ah* is all about. Also, it captures the minds of various scholars and writers on innovation. In a broader perspective, Al-ʿUthaymīn among other scholars submits that what constitutes *Bid'ah* is any new thing that springs up after the period of *Salaf* which includes the Successors to the Companions (*Tābi ʿūn*).⁸⁵

Bid'ah, according to Al-Faiṣal, can also be understood as either subtracting or adding any new thing to Islam, either in respect of *ʿAqīdah* (Belief), *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence) or *Manhaj* (concept).⁸⁶ This is because it is very essential that each of these should be taken, understood and practised according to the precept of the *Salaf*. *Bid'ah* is also often called regarding religious duty that is described with details and specifications as to the rewards or punishments without any Qur'ānic or Prophetic justification.⁸⁷ An act may also be adjudged as innovation where its ruling in *Shari'ah* (*ḥukm*) is misplaced.⁸⁸ This may be occasioned where an act which, according to Islamic rules falls under compulsory acts (*Farḍ*) is placed as preferred (*Mubāḥ*) or vice-versa.⁸⁹ Also, it is *Bid'ah* to interchange what is prohibited (*Harām*) as reprehensible act (*Makrūh*) deliberately.⁹⁰

In setting the yardsticks for identification and recognition of *Bid'ah*, Shaḥṭan itemises the following as the rule:

- Every act of *ʿIbādah* (worship) that lacks credence in both the primary sources of *Shari'ah* (Qur'ān and authentic *Sunnah*) and the sanction of the *Salaf*.
- Whatever the Prophet did not do in matters of religion, no matter how fascinating it may be should not be condoned by the followers. He cites, pronouncement of intention (*anniyyah*) in *Ṣalāt*, *'Adhān* (calling to prayer) for non-compulsory prayers (*nawāfil*) among others as examples.
- Seeking proximity with Allah with deeds that are not sanctioned by *Sharī'ah* like wearing of woollen gown, keeping silence, refusing to eat meat like goat meat or drink water under the pretext of *ʿIbādah*.⁹¹

All the yardsticks mentioned above are further narrowed down by ʿUthaymin in his *Fatāwā* (legal opinions) as standards for recognition of *Bid'ah*. He submits that for an act not to be *Bid'ah* (innovation) compliance, details of cause (*Sabab*), kind (*Jins*), quantity (*Qadr*), method (*Kayfiyyah*), time (*Zamān*) and place (*Makān*) should be known and should comply with *Shari'ah* dictates. Any deviation there from makes one's act to be *Bid'ah* and will not be acceptable to Allah.⁹²

Allah therefore challenges the perpetrators of *Bid'ah* in the following verse of the *Qur'ān*.
He says:

قُلْ أَتُعَلِّمُونَ اللَّهَ بِدِينِكُمْ

Say: Will you teach Allah about your religion? (Q.49:16)

Whoever therefore perpetrates the act of innovation has attempted to invent a new religion other than Islam. Islamic scholars have over a long period of time warned Muslims against *Bid'ah*, especially the ones that are detrimental to religious teachings (*Bid'at Sayyiah*).⁹³ They maintain that whoever is guilty of innovation has gone astray or is misguided and should be ostracised or anathematised.⁹⁴

Qur'ān on Bid'ah

There are different verses of the *Qur'ān* that legislate on the concept of *Bid'ah*. This first primary source of Islam has provided necessary legislative templates in a manner that seems unambiguous. For instance, an understanding of *Al-Badī'c* (Originator) as contained and discussed in *Qur'ān* shows its closeness to *Bid'ah*. Allah says:

بَدِيعُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَإِذَا قَضَىٰ أَمْرًا فَإِنَّمَا يَقُولُ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُونُ

Originator of the heavens and the earth. When He decrees a matter, He only says to it, "Be," and it is.(Q.2:117)

The word *Badī'c* in the above verse appears twice in the *Qur'ān* (Q.6:101). It is translated as originator which means the act of bringing a new thing into existence without a precedent.

In explaining the word, As-Shawkānī, Ibn Kathīr, Al-Qurṭubī among various exegetes are unanimous. For instance, Ibn Kathīr writes:

خالقهما على غير مثال سابق⁹⁵

The creator of both (heavens and earth) without a precedent.

Al-Qurtubī adds that whatever that lacks reference to a previous deed or a precedent is termed as innovation.⁹⁶ These explanations therefore lend greater support to the above definitions of *Bid'ah* according to *Mu'jam*.

There are many other places where Allah uses another term (*Muḥdath*) which is synonymous to *Bid'ah*. For instance, the Qur'ān narrates how the Prophet was telling the Makkans that he was not the first to be so sent as a messenger from Allah (Q.46:9). At another place, Allah also uses another term which conveys the same meaning as innovation. Allah says:

وَمَا يَأْتِيهِمْ مِنْ ذِكْرٍ مِنَ الرَّحْمَنِ مُحَدَّثٍ إِلَّا كَانُوا عَنْهُ
مُغْرَضِينَ

But there comes not to them a newly-revealed message from (Allah) Most Gracious, but they turn away there from. (Q.26:5)

The word *Muḥdathin* which is translated as new in the above verse could be technically understood as invention or *Bid'ah*. It is pertinent to point out that it appears twice in the Qur'ān (Q.21: 2) and is synonymous with *Bid'ah*, even the Prophet uses both interchangeably in the same sense in one of his traditions on innovation.⁹⁷ It is equally interesting to note that both *Muḥdath* and *Ḥadīth*,⁹⁸ which refer to the sayings of the Prophet share the same Arabic root, *Ḥadatha* as their origin.⁹⁹ This is not unconnected to the fact that both of them connote a new thing from either Allah as contained in the above verse or the Prophet. It (*Ḥadatha*) is therefore used in the same sense to connote innovation from an innovator as the case may be.

The verse of the Qur'ān which discusses the concept of *Bid'ah* in details is Qur'ān 57 verse 27 which reads:

وَرَهْبَانِيَّةً ابْتَدَعُوهَا مَا كَتَبْنَاهَا عَلَيْهِمْ إِلَّا ابْتِغَاءَ رِضْوَانِ اللَّهِ فَمَا رَعَوْهَا
حَقَّ رِعَايَتِهَا فَآتَيْنَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْهُمْ أَجْرَهُمْ وَكَثِيرٌ مِنْهُمْ فَاسِقُونَ

And the monasticism which they invented for themselves, We did not prescribe it for them, only that they seek the pleasure of Allah but they did not observe it as they ought to. Yet We bestowed, on those among them who believed, their (due) reward, but many of them are rebellious transgressors. (Q.57:27)

Al-Qurṭubī and a host of other exegetes unanimously submit while explaining the above verse that the concept of monasticism which engenders the idea of celibacy is an innovation concocted by the followers of ‘Isā Ibn Maryam to draw themselves near to God and purposely to secure His pleasure. It was not originally ordained or prescribed by God for them.¹⁰⁰ They (exegetes) submit further that when it was invented with all its conditions as deemed fit by them. It was however a welcome development to God, hence those who fulfilled its conditions according to the scholars are rewarded. But it was later abused by the latter generations who became engrossed in worldliness.¹⁰¹

According to Ṭāhiru ’l-Qadri in his submission, *Bid‘ah* of monasticism is abrogated in Islam as contained in a declarative statement of the Prophet which says:

لا رهبانية في الإسلام¹⁰²

There is no monasticism in Islam

He however submits further that the act of innovating good thing in Islam remains intact, especially as may be necessitated by a given circumstance.¹⁰³

Commenting on the above verse further, Imam Al-Qurṭubī in his *Tafsīr*, writes:

وهذه الآية دالة على أن كل محدثة بدعة، فينبغي لمن
ابتدع خيرا أن يدوم عليه،...¹⁰⁴

This verse suggests that every new invention is an innovation. It is imperative for whoever innovates a good thing to continue with it and fulfil the conditions thereof...

This provides a base for Ṭāhiru 'l-Qadri to argue further that, the question of continuous innovations from time to time will remain relevant at all time. And since Allah accepts and rewards the act of monasticism despite the fact that He does not prescribe it, He can accept every good innovation and recompense the innovator.

The above position of Ṭāhiru 'l-Qadri is in line with that of Ibn Ḥajar while commenting on a *Ḥadīth* in which it was reported that a Companion while observing *Ṣalāt* behind the Prophet innovated a prayer (supplication) which was later approved by the Prophet. Ibn Ḥajar therefore submits that:

واستدل به على جواز إحداث ذكر في الصلاة غير مأثور إذا كان غير
مخالف للمأثور¹⁰⁵

It indicates the permissibility to innovate any supplication in *Ṣalāt* as long as it does not contradict the traditional (Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth*) ones.

It is therefore allowed to recite prayers other than the traditional ones that are contained either in the Qur'ān or reported in the *Sunnah* of the Prophet.

In fact, it is interesting to note that there is no controversy or misunderstanding among the scholars on the verses that discuss innovation. This is because the Qur'ān offers a clear cut proposition on *Bid'ah* which if properly understood and adhered to, especially by the scholars, all the polemics on innovation would not have come up.

Ḥadīth on Bid'ah

The position of the Qur'ān on *Bid'ah* as discussed above does not require much technicalities for its understanding. However, where the issue lies is on the *Aḥādith* of the Prophet on the concept of *Bid'ah*. As an interpreter of the Qur'ān per excellence and a model whose assignment is to set standards for his followers, the Prophet is reported in different *Aḥādith* to have explained what *Bid'ah* is all about and the need for his followers to be careful and meticulous about it. Three major *Aḥādith* will be examined for the purpose of this discourse.

This is because these *Aḥādith* are central to the Prophet's teachings on *Bid'ah* and have attracted an array of discourse and arguments among the scholars of both the classical and modern era.

The Prophet is reported to have said:

عَنْ عِرْبَاضِ بْنِ سَارِيَةَ قَالَ صَلَّى لَنَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
الْفَجْرَ ثُمَّ أَقْبَلَ عَلَيْنَا فَوَعظَنَا مَوْعِظَةً بَلِيغَةً ذَرَفَتْ لَهَا الْأَعْيُنُ وَوَجَلَتْ
مِنْهَا الْقُلُوبُ قُلْنَا أَوْ قَالُوا يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ كَأَنَّ هَذِهِ مَوْعِظَةُ مُودِعٍ فَأَوْصِنَا
قَالَ أَوْصِيكُمْ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ وَالسَّمْعِ وَالطَّاعَةِ وَإِنْ كَانَ عَبْدًا حَبَشِيًّا فَإِنَّهُ مَنْ
يَعِشْ مِنْكُمْ يَرَى بَعْدِي اخْتِلَافًا كَثِيرًا فَعَلَيْكُمْ بِسُنَّتِي وَسُنَّةِ الْخُلَفَاءِ
الرَّاشِدِينَ الْمَهْدِيِّينَ وَعَضُّوا عَلَيْهَا بِالنَّوَاجِذِ وَإِيَّاكُمْ وَمُحَدَّثَاتِ الْأُمُورِ
فَإِنَّ كُلَّ مُحَدَّثَةٍ بِدْعَةٌ وَإِنَّ كُلَّ بِدْعَةٍ ضَلَالَةٌ¹⁰⁶

On the authority of ^cIrbād Ibn Sariyyah who said: The messenger of Allah, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, delivered an admonition that made our heart fearful and our eyes tearful! We said: O messenger of Allah! It is as if this is a farewell sermon, so advise us properly. He (Prophet) said: I enjoin you to be conscious of Allah and to be attentive and obedient, even if a slave is made a ruler over you. He among you who lives long enough will see many differences. So, adhere to my *Sunnah* and those of the rightly guided Successors. Hold on to them with your molar (teeth). Beware of newly-introduced matters, for every innovation is misguidance.

This is a very controversial and probably the bone of contention between the scholars of *Salafiyyah* and *Shūfī* blocs. Both scholars have argued on the last sentence of this tradition which condemns every innovation as an aberration and misguidance. The proponents of the literal meaning of the *Ḥadīth* who are majorly *Salafiyyūn* argue that the word “every” (*Kullu*) as contained in this tradition has no exemption.¹⁰⁷ They argue further that there is another corroborative *Ḥadīth* which further sheds light on the intended meaning of this one and as well strengthens its position. The *Ḥadīth* reads:

عَنْ عَائِشَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا قَالَتْ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ -صلى الله عليه وسلم-
« مَنْ أَحْدَثَ فِي أَمْرِنَا هَذَا مَا لَيْسَ فِيهِ فَهُوَ رَدٌّ ». قَالَ ابْنُ عِيسَى قَالَ

النَّبِيُّ -صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ- « مَنْ عَمِلَ عَمَلًا لَيْسَ عَلَيْهِ أَمْرُنَا فَهُوَ
رَدٌّ » 108

On the Authority of ʿĀʾishah, may Allah be pleased with her, who said, the messenger of Allah, may Allah's blessing and peace be upon him, said: Whoever innovates anything in this matter of ours, that is not part of it will be rejected. Ibn ʿIsā said: the Prophet, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him, said: Whoever does anything contrary to our affairs, will have it rejected.

This *Ḥadīth* is the second of the three *Aḥādīth* this work aims to examine. Scholars have submitted that both *Ḥadīthayn* strengthen each other and are corroboratory. Both equally leave no room for exemption as far as innovation is concerned.¹⁰⁹

The argument of the antagonists who are majorly *Ṣūfī* scholars centres on the delicate nature of the declaration of the protagonist scholars. They therefore argue that the *Ḥadīth* should not be taken in its ordinary sense. They explain, in contrast to the protagonists that the word every (*kullu*) which is generic in nature is not without exemptions.¹¹⁰ They support their claims with evidence from both the Qur'ān and *Aḥādīth* where a general sense with implied exemptions are demonstrated. For instance, Allah says:

فَلَمَّا نَسُوا مَا ذُكِّرُوا بِهِ فَتَحْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ أَبْوَابَ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ

But when they forgot the warning they had received, we opened to them the gates of all (good) things....(Q.6:44)

Exegetes are unanimous that the door of everything that is opened does not include the door of mercy, forgiveness of Allah and His guidance.¹¹¹ This therefore provides exemption to the general rule.

Also, there are few other places where, though the word every (*kullu*) is not used, there is yet a general rule with an implied exemption. The Qur'ān says:

إِنَّكُمْ وَمَا تَعْبُدُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ حَصَبُ جَهَنَّمَ أَنْتُمْ لَهَا وَارِدُونَ

Verily you, (unbelievers), and the gods that you worship besides Allah, are (but) fuel for hell! To it will ye (surely) come! (Q.21:98)

This is another generic verse that must not and is not taken literally by exegetes but requires looking inwardly because it is generally believed that prophet ʿIsā and his mother (Maryam) are worshipped by some people¹¹² but they are not among those who will dwell in hell but paradise. There are several other places in the Qurʾān where such instances are demonstrated. They include, Q.53:39 and Q.5:6.

Prophet Muhammad in one of his traditions is reported to have said:

عَنْ عَلْقَمَةَ ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ ؛ قَالَ : قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ : « لَا يَدْخُلُ الْجَنَّةَ مَنْ كَانَ فِي قَلْبِهِ مِثْقَالُ حَبَّةٍ مِنْ خَرَدَلٍ مِنْ كِبَرٍ » رواه مسلم¹¹³

On the Authority of ʿAlqamah from ʿAbdullah who said, the messenger of Allah, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, said: He shall not gain admittance into paradise whoever harbours in his heart an atom of pride. (Narrated by Muslim)

Scholars have discarded taking this *Ḥadīth* in the ordinary sense. Though they do not doubt its veracity, it is submitted that pride is not what can prevent admittance into paradise. They therefore offered the explanation in the light of another *Ḥadīth* which forbids hell for whoever harbours an atom of belief in his heart, so such an individual will first enter hell but later move to paradise.¹¹⁴

Another instance is seen where the Prophet is said to have declared that whoever prays (*Ṣalāt*) before sun rises and before it sets shall undoubtedly dwell in paradise.¹¹⁵ It is clear that whoever observes *Ṣalāt* at these two periods (*Fajr* and *ʿAṣr*) and neglects other obligatory ones is not covered in this *Ḥadīth*. Another instance is where he (the Prophet) declares:

كُلُّ عَيْنٍ زَانِيَةٌ¹¹⁶

Every eye commits fornication.

If the above *Hadīth* is to be understood according to its letter without exemption, the Prophet himself will be included because he was also human being like everyone. Scholars of both *Fiqh* and *Hadīth* are therefore unanimous in limiting the scope of the application of this *Hadīth* to the exclusion of Prophet and pious people.¹¹⁷

In strengthening their position, *Ṣūfī* scholars cite another tradition of the Prophet which, according to their understanding, the first two traditions quoted above on *Bid'ah* should be understood along with. In other words, this provides a clear understanding on them and provide an exception to the general rule set in the above two traditions. The *Hadīth* reads:

عَنِ الْمُنْذِرِ بْنِ جَرِيرٍ عَنْ أَبِيهِ قَالَ كُنَّا عِنْدَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ -صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ- فِي صَدْرِ النَّهَارِ..... فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ -صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ- « مَنْ سَنَّ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ سُنَّةً حَسَنَةً فَلَهُ أَجْرُهَا وَأَجْرُ مَنْ عَمِلَ بِهَا بَعْدَهُ وَمَنْ سَنَّ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ سُنَّةً سَيِّئَةً كَانَ عَلَيْهِ وِزْرُهَا وَوِزْرُ مَنْ عَمِلَ بِهَا

¹¹⁸ مِنْ بَعْدِهِ. On the authority of Mundhir bin Jarīr who reported from his father

who said, we were with the messenger of Allah, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, one afternoon.....The messenger of Allah, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, said: Whoever initiates a good act in Islam will be fully rewarded for it as well as those who imitate it. Also, whoever initiates a bad deed in Islam shall bear its burden and the burdens of those who imitate it.

This *Hadīth*, which categorises *Bid'ah* into two, is reported in different wordings as contained in *Ṣaḥīḥu Muslim* and other compilations of *Hadīth*. At one place it reads: *Sunnatan Hudā* (guidance) and *Sunnatan Ḍalālatan* (misguidance),¹¹⁹ and at another place it reads, *Sunnatan Khayrran* (good) and *Sunnatan Sharran* (bad).

The classification of *Bid'ah* which this *Hadīth* suggests is not without some elements of polemics among the scholars. To the proponent of non-classification of innovation, the *Hadīth* quoted earlier is directly related and should be limited to the circumstances which necessitated its pronouncement by the Prophet.¹²⁰ It will be recalled that a man spent his wealth in charity in the presence of the Prophet and he (Prophet) makes this pronouncement in appreciation and to encourage others to emulate him.¹²¹ This argument is displaced by the proponents who opine that

the *Ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿUmar on intention which has gained a wider usage is specific to *Hijrah* (migration)¹²² but gained wider scope of usage outside the shore of migration of the Prophet to Madinah. Therefore, limiting the scope of this *Ḥadīth* to charity alone is a disservice to the mission and message of the Prophet.

Ordinarily in the understanding of this thesis, the above three *Aḥādīth* of the Prophet are interrelated, inter connected and interdependent. This is because the first two can be harmonised as they complement and explain each other. They also provide a general rule on the concept of *Bidʿah* and what constitutes it. The third should also be understood along with them in the sense of providing an exception or specification to the general rules laid down by the first two.¹²³

***Bidʿah* Discourse among the Classical Scholars**

The views and submissions of the classical scholars on *Bidʿah* need to be considered in determining the appropriateness or otherwise of the stands of both the *Ṣūfī* and *Salafīyyah* scholars on the subject matter. This is imperative because each of the two groups admires and holds the submissions of these classical scholars in high esteem. This thesis therefore brings into focus the submissions of prominent scholars like Imām An-Nawawī, As-Sayūṭī, As-Shāfiʿī, Ibn Ḥajar Al-Asqalānī, Ibn Rajab, Al-ʿAyīnī, Al-Wahīdī, Ibn Kathīr, As-Sharqānī, As-Subkī, As-Shawkānī, Qusṭalānī and a host of other classical scholars that are venerated, especially by the modern *Salafīyyūn* as their scholars and *Al-Aʾimah* (leaders). It is interesting to state that these scholars in their respective works subscribe to the above definitions and propositions on *Bidʿah* (innovation) according to *Muʿjam Lughatʾl-Fuqhāʾ* and support the inevitability of classifying *Bidʿah*.¹²⁴ Each of them independently classifies *Bidʿah* under the umbrella of good and bad.¹²⁵ It is pertinent to point out that some of these scholars used different nomenclatures or terms in their classification of innovation, though all indicate either good (*Ḥasanah*) or bad (*Sayyiʿah*). Examples of such include *Maḥmūdah* (praise worthy) or *Madhmūmah* (blame worthy), *Lughawī* (linguistic) or *Shariʿī* (legal), *Ḥasanah* (good) or *Sayyiʿah* (bad) among others. This again is in line with the submissions of some early *Salafī* scholars like Ibn ʿAbdus-Salām who compare it with the *Shariʿah* adjudication on human action (*Al-Ḥukm*).¹²⁶ To this end, an innovation may be *Wājib* (compulsory), *Mandūb* (recommended), *Mustahābb* (desirable), *Makrūh* (reprehensible)

or *Ḥarām* (forbidden).¹²⁷ The first three categories may be grouped under good innovation while the last two can fall under bad innovation as the case may be.

The aforementioned classical scholars submit unanimously that any good innovation should be acceptable while the bad innovation should be rejected in its entirety.¹²⁸ The submissions of these eminent early scholars are not without a precedent. When ʿUmar Ibn Al-Khaṭṭāb, the second *Khalīfah* of the Prophet gathered people during the night of *Ramaḍān* to observe *Tarāwīḥ* congregationally and he was challenged for bringing a new act in to Islam, he responded stating that:

نعمت البدعة هذه¹²⁹

This is a good innovation

The position and explanation of ʿUmar has given rise to different such developments in matters of religion. It is also on record that ʿUmar bin ʿAbdul ʿAzīz, the second ʿUmar, equally increased the number of *Rak ʿāt* to thirty-six (36) under the same pretext.¹³⁰ So, the views of An-Nawawī and Shāfiʿī and other scholars above have a firm ground in Islam because they borrow a leaf from the *Salaf*.

Discourse on *Bidʿah* among *Salafiyyah* Scholars

In the recent time, discourse on *Bidʿah* is at the centre stage among modern *Salafiyyah* scholars. This is not unconnected with the belief that it (*Bidʿah*) is being perpetrated by Muslims freely and there is the dire need to shed light on it for Muslims to be wary of practices that can render their services to Allah a nullity. Scholars like Ibn Bāz, Ibn Al-ʿUthaymīn, Shaykh Fawzān among others have played a key role in this regard. They argue against classification of *Bidʿah* under any pretext.¹³¹ In other words, every innovation is a misguidance without an exemption, contrary to the above position of the classical scholars who classify innovation into different categories.

Ibn Al- ʿUthaymīn and other prominent modern *Salafīyyah* scholars go further to express a reservation about the above submissions of their admired classical scholars in respect of ʿUmar’s case stating that he revives an abandoned *Sunnah* of the Prophet, who hitherto observes *Tarāwīḥ* congregationally before he discontinues it. What he (ʿUmar) does in their views therefore is not necessarily a *Bidʿah*, though he (ʿUmar) himself, as indicated in that *Ḥadīth* admitted that it was a *Bidʿah*.¹³² He (ʿUthaymīn), in order to establish a basis for his opinion, strengthens the fact that the actions of the rightly guided *Khulafāʾ* do not constitute *Bidʿah*. This is because the Prophet in the above *Ḥadīth* commands adherence to his *Sunnah* and those of the rightly guided *Khulafāʾ*. They are therefore distinctively mentioned by the Prophet and their actions should not be seen as *Bidʿah*.¹³³

Ibn Al- ʿUthaymīn submits further in demonstrating his tenacity to his view and readiness to display his prowess in the defense of this idea and having referred to the case of ʿUmar above, he buttresses it with another instance in respect of ʿUthmān, the third *Khalīfah* who innovates the second *Adhān* (call to prayer) in *Ṣalātu Jumuʿah* stating that it does not constitute *Bidʿah*. He argues further that the action of ʿUthmān is necessitated by the obvious prevailing circumstances because during the lifetime of the Prophet, Madinah was such a small city but during the tenure of ʿUthmān, the city had expanded and developed. So, there was the need for the second *Adhān* because the first one (*Adhān*) was meant for those at a far distance to start coming to mosque. It is therefore the initiative of ʿUthmān which could be regarded as *Sunnah* of ʿUthmān which is equally in line with the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet which regards the actions of the rightly guided *Khulafāʾ* as acceptable standard.¹³⁴

Arguing against non-classification of *Bidʿah*, the modern *Salafīyyah* scholars like Ibn Bāz, Shaykh Fawzān among others joined ʿUthaymīn to disregard the proposition of the scholars who classify *Bidʿah* into various categories.¹³⁵ They support their arguments with the case of Marwan Ibn Al-Hakam when he innovates *Minbar* (pulpit) for ʿĪd prayer; Abu Saʿīd Al-Khudrī reacts, thus:

يا مروان ما هذه البدعة فقال إنها ليست ببدعة إنها خير مما تعلم إن
الناس قد كثروا فأردت أن يبلغهم الصوت فقال أبو سعيد والله لا تأتون
بخير مما أعلم أبداً والله لا صليت وراءك اليوم وإنما أنكر ذلك عليه
لأن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كان يتوكأ في خطبة العيد
والاستسقاء على قوس أو عصا لا على المنبر¹³⁶

Oh Marwān! What is this that you have innovated? He (Marwān) responded, saying it is not an innovation. It is indeed more beneficial than you might have thought. The congregation is indeed much and I wish that everyone hears (my) voice. Abū Saʿīd replied: By Allah, I can never see anything good in it. In fact, I will not observe prayer behind you today. He definitely objected to it because it was not there during the lifetime of the Prophet, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him. What he (Prophet) normally did when delivering ʿĪd sermon or observing drought prayer was to rest on either a staff or a stick and not on a pulpit.

The anti-classification of *Bid'ah* scholars submit that the above *Ḥadīth* demonstrates the unacceptability of the Companions to *Bid'ah* during their lifetime, in whatever kind and this attitude should be emulated.

However, it is interesting to note that despite the modern *Salafiyyah's* argument against the classification of *Bid'ah* as championed by Ibn ʿUthaymin, Ibn Bāz and others, a careful reading through their works, discourse and submissions on *Bid'ah* reveals their confinement within the proposition of the early scholars who classify *Bid'ah* into various kinds. They reluctantly end up classifying it (*Bid'ah*) into two between religious and mundane matters (*Ad-Diniyyah* and *Ad-Duniyawiyyah*), without any basis. It is important to state that this is the proposition they had earlier opposed or rejected. They therefore conclude that *Bid'ah* in relation to religious matters is what should be rejected while those that are related to non-religious or mundane matters are necessities.¹³⁷ Equally, there is another modern *Salafiyyah* scholar, Gumi who attempted to harmonise various modes of classifications of *Bid'ah*. He acknowledges the classification of *Bid'ah* into good and bad. He further states that good innovation is allowed only

in mundane (*Mu^camalah*) matters and that it may be *Wājib*, *Mustahab* or *Mūbah*. He was categorical in stating that *Bid'ah* is not allowed in religious matters under any disguise .¹³⁸

It is equally worthy of note to state that, even *Bid'atu 'd-Dīnniyyah* (innovation in relation to religious matters) has been re-classified again by the scholars of *Salafiyyah* movement. These are *Bid'atu 'l-Ḥaqīqiyyah* or *Bid'atu 'l-Idāfiyyah*.¹³⁹ The former is a form of innovation that contradicts the provision of either the Qur'ān or *Ḥadīth* while the latter is a form of innovation occasioned by erroneous interpretation of the two primary sources.¹⁴⁰ Another form of classification which is related to the consequence of indulgence in innovation is either *Mukaffirah* or *Mufassiqah*.¹⁴¹ Whoever is guilty of *Mukaffirah* becomes an infidel while indulgence in the *Mufassiqah* turns one to a libertine or hypocrite.¹⁴² The relationship between the first two (*Ḥaqīqiyyah* and *Idāfiyyah*) and the second two (*Mukaffirah* and *Mufassiqah*) is like that of cause and effect. Therefore, whoever commits *Ḥaqīqiyyah* has become a *Kāfir* while indulgence in the *Idāfiyyah* makes one a *Fāsiq*. *Salafiyyah* scholars finally submit that each of these is condemnable, reprehensible, unacceptable and should be shunned by every Muslim.

The first *Ḥadīth* quoted above which declares every innovation as misguidance, in the submission of Ibn ^CUthaymīn and others, stands out among others on innovation. In his (Ibn ^CUthaymīn) statement, which seems to have represented the interest of *Salafiyyah*, he is vehement in declaring every *Bid'ah* as an aberration that should be rejected, especially in the matters of *Dīn*.¹⁴³ Stressing this further, Ibn Bāz declares that *Bid'ah* is only allowed in matters of human welfare and not in religion. He therefore classifies *Bid'ah* into two and maintains that only the *Bid'atu 'd-Dīnniyyah* (innovation in relation to religious matters) is forbidden and that Muslims should not involve in it.¹⁴⁴ His permissibility of innovations in matters other than religion indicates that he borrows a leaf from As-Shātībī who declares *Maslahah* or *Istiḥsān* (public interest), as a form of permissible innovation on worldly matters in his famous works on *Bid'ah* entitled *Al-Itiṣām* and *Al-Muwafaqāt*.¹⁴⁵

Ibn Al-^CUthaymīn however contradicts himself and by implication displays his erroneous stand and those of *Salafiyyūn* who align themselves with him when he explains those three *Aḥādith* above on *Bid'ah* , stating that they are complementary to each other. He gives the explanation that whatever aids or facilitates the attainment of the objectives of *Shari'ah* should

not be taken as *Bid'ah*.¹⁴⁶ He cites the compilation and standardisation of the glorious Qur'ān and documentation of the Traditions of the Prophet (*Sunnah*) each of which was not done when he (the Prophet) was alive. He caps it up that the two instances are neither meant to cause divisions among the Muslims nor to lead Muslims astray, and above all they are done to preserve the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet.¹⁴⁷ In other words, good intention necessitates new innovation. It is apparent that his explanations here which he believes as the reason for such innovative actions are not different from those of early scholars and Sufis who believe and express the view that innovation is classified into good or bad, which essentially depends on the prevailing circumstances and intent of the innovator, since necessity is the mother of invention and will always dictate exemption.

Sufi's Discourse on *Bid'ah*

The Sufis who are the main targets of the modern *Salafiyyah* scholars when discussing *Bid'ah* do not fold their hands on the debate that tends to discredit their cherished practice and condemn them to hell. They therefore express their opinions on the concept of *Bid'ah*; defend their practices and go ahead to identify areas where the scholars of *Salafiyyah* movement indulge in *Bid'ah* practices, including matters of worship. It is interesting to disclose that there are various authentic Prophetic narrations on the perilous nature of *Bid'ah* that are contained in *Ṣūfī* works which are not found in *Salafiyyah* scholars' works as would be discussed in this thesis.

In *Risālatu 'l-Qushayriyah*, abstinence from *Bid'ah* is counted as one of the conditions for *Istiḳāmah* (uprightness).¹⁴⁸ Therefore, whoever is guilty of innovation is not an upright *Ṣūfī*. Another important expression which appears in almost every *Ṣūfī*'s work is:

البدعة أحب إلى إبليس من المعصية المعصية يتاب منها والبدعة لا
يتاب منها¹⁴⁹

Innovation is more beloved to Iblīs than sin. This is because one repents from sin while no one repents from innovation.

The above expression is one of the indications that the Sufis are wary of *Bid'ah*. They (Sufis) state further that whoever aids an act of innovation has contributed to the destruction of Islam.¹⁵⁰ Sufis therefore condemn innovation and its perpetrators. These quotations reflect how conscious the Sufis are regarding the matters of innovation. Where the problem lies between them and the *Salafīyyūn* is in the aspect of conception of *Bid'ah*.

Explaining *Bid'ah*, Al-Ghazālī submits that whatever that contradicts the position of the Qur'ān and *Sunnah*, or either adds to or subtracts from the practices of the *Salaf* is an innovation and the innovators are indeed transgressors of the boundary of the Almighty.¹⁵¹ Indulgence in innovation therefore is a clear departure from the judgement of Allah as contained in the Qur'an and other legislative apparatus of Islam.¹⁵² He equally quotes from Sufyān Thawrī who instructs that under no condition should one observe *Ṣalāt* behind a perpetrator of *Bid'ah*.¹⁵³

The above narration in respect of Marwan is also contained in *Iḥyā'* of Al-Ghazālī who equally indicates Aṭ-Ṭabarānī as the source.¹⁵⁴ The discourse of Al-Ghazālī on the *Ḥadīth* of Marwan reflects the true spirit of *Salaf's* understanding on *Bid'ah* which seems to be in consonance with the position of all the classical scholars, including the early *Salafīyyah* scholars who did not classify *Bid'ah* under mundane and religious matters but what is good or bad. The classification of modern *Salafīyyah* which tows the line of mundane and religious innovation has been declared by *Ṣūfī* as the secularist influence on the modern *Salafīyyah* scholars.¹⁵⁵ This is because it is only the secularist that differentiates between mundane and spiritual (religious) matters. In Islam, there is no such separation. The similarities in the submissions of the Sufis and early scholars are not unconnected with the fact that Sufis do not see any difference between spiritual and mundane matters. Their classification tows the pattern of what is good (*Ḥasanah*) or bad (*Sayyi'ah*) in the understanding of *Ḥalāl* (lawful) and *Ḥarām* (unlawful). Therefore, any new thing that is good or can facilitate the attainment of the objectives of *Shari'ah* is lawful and should be condoned.

In explaining the position of the Sufis on the classification of *Bid'ah*, Abū Naṣīm (*Ḥilyat Al-Awliyā'*) also aligns himself with the position of Imam Shāfi'ī who supports the inevitability of classifying innovation into various kinds as discussed above. The same is the position of Ibn Fūdī who itemises five categories of innovation in his work.¹⁵⁶ Both Abū Naṣīm and Al-Ghazālī alluded to the story of 'Umar on *Ṣalāt 't-Tarāwīḥ* to substantiate their

subscription to admissibility of good innovation in *Shari'ah*.¹⁵⁷ The two scholars therefore uphold the position of the *Ṣūfī vis-a-vis* innovation.

Furthermore, in the recent time and with the serial attacks by the *Salafīyyah* scholars, the Sufis are left with no option other than to respond. In doing this, attempts are made to dismantle the *Salafīyyah* scholars' claims, having demonstrated their comprehensive understanding of their (Sufis) propositions on *Bid'ah*. They therefore identified various acts of *Bid'ah* which are created and perpetrated by *Salafīyyah* either consciously or unconsciously in matter of religion. The few instances include:

1 – Completing the recitation of the Qur'ān in *Tarāwīḥ* prayer at the 27th night of *Ramaḍān* every year hoping that the day will coincide with *Laylatu 'l-Qadr* (Night of Majesty).¹⁵⁸ This is one of the practices of *Salafīyyah*, especially in Saudi Arabia. It has been established by *Ṣūfī* scholars that there is no evidence to prove that this practice took place during the period of the *Salaf*.¹⁵⁹ What stands out from all the Prophetic narrations and reports from the *Salaf* is the *Ḥadīth* that directs Muslims to search for the Night of Majesty (*Laylatu 'l-Qadr*) in the nights of the last ten days of *Ramaḍān*, especially the odd ones.¹⁶⁰ Prescription of *ʿItikāf* (spiritual retreat) during this period strengthened this position. Neither the Prophet nor his Companions are specific on the 27th or any particular night for the completion of the recitation of the Qur'ān. Also, what is recommended by different scholars is the recitation of long chapters or verses. So, there is no evidence, not even from ʿUmar indicating completion of the recitation of the Qur'ān annually during *Qiyām 'r-Ramaḍān*. It was invented by Saudi scholars. Even, there is no authentic narration to prove that ʿUmar, who was the point of their reference, either completed the recitation of the Qur'ān or targeted any particular day or night to that effect. What is reported about him (ʿUmar) is that he usually appointed the best reciters and memorisers of the Qur'ān to lead the *Tarāwīḥ* and not necessarily to complete the recitation of the Qur'ān during *Tarāwīḥ*.¹⁶¹

2- Observance of twenty (20) *Rak'āt* is not based on any authentic tradition, not even a weak one. What is reported in various narrations as submitted by Al-Bānī¹⁶² and Imam Mālik in his *Muwwaṭā* and other works of *Ḥadīth* in relation to Umar's case who is alleged to have initiated twenty (20) *Rak'āt* is eleven (11) *Rak'āt*.¹⁶³ Ibn Bāz argues in this regard, that the number of

Rak'āt in *Ṣalātut- Tarāwiḥ* is not fixed by the Prophet, therefore it can be observed as may be convenient for one.¹⁶⁴ This submission of Ibn Bāz is considered a lame argument by the antagonists considering his accusations on the Sufis vis-a-vis *Bid'ah*. This is because since there is no evidence that shows that the Prophet exceeded eleven (11) *Rak'āt*, while eight (8) is the minimum, it is instructive for anyone to act within these limits when observing it congregationally. It is equally a *Bid'ah* to abandon some *Sunnah* where there is a variety of them and stick to one. The effect of this, which makes it to be *Bid'ah* is that the neglected ones will go into the dustbin of history.¹⁶⁵ So, annual twenty *Rak'āt* of *Tarāwiḥ* by Saudi scholars is a clear innovation.

3- There is no justification for the fixed prayer (*Duā' Khātimi 'l-Qur'ān*) to be recited after the completion of the *Tilāwatu 'l-Qur'ān* as contained in virtually all printed version of the *Qur'ān* from the strongholds of *Salafīyyah* movements especially Saudi Arabia. The argument is that, since there is no fixed supplication reported from the Prophet,¹⁶⁶ it is instructive for anyone to recite any prayer, even in any language. The fixed *Duā' Khātimi 'l-Qur'ān* by *Salafīyyah* scholars is tantamount to *Bid'ah* because it was not done by the Prophet or the *Salaf*.

4- Ibn Taymiyyah's subscription to the concept of anthropomorphism in his various works is a *Bid'ah* in respect of *ʿAqīdah*.¹⁶⁷ This is because every orthodox scholar and Imams of the four schools of thought in Islam did not engage in discussing the attributes of Allah or interpreting them. Hence, the popular statement of Imam Mālik when he was asked a question in relation to it, says:

الاستواء معلوم والكيف مجهول والإيمان به واجب والسؤال عنه بدعة

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(Allah)'s majesty on the throne is known, the manner at which he sits is unknown, to believe in it is compulsory while it is an innovation to ask or inquire about it.

On the contrary, Ibn Taymiyyah in *Majmūʿu 'l-Fatāwā*, *Bayānu Talbīs 'l-Jahmiyyah* and several other places in his various works attempted to answer anthropomorphic questions. For example, he writes:

اللَّهُ قَادِرٌ عَلَى أَنْ يَحْرِكَ مَنْ هُنَا إِلَى هُنَاكَ¹⁶⁹

Allah is capable of moving from one place to another

This and many more places are to affirm Ibn Taymiyyah's subscription to a *Bid'ah* in respect to *Aqīdah* because all these are not there during the period of *Salaf*. It would be recalled that part of the allegations levelled against him which led to his arrest and subsequent death was his subscription to anthropomorphisms.¹⁷⁰

5- Division of *Tawhīd*: The division of *Tawhīd* into three, *Rubbubiyah* (Unity of Lordship) *ʿUbudiyyah* (Unity of worship) and *Al-Asmāu' wa 'ṣ-Ṣifāt* (Unity of names and attributes) is another act of *Bid'ah* since it was not done by the early *Salaf*. It sounds confusing when the modern *Salafīyyah* scholars like Ibn Bāz and Al-Fawzān declared the fourth category of *Tawhīd* (*Tawhīdu 'l-Hākimiyyah*) as conversed by some scholars as a *Bid'ah* and declared those who subscribe to it as perpetrators of innovation.¹⁷¹ This is because the division itself which is claimed to have geared toward easy understanding of *ʿAqīdah* is itself a *Bid'ah*.

Bid'ah versus Ijtihād

Definitions and detail discussions have been carried out on *Bid'ah* and all its constituents. Therefore, much discussion may not be done on it here, except examination of the findings therefrom with another important concept in Islamic law (*Shari'ah*) to assess the level of both similarities and dissimilarities, if any, between the two. This will enable us to address some burning issues among the scholars, especially those who made the proposition that there is no mark or demarcation between what is *Bid'ah* and *Ijtihād*. Some scholars even refer to *Bid'ah* as creativity.¹⁷²

According to the *Fuqahā'* and *Mujtahid*, *Ijtihād* is simply defined as an attempt by a scholar to proffer a solution in the areas where the two primary sources (the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*) are silent.¹⁷³ In other words, it means an effort or exercise conducted to arrive at one's own judgement. It therefore entails a variety of mental processes, covering interpretation of the text of the Qur'ān and the authentic traditions of the Prophet to arrive at a logical and relevant conclusion.

The similarities between the good *Bid'ah* and *Ijtihād* is that, to a greater extent, both rely on the provisions of both the Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet to infer a decision on matters which both the two primary sources seem to be silent or are not clear. They therefore necessitate the concept of *Istiḥsān* or *Masaliḥu 'l-Mursalah* (public interest) among others, hence these terms are interchangeably used as synonymous to good *Bid'ah*. As-Shātībī and various other discussants on innovation mentioned so far are much relevant in this regard.¹⁷⁴ Equally, both may be used as a venerable tool to cater or provide for new developments where there is no provision at all and there is the need to creatively come up with a unique solution.¹⁷⁵

Furthermore, both (*Bid'ah* and *Ijtihād*) break the new grounds of making Islam a relevant religion that caters for every circumstance and situation. The concept of *Ijtihād* has given another shade of interpretation to the Qur'ān 5:3 explained above. Since the revelation of the Qur'ān is completed, *Ijtihād* is the appropriate means to break the new grounds in Islamic legislation. The reality of variations of time and place is one of the reasons why the interpretation of *Salafiyyah* scholars is inappropriate. This was the position of 'Umar Ibn 'Abdul-'Azīz as the *Khalīfah* when he opines that a Muslim can inherit the lawful property of non-Muslim relatives. When he was challenged he says:

الإسلام يزيد ولا ينقص¹⁷⁶

Islam is progressing not decreasing

From this incident therefore, it is instructive to act according to the demands of time and place but in a manner that the teachings and objectives of Islam are not jettisoned. *Ijtihād* therefore, is the key tool that accommodates and gives rooms for all of these.

The core difference between the two is that *Ijtihād* is confined or limited to *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) or *Shari'ah* issues why *Bid'ah* has no limitation as it is discussed in the various works and thoughts of all scholars, be they *Salafiyyūn*, Sufis or others. Even the *Aqīdah* which according to most scholars is very delicate because a wrong belief system can take one out of the fold of Islam¹⁷⁷ is not left out in the assessment of *Bid'ah* tools. The instance is seen in the case of Ibn Taymiyyah above and the division of *Tawḥīd* into various parts.

In pointing out another area of difference between the two, As-Shātībī argues that public interest supersedes an individual's interest and necessitates new developments especially where there is absence of provisions from the primary sources.¹⁷⁸ In the instances like this, whatever that aids the attainment of the objectives of *Shari'ah* or makes its application simple becomes imperative.¹⁷⁹ He identifies compilation of the Qur'ān, recording and documentation of *Ḥadīth*, development of *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), and others as necessitated by public interest and should not be seen as *Bid'ah*.¹⁸⁰

This fact points to the wrong perception of *Bid'ah* and *Ijtihād*, especially *Maslahah* by As-Shātībī. This is because he is caught at this angle due to his subscription to non-divisibility of *Bid'ah*. Ordinarily, there is no difference between this assertion and those of the pro-*Bid'ah* divisibility scholars. To these scholars therefore, as represented by Ṭāhir al-Qadri, there is no difference between *Bid'at Ḥasanah* (good innovation) and *Ijtihad*.¹⁸¹ He buttresses this with the fact that the compilation of the Qur'ān and the documentation of *Aḥādith* of the Prophet among others, show how one leads to the other like cause and effect.¹⁸²

The former exploits the laid down rules by the latter to arrive at its conclusion. It should therefore be pointed out that the Prophet is reported in an authentic *Ḥadīth* to have said:

عَنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ الْعَاصِ أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ- قَالَ « إِذَا حَكَمَ الْحَاكِمُ فَاجْتَهَدَ ثُمَّ أَصَابَ فَلَهُ أَجْرَانِ وَإِذَا حَكَمَ فَاجْتَهَدَ ثُمَّ أَخْطَأَ فَلَهُ أَجْرٌ » رواه مسلم¹⁸³

On the authority of ʿAmr Ibn Al-ʿĀṣ who heard the messenger of Allah, may Allah's blessing and blessing be upon him, says: Whenever a judge adjudicates based on his personal view, if the judgement is correct, he will get two rewards and if he adjudicates and his opinion is wrong, he will get one reward. (This *Hadith* was narrated by Muslim)

In the light of the above tradition, therefore, *Bid'atu Hasanah* takes the position of correct *Ijtihad* and will attract reward though *Bid'atu 's-Sayyi'ah* on the other hand may not stand shoulder

equal with the wrong *Ijtihād*, which attracts only one reward, especially if it contradicts the objective of Islam or is related to matters of belief which can take one out of the fold of Islam.

This study therefore opines that the concept of innovation which has been examined from different perspectives, especially the views and submissions of the classical scholars who are often held in high esteem by scholars of the two sides (*Salafiyyah* and *Şūfī*) in forming their opinions or making judgements, are used in determining the objectivity of the two groups. It is the submission of this study that since the classical scholars' position on *Bid'ah* is not different from that of the *Salaf* who acknowledge the inevitability of classifying *Bid'ah* into *Ḥasanah* (good) and *Sayyi'ah* (bad), *Bid'ah* is inevitably classified into whatever kinds. Also, regardless of whether or not it is in religious matter, good innovation is admissible while the bad ones are rejected. To this end, it is clear that not every innovation is a misguidance.

The position of modern *Salafiyyah* scholars is directly opposite to that of classical scholars. They (*Salafiyyah*) scholars declare every innovation as misguidance and reluctantly classify innovation into two between mundane and religious matters. In the opinion of this thesis, the classification of the *Salafiyyah* scholars lacks both direct and indirect credence in the primary sources of Islam and it is regarded as a secularist and materialist idea. Since, it is observed that the scholars who classify *Bid'ah* into good and bad cut across every group in Islam, like early *Salafiyyah*, *Şūfī*, orthodox, modern or classical scholars, this thesis calls the attention of modern *Salafiyyah* scholars to approach the concept of *Bid'ah* in a broader perspective. This is imperative because the *Ḥadīth* which declares every innovation as misguidance should not be understood in isolation but with others. Also, the classification of innovation by modern *Salafiyyah* scholars should tow the pattern of good and bad, which has evidence in the tradition of the Prophet.

This work submits that the position of the *Şūfī* on *Bid'ah* is in line with those of the *Salaf* and classical scholars both in understanding and in classification. Their identification of some specific areas, especially in religious matters where *Salafiyyah* equally indulges in innovative practices proves that they are aware of all the accusations levelled against them and that *Bid'ah* cannot be classified according to religious and mundane matters only because every act of a Muslim attracts rewards. *Bid'ah* is best classified into good or bad as maintained by various classical scholars.

2.5 *Salafiyyah* Movements

Having traced the name, origin and doctrine of *Salafiyyah*, it is pertinent to identify various *Salafiyyah* groups or movements as they exist today across the Islamic world. Ordinarily, one would have thought that there should not be any sectarian division in the movement, especially as it is handed over by Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah and Ibn ʿAbdul-Wahhāb to their followers. In other words, it should be a homogeneous movement, but due to differences in the approach to the teachings of these scholars and misunderstanding on whether *Salafiyyah* should be taken as *Madhhab* (school of thought) or *Manhaj* (concept), there emerge different groups with slight difference in methodologies and ideologies.

Also, there are elements of mistrust and distrust among the *Salafiyyah* scholars, especially by the Saudi scholars who are alleged to have compromised the teachings of the early eminent *Salafiyyah* scholars and are displaying a high sense of sympathy for the west and gradually towing the path to secularism.¹⁸⁴ It is generally known that the scholars in Saudi are issuing legal verdicts (*Fatāwā*) to cement the throne of government, dispel physical *Jihād* and seeking alliance with western nations.¹⁸⁵ These have created different agitations within the *Salafiyyah* bloc.

Furthermore, another important factor which has accounted in no small measure for division in the *Salafiyyah* camp is difference in geographical location. There are different needs for different societies, nations or countries which inform the decision to come up with *Salafiyyah* brands with distinct name according to the founder's ideology or place of its operation as the case may be.

However, since each of the movements made particular reference to Ibn Taymiyyah and his students like Ibn Qayyim among others as the source of their inspiration, some writers see no much difference among them. They therefore broadly and basically classify them into three according to the *modus operandi* of each. Wiktorowicz is prominent in this regard. He classifies *Salafiyyah* into three different groups. They are:

The Purists (*Muwwahidūn*)

This is a group of *Salafīyyah* with the main objective of stripping Islam of any form of innovations or alien practices, especially in matters of faith or belief.¹⁸⁶ The struggle to ensure the practice of Islam in its pristine manner as practised by the Prophet and his Companions (*Salaf*) has taken them away from any form of political advocacy or activism.¹⁸⁷ To them, *Shirk* (polytheism), *Bid'ah* (innovation), *Takhlīf* (syncretism) especially as prevalent among the Muslims, should be abolished while everyone returns to the days of the *Salaf*.¹⁸⁸ Prominent in this regard are the scholars of Saudi Arabia like Ibn Bāz, ^CUthaymīn, Shaykh Fawzan among others. There are some other scholars from other areas like Nasrudeen Al-Bānī and Yūsuf Al-Qarḍāwī and a host of others.

The movements are:

- *Ḥarakatu 'l-Wahhābiyyah* originally known as *Al-Muwwahḥidūn* (mainstream Saudi *Salafī*)
- *Al-Bānī Salafī* among others.

The Politico-Salafī

This is another *Salafīyyah* group which aims at establishing a theocratic government based on the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* (*Shari'ah*). The group involves itself in political activities to achieve its objectives. They believe in using the ballot to change the leadership fortune of the Muslims. They are often referred to as the 'Ballot Group'.¹⁸⁹ They therefore engage in electoral processes and participate actively in political matters. They consider political involvement more appropriate and effective than the physical *Jihād* in restoring or instituting an Islamic government. They therefore adopt non-violent means in all their methodologies. They speak fervently against the Muslim rulers who do not allow *Sharī'ah* in their domains or do not allow political activities in their area, like the Saudi Government and the scholars who aligned themselves with them (the Saudi Government).¹⁹⁰

Prominent in this regard are the two eminent scholars of Saudi Arabia who were imprisoned on several occasions. They are Salmān Al-Awda and Ṣafar Al-Ḥawālī. They have their tentacles across the Islamic world but most of their disciples believe that if Saudi is successful, other places will follow suit. The group includes:

- The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, which participated and won the presidential elections in Egypt in 2011 under the platform of Freedom and Justice Party.¹⁹¹
- The *Salafīyyah* group in Egypt which also took part in the 2011 general elections under Al-Nour party and came second after The Freedom and Justice Party.¹⁹²
- *Madikhali* movement in Saudi Arabia. Although it is not a political party, it is a movement that is calling for political formation in Saudi Arabia.¹⁹³

There are a lot of *Salafīyyah* movements in the western world but they are in the minority. Also, they are mostly pre-occupied with evangelism targeting at proselytisation than advocating either *Jihād* or Islamic government. They however lend support to various *Salafīyyah* groups outside their places of operation.

Jihādī Salafī

This is another *Salafīyyah* body with the sole objective of using physical *Jihād* and violent means in achieving its objectives. To the adherents of this group, *Jihād* is an integral, indispensable and most effective tool of Islam without which nothing can be changed.¹⁹⁴ They rely on several verses and *Aḥādīth* of the Prophet to support their position. They are the main advocates of the concept of *Tawḥīd Al-Ḥākimiyyah* and are making all efforts to realise it by maiming and terrorising the globe to drive home their demand.¹⁹⁵

This group is also sometimes called Qutbism¹⁹⁶ because it is generally believed that the idea of physical *Jihād* stems from his (Qutb) teachings as contained in his *Muʿālimu fī ʿt-Ṭarīq* (Milestones or Signposts) and those of Sayyid Abū ʿl-ʿAlā Al-Mawdūdī¹⁹⁷ Sayyid Qutb himself is said to have been influenced by Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah both of whom engaged in physical *Jihād* to drive away the Tartar in Baghdad, in the Battle of *Al-ʿAyn Al-Jalūt*.¹⁹⁸

The *Jihādī Salafī* is the most sub-divided group of *Salafīyyah*, Rand Defence Research Institute in 2014 identifies about sixty (60) groups as they spread across the Islamic world with different *Jihād* activities, including the Al-Qaeda network and Boko Haram in Nigeria.¹⁹⁹

It should be pointed out that Wiktorowics and some other scholars do their classifications on modern Salafism as it exists today. This is not unconnected with the fact that early *Salafiyyah* scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb combine each of these attributes (purist, politics and *Jihād*) as could be deduced from their works.

2.6 Some Major Classical and Modern *Salafiyyah* Scholars

Designation

From the brief analysis above, it is pertinent to designate or classify *Salafiyyah* scholars according to what distinguishes one from the other. This will go a long way in achieving the objectives of this work and facilitate easy comprehension. To this end, this work adopts fifteen (15th) century of Islam as the period of demarcation and the classification will tow the pattern of classical and modern *Salafiyyah*. The scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah (d.1328CE/728AH), Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah (d.1349CE/757AH) and Ibn ‘Abdul-Wahhāb (d.1792CE/728AH), who had lived before 15th century are designated as classical scholars while those who lived thereafter, like Ibn Bāz (d.1999CE/1420AH), ‘Uthaymīn (d.2001CE/1421AH), Al-Qarḍāwī (b.1926) among others whose influence on people is more pronounced and had printed their feet on the sand of time as far as the campaign of Salafism is concerned are designated as modern *Salafiyyah* scholars.

Ibn Taymiyyah

Taqiyyu ‘d-Dīn Abū ‘l-‘Abbās Aḥmad Ibn ‘Abdil ‘l-Ḥalīm Ibn ‘Abudi ‘s-Salām²⁰⁰ popularly known as Ibn Taymiyyah was born in Rabi‘u ‘l-Awwal, 661 AH/ January. 22nd 1263 CE. in Ḥarran district in present day Turkey,²⁰¹ hence he is sometimes referred to as al-Harranī.²⁰² He is known in the Islamic world today as *Shaykh ‘l-Islam*.²⁰³

Ibn Taymiyyah was a Hanbalite by school of thought, though he always weighs the stands and views of other schools before forming his opinion or passing his judgment. His creed

is that of the *Athari* movement that was formed by Aḥmad Ibn Hanbalī,²⁰⁴ at a period when scholastic theologians were at their height. He also admired Sufism and indulged in some of its practices.²⁰⁵ Ibn Taymiyyah was greatly influenced by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbalī and Ibn Qudāmah Al-Maqdisī, a great *Ṣūfī* of Qādiriyyah order in his time.²⁰⁶ He influenced quite a number of people, especially the *Salafiyyah* and its various strata, be it Unitarian, political or *Jihādī*. This was because he proved his worth in each of these areas of emphasis and peculiarities of each. He confronted the theologians and waged physical *Jihād* against the infidels and people of erroneous beliefs in his days.²⁰⁷

Ibn Taymiyyah wrote quite a number of books out of which his *Majmūʿ ʿl-Fatāwā*, *Al-ʿUbūdiyyah*, *ʿAqīdatu ʿl-Hamawīyyah*, *ʿAqīdatu ʿl-Wāsiṭiyyah* among others are the most prominent that gained wider readership. Some have even been translated into English and Urdu among other languages. He traveled across the Islamic world and left his footprints wherever he got to. He was imprisoned at different times over his views. In fact, he finally died in a Damascus prison and buried at the *Ṣūfī* cemetery in 728AH/1328CE.²⁰⁸ Ibn Taymiyyah left a legacy that is difficult to be erased.

Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah

Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah's full name is Muhammad Ibn Abubakr Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (b.691AH/1292CE- d.757AH/1349CE). He was a great scholar and a prolific writer who read and wrote extensively on various topics in Islam. He studied under various scholars of his time, but most notable of them was Ibn Taymiyyah under whom he studied for sixteen (16) years.²⁰⁹ He was the closest student to him. He shared thoughts and ideas with his teacher, Ibn Taymiyyah. In fact, most of his works are written to complement the stands of Ibn Taymiyyah on various issues. He equally influenced *Salafīyyah* movements in no small measure because whatever that is either not contained or not clear from the works of Ibn Taymiyyah is always traced to him. Sometimes, his works are used to substantiate the position of Ibn Taymiyyah on issues. In fact, he was imprisoned with his teacher (Ibn Taymiyyah) but he was later released prior to the death of his teacher.²¹⁰ He authored a number of books on different aspects of Islam. His *Madārij ʿs-Sālikīn*, *Zad ʿl-Maʿad*, *Ighāthāt laḥfān*, *Aḥkām Ahli ʿl-dhimmi* among others are widely read across the Islamic world and across different sects.

Ibn ʿAbdul-Wahhāb

Ibn ʿAbdul-Wahhāb (1703CE-1792CE) was the founder of *Al-Muwaḥḥidūn* (the Unitarians) which the detractors used to refer to as *Wahhābiyyah* movement and has great influence on numerous *Wahhābī* scholars of Saudi Arabia and beyond till the present time.²¹¹ In fact, he is being venerated and celebrated across the *Wahhābiyyah* world today. He was a famous scholar of *Ḥanābilah* School. Though he was not a direct student of Ibn Taymiyyah, he was greatly influenced by his thoughts and ideas. He read the books of both Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah and he attempted to harmonise their ideas.²¹²

Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb has quite a number of books to his credit which he wrote to refute and condemn various unreligious practices of his time, especially *Bidʿah* and *Shirk*.²¹³ He later entered into a pact with Muhammad Ibn As-Saʿūd which led to the birth of Saudi Kingdom.²¹⁴ His *Kitābu ʿt-Tawḥīd*, *Qawāʿid ʿl-Arbaʿ*, *Uṣūl ʿl-Thalāthah* among others are his notable works. He has a great influence across the Islamic world today.

Muḥammad Naṣr ʿd-Din Al-Bānī

He was born in 1914 CE in Albania and died in Jordan in 1999 CE.²¹⁵ He is a famous *Fiqh* and *Ḥadīth* scholar. He attempted to found a school of thought like those of the four *Sunnī* Imams but could not make it before his demise.²¹⁶ He ran commentaries on different compilations of *Ḥadīth* works, and he is today widely acknowledged as an authority in the field of *Ḥadīth*.²¹⁷ He equally reviewed several works of different schools of thoughts like *Hanafi*, *Maliki*, *Shāfiʿī* and *Ḥanbalī* schools.

Al-Bani traveled to different provinces and countries like Egypt, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Spain, Kuwait among others to preach and spread his missions across the Islamic world.²¹⁸ He was noted to have revived the call for Salafism in modern time through preaching and calling on people to adopt the teachings of the *Salaf*.²¹⁹ He deliberately did this to checkmate the Saudis whose Islamic advocacy centred on Wahhabism. He was arrested and imprisoned on several occasions and was later banned from Syria.²²⁰ He was initially invited to Islamic University of Madinah to take charge of the science of *Ḥadīth* in the University in 1961,

it was not long (1963) before he was given an easy exit from the University and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia due to his challenge on some Saudi's formations. These include the compulsory used of *Niqab* (veil) by female citizens, his stand on *Salāt 't-Tarawih* (supra), his challenge to Saudis' veneration of Wahhabism at the expense of Salafism among others.²²¹ He wrote quite a number of books but mostly commentaries on the works of earlier scholars. *Silsilah* on the six books of Hadith, *Şifātu 'ş-Şalāt* among others are the most prominent works of his.

Ibn Bāz

Shaykh ^cAbdul-^cAzīz Ibn Bāz, the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia was born in November, 1910 in Riyādh and died in May, 1999 in Makkah.²²² His ideologies are traced to Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb, Ibn Taymiyyah and Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbalī's Atharī creed. He equally has tremendous influence on several scholars, especially of *Salafiyyah* movements. He was a recipient of different national and international awards for his outstanding scholarship and unequaled influence across the Islamic world.²²³

Ibn Bāz was appointed in 1992 as the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia and Head of the Council of Senior Scholars.²²⁴ He was also the President, *Al-Lajnatu 'd-Dā'imah lil-Buḥūth 'l-Ilmiyyah Wal-Iftā'* (The Permanent Committee for Islamic Research and Legal Opinions). President, Muslim World League and President, *Majma'u 'l-Fiqh 'l-Islāmī Ad-Dawlī* (International *Fiqh* Academy, Jeddah).²²⁵ Each of these has widened the scope of his influence across the globe. Ibn Bāz wrote quite a number of works covering different or almost every aspect of Islam. He has notable works on *Tafsīr*, *Ḥadīth* and its sciences, *Fiqh*, *Zakat*, *Da'wah*, *Hajj*, *Umrah*, among others. His *Majmū' 'l-Fatāwā* is widely read and relied upon by many scholars to adjudicate on matters. It has been translated into English language.

Ibn Bāz's influence was not without challenges from different quarters, especially from some blocs of *Salafiyyah* like Salman Al-Awda, Safar Al-Hawālī among other Political and *Jihādī Salafiyyah* adherents who have criticised him for making himself an ally of the Saudi government and always sees nothing wrong with government's policies. He was accused of issuing *fatāwā* to back the government up. Ibn Bāz later directed the government to arrest and imprison them for criticising him and by implication the government.²²⁶ He (Ibn Bāz) was also

criticised by Osama bin Laden and others for issuance of *Fatāwā* allowing the United States troops to be stationed in the Holy land. Others which called for his condemnation are Oslo peace accord, his stand on Israel/Palestine crisis and for allowing Christians to live in Saudi Arabia.²²⁷ He also issues a legal verdict forbidding women from driving cars among other controversial opinions he expressed when he was alive.²²⁸ In fact, he was frequently declared as a *Kāfir* by ʿAbdullah Faisal Al-Jamāikī who also accuses him of contradicting himself.²²⁹ Ibn Bāz has a great deal of influence on *Salafiyyah* beyond Saudi border. Many of the prominent *Salafiyyah* scholars are his former students.²³⁰

Ibn Al-ʿUthaymīn

Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ibn Al-ʿUthaymīn (1925-2001)²³¹ is another Saudi *Salafiyyah* scholar with great influence across the *Salafiyyah* denominations and the Islamic world at large. He shared every attribute with Ibn Bāz and the two of them lived almost at the same time.²³² He also won King Faisal international prize in 1994. He was a member of Council of Senior Scholars when Ibn Bāz was the President. He delivered lectures at *Ḥaram* and he was an Imam of the Mosque of Unayzah. He was buried where Ibn Bāz was also buried after his demise.²³³

Al-ʿUthaymīn gained a rare influence due to his electronic (ICT) approach to *Daʿwah*. He displayed a high sense of intellectuality while delivering lectures by quoting from different relevant sources and from different scholars of past and present. His views are more endeared to by, especially Egypt *Salafiyyūn*.²³⁴ Many of his works are commentaries on the works of earlier scholars covering different aspects of Islamic studies. Also, most of these works are translated into English language and can be accessed via the internet.²³⁵ He also has *Majmūʿ Al-Fatāwā*. He anchored a live television programme where he answered questions from callers.²³⁶

Yūsuf Al-Qarḍāwī

Al-Qarḍāwī was born in 1926 in Egypt where he grew up and started his education.²³⁷ He obtained his first degree in 1953 and PhD. in 1973, both from Al-Azhar University, Cairo.²³⁸ He was the Chairman of *Al-Ithādu 'l-ʿĀlamī li-ʿUlamā' 'l-Muslimīn* (International Union of Muslim Scholars) founded in 2004 with headquarters at Qatar.²³⁹ He is also popular for his usual featuring on Al-Jazeera programme, *As-Sharīʿah wa Al-Ḥayāt* and his website, Islamonline where he issues *Fatāwā* on different topics on Islam since 1997.²⁴⁰ He has also published over a hundred and twenty (120)²⁴¹ works and the most popular of them are *Al-Ḥalāl Wal-Ḥarām fil Islam* (The Lawful and the Prohibited in Islam), *Fiqh Al-Zakāt*, *Fiqh Al-Jihād* among others. He has received many international awards of excellence on Islam and Islamic scholarship.²⁴²

Al-Qarḍāwī has an inalienable link with the Muslim Brotherhood. His views on some issues like permissibility of suicide bombing has attracted international reactions especially from the west.²⁴³ In 2008, he was not allowed to enter the United Kingdom and he was equally banned from entering France in 2012. Despite these, he is a trustee of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies and a consultant on the epic movie on Prophet Muhammad and the second *Khalīfah*, ʿUmar bin Al-Khaṭṭāb.²⁴⁴ Other areas of his specifications are:

- Laying the foundation of *Sharīʿah* and Islamic Studies in the University of Qatar.
- Founding and heading till today, the Centre of *Sīrā* and *Sunnah* in the same University.
- Supervisor, Institute of Imam, Egyptian Ministry of Religious Endowment.
- Dean, Faculty of *Sharīʿah* and Education in Qatar.
- Chairman, Scientific Council of Islamic University and Higher Institution, Algeria.
- Head, the European Council for *Fatāwā* and Research, Ireland.
- Adviser, Bank of *Taqwa*, and a host of others.²⁴⁵

Al-Qarḍāwī was imprisoned in 1949 by King Farouq during the time of Gamal Abdul-Nasser and has since left Egypt for Qatar before returning in 2011 in the wake of Egyptian Revolution. He made his first public appearance at Taḥrīr Square where he addressed closed to two million audience.²⁴⁶ Al-Qarḍāwī has discussed a lot of international issues which have won him international recognitions and has influence on several *Salafiyyah* groups.

2.7 The Influence of *Salafiyyah* in the Islamic World Today

Salafiyyah has a greater influence across the Islamic world today. Its ideologies, teachings and methodologies have gained momentum in the Islamic world today. *Salafiyyah* according to German Domestic Intelligence Service is the fastest growing Islamic movement in the world.²⁴⁷ This fact can be substantiated with the fact that the movement has a sizable number of members across the Islamic world. There is no country in the Islamic world today, even in the west, that some of its Muslim populace will not be adherents of the movement, aside countries like Saudi Arabia where majority of its citizens belong to *Salafiyyah*.²⁴⁸

According to a demographic survey, *Salafiyyah* members are about 20-30 million in India, 6 million in Egypt, 27.5 million in Bangladesh, 1.6 million in the Sudan, 10,000 in Tunisia, 17,000 in Morocco, 7,000 in Jordan, 17,000 in France and 5,000 in Germany. Other places where *Salafī* are majorly present but without demography includes Nigeria, China, Sweden, Australia, the United States, the United Kingdom and many more.²⁴⁹

Factors that are Responsible for the Unprecedented Influence of *Salafiyyah* Movements Across the World

- What unite the *Salafiyyah* are more than what divide them. It is generally known that aside the differences on *Jihād* and political interest, they are united on *Atharī* creeds, *Tawḥīd* (monotheism), rejection of *Bid'ah*, admiration for Ibn Taymiyyah and his disciples among others.
- Arab Nationalism (*Al-Qawmiyyah 'l-ʿArabiyyah*)²⁵⁰ a nationalist ideology to realise the lost glories of Arab civilization, language, literature and a call for rejuvenation of political union in the Arab world. It rise to prominence in the wake of the defeat of the Ottoman Empire.²⁵¹
- The campaign on the importance of adhering to the teachings of the *Salaf* 'ṣ-Ṣāliḥ (the pious predecessors) which is fascinating to all Muslims across the world.²⁵²
- The control of the two Holy cities (*Makkah* and *Madinah*) of Islam, especially by the Wahhābis otherwise known as Saudi *Salafī*. This has gone a long way in expanding the scope of their influence because people are easily convinced by them.²⁵³
- Oil money: The influence of *Salafiyyah* today is boosted with the control of oil and gas in many of their domains. This is because oil proceeds are used to further their cause.

Different endowments and several humanitarian services are established. The oil money is used to sponsor Muslims from different countries, especially in the west on education and the sponsored people are later sent back to their home countries to spread Salafism, *Wahhabiyyah* among others.²⁵⁴

- Liberality: *Salafiyyah* movements, especially the *Wahhābiyyah* despite the fact that Ibn ʿAbdul-Wahhāb started his mission on a *Jihād* and a force notes, are today relatively liberal in their approach to *Daʿwah* and interpretations of the Qurʾān and the *Sunnah*, especially the aspect of *Jihād*.²⁵⁵ Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn’s works are replete with *Fatāwā* issued purposely to shelve physical *Jihād* on the ground that it (physical *Jihād*) cannot take place except with the permission of *Amir*, *Imam* or *Khalīfah* and presently, there is no Islamic State in any part of the world, so there is no legally certified individual who can authorise *Jihād*.²⁵⁶ Therefore, Muslims should have Jihad as a concept in Islam but can never be carried out at the present time. People therefore find it easy and simple to align themselves with them.
- The use of the media both print and electronic to disseminate information on the creed of *Salafiyyah*.²⁵⁷

The *Salafiyyah*’s ideologies and methodologies are found everywhere across the Islamic world. *Salafiyyah* has gained momentum across the Islamic world so much that it is now becoming a relative fact that people listen to the products of their Universities, especially the Saudi-owned Universities and see them as the real Islamic scholars.

Conclusion

Salafiyyah is an Islamic movement which is coined from its main objective which is to take after the footsteps of the *Salaf*. *Salaf* itself refers to the first three generations of Muslims. It covers the generations of the Prophet, his Companions and the *Tābiʿūn* (Successors to the Companions). *Salafiyyah* is often referred to or interchanged with different names among which *Ahlu’s-Sunnah wa ’l-Jamāʿah* is most frequent and prominent. The concept of *Salafiyyah* is to shut Islam from any accretion that can alter its pristine nature, especially when there were a lot of controversies that engulfed the *Ummah* after the demise of the Prophet. The main scholars from whom the doctrines and ideologies of the movement sprang from are Ibn Taymiyyah and

Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb among others. The creeds and tenets of the *Salafiyyah* are crystallised in the recent time by two scholars of Saudi Arabia.

It is cleared that the concept as promulgated and understood by the early *Salafiyyah* scholars is a broad concept (*Manhaj*) but it has now being reduced to a school of thought (*Madhhab*) with emphasis on *Hanābilah* school. This is championed by Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn. It is however the submissions of Ibn Bāz, especially on issues of political and physical *Jihād* and Saudi Arabia's interaction with the Western world that accounted for the various splits in the *Salafiyyah* circle as we have it today. Also, the period of *Salaf* is delimited to cover the period between the prophethood of Muhammad and the demise of the last *Tābiʿ* (Successor) in 180AH/796CE. There are different politico-religious events and activities during the period that greatly influenced the generations that came thereafter and the effects are felt till the present time. It is therefore clear from every indication that the seeds of everything that characterise Islam as we have today, including Sufism, have been planted since the days of *Salaf*.

Salafiyyūn share common attributes with other Muslims, especially the aspects of the pillars of Islam and the articles of faith. They however differ in their methods of explanation of each of these issues. This is well pronounced in the aspect of belief in Allah and destiny. This is equally not unconnected with factors that have accounted for the emergence of different sects in Islam, like Muʿtazilites, Qadarites, Jabarites among others. Other distinctive ideologies of *Salafiyyah* include *Al-Walā' wal-Barā'* and *Takfir* among others.

Generally speaking, *Salafiyyah* should be a homogeneous movement since they received inspiration from the same source. This however is impracticable because there are a number of *Salafiyyah* movements depending on factors that are responsible for the formation of each and the methodical approach to issues. Different *Salafiyyah* movements adopt different methods as may be deemed appropriate by either the leader or as may be necessitated by the location of their operations among others. Political involvement or governance and *Jihād* are other major factors that are responsible for various divisions within the *Salafiyyah* bloc.

Bid'ah (innovation) which is simply defined as a newly introduced matter is a household term in Islam which has generated hot debates across the shore of *Shūfī* and *Salafiyyah* of both classical and modern times. From all indications, there is unanimity of opinion and correlations

among the submissions of the *Salaf*, classical *Salafiyyah* scholars and Sufis on the classification of *Bid'ah* into good and bad. Many modern *Salafiyyah* scholars disregard this and argue fervently that innovation is indivisible and if at all it will, it should be between worldly and religious matter. This has however been attributed to the influence of secularist ideology in some quarters. They submit further that innovation in relation to religion takes one out of the fold of Islam. The Sufis, in the bid to cut them to size, identify various religious innovations being perpetrated by *Salafiyyah* scholars.

There are a lot of scholars that have immensely contributed and have great influences on Salafism at both classical and modern periods. The likes of Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim, Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Bāz, Naṣru 'd-Dīn Al-Bānī, Yūsuf Al-Qarḍāwī and a host of others have immensely contributed to the influence of Salafism in the recent time. Oil and gas proceeds, media, custody of the two holy cities of Islam, among others are the factors that have assisted the spread of the influence of the Saudi *Salafī* across the Islamic world today.

Having clearly defined and identified the *Salafiyyah* and issues that are related to them in this chapter, the next chapter will focus on their discourse on Sufism and it will feature their submissions on the origin and legality of Sufism in Islam. It will equally discuss issues relating to the doctrines and the practices of the Sufis. The criticised Sufis by the *Salafiyyah* scholars will equally be discussed along with the reasons for their criticism.

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Chapter Three: *Salafiyyah*'s Discourse on Sufism, Some of Its Doctrines and Practices

3.0 Introduction

In the second chapter of this work, effort was made to x-ray the concept of Salafism and various issues that are related thereof are trashed out. What this thesis intends to do here is to discuss the various views and submissions of the *Salafiyyūn* on Sufism and some of its doctrines and its practices. The discussions will be done with a juxtaposition with the explanations of the Sufis on their doctrines and practices along with the evidence that are relied upon by either the Sufis who indulged in them or the *Salafiyyūn* who examine them on the basis of which they are condemned. It should be noted here that it is not possible for this work to cover every doctrine and practice of Sufism, but effort will be made to select the core ones that are frequently discussed among them.

3.1.1 Origin of Sufism

One of the most hammered aspects by *Salafiyyah* scholars in the bid to displace Sufism and disassociate it from Islam is its (Sufism) origin. The source of its existence in Islam has continued to unsettle the minds of different scholars, especially among the *Salafiyyūn*. Their perceptions on Sufism and its origin differ. While there are some scholars like Al-Jazā'iri, who consider it as an unholy accretion which is completely alien to Islam,¹ others see it differently. Ṣidīqī argues that Sufism lacks etymological origin in both the primary sources of Islam (Qur'ān and *Sunnah*). He equally submits that there is no such nomenclature during the early days of Islam.² Sufism therefore, in his submission, could be traced to different strange sources. To this

end, he identifies Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, Hellenism as the possible sources of its existence. At times, some *Salafiyyah* scholars linked its source to groups that have been labeled as deviants in Islam like Shī‘ah and Scholastic theologians (*Mutakallimūn*).³ The implication is that linking Sufism to them discredits its originality, legitimacy and credence in traditional or *Sunni* Islam.

The above itemised possible origins of Sufism are exactly the position of some orientalist like Nicholson who does that on the basis of semblance between some *Ṣūfī* doctrines and practices and those sources. He however rescinded this position and locate Sufism within the Islamic framework.⁴ In the Noldeke’s view, Sufism is from the word ‘Sūfus’ (سوفس) which is also a coinage from *thayūsūfiyyā* (ثيوسوفي), a name with which the Hellenists used for their spirituality but was acronymised as *Ṣūfī* by Muslims.⁵ The same idea is expressed by Safar ‘l-Ḥawālī in his *Faḍā’iu ‘ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah*,⁶ only that its spelling is different. He spells it as *At-thayūsūfiyyah* (التيوصوفية). Both scholars are particular about identifying the origin of Sufism with both Hellenism and Hinduism.

Other *Salafiyyah* scholars equally attempt to link each element in both the doctrines and practices of the *Ṣūfī* to one cultural, religious or ideological movement outside Islam. To this end, As-Shubīkī attributes *Al-Ḥulūl* (spiritual transformation), *Fanā’* (annihilation), *Jadh̄b* (enchantment), *Waḥdatu ‘l-Wujūd* (Unity of Existence) to Hinduism. Others are Soul purification (*Tazkiyyatu ‘n-Nafs*), and unitive experience which are attributed to Greek philosophy, while *Shaṭaḥāt* (theophatic locutions) is linked to Persian origin.⁷

Furthermore, *Salafiyyah* scholars do not relent in their bid to locate Sufism within different sources outside Islam. They therefore step further by declaring Sufism as one of the conspiracy elements targeting at destruction of Islam by sowing the seed of confusion among the Muslims. To them, this underscores its (Sufism) emergence after the period of *Salaf* and prominence at places outside Hijaz or probably Arabian Peninsula, especially ‘Iraq and Persia, the two world renowned civilizations that had been subdued by Islam.⁸ Also, it is alleged by *Salafiyyah* scholars that *Jāhiliyyah* practices which were abolished by Islam were not in the desire of some Arabs to let those practices go, hence they seek to revive them after the demise of the Prophet. They therefore have sympathy for their traditions and cultures and the only way for

them to retain them, in order not to go into dustbin of history, is to incorporate them into Islam and get them “Islamised”.⁹

In another dimension, there are some other accounts which suggest that Sufism is an attack from combined efforts of the Buddhists, the Greeks, the Hindus, the Jews and the Christians on Islam which is targeted mainly at checkmating the growing influence of Islam and possibly to use Islam as a medium to extend their tentacles.¹⁰ The identification of some similarities and semblances between Sufism and each of these religions and ideological movements substantiates these facts.¹¹

There are some other opinions and suggestions from other quarters which identify *Ṣūfī* orders as cults, secret societies and movements like Yoga, Vedanta, Zen Kabbalah, Freemasonry, Illuminati among others.¹² They substantiate their allegations by questioning the rationale behind the limitation of some practices among the *Ṣūfī* to their circles. Abdul-Qādir al-Jilānī, the founder of the Qādiriyyah order and many modern *Ṣūfī* scholars and writers in the present time like Nazim Haqqani, Kabbani, Gibril Haddad among others are identified as prominent members of these cults and their agents in recruiting Muslims and corrupting their minds in the name of Sufism.¹³

In furtherance of the efforts by *Salafīyyah* scholars to disassociate Sufism from Islam, they attempt to categorically sever it (Sufism) from the period of *Salaf*. They argue that neither the seed of Sufism nor any of its elements as so claimed by the Sufis were present during the period.¹⁴ *Salafīyyah* scholars equally attempt to dismantle the claim that Sufism metamorphosed from *Zuhud* (asceticism) which is prevalent during the period of *Salaf*, especially the Companions of the Bench (*Aṣḥābu ’ṣ-Ṣuffah*). Adducing several proofs, particularly from the grammatical point of view, they submit that, if the name is coined from them (Companions of the Bench), it would have been *Ṣafīyyu*.¹⁵ Also, they argue that Companions like ʿAlī did not have a special status or receive any special spiritual training from the Prophet that distinguished him from others as claimed by the Sufis, hence he would have been placed above Abūbākr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān in the celebrated tradition of the Prophet cited in the second chapter of this work ¹⁶

To substantiate their claim further, *Salafīyyah* scholars identify some practices and doctrines of the *Ṣūfī* which, in their opinion, were neither practised by any Companion nor *Tābi*^c. These include: *Shaṭaḥāt* (theophanic locutions), *Sama*^c (music), *Raqṣ* (dance), *Khalwah* (seclusion), manners of *dhikr* like *Huwa*, *Hu*, and *Tarbiyyah* (spiritual training) and so on. Others are false claims on Khidr, *Ilmu 'l-Ghayb* (knowledge of the unseen), *Fanā'* (annihilation), *'Ishq* (love), *Waḥdat 'l-Wujūd* (Unity of Existence), *Al-Ḥulūl* (spiritual transformation), *Ḥaqīqatu 'l-Muhammadiyyah* (Reality of Muhammad), *Wilāyyah* (sainthood), *Ṣūfī* claims on *Shafā'ah* (intercession), *Istighāthah* (seeking assistance), *Tabarruk* (blessing), *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* (celebration of the birthday of the Prophet), *Ziyāratu 'l-Qubūr* (grave visitation)¹⁷ and a host of others. They therefore submit that since none of these is known from the *Salaf* but were engrossed in by the present day Sufis, they have derailed from the original teachings of Islam and should be condemned in all ramifications. It should however be pointed out that *Salafīyyah* appears too exaggerative and there is lopsidedness in the items mentioned above. Details will be discussed later in the relevant places in this chapter.

Some other *Salafīyyah* scholars put the period of appearance of Sufism at the ninth (9th) century of Islam, though with the submission that there are traces of *Zuhd* in the days of the Companions, they denied its metamorphosis into Sufism.¹⁸ This is because, as at this period (9th century), there had been series of interpolations, distortions and corruptions among the Muslims. So, the calls to the right path that time were as a result of the prevailing circumstances among the early community of Muslims in the days of *Salaf* and there was nothing like Sufism as it is being practised today.¹⁹ Since the nomenclature, *Salafīyyah*, indicates its linkage to the righteous Companions of the early days of Islam, otherwise known as *As-Salafu 'ṣ-Ṣāliḥūn* (pious predecessors),²⁰ Sufism equally ought to have derived its name from any of the known practices of the *Salaf*.

The accounts above are some of the *Salafīyyah's* efforts to displace Sufism and disassociate it from Islam. They are going to form the kernel of our discussions in this chapter as various sub-heads will be geared towards addressing various issues as raised by the *Salafīyyah* scholars against Sufism and the Sufis.

3.1.2 Sufism and the Period of *Salaf*

In chapter two above, effort is made to discuss major issues and events that took place during the period of *Salaf* and the effects thereof. Particular reference is made to the Companions of the Bench (*Ahlu 'ş-Şuffah*) with the view to bringing their activities into limelight, especially how those activities manifested in what is known as Sufism today. An attempt shall therefore be made here to point out some mystical elements during the period as argued by the *Şūfī* scholars in defence of their doctrines and practices and in proving that Sufism is the most righteous of all groups that sprang after the period of *Salaf* as a result of differences and face-offs that characterised the period.

Sufism has an inalienable link with the attitudes of the members of *Ahlu 'ş-Şuffah* (Companions of the Bench). Most of what the Sufis do is traced to them, hence some scholars even argue that the nomenclature, *Şūfī* is a coinage from *Şuffah*, though this has been contested by many scholars from the available grammatical facts. Details will still be discussed on the etymological origin of Sufism in the relevant section in this chapter. It is pertinent to state that there are many works on Sufism vis-a-vis the Companions of the Bench from different scholars both at the *Salafīyyah* and *Şūfī* circles, but this work will concentrate on the views, submissions and accounts of the former (*Salafīyyah*), especially the highly celebrated scholars among them, to bring into focus their submissions on the subject matter.

In *Al-Mustadrak* of Al-Ḥākim, we find this explanation of Al-Ḥākim on a tradition of Abū-Hurayrah on the composition of the Companions of the Bench very useful and relevant. He writes:

قال الحاكم تأملت هذه الأخبار الواردة في أهل الصفة فوجدتهم من أكابر الصحابة رضي الله عنهم ورعا و توكلوا على الله عز وجل و ملازمة لخدمة الله و رسوله صلى الله عليه و سلم اختاره الله تعالى لهم ما اختاره لنبيه صلى الله عليه و سلم من المسكنة و الفقر و التضرع لعبادة الله عز وجل و ترك الدنيا لأهلها و هم الطائفة المنتمية إليهم الصوفية قرنا بعد قرن فمن جرى على سنتهم و صبرهم على ترك الدنيا و الأنس بالفقر و ترك التعرض للسؤال فهم في كل عصر بأهل الصفة مقتدون²¹

Al-Ḥākim said, I reflected on this report about the Companions of the Bench and I discovered that they are among the foremost Companions, may Allah be pleased with them- who devoted and put their trust in Allah, the Exalted and Mighty. They cling to the service of Allah and His Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him. Allah therefore bestows on them what He bestowed on His Prophet in terms of misery, poverty and submissiveness in His worship. They shunned worldliness and renounced it and leave it for those who desired it. They are the one that were later known as *Ṣūfiyyah* as time passed by. Whoever therefore lives their pattern of life, perseveres in deserting worldliness as they did, lives a life of the poor and shuns unnecessary questions, in every generation (after them) has imitated and taken to their path.

The above commentary of Al-Ḥākim who is an undisputed authority in the science of *Ḥadīth* as contained in his *Al-Mustadrak* captures the key elements of Sufism which are essentially *‘Ibādah* (worship), renunciation of the world and poverty among others. This indeed is a reflection of what was bequeathed to the later generation by the *Salaf*, especially the Companions of the Bench, hence Al-Ḥākim further submits that those who took after them are later known and referred to as Sufis. This can equally be substantiated with another submission from Kalabadhī who equally suggests that the Sufis are so named due to their imitation of the Companions of the Bench.²²

In another corroborative dimension, there are similar narrations from both Ibn Khalidūn in his *Muqaddimah*²³ and Ibn Hajar Al-Haytamī also in his *Al-Fatāwā Al-Ḥadithiyyah*.²⁴ Both eminent historians and *Ḥadīth* scholars independently in their various works submit that *Ṣūfī* as a name came up during the period of *Salaf* as a result of excessive indulgence in worldliness and prevalence of social and political disorder which most people were engrossed in. Ibn Hajar writes:

...تفرد طائفة بأعمال صالحة وأحوال سنية واتخذوا لنفوسهم زوايا يجتمعون فيها.....أسوة أهل الصفة²⁵

A group singles out itself with good deeds and displays Prophetic virtues. They chose for themselves a place where they gathered (for different spiritual purposes) like the Companions of the Bench.

The above paragraph of Ibn Hajar is one of the similar expressions that are found in the works of different scholars both within and outside *Ṣūfī* blocs, especially Qushayri, As-Shātībī, Ibn Khalidūn among others. It confirms the connection between Sufism and the Companions of the

Bench. After a long explanation, Ibn Hajar submits that those who equally imitate these people are first referred to as *Zuhhād* (ascetics) while as centuries passed by, they metamorphosed into *Ṣūfī*²⁶ as it is generally known today.

The submission of Ibn Ḥajar could be substantiated with the fact that *Zuhd* was the name for Sufism at the initial stage, hence most of the earlier works that are written during the period of *Salaf* which detail the attitudes and dispositions of the Companions and early Muslims to worldliness are entitled *Kitāb 'z-Zuhd* (Book of Asceticism). Many prominent figures like ʿAbdullah Ibn Mubārak (d.181AH), Muʿaḏī Ibn ʿImrān Al-Mawṣulī (d.185AH), Abū Sufyān Wakīʿ Ar-Ruʿasī (d. 197AH), Asad Ibn Mūsā (d.212AH), Abū Dāwud As-Sijistānī (d.275) and many others wrote different works on *Zuhd* (Asceticism).

Also, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbali in his *Kitāb 'z-Zuhd*, demonstrates the essential and common attribute of prophets and pious people as asceticism. Particular references are made to many prophets before Prophet Muhammad like Yūnus, Sulaymān, Ayūb, Nūḥ, Mūsā, ʿIsā among others. He did not exclude Prophet Muhammad, his eminent Companions, especially members of *Ahlu 'ṣ-Ṣuffah*, important personalities among the *Tābiʿūn* like Uways Al-Qarnī, among others who are later known to be *Ṣūfī* figures and personalities. From the brief account above therefore, it can be submitted that there is no difference between the asceticism as established by the Companions and others in the period of *Salaf* and what is later known as Sufism.

SOME NOTABLE *ṢŪFĪ* PERSONALITIES DURING THE PERIOD OF SALAF

There are so many prominent *Ṣūfī* personalities, who were often referred to as *Zuhhād* (ascetics) during the period of *Salaf*, from whom the Sufis take their inspiration. This work will however limit itself to few ones whose identification and acknowledgement cut across both *Ṣūfī* and *Salafīyyah* circles. They include the following:

Uways Al-Qarnī (d. 37 AH/658 CE): He was a mystical figure whose advent was foretold by the Prophet according to several traditions found in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and *Musnad* of Imam Aḥmad among others. For instance, one of the *Aḥādīth* reads:

عَنْ عُمَرَ بْنِ الْخَطَّابِ قَالَ إِنِّي سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ -صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ- يَقُولُ « إِنَّ خَيْرَ التَّابِعِينَ رَجُلٌ يُقَالُ لَهُ أُوَيْسٌ وَلَهُ وَالِدَةٌ وَكَانَ بِهِ بَيَاضٌ فَمُرُوهُ فَلْيَسْتَغْفِرْ لَكُمْ »²⁷

On the authority of ʿUmar Ibn Al-Khaṭṭāb who said he heard the messenger of Allah, may the blessing of Allah and His peace be upon him, saying: Indeed, the most righteous of the Successors to the Companions is a man called Uways by name. He has a parent and grey hairs. Approach him to seek Allah's forgiveness for you.

It should be noted that many of these narrations are tagged as *Ṣaḥīḥ* (sound) by Aḥmad and Al-Bānī in his *Silsilah*.²⁸ There are several other corroborating reports contained in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* by other reporters all linked to ʿUmar. Elsewhere, it is reported that ʿUmar will always ask anyone from Yemen (Yemenite) whether or not he is Uways, or knows him. He (ʿUmar) will state that the Prophet directed him to seek intercession to Allah through him for his (ʿUmar) sins to be forgiven by Allah.²⁹ In fact, Uways has a separate sub-division like other Companions in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. He (Uways) equally participated in the battle of *Ṣiffin* and died in the same battle. In fact, Uways would have been one of the Companions but he could not meet or see the Prophet physically or interact with him.³⁰ Equally, *Ṣūfī* works are replete with several anecdotes of Uways and he is taken as their Shaykh.

Ḥasan Al-Baṣrī (d. 110 AH/ 728 CE) He is often referred to as the Imam of *Ahlu 's-Sunnah Wal-Jamā'ah*.³¹ He was a prominent student of ʿIraq school of *Tafsīr* manned by Ibn Masʿūd.³² He therefore learnt Islamic sciences from the Companions. ʿUmar is on record to have said the following prayer for him just as the Prophet did for Ibn ʿAbbās.

اللهم فقهه في الدين وحببه الى الناس³³

Oh Allah! Make him an Islamic jurist and beloved to the people.

His asceticism is well acclaimed during his lifetime and he had a number of students, including Wāṣil bin ‘Aṭā’ who founded the Mu‘tazilite movement.³⁴ Hasan was acclaimed to be the first to have been referred to as *Ṣūfī* among his contemporaries.³⁵ *Tadhkirat ‘l-Awliyā’* and other works on anecdotes of mystics are filled with his miracles and statements.

Shufyān ‘t-Thawrī (d.161AH)

Adhhabī in his *Sīru ‘Alām ‘n-Nubalā’* describes Sufyān ‘t-Thawrī as a scholar of repute in his time.³⁶ He is also described as a saint, a *Muḥadith* who had reported *Aḥādīth* from Abī Hurayrah, Ibn Abbās, among others.³⁷ He equally studied under Ja‘far Aṣ-Ṣidiq, a direct student of ‘Alī Ibn Abī Tālib.³⁸ *Tadhkirat ‘l-Awliyā’* and several other *Ṣūfī* works are filled with his anecdotes and sayings.

3.I.3 Sufis’ Accounts on the Origin and Legitimacy of Sufism in Islam

Works of *Ṣūfī* scholars and writers are replete with different accounts on how their cherished practices and doctrines which culminated as Sufism originated. Although this work cannot cover all the submissions, particular emphasis shall be placed on the core ones that need to be stressed. Apart from the Sufis’ subscription to the above submissions on *Ahlu ‘ṣ-Ṣuffah* (Companions of the Bench), there are array of arguments and explanations on Sufism and how it originated from within Islamic perimeters. Evidence abounds from both the primary sources of Islamic legislation and historical facts as will be presented in the following paragraphs.

In several places, scholars of different schools especially the *Salafiyyah* have contended the origin of Sufism particularly from etymological or grammatical angle. They have attempted to refute it with the instrumentality of grammar. On the contrary, the Sufis have created different premises to prove the origin of their practices within the Islamic sources, though with less emphasis on grammatical consideration as heavily relied upon by the *Salafiyyah* scholars. Thus, that marks the first point of contradiction between them. According to Kalabadhī, *Ṣūfī* is a coinage from *Ṣafā* (purity), *Ṣūf* (wool), *Ahlu ‘ṣ-Ṣuffah* (Companions of the Bench), *Ṣaffu ‘l-Awwal* (first row)³⁹ among others. Most *Salafiyyah* scholars relied on the refutation of Ibn

Taymiyyah in this regard who submits that *Ṣūfī* cannot be a relative adjective to any of these terms, except *Ṣūf* (wool).⁴⁰

From every indication, including grammatical proofs, even as subscribed to by Ibn Taymiyyah, it is instructive to realise that Sufism is essentially a coinage from the dress and attitudes of its adherents. This does not displace the relevance of other terminologies as mentioned above. They should be understood in the sense of names and attributes of Allah, where Allah is the only unique name, other attributes explain both His essence and works. Therefore, those terms could be understood that the Sufis are pure in every ramification, inseparable from the Companions of the Bench, they will occupy the first row in front of Allah on the Day of Resurrection among others. This is because their principle is based on indulging in a simple life, seeking for a temporary comfort where it is unavoidable as recommended by Allah and His noble Prophet.⁴¹

Contrary to the general belief and submission that the word *Ṣūfī* is not contained in the Qur’ān, despite its overall acceptability as originating from wool, scholars have endeavoured to prove the etymological relevance of Sufism from the first primary source of Islam. Allah says:

وَاللَّهُ جَعَلَ لَكُمْ مِنْ بُيُوتِكُمْ سَكَنًا وَجَعَلَ لَكُمْ مِنْ جُلُودِ الْأَنْعَامِ بُيُوتًا
تَسْتَخِفُّونَهَا يَوْمَ ظَعْنِكُمْ وَيَوْمَ إِقَامَتِكُمْ وَمِنْ أَصْوَابِهَا وَأَوْبَارِهَا وَأَشْعَارِهَا
أَثَاثًا وَمَتَاعًا إِلَىٰ حِينٍ

And Allah has made for you from your homes a place of rest and made for you from the hides of the animals tents which you find light on your day of travel and your day of encampment; and from their wool, fur and hair are furnishing and enjoyment [i.e. provision] for a time.(Q.16:80)⁴²

From the above verse, a test of grammar is imperative to understand how *Ṣūfī* is deduced. The underlined word in the verse, *Aṣwāf* (wools), according to *Lisānu ‘l-‘Arab* dictionary is a broken plural having *Ṣūf* as its singular.⁴³ This is further explained by Al-Qushayrī when he claims that *Ṣūfī* has its origin from the word *Ṣūf* (wool).⁴⁴ Therefore, the verb *Taṣawwaf* would mean “to wear wool or a woollen material” from *Ṣūf*, just as *Taqamaṣ* “to wear a garment” from *Qamīṣ*

(garment).⁴⁵ Since it seems to have been the views and submissions of some scholars especially Ibn Taymiyyah who pioneered the campaign of *Salafiyyah* as pointed out above that he subscribes to the coinage of *Ṣūfī* from wool (*Ṣūf*), the question of etymological origin therefore should go down the drain. In the same vein and to substantiate the above fact further, wearing of woollen material is ascribed to the Sufis, even by Al-Qurṭubī in his explanation of the above verse in his *Tafsīr*. He writes :

ملبس عباد الله الصالحين إنما هو الصوف⁴⁶

The dress of the pious servants of Allah is indeed wool.

The above submission of Al-Qurṭubī is in line with the submissions of many scholars including the non-Sufis. Evidence abounds in the books of *Ḥadīth*, especially, *Muwaṭṭa* of Imam Mālik, Az-Zarqānī and historical facts on how some prophets like Mūsā, ʿIsā, Idris⁴⁷ including Prophet Muhammad and some of his Companions wore woollen garments. The same is equally reported against the *Ahlu ʿṣ-Ṣuffah* who dressed in woollen clothes while *Saḥīḥu ʿl-Bukhārī* contains reports of how the Prophet wore *Jubah* which was made from wool on several occasions.⁴⁸ The Sufis therefore make it their attire in emulation and imitation of the prophets and other righteous people.

The content of the above verse (Q.6:80), especially the last sentence is equally relevant and important to the Sufis because it describes the enjoyment of this world as ephemeral. It thus informs the decision of the Sufis to relate with it (world) in a temporal or casual manner. Therefore, wearing of woollen garment by the Sufis demonstrates their decision to live a pure life that is devoid of any blemish as prevalent during and immediately after the demise of the Prophet before corruption sets in, especially in the second century. *Ṣūf* (wool) is therefore worn to indicate their understanding of the world and how temporal and ephemeral its enjoyments are.⁴⁹ The inseparable relationship between the two as the possible and proper etymological origin of Sufism is indicated in *Risālah* of Al-Qushayrī. The author states that *Ṣūfī* is a name that is applicable to those who live pious life and concern themselves with heart purification as could

be inferred from the traditions regarding the Prophets who dressed in woollen garments mentioned above.⁵⁰

In the modern time, scholars like Husein Nasr have adduced another shade of arguments on the etymological origin of Sufism from both the Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth*. To this end, it is argued that Sufism is technically referred to as *Tazkiyyah* in the Qur'ān and *Iḥsān* in the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet.⁵¹ He (Husein) advocates the abolition of the usage of *Taṣawwuf* for either or both nomenclatures (*Tazkiyyah* and *Iḥsān*) which are contained in the Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth*, most importantly to distant Sufism from the allegation of being a *Bid'ah* as it is being argued by *Salafiyyah* scholars.

The position of Husein can be likened to the argument from some Sufis like Taofiq, who in the bid to exonerate themselves from *Salafiyyah* scholars' accusations, submit that originally the Sufis did not refer to themselves as such, but generally called and referred to themselves as *Fuqarā'* (*Faqir*).⁵² This claim, though may be correct considering the fact that it portrays the essence of Sufism, seems unjustifiable. This is because regardless of whether or not they accept *Ṣūfī* as their title, it has become a household name with which they are popularly known and generally referred to by the people. Moreover, there are justifications as proved in this work from both the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* to that effect. In fact, *Wahhābiyyah* Movement as it is known today is an imposed name from the detractors. The original name is *Al-Muwāḥidūn*.⁵³

In another perspective, another set of modern scholars like Asrar Rashid, downplay all arguments on the proper name for Sufism. He submits that, terms and terminologies are often not relevant in some instances to the real action or activity of an entity. So, whatever name that one adopts, as long as the doctrines and practices are in compliance with the provisions of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* as construed and handed over by the *Salafu 'ṣ-Ṣāliḥīn* to later generations, one is on the right path.⁵⁴

Asrar Rashid argues further that it is not uncommon to describe or call an act with a name that does not have any link with the content. Instance is given in respect to *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet when he was visited by Angel Jibril where the perimeters for religion (Islam) are set out.⁵⁵ To this effect, *Islām*, *īmān* and *Iḥsān* are identified. It is interesting to note that the sciences that deal

with each of these are not in any way related to them etymologically.⁵⁶ The science of Islam is called *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), that of *īmān* is called *‘Ilmu ‘l-Kalām* (scholastic theology) *‘Ilmu ‘t-Tawhīd* or *Uṣūl ‘d-Dīn*.⁵⁷ It was even referred to in the early days as *Fiqhu ‘l-Akbar* by Imam Abū Ḥanīfah.⁵⁸ The third, *Iḥsān* from which some scholars opine should be the proper name for Islamic spirituality has *Taṣawwuf* or *Tazkiyyah* as its science.⁵⁹ Therefore, since there is no argument in the first two, there ought not to be polemics on the third one.

Ordinarily, the whole arguments can be summed up by harmonising two nomenclatures (*Iḥsān* and *Tazkiyyah*) which link together like cause and effect, while those who uphold *Taṣawwuf* will equally have their way. This is because all of them (arguments) are interrelated and interconnected. The following explanations in the light of the Prophetic tradition will suffice:

وإن في الجسد مضغة إذا صلحت صلح الجسد كله وإذا فسد فسد الجسد كله ألا
وهي القلب⁶⁰

...indeed, in the body is a piece of flesh. If it is sound, the whole body is sound, and if it is corrupted, the whole body is corrupted. Verily, that (piece of flesh) is the heart.

The above tradition of the Prophet indicates the heart which is often referred to as *Nafs* or *Rūḥ*⁶¹ as the centre of spiritual activities of man which its righteousness or otherwise depends solely on it. Therefore, the process of purifying this essential part of the human system, as could be inferred from the Qur’an is called *Tazkiyyah* while its perfection is referred to as *Iḥsān* as indicated in the tradition of the Prophet. Therefore *Taṣawwuf* is the vehicle that conveys both.

Now, having provided various grammatical submissions of the Sufis on Sufism, let us proceed to the Sufis’ attempt to establish the legitimacy of Sufism in Islam. Firstly, according to Chittick who opines that generally speaking, religion is built upon three fundamentals. These are establishment of rules and regulations guiding both spiritual and mundane matters, comprehension or understanding of physical and spiritual environments and transformation of soul to unite with the Ultimate Reality (God). The third is therefore the essence of Sufism.⁶²

Ṭāhiru 'l-Qadri in a corroborative dimension, while explaining the verse of the Qur'ān (2:151) which highlights and summarises the tasks for which the prophets are sent by Allah, which *Tazkiyyatu 'n-Nafs* (purification of soul) is one thereof, proves the presence of elements that later metamorphosed into Sufism during the period of *Salaf*. He explains that the entire life style of the Prophet is a template that Sufism is fashioned after. Also, *tazkiyatu 'n-Nafs* (purification of soul) is an essential concept in the Qur'ān and one of the central teachings of the Prophet. Also, he submits that 'Ali and the Companions of the Bench (*Ahlu 'ṣ-Ṣuffah*)'s interactions with the Prophet among other companions are what constitute the basis of Sufism.⁶³

Explaining the verse further, Tahiru 'l-Qadri submits that the Islamic history is replete with evidence on how the Prophet trained and groomed the Companions in each of the areas that made up Islamic sciences like *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) *Qir'ah* (recitation), *Tazkiyyatu 'n-Nafs* (purification of soul) and *Tafsīr* among others and how they (Companions) demonstrated their excellence and expertise, even over and above one another. Hence, Companions like Ibn Mas'ūd,⁶⁴ 'Ali, People of the Bench (*Ahlu 'ṣ-Ṣuffah*),⁶⁵ Ibn 'Abbās⁶⁶ and Mu'adh Ibn Jabāl⁶⁷ excelled others in the areas of recitation, spiritual teachings, exegesis and jurisprudence respectively. Also, the distinction of each of them was confirmed by the Prophet himself. So, the seed of what is later known as Sufism or *Taṣawwuf* has been planted in the Muslim community by the Prophet himself but was not pronounced as it later happened in the second generation of Islam⁶⁸ just like other branches of Islam like *Fiqh*, *Tafsīr*, *Ulūm 'l-Ḥadīth* among others as we have them today. From the foregoing, Sufism therefore is an integral part of Islam which caters for its spirituality as taught by the Prophet and practised by the *Salaf*.

Secondly, *Ṣūfī* scholars have also argued that, since Allah unequivocally declares that He breathes into man out of His spirit as contained in the Qur'ān,⁶⁹ the need for man to return to Him becomes imperative. Therefore, they argue that Sufism is the subtle means to return man to his Creator, since it concerns itself with Islamic spirituality.⁷⁰ Generally speaking, Sufism is a way that personifies exemplary character traits (*Akhlāq*) as displayed by the Prophet. It is the way that concerns itself essentially with purification of the heart and the soul. It is equally a ceaseless spiritual combat, and Sufism in a nutshell means *Ikhlāṣ* (sincerity).⁷¹ *Ṣūfī* scholars state

further that Sufism is all about maintaining uprightness on the straight and right path (*Istiḳāmah*) and returning to Reality (God).⁷² it is therefore a necessity for everyone to adhere to it (Sufism).

Thirdly, some classical scholars like Imam Al-Laqqānī have submitted that, the right path (*Aṣ-Ṣirāṭu 'l-Mustaḳim*) that one often requests in *Ṣalāt* while reciting the *Sūratu 'l-Fātiḥah* entails three things as contained in his *Jawā'ir 't-Tawḥīd* He writes:

وصحبه خير القرون فاستمع ## فتابعي فتابع لمن تبع

ومالك وسائر الأئمة ### كذا أبو القاسم هداة الأمة⁷³

And his (the Prophet's) Companions, who belong to the best of generations, listen attentively.

Then, successors (to the Companions) and those who follow them (Successors to the Successors).

Also, (Imam) Mālik and other religious leaders, including Abul-Qāsim (Al-Junayd) who are the guides of this Community (Muslim).

The above poem is extracted from the main work of Al-Laqqānī where he sets out the requisites for being on the right path. He indicates that it entails the footsteps of the *Salaf*, *Madhāhib* (Schools of Thought) which he indicates Mālikī as his favourite one and the *Ṣūfī* path which he equally points out Al-Junayd is his guide. Whoever that combines all of these together is said to be on the right path. Sufism according to Al-Laqqānī is therefore a requirement for being on the right path.

Fourthly, *Taṣawwuf* is basically described by *Ṣūfī* scholars as the esoteric (*Bātin*) or inner aspect of Islam, which is different from the outer (*Zāhir*) or exoteric part. The former concerns itself with spiritual while the latter requires the fulfillment of Islamic law (*Shari'ah*). In this regard, Al-Bashir specifically explains that the broad teachings of the first three generations of Islam otherwise known as *Salaf* on *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) could be divided into two. These are *Al-Fiqh 'l-Bātin* (esoteric jurisprudence) and *Al-Fiqh 'z-Zāhir* (exoteric jurisprudence).⁷⁴ He writes:

والباطن أهل التصوف قديما اعتنوا بقضية اعمال القلوب و الحقائق⁷⁵

The esoteric refers to the early people of *Taṣawwuf* who concerned themselves with the deeds of the hearts and realities.

Al-Bashir, therefore identifies Imam Bashir Al-Ḥāfī Al-Karkhi, Abu-Sulaymān Ad-Darānī, Siri As-Saqatī, Al-Ḥarith Al-Muḥāsibī, Imam Junayd as foremost Sufis who belong to the *Salaf*.⁷⁶ These are some of the attempts of some *Ṣūfī* scholars and writers to establish the legality and legitimacy of Sufism in Islam.

Lastly, Qaudri in his attempt to provide justification for Sufism within the Islamic framework observes that less emphasis should be placed on the etymological question but the essence of Sufism as could be inferred from the actions and attitudes of the adherents. Having taken the readers through the tendencies that seem to have provided the base for Sufism in Islam, he submits that the significance of Sufism is not in its etymological derivation but in the actions and deeds of the Sufis which centre basically on piety and tailored after the lifestyles of the Prophet and his Companions.⁷⁷ He identifies self-imposed poverty, contempt for wealth and luxury and engagement in supererogatory ritual acts as some of those virtues that attract the Sufis because it is believed that by so doing, they can gain proximity to Allah.⁷⁸

3.2.0 Sufism and Some *Salafiyyah* Scholars

It is pertinent to classify *Salafiyyah* scholars according to what distinguishes one from the other. This will go a long way in achieving the objectives of this work and facilitating easy comprehension. Therefore, 15th century After Hijrah (A.H.) will be adopted as the basis for the classification which will tow the pattern of classical and modern *Salafiyyah*. The scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah and Ibn ^CAbdul-Wahhāb that had lived before 15th century A.H. are classified as classical scholars while the scholars like Ibn Bāz, ^CUthaymīn, Al-Qarḍāwī among others that are living or died in the recent time, whose influence on people is more pronounced and had printed their foots on the sand of time, as far as the campaign of Salafism is concerned are designated as modern *Salafiyyah* scholars.

3.2.1 Classical *Salafiyyah* Scholars

Many early *Salafiyyah* scholars have discussed the subject of Sufism in their various works. Since, it is obvious that all of them or every submission of each of the scholars cannot be covered here, the central ones whose submissions have far reaching implications on the current *Salafiyyah* campaign and propaganda on Sufism shall be selected. In the light of this, the following scholars are chosen for the purpose of this work. It is pertinent to remark that, generally, most of these scholars are presented to people by scholars of *Salafiyyah* as anti-*Ṣūfī*. They thereby put emphasis on their submissions that are seemingly contradictory to the general position of the Sufis. Therefore, what will be essentially done here is basically to bring out their pro-*Ṣūfī* submissions before comparing them with other views as they may be relevant to the subject matter of this work.

Shaykh Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728 AH/1328 CE)

Ibn Taymiyyah is one of the most venerated scholar by the *Salafiyyah* scholars. His teachings have greatly influenced the submissions and judgments of many modern *Salafiyyah* scholars. He is a key-figure *vis-à-vis* Sufism and Salafism. His personality has attracted a mixed reaction from both the *Salafiyyah* and *Ṣūfī* Scholars. To the former, he was seen as their leader in anti-*Ṣūfī* propaganda and campaigns, while in the views and submissions of the latter, his favourable disposition to Sufism and its adherents is unequal and significant. They substantiate their proposition with his admiration for some notable Sufis like *Shaykh ʿAbdul Qādir*, the founder of the *Qādiriyyah Ṣūfī* order and his membership of *Qādiriyyah* order among others.

In a study on the personality of Ibn Taymiyyah and Sufism by Yusuph, findings reveal that Ibn Taymiyyah has an inalienable link with Sufism.⁷⁹ The reasons for such a proclamation are not unconnected to the preponderance of proofs from Ibn Taymiyyah's works and different scholars which establish his (Ibn Taymiyyah) admiration and connection to some *Ṣūfī* and *Ṣūfī* orders like *Qādiriyyah* and it also reveals that he classified the Sufis into three different categories, namely:

- (i) *As-Şūfiyyah al-Ḥaqā'iq* (the real Sufis)
- (ii) *As-Şūfiyyah al-Arzāq* (the nominal Sufis)
- (iii) *As-Şūfiyyah ar-Razm*⁸⁰ (the impostors)

Ibn Taymiyyah equally referred to those who belong to the first category of Sufis as the foremost (*Sābiq*) Sufis. They are otherwise referred to by him, elsewhere in his work as *Mushāyikhu Ahli 'l-Istiqāmah* (leaders of the upright Muslims) *Mushāyikhu 's-Salaf* (leaders of the pious predecessors) and *Mashā'ikhu Ahal 'l-Kitābi wa 's-Sunnah* (leaders of those who uphold the *Qur'ān* and *Sunnah*).⁸¹ He describes them as the Sufis who did not derail from the path of the *Shar'ah*, despite their experiences.⁸² Sufis of the second category are qualified as moderates (*Muqtaṣidūn*) because they got intoxicated while they did not go into extreme.⁸³ The third category are described by Ibn Taymiyyah as non-righteous or wrong doers (*Zālimūn*) because they are pretenders who mixed philosophical elements with Sufism.⁸⁴

Shaykh Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah (d. 757AH/1349 CE)

Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah is another prominent classical *Salafiyyah* scholar who has printed an indelible mark in the historical account of Salafism. He has equally contributed in no small measures to the discussion on Sufism and Salafism. Generally speaking, the position of Ibn Qayyim on Sufism is not different from that of his teacher (Ibn Taymiyyah) though he attempted to step further in building on the foundation laid by his master. A cursory study of Ibn Qayyim's works and submissions on Sufism reflects his consciousness on the need not to duplicate his teacher, but to continue from where he stopped. In the light of this, his works and submissions are essentially complementary to those of his teacher. This however should not be taken as a sign of his gullibility or uncriticality, it has been rightly observed that there is no (any) noticeable disagreement between him and his teacher in the aspect of jurisprudence, except in the realm of spiritual discourse. Instances are seen in his submissions on *Fanā'*⁸⁵ and *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd*⁸⁶ where his absolute alignment with the theories and explanations of the Sufis is clear.

The stand of Ibn Taymiyyah *vis-a-vis* Sufism can be discovered through the position of his students like Ibn Qayyim. This is because Ibn Qayyim did not leave anyone in doubt about his pro-*Şūfī* stance, hence modern *Salafiyyah* scholars in their discourse to present Ibn Taymiyyah as an anti-*Şūfī*, make little or no reference to Ibn Qayyim. This is an obviously

pretentious tactics for people to ordinarily assume that he (Ibn Qayyim) shared the same views with Ibn Taymiyyah. Ibn Qayyim wrote extensively on Sufism and did not only demonstrate his admiration for some *Ṣūfī* scholars but also presented himself as a *Ṣūfī*.⁸⁷

Ovamar Anjum describes Ibn Qayyim as one of the *‘Ulamā’u ‘l-Qulūb* (scholars of hearts purification), *‘Ālimu ‘s-Sulūk* (scholar of spiritual journey) of *Ṣūfī*–Hanbali inclination.⁸⁸ This is not unconnected with his demonstration of a high sense of concern for the heart, its states and treatment of its diseases. Each of these is undoubtedly the science of spirituality, which is the subject matter of Sufism. His *Kitābu ‘r-Rūḥ* is one of the outstanding works on the science of the heart. It strengthens the assertion that he has an unparalleled commitment to *aḥawālu ‘l-Qulūb* (states of the heart) which is the subject matter of Sufism.⁸⁹

In order not to duplicate his teacher (Ibn Taymiyyah) and to demonstrate his intent to build on his teacher’s submissions, Ibn Qayyim did not concern himself with the origin and the legitimacy of Sufism which have been clearly elucidated upon by his teacher. He centres his discourse majorly on *Sulūk* (spiritual journey), *Ilhām* (intuition) and attainment of perfection.⁹⁰ Each of these is detailed in his famous work, *Madāriju ‘s-Sālikīn*, a commentary on the work of an eminent *Ṣūfī*–Hanbali scholar, Abū Ismā‘īl Al-Anṣārī Al-Harawī, entitled *Kitābu ‘t-Tawābīn*. It is a work written to explain spiritual stations (*maqāmāt*) and states (*aḥwāl*). Other works of his on Sufism are *Ighāthātu ‘l-Lahfān* which centres on sins and other anti-spiritual progress elements. *Ṭarīqu ‘l-Hijratayn* which is geared towards maintaining a balance between the world and the hereafter. *Al-Fawā’id* and *Badā’i ‘l-Fawā’id* are both focused on spiritual matter, while *Rawḍatu ‘l-Muḥibīn* specifically deals with the station of mystical path, especially the station of love (*Maḥabbah*) and many more.

In confirming the reality of *Taṣawwuf* as a pillar for Islamic spirituality, Ibn Qayyim writes:

الدين كله خلق فمن زاد عليك في الخلق , زاد عليك في الدين وكذلك التصوف قال
الكتاني التصوف هو الخلق فمن زاد عليك في الخلق فقد زاد عليك في التصوف⁹¹

The entirety of religion centres on good conduct. Therefore, whoever supersedes you in good character has superseded you in religion. Likewise, Sufism, according to Al-Kattānī, is also a good character and whoever supersedes you in good character has superseded you in Sufism.

Ibn Qayyim, like his teacher has rightly subscribed to the legality, the inevitability and the veracity of Sufism as an integral part of Islam that centres on spirituality. He submits that Sufism is good conducts towards God, fellow humans and other creatures and that one's spiritual level is assessed by one's character. Therefore, the level of one's attitudes determines the level of spiritual consciousness and development. Whoever is ahead of one in attitudinal perfection has indeed superseded one in *Taşawwuf*.

Ibn Qayyim in *Madārij 's-Sālikīn*, which is the most comprehensive of all of his works on Sufism, extensively discusses spiritual journey with a number of issues as related thereof. He discusses both *maqāmāt* (stations) and *aḥawāl* (states) in details. He confirms the stands of many Sufis that stations and states of the Sufis differ, depending on individual experiences, though the former is acquired (*Kasbī*) through acts of spirituality while the latter is bestowed (*Wahbī*).⁹² In pointing out an instance of their differences, he mentions *Riḍā* (satisfaction). He states that some Sufis count it as a station while some see it as a state.⁹³ Ibn Qayyim discusses each state and station that are contained in *Ṣūfī* literatures. He cites frequently various *Ṣūfī* works and scholars in driving home his points.

However, Ibn Qayyim balances his discourse on Sufism by pointing out the areas he considers as the excesses of the Sufis, even on some practices and doctrines where he aligns himself with them. Such includes *Fanā'* (annihilation), *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd* (Unity of Existence), *Al-Ḥulūl* (spiritual transformation) and other elements that he calls philosophical tendencies in Sufism. Others are *Suqūt 't-Taklīf* (antinomianism), separation between *Ḥaqīqat* and *Sharī'ah*, *Dhawq* (enchantment) and various forms of *'Ibādāt* (services to Allah) and *Adḥkār* (remembrance of Allah) that are not sanctioned in the Qur'ān or authentic *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet. Ibn Qayyim equally describes the righteous Sufis who were commended by Ibn Taymiyyah in the first category above as *A'immatu 'l-Qawwām*.⁹⁴

Shaykh Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb (d.1792 CE)

Shaykh Muhammad Ibn ʿAbdu ’l-Wahhāb was a prominent figure and personality in the *Salafiyyah* circle. In fact, he was the vehicle that conveyed the teachings of classical *Salafiyyah* scholars to the modern scholars. He played a major role in the crystallization of the concept of Salafism. His ideologies and teachings are misrepresented and misinterpreted by the *Salafiyyah* scholars. Truly, he waged both intellectual and physical war against every practice that he considered as un-Islamic and *Bidʿah* as they were prevalent in his days, he did not specifically tackle Sufism but some elements which he considered as being imported into Sufism. His non-particularity about Sufism is clearly shown when one goes through his most widely read work entitled *Kitābu ’t-Tawhīd*. This may not be unconnected with the fact that the prevalent practices in his days have no direct bearing on Sufism, else considering the level of his activities, he would have shown special interest in it (Sufism).

Ibn ʿAbdu ’l-Wahhāb is perceived as the most notorious scholar who displays absolute hostility and outright condemnation to Sufism and the Sufis.⁹⁵ Many works have been written on his personality vis-à-vis his disposition to Sufism. One of those scholars who have written on him is Al-Mālik who presents his (Ibn ʿAbdu ’l-Wahhāb) pro-*Ṣūfī* thoughts as contained in his (Ibn ʿAbdu ’l-Wahhāb) various writings in a manner that reflects his objectivity to Sufism when his search-light was targeted at it. This is because like Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim, he (Ibn ʿAbdu ’l-Wahhāb) expresses paired opinions on Sufism and other Islamic affiliates that he considers as unwholesome and alien to pristine Islamic teachings. Although, there is no clear evidence revealing that he involved himself in Sufism as clearly shown in respect of those two teachers, that does not mean that he rejected Sufism. Absence of any work specifically written on Sufism, not even a commentary on any *Ṣūfī* work, seems to have justified this expression.

Contrary to the general belief that Ibn ʿAbdu ’l-Wahhāb is an ardent anti- *Ṣūfī* scholar, the following instances which reflect his favourable disposition to Sufism suffice to prove the contrary. To start with, when he (Ibn ʿAbdu ’l-Wahhāb) was asked about different aspects of

Islamic sciences which evolved from the Prophet's teachings, he states in his *Fatāwā wa Masā'il*, while responding to the question as follows:

ان الله بعث محمدا صلى الله عليه وسلم بالهدى الذي هو: العلم النافع ودين الحق الذي هو العمل الصالح: إذا كان من ينتسب الى الدين منهم من يتعاني بالعلم والفقه ويقول به كالفقهاء ومنهم من يتعاني العبادة وطلب الآخرة كالصوفية فبعث الله نبيه بهذا الدين⁹⁶

Allah sent Muhammad, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, with guidance which is beneficial knowledge and the religion of truth which embedded virtues and good deeds. Therefore, among what is affiliated to the religion (Islam) is jurisprudence that the jurists concern themselves with. Others are those who focus on worship and the quest for the hereafter, such as the Sufis. So, Allah sent His Prophet with this religion.

From the above passage which is contained in one of Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb compiled works publicly presented on the occasion of the celebration of his birth,⁹⁷ it could be noted that Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb mentioned it as one of the essential sciences that make up Islam. Elsewhere, he reiterates this position, when he submits as follows:

واعلم أن أربع هذه الكلمات مع اختصارهن يدور عليها الدين، سواء كان المتكلم يتكلم في علم التفسير أو في علم الأصول أو في علم أعمال القلوب الذي يسمى علم السلوك⁹⁸

Note, that indeed these four principles despite their brevity are what the religion (Islam) centres on. They are the same, whether the discourse is on exegesis, principles of jurisprudence or the science of the deeds of the heart that is called science of spiritual journey.

From the above quotations, it is shown beyond any reasonable doubt that Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb affirms 'Ilmu 's-Sulūk as one of the four sciences on which Islam centred on. By implication, he acknowledges Sufism and confirms that it evolves through self discipline and training and that Sufis are blessed with righteous and pious hearts. He equally, indicates that he often feels amazed and wondered when he sees a *Ṣūfī* who is a Jurist and gets perturbed if reverse is the case of some Sufis. This is because the two (Sufism and Jurisprudence) therefore in his candid opinion must go *pari passu*.⁹⁹

In *Mukhtaṣar Zād 'l-Mi'ād*, Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb observes that piety, purity of heart and steadfastness among others are attained by the Sufis during the course of their training while journeying to Allah. This task can therefore be disrupted through excessive indulgence in eating and drinking among other human activities.¹⁰⁰ He therefore identifies *I'tikāf* (spiritual retreat) and fasting as the essential tools for a progressive and less distractive journey to Him. These will deter one from excessive consumptions of foods and enhance one's devotion to Allah.¹⁰¹

Ibn 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb's prescription of *I'tikāf* (spiritual retreat), which is otherwise known as *Khalwah* (seclusion) in Sufism, as one of the means to seclude oneself from worldly activities in dedication and devotion of oneself to Allah indicates his subscription to Sufism. Through this, according to him, one gains nearness to Allah. In stressing the importance of this retreat, he points out that, the Prophet's practice was to go on spiritual retreat (*I'tikāf*) in the last ten days of Ramadan annually, but the last one he had lasted for twenty (20) days, an extension which covers the first ten (10) days of Shawwal.¹⁰²

By and large, Ibn Abdul 'l-Wahhāb discusses Sufism to a greater extent. He confirmed the origin of Sufism and its legitimacy in Islam contrary to the general propositions of modern *Salafiyyah* on him. In fact, what is tagged as his rejection or condemnation of Sufism is what he alluded to during the course of discussions. What matters to him is essentially to ensure the practice of pristine Islam and remove all forms of innovations. In a nutshell, as previously indicated, his stand on Sufism is not different from that of Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah, which is essentially a middle course between the two extremes.

The three selected scholars are central to every discourse on *Salafiyyah*. They are being cited by *Salafiyyah* scholars with great relish. They rely on them on their arguments and buttress their points with the submissions of these scholars. As could be inferred from this discourse, none of these scholars outrightly condemns Sufism or the Sufis. What is clear and undisputed from their works is that they maintain a middle path between extreme *Ṣūfī* and non-Sufi adherent scholars. This is not unconnected with their conviction that Sufism is an integral part of Islam and attempt to limit its practices to the confines of the Qur'ān and *Sunnah*. That they express some reservations regarding some *Ṣūfī* doctrines, practices and some Sufis do not indicate their rejection of it, even such expressions are noted from some key *Ṣūfī* figures like Al-Ghazālī, Al-

Farūqī among others whose works are geared towards blending Sufism and *Shari'ah* together and correcting some *Ṣūfī* doctrines and practices.

3.2.2 Modern *Salafiyyah* Scholars

In the modern time, many *Salafiyyah* scholars have rendered different submissions on Sufism and have discussed the subject and its men extensively. Generally, *Ṣūfī* orders or Sufism basically is mentioned along with deviant groups and sects like *Shi'ah* and *Mu'tazilah*¹⁰³ among others in many of their works, which indicates that, in their understanding, the Sufis are equally deviant people in Islam. Sufism is traced to different foreign elements like Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism and Hellenism.¹⁰⁴ At times, some *Salafiyyah* scholars link its source to displaced groups that have been labelled as deviants and misconstrued in Islam like Shi'ism and Scholastic theology (*ʿIlm 'l-Kalām*). Also, some other scholars attribute the source of Sufism to the effects of strange spiritual practices and experiences from corrupt concepts like *Kashf* (uncover) *Ilhām* (intuition), dream (*ru'ya*) and *Al-Hawāṭif* (spirits) among others on them.¹⁰⁵

A censor of most of the works and discussions on Sufism in the modern time reveals that most scholars rely on two major scholars. These are Ibn Bāz and Ibn Al-ʿUthaymīn, though there are a couple of references to Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim and others, it is clear that they (scholars) quote them in the understanding of the both Ibn Bāz and Ibn Al-ʿUthaymīn. In the light of these facts therefore, this work will examine the views and submissions of these two eminent *Salafiyyah* scholars, being the central figures.

Taṣawwuf is one of the extensively covered topics in the works of Ibn Bāz and Ibn Al-ʿUthaymīn. Although, unlike Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim, there is no specific volume, section or a particular work for Sufism in all their works that were examined during the course of this study, discourse on it (Sufism) cuts across the contents and the volumes of their *Fatāwā* and *Rasā'il*. This however is not unconnected with the fact that answers were given to questions as they were asked on different platforms.

On a general note, as could be gathered from their various responses to mystical issues, both rejected Sufism outrightly without recourse to any of its practices, doctrines or any of its adherents. Their nullification and condemnation cover its origin, both etymologically and legitimacy. They asserted that it has nothing to do with Islam. They declared unequivocally that Sufism is a *Bid'ah* (innovation) which found its way into Islam.¹⁰⁶ In fact, they issued legal opinions that a *Ṣūfī* adherent should not be allowed to lead *Ṣalāt*, except for his likes and if it happened and one gets to know later, one is obliged to repeat the *Ṣalāt*.¹⁰⁷

The practices and doctrinal aspects of Sufism which they condemned include *Fanā'* (annihilation),¹⁰⁸ *Shaṭahāt* (theophanic locutions),¹⁰⁹ *Ziyāratu 'l-Qubūr* (grave visitation),¹¹⁰ *Tawassūl* (intercession),¹¹¹ *Istighāthah* (seeking assistance),¹¹² *Zuhd* (asceticism),¹¹³ *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* (celebration of the birthday of the Prophet),¹¹⁴ saint veneration, group or congregational *dhikr* and strange forms of *Adhkār* like chanting of Allah, Allah, *Huwa*, *Huwa*, or *Hū*, *Hū*¹¹⁵ etc.

Other condemned mystical entities are, *Ṭuruq* (*Ṣūfī* orders), like *Tijāniyyah*, *Qādiriyyah*, *Shādhiliyyah*, *Rifā'iyyah* and a host of others. According to them, the adherents worship the founders of these *Ṭuruq* instead of Allah. This, they submitted, is an open *Shirk* (associating partners with Allah) because only Allah deserves the worship of His creations and not any creature.¹¹⁶ They equally submitted that there is no difference between *Ṣūfī* orders and *Shi'ah*, *Tabligh*, *Ikhwān* (Brotherhood) and a host of others that they have tagged as *Bid'ah* groups.¹¹⁷ They opined that the righteous of all groups is *Salafiyyah* or *Ahlu 's-Sunnah wa 'l-Jamā'ah*, while others are deviant groups which must be shunned and condemned by Muslims.

One important observation about the submissions of the aforementioned scholars on *Taṣawwuf* is that they do not mince their words in making disparaging references to the early Sufis like Ibn 'Arabī and Al-Ḥalāj among others who expounded the concept of *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd* (Unity of Existence) and *Al-Ḥulūl* (spiritual transformation)¹¹⁸ while no mentioning of the names of Sufis like Fuḍayl Ibn 'Iyāḍ and Abū Qāsim Al-Junayd Al-Baghdadī. Sufyān At-Thawrī is mentioned as a *Faqīh* (Jurist) and *Ḥadīth*¹¹⁹ scholar not as a *Ṣūfī*. It should be noted that these men and many others are held in high esteem by Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah and

several other early *Salafiyyūn*. This suggests that it is either that they did not conduct adequate research on Sufism or they are just trying to address the issues at the ordinary level, especially to drive home their points and convince people to their side.

Ibn Al-^cUthaymīn is caught with the web of inevitable subscription to Sufism when he was rendering comments on the famous work of Ibn Taymiyyah, *Al-'Iqtidā' ṣ-Ṣirāta 'l-Mustaqīmah* wherein he (Ibn Taymiyyah) unequivocally condemned outright rejection of Sufism. Commenting on that portion, Ibn Al-^cUthaymin writes:

هذا الذي قاله شيخ الإسلام رحمه الله هو الحق، وهو نقبل الحق من أي طائفة سواء كان من المتصوفة أو المتفقهة و علماء الشريعة، أما أن لا نقبل من هؤلاء شيئاً ونقول : كل فعلهم خطأ ، فليس بصحيح، والإمام أحمد رحمه الله كان يجلس إلى بعض المتصوفة ليلين قلبه يعني عندهم تليين القلوب والعزوف عن الدنيا ما ليس عند غيرهم،...خذ الحق من أي إنسان كان، سواء من المتصوفة أو المتفقه أو غير ذلك...¹²⁰

This statement of the eminent scholar of Islam, may Allah have mercy on him, is the truth. It means, truth must be accepted regardless of the quarters it comes from, be it from the *Ṣūfī*, the Jurist, or the scholars of *Shari'ah*. For us not to accept anything from these groups, believing that all their actions are wrong is inappropriate. Imam Ahmad, may Allah have mercy on him- normally sits with some Sufis to soften his heart because he gets from them what softens the heart and abnegates worldliness. These are not found elsewhere except from them...Accept the truth from anyone, either *Ṣūfī*, the jurist or others...

The above declaration of Ibn Al-^cUthaymin has a far-reaching effect on his submissions on Sufism. It can be established that this is probably one of his last submissions which could be taken as abrogating all his previous anti-*Ṣūfī* positions. This is because if he had made this position in his early days, he would not have been that merciless in displacing, dismantling and outrightly rejecting Sufism as demonstrated in his *fatāwā* and other works.

However, it is equally observed that not all modern *Salafiyyah* scholars condemn Sufism but there are some scholars who do not tow the general path. In other words, their disposition to Sufism is favourable and many of them even practise Sufism. The likes of Al-Qarḍāwī, Ḥasan ʿAlī, Asraru Rashīd, Muhammad Yasir al-Hanafi among others are both prominent *Salafiyyah* and *Ṣūfī* advocates in the modern time. These scholars hold Sufism in high esteem and express the need to remove the chaff from the grain instead of throwing away the baby with the bath water. This is because they believe that, whole should not be condemned for a defect that is inherent in the part.

One of those notable scholars is Al-Qarḍāwī who maintains the middle course between the two extremes. He affirms and confirms the origin and legitimacy of Sufism in Islam. He even identifies Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim among others as Sufis.¹²¹ He defines Sufism as nurturing the soul for spiritual perfection and attainment of the ultimate Reality. He submits that Sufism is an entity which entails elements that are found in other religions like Christianity and Hinduism, among others but he clearly disassociates Islam from the spiritual practices that are available in those religions pointing out that Islam itself is a complete religion that does not need any appendage.¹²² In his *Taysīr fiqh 's-Sulūk*, he proposes a new approach to the fierce battle between the *Salafiyyūn* and Sufis by suggesting the idea of *Taṣwīfu 's-Salafiyyah* or *Taslīfu 'l-Mutaṣawwifah*.¹²³ The concept which aims at fusing Sufism and Salafism together as an integral whole and will bring about mutual understanding between the two. He thereafter stresses that knowledge is inevitable in mystical experience and in attainment of Gnosis and *Yaqīn* (certitude).¹²⁴ Generally speaking therefore, the majority of modern *Salafiyyah* scholars condemn Sufism in its entirety. They declare it as *Shirk* (polytheism), *Bid'ah* (innovation) and an unholy accretion that has crept into the fold of Islam and maintaining that Sufism lacks both origin and legitimacy in Islam.

3.3.0 *Salafiyyah's* Discourse on *Ṣūfī's* Doctrines and *Ṣūfī's* reactions

Taṣawwuf is made up of different doctrines and practices, which are offshoots of general Islamic beliefs. The Sufis, however, place emphasis on them than other Muslims. Some of these doctrines are examined by *Salafiyyah* scholars to determine their level of compliance or otherwise with the Qur’ān and authentic traditions of the Prophet. This equally provides an opportunity to assess the gross understanding of the *Salafiyyah* scholars vis-à-vis Sufism.

3.3.1 *Al-Wilāyyah* (Sainthood)

The concept of sainthood is one of the doctrines in Sufism that has gained a wide range of discussions across various schools of thought and sects in Islam. This is because different sects or groups have their separate concepts regarding saint and sainthood with some degree of differences. For instance, *Salafiyyūn*, Sufis, Shi‘ites among others have slight different views on *Wilāyyah* and what constitutes it. This study therefore aims essentially to examine the discourse of the *Salafiyyah* scholars on the *Ṣūfī* concept of sainthood.

According to Al-^cUthaymīn, a prominent scholar of *Salafiyyah*, in his *Fatāwā*, every pious Muslim is a saint of Allah. He submits saying:

من كان مؤمناً تقياً كان الله ولياً¹²⁵

Whoever is a pious believer is a saint of Allah

This is further illustrated by Ibn Bāz when he writes:

وأولياء الله : هم أهل الإيمان وأهل التقوى من الرجال والنساء ، وهم الذين يؤدون فرائض الله ، ويبتعدون عن محارم الله ، ويقفون عند حدود الله ، هذا هو المؤمن ، وهذا هو التقى ، وهذا هو الولي ، وهم أهل التقوى وإن كانوا زراعيين ، وإن كانوا أطباء ، وإن كانوا مهندسين ، كلهم أولياء الله إذا كانوا من أهل الإيمان والتقوى¹²⁶

Saints of Allah, both males and females, are the people of faith and piety. They are steadfast in the observance of obligatory acts, distance themselves from forbidden things and are conscious of the limits set by Allah. This is the believer, the pious people and the saints. They are people of piety even if they are farmers, medical doctors or engineers.

All of them are saints of Allah as long as they are among the believers and the pious ones.

The above excerpts from both Al-ʿUthaymīn and Ibn Bāz stem from the principle laid down by Ibn Taymiyyah in one of his works on sainthood. The work spells out the general view of the *Salafiyyah* scholars on sainthood and what constitutes it. A saint therefore must be an ardent observer of religious duties. There is no recourse to Islamic scholarship as the sole qualification to the attainment of sainthood, hence the categories of people that were indicated who, ordinarily, one would not have thought of. Therefore, *Salafiyyah* scholars beacon the attainment of sainthood on piety (*Taqwā*). So, whoever is conscious of Allah and steadfast in the observance of His commandments is a saint.

The above propositions by the *Salafiyyah* scholars on sainthood are not quite different from the explanations of the Sufis on *Wilāyah* as explained by At-Tirmidhī and Qushayrī in their respective works. Giving the definition of *Wilāyyah*, Qushayrī explains that attainment of sainthood is essentially clinched to sincerity in obedience to Allah, steadfastness in carrying out His commandments and complete detachment from sins and its cronies.¹²⁷ At-Tirmidhī adds that such an individual will guide seven parts of his body from unlawful things. These are the eye, the mouth, the stomach, the hands, the legs, the sexual organ and the tongue.¹²⁸ It should be stated that the Sufis equally believe that every sincere believer is a saint of Allah as long as such an individual observes the rules above and other praiseworthy ones.¹²⁹

The first area of noticeable difference is in the areas of classification of saints. The majority of *Salafiyyah* scholars adopt the classification of Ibn Taymiyyah which is *Sābiq* (foremost) and *Muqtasid* (moderate).¹³⁰ The only scholar whose method of classification appears different in the *Salafiyyah* circle is Al-ʿUthaymīn. He states that basically sainthood is classified into two. These are *Muṭlaqah* (unrestricted) and *Muqayyadah* (restricted).¹³¹ These are otherwise referred to by him at another place as *Al-ʿĀm* (the general or common) and *Al-Khāṣṣ* (the specific)¹³² respectively. He explains that the former is a kind of sainthood that is attainable by every Muslim, while the latter is meant for only the pious servants of Allah who are conscious of His commands and act within the limits of Allah. It is indeed specific because not all Muslims can attain it.¹³³

However, generally speaking, there is absence of discrepancies among the Sufis on the classification of *Wilāyah*. Therefore, the Sufis classify sainthood into two. These are *Al-Wilāyat Al-ʿĀmmah* (general) and *Al-Wilāyat Al-Khāṣṣah* (specific).¹³⁴ They submit that, ordinarily, every believer, as declared above is a saint but their sainthood is limited to the general one (*Wilāyatu 'l-ʿĀmmah*). This is otherwise referred to as *Waliyyu Haqullāh*.¹³⁵ Al-Gheyoushi refers to it as *Wilāyatu 't-Tawḥīd*.¹³⁶ The special saints (*Al-awliyā' Al-Khāṣṣah*) on the other hand, proceed beyond the common standards of ordinary religious obligations to impose certain religious duties on themselves and restrain from unnecessary things that can obstruct or prevent them from spiritual progress.¹³⁷

Salafiyya's discourse on sainthood reflects their intent to set a hierarchy for proximity with Allah in which the prophets are seen as the closest persons to Allah.¹³⁸ Among them, *Ūlu 'l-ʿAzm* (Possessors of resolution) are the foremost among whom Muhammad is singled out as the Seal of the prophets (*Khātimu 'l-Anbiyā'*).¹³⁹ They therefore submit that, that is the more reason why each of them is labelled with an appellations. For instance:

Nūḥ is called *Rasūlullāh* (messenger of Allah);

Ibrāhīm is known as *khalīlullāh* (friend of Allah);

Mūsā is *Kalīmullāh* (one who speaks with Allah);

ʿIsā is *Ar-Rūḥullāhi* (the spirit of Allah); and

Muhammad is *Ḥabībullāh* (friend of Allah)¹⁴⁰

It is interesting to note that there is a rumble among the scholars on the appellation of Prophet Ibrahim and that of Muhammad and the superiority between both of them. Contrary to the *Ṣūfī* scholars who opine that *Ḥabīb* is superior,¹⁴¹ the submission of *Salafiyyah* places Prophet Ibrahim over Prophet Muhammad.¹⁴² They argued that Prophet Muhammad is reported in one *Ḥadīth* to have confirmed that Allah has chosen him as *Khalīl* just as He chooses Prophet Ibrahim.¹⁴³ If his status as *Ḥabībullāh* is greater than *Khalīl*, he would not have been reported to

have said that. They submit finally that the presence of *Khalīl* in the Qur’ān strengthens their position. Others are that the Prophet himself supplicated to Allah for blessing in proportionate to that of Ibrahim as could be understood in *Ṣalātul ‘l-Ibrahimiyyah* and the recitation of same in *Ṣalāwāt*.

Furthermore, *Salafiyyah* scholars argue that according to the provision of chapter 9 verse 100 of the Qur’ān (quoted above) and the *Ḥadīth* on the first three generations of Islam (*Salaf*) it is obvious that the Companions of the Prophet are next to the prophets in proximity to Allah.¹⁴⁴ In strengthening this position, a *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet is cited as follows:

عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ- « لَا تَسُبُّوا أَصْحَابِي لَا تَسُبُّوا أَصْحَابِي فَوَالَّذِي نَفْسِي بِيَدِهِ لَوْ أَنَّ أَحَدَكُمْ أَنْفَقَ مِثْلَ أُحُدٍ ذَهَبًا مَا أَدْرَكَ مُدَّ أَحَدِهِمْ وَلَا نَصِيفَهُ¹⁴⁵

From Abī Hurayrah who said he heard the Prophet-may the blessing and peace of Allah be with him, says: Do not abuse my Companions. If any of you could spend gold worth of mountain of *Uhud*, it can never equal their measure, not even a half of it.

The above *Ḥadīth* therefore establishes the fact that none of the later generations can supersede the *Salaf* both in reward and in proximity to Allah. Preference is therefore given to *Al-Khulafā’u ‘r-Rāshidūn* (the rightly guided Caliphs), those who took part in the Oath of Allegiance (*Bay‘atu ‘r-Riḍwān*), followed by those who participated in the battle of *Badr*, *Uḥud* and the ten (10) that were given the glad tiding of paradise among others.¹⁴⁶ The general understanding of the *Salaf* in this regard is that none of the later generations can claim preference over the earlier ones.

The understanding of the *Salafiyyah* scholars as pointed out above appears to have countered the verse of the Qur’ān where Allah says:

ثَلَاثَةٌ مِنَ الْأَوَّلِينَ () وَثَلَاثَةٌ مِنَ الْآخِرِينَ

A number from those of first generation and a number from those of later times.(Q56:39-40)

Explaining the above verses, various exegetes like Qurṭubī, Ibn Kathīr, Imām Allūsī, Yusuf Ali among others relied on the *Hadith* of the Prophet which indicates that the verse exclusively refer to the generality of his *Ummah* (Muslim Community).¹⁴⁷ They therefore unanimously submit that the righteous people whom the verses describe cut across all ages till the end of time.¹⁴⁸ Therefore, although people may not be opportune to meet the Prophet or belong to the period of *Salaf*, this does not foreclose the opportunity to the mercy of Allah in proportion to the earlier generations.

This therefore brings us to another point of contradiction between the *Ṣūfī* and *Salafiyyah* scholars which is noticed in the areas of superiority between the saints and the prophets, especially as related to *Khātim 'l-'Awliyā'* (seal of the saints) as propounded by At-Tirmidhī and Ibn 'Arabī. The *Salafiyyah* scholars are unanimous in their submissions that there is no basis for comparison, hence the above hierarchy of proximity to Allah set out by *Salafiyyah* scholars. They further condemn in strong terms the scholars whose works and discussions propounded the theory of superiority between the saints and prophets, especially where it is submitted that saints are superior to prophets. They submitted that those scholars have imported Greek philosophical thoughts into Islamic concept.¹⁴⁹

Yusuf quotes Shrihindi who explains the theory of superiority by clearly distinguishing between *Ṭarīqu 'l-Wilāyā'* (path of sainthood) and *Ṭarīqu 'n-Nubuwa* (path of the prophethood).¹⁵⁰ They explain that the former is characterised with *Fanā'* (annihilation) and *Baqā'* (continuance) while there is nothing of such in the latter.¹⁵¹ More so, a prophet is formerly a saint before his elevation to prophethood.¹⁵² Therefore, their paths to attaining greatness and proximity to Allah are not the same, their stations and abode will surely be different, but that does not suggest that *Wilāyā'* cannot supersede *Nubuwa*.¹⁵³

In driving home their points, *Ṣūfī* scholars cite the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet which says:

عن ابن عمر رضي الله عنهما قال : قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إن الله عبادا ليسوا بأنبياء ولا شهداء يغبطهم الشهداء والنبيون يوم القيامة لقربهم من الله تعالى و مجلسهم منه فجأ أعرابي على ركبتيه فقال : يا رسول الله صفهم لنا و

حلهم لنا قال : قوم من أقناء الناس تصادقوا في الله و تحابوا فيه يضع الله لهم يوم
القيامة منابر من نور يخاف الناس و لا يخافون هم أولياء الله الذين لا خوف عليهم
و لا هم يحزنون...الحاكم¹⁵⁴

On the authority of Ibn ʿUmar, may Allah be pleased with both of them (he and his father), who said: The messenger of Allah, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him, said: Truly, there are certain worshippers who are neither prophets nor martyrs but will be envied by both (prophets and martyrs) on the Day of Resurrection due to their proximity to Allah in sitting. A desert Arab kneels down. (kneel down). He then asks: Oh! Messenger of Allah, describe the status of those individuals to us. The Prophet then said: They are special ones with real intimacy with Allah and love. Allah will give to them on the day of resurrection special pulpit out of His light. Fear will grip people but they will be excluded. They are saints of Allah who will neither panic nor get disturbed.(Reported by Al-Hakim)

The above tradition is recorded by Al-Ḥākim, Al-Bayhaqī among other compilers. Al-Ḥākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* remarks that it is authentic according to the standard of Bukhārī and Muslim though not reported by either of them. It is equally categorised as authentic or sound by Al-Bānī¹⁵⁵ The *Hadith* justifies the position of the *Ṣūfī*. They (the Sufis) often buttress their position further with the case of Prophet Mūsā and Khidr, where the former was among the first-class Prophets, while the latter is described as a mere servant of Allah in the Qur'ān. Another relevant instance is the case of Uways Al-Qarni and ʿUmar, the second *Khalīfah* of the Prophet, cited earlier in this chapter. Despite the Sufis agreement with the *Salafiyyah* scholars, they argued further that there is no basis for comparison because the paths or ways are different.

Also, the aspect of *Iʿṣamt* (infallibility) of a saint is another point that has attracted a high level of polemics between the *Salafiyyah* scholars and the Sufis. Contrary to the position of the latter which believes that saints are not fallible,¹⁵⁶ the former are unanimous that saints are fallible while the prophets are not (*Maʿṣūm*).¹⁵⁷ Ibn Taymiyyah particularly states that fallibility or otherwise should not be a condition for sainthood.¹⁵⁸ He (Ibn Taymiyyah) stresses the fact that a saint may commit an error or make mistakes in respect of *Sharīʿah* matter, due to different factors, just like a *Mujtahid*, it should not however be understood as favours of Allah on him or miracles which will make his followers to ignorantly imitate him, hence it becomes a sin on him.¹⁵⁹ The submission of Ibn Taymiyyah which is a replication of what many modern

Salafiyyah scholars go with, is shrouded in confusion. This is because he did not differentiate between mistake and sin but understand *Iʿṣamt* to connote the former whereas it is latter. Therefore, a saint can fall in mistake but must not be guilty of gravious sin. To the Sufis, falling into sin by a Saint is an indication to the non-perfection of his sainthood.

The position of the *Salafiyyah* scholars on miracles is made known by Ibn Al-ʿUthaymīn. He defines miracles as occurrences that defy the natural laws, which are occasionally performed by 'Awliyā' with the leave of Allah to honour them and assist the course of religion (Islam).¹⁶⁰ He states further that the occurrence of miracle is firmly grounded in the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*.¹⁶¹ He thereafter makes a particular reference to the People of the Cave (*Aṣḥābu 'l-Kahf*) as contained in the Qur'ān as one of such miracles.¹⁶² Ibn Bāz includes stories that are related to the camel of prophet Ṣāliḥ, and the staff of prophet Mūsā among others as evidence of miracles.¹⁶³ The definition and explanation of ʿUthaymīn are of acceptable standard to all including the Sufis. It shows that *Salafiyyah* scholars confirm the possibility of occurrence of miracles in the hands of saints.

Al-ʿUthaymīn however differentiates between *Muʿjizah* and *Karāmah* stating that the former is performed by the prophets while the latter happens in honour of the saints,¹⁶⁴ though both are referred to in English language as miracle. He thereafter outlines the advantages of miracles to include manifestation of the power of Allah, aid to the religion, honour to the saints, affirmation of faith, among others.¹⁶⁵ Also, according to Isik, there are some other occurrences that may defy natural laws which are performed by people. He enumerates them as *Firāsah* which connotes any occurrence that defies natural law that is performed by an ordinary Muslim who is not a saint (*Waliyy*).¹⁶⁶ Where a miracle is performed by a *Fāsiq* (libertine) or an individual who commits sins frequently, it is regarded as *Istidrāj* (deception)¹⁶⁷ and if it (miracle) occurs courtesy of a *Kāfir* (disbeliever), it is undoubtedly called magic (*Siḥr*).¹⁶⁸

However, the classical Sufis have argued over time on their position vis-à-vis miracle workings. Abu Qāsim Al-Junayd is recorded to have clearly stated that the intent to perform

miracle constitutes a barrier to perfection of sainthood.¹⁶⁹ In the same vein, Dhu Nūn Al-Miṣrī is equally recorded to have scolded a man who wanted to acquire *Ismullāhi 'l-Aẓam* (the greatest name of Allah) to be used for miracle purposes. He rebuked the man asking him to show him *Ismullāhi 'l-Aṣghar* (the smallest name of Allah).¹⁷⁰ Generally, to the Sufis, miracles may occur at any point in time, it should not be aimed or deliberately done. This therefore indicates the true position and understanding of the Sufis on miracle.

The position of Ibn Taymiyyah on miracles appears to be relevant and admissible to both the Sufis and non-Sufis alike. This is because he submits that the performance or otherwise of miracle should not be taken as a yardstick for the proof or the establishment of sainthood.¹⁷¹ This is not unconnected with the fact that miracles can occur, as indicated above, to anyone regardless of whether or not one is a Muslim. This will go a long way in eliminating quack or fake saints and sanitising the entire process.

3.3.2 *Al-Fanā'* (Annihilation)

Al-Fanā' is one of the *Ṣūfī* concepts that have attracted arrays of reactions from the *Salafīyyah* scholars. It is one of the main reasons why many scholars of *Salafīyyah* enclave condemn Sufism. It has been attributed to different sources by *Salafīyyah*, especially Hellenism, Hinduism, Platonism among other philosophical thoughts. They claim that it was imported into Islam by the Sufis. They argue further that it is the basis of all kinds of strange elements like *Jadh* (divine attraction), *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd* (Unity of Existence), *Ḥulūl* (spiritual transformation) among others which are not in existence during the lifetime of the Prophet and his Companions and throughout the period of *Salaf*.

Al-Qaṭṭānī gives an ordinary definition of *Al-Fanā'* as follows:

الفناء...سقوط الأوصاف المذمومة، و يقابله البقاء وهو وجود الأوصاف
المحمودة، أي فناء الجهل ببقاء العلم، وفناء المعصية ببقاء الطاعة، وفناء الغفلة
ببقاء الذكر...فناء إرادة العبد في إرادة الله...¹⁷²

Annihilation...is extinguishing blameworthy traits and replacing it with *Baqā'* (continuance) which is to exist in praiseworthy traits. It means annihilation of ignorance

with knowledge, sin with obedience, forgetfulness with remembrance...and annihilation of personal wants for that of Allah...

The above excerpt seems to have summarised various definitions by the Sufis who are the proponent of the concept. According to the definition above therefore, *Fanā'* is obliteration of humanly qualities for divine qualities resulting from *dhirk* and other devotions.

It should be however observed from various works of *Salafīyyah* scholars as discussed by Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Bāz, Al-^cUthaymīn and many prominent scholars, that there is no specific definition, especially from the technical point of view in their works. This would have assisted us in having a clear understanding of their perception on the subject matter, nevertheless, their classification of *Fanā* as discussed in their works will be examined. The only scholar who attempted to define it is Al-^cUthaymīn. What he actually did was to give the dictionary meaning of the word. Therefore, *Fanā'* according to him means disappearance, ceasation, vanishing among others.¹⁷³

However, the definition that was given by Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah is not different from those of the Sufis, though many *Salafīyyah* decline alignment to that definition. He defined annihilation as the feeling of non-existence of other things except Allah and he describes it as the main goal or objective of the *Ṣūfī*.¹⁷⁴ He submits further that *Fanā'* is to be absent in worship for the worshipped, in *dhikr* (remembrance) for the one being remembered, absent in love for the beloved and absent from seeing himself for the one being seen.¹⁷⁵

The above definition vividly shows the rare apparent contradiction between Ibn Qayyim and his master, Ibn Taymiyyah. It equally shows his alignment with the Sufis. It demonstrates his favourable disposition to the Sufis' concept and explanation on annihilation by not doubting the veracity of *Fanā'* in overpowering human qualities.¹⁷⁶ He therefore identified two major reasons to that effect. The first is the strength of inspiration (*Quwwat 'l-Wārid*) and weakness of the recipient (*Ḍa^cf 'l-Mawrūd*).¹⁷⁷ It is interesting to point out that Kalabadhī's description of the experience of Prophet Mūsā when he demands physical appearance of Allah as contained in the

Qur'ān can substantiate the position of Ibn Qayyim on *Fanā'*.¹⁷⁸ Ibn Qayyim refers to inadequate knowledge and intellectual lethargy which cripple the rational prowess as the second.¹⁷⁹ He explains further that the former should not be criticised, blamed or condemned while the latter should not be absorbed from any form of complexities.¹⁸⁰

The above explanation of Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah without any further details captures the positions of the Sufis. This is because to the Sufis, as explained by Kalabadhī, annihilation is the obliteration of the human qualities of thought, wants, attitudes and the attainment of godly attributes.¹⁸¹ He buttresses this with the *Hadith* of the Prophet which indicates that at the height of spiritual exercise, a devotee attains godly attributes. The *Hadith* reads:

عن أبي هريرة قال : قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم (إن الله قال من عادى لي وليا فقد آذنته بالحرب وما تقرب إلي عبدي بشيء أحب إلي مما افترضت عليه وما يزال عبدي يتقرب إلي بالنوافل حتى أحبه فإذا أحببته كنت سمعه الذي يسمع به وبصره الذي يبصر به ويده التي يبطش بها ورجله التي يمشي بها وإن سألني لأعطينه ولئن استعاذني لأعيذنه...رواه البخاري¹⁸²

On the authority of Abū-Hurayrah who reported that the messenger of Allah, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, said, that Allah said: Whoever shows hostility to my saint, I have declared war against him. My servant does not get closer to me with something more beloved to me than what I made obligatory on him. And my servant continues to gain proximity to me with supererogatory deeds until I love him. When he is beloved to me, I will become his hearing with which he hears, his sight with which he sees, his hands with which he touches and his legs with which he treks. If he supplicates to me, I shall grant his request and when he seeks protection (against evil), I shall protect him....Narrated by Al-Bukhārī

The above *Hadith* and many more as would be mentioned later in this work are some of the testimonies and proofs of annihilation as conceptualised by the Sufis.

However, the kernel of *Salafīyyah's* discussions on *Fanā'* revolves round its (*Fanā'*) classification as first put forward by Ibn Taymiyyah while others follow, including Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah. Therefore, going through the various works of *Salafīyyah* scholars, one discovers

the replication of the same thoughts and ideas across board both in conception and in explanation. It is in the light of this that this work will be obliged to synoptically produce their arguments in the light of Al-^cUthaymīn's discussion, having discussed that of Ibn Taymiyyah in a separate work.¹⁸³

According to Al-^cUthaymīn, *Fanā'* is of three kinds. These are *Fanā' 'An Irādah* (annihilation of wish or want) *Fanā' 'An Shuhūd* (annihilation of perception) and *Fanā' 'An Wujūd* (annihilation from existence).¹⁸⁴ He tags the first as *Shari'ī* (*Shari'ah* compliance).¹⁸⁵ It refers to absolute annihilation otherwise defined as complete obliteration of a devotee from other than Allah, hence it is equally referred to by Ibn Taymiyyah as *Fanā' 'l-Qalb*.¹⁸⁶ It therefore connotes sincerity of servitude to Allah which must be devoid of *Shirk* (polytheism), *Bid'ah* (innovation), sins among others, while one possesses absolute *Tawakkul* (reliance on Allah), trust and obedience to Him (Allah).¹⁸⁷ It is equally referred to as the *Fanā'* of the Prophet, his Companions and the pious servants.¹⁸⁸

Al-^cUthaymīn tags the second (*Fanā' 'An Shuhūdī*) as *Bid'ī* (innovation).¹⁸⁹ He alleges that it is coined by the Sufis due to their spiritual experiences or inspirations which weakens their power of rationality. They therefore see or perceive nothing other than Allah.¹⁹⁰ It gets them intoxicated to the extent of being unconscious of what they do or say (*Shaṭaḥāt*).¹⁹¹ Al-^cUthaymīn therefore condemns it and tagged it as un-Islamic.¹⁹² Ibn Taymiyyah however, acknowledges its possibility and states clearly that a devotee in such a state should not be blamed, condemned or held responsible for his actions and utterances till he returns to his normal state (*Ṣaḥw*).¹⁹³ Such is the experience of Abū Yāzīd Al-Bisṭāmī who uttered different words like *Subḥānī* among others.¹⁹⁴

The refusal of Ibn Taymiyyah to condemn *Shaṭaḥ* is not unconnected with an authentic *Ḥadīth* reported by both Bukhārī and Muslim, where a man lost his camel with his foods in the middle of the desert and got tired having tried all he could to find it to no avail. He slept under a tree out of loss of hope and frustration only to wake and find the camel together with his food items by his side. The man exclaimed!

اللَّهُمَّ أَنْتَ عَبْدِي وَأَنَا رَبُّكَ. أَخْطَأُ مِنْ شِدَّةِ الْفَرَحِ «¹⁹⁵

O God! You are my servant and I am your Lord. (It is a) mistake emanating from intense happiness.

The above *Hadith*, which indicates the reaction of the Prophet to the utterance of the man, in the submission of Ibn Taymiyyah, calls for the assessment of the conditions and circumstances which surround a devotee who utters strange words unconsciously.

Ibn Qayyim submits that such a statement should be likened to utterances in the state of annoyance, intoxication, love among others which may weaken the senses of rationality and trigger unintended or unguarded pronouncement.¹⁹⁶ Ibn Taymiyyah adds that except where such is occasioned by unlawful substances, like liquor, the person who pronounces anti-*Shari'ah* words cannot be declared as an infidel or be blamed for it.¹⁹⁷ This can be further buttressed in classical *Fiqh* because a *Talāq* (divorce) pronouncement under duress, annoyance among others is not valid.¹⁹⁸

In deviance to Ibn Taymiyyah's and Ibn Qayyim's position, Al-^cUthaymīn refers to it as a strange and alien experience in the science of Islamic spirituality as exemplified by all prophets, messengers and apostles of Allah. It was not also experienced by either the companions or pious people except the philosophers and people of other religious backgrounds who did not accept Islam wholeheartedly but indulge in acts of syncretism during the period of *Tābi'ūn* when Islam has gained territorial expansion.¹⁹⁹ Al-^cUthaymīn indicates further that whoever practises this has gone out of the path of the Prophet and whoever acknowledges it has committed a great mistake.²⁰⁰ It is however imperative to point out the inconsistency of Al-^cUthaymīn's position and his inability to link facts together. This is imperative because in his submission on the same *Ḥadīth* above, he submits that the utterances made out of unconsciousness should be overlooked while the person making it should not be blamed for it.²⁰¹

Fanā' 'An Wujūd (annihilation from existence) which is the third in the category is absolutely condemned by every *Salafīyyah* scholar. It is equally referred to as *Fanā' Ilḥādī* (annihilation of incarnation) and *Fanā' Kufrī* (annihilation of infidelity).²⁰² It connotes Unity of Existence (*Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd*) and *Al-Ḥulūl* (spiritual transformation).²⁰³ The major exponents of this concept are Ibn ^cArabī, Ibn Sabī'īn, At-Tilmsānī, Al-Ḥallāj among others. Scholars like Al-

‘Uthaymīn and Ibn Bāz are vehement in declaring the class of *kufr* committed by the proponents as worse than those of Christians and polytheists.²⁰⁴ They buttress this claiming that they do not separate between God and His creations, thereby making them to be one and indivisible entity.²⁰⁵ Also, the assertion of *Wujūdi* shows God is present everywhere including toilets and other lavatories and everything is attributed to God including dogs, pigs among others.²⁰⁶

It is however interesting to note that these classifications are neither expressed nor contained in *Ṣūfī* works, especially going by the nomenclatures. This does not mean that there is complete absence of contextual relevance in their discourse vis-à-vis the *Ṣūfī*’s concept of annihilation. A cursory glance at the explanations of Al-Ghazālī in his *Mishkātu ‘l-Anwār* depicts that annihilation is of different stages.²⁰⁷ This is also clearly illustrated in *Ḥilyatu ‘l-Awliyā’* and *Ṭabaqātu ‘ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah*. It reads:

قال أبو العباس الدينوري اعلم أن أدنى الذكر أن ينسى ما دونه ونهاية الذكر أن يغيب الذاكر في الذكر عن الذكر ويستغرق بمذكوره عن الرجوع إلى مقام الذكر وهذا حال فناء الفناء²⁰⁸ Abū

Al-Abbās Ad-Dainūrī said: Note that the beginning of *dhikr* (remembrance of Allah) is to forget other than Him alone. While its terminal is complete absence of the one making *dhikr* in it. He gets deepened with the remembered and returns to the state of *dhikr* which is known as *Fanā’ ‘l-Fanā’* (annihilation of annihilation).

The above passage which shows the degree of annihilation, especially as *Fānī* gets deep in his experience and progresses from ordinary level to a greater one. A comparison of such development to that effect can be drawn from the famous *Hadith* of the Prophet (quoted above) which sets the stages of spiritual developments from *Islam*, to *Imān* and to *Iḥsān*. It is generally acknowledged that one progresses from the bottom to the upper level steadily so also the understanding of what is between *Fanā’*, *Fanā’u ‘l-Fanā’* and *Fanā’u ‘l-Fanā’ ‘l-Fanā’* as may be understood from the above narration.

Also, in comparison with the *Salafiyyahs’* classifications, they can be understood in the same sense as spelt out above. The condemnation of *Salafiyyah* on the second and third stage is

immaterial because they do not have the real experience as the *Ṣūfī* who had actually gone into practice and had truly experienced each state in its clear term. This notwithstanding, in defense of their positions, the Sufis have adduced arrays of evidence both from the Qur’ān and the *Ḥadīth* in establishing their clear understanding of their expressions and their conformity with both the Qur’ān and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet as indicated and discussed above.

3.3.3 *Maḥabbah* (Love)

The concept of Divine Love is one of the doctrines that Sufism is known with and many scholars especially *Salafiyūn* have criticized the Sufis for it. In the *Ṣūfī* circle, *Maḥabbah* is one of the spiritual states (*Aḥwāl*) that a *Sālik* must experience in his journey to the realm of spirituality. It is a concept that is firmly established in the Qur’ān and *Sunnah*. The unique manual of Islamic inspiration (the Qur’an) leaves no one in doubt in making overflowing intense love as the central object of worship (Q.2:165). Also, at another place, it expresses the existence of mutual love between Allah and His servants (Q.5:54), while it makes it crystal clear elsewhere that the love of Allah lies in the followership of and obedience to the Prophet and taking after his precept (Q.3:31).

Equally, the Prophet in many of his *Aḥādith* makes particular references to love and its mutual existence between Allah, himself (the Prophet) and His servants. The most discussed of all his traditions vis-à-vis the concept of love in the *Ṣūfī* circle is the *Ḥadīth Qudsī* quoted above while discussing *Fanā’*. In another *Hadith* that is reported by major reporters like Bukhārī and Muslim, the Prophet is reported to have said:

عَنْ أَنَسٍ قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ -صلى الله عليه وسلم- « ثَلَاثٌ مَنْ كُنَّ فِيهِ
وَجَدَ طَعْمَ الْإِيمَانِ مَنْ كَانَ يُحِبُّ الْمَرْءَ لَا يُحِبُّهُ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ وَمَنْ كَانَ اللَّهُ
وَرَسُولُهُ أَحَبَّ إِلَيْهِ مِمَّا سِوَاهُمَا وَمَنْ كَانَ أَنْ يُلْقَى فِي النَّارِ أَحَبَّ إِلَيْهِ
مِنْ أَنْ يَرْجَعَ فِي الْكُفْرِ بَعْدَ أَنْ أَنْقَذَهُ اللَّهُ مِنْهُ » . رواه مسلم²⁰⁹

On the authority of Annas who said, the Messenger of Allah (may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) said: Three things, whoever possesses them is bestowed with the sweetness of faith: Whoever that Allah and His messenger are beloved to him than anything else, whoever loves his fellow being for Allah's sake and whoever prefers being thrown into a burning fire to returning to infidelity after Allah has saved him from it. Narrated by Muslim

The above *Hadith* among many of its kinds summarises the central themes of the Prophetic teaching about love. Therefore, its legality is not a subject of debate between the *Ṣūfī* and *Salafīyyah* scholars. Also, both *Salafīyyah* and *Ṣūfī* scholars believe that there is a concept of love and that the peak of love lies in the obedience to the mastership of the Prophet.²¹⁰

The area of disagreement lies in the modes of conception and interpretation of what constitutes divine love and *ʿIbādah* (worship). Prominent Sufis like Rābiʿah is renowned for her expression of divine love. Many mystical pronouncements with love themes which have attracted array of reactions across the shore of *Ṣūfī* and *Salafīyyah* territories are attributed to her. She displaced religious duties carried out by a devotee for the purpose of either enjoyment of paradise or in fear of torments of hell fire as mere exercise but that Allah must be worshipped because He deserves to be worshipped and not for either paradise or hell, hence she mystically attempted to burn the paradise and quench the fire of hell.²¹¹ She therefore placed love as the ultimate object of worship and the unique ingredient thereof.

The above position of the Sufis as expressed by Rābiʿah does not go well with the *Salafīyyah* who opine that for an act of *ʿIbādah* (worship) to be acceptable to Allah, three key elements are essential. These are *Ḥubb* (love), *Khawf* (fear) and *Rajāʾ* (hope).²¹² Therefore, an act of worship that lacks any of these is in futility. A worshipper may be rated as a *Zindīq* (pretender)²¹³ without sincerity in his faith, if the worship is carried out of love alone as propounded by the *Ṣūfī*. One may become Kharijite²¹⁴ if one worships Allah out of fear of punishment and hellfire alone while a worshipper may be referred to as *Murjīʾ* (Murijite)²¹⁵ if his religious act is done out of hope for reward and paradise alone.

It is pertinent to point out that both *Khawf* (fear) and *Rajā'* (hope) on the basis of which the *Salafīyyah* rejects Sufis' propositions on divine love are equally essential doctrines in Sufism which form part of spiritual states that a devotee must experience in advancement of his spiritual journey. The only difference lies in the approach. The *Ṣūfī* discusses the three as a different state of spiritual experience while *Salafīyyah* combines the three together and expresses them as one and non-divisible entity. Basically, there is no apparent parallelism in the contextual analysis of each of the two blocs.

Salafīyyah equally rejects what it tags as excessive love on the part of the *Ṣūfī* which, just like *Fanā'*, *Hulul*, and *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd*, weakens their senses of discrimination of the lover and gets them intoxicated, he (the lover) therefore acts not in accordance with the dictates of *Sharī'ah*.²¹⁶ Such is the case of Rābi'ah mentioned above who on the account of divine love refuses to go into marriage.²¹⁷ The Sufis have been noted for expressing different forms and different status of love which depicts it as the essence of creation and worship. It is also an important means of reunion of the soul with the Creator (Allah) because it is part of divine spirit.²¹⁸ Spiritual transformation and development are enhanced by restraining from excessive drinking, eating, sleeping among others. Each of the above descriptions of love by the Sufis is condemned and rejected by the *Salafīyyah*.

The *Ṣūfī* on the other hand made several attempts to defend and explain what they mean by each. They often argue the downplaying of the institution of marriage as in the case of Rābi'ah from the point of view of *Sharī'ah* where it may be *Wājib* (obligatory), *Mandūb* (commendable), *Mubāḥah* (likable), *Makrūh* (dislikable) or *Ḥarām* (forbidden).²¹⁹ They therefore submit that even from the point of view of *Sharī'ah*, refusal to go into marriage does not constitute *Kufr* which can end one up in *Jahanam* (hell fire).²²⁰ They equally submit that the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet which conveys disassociation with whoever refuses to marry is more of encouragement than sanction.²²¹ Prominent *Salafīyyah* scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah, Imam An-Nawawī, Sayyid Qutb, Zamakhsharī among others did not marry throughout their lives.²²² Also, a cursory examination of the case of Yūsuf and Zulaykh, especially when she invited the ladies in the community for blaming her for her intense and deep love for Yūsuf which led to cutting

their hands unconsciously should be understood in the sense that divine love can suppress human consciousness.²²³

3.3.4 *Az-Zuhd* (Asceticism)

Asceticism is otherwise known as renunciation, *Zuhd* is a *Ṣūfī* doctrine which teaches declination of concern about worldliness.²²⁴ It is also defined as abandoning, in this life, what is of no significance to the next life.²²⁵ It is equally understood as downplaying secondary satisfaction because *Zuhd* does not mean complete abandonment of the provisions of Allah but to shun excesses. Generally speaking, there is a thin line of demarcation between *Zuhd*, *Faqr* (poverty), *Waraʿ* (abstinence), *Riḍā* (satisfaction), *Tawakkul* (reliance in Allah) and *Ṣabr* (patience). On one hand, all of them constitute spiritual stations (*Maqāmāt*) that a *Sālik* must pass through. On the other hand, each of them teaches the same maxim about life and the need to secure the hereafter. Moreover, the Qurʾān and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet did not leave the Muslims in the wilderness as to the way and manner they should relate with the world which is absolutely ephemeral in nature. According to Melchert, what later became known as Sufism metamorphosed from asceticism which was practised by both the Prophet and his Companions during the period of *Salaf*²²⁶ as indicated above, hence many of the early works, especially during the period of *Salaf* and shortly thereafter that form the common references on Sufism are referred to as *Kitāb ʿz-Zuhd*. It is interesting to note that even Ibn Taymiyyah acknowledges the existence of an inalienable link between what is *Ṣūfī*, *Faqr*, *Waraʿ* and *Zuhd*,²²⁷ hence he submits that the three nomenclatures are often interchangeably used. This can also be strengthened with the account of the origin of Sufism as given by Ibn Khalidun and Ibn Hajar Al-Haytami above.

Theoretically, *Salafīyyah* scholars to a greater extent agree with their *Ṣūfī* counterparts on asceticism only that they express some reservations on the extent of its indulgence and manner of its practice, especially in its practical application. Ibn Al-Jawzī and Aṣ-Ṣāliḥ condemn the *Ṣūfī* for downplaying the *Sharʿah* directive which mandates Muslims to engage in lawful businesses to earn a living.²²⁸ Also, they state that self-imposed poverty, hunger, abandonment of lawful

things on the iota of asceticism is alien to Islam.²²⁹ The Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth* in several places command the Muslims to work for a living. Another practice of the *Ṣūfī* courtesy of asceticism which interests Ibn Taymiyyah most is the abandonment of physical *Jihād*.³⁰⁰ He is vehement in declaring this as a disservice to Islam.

The above allegations of the *Salafiyyah* scholars against the Sufis appear too generic as if they are the general attitudes of every *Ṣūfī*. Schimmel proves that reluctant attitudes to work for a living and other physical activities is an attribute of few Sufis.²³¹ He submits that mystical activities, like the performance of *dhikr* occupies not all their time. He stresses further that many Sufis have their profession which includes farming, rearing of animals, trading, teaching among others on which they relied as their means of livelihood just like some *Salafiyyah* scholars too.²³² He buttresses this further that the titles and surnames of some Sufis indicate their professions. He cites *Saqatī* as a huckster, *Hallāj* as a cotton carder, *Nassāj* as a weaver, *Warrāq* as a book seller, *Qawārīrī* as a glassmaker, *Haddād* as a blacksmith, *Bannā'* as a house builder, among others.²³³

Equally, *Jihād*, on the basis of which Ibn Taymiyyah condemns the Sufis' manner of indulgence in asceticism, is an essential aspect of the *Ṣūfī* practice, only that their approach to it is different from the general understanding. The Sufis believe that whoever will be qualified to wage a physical *Jihād* must have successfully disciplined his whims and caprices by first waging such a war against his soul.²³⁴ This is the reason why, according to the Sufis, *Jihād* is divided into two as inferred from the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet, which reads:

عن جابر قال : قدم على النبي - صلى الله عليه وسلم - قوم غزاة
فقال قدمتم خير مقدم قدمتم من الجهاد الأصغر إلى الجهاد الأكبر
مجاهدة العبد هواه²³⁵

On the authority of Jābir, who said that some warriors (who returned from a battle) came to the Prophet -may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him. He said: You are warmly welcomed. You just returned from the lesser *Jihād* to the greater one which is the struggling of the servant against his whims and caprices.

The above *Hadith* of the Prophet which has generally been classified as *Daʿīf* (weak) by almost every *Salafīyyah* scholar including Al-Bānī,²³⁶ Ibn Taymiyyah²³⁷ among others is the yardstick with which the Sufis classify and prioritise *Jihād* as it is commonly found in *Ṣūfī* works.

It is however imperative to mention here that the declaration of this *Hadith* as weak does not affect its applicability and usage because it fulfills the condition set by Al-ʿUthaymīn, Al-Bānī and other scholars of *Ḥadīth* for the usage of weak *Ḥadīth*, especially when it does not contradict a superior text (Al-Qurʾān or *Ṣaḥīḥ* tradition).²³⁸ Ibn Rajab, a prominent *Salafīyyah* scholar appears to be more instructive in support of the Sufis proposition when he submits that:

قال ليس عدوك الذي إذا قتلك أدخلك الجنة وإذا قتلته كان نورا لك
وإنما أعدى عدوك نفسك التي بين جنبيك وقال أبو بكر الصديق رضي
الله عنه في وصيته لعمر حين استخلفه إن أول ما أحذرك نفسك التي
بين جنبيك²³⁹

He said, it is not when you are killed by an enemy that makes you gain paradise. But when you kill an enemy it brings light (of Allah) upon you. Indeed, your true enemy is your soul that is in you. Hence, Abubakar Aṣ-Ṣidīq, may Allah be pleased with him, stated when he appointed ʿUmar as the *Khalīfah* that the first thing you need to be careful about is your soul that is in you...

The above paragraph is further strengthened by Al-Khadirī, another prominent modern *Salafīyyah* scholar who submits that the real and the greatest *Jihād* is the one that is targeted at one's soul which will purge it of every form of unwholesomeness and compel it on the observance of religious duties and sincerity.²⁴⁰

References are also often made to some prominent *Mujāhidūn* (Jihadists) that are Sufis. They include, Abdul-Qādir Al-Jazirī (d. 1883 CE), who led forces against the French imperialists in Syria in 19th century,²⁴¹ Abdul-Karīm Al-Khitābī (d. 2008CE)²⁴² in Morocco, Muhammad Ibn Ali As-Sanūsī (d. 1859CE),²⁴³ *Sanusiyyah* in Libya, Umar Al-Mukhtar (d. 1931CE)²⁴⁴ also in Libya, Muhammad Al-Mahdī (d. 1885CE)²⁴⁵ of the Sudan and ʿUthmān Ibn Fūdī (d. 1817CE)²⁴⁶ of Nigeria among, others.

3.4.0 *Salafīyyah's Discourse on Some Ṣūfī Practices*

In the bid to thoroughly diagnose Sufism and all its components, *Salafīyyah* scholars did ensure that no stone is left unturned. They examine every element thereof both in theory and practice. Efforts have been made in the previous sections of this chapter to present and examine their submissions on various *Ṣūfī* doctrines in the light of the Qur'ān, the *Sunnah* and other relevant evidence to determine their level of compliance with the rules of objectivity and sincerity. Here again, the attempt is to examine the *Salafīyyah's* discourse on some *Ṣūfī* practices just as it has been done on the doctrines. The selected practices to be discussed are the most controversial ones. They include, *Tawassul*, *Shafā'ah* (intercession), *Istighāthah* (seeking assistance), *Ziyāratu'l-Qubūr* (grave visitation), *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* (celebration of Prophet's birthday) and recitation of *Awrād* (litanies).

3.4.1 *Tawassul (Seeking nearness to Allah through an Intermediary), Istighāthah (Seeking Succour) and Shafā'ah (Intercession)*

The three variables above share some level of similarities, hence they are often discussed together by scholars both within and outside the *Ṣūfī* circles. The interrelation and interconnection among them is not unconnected with the fact that each connotes sourcing and soliciting help, aid or assistance, though in different forms. *Tawassul* therefore is the act of supplicating to Allah through an intermediary or aid.²⁴⁷ *Istighāthah* on the other hand is all encompassing as it connotes calling for assistance from either Allah or a fellow being especially at the time of need or difficulty.²⁴⁸ The act of interceding or to plea on one's behalf on the day of resurrection before Allah to either mitigate, pardon, or overlook one's shortcomings, which may end one in hellfire or incur the wrath of Allah is referred to as *Shafā'ah*.²⁴⁹

Generally speaking, each of these practices is embedded in the *Sunnī* Islam without an iota of controversy on their legality. This is because there are scores of evidence in both the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*, as will be provided in this discourse to examine each of them, especially the first two (*Tawassul* and *Istighāthah*) which are the most controversial. The Sufis are

however known for upholding them with passion and great enthusiasm. The extraordinary adherence of the Sufis has attracted diverse reactions from especially the *Salafiyyah* scholars. They accused the Sufis of non-compliance with their teachings as taught by the Prophet, especially by supplicating through *Ṣūfī* saints and religious scholars. This is substantiated with the contents of their different *Ṣalawāt* for the Prophet and other special prayer formulas. It is a fact that Sufis used to approach the saints, dead or alive for prayer and supplications. Each will therefore be discussed in the light of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* to determine the legality or otherwise of *Salafiyyah*'s allegations against the Sufis.

The Qur'ān in many places enjoins the Muslims to seek nearness to Allah through an intermediary. Allah says:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَابْتَغُوا إِلَيْهِ الْوَسِيلَةَ

O ye who believe! Do your duty to Allah, seek the means of approach unto Him...
(Q.5:35)²⁵⁰

The above verse which directs *Tawassul* has its pair in chapter 17 verse 57 of the Qur'ān.

As the colophon of the Qur'ān, there are a number of *Aḥādith* that explain *Tawassul* as it was practised by the Companions during and after the demise of the Prophet. Generally, there seems to be unanimous opinion on how it was practised during the life time of the Prophet among the scholars of both *Salafiyyah* and *Ṣūfīyyah* enclaves. This is because he was easily contacted for supplication and guidance as could be inferred from the *Hadith* of a blind man who approached him for intercession through which he regained his sight²⁵¹ among other *Aḥādith* that explain the same thing.

However, there arouse arguments between the *Salafiyyah* and *Ṣūfī* scholars as to the permissibility or otherwise of *Tawassul* through the Prophet, after his demise. The former, who objected to it as it is being practised by the latter, based their arguments on a *Hadith* which reads:

عن أنس رضي الله عنه : أن عمر بن الخطاب كان إذا قحطوا استسقى بالعباس بن عبد المطلب فقال اللهم إنا كنا نتوسل إليك بنبينا صلى الله عليه و سلم فتسقينا وإنا نتوسل إليك بعم نبينا فاسقنا قال فيسقون ²⁵²

On the authority of Anas, may Allah be pleased with him, who reports that ʿUmar bin Khaṭṭāb when there was drought, sought for rain (from Allah) with Al-ʿAbbās Ibn ʿAbdu ʿl-Muṭalib. He said: Oh Allah! We seek intercession to you with our Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him. Give us rain for we have sought intercession through the uncle of the Prophet. He said, they were given rain.

The *Hadith* above explains the manners through which intercession was carried out by ʿUmar after the demise of the Prophet. This *Hadith* is going to form the kernel of our discussion on *Tawassul* because it is on its basis that the *Salafiyyah* scholars reject and condemn Sufis practice of intercession after the demise of the Prophet with his name. They rejected all evidence brought forward by the Sufis claiming the superiority of this *Hadith* which is found in *Ṣaḥīḥu ʿl-Bukhārī*.

One of the most outstanding commentators on *Ṣaḥīḥu ʿl-Bukhārī* is Al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar Al-Asqalānī. His submissions on the above tradition reveal several irreconcilable disparities. Firstly, he argues that what actually transpired is that the supplication was not done by ʿUmar himself but Al-ʿAbbās. He went further to quote the text of his (Al-ʿAbbās) supplication which invariably reveals the mentioning of Prophet therein. He quotes:

اللهم إنه لم ينزل بلاء إلا بذنب ولم يكشف إلا بتوبة وقد توجه القوم
بي إليك لمكانى من نبيك وهذه أيدينا إليك بالذنوب ونواصينا إليك
بالتوبة فاسقنا الغيث ²⁵³

Oh Allah! Indeed, sin begets calamity and nothing removes it except repentance. My people have approached you in my courtesy due to my relationship with your Prophet. We stretch our sinful hands to you and we bow in repentance to you. Please, give us rain.

Secondly, Ibn Ḥajar equally cites another report which posited that there was draught again during the life time of ʿUmar as *Khalīfah* and a man approached the grave of the Prophet. The *Hadith* reads:

أصاب الناس قحط في زمن عمر فجاء رجل إلى قبر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال يا رسول الله استسق لامتك فإنهم قد هلكوا²⁵⁴

People were inflicted with draught during the days of ʿUmar and a man went to the grave of the Prophet, may Allah’s blessings and peace be upon him, and said: Oh Messenger of Allah! Get rain for your people, for they have been destroyed (by draught).

This report confirms another one from Ad-Dārimī on how intercession was sought after the demise of the Prophet when there was a drought and ʿĀ’isha, his wife, was contacted by the people. She directed them to the grave of the Prophet for supplication through him to Allah which they did and their prayer was immediately answered.²⁵⁵ This tradition is one of the many that are relied upon by the Sufis in their practice of intercession.

Reacting to the above traditions, the Sufis argue that mentioning of *Nabiyy* in the first *Hadith* above by Al-ʿAbbās substantiates their claim and the legality of *Tawassul* after the demise of the Prophet. In fact, As-Sayūṭī adds an important fact while citing the narration regarding ʿUmar and Al-ʿAbbās. He states that ʿUmar himself put on the cloaks (*Burd*) of the Prophet during the incident.²⁵⁶ This is equally a form of intercession through the cloth of the Prophet, especially that its healing importance is confirmed in *Ṣaḥīḥu Muslim*.²⁵⁷ A thorough understanding of the messages of these *Aḥādith* shows the permissibility of intercession through the living and the dead pious individuals, since the authenticity of the *Salafīyyūn’s Hadith* has been refuted by Ibn Hajar, a *Salafīyyah* admired scholar. Also, Sufis believe that separation of the flesh and soul, otherwise known as death, does not terminate the existence of the Prophet. This is the reason why *Tawassul* is closely related to grave visitation. Details of the assumptions of the Sufis on the death or otherwise of the prophets and saints will be discussed in the next sub-head.

Further more, *Salafīyyah* scholars identify different types of *Tawassul* as could be deduced from other *Aḥādith* of the Prophet. Al-ʿUthaymīn, Ibn Bāz, Shaykh Fawzān among others identify about five in their respective works. These are *Tawassul bi Asmā’illāhi* (intercession with Allah’s names), *Tawassul bi Ṣifātillāhi* (intercession with Allah’s attributes), *Tawassul bi Īmān* (intercession with faith), *Tawassul bi ʿAmali ʿṣ-Ṣāliḥ* (intercession with good

and pious deeds) and *Tawassul bi Duā'i 'r-Rajuli 'ṣ-Ṣāliḥ* (intercession through a pious man).²⁵⁸ *Salafiyyah* and *Ṣūfī* scholars are unanimous in their submissions on the legality and permissibility of the above itemised types of intercessions.

Furthermore, the most controversial of the three variables in the discourse of the *Salafiyyah* is *Istighāthah*. This is the *Ṣūfī* practice in which the prophets, saints and other pious people, either dead or alive, are directly called upon for assistance, especially at the time of difficulty.²⁵⁹ For instance, they exclaim! *Yā Rasūlallāhi Aghithnī* (Oh messenger of Allah! Assist me), *Yā ʿAbdal-Qādir*, *Yā Shaykh Ahmad Tijjānī*, among others. They (*Salafiyyah* scholars) state that the assistance of fellow being can only be sought on physical matters like assistance in carrying out a task among others and not on spirituality like forgiveness, healing, and seeking guidance.²⁶⁰ That should be left only to Allah. Also, such an assistance must be sought in his/her presence and not in absential or after death.²⁶¹

There appears not to be any contradiction between *Salafiyyah* and *Ṣūfī* scholars on *Shafāʿah* as they both agree that Prophet Muhammad, the martyrs, scholars, memorisers of the Qurʾān, angels among others as may be permitted by Allah, can intercede on the Day of Resurrection and will be strictly guided by nothing but faith and good deeds.²⁶²

3.4. 2 *Ziyāratu 'l-Qubūr* (Grave Visitation)

One of the practices of the Sufis which has attracted the polemics of the *Salafiyyah* scholars is grave visitation. Sufis are generally known for visiting and venerating the graves of prophets, saints and pious individuals to seek *Tabarruk* (blessings).²⁶³ It is one of the main points which Sufism has been condemned especially by *Salafiyyah* scholars. Sometimes, the Sufis are regarded as grave worshippers.²⁶⁴ In fact, *Ṣūfī* orders like *Brewlī* and others from India, Pakistan, Turkey are frequently referred to with no other names than grave worshippers.²⁶⁵

Ordinarily, it is not the act or practice of visiting graves that trigger the reactions of the *Salafiyyah* scholars. This is because it is an act that is commanded in *Sharʿah*, with authentic

Aḥādith of the Prophet to that effect. The Prophet is on record to have instructed the Muslims to visit the graves after he had initially forbidden them from doing so. This, he said, will remind the visitors of the death and they can supplicate for the dead ones.²⁶⁶ It is on the basis of this tradition that no one denies the permissibility or legality of grave visitation.

However, *Salafiyyah* scholars allege that there are a lot of illegalities that are being perpetrated by the Sufis while visiting the graves of their masters. Such include praying to them instead of praying for them, rubbing their body with their hands after rubbing them on the graves or the sand thereon, decoration of the graves, observing *Nawāfil* at the grave site, recitation of selected verses, chapters or the whole Qur'ān at the grave sites, selection of specific times like Thursdays or Fridays for visitation, *Sujūd* (prostration) for the dead²⁶⁷ among others. These are some of the practices which the *Salafiyyah* scholars specifically condemn and reject.

Salafiyyah therefore liken those practices to those of the Christians, the Sabians, the Jews²⁶⁸ among others. They equally forbid travelling to visit graves and that whoever does is excused from *Qaṣr* (shortening *Ṣalāt*).²⁶⁹ It should be pointed out that prominent Sufis like Al-Ghazālī shares the same position with the *Salafiyyah* scholars.²⁷⁰

In response to these accusations by the *Salafiyyah*, *Ṣūfī* scholars defend their practice by pointing out that there is no difference between the living and dead prophets, saints and pious people as could be deduced from both the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*. In substantiating this, reference is made to the verses of the Qur'ān where Allah says:

وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ الَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتًا بَلْ أَحْيَاءٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ يُرْزَقُونَ () فَرِحِينَ
بِمَا آتَاهُمُ اللَّهُ مِنْ فَضْلِهِ وَيَسْتَبْشِرُونَ بِالَّذِينَ لَمْ يَلْحَقُوا بِهِمْ مِنْ خَلْفِهِمْ أَلَّا خَوْفٌ
عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ () يَسْتَبْشِرُونَ بِنِعْمَةِ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَفَضْلٍ وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُضِيعُ أَجْرَ
الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

Think not of those who are slain in Allah's way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their sustenance in the presence of their Lord. They rejoice in the bounty provided by Allah. And with regard to those left behind, who have not yet joined them (in their bliss), the (Martyrs) glory in the fact that on them is no fear, nor have they (cause to) grieve. They glory in the Grace and the bounty from Allah, and in the fact that Allah suffereth not the reward of the Faithful to be lost (in the least). (Q.3:169-171)²⁷¹

The above verses of the Qur'ān and another one (Q.2:154) confirm that the saints and martyrs are not dead in their grave but could respond to human needs spiritually. They equally cite evidence from *Aḥādith* of the Prophet which confirm that death, especially of the prophets, is not the termination to their lives. The *Ḥadīth* reads:

عن أنس أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال مررت على موسى
وهو يصلي في قبره...رواه النسائي²⁷²

On the authority of Anas who reports that the Prophet-may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him-said: I passed by the grave of Mūsā-peace be upon him- while he was observing *Ṣalāt* in his grave. Narrated by An-Nasā'i.

The above *Hadith* which is reported by An-Nasā'i and confirmed by Al-Bānī as authentic in his *Silsilah*²⁷³ as authentic is one of many that are being cited by the Sufis to support their claims.

Also, the Sufis did not stop at these but also brought evidence to justify their practice from the works of *Salafiyyah* scholars like Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah who submits with every sense of confirmation in his work entitled *Ar-Rūḥ*, that the dead can reply to *Taslīm* and cheer their people when they are visited. He (Ibn Qayyim) cites a *Hadith* of the Prophet in support of this.²⁷⁴ He equally points out that there are so many narrations in both *Ṣaḥīḥu Muslim* and *Ṣaḥīḥu 'l-Bukhārī* which indicate that the Prophet went to the graves of the slain people at the Battle of Badr and called their names one after the other. 'Umar reacted:

فقال له عمر يا رسول الله ما تخاطب من أقوام قد جيفوا فقال والذي بعثني بالحق ما
أنتم بأسمع لما أقول منهم ولكنهم لا يستطيعون جوابا²⁷⁵

'Umar said: Oh Messenger of Allah! Why are you addressing the people that are dead? He replied: I swear by the one who sent me with the truth. They heard me better than you but they could not respond (physically).

The references above are some of those that were relied upon by the *Şūfī* in defense of their practices and as long as these pieces of evidence which show that death is a mere transformation and not the ultimate end of existence, could not and are not challenged by *Salafiyyah* scholars, *Şūfī* actions of giving to the dead what is due to the living in terms of venerations, supplications for their *Tabarruk* among others subsist. Sufis however could not argue on prostration or genuflection for the grave, but it is clear that not every *Şūfī* does it.

3.4.3 *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* (Celebration of the Prophet's Birthday)

Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy is the celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday which holds on every 12th of *Rabi'ul 'l-Awwal*²⁷⁶ annually across Islamic and Muslim nations, except countries like Saudi Arabia and elsewhere that are strongholds of *Salafiyyah* or *Wahhabiyyah* movement like Qatar, Yemen, Oman among others, though there are elements of low-key celebrations by small groups and some individuals. For instance, Shaykh Muhammad Al-^cAlawī Al-Mālikī is noted for the annual celebration of the Prophet's birthday in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.²⁷⁷ The *Ahmadiyyah* is a major sect that criticises the celebration,²⁷⁸ while the *Deobandiyyah* Order appears to be the only *Şūfī* bloc that rejects the celebration.²⁷⁹ Both (Ahmadi and Deobandi) align with the *Salafiyyah* to declare it as a *Bid'ah* (innovation).

The occasion of *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* has however been useful towards the development of Islam, furthering its course and showcasing its beauty, since it is characterised by generosity, merriments²⁸⁰ among others, hence scholars like Al-Azharī argue that *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* is a global event, mentioning some Islamic and Muslim populated countries where it is held annually as a national affair. He states further that about forty-seven (47) countries across the world today recognise and declare public holiday to celebrate the Prophet's birthday in which some of them like India, Nigeria, Fiji, Sri-Lanka and Guyana are not even Islamic countries.²⁸¹

However, the legality and acceptability of the celebration of *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* in Islam among Islamic scholars have generated a hot debate among various scholars of different

backgrounds, especially the Sufis who also double as the proponents and the *Salafiyyah* scholars who are the opponents. It is interesting to note that both camps agree that the commemoration of the Prophet's birthday is a *Bid'ah* (innovation). The latter spares no means in discrediting, condemning and disassociating the practice from Islam and tagging it as *Al-Bid'at 's-Sayyiah* (bad innovation).²⁸² The former equally provides proofs and justifications for the practice which is viewed as *Al-Bid'at 'l-Ḥasanah* (good innovation).²⁸³

A cursory study of the submissions of *Salafiyyah* scholars regarding the *Mawlid* reveals several irreconcilable variations between the submissions of early or classical and modern *Salafiyyah* scholars. Most of the early *Salafiyyah* scholars subscribe to the celebration, including Ibn Taymiyyah who expresses mixed feelings on it. In *Iqtidā' 'l-Sirāta 'l-Mustaqimah* he declares it as an innovation that is rewardable. He writes:

**فتعظيم المولد واتخاذة موسما قد يفعله بعض الناس ويكون له فيه
أجر عظيم لحسن قصده وتعظيمه لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم²⁸⁴**

And the celebration of the birthday (of the Prophet) which some people have held in high esteem, there is in it (celebration) an immeasurable reward for their good intention and praising the messenger of Allah, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him.

Ibn Taymiyyah states that it (*Mawlid*) is organised to show love and to eulogise the Prophet. He confirms further that the act of loving the Prophet and displaying the love is rewardable, though he sounds some caution against going into extremes, especially by indulging in what neither the Prophet nor his Companions did, like the celebration of his birthday which, in his opinion, is an imitation of the Christians who also celebrate Jesus's birthday.

The background to this position of Ibn Taymiyyah is the *Ḥadīth* which forbids excessive praise for the Prophet. The *Ḥadīth* reads:

عن ابن عباس سمع عمر رضي الله عنه يقول على المنبر : سمعت لنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول (لا تطروني كما أطرت النصارى ابن مريم فإنما أنا عبده فقولوا عبد الله ورسوله)...رواه البخاري²⁸⁵

On the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās who heard ʿUmar, may Allah be pleased with him, saying on the pulpit: He said he equally heard the Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, saying: Do not praise me excessively as done by the Christians for (ʿIsā) the son of Maryam. I am indeed a servant of His (Allah). So, address me as His servant and messenger.

Commenting on the above *Ḥadīth*, two *Salafīyyah*'s favourable scholars who are also renowned commentators on the *Ṣaḥīḥ 'l-Bukhārī*, Ibn Hajar and Al-ʿAynī, submit that the excessive praise that the Prophet meant in this narration is the equation or the elevation of ʿIsā Ibn Maryam to the status of God,²⁸⁶ hence his reference and emphasis on servanthood. It is an established fact that neither the Sufis nor any of the proponents of the celebration of the Prophet's birthday has ever been found of equating the Prophet to Allah in their praises of him. Therefore, since no one has ever been so accused, the fear of Ibn Taymiyyah and others could not subsist.

In disapproving and dismantling various evidence by the Sufis on the celebration of the *Mawlidu* of the Prophet, the *Salafīyyah* scholars come up with the point that the actual date of the birth of the Prophet is unknown and that books of his biography are replete with series of dates. Therefore, since the details of the day, week and month could not be ascertained by anyone, not to talk of accuracy with the date in the present time, it is erroneous and *Bid'ah* to suggest a date or celebrate at a date that is not accurate.²⁸⁷ That alone, *Salafīyyah* scholars state further equates Islam to the status of Christianity where the adherents fixed a date, 25th of December²⁸⁸ to celebrate the Jesus's birth which has equally been contended by different denominations, among the Christians.

Salafīyyah scholars equally express disaffection on the origin and manner of this celebration. They allege that it was neither organised by the Prophet nor his Companions and throughout the period of *Salaf*, but was originated from Egypt by the Fatimid Shi'ites.²⁸⁹ Also, Muhammad submits that the manner of its celebration which is characterised by free-mixing of

opposite sex, dancing, singing and using of musical instruments among other which are forbidden in Islam calls for concern and the need for Muslims to disregard it and refrain from such a celebration that lacks credence in Islam and runs contrary to Islamic dictates.²⁹⁰

According to Jalālu 'd-Dīn As-Sayūṭī and Ibn Ḥajār Al-Asqalānī and other protagonists of *Mawlidu* among the classical *Salafīyyah* or orthodox scholars whose works the present day *Salafīyyah* advocates often cited, celebration of the Prophet's birthday is *Al-Bid'at 'l-Ḥasanah* (good innovation)²⁹¹ which is inferred from the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* of the Prophet. Allah says:

قُلْ بِفَضْلِ اللَّهِ وَبِرَحْمَتِهِ فَبِذَلِكَ فَلْيَفْرَحُوا هُوَ خَيْرٌ مِمَّا يَجْمَعُونَ²⁹²

Say: "In the Allah's bounty and in His Mercy, in that let them rejoice":
That is better than the (wealth) they hoard. (Q.10:58)

While interpreting the verse, Imam Allūsī and Ibn Al-Jawzī among other *Salafīyyah* scholars submit, citing Ibn 'Abbās, a prominent commentator among the Companions, as saying:

عن ابن عباس رضي الله تعالى عنهما أن الفضل العلم والرحمة محمد
صلى الله عليه وسلم²⁹³

On the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, may Allah, the Exalted be pleased with him, said: Indeed, bounty refers to knowledge and mercy refers to Muhammad, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him.

This is further buttressed by another verse of the Qur'ān where Allah describes the Prophet as a mercy to the entire mankind. Allah says:

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَالَمِينَ

We sent thee not, but as a mercy for all creatures (Q.21:107)²⁹⁴

The implication of this is that since Allah refers to the Prophet as the mercy to the entire universe, the command to celebrate is undoubtedly directed to him, especially at his birth

because it is the hallmark of Allah's mercy on human being and not his death because it is the height of sorrow to have befallen humanity.²⁹⁵

Historically, as contained in *Ṣaḥīḥu 'l-Bukhārī*, the first to celebrate the Prophet's birth was Abu-Lahab who freed a slave girl (Thuwaybah) who brought the news of the Prophet's birth to him. The *Ḥadīth* reads:

قال عروة وثوبة مولاة لأبي لهب كان أبو لهب أعتقها فأرضعت النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم فلما مات أبو لهب أريه بعض أهله بشرحبية قال له ماذا لقيت ؟ قال أبو لهب لم ألق بعدكم غير أنني سقيت في هذه بعثاقتي ثوبية...رواه البخاري²⁹⁶

Urwah said, Thuwaybah was the freed slave girl of Abū Lahab whom he had manumitted...When he (Abū Lahab) died, he was seen in dream by one of his relatives in a very bad state and asked him, what he has encountered, Abū Lahab said: "I have not found any rest good since I left you, except that I have been given water to drink because of my manumitting of Thuwaybah".

From the above narration therefore, it is submitted by the proponents of the celebration that Abū Lahab celebrated the Prophet's birth by setting free his slave girl who brought the good news to him and thus being benefited in the life beyond due to such an action of his.

In another narration by *Al-Bayhaqī*, though it is tagged as weak (*Ḍaʿīf*) by *Salafīyyah* scholars, how the Prophet celebrated his birth by himself is revealed. It reads:

عن أنس رضي الله عنه : أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم علق عن نفسه بعد النبوة...البيهقي²⁹⁷

On the authority of Anas, may Allah be pleased with him, the Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, indeed, slaughtered a sacrificial animal for himself after his call to prophethood...Al-Bayhaqī

The offer of sacrificial animal is a rudiment of Islamic rites carried out in relation to a new born baby. The Prophet, since there was no legislation to that effect when he was born, decided to carry it out by himself as a mark of celebration and commemoration of his birth.

It should be pointed out that Sufis' works are replete with the above evidence some others like Prophet's practice of Monday and Thursday fasting and his directive to his followers to fast on the ninth (9th) and the tenth (10th) of Muharram in commemoration of *ʿĀshūrāh* as being practised by the Jews in Madinah, claiming that the Muslims are closer to Mūsā than any other nation.²⁹⁸

The Sufis, who are staunch observers of *Mawlid* rely on the above instances and adduce a further proof from the practices of the present-day *Salafiyyah* scholars, especially the Saudi scholars that are notorious in the condemnation of every practice and doctrine of the Sufis. They (the Sufis) argue that if the celebration of the Prophet's birthday is a *Bid'ah*, then what about the *Fatwa* (legal opinion) issued by Shaykh Ibn Bāz, which allows the celebration of the birthday of Shaykh Ibn ʿAbdul Wahhāb, who was the founder of *Wahhābiyyah* movement, the officially recognised brand of Islam by the Saudi Government?

In *Majmūʿ ʿl-Fatāwā* of Shaykh Ibn Bāz, one finds the speech delivered by Ibn Bāz on the inauguration of the weeklong events tagged *Usbūʿ As-Shaykh Ibn ʿAbdu ʿl-Wahhāb* (As-Shaykh Ibn ʿAbdu ʿl-Wahhāb's Week)²⁹⁹ organised by King Abdul-Azīz University in 2001. In the script, Ibn Bāz showers series of encomiums and eulogies on Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb. He gives accounts of how he (Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb) fought tooth and nail before he was able to get rid of what he considered as heresies that were prevalent in his society and established what he considered as the pristine Islam across the Arabian Peninsula with tenacious and unflinching supports from King Abdul-Aziz Ibn Saudi, the founder of the Saudi dynasty. At the occasion, various works of Shaykh Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb were gathered and compiled in various volumes and were mandated to form a major part of the curriculum for schools in Saudi Arabia at various levels.

Defending the celebration when he was asked to distinguish between the celebration and *Mawlidu ʿl-Nabiyy* of the Prophet, Shaykh Al-ʿUthaymīn explains in the following words:

الفرق بينهما حسب علمنا من وجهين: الأول : أن أسبوع الشيخ محمد بن عبد الوهاب -رحمه الله تعالى- لم يتخذ تقرباً إلى الله -عز وجل- وإنما يقصد به إزالة شبهة في نفوس بعض الناس في هذا الرجل، ويبين ما من الله به على المسلمين على يد هذا الرجل.

الثاني : أسبوع الشيخ محمد بن عبد الوهاب -رحمه الله- لا يتكرر ويعود كما تعود الأعياد، بل هو أمر بين للناس وكتب فيه ما كتب، وتبين في حق هذا الرجل ما لم يكن معروفاً من قبل لكثير من الناس ثم انتهى أمره³⁰⁰

The difference between the two to the best of our knowledge are mainly two: The first is that the week of Shaykh Muhammad Ibn ʿAbdul-Wahhāb, may Allah have mercy on him, was not done as a means to get proximity to Allah, the Exalted. It is only meant to remove doubts that are in the minds of some people about this man, and to showcase how Allah has blessed the Muslims through him.

The second is that the week of Shaykh Muhammad Ibn ʿAbdul- Wahhāb is not an annual event like every other ʿīd but a onetime event meant to present him to the masses so that they can write better about him, having understood the truth and some other things that are generally unknown about him before, and nothing more.

The above explanations of Al-ʿUthaymīn, which is meant to defend the *Wahhābis* who condemn *Mawlidu* with vigour, could not hold water giving the background to their discourse on *Bidʿah* (innovation). Also, they (the Sufis) organise the celebration of the Prophet’s birthday to further the course of Islam, exhibit their love for him and analogically hope to be rewarded by Allah based on the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet which confers tenfold reward for whoever invokes single *Aṣ-Ṣalāt* on the Prophet.³⁰¹ Equally, the Sufis nail the *Wahhābiyyah* further stating that it is not the number of committance of an action that determines its legality or otherwise, so the second position as submitted above is weak and rejected by them. This is compared to when the infidels of Makkah in the early days of Islam requested the Prophet to worship idols with them once in a year and that they would join him to worship Allah throughout the year, which he rejected outrightly.³⁰²

The Sufis also identify other events that are held in high esteem by *Salafiyyūn*. They include:

1. *Mawlid* of the state, called National Day. It is equivalent to Independence Day in other countries of the world.
2. *Mawlid* of the Nation's century: That is the celebration of the day, Shaykh Abdul Wahhāb established himself having got rid of all innovative practices. The day was called: "100 years of KSA".
3. *Mawlid* of the Grand-Mufti of Wahhabiyyah, Shaykh Bin Bāz.
4. *Mawlid* of some selected ministers. It is a colourful celebration which all national dailies and media broadcast throughout the day.
5. *Mawlid* of monuments and inscriptions. This is an annual event in Madinah where the King of Saudi Arabia is presented with artistic inscriptions for being the custodian of the two holy mosques and in appreciation of his service to Islam.³⁰³

From the various submissions above from the two camps, it is discovered that the Sufis are equipped with several evidence to back up their claims and to drive home their points more than the *Salafiyyūn* whose proofs are mainly assumptions and over generalisations. It could therefore be submitted that *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* celebration is an expression of happiness, gratitude and praise to Allah for blessing the humanity with Prophet Muhammad, who is a manifestation of mercy (*Rahmah*) to the entire world. It is therefore, not limited to either time or place as claimed by *Salafiyyah* scholars.³⁰⁴ Even the manner of its celebration, which this work believes is the main factor for the opposing views of the *Salafiyyah* scholars and for its declaration as *Bid'ah*, should be addressed if it harbours any foul play instead of throwing away the baby with the bath water posture they (*Salafiyyah* scholars) advocate.

One of the major points on the basis for which the *Salafiyyah* scholars condemned and rejected the celebration is that *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* was not organised by the Companions or during the period of *Salaf* generally. They held that if it was necessary, they would have organised and celebrated it. This is considered by the Sufis as a lame and weak claim. They adduced different proofs to that effect. Here are some of them.

An-Nasā'i narrates:

عَنْ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ الْخُدْرِيِّ قَالَ قَالَ مُعَاوِيَةُ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ خَرَجَ عَلَى حُلَقَةٍ يَعْني مِنْ أَصْحَابِهِ فَقَالَ مَا أَجْلَسَكُمْ قَالُوا جَلَسْنَا نَدْعُو اللَّهَ وَنُحَمِّدُهُ عَلَى مَا هَدَانَا لِدِينِهِ وَمَنْ عَلَيْنَا

بِكَ قَالَ اللَّهُ مَا أَجْلَسَكُمْ إِلَّا ذَلِكَ قَالُوا اللَّهُ مَا أَجْلَسَنَا إِلَّا ذَلِكَ قَالَ أَمَا إِنِّي لَمْ
 أَسْتَحْلِفْكُمْ تَهْمَةً لَكُمْ وَإِنَّمَا أَتَانِي جِبْرِيلُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَأَخْبَرَنِي أَنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ
 وَجَلَّ يُبَاهِي بِكُمْ الْمَلَائِكَةَ³⁰⁵

Abu Sa'id Khudri reported that Mu'awiyah, may Allah be pleased with him, said: Allah's Messenger, may the peace and blessing be upon him, went to a circle or gathering of his Companions (inside his Mosque) and said: What makes you sit like this? They said: We sat to call on Allah and to thank Him for guiding us to His religion (Islam) and for blessing us with you. Thereupon, he (the Prophe) said by Allah, you sit for nothing but only this purpose? They said: yes! Whereupon he (the Messenger) said: I am not asking you to take an oath because of any allegation against you but for the fact that Jibril came to me and he informed me that Allah, the Most Exalted and Glorious, was talking to the angels about your magnificence.

This *Hadith* is also narrated by Imam Muslim in his compilation, though with slight difference in wording if compared with that of Nasā'i. Both are however graded as authentic by Al-Bānī.³⁰⁶

In *Al-Mustadrak* of Al-Hakim, we equally found this report:

حدثني عمر بن أبي زحر بن حصين عن جده حميد بن منهب قال : قال
 جدي خريم بن أوس : هاجرت إلى رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم
 فقدمت عليه منصرفه من تبوك فأسلمت فسمعت العباس بن عبد المطلب
 يقول : يا رسول الله إني أريد أن أمتدحك فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و
 سلم : [قل لا يفضض الله فاك] فأنشأ يقول : ...

(و أنت لما ولدت أشرق الأَر ... ض و ضاءت بنورك الأفق)

(فنحن في ذلك الضياء و في الـ ... نور و سبل الرشاد نخترق)³⁰⁷

....I migrated to join the Messenger, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him at Madinah and I handed over to him his belongings from the expedition of Tabuk. I heard Al-Abbās Ibn Abdul-Muṭālib Saying: Oh Messenger of Allah, I wish to praise you. He (The Prophet) replied saying: "Recite, may your mouth remain fresh" He then composed the poem ...

“The day you [the Prophet] was born the sun rose over the earth and the horizon was illuminated with your Light. So, we, in that radiance and that light and paths of guidance – can pierce through.”

This narration is contained in many compilations both on *Ḥadīth* and Islamic history. They include Aṭ-Ṭabarānī, Ibn Kathīr, Adh-Dhahabī among others.

The instances above are some of the references that the Sufis and the proponents of the celebration of *Mawlid* relied on. They are of the view that had those situations detrimental to Islam, Prophet would have forbidden them instead of applauding them. In fact, it is submitted that the incident in the second *Ḥadīth* took place while about thirty-thousand (30,000) companions were in attendance.³⁰⁸ The Sufis therefore take them as their evidence for celebration of the birth of the Prophet. They also argued that dates, times and places which the *Salafiyyah* capitalized on are of less importance because what is to celebrate is the coming of the Prophet to the universe and this can be done at any date, time or place.

Since these narrations are authenticated by *Salafiyyah* scholars, their declaration of *Mawlid* as an innovation that was introduced into Islam cannot stand. Also, it is clear from every indication that none of the *Salafiyyah* scholars could give a preponderant evidence to show how the celebration is detrimental to Islam. Also, considering the various advantages that are attached to *Mawlid* as pointed out by Quadri and acknowledged by Yūsuf,³⁰⁹ especially in the recent time where it is used to assist the course of Islam, most especially when the antagonists equally see a cogent reason to innovate various other celebrations like the celebration of Ibn ʿAbdul-Wahhāb’s birthday and celebration of National days, among others, it should be an occasion that generate no controversy among the Muslims.

3.4.4 *Al-Awrād* (Litanies)

Wird (Pl. *Awrād*) which is translated as litany is a formulaic collection of *Istighfār* (seeking forgiveness), *dhikr* (remembrance of Allah), *Ṣalawāt* (seeking blessings of Allah for Prophet Muhammad), and *Duʿāʾ* (supplications), which is recited routinely, hence it is often

referred to as *Lāzim*.³¹⁰ It is sometimes referred to as *Hizb* (Pl. *Aḥzāb*).³¹¹ Litanies are often composed by a *Ṣūfī* leader or a founder of a *Ṭarīqah* and handed down to his followers and whoever wishes to adopt either the whole or a part of it as a part of his spiritual activities.³¹² *Wird* is a unique, powerful and supernatural spiritual formula derived from the sanctity and distinctive spirituality of the *Shaykh* who composed it.³¹³ Therefore, it is pertinent to comply with the rules guiding its (*Wird*) recitation.

Recitation of *wird* often takes different forms and is done at different times. Some are recited after daily obligatory ritual *Ṣalawāt*, while some are recited in the morning or afternoon after *Ṣalātu 'l-ʿAṣr* or *Maḡhrib* before *ʿIshāʾ* or as may be convenient.³¹⁴ In fact, the recitation of *awrād* has largely responsible for the use of *Subḥah* (rosary) for counting and to aid concentration. Some *awrād* are kept secret and are revealed or released by the master only to the disciples at a particular level or on special cases for specific purposes. Those *awrād* that are recited by an individual according to his discretion without any condition but taken as daily spiritual exercise are called *rawātib*. Examples are the Prophetic prayers and prescriptions for general and specific purposes which are meant for the generality of Muslims.³¹⁵

However, the *Salafiyyah* scholars have over the years argued against the *awrād* of the Sufis. They reject the source or origin of those *awrād* and displace the manner of their composition and recitation including the number of times to repeat a given litany, and disregard any spiritual and metaphysical affinity as often claimed by their composers.³¹⁶ An instance is seen in the case of Aḥmad At-Tijānī who claimed that he saw the Prophet while awake and gave him some litanies to be recited and that whoever takes it from him (Aḥmad At-Tijānī) shall be liberated from hellfire.³¹⁷ Also, the same can be said of Al-Bikr who is alleged to have said that the recitation of *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* stands in place of other acts of *ʿIbādah*.³¹⁸ Similar metaphysical and spiritual importance is also accorded *Hizbu 'l-Baḥr* of Shaykh Shādhilī,³¹⁹ *Dalāʾilu 'l-Khayrāt* of Sulayman Jazūlī,³²⁰ *Qaṣīdatu 'l-Burdah* of Imam Buṣḥayrī,³²¹ among others.

Salafiyyah scholars dispute the claim by many Sufis that their *wird* is given to them by either the Prophet, an angel or other supernatural sources claiming that they amount to revelation (*waḥy*) which is not possible after the Prophet or indicates that the Prophet did not complete or perfect his mission as claimed in one of his *Aḥādīth* cited above or that the message of Islam is

not perfected as so declared in the Qur'ān.³²² *Salafiyyah* scholars equally claim that many *awrād* are taken in a manner that runs contrary to the arrangement of the Qur'ān, giving preference to a verse or chapter over the other, or Prophetic prayers contained in *Ḥadīth* over the Qur'an and *Ṣūfī* supplications over the Qur'ān and *Sunnah* characterised most of their *awrād*.³²³ Also, *Salafiyyah* scholars prove that some of these *awrād* do not even contain any recitation either from the Qur'ān or *Ḥadīth*, while some have no meaning or are contradictory to the two primary sources of Islamic rulings.³²⁴ They (*Salafiyyūn*) equally could not hide their feelings on the use of *Subḥah* (rosary) which they said it is an innovation.

Salafiyyah scholars are of the view that *Al-Awrād 'l-Mathūrāt* that are collected from both the Qur'ān and the *Ḥadīth* are the only permissible forms for the Muslims, both in numbers and manner.³²⁵ Also, they (*Salafiyyah* scholars) submit that the contents of those litanies must be meaningful and must not contradict the Qur'ān and the *Ḥadīth*. Therefore, the *Adhkār* like *Hu* or *Huwa* (He) which refers to Allah and many of their likes with ambiguous and concealed meaning that are often chanted by the Sufis are declared as *Bid'ah*.³²⁶ Fakhru 'd-Dīn Ar-Rāzī in his famous *Tafsīr* writes in defense of the *Ṣūfī* practices of *dhikr*, especially the alleged ambiguity in the meaning of some of them and submits that there are some meanings which are not revealed at the ordinary level. Therefore, they all have meaning which is known only to the Sufis.³²⁷

Often, *Salafiyyah* scholars claim that the number of times or rounds a certain *wird* is recited constitutes *Bid'ah* because they are neither fixed in the Qur'an nor in the *Sunnah* of the Prophet.³²⁸ Annoying to the *Salafiyyah* scholars are also the period of their recitation and the congregation of people for the same purpose which were alleged not to have been done in the days of the Prophet or those of his companions.³²⁹ Movement of the bodies by the Sufis during their *wird* session out of unconsciousness, quietism, ecstasy or hysteria which makes the observer to dance and at times involve singing (*Sama'*) and the use of drums and other musical instruments such as the flute are the practices that are condemned by the *Salafiyyah* scholars.³³⁰

These are not without response from the Sufis. They (Sufis) are of the view that the Qur'ān emphasises abundant and continuous *dhikr* which is the bedrock and the hallmark of *awrād*. Allah says:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ ذِكْرًا كَثِيرًا

O ye who believe! Celebrate the praises of Allah, and do this often; (Q.33:41)

Rendering the exegetical explanation of this verse, Al-Qurtubī, Ibn Kathīr, among other *Salafiyyah* venerated scholars, cite a tradition which has been reported by many compilers of *Hadith* including Aḥmad in his *Musnad* and Al-Ḥakim in his *Mustadrak*, which reads:

عَنْ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ عَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّهُ قَالَ
أَكْثَرُوا ذِكْرَ اللَّهِ حَتَّى يَقُولُوا مَجْنُونُونَ³³¹

On the authority of Saʿīd who reported from the Prophet that the messenger of Allah, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, said: Remember Allah in abundance to the extent that people will say to you that you are mad.

The above *Hadith* has been declared weak by modern *Salafiyyah* scholars like Al-Bānī.³³² As previously stated in this work, its declaration as weak does not negate its relevance and application in the context of this work. The Sufis therefore enjoin the provision of this verse as complemented by the *Ḥadīth* cited above to engage themselves in a rigorous and intense *dhikr* based on their capacity and other factors. They equally enjoin the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet which stipulates multiplying effects of rewards for whoever seeks Allah's blessings for the Prophet,³³³ and they also enjoin engaging in countless numbers of *Ṣalawāt* for the Prophet to gain abundant reward there from.

In the same token, the Sufis often refer to two authentic narrations from the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, *Musnad* of Ahmad among other compilers to justify their congregation for *wird*. It is reads:

عَنِ الْأَغَرِّ أَبِي مُسْلِمٍ أَنَّهُ قَالَ أَشْهَدُ عَلَى أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ وَأَبِي سَعِيدٍ الْخُدْرِيِّ أَنَّهُمَا شَهِدَا عَلَى النَّبِيِّ -صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ- أَنَّهُ قَالَ « لَا يَفْعَدُ قَوْمٌ يَذْكُرُونَ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ إِلَّا حَفَّتْهُمُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ وَغَشِيَتْهُمُ الرَّحْمَةُ وَنَزَلَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ السَّكِينَةُ وَذَكَرَهُمُ اللَّهُ فِيمَنْ عِنْدَهُ ³³⁴

On the authority of Al-Agharr Abi Muslim who said; he witnessed both Abi-Hurayrah and Abi-Sa'id Al-Khudri (stating) that they witnessed the Prophet, may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him, when he said: A group of people will not converge for collective remembrance (*dhikr*) of Allah most Glorified and Most exalted, except that angels surround them, Allah's mercy envelops them and tranquility will descend on them, and Allah, Himself, will equally remember them.

The second *Hadith* reads:

وَإِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ خَرَجَ عَلَى حَلْقَةٍ مِنْ أَصْحَابِهِ فَقَالَ مَا أَجْلَسَكُمْ قَالُوا جَلَسْنَا نَذْكُرُ اللَّهَ وَنَحْمَدُهُ عَلَى مَا هَدَانَا لِلْإِسْلَامِ وَمَنْ بِهِ عَلَيْنَا قَالَ اللَّهُ مَا أَجْلَسَكُمْ إِلَّا ذَاكَ قَالُوا وَاللَّهِ مَا أَجْلَسْنَا إِلَّا ذَاكَ قَالَ أَمَا إِنِّي لَمْ أَسْتَحْلِفْكُمْ تَهْمَةً لَكُمْ وَلَكِنَّهُ أَتَانِي جِبْرِيلُ فَأَخْبَرَنِي أَنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ يُبَاهِي بِكُمْ الْمَلَائِكَةَ... رواه مسلم ³³⁵

Allah's Messenger, may the peace and blessing be upon him, went to a circle or gathering of his Companions (inside his Mosque) and said: What makes you sit like this? They said: We are sitting for remembrance of Allah and to thank Him for guiding us to Islam and for His blessing on. Thereupon, he (the Prophe) said by Allah, you sit for nothing but only this purpose? They said: yes! Whereupon he (the Messenger) said: I am not asking you to take an oath because of any allegation against you but for the fact that Jibril came to me and he informed me that Allah, the Most Exalted and Glorious, was talking to the angels about your magnificence.

The provisions of the two narrations above, especially the second one which Al-Bani rated as *Ṣaḥīḥ* (sound),³³⁶ underscore the legitimacy and permissibility of collective or joint *dhikr* as it is being practised by the Sufis. These narrations therefore negate the submissions of both Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn who rule out loud *dhikr*. They were of the that the Companions engage themselves in it though not congregationally done. With the evidence from the Sufis, their view could not hold again.

It could also be inferred from those narrations, the importance of loud *dhikr* which normally culminates into movement of body or dancing. The Sufis equally cite another *Hadith* of the Prophet to buttress their practice of dancing during *dhikr*. It reads:

عَنْ أَنَسٍ قَالَ كَانَتْ الْحَبَشَةُ يَرْفُونَ بَيْنَ يَدَيِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَيَرْقُصُونَ وَيَقُولُونَ مُحَمَّدٌ عَبْدٌ صَالِحٌ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَا يَقُولُونَ قَالُوا يَقُولُونَ مُحَمَّدٌ عَبْدٌ صَالِحٌ... رواه أحمد³³⁷

On the authority Anas who said the people of Habashah were presenting arts in front of the Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, and they were dancing singing that Muhammad is a righteous servant of Allah. The messenger of Allah, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, asked: What are they saying? He was answered they were saying Muhammad is a righteous servant of Allah.

The above *Hadith* was never cited nor commented upon by any *Salafiyyah* scholar, including Al-Bānī who is known for authentication of *Ḥadīth*. Also, there are many *Aḥādith* of the Prophet which permit the beating of drums while conducting marriage ceremonies. This is equally used as the yardstick by the Sufis to justify their practice of beating drums during *dhikr*.

Another major point that was raised by some *Salafiyyah* scholars vis-à-vis *awrad* is in respect of *Subḥah*. It pertinent to mention here that without going into the Sufis' defense on it, prominent *Salafiyyah* scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah³³⁸ and Al-ʿUthaymīn approve the use of rosary in their respective submissions. When a question was asked on the use of *Subḥah*, Al-ʿUthaymīn answers:

السبحة ليست بدعة دينية، وذلك لأن الإنسان لا يقصد التعبد لله بها، وإنما يقصد ضبط عدد... فهي وسيلة وليس مقصودة، ولكن الأفضل منها أن يعقد الإنسان... بأنامله - أي بأصابعه - لأنهن "مستنطقات" كما أرشد ذلك النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم،³³⁹

Subḥah is never a religious innovation. This is because no one intends to worship Allah with it. Actually, it is used to ascertain the number or counting...It is therefore a means (of counting) and not worshipped. However, the best is for an individual to count with fingers because they (fingers) shall speak (to testify on the day of judgment) as taught by the Prophet, may the peace and blessing of Allah be upon him.

If this is what Al-^cUthaymīn submits in his *Fatāwā* on the use of rosary, one wonders where the views of the like of Alaro, Jabata among others who condemned the use of it and declare it as *Bid'ah* is coming from.

3.5.0 *Salafiyyah* Scholars' Discourse on Some *Ṣūfī* Personalities

Sufism, over a long period of time, has remained a topic of discourse among the Muslim scholars at different levels and from different backgrounds and perspectives. The discourse centres on both the doctrines and practices of the Sufis and some of its key personalities who have contributed to the crystallisation of them (doctrines and practices). Also, the discussants are both *Ṣūfī* and non- *Ṣūfī* scholars. While some group of non- *Ṣūfī* scholars, especially the *Salafiyyah* examine both its doctrines and practices according to their understanding of it and how they feel it should be practised, there are array of *Ṣūfī* scholars who expended their effort in explaining Sufism and its contents to both Sufis and non- Sufis alike.

There are a lot of issues which these scholars, especially the *Salafiyyah* scholars who this work attempts to examine their discourse on Sufism, have raised. Efforts have been made earlier in this chapter to examine their submissions on some major doctrines and practices of the Sufis. What is intended to be done now is to further examine their submissions on some *Ṣūfī* personalities.

3.5.1 Al-Bisṭāmī

His name is Abū Yazīd ibn ^cIsā Tayfur Al-Bisṭāmī. He was a Persian *Ṣūfī* who lived between 804CE and 874CE³⁴⁰ in Bisṭām, a Persia village in the present day Islamic Republic of

Iran. He was popularly known and referred to in his day as *Sulṭānu 'l-ʿArifīn* (King of Gnostics).³⁴¹ His father was a famous Zoroastrian (fire worshipper) which makes many scholars to suggest that he imported the Zoroastrian doctrines and practices which he inherited from his father into Islamic teachings, especially Sufism.³⁴² This, however, cannot hold water as it is cleared from various evidence that his father reverted to Islam and there is nothing to establish that Abū Yazīd had been born prior to the father's acceptance of Islam. He (Abū Yazīd) was therefore not a revert to Islam but a born Muslim. To substantiate this further, most sources, especially Arabic ones state that it was his grandfather that was a Zoroastrian and not his father.³⁴³

Also, there are pieces of evidence that Abū Yazīd was mystically influenced by Dhū Nūn Al-Miṣrī (d.859CE), a great *Ṣūfī* who brought the concept of *Maʿrifah* (Gnosis) into limelight.³⁴⁴ He (Abū-Yazīd) was famous for introducing *Fanā'* (annihilation), the effect of which is *Sukr* (intoxication) into Sufism, especially as it necessitates *Shaṭḥāt* (theophatic locutions) and for placing it over and above *Ṣaḥw* (sobriety) which was conceptualised by Junayd,³⁴⁵ hence he is the head of *Sukr* school in Sufism as could be inferred from Qushayrī in his *Risālah* while Junayd heads the *Ṣaḥw* school.³⁴⁶ He also expressed his experience *vis-a-vis Isra' wal Mirʿāj* (nocturnal journey and ascension), especially as experienced by Prophet Muhammad, though he has been greatly criticised for this by many *Salafiyyah* scholars.³⁴⁷ Also, his theophatic locutions have attracted an array of commentaries from different scholars of different ages and some of them will be discussed in this work.

***Shaṭḥ* (Theophanic Locution)**

According to *Muʿjam Lughat'l-Fuqahā'*, *Shaṭḥ* is referred to as locution. It reads:

كلمات يتكلمون وظاهرها مخالفة الشريعة³⁴⁸

(*Shaṭḥ* refers to) words that are uttered which (meanings) apparently contradict *Shariʿah*.

The above definition, despite its being rendered by neither a *Ṣūfī* scholar nor someone who is writing for the *Ṣūfī* but in the jurisprudential realm, seems to have conveyed the actual meaning as given by the Sufis like Al-Ghazālī³⁴⁹ among other writers. Sufis are known for making some strange utterances like *Subḥānī* (praise be to me), *Jallajalānī* (how majesty I'm)³⁵⁰ among others

during their mystical experiences which have attracted diverse reactions from different scholars. *Salafiyyah* scholars of modern time are specifically known for their condemnation and non-tolerance of these expressions and it is indeed, one of the major reasons why Sufism and its men are condemned.

Abū Yazīd Al-Biṣṭāmī is one of the *Ṣūfī* personalities that have been condemned by many scholars, especially the *Salafiyyah* of modern time. He is on record to have rendered many of those strange words. They include: *Mā fi Janbi ilā Allah* (nothing is in my pocket except Allah) and the ones mentioned above and many more. These are not unconnected to his experience of intoxication when in the state of *Fanā'* (annihilation).³⁵¹

It is pertinent to point out that Al-Biṣṭāmī is never condemned by any of the early or classical *Salafiyyah* scholars, especially the likes of Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim, among others. They did not only keep off their words of condemnation from him, but also count him among the Sufis whose doctrines and practices are worthy of emulation.³⁵² As submitted previously in this chapter while discussing *Fanā'*, and where Ibn Taymiyyah categorises Sufis into three, Abū Yazid belongs to the second class. He is completely exonerated from the Sufis that combine philosophical thoughts with Sufism. He (Ibn Taymiyyah) equally submits that theophatic locutions should not be taken at their outer level.³⁵³

Also, the same stand of Ibn Taymiyyah on Abū Yazid is equally maintained by his student, Ibn Qayyim. He even went further to provide a quotation from Abū Yazid which seems to have appeared only in his (Ibn Qayyim) work in confirmation and expression of his favourable disposition to him (Abū Yazid). Ibn Qayyim quotes:

لو نظرتم إلى رجل أعطي من الكرامات حتى يرتفع في الهواء فلا
تغتروا به حتى تنظروا كيف تجدونه عند الأمر والنهي وحفظ الحدود
والشريعة³⁵⁴

If you see a man who is performing miracles to the extent of walking in the sky, never get convinced with it until you examine the sources of his power (with which he works those miracles) vis-a-vis the compliance or otherwise of the worker with the rules (of Allah) and his keeping the limits (of Allah) and *Sharī'ah*.

The above quotation from Ibn Qayyim seems to have erased any doubt about the personality and teachings of Al-Biṣṭāmī, especially as he was accused by *Salafiyyah* scholars. This is because the quote reflects his consciousness of rules of Allah and *Sharīʿah* in particular as his guiding principles. The quotation equally negates the claims of modern *Salafiyyah* scholars like Abdul-Raḥmān in his *Faḍāʾihū ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah* and Iḥsān Illahī in his *Dirāsātu fit-Taṣawwuf* who submit that he (Abu Yazid) is known for downplaying the rules of *Sharīʿah*.³⁵⁵ In fact, the former scholar is even categorical in declaring him as a *Kāfir* (infidel).³⁵⁶

One striking observation which this work makes is the absence of direct derogatory remarks on Al-Biṣṭāmī from either Ibn Bāz or Al-ʿUthaymīn throughout their various works examined. Ibn Bāz who mentions his name once clearly aligns himself with the position of Ibn Qayyim³⁵⁷ while Al-ʿUthaymīn did not mention his name at all. However, he expresses what could be understood as his indirect condemnation of him when he was answering questions bordering on *Shataḥāt* as explained previously in this chapter on *Fanāʾ*.³⁵⁸ He was categorical in stating that such experience was not part of the experiences of Prophet Muhammad, his Companions, and scholars of the early Muslim community.³⁵⁹ Therefore, it is not only strange but also not admissible in the Islamic scheme of things.

3.5.2 Al-Ḥallāj

He is by name; Abū Al-Mughīth Ḥusayn Ibn Mansur Al-Ḥallāj born 244AH/858 CE in a village called Fars in the present day Islamic republic of Iran,³⁶⁰ to a Cotton-Carder, hence his nickname, Al-Ḥallāj was coined from the profession of his father who bequeathed him with it.³⁶¹ Like Al-Biṣṭāmī, he has the traces of Zoroastrianism in his lineage because it is established that his grandfather was a staunch member.³⁶² He travelled far and wide in search of knowledge but spent the substantial part of his life in Baghdad, during the days of the Abbasid where he later died in 309AH/913CE.³⁶³ He was a Persian by tribe, though he lost the language to Arabic, due to rigorous studies which kept him away from his mother tongue for long.³⁶⁴ He was a contemporary of Abū-Qāsim al-Junayd and a host of other great mystics.³⁶⁵ He was greatly influenced by the teachings of Al-Biṣṭāmī and Dhū-Nūn Al-Miṣrī while he equally influenced many Sufis that came after him, such as Ḥāfiẓ Shirazi, Jalālu ʿd-Dīn Ar-Rūmī, Attar of Nisaphur,³⁶⁶ among others.

The *Salafiyyah* scholars' discourse on him is nothing but an absolute and outright condemnation. He was labelled with different derogatory titles ranging from being a *Kāfir* (infidel) to a *Mushirk* (polytheist).³⁶⁷ Others tagged him as a *Sāhir* (magician) because he was alleged to have been in India at one time or the other learning magic.³⁶⁸ He also learnt Greek philosophy and he was alleged to have brought same into Islam.³⁶⁹ To some scholars, Al-Ḥallāj is a secret Christian³⁷⁰ and a *Qaramitian*³⁷¹ who tends to distort Islamic teachings with corrupt belief systems. Al-Ḥallāj remains the most controversial and most condemned *Ṣūfī* of all ages. He was publicly executed in Baghdad on the accusation of declaring himself as God when he says: *Anā 'l-Ḥaqqu* (I'm the Truth).³⁷² The concept of Shatanology is equally attributed to him.³⁷³ Through this concept, Al-Ḥallāj submitted that he has successfully reverted Iblis to Islam and that he (Iblis) is a monotheist per-excellence, just like Prophet Muhammad.³⁷⁴ He explained that his refusal to bow to Adam, a creature like him as narrated in the glorious Qur'ān indicates his conviction about the unity and supremacy of Allah and that only Him deserves to be bowed for, only that Iblis did that out of disobedience while Muhammad's concept of monotheism is out of obedience to Allah.³⁷⁵

The Predicament of Al-Ḥallāj

The predicament of Al-Ḥallāj which accounted for his execution has been attributed to different causes by the scholars of different generations. There are sources which link Al-Ḥallāj's predicaments to political incursion considering his growing influence and his outbursts against the Abbasid *Khalīfah* of his time, Al-Muqtadir (d.932). Martins rightly observes saying that:

He preached openly against the tax scandals and political corruption linked to the weakened Caliphate, which finally resulted in his arrest, in the name of public order, and long imprisonment (913CE).³⁷⁶

Al-Ḥallāj was therefore seen by Al-Muqtadir as protecting and promoting the interest of his (*Khalīfah*) political rivals. This can also be justified by his journey to Makkah because his second pilgrimage witnessed the company of about four hundred disciples.³⁷⁷ It is undoubtedly claimed that such an influence was very rare in his time and if not checkmated may endanger the

political atmosphere which favours the then current regime.³⁷⁸ This was what prompted his arrest, imprisonment, persecution and public execution.

In the view of other scholars, especially the *Salafiyyūn*, Al-Ḥallāj was executed for declaration of himself as God when he says: *Anā 'l-Ḥaqqu* (I'm the Truth). This has been differently interpreted by different scholars to mean heresy (*Bid'ah*), *Zanadiqah* (libertine), *Sabb* (blasphemy) and *Riddah* (apostasy), all of which border on *Kufr* (infidelity). These according to scholars of the four schools of thought and Ibn Taymiyyah among others necessitate an execution of the culprit and examples of Musaylimah Al-Kadhdhab who equally declared himself a prophet is cited.³⁷⁹

There is no single *Salafiyyah* scholar, including Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim, Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb and the modern ones like Ibn Bāz and Al-^CUthaymīn that spares him from attack, though it is generally observed that many of them did not discuss him in particular. Some do not even mention his name but all of them condemn his ideology which centres on spiritual transformation (*Al-Ḥulūl* or *Itihād*).³⁸⁰ It is on the basis of this that he is declared as a *Kāfir* and a *Mushrik*³⁸¹ among others as indicated above. Al-Ḥallāj therefore finds himself in trouble due to this popular pronouncement: *Anā 'l-Ḥaqqu* (I'm the Truth).

In *Kitābu 't-Ṭawāsīn*, Al-Ḥallāj writes that he had a discussion with Iblīs and Fir^cawn concerning the honour that Allah grants His creatures and their (creatures) relationship with Him. He states that Iblīs refuses to bow to Adam and Fir^cawn refuses to believe in the prophet Mūsā because each of them felt obliged not to obey fellow creature or man respectively.³⁸² Also, Iblīs did not want to lose his honorific name while Fir^cawn wishes to retain his glory.³⁸³ Al-Ḥallāj then writes that they should have recognised Allah in human form. He then referred to himself as such. He writes further:

وقلت أنا : إن لم تعرفوه فاعرفوا آثاره، وأنا ذلك الأثر، وأنا الحق لأنني
ما زلت أبداً بالحق حقاً³⁸⁴

I said: If you do not know Him, then recognise His signs. I am that sign. I am the Truth. This is because, truly, I have never ceased from being the Real Truth.

The above extract shows how this problematic statement emanates from Al-Ḥallāj for the first time before it was severally repeated at different places, especially after his arrest. It has been differently interpreted by different scholars and generally condemned.

In assessing the various submissions of scholars on him, it is clear that his wider condemnation cannot be justified with facts considering the previous submissions of, especially classical *Salafiyyah* scholars, Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah on *Shatḥ* and *Sukr*. This is because if it should be viewed with the lens of *Shaṭaḥāt* (theophanic locutions), both scholars have independently submitted as discussed above that the bearers of strange locutions as a result of spiritual intoxication are excused from blame.³⁸⁵ It is on the basis of this that some Sufis like Abu Yazīd Al-Bisṭāmī escapes the sledge hammer of the two prominent *Salafiyyah* scholars. Therefore, Al-Ḥallāj should have equally been given same treatment, because both of them would have been guilty of the same offence via *Shaṭaḥāt* (theophanic locutions).

Al-Ghazālī appears more appropriate among various commentators on this statement of Al-Ḥallāj.

وإن سمع ذلك منه فلعله كان يحكيه عن الله عز و جل في كلام يردده
في نفسه كما لو سمع وهو يقول إنني أنا الله لا إله إلا أنا فاعبدني فإنه
ما كان ينبغي أن يفهم منه ذلك إلا على سبيل الحكاية³⁸⁶

If that is heard from him (Al-Ḥallāj), it may be that he is just narrating it in respect to Allah, most Mighty and most Exalted, in His statement with which He refers to Himself. Just like when one heard Him when He says: Indeed, I am Allah. There is no deity except me, so worship me. It is indeed inappropriate for anyone to digest that from Him except in the sense of mere narration.

The above quotation from *Iḥyā'* of Al-Ghazālī, contains a direct speech from Allah which its verbal recitation does not in any way make the reciter Allah Himself, despite the direct pronouncement. Therefore, if juxtaposed with the original statement of Al-Ḥallāj as extracted above, one can easily understand the level of their similarity and how it sheds lights on the former, especially if they are exoterically understood as *Salafiyyah* scholars will always advocate.

The execution of Al-Ḥallāj has generated controversies among scholars of different backgrounds. The bone of contention centres on whether or not he was executed for expression of a belief that contradicts *Sharī'ah*. This is because, having provided the *Sharī'ah* justifications for his execution, Ibn Tyamiyyah equally submits that Sufis are in support of his execution. In other words, both the *Salafī* and *Ṣūfī* scholars agreed that his views are clearly at variance to *Sharī'ah* and both sanctioned his execution.³⁸⁷ This appears inappropriate and it is a clear misinterpretation of the position of the *Ṣūfī* scholars like Al-Junayd, whose approval was secured before the execution. Sources bear witness to how he (Junayd) warned and cautioned Al-Hallaj to speak less in public or to the masses but defies his instructions. He (Junayd) therefore initially refused to append his signature on the execution paper but later did that after he had pulled off his *khirqah* (*Ṣūfī* attire), stating that he (Al-Ḥallāj) was judged according to external law (*Sharī'ah*) and not Sufism.³⁸⁸

The utterance of Junayd invariably represents the belief of the Sufis who believe that he lived in perpetual state of *Fanā'* (annihilation), which is the highest level of *Tawḥīd* (Monotheism).³⁸⁹ He was considered a martyr of love. His non-retraction of this statement despite the high level of molestations and tortures he was subjected to, shows that he was truly in the perpetual state of *Fanā'*, else he would have rescinded it to avert death. The Sufis therefore categorised this statement as one of his *Shaṭaḥāt* (theophatic locutions) which is engendered by *Fanā'* (annihilation) and *Maḥabbah* (love).³⁹⁰ In fact, Sufis like Shaṣrānī are of the view that his execution was without justification.

This work is therefore inclined to submit that Al-Ḥallāj's case is not different from others like Abū Yazīd, who expressed theophanic locutions and should be understood and treated as such. Also, since Abū Yazīd lived and died before Al-Ḥallāj, though both of them lived almost at the same period and under the same Abbasid regime, the case of Abū Yazīd should have been a precedent to follow. It is on the basis of this that this work therefore strongly aligned itself with those who submit that his execution was politically motivated.

Further still, the manner of his execution as reported by Ibn Kathīr in *Al-Bidāyah wa 'n-Nihāyah*³⁹¹ contravened the *Sharī'ah*. This is because he was molested and mutilated, despite the Qur'ānic provision that accords honour to human being (Q.17:70) and many *Aḥādith* of the Prophet which forbid molestation of human being, dead or alive. The Prophet is reported to have said:

عَنْ عَائِشَةَ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ -صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ- قَالَ « كَسْرُ عَظْمِ
الْمَيِّتِ كَكَسْرِهِ حَيًّا » رواه أبو داود³⁹²

On the authority of ʿĀ'isha who reported that the messenger of Allah, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, said: breaking of the bone of the dead is like breaking it while he was alive. (Abu Dawud).

The Prophet is equally on record to have warned his army commanders and detachments against acts of *Tamthil* (mutilation) as contained in *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim.³⁹³ Therefore, if Al-Ḥallāj was guilty of an offence that necessitates his execution, the Islamic rules of engagement need not be jettisoned.

3.5.3 Ibn ʿArabī

His full name is Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Abdullahi Aṭ-Ṭā'ī Al-Ḥātimī. He was one of Al-Ḥātimites descendants whose intellectual prowess is well pronounced before and after his acceptance of Islam.³⁹⁴ Ibn ʿArabī is popularly known as Muḥyidīn.³⁹⁵ He is however famous in the East as Al-Ḥātimī and Ibn ʿArabī to differentiate between him and Al-Qāḍī Abūbākr Ibn Al-ʿArabī, a popular Mālikī scholar and a *Mufasssir* (exegete).³⁹⁶ He was born on Monday 17th of Ramaḍān in the year 560 AH (equivalent to 26th July, 1165 CE) in Marsiyyah, a

district in Spain.³⁹⁷ It is a town founded by Umayyad Dynasty. His father Ali ibn Muhammad was one of the leading scholars of *Fiqh* and *Ḥadīth*.³⁹⁸ He was also a known Ascetic, pious and a *Ṣūfī*. Even his grandfather was also a renowned Judge in the Spanish court and a leading authority on Islamic scholarship.³⁹⁹

Ibn ʿArabī bagged the title of *As-Shaykh Al-Akbar* (The greatest scholar) and his influence is widely felt across the Islamic world, especially by his followers and disciples.⁴⁰⁰ As a *Ṣūfī*, he was one of the most popular Sufis due to his “rare” doctrine, which has won him a wide range of condemnations and by implication has made him more relevant in every discourse on Sufism at different time be it classical or modern. He is commonly mentioned by both Sufis and *Salafiyyūn* in their works and today a discourse on Sufism without a particular reference to him is not complete.

Ibn ʿArabī has a lot of works to his credit many of which have gone into oblivion.⁴⁰¹ There are allegations that he personally destroyed some of his works prior to his death because he understood that many secrets therein may not be understood by people and can lead to misguidance.⁴⁰² He is being condemned by many *Salafiyyah* scholars due to some of his views as contained in the two prominent works of his. These are *Al-Futūḥātu 'l-Makiyyah* (The Makkan Revelations) and *Fuṣūsu 'l-Ḥikam* (Seals of Wisdom). These two works among others have gained high rate of readership and have enjoyed criticisms from different angles, even among some Sufis. Ibn ʿArabī’s doctrines will therefore be examined in this work according to these two works.

***Fuṣūsu 'l-Ḥikam* (Seals of Wisdom)**

It is a book written in Arabic language but translated into different languages Urdu and English and many scholars of different backgrounds run commentaries on it. It is often translated into English language as Bezels or Seals of Wisdom.⁴⁰³ It discusses mystical issues relating to each of the Prophets of Allah starting from Adam to Muhammad. It is a widely read book in *Ṣūfī* circles to draw inspiration from the salient spiritual facts that are contained in the lives of the Prophets and to unravel the nature of existence of Allah, universe and reality of Man and how each interacts with the other. It has twenty-seven chapters. The author cites frequently the verses of the Qur’ān and *Aḥādith* of the Prophet to drive home his point of discourse. There are two key

issues which make this book to gain attention of many readers. These are *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd* (Unity of Existence) and Salvation of Firʿawn (Pharaoh).

While discussing divine wisdom vis-à-vis Prophet Yūsuf, Ibn ʿArabi first alluded to names and attributes of Allah before focusing on the interpretation of *Sūratul-Ikhlāṣ* (Chapter 112) of the Qurʾān with particular reference to and emphasis on the first verse which reads:

قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ

Say: Allah is One.⁴⁰⁴

This therefore in his explanation shows that Allah is Unique both in Essence and in Attributes and He is independent.⁴⁰⁵ He states further that there is no *Sūrah* in the Qurʾān that better describes Allah than this.⁴⁰⁶ It is from this that he came about the concept of Divine Absolute Unity (*Waḥdaniyyah*).⁴⁰⁷ In establishing this further, while discussing the seal of wisdom in the case of Prophet Lūṭ and his people who are majorly sodomites, he (Lūṭ) recounts that he would have sourced for extra power against them. Qurʾān reads:

قَالَ لَوْ أَنَّ لِي بِكُمْ قُوَّةً أَوْ آوِي إِلَىٰ رُكْنٍ شَدِيدٍ

He said: "Would that I had the power to suppress you or that I could betake myself to some powerful support."
(Q.11:80)⁴⁰⁸

Ibn ʿArabī explains that Prophet Lūṭ recounts because he is incapacitated,⁴⁰⁹ though there is superior power (Allah) who sent him and from whom he would have sought for reinforcement but does not because he has no interest in it.⁴¹⁰ This according to him is not unconnected to two things. One of them is:

أحدية المتصرف و المتصرف فيه⁴¹¹

Absolute unity of the Actor and the acted upon.

This expression together with the general background from which he writes this work which is to infuse the creator (Allah) and creations into an integral whole later metamorphosed into what he

calls *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd* (Unity of Existence).⁴¹² An expression which postulates that Allah is the only Real Existence (*Wājib 'l-wujūd*) while creations are contingents.⁴¹³

It is on the basis of this expression that Ibn 'Arabī and his *Fuṣūṣ* won outright condemnation of the *Salafiyyah* scholars. He was accused of importing Hellenistic philosophical thoughts into Sufism and Islam in general.⁴¹⁴ He was therefore declared as a *Kāfir* (infidel) by almost every *Salafiyyah* scholar including Ibn Taymiyyah,⁴¹⁵ Ibn Bāz⁴¹⁶ and Al-^cUthaymīn⁴¹⁷ among others in their various works. Ibn Taymiyyah however expresses reservations in his position on Ibn 'Arabī. Firstly, he acknowledges the fact that Ibn 'Arabī was not the first to express this idea but Ibn Sab'īn, and Tilmāsān as it came from Ibn Sīnā⁴¹⁸ and that out of all its proponents, he (Ibn 'Arabī) alone expresses what is closest to Islamic tenets having dwelt into details of his explanations and discovered that it is an error emanating from the concept of *Tawḥīdu 's-Shuhūd*, *Waḥdatu 's-Shuhūd* (Unity of perception) or *Fanā 'u 's-Shuhūd* (annihilation of perception).⁴¹⁹ Secondly, and most importantly, Ibn Taymiyyah confirms the tremendous benefit he gained from the works of Ibn 'Arabī in his *Fatāwā*.⁴²⁰

A cursory study of the concept of *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd* (Unity of Existence) as conceived by Ibn 'Arabī in comparison with the explanations of the *Salafiyyah* scholars of both classical and modern periods reveals a high level of misconceptions, just as the discussions and submissions of both scholars on *Fanā'*, *Shaṭaḥāt*, *Maḥabbah* among others as indicated above in this work. Ibn Taymiyyah submits that it is a concept that unified both *Al-Ḥaqīqatu 'l-Kawniyyah* (the cosmos reality) with *Al-Ḥaqīqatu 'd-Diniyyah* (the religious reality).⁴²¹ The former is recognition of Allah as the supreme creator of the universe while the latter means worshipping Allah and obeying His commandments. In other words, therefore, the concept of *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd* connotes the absence of distinction between the existence of Allah and His creatures.⁴²² Ibn Taymiyyah declares this as an open pantheism, because everything is God and God is everything, hence there would be no difference between *Tawḥīd* (monotheism) and *Shirk* (polytheism).⁴²³

However, Ibn Taymiyyah appears contradictory to himself if one examines his submission on *Fanā 'u 's-Shuhūdī* (annihilation of perception),⁴²⁴ which he rightly observes that it is attained by the wayfarer (*Sālikūn*) due to constant recollection of Allah's name (*dhikr*), worship and love for Allah which makes them to see nothing other than Him (Allah). An

experience of this kind of *Fanā'* makes one to be completely unaware of anything other than Allah.⁴²⁵ This is otherwise referred to by As-Shirhindi as *Waḥdatu 's-Shuhūd* (unity of perception).

The concept of *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd*, ordinarily, can be understood from two different angles and each is firmly grounded in the Qur'ān. The first is that Allah is the Absolute Existence while every other being cannot be independent of Him.⁴²⁶ This explains *Al-Hayy* (The living), *Al-Qayyūm* (The Self-subsistence) as parts of His attributes.⁴²⁷ Also, the Qur'ān in different places describes Him as the Unmovable Mover (See Q. 23:88) and the one that Feeds but Unfed (See Q. 6:14). Elsewhere, the Qur'ān equally states that the soul of man emanates from Him (See Q. 15:29, 32:9, 38:72). Each of these evidence confirms Allah's absoluteness and as the Real Being. Also, the implication of this is that man needs one another and Allah for sustenance while Allah needs nothing. He is therefore the Real Existence because He is independent while others are not. In other word, whatever that cannot exist alone qualifies not to be regarded as being in existence. The concept of *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd* therefore connotes that not every creature is Allah but Allah is present in every creature. This gives the similarities between *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd* of Ibn 'Arabī and *Fanā'u Shuhūd* as explained by Ibn Taymiyyah⁴²⁸ which was renamed by As-Shirhindi as *Waḥdatu 's-Shuhūd* (Unity of perception).⁴²⁹ The only difference lies in the manner of expression. Also, the cosmic and religious realities as submitted by Ibn Taymiyyah have philosophical connotations than mystical which is the background from which Ibn 'Arabī expresses the concept.

The second connotation of *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd* is the presence of God in everyplace. The *Salafiyyah* scholars opined that it derogates Allah's status as it suggests that He is present everywhere including places of filths.⁴³⁰ This explanation or expression by the *Salafiyyah* scholars however may not be appropriate because it is purely anthropomorphic in nature. It depicts that Allah is perceived as human being whereas neither filth nor cleanliness can affect His essence. This can be strengthened with the fact that though, the Qur'ān extols purity in every ramification as dearest to Allah and as an essential condition for any act of *'Ibādah* (worship), especially *Ṣalāt* to be acceptable to Allah, inability to uphold it, especially as may be necessitated by different legitimate factors which are recognised in *Sharī'ah* does not disqualify one from its observance.⁴³¹ If this purity is absolute, then *Ṣalāt* would have been waived if cleanliness cannot be fulfilled.

Also, Qur'an says:

أَلَمْ تَرَ أَنَّ اللَّهَ يَعْلَمُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مَا يَكُونُ مِنْ نَجْوَى
ثَلَاثَةٍ إِلَّا هُوَ رَابِعُهُمْ وَلَا خَمْسَةٍ إِلَّا هُوَ سَادِسُهُمْ وَلَا أَدْنَى مِنْ ذَلِكَ وَلَا
أَكْثَرَ إِلَّا هُوَ مَعَهُمْ أَيْنَ مَا كَانُوا ثُمَّ يُنَبِّئُهُمْ بِمَا عَمِلُوا يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ
بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ

Seest thou not that Allah doth know (all) that is in the heavens and on earth? There is not a secret consultation between three, but He makes the fourth among them, Nor between five but He makes the sixth,- nor between fewer nor more, but He is in their midst, wheresoever they be: In the end will He tell them the truth of their conduct, on the Day of Judgment. For Allah has full knowledge of all things (Q58:7) ⁴³²

The above verse which confirms the presence of Allah in every place seems to be the bone of contention between the *Salafiyyah* scholars and the Sufis. The former understood the verse vis-à-vis the knowledge of Allah,⁴³³ while the latter believe that it is the essence of Allah that the verse connotes.⁴³⁴

There seems to be an understanding that what places barrier between the two sides is the language or manner of expression. It can equally be said that the former takes to the apparent meaning of the verse, hence they adopt knowledge (*Al-ʿIlm*) while the latter invoke the principle of interpretation (*Ta'wīl*) in understanding the presence of Allah at all places by His essence (*Al-Dhāt*), hence He has Omniscience as one of his supernatural attributes.⁴³⁵ Both sides of the divides seem irreconcilable because *Salafiyyah* scholars claim borders on the transcendence nature of Allah while the Sufis' claim is related to His immanence.

However, Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah, while explaining the concept of *Waḥdatu 'l-Wujūd* (Unity of Existence), maintains that expertise in all matters is very essential. This will enable the one who propounds a theory to give details of it, while those who assess the theory will have the opportunity of digesting the concept in the light of the promulgator. He submits that arbitrary

interpretation of none experts has accounted in no small measures for all the condemnations, abuses and pronouncement of *Takfir* which is common among the scholars. He writes:

فإياك ثم إياك والألفاظ المجملة المشتبهة التي وقع اصطلاح القوم
عليها فإنها أصل البلاء... وأنه لا وجود في الحقيقة إلا وجود الله وأن
وجود الكائنات خيال ووهم... فاسمع منه ما يملأ الآذان من حلول
واتحاد وشطحات والعارفون من القوم أطلقوا هذه الألفاظ ونحوها
وأرادوا بها معاني صحيحة في أنفسها فغلط الغالطون في فهم ما
أرادوه ونسبوههم إلى إلحادهم وكفرهم...⁴³⁶

Be wary of (arbitrary interpretation) of some ambiguous utterances which required the interpretation of the specialists, especially who propounded them. This (arbitrary interpretation) is the source of the problems (among the scholars)... Truly, there is no existence other than that of Allah. The existence of cosmos is weak and diminishes... One hears from him (*Ṣūfī*) ear-blocking and strange expressions regarding incarnation, Unitarianism and theophatic locutions. The scholars from among those who propounded them have good understanding of them while many (non-experts) fall into the pit of error and thereby declared the bearers as infidels...

Apart from sounding a note of warning and setting the standards for assessment of scholastic expressions, Ibn Qayyim confirms *Wahadat al-Wujud* (Unity of Existence). Also, his position is germane and can serve as the golden rule in all manners. This is because it is observed that many *Salafiyyah* scholars, especially the modern ones who are bent on declaration of Ibn ʿArabī as a *Kāfir* did not read his works but rely on secondary evidence.

The second issue from *Fuṣūṣ* which Ibn ʿArabī has been equally condemned for is *Īmān* (faith) of Firʿawn which according to him necessitates his salvation on the day of resurrection and his subsequent admittance into the paradise.⁴³⁷ While discussing the wisdom of Allah that is embedded in the life of Prophet Mūsā and precisely his interaction with Firʿawn and the subsequent drowning into the Red Sea, Ibn ʿArabī submits that this was a total and absolute blessing to Pharaoh in all ramifications.⁴³⁸ Justifying this, he states that the journey to his (Pharaoh) salvation starts from when Prophet Mūsā was discovered at the river bank and was brought to him. It is confirmed in the Qurʾān that his wife, contrary to the will of the husband to

kill the boy, argues that he is likely to be a consolation to them and that they can have him as a child, especially when they have no child.⁴³⁹ He writes:

وكان قرة عين لفرعون بالإيمان الذي أعطاه الله عند الغرق فقبضه طاهرا
مطهرا ليس فيه شيء من الخبث لأنه قبضه عند إيمانه قبل ان يكتسب شيئا
من الأثام⁴⁴⁰

He was a consolation to Pharaoh; hence Allah gave him faith while drowning. He (Allah) took his soul in purity without any element of sin or misdeed. This is because he died right there as a faithful before he could commit another offence or sin.

Equally, when he writes on the drowning of the Fir^cawn, he submits that:

فأمن بالذي امننت به بنو إسرائيل علي اليقين بالنجاة ، فكان كما تيقن ولكن على غير
الصورة التي أراد. فنجاه الله من عذاب الآخرة في نفسه ونجى بدنيه فقال اليوم ننجيك
ببدنك لتكون لمن خلفك آية...⁴⁴¹

He shared the belief of the Israelites in assurance for salvation, though it (salvation) came in a manner that contrary to his thought. Allah excluded his soul from the punishment of the hereafter and equally saved his body, hence (Allah) said: Today we have saved your body (from perish) to serve as a sign for those that will come after you...

The above extracts from *Fuṣūṣ* are where Ibn ^cArabī postulates that Fir^cawn died as a believer. He argues that there is no clear provision in the Qur'ān to buttress the fixed mind of the people who are bent on his (Fir^cawn) punishment in the hereafter for the grievous offenses he has committed. Also, that if truly Allah wants him to be punished, He would not have allowed him to make that pronouncement.⁴⁴² He equally submits that the profession of faith by Fir^cawn at that point having realised his outrageous deeds confirms the acceptance of the prayer of Mūsā to Allah over him which goes that he should not believe but till when he sees the chastisements of Allah (Q 10:88).⁴⁴³

Many *Salafiyyah* scholars have reacted to this strange pronouncement from Ibn ^cArabī and it is one of the bases for calling for his (Ibn ^cArabī) anathematisation from the fold of Islam. Ibn Taymiyyah in particular wrote a work on this entitled: *Ar-Radd ^cAlā Ibn ^cArabī* (Refutation on Ibn ^cArabī) wherein he outlined the number of heinous offences committed by Ibn ^cArabī of which the greatest of them was his declaration of himself as the Lord, the most High (Q. 79:24).⁴⁴⁴ He was therefore seen as the number one *Kāfir* to have walked on the surface of this

earth after the Iblīs.⁴⁴⁵ In response to the Qur’anic declaration vis-à-vis the punishment of Fir‘awun. Ibn Qayyim writes:

ولهذا كان فرعون وقومه في أشد العذاب قال الله تعالى في حقهم: النار يعرضون عليها غدوا وعشيا ويوم تقوم الساعة أدخلوا آل فرعون أشد العذاب: وهذا تنبيه على أن فرعون نفسه في الأشد من ذلك لأنهم إنما دخلوا أشد العذاب تبعاً له فإنه هو الذي استخفهم فأطاعوه وغرهم فاتبعوه ولهذا يكون يوم القيامة أمامهم وفرطهم في هذا الورد قال تعالى: يقدم قومه يوم القيامة فأوردهم النار⁴⁴⁶

Due to various heinous sins that were committed by Fir‘awun and his people, fire will be shown to them in the morning and in the evening. Also, on the day of resurrection, his household will be meted out with a serious chastisement. This points to the fact that Fir‘awun himself will be in a more difficult and terrible situation than those of his household because the punishment was secured as result of their compliance with his order. He actually misled and deceived them and they followed him, hence on the day of resurrection he will take the lead while going into hell. Allah say: He will be leading his people on the day of resurrection while they follow him to hellfire.

This position of Ibn Qayyim which various other *Salafiyyah* scholars relied upon and cited in their works reflects the Quranic refutation of Ibn ‘Arabī who had earlier challenged his opponents to bring out a clear-cut verse that declares punishment of Fir‘awun. So, his claim (salvation of Fir‘awun) is, therefore, baseless since Allah has cleared his (Fir‘awun) case in the glorious Qur’an.

Al-Futūḥāt ’l-Makkiyyah

It is one of the greatest works of Ibn ʿArabī that has gained wider readership. The title is simply translated as the Openings of *Makkah* or the *Makkah* Openings. Different scholars who have examined the work described it as *Magnum Opus*.⁴⁴⁷ It covers different aspects of learning and scholars of different backgrounds have benefited tremendously from it. Its discourse spans from philosophy to metaphysics, theology to spiritual anthropology, jurisprudence to psychology and cosmology.⁴⁴⁸ It consists of six hundred and fifty chapters and discuss different topics. One striking thing about the work which makes it difficult to be understood by all and sundry is that its discourse is purely esoteric, hence most of the chapter headings are opened with *Maʿrifatu ʿl-Asrār* (understanding the secrets). In other words, it discusses known topics like the pillars of Islam among others in a mystical manner.

Ibn Taymiyyah confirms that he has tremendous benefit from many works of Ibn ʿArabī. In *Majmūʿ ʿl-Fatāwā*, he writes:

...لَمَّا رَأَيْتَ فِي كُتُبِهِ مِنَ الْفَوَائِدِ مِثْلَ كَلَامِهِ فِي كَثِيرٍ مِنْ " الْفُتُوحَاتِ " وَالْكُنَى " وَالْمُحْكَمِ الْمَرْبُوطِ " " وَالْدُرَّةَ الْفَاحِشَةَ " " وَمَطَالِعِ النُّجُومِ " وَنَحْوِ ذَلِكَ⁴⁴⁹

... for the benefits I gained from his various works like *Al-Futūḥāt*, *Al-Kunah*, *Al-Muḥkam ʿl-Marbūt*, *Ad-Durrat ʿl-Fājirah* and *Al-Muṭāliḥ ʿn-Nujūm* and so on.

The above quotation shows that Ibn Taymiyyah did not outrightly condemn Ibn ʿArabī but acknowledges the benefits from his work. In the same token, Ibn Kathīr equally expressed mixed feelings on *Futūḥāt*. Ibn Kathīr writes:

وأقام بمكة مدة، وصنف فيها كتابه المسمى بـ " الفتوحات المكية " في نحو عشرين مجلدا، فيها ما يعقل وما لا يعقل، وما ينكر وما لا ينكر، وما يعرف وما لا يعرف، وله كتابه المسمى بفصوص الحكم فيه أشياء كثيرة ظاهرها كفر صريح⁴⁵⁰

He lived in Makkah for some period where he authored a book entitled: *Al-Futūḥāt Al-Makiyyah* of about twenty (20) volumes. One will find in this book what is sensible and insensible, rejected and unrejected, known and unknown. He equally authored another book entitled: *Fuṣūṣ ʿl-Hikam* which harbours a lot of glaring infidelity.

This submission of Ibn Kathīr which shows his partial favourable disposition to *Al-Futūḥāt* than the *Fuṣūṣ* seems to have represented the position of many classical *Salafiyyah* scholars on his *Futūḥāt* while some, especially in the modern time did not see anything good in both. This may however not be unconnected to wrong assumption and over generalisation. The likes of Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn did not mince their words in declaring him as a *Kāfir* with a status far above that of the Christians⁴⁵¹ on the basis of his idea as contained in the two works and they issued *Fatāwā* to forbidding people from reading any of his works.⁴⁵²

Further more on the comparison between the two monumental works of Ibn ʿArabī, Chittick, a modern writer on Ibn ʿArabī having submitted that both contain the same discourse but *Fuṣūṣ* is *Mujmal* (concise) while *Al-Futūḥāt* is *Mufaṣṣal* (detailed)⁴⁵³ observes further:

One also hears the opinion that the *Fusūs* is more esoteric than the *Futūḥāt*, and therefore, it seems, more valuable. But this opinion could hardly be expressed by anyone who has carefully studied both texts, since there is hardly an idea in the *Fusūs* not to be found expressed more clearly and in more detail somewhere in the *Futūḥāt*. Of course, by 'more esoteric' one may simply mean that the *Fusūs* is often more difficult to understand. ... the reason goes back to the point just made: the *Fusūs* is composed largely of brief allusions, while the same doctrines are exposed in full detail in the *Futūḥāt*. Moreover, there are certain sections of the *Futūḥāt* (one thinks in particular of the 128-page Chapter 559, which is several times as long as the *Fusūs*), which is more 'esoteric' in every sense of the word than anything found in the *Fusūs* itself.⁴⁵⁴

The content of the above passage does not only relate to these two works alone but almost all his works share the same attributes. Therefore, both works and a host of others from Ibn ʿArabī are needed for better comprehension of the ideas of Ibn ʿArabī and his teachings.

One of the issues that ignite condemnation from *Salafiyyah* scholars which is contained exclusively in *Al-Futūḥāt* is the concept of *Khatimu 'l-Awliyā'* (Seal of the Saints).⁴⁵⁵ Ibn ʿArabī relied on the theory as propounded by Al-Ḥakīm At-Tirmidhi. This has been previously discussed in this chapter. The only addition that is necessary in this place which is neither found in At-Tirmidhi's work nor discussed earlier in this work, is his submission on Prophet ʿIsā ibn Maryam. Ibn ʿArabī regarded him as the seal of the *Awliyā'*.⁴⁵⁶ He argued that he (ʿIsā ibn Maryam) maintained the two statuses first as a prophet (*Nabiyy*) and second as a saint

(*Waliyy*).⁴⁵⁷ He was of the view that the Qur'ān has declared Prophet Muhammad as the seal of the prophets and there can be no any prophet after him. Therefore, Prophet 'Isā who will come again after him at the tail end of the world can only come as a *Waliyy* and not as a prophet again.⁴⁵⁸ He substantiated this with the fact that when he comes, he will adjudicate with the *Sharī'ah* of Prophet Muhammad which has abrogated his own, which he used in his day.⁴⁵⁹ He finally submitted that Prophet 'Isā, due to this fact will be raised on the day of resurrection among the nation of Muhammad and one of his followers.

On a general note, despite the wider condemnation of Ibn 'Arabī by different *Salafiyyah* scholars of different periods, the moderate scholars who belong to neither the *Salafī* nor the *Ṣūfī* circle have over the years eulogised him and acknowledged him as a saint and an outstanding scholar of his time with high sense of erudition. Jalālu 'd-Dīn As-Sayūṭī in his *Tanbīhu 'l-Ghabī* wherein he discussed several questions relating to the status of Ibn 'Arabī, his personality, his status as to whether or not he was a saint or a *Kāfir*.⁴⁶⁰ In response to those questions, he authored the work wherein he mentioned a number of scholars of different schools of thoughts that have praised and applauded his personality.⁴⁶¹ They include As-Shawkānī and Imam As-Sha'arānī, Also, Ibn Hajar in his *Fatāwā Al-Ḥadithiyyah* has the following few lines about him:

أن الشيخ محيي الدين بن عربي من أولياء الله تعالى العارفين ومن
العلماء العاملين وقد اتفقوا على أنه كان أعلم أهل زمانه بحيث أنه كان
في كل فن متبوعا لا تابعا... وإمام لا يغالط ولا يمارى وأنه أروع أهل
زمانه...⁴⁶²

Indeed, Shaykh Muhy 'd-Din bin 'Arabi is one of the known saints of Allah, an erudite and upright scholar. It has been generally acknowledged that he was the most knowledgeable person among his contemporaries because, his mastery of every science was unequalled...He was indeed, an error-free and an outstanding ascetic of his time...

Ibn 'Arabī, from various analyses above therefore, was a scholar of many shades in which each scholar has assessed him differently and had passed their judgment on him and his view.

Conclusion

Attempts have been made in this chapter to examine the major discourse and submissions of *Salafiyyah* scholars on Sufism, especially some of its doctrines and practices with

juxtapositions from the Sufis' explanations and arguments, and at times consideration is given to the views of the orthodox and classical scholars who belong to neither side, particularly in areas where there is the need for such consideration in order to have a better conclusion on the topic of discourse. The move by modern *Salafiyyah* scholars to alienate Sufism from Islam and to locate where it belongs outside the shore of Islam is without preponderant evidence from the two primary sources. This is because its principles and practices, especially the etymological origin, are firmly grounded in the Qur'ān and the *Ḥadīth*, as presented by the Sufis. Also, Sufism cannot be separated from the period of *Salaf*. There is enough evidence, as presented in this work which shows that what later metamorphosed into Sufism has its root in the period, hence many prominent figures from the period who are *Ṣūfī* adherents were identified.

By and large, this work shows that there is absence of common ground within the *Salafiyyah* of classical and modern periods on Sufism. While the likes of Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah, Ibn ʿAbdu 'l-Wahhāb and a host of others that are categorised as classical *Salafiyyah* scholars, held pair views on Sufism, Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn among others rejected Sufism in its totality. Also, there are some pockets of scholars among modern *Salafiyyah* that align themselves with the views of classical scholars. Al-Qarḍāwī is particularly noted for this in this work.

Both *Salafiyyah* and *Ṣūfī* scholars submit independently that piety is the essence of sainthood at the ordinary level, though the former (*Salafiyyah*) appears too liberal in their approach, hence their classification of saint makes it all encompassing to all and sundry. The Sufis are more conservative and restrictive on what constitutes sainthood at all levels and decline arbitrary approach in their categorisations and classifications. They accept the superiority of Prophet Muhammad and other prophets, the Companions and others as laid down by *Salafiyyah* scholars, but believe that the way to sainthood is different from their way, in the sense that it entails *Fanā'* (annihilation) which is not found in the way of the prophets, therefore there is the possibility of different destination in terms of nearness to Allah. Also, to the Sufis, a saint is not fallible because infallibility is what determines the perfection of a saint. So, where he commits a sin, it shows that his journey to the final destination of becoming a saint has not been reached. Both camps (*Salafiyyah* and Sufis) agree that *Karāmah* (miracle) and its performance are of less importance in the determination of a true saint.

Fanā' (annihilation), *Maḥabbah* (love) and *Zuhd* (asceticism) are three key doctrines in Sufism that both the *Salafiyyah* and *Ṣūfī* are on different pages. Only Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah aligned himself with the Sufis to a greater extent on the concept of *Fanā'* (annihilation). The others condemn the concept as being smuggled into Islam from alien traditions by pseudo-Muslims. Both the *Salafiyyūn* and the Sufis independently subscribe to love as an essential aspect of worship and that the best of it is to adopt the Prophetic method. The Sufis are condemned for their excessive love which according to the *Salafiyyūn* has made them to transgress the boundary of the *Sharī'ah*. Expression of love as contained in the story of Prophet Yusuf and Zulaykhah is enough to demonstrate that it has no limit and it depends on how deep one is in it. Also, both the *Salafiyyah* and the *Ṣūfī* scholars express some level of similarities at the initial stage on asceticism only that the *Salafiyyah* scholars condemn excessive indulgence in *Zuhd* by the Sufis which makes them to renounce some essential aspects of Islam, especially engaging in the lawful means of livelihood and physical *Jihād*. This claim has been dismantled by the Sufis because, despite their emphasis on and preference for *Jihādu 'n-Nafs* which is otherwise called *Jihād 'l-Akbar*, there are many Sufis that have engaged in physical *Jihād* contrary to the claim of the *Salafiyyah* scholars.

Tawassul (Seeking nearness to Allah through an Intermediary), *Istighāthah* (seeking assistance), *Shafā'ah* (intercession), *Ziyāratu 'l-Qubūr* (grave visitation) and *Mawlid 'n-Nabiyy* (celebration of the Prophet's birthday) are some of the practices of the Sufis which have attracted the attention of the *Salafiyyah*. The first three are interconnected and it is only on *Shafā'ah* that both the *Salafiyyah* scholars and the Sufis do not argue. The point of argument on the other two lies on whether or not Intercession or *Istighāthah* can be sought from a dead person and whether it can be sought on spiritual matters where man clearly lacks capacity. This is where it is connected to grave visitation because that is what the Sufis do when the graves of their saints are visited. Based on the proofs adduced by most Sufis and other corresponding ones from various scholars which nullify the basis of *Salafiyyah* scholars evidence, intercession through the dead is allowed and it is proved in the Qur'ān that death cannot constitute a barrier to *Tawassul*.

Celebration of the Prophet's birthday has attracted the attention of every *Salafiyyah* scholar and it is condemned in strong terms by them. They considered it as a *Bid'ah*. The Sufis

who are accused of this innovation argue from the angle of its being good innovation because it is celebrated to demonstrate their love for the Prophet and that it promotes the cause of Islam. Sufis tend to have waterdown the *Salafiyyūn*'s argument on the details of date and time of the birth of the Prophet in their nullification of the *Mawlid* celebration by categorically stating that the celebration is to mark the coming to life of the Prophet who is considered as the peak of mercy to humanity and has nothing to do with the time and date of his birth. The Sufis further endeavour to point out some faults from the submissions of the *Salafiyyūn* and the peak of those faults is that they are also guilty of the same innovations which they are being accused of. Considering the evidence of the Sufis and their reasons for such celebration, it is better to institutionalise *Mawlid* and regulate the manner of its conduct, instead of displacing it as it is being advocated by the *Salafiyyah* scholars.

Also, attempts are made to examine the views and submissions of *Salafiyyah* scholars *vis-à-vis* some notable *Ṣūfī* personalities like Abū Yazīd Al-Bisṭāmī, Maṣṣūr Al-Ḥallāj and Ibn ʿArabī whose thoughts and expressions have attracted diverse comments from different scholars. From the various analyses above, it is clearly shown that Al-Bisṭāmī is the only one that was not condemned by the *Salafiyyun*, especially the classical ones, except Al-ʿUthaymīn who condemned *Shatḥāt* (theophatic locutions) which is one of the central feature of Al-Bisṭāmī's mystical practice. Al-Ḥallāj is condemned by many critics for his theory of *Al-Ḥulūl* (spiritual transformation) and his declaration of himself as the Ultimate Truth (*Al-Ḥaq*). It is for this reason that he was publicly executed. However, it is inferred that the execution was politically motivated due to the prevailing political situation and not for declaration of *Anā 'l-Ḥaq* (I'm the Truth) which he was charged for. Another fact against his wrong execution is that he did not commit any offence that is different from what Al-Bisṭāmī committed. So, the same treatment should have been meted on them. The case of Ibn ʿArabī appears different as there are mixed feelings among the *Salafiyyah* scholars. The work has brought into light the condemnation of the scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Kathīr for him over the concept of *Waḥdat 'l-Wujūd* (Unity of Existence) and *Fuṣūṣu 'l-Ḥikam* while the duo equally commend him for some other works of his, especially *Al-Futūḥāt 'l-Makkiyyah*. Jalālu'd-Dīn As-Sayūfī, a neutral scholar who is neither a *Salafī* nor a *Ṣūfī* equally writes to defend him and his thoughts.

As this chapter features discussions on various aspects of Sufism as submitted by the *Salafiyyah* scholars and responded to by the Sufis, the next chapter will domesticate the

discourse in Nigeria. It is going to take us through the interactions between the *Salafiyyun* and Sufis in the country and how the situation can be improved.

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CHAPTER FOUR: *SALAFĪ* AND *ŞŪFĪ* INTERACTIONS IN NIGERIA

4.1 Emergence of Sufism and Salafism in Nigeria

The history of the advent of Islam in Nigeria predates Nigeria as a nation.¹ In other words, the people of northern and southern protectorates had been Muslims prior to the amalgamation of the two entities in 1914 which gave birth to Nigeria of today.² It is even

interesting to remark that Islam has been in its full-fledged practice, especially in the North, before the arrival of white men or the Christian missionaries.³ Adelabu argues that the advent of Islam in Northern Nigeria could be traced to the early centuries of Islam, probably in the days of *Salaf*. He identifies trade ties between the North, especially Maiduguri and Kano through North African countries and the Arab nations as his yardsticks to justify his assertion.⁴

Another point of argument by this Nigerian but United Kingdom based scholar is the activities of *Mujāhidūn* like ‘Uqba bin Nāfi’ (622-683 CE) whose conquering tentacles in the early days of Islam during the reign of Umayyad dynasty spread across some African nations and Northern Nigeria inclusive. Adelabu equally argues that the presence of Islam in the southern part of the country, is well pronounced in the days of Manza Ali Kanka Musa (1280-1337 CE) of Mali empire, whose influence reached Yorubaland around fourteen to fifteen century, hence the Yoruba used to refer to Islam as *Esin Imale* from *Esin Mali* (A religion from Mali).⁵ This view is substantiated by Olayiwola who after examining the various dates suggested by Johnson, Gbadamosi and Adam concludes that 14th century is nearer to accuracy.⁶

Having been established, courtesy of traders and *Mujāhidūn*, Islam continued to increase in numerical strength in the nooks and crannies of Hausa/Fulani land, though with high level of syncretism (*At-Takhlit*).⁷ The eighteen century therefore witnessed various reforms from the great *Mujāhid* of Nigeria and *Bilādu* Sudan, Shaykh ‘Uthmān bin Fūdī, whose main aim was to expunge unwholesome Muslim practices as prevalent in those days.⁸ This resulted to different turning points in the history of Islam in Nigeria at large, especially as it is seen today. This is because Islamic Caliphate (Islamic central government) was established with the seat of administration in Sokoto.⁹

The history of the emergence of Sufism and Salafism in Nigeria is not different from the history of how Islam got introduced to the country and its subsequent consolidation. Therefore, it could be established that, the presence of Sufism in Nigeria predates that of Salafism because one of the major landmarks since the appearance of Islam in Nigeria was the *Jihād* of Ibn Fūdī which gave birth to the formation of the Caliphate. There was no indication to the existence of Salafism in Nigeria at that time, whereas it is cleared that Ibn Fūdī, who was instrumental to the

establishment of the Caliphate was himself a staunch *Ṣūfī* of Qādiriyyah order. While commenting on the actors in the *Jihād* that led to the establishment of the Caliphate, Kaura rightly observes:

The composition of the *Mujahidūn* also reflected the assumption that the *Jihād* was a Qadiri fought one. The leaders were Qadiris by affiliation so were the majority of the *Mujahidūn*. Most of the flag bearers were either students of the Shaykh or were recommended to him by Qadiri saints.¹⁰

Hence, it is often submitted that an average Sokoto Muslim man does not ordinarily see any difference between Islam and Qādiriyyah which explains why they often referred to themselves as *Qādirawa*.¹¹ In the same instance, the history of the advent of Tijāniyyah in Nigeria, according to Quadri could be traced to the early period of its formation. In other words, the order reached Nigeria before the death of Shaykh Aḥmad Tijānī (d.1815). He (Quadri) submits further that the entry point is between Kano and Maiduguri.¹² In another fashion of the history, Adam equally traced the entry point to Sokoto without a clear date but it was indicated that it got to the Caliphate territory during the reign of Muhammad Bello (d.1837).¹³ What this work just intends to bring into the limelight here is that Sufism predates Salafism in Nigeria.

However, as it has been explained in the second chapter of this work, the different attempts and efforts by *Wahhābiyyah*, otherwise known as the Saudi brand of *Salafiyyah*, to spread their tentacles across the Islamic world did not spare Nigeria. The web of *Saudi Salafī's* desires to spread its brand of Islam all over the world caught Nigeria with the formation of Muslim World League (MWL) in 1962.¹⁴ History of its formation holds that Sir Ahmadu Bello (d.1966), the Sardauna of Sokoto and most influential figure in the whole of northern region was not just a foundation member but an active one who carried its (MWL) banner across the northern region and beyond.¹⁵ Unfortunately, he had limited knowledge of Islam and could not communicate in Arabic language which is the *lingua franca* of Islamic religion. He therefore needed an aid. These odds led to the proximity between him and Shaykh Abubakar Gumi, one of the most learned scholars in Islamic religion in the North with a high sense of oratory. He was also a civilised individual in the northern region who could write from both margins of the paper as at that time. Paden observes:

In 1955, he (Gummi) made his first pilgrimage, along with Ahmadu Bello, whom he had known in Sokoto. Gummi translated for Bello with King Sa'ud and over the next decade served as Bello's key liaison with the Saudi authorities. Shortly after independence, Gummi was appointed grand khadi in Northern Nigeria and as such was responsible for the shari'a legal system as applied in the region. His direct access to the larger Muslim world, especially through his contacts in Saudi Arabia, encouraged him to try to distinguish between "culture" and "religion" in the Nigerian context.¹⁶

The proximity of Gumi to the Sardauna, which could be traced to the days of Jamā'at Nasril-Islam (JNI), established in 1954 and his subsequent adoption as the mouth piece, especially to intermediate between Saudi government and Sardauna, exposed him to the Saudi ideology and was lured by their government having identified him as a vibrant and influential scholar from northern Nigeria who can be used to achieve their set objectives (Wahhābism). Also, it should be pointed out that the sudden death of Sardauna in 1966 positioned Gumi to pursue Saudi mission without a check, hence 1978 witnessed the emergence of *Izālah* Movement which was formed under his influence as the first anti-*Ṣūfī* body in Nigeria, while Gumi himself remained the first individual to speak against Sufism.¹⁷ Prior to this time, there was no such movement or personality who spoke against Sufism, either in the North or in Nigeria as a whole. It should be pointed out that Olayiwola mentions some personalities in Maiduguri axis, like Shaykh Muhammad Abba Aji, Mallam Mustapha Mandara, Shaykh Abubakar Muas(sic) among others who were noted for their anti-*Ṣūfī* activities, but without a clear date to know whether or not they came before Gumi. Also, there was nothing to show that their activities were more co-ordinated as that of Gumi.¹⁸

According to Alaro, the move by the Saudi government to incorporate Nigeria, especially the southern part, in the spread of pristine Islam otherwise referred to as *Wahhābiyyah* started from the translation of Al-Qur'ān into Yoruba language.¹⁹ The idea was suggested by Sardauna in 1966 at the WML meeting, after the successful translation of same into Hausa Language by Shaykh Gumi.²⁰ Due to the absence of any Saudi-trained scholar in the whole of the region, they (Saudi Arabia government) decided to engage the service of local scholars, like Shaykh Adam Abdullahi and Shaykh Kamaldeen Al-Adabī²¹ among others. This opened the door of free interaction between these scholars and Saudi government. Ashile, therefore argues that, having recognised the intellectual prowess of Shaykh Adam and his rare and exceptional talent, the Saudi government (Saudi) requested him to engage the Sufis and preach their fashion of Islam

(*Wahhābiyyah*), just as it is happening in the North. The suggestion did not go down well with Shaykh Adam who was highly inquisitive to know what is exactly wrong with Sufism or the Sufis. His response therefore was contrary to the expectation of Saudis because he insisted that condemning Sufism would not do Islam any good than evil and besides, Sufis did not only bring Islam to Nigeria, but also they are responsible for its consolidation.²² This was the reason why the presence of anti-*Ṣūfī* movements or personalities were not initially prominent in the South compared to its northern counterpart.

Another, but remote attempt by the Saudi government which seems to have fetched them their desires is award of scholarships to Nigerians to study Islam and Islamic related courses in their Universities. These Saudi-trained individuals were sent back to their various towns and villages of their origin after their graduation to spread *Wahhābiyyah* ideology. Today, Saudi graduates have flooded every nook and cranny of Nigerian societies preaching their ideology and particularly targeting the Sufis and condemning Sufism with enthusiasm.

4.2 Anti-*Ṣūfī* Movements and Personalities in Nigeria

Jamā'atu Izālati 'l-Bid'ah Wa Iqāmati's-Sunnah (JIBWIS, Ya'n Izalah)

Izalah is one of the movements that were formed in the late 70's, in northern Nigeria to counter Sufism. According to Paden among other writers on the origin and formation of *Izalah*, the name was coined as a rider to a famous book of Danfodio entitled: *Iḥiyāu 's-Sunnah wa Iḥmādul 'l-Bid'ah*.²³ This assertion may not be far from the truth if the meaning of both is considered. It will equally sound as if the founder has the same mission as Danfodio, since the war he (Danfodio) waged is the one against *Bid'ah* (heretical innovations) *Shirk* (polytheism) and *Takhliṭ* (syncretism)²⁴ among others, hence when there were various suggestions on the acceptable name to be adopted by his students at the formation stage without consensus, Gumi quickly suggested this name which was expressly acceptable to all.²⁵ The essence of this is that it will easily make people to believe that the founders intended to revive the mission of Danfodio. This is deceitful because Danfodio was a known *Ṣūfī* of high repute.

There are a lot of accounts on how the group originated. Umar identifies four possible accounts but all credited the formation of *Izālah* to the singular effort of Gumi, through Mallam Ismail Idris (d.2000), a prominent student of Gumi.²⁶ Others are of the view that it was Mallam Bala Sirajo while there are some writers who maintained that it was a joint effort of assembly of Shaykh Gumi's students.²⁷ However, what stands unchallenged is that *Izālah* is a creation under the auspices of Shaykh Abubakar Gumi by his students and admirers as an anti-*Ṣūfī* movement having failed to use JNI and Muslim Students' Society of Nigeria (MSSN) for same purpose due to the influence of especially the northern Emirs whom Gumi could not just control as he wished.²⁸ The move by Shaykh Gumi to carpet JNI under his control is substantiated by Amara when he writes:

Before being registered, *Izalah* operated under the umbrella of the JNI and it had several names like *Jamiyyar Yada Addinin Musulunchi* (Hausa: Society for propagation of Islam) in Kaduna. *Kungiyar Raya Addin Musulunchi* (Hausa: Society for the propagation of Islamic Religion) in Gusau.²⁹

This was the reason for the popular belief that JNI has been subdued by Gumi and that he has turned it into nothing but an anti-*Ṣūfī* outfit.³⁰ This was out rightly refuted by Orire, a principal member of JNI from Kwara State, though he acknowledged the moves by the Gumi to subject JNI under his control.³¹ It was a failed attempt because many of these northern Emirs did not ordinarily see any difference between Sufism and Islam. Their staunch beliefs in the teachings and footsteps of Sardauna whom they resist any attempt to challenge or alter his legacies was another important factor that made them danced not to the tune of Gumi.³²

The main objective of *Izalah* as could be deduced from its name is to eradicate or remove any form of innovations and to establish *Sunnah*. However, considering the activities of the movement, it becomes practically clear that the movement is particular about Sufism.³³ Many of our *Ṣūfī* informants like Shaykh Yahya, Abuja, Shaykh Muhammad, Kano, Shaykh Tukur, Gombe, Shaykh Abbas, Iddah among others could see no other reasons for establishment of the *Izālah* than to fight the Sufis.³⁴ This is not unconnected to the fact that, though Sufism was not the only aspect of Islam that existed in Northern Nigeria that time which were considered as heretic, it was the major one. It is therefore believed that once they get rid of it, major landmarks have been made and others will pose no problem to them. There equally existed Shi'ite group under the leadership of Ibrahim Yahya El-Zakyzaky, but with little or no concentration from the *Salafīyyūn*.³⁵ Apart from that, there are obvious heretical innovations and practices that are not

compatible with the Islamic monotheism (*Tawḥīd*) like wearing of amulet, Sand-divination, magic, Talisman, and polytheist practices³⁶ among others which ordinarily they would have equally focused on along with their anti-*Ṣūfī* fight. It should be pointed out that each of these innovations as itemised, discussed and condemned by Shaykh Uthmān Danfodio in his books, *Iḥiyāu 's-Sunnah* among others were still in existence when *Izālah* started to engage the Sufis.

From every indication, it is clear that *Izālah* is so particular about Sufism because it was the main purpose of its formation, having been influenced by *Wahhābiyyah*. Scholars have identified different facts that linked *Izālah* to *Wahhābiyyah* despite the none adoption of the nomenclature by the former and the absence of any proof that any of its scholars, in the early days of its (*Izālah*) formation including Shaykh Gumi himself, who was the spiritual father, studied in Saudi Arabia. The points include frequent reference to Ibn Abdul-Wahhab's works in their works and preaching and their conceptualisation of innovation revealed the connectivity between them.³⁷ Also, the frequent visitation of Gumi to Saudi Arabia equally seemed to have established and justified his recipient of aids from Saudi to propagate Wahhābisim.³⁸ Equally, and most importantly, the aims and objectives of the movement (*Izālah*) as spelt out by Umar reflect their apparent inclination to *Wahhābiyyah* Movement.³⁹ Here are they:

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF *IZĀLAH*

1. To unite the Muslims as stated by God in the Qur'ān.
2. To enlighten the Muslims about the activities of some so-called Muslims who have been distorting the true teachings of Islam.
3. To alert the Muslims so as to be aware of books written by unscrupulous *Mallams* just to bring confusion into Islam.
4. To show all Muslims that Prophet Muhammad before his death delivered the messages he received from God.
5. To make it clear to all Muslims that anybody who claims that Prophet Muhammad has been visiting him, should be regarded as a liar.⁴⁰

A glance at the above objectives of *Izālah* coupled with the detail illustrations by Gumi show that out of the five items, only the first one is relevant to all Muslims. Others are meant to discredit Sufism and to condemn the Sufis. It would be recalled that *Wahhābiyyah* scholars have on different occasions accused the Sufis of writing works that are inimical and

capable of distorting the true teachings of Islam.⁴¹ Making this a point of target justifies the claimed linkage between *Wahhābiyyah* and *Izālah*. Item two and three are therefore to identify such works and their writers. Four and five aimed at establishing the perfection of Prophet Muhammad's mission and that whoever claims that he has received anything from him should be disregarded because the Prophet had died and cannot give any message anymore. This is particularly meant to displace the concept of *Al-Haqīqatu Al-Muhammadiyyah* (the Reality of Muhammad personality) which the Sufis uphold and disseminate. Also, it is equally aimed at dismantling the mystery that surround the revelation of *Ṣalātul-Fātiḥ*, *Jawharatul-Kamāl* and other prayers and *Ṣalāwāt*, which different Sufis have claimed to have received credence from the Prophet Muhammad after his demise.

Further more, as it could be inferred from Quadri's examination of the main teachings of the *Izālah*, it is clear that Sufism is the main target. This is because the key issues which they have resolved to pursue with vigour bordered on Sufism. These include the declaration of Sufism as a *Bid'ah* (heretical innovation) and the declaration of whoever recites *Ṣalāt 'l-Fātiḥ*, *Dalā'il 'l-Khayrāt* and *Qaṣīdatu 'l-Burdah* as a *Kāfir*. Others include *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* (Celebration of Prophet's Birthday)⁴² all of which are prominent among the Sufis.

There are records of how *Izālah* members engaged the Sufis in physical fights at different places in the northern part of the country and they are still not relenting in their efforts till the present time. Generally, as could be inferred from the information from different quarters, including Kano, Gombe, Katsina, Kebbi, Nassarawa and Minna, among others there are reductions in the influence of the *Izālah* on Sufism in those areas today.⁴³ This is due to some modifications and different soft-pedal mechanism applied by the leadership of the *Izālah* in the recent time due to both internal and external factors, which required change of strategies. For instance, with the demise of both Shaykh Gumi (d.1992) and Ismail Idris (d.2000), the movement has been facing different leadership crisis and division between Jos and Kaduna units.⁴⁴ Sheikh Abdullahi Bala Lau, who is the current leader of *Izālah* is working tirelessly to keep the movement under one umbrella. Externally, it is discovered that the Sufis who are the main targets of *Izālah* have equipped themselves both with intellectual and physical needs to tackle the

menace of *Izālah*.⁴⁵ For instance, *Izālah* brouhaha has responsible for the formation of both inter and intra fronts and organisations among the Sufis of different *Turuq*. They include *Jamā'at Aş-Şūfiyyah*, *Fityānul- Islam*, *Kungiyar Dakarun Dan Fodio* among others and Joint organisation of *Mawlid*, authorship of works to defend Sufism and many more which will be discussed in the relevant section of this chapter.

Despite these, there are pockets of violence and physical combats between the Sufis and the *Izālah* in some towns and villages depending on the nature of a particular locality. Shaykh ʿAbbās, a leading Tijāniyyah *Muqaddam* in Iddah, Kogi State mentioned some recent classes in 2014 between the Sufis and the *Izālah* in the town over the question of dominance of the former in Shati area and that of the latter in Sabongeri area. The Imams of the mosques in these two places are prominent Sufis and the *Izālah* attempted to remove and replace them with their men. It turned to a physical attack between the two groups and eventually, *Izālah* succeeded in Sabongeri but could not in Shati area.⁴⁶ The reason is obvious.

Muslim Students' Society of Nigeria (MSSN)

MSSN is an umbrella body for the entire Muslim Students in Nigeria at both secondary and tertiary institutions of learning across the country. The motive behind its establishment in 1954, when it was officially launched, was to protect the interest of Muslim students from the hands of Christians who used education as an effective tool for proselytisation.⁴⁷ The move to challenge different anomalies against the Muslims students in various schools was championed by late Tajudeen Adisa Aromoshodu, Sumola Akin Luguda and Abdur-Rahman Alade Sahid all of whom were students of Methodist Boys High School, Lagos.⁴⁸ It should be mentioned that there are some narrations which credited its formation to the singular effort of the Late Alhaji (then Brother) Abdul-Lateef Adegbite,⁴⁹ this appears as untrue because what was later discovered is that he was the pioneer *Amir* (president) when the society was launched. More so, Adegbite was not a student of the Methodist Boys High School but a student of King's College, Lagos.⁵⁰

Despite its being formed by secondary school students, it spread like wild fire across many schools in Nigeria, including higher institutions of learning, especially University campuses, with the key objective of uniting the Muslims Students regardless of social status and ideological backgrounds.⁵¹ MSSN later lost focus as it could not sustain the objective of uniting Muslim students across Nigerian tertiary institutions. Oloyede observes:

...the MSSN has become fragmented structurally and ideologically. Apart from splinter groups within the body that do not follow the mainstream based on slight differences,...⁵²

Reasons for this fragmentation could be linked to ideological issues as rightly observed by Oloyede. This is a clear deviation and aberration from its course because MSSN was not established to ride on ideology, hence it is not contained in its objectives. It is essentially established to serve as an umbrella body for the entire Muslim students in Nigeria.

However, it is observed that in the late nineteen eighties (1980's), MSSN was hit with ideological war among different members of different backgrounds like *Tablīgh*, The Muslim Congress (TMC), *Ahmadiyyah*, *Shī'ah*, *Ahlu 's-Sunnah wal-Jamā'ah* among others. There was supremacy battle among them.⁵³ This has accounted in no small measures for its fragmentations which make it difficult for the centre to hold.

Sufism is one of the groups that are being discriminated against by the MSSN across Nigerian Universities and higher institutions' campuses. The case of the University of Ilorin where *Şūfī* brothers are prevented from holding their *Wazifah* on different occasions best describes the situation.⁵⁴ It can be rightly submitted that the antagonism of its executive members to Sufism is deliberate. This is because the MSSN, as it is today, is guided by the principles of *Salafiyyah* or *Ahlu 's-Sunnah wal-Jamā'ah*. It is therefore clear from every indication that since Sufism is declared as a *Bid'ah* by the *Salafiyūn*, MSSN as an affiliate must be hostile towards it (Sufism).

However, interactions with some members of the executive committee, both from the south and the north, including the National *Amir*, reveals that MSSN stands with its objectives and it welcomes every individual or group who is ready to be identified with it (MSSN).⁵⁵ It was gathered that the issue of discrimination is not unconnected to the fact that some people or

movement at one time or the other have attempted to hijack it (MSSN) for their selfish ends but was later discovered and rejected. This is substantiated with the move by Iran or Shi'ites in the early nineteen eighties (80s) which led to Zakyzaky secession.⁵⁶ Others are Gumi's influence as submitted by Paden,⁵⁷ Ahmadiyyah movements⁵⁸ and *Ikhwān Muslimūn* (Muslim Brotherhood), *Ahlu 'S-sunnah Wal Jamā'ah*⁶¹ among others. So, the Sufism like every other group like The Muslim Congress (TMC), *Tablīgh*, The Islamic Movement among others is equally rejected. Firstly, for MSSN to maintain its neutrality and secondly to prevent fragmentations among the Muslim students.⁵⁹

In his submission, the National *Amir* and *Amir* of the A-Zone which covers the entire nineteen states in the Northern Nigeria cite instances which seem to have portrayed the neutrality of MSSN and its resolve to stand by the rules of engagements as enshrined in the constitution and the objectives of the MSSN. The cases are Federal Polytechnic, Bida, where an Imam was made to denounce Sufism in order to retain his Imamship. Another case was that of Adamawa Area Council, Adamawa state, where the Imam was equally made to either renounce Shi'ism or jettisoned the office of Imam. Also, the case of Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU), Ile-Ife, Osun State, where some *Salafiyyah* members dominate MSSN and tend to impose Salafism on other Muslims. It led to controversy which is currently going on and the National body of the MSSN is waging into the crisis to get it resolved amicably.⁶⁰ Other places where there had been imbroglio between, especially the Sufis and MSSN are Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri, and Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University, Bauchi, among others.⁶¹ Both executive personalities submit that the MSSN as a body has good rapports with different Sufis personalities like Shaykh Dahiru Bauchi and Shaykh Ibrahim Saleh among others at the national levels just as they maintain the same with the leadership of *Izālah*, but the problem used to come from the Area Council, Units and Campuses across the higher institutions of learning and that they are largely connected to leadership in which the group that leads in a particular place tends to impose its ideology on others.⁶² The case of University of Maiduguri and Obafemi Awolowo University where the former is *Ṣūfī* and the latter is *Salafī* best describes the situation.

The submissions of the Ogun State *Amir* of the MSSN, who could not substantiate his denial of MSSN hostility to Sufism, seems interesting when he discloses that the templates with

which MSSN across Nigeria operates with is called *Sakwato Model*.⁶³ A template that is coined out of the teachings of Uthmān Danfodio. Therefore, whoever stands against Sufism in the name of the MSSN is doing that out of his own reason and not that of the MSSN.⁶⁴ He maintains among other things that MSSN resists any attempt by any group to dominate it, be that group *Şūfī*, *Salafī* or any other one. MSSN will continue to remain with its objectives and will not allow any dominance.

The alleged hijack of the MSSN by different groups is contested by many Sufis, especially those that were directly affected. Their submissions hold that there is never a time any *Şūfī* adherent attempted to hijack or control MSSN.⁶⁵ This is because struggling for leadership or headship of whatever form is against the primary teachings of *Taşawwuf*. It was made clear that their (*Şūfī*) denial from using the mosque is not unconnected to the fact that Sufism and its activities are declared as a *Bid'ah* by the MSSN brothers.⁶⁶ This can be substantiated with the submission of the A-Zone *Amir*, who gave the reason for the discontinuation of *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* (celebration of Prophet's birthday) which was widely celebrated by the MSSN founding fathers across Nigerian schools and campuses and its replacement with the *Jihād* week as its being inherent in *Bid'ah* and the same goes for the condemnation of the use of *Tasbih* (rosary) both of which are specifically identified with Sufism.⁶⁷

What could be submitted or concluded upon from the various submissions above is that, MSSN on paper, as could be inferred from its objectives and submissions of its executives at various levels, is open to all Muslims but in practical term, as it is today, it rides on ideology, as rightly submitted by Oloyede and it does not accommodate Muslims of different backgrounds, especially the Sufis, except the *Salafiyūn* or *Ahlus Sunnah wal-Jamā'ah*. This is understood because *Salafiyah* brothers have overridden other Muslims students. What used to happen is that whoever gets the mantle of leadership of MSSN dictates the direction of its movement and since it has been taken by the *Salafiyūn*, Salafism has been in control to the exclusion of other interest groups. The *Ahlus Sunnah wal-Jamā'ah* scholars who have influenced youths in the south and *Izālah* scholars in the north. Each dissimulates itself in MSSN to propagate its objectives. It should however be borne in mind that both (*Ahlus Sunnah wal-Jamā'ah* and *Izālah*) share the

same values and sources. Although, the discrimination against Sufism was denied by the executives, there was no cogent reason to substantiate it.

Ahlu 's-Sunnah wa 'l-Jamā 'ah

This is the conglomerate of scholars from Saudi Arabia or *Wahhābiyyah* Universities across the world. Basically, they do not form themselves together as a group, movement or society, like the MSSN and the *Izālah* among others, they operate as individuals, though with same objectives. The only united front they have is when they come together as alumni of the same University, as it is the case in Ilorin where Association of Saudi Arabia University Graduates exists.⁶⁸ They spread across the western world and in Nigeria, they are more visible in Yorubaland with dominance in Iwo, Osun State.⁶⁹ Prominent among them in Iwo is Dr. Asrā' Sirajudeen Bilāl A. and Dr. Dhikirullahi Shafi'ī among others.

In Ilorin, the Kwara State capital, due to the rich culture of the people which is deeply rooted in Islamic traditions and being a state that is located between the north and the south and blessed with league of erudite Islamic scholars, *Wahhābiyyah* scholars' presence is equally on the high. They come under the umbrella of Alumni of Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. (*Al-Itihad 'l-Ikhrijī 'Mamlakatu 'l-ʿArabiyyah 's-Saudiyyah*) as a body to pursue same objectives collectively. They spread across both public and private institutions, especially university campuses and other higher institutions of learning. Some have even established schools of their own at basic and post-basic levels. Apart from self-organised lectures at different places across Ilorin, they organised public lectures, tagged: *Hādhā bayyānu li 'n-Nās*, which brings all of them together on regular interval to address different issues in the society as may be necessitated by the given circumstances. It is established that the sponsorship of programmes coming under this umbrella has been through the donations from the members, in other words, their programmes are self-sponsored, most times, they levied themselves.⁷⁰

Some of the *Salafiyyah* members established mosques and *Madāris* (Arabic and Islamic schools) to propagate *Salafiyyah*'s teachings. The like of Kakuri is responsible for the sponsorship of a regular radio programme tagged: *Ad-Dalīl 's-Sharīʿ*.⁷¹ Many of them host websites and operate social medial accounts, or belonged to various social medial platforms just to reach out to people and to spread Wahhabism. There are different programmes and platforms

which are geared towards condemnation of Sufism and propagation of Wahhabism and to preach against all that they considered as heretical innovations in the society, though with emphasis on Sufism.⁷² Prominent among them includes Dr. Abdur-Razzaq Abdul-Majid Alaro, University of Ilorin, Dr. Abdur-Raḥmān Al-Imam (a.k.a) Kakuri of (Al-Hikmah University), Dr. Abdul-Ghaniyy Akorede (Al-Hikmah University), among others.

It should be pointed out that Ilorin serves as the nucleus of Islamic activities to the entire Yorubaland. An average Yoruba Muslim takes Ilorin people as a template for his religious practices. As it was before the arrival of Salafism, the trend continues till the present time. In fact, many of those Iwo-born *Salafiyyah* scholars are living in Ilorin. The city of Ilorin therefore serves as the coordinating centre for *Salafiyyah* activities in Yorubaland. Many of the *Salafiyyah* scholars from Ilorin traveled to nooks and crannies of Yorubaland for evangelism and they are noted for being specific about Sufism. They equally have disciples, students and admirers who are natives or residents in major cities and towns in Yorubaland. Some of the prominent ones include, Ustadh Sulaymān Amubieya, Dr. Lukman Idris Alagunfon and Ustadh Rashid Hashim among others, all in Ibadan. Dr. Sharafudeen Raji and Ustadh Rashid ʿAbdul-ʿAzīz in Ogbomosh. Dr Faḍīl Abiola in Osogbo, Shaykh ʿAbdul-ʿAzīz Bello and Shaykh Najmudeen Sulaymān both in Lagos.

Our various informants across the major cities in Yorubaland, especially Lagos, Osun, Ogun and Oyo States where Muslims are the majority, acknowledge the ongoing cold war between the *Salafiyyūn* and the Sufis in each of these areas. Among these States, it is inferred from the available information from Shaykh Sulaymān Maḥmud and Ogun State MSSN *Amir*, that Ogun State has the least of *Salafiyyah* influence when it comes to Sufism, while Osun and Oyo States informants lament the high increase of the Salafisms' influence. They therefore take the lead. The situation in Lagos appears neutral because the two (*Salafiyyūn* and Sufis) maintain the temple. This, according to Shaykh Dhikrullah, is due to cosmopolitan nature of the State.⁷³

Anti-*Ṣūfī* Personalities in Nigeria

Shaykh Maḥmūd Abubakar Gumi (d.1992)

Born in 1922, Shaykh Mahmūd Abubakar Gumi was a famous Muslim scholar in the North with an influence that is difficult to be equaled left alone being erased by anyone from the time past till the present. Sources hold that he started his educational career in the North before he moved to the Sudan for further studies.⁷⁴ He was the pioneer Grand-Kadi (sic) for the whole of Northern Nigeria between 1960 and 1967.⁷⁵ He used the office to establish himself and his ideology. He was a close associate of Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello (d.1966). There is no clear evidence of how the duo came together but evidence is bound that their rapports got boosted with the formation of *Jamā'at Nasril Islam* (JNI) in 1954.⁷⁶ He (Gumi) was equally the mouthpiece of Sardauna who was a member of the Muslim World League (MWL). It was through him that he became recognised and attracted to Saudi government especially after he translated the Qur'ān into Hausa language among other books of his.⁷⁷ He was a recipient of many honorary awards including King Faisal Award, Commander of the Order of Federal Republic (CFR), 1987.⁷⁸

The anti-*Ṣūfī* mission of Shaykh Gumi started to manifest shortly after the demise of Sardauna in 1966 out of respect for him,⁷⁹ hence there are some claims that he had been carrying out those activities immediately after his first return from Saudi trip with Sardauna in a covert manner. He started by organising youths which later metamorphosed to *Izālah* movement in 1978.⁸⁰ Prior to this, his appointment as the Grand-Kadi (sic) and his access to Sultan Bello mosque in Kaduna to hold his *Ramaḍān Tafsīr* session fetched him the much needed grounds to carry out his mission. Amara rightly observes:

In Kaduna, the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation started recording the *Tafsīr* sessions of the Sheikh in 1967 and transmitting them over the radio. This happened without special organization or any financial support to the Sheikh. In addition, in 1970 Gumi started writing in the daily Hausa newspaper *Gaskiya ta fi Kwabo*. This access to the media allowed him to propagate his ideas about many religious issues and particularly about Sufism. Gumi dealt with many issues in the religion of Islam from sacrifice to communication with spirits and from attributing a divine nature to *Ṣūfī* Sheikhs to criticism of drums and songs in mosques.⁸¹

With the wave of his activities which was gaining momentum on daily basis, due to the use of media which has accounted for wider audience to his programmes and has posted a big challenge to opposing sects, especially the *Ṣūfī* adherents who are the direct object of his attacks. Sufis were therefore left with no option than to find a way of responding to his allegations and attacks.

Shaykh Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Kabarā(d.1996), a prominent Qādiriyyah *Ṣūfī*, Dahiru Bauchi and Ibrahim Saleh, the two key Tijāniyyah figures made it a duty to reply Gumi's allegations and defend their beliefs. This, at times, led to debates among them over the air.⁸²

Gumi's anti-*Ṣūfī* move further got boosted with the writing of his famous book in 1972, entitled: *‘Aqīdatu 'ṣ-Ṣaḥīḥah Bi Muwāfaqati 's-Sharī‘ah*. The book is often translated as: *The right belief is based on Sharī‘ah*.⁸³ It was published in Saudi Arabia in 1972. The theme of the book is geared towards returning people to the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*.⁸⁴ In the book, Gumi identifies several innovations that needed to be uprooted in the society with direct bearing on Sufism.⁸⁵ This book, which its launch was seen as a major attack on Sufism, gave birth to the emergence of *Izālah* as stated above. Its contents are outlined as the objectives of *Izālah* movement. It has been translated into English language by different authors including M.O.A.Abdul (d.1986).⁸⁶ Rejoinders to this book were written by Shaykh Naṣīru 'd-Dīn Kabarā and Sani Kafangha. These are *An-Naṣīḥatu 'ṣ-Ṣarīḥah fī 'r-Raddi ‘Alā 'l-‘Aqīdati 'ṣ-Ṣaḥīḥah*⁸⁷ and *Al-Minḥu 'l- Ḥamīdah fī 'r-Raddi ‘Alā Fāsid 'l-‘Aqīdah*⁸⁸ respectively. As resourceful as the two books are, the duo could not immediately redeem the effects of the devastating blow of *‘Aqīdatu 'ṣ-Ṣaḥīḥah* on the *Ṣūfī* practices.⁸⁹

Like every other *Salafiyyah* or *Wahhābiyyah* scholars -Ibn Bāz and Al-‘Uthaymīn, Shaykh Gumi equally finds himself at crossroads when it comes to indispensability of Sufism in Islam. As pointed out from the works of both Ibn Bāz and Al-‘Uthaymin above, Gumi also submits that most of what the present day Sufis are practising are different from Sufism as conceptualised by either Shaykh Abdul-Qādir or Shaykh Ahmad Tijānī. This is contained in his *‘Aqīdah 'ṣ-Ṣaḥīḥah* and he emphasises same in an interview granted.⁹⁰ If this statement is anything to go by, the question that will readily come to mind is that why did he not separate the chaff from the grain, instead of condemning Sufism as a whole? Quadri equally narrates his experience when he interviewed him (Gumi) and he submits that the whole of Sufism is a *Bid‘ah* and that it is only the death that is delaying their admittance into hellfire. Gumi could not argue with emphasis when he (Quadri) posts it to him that what could he say about Shaykh Uthmān Danfodio? Having realised the technical nature of this question and how it can water-down his (Gumi) anti- *Ṣūfī* mission, he attempted hiding behind a finger by putting up a weak argument

claiming that the Shaykh (Danfodio) renounced Sufism before his demise.⁹¹ This was however debunked by Quadri who cites different instances to dismantle his (Gumi) claim, some of which we have discussed in this work. These include the popular use of *Qadirawa* as a household name in Sokoto, during and after the demise of the Shaykh and the dispute that erupted on Muhammad Bello over his renunciation of Qādiriyyah for Tijāniyyah. If Shaykh Danfodio renounced Sufism before his demise, the question of whether or not Muhammad Bello denounced Qādiriyyah for Tijāniyyah would not arise. Others are his (Shaykh) authorship of works like *Ihyā' 'Sunnah* (1793), *As-Salāsil 'l-Qādiriyyah* (1812), and *Najm 'l-Ikhwān* among others wherein he (Shaykh Danfodio) discussed Sufism in a manner that depicts his favourable disposition to it and leaves no one in doubt about his tenacity to Sufism. He (Quadri) finally argues that, if the Shaykh had renounced Sufism as purported by Gumi, he would have clearly expressed it in those works, since he wrote many of them at the tail-end of his life and many people would have been saying it.⁹² This therefore justifies the Gumi's loyalty to his sponsors rather than stating the facts as they are.

JABATA

Shaykh Muhammad 'Ali Jabata is a prominent *Salafiyyah* advocate with high sense of erudition. He is known across the Yorubaland with followers cutting across major towns and cities in the south west Nigeria. His original name was Muhammadu 'l-Awwal but he removed Awwal, claiming that it is a *Bid'ah* because there is no authentic *Ḥadith* that establishes it, neither was it practised by the *Salaf*. But, it was come about as a result of ignorance of most scholars, excessive indulgence in *Bid'ah* and baseless love for the Prophet.⁹³ He remains an outspoken individual with influence cutting across Yorubaland and beyond. He has been invited to different countries in suburbs of Nigeria, like Togo, Port-Novo⁹⁴ among others. He has equally been invited to France for lecture, when he was in Egypt, where he delivered the lectures in Arabic language.⁹⁵

Jabata was born by a notable Tijāniyyah father, Shaykh Aliyu Abubakr Jabata (d.2009),⁹⁶ who was known for his exceptional knowledge of *Hadith* in his days.⁹⁷ The father was the chief Imam of the Tijāniyyah mosque, Oyun, Ilorin, Kwara State and the co-author of *Raf'ul-*

Shubuhāt, a work that was written by two eminent Ilorin *Ṣūfī* scholars in defense of Sufism against the influence of *Izālah*.⁹⁸ The father was equally a direct student of Shaykh Ibrahim Al-Kawlakhi (d.1975) from whom he learnt both *Fiqh* and *Ḥaqīqah* and he initiated many people into Sufism.⁹⁹

Muhammad Ali as the son of this notable *Ṣūfī* scholar started his Islamic education with his father before joining *Dāru 'l-ʿUlūm*, Ilorin.¹⁰⁰ After his *ʿIdādiyyah*, he moved to *Markaz*, Agege, Lagos State for *Thanawīyyah*.¹⁰¹ Thereafter, he gained scholarship to study at the famous and prestigious Al-Azhar University in Egypt, in the *Kuliyyat 'Uṣūl 'd-Dīn* (foundations of the Religion of Islam).¹⁰² Jabata states that he was interested in going to Saudi Arabia for his studies, hence he initially turned down the Egypt's scholarship but he was persuaded and prevailed upon by his father who made him to believe that Egyptians are more knowledgeable than the Saudis.¹⁰³

It was from Egypt that Jabata came across Salafism courtesy of Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAmr ʿAbdul-Laṭīf, a notable *Salafiyyah* figure and the Imam of *Salafiyyah* mosque in Egypt.¹⁰⁴ Jabata's interest in Salafism started to manifest by attending different *Salafiyyah* lectures and study centres across Cairo.¹⁰⁵ Having been indoctrinated with *Salafiyyah*'s *ʿAqīdah*, he challenged his lecturers in different classes during the course of lectures and on different occasions on issues of *ʿAqīdah*, especially whether Allah is in everywhere or on the *ʿArsh* (throne). As a *Ṣūfī* and *As-Shiʿāriah* inclined institution, with the strong belief that Allah is present everywhere, Jabata was easily identified as a student who is an anti-Azharī University's scholars. This therefore accounted for his dismissal from Al-Azharī University without completing his course of study.¹⁰⁶

The dismissal gave Jabata the opportunity to become a full time *Salafiyyah* member. He therefore traveled to Saudi Arabia with Shaykh Muḥammad where he met Shaykh Yahya, the head of *Kuliyyat Al-Irshād wa 'd-Daʿwah*, who taught him the science of *Hadith*.¹⁰⁷ Upon his return to Egypt, he aligned himself with the *Salafiyyah* mosque. As the *Salafiyyah* doctrines got to the peak in him, he refrained himself from consumption of meats of animals that were slaughtered by non-*Salafiyyah* member. This act drew the attention of Egyptian government to

the entire *Salafiyyah* group, including Jabata, who were hitherto known for their anti-government activities. He was thereby arrested along with other *Salafī* brothers and was jailed for six months before he was deported to Nigeria without taking any of his belongings.¹⁰⁹

Getting back to Nigeria, Jabata started his *Da^cwah* activities connecting different sphere of *Salafiyyah* bodies. In other words, there was a combine effort between him and people of like minds like Dr Alaro¹¹⁰ among others. In fact, the mosques, Umar Al-Khaṭṭāb mosques, Kuntu, Ilorin that he first used for preaching was built by *As-Sunnah* Academy of *Da^cwah* and Research which is vested under the authority of Dr Alaro. He was however denied further use of the place and its facilities when things started to fall apart between them.¹¹¹ As submitted by Alaro, Jabata transgresses the limit of *Sharī^cah* when he started to declare people as *Kāfir* on trivial issues like *Bid‘ah* which he holds the thought that it is not divisible and others which ordinarily do not constitute *Kufr* and he refused to be checkmated.¹¹²

Jabata originally focuses on *Bid‘ah* and other unislamic elements among the Muslims, though he considers Sufism as one of the potential innovations that have flooded the society. It is on the basis of *Bid‘ah* that he declared many scholars of the past like Imam Abū Ḥanīfah and the present, including other *Salafiyyah* scholars like Dr. Alaro as *Kuffār* (infidels).¹¹³ He submits that Abū Ḥanīfah believed that Qur’ān was created, his (Abū Ḥanīfah) *‘Aqīdah* was embedded in the ideologies of *Khawārij* and *Murji^c* and rejected some authentic *Aḥādith* of the Prophet, while Alaro advocates democracy at the expense of *Sharī^cah*.¹¹⁴ Also, apart from his declaration of all the Sufis as *Kuffār*, he was particular about his father, whom he vehemently declared as a *Kāfir* due to his staunch adherence to Sufism and his expertise in geomancy.¹¹⁵ He explained that his father did not repent from these acts till his death and he has the strong belief that his father undoubtedly will be one of the dwellers of hellfire on the day of resurrection.¹¹⁶

Jabata’s popular proclamation is:

كل بدعة كفر¹¹⁷

Every innovation is infidelity

The above statement which suggests that every act of innovation is rated as infidelity presupposes that Jabata does not entertain any form of classification of *Bid‘ah* and it is on this

basis that he declares anyone who is guilty of *Bid'ah* as a *Kāfir*. This has earned Jabata the condemnation of many scholars including the prominent *Wahhābiyyah* scholars like Shaykh Fawzān,¹¹⁸ Shaykh Salim Hilāl¹¹⁹ among others, when they were contacted via phone by Nigerian scholars to ascertain the claim affinity to them by Jabata, who used to boast that he has credence from them.

Shaykh Abdu 'l-Fataḥi Sarumi, a prominent disciple of Jabata ceded away from his teacher on the basis of indiscriminate pronouncement of *Takfir* and other issues. He has been campaigning and making tireless efforts to expose some of Jabata's excesses. In one of his recently released lectures with which he exposes and declares Jabata as an impostor on *Ahlu 's-Sunnah wal-Jamā'ah*, he argues that his (Jabata) creed and methodology are not in line with those of *Salafiyyah* or *Ahlu 's-Sunnah wal-Jamā'ah*.¹²⁰ He substantiates this by claiming that the Prophet was an Arab by every standard and he has divine credence in all of his proclamations. So, if he wishes to declare every act of innovation as infidelity, he would not have mentioned misguidance (*dallālah*). He (Sarumi) therefore declares Jabata as a great perpetrator of *Bid'ah* who employs *Bid'ah* methods to fight *Bid'ah*.¹²¹ Sarumi equally condemns Jabata on his declaration of the like of Dr Alaro, Dr Bilal among others as *Kuffār* for their opinion on voting and democratic governance. He equally alleges that Jabata lacks basic rudiments in Islamic sciences ranging from Arabic language to *Sharī'ah*.¹²²

In his *‘Aqīdatu 's-Şūfiyyah* and many of his public lectures and Radio talks, Jabata declares Sufism as a *Bid'ah* claiming that it was neither practised by the Prophet nor his companions. He asserts that Sufism is a religion and a cult which its adherents attempted to ascribe to Islam, hence they have special modes of worship, through *Awrād* and manner of communication through *Bātini* which only those who belong to them can worship through it and can understand their languages.¹²³ Jabata equally accuses the Sufis of over-reliance on their *Shuyukh* instead of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* and that in the few instances where they want to rely on them (Qur'ān and *Hadith*), they interpreted the Qur'ān according to their esoteric knowledge which tends to corrupt the messages of the book of Allah and they equally fabricate different *Aḥādith*.¹²⁴

Jabata declares the claims by different Sufis to have physically seen the Prophet as a falsehood, proving that the Prophet had died and that no one can see him again.¹²⁵ The division

of knowledge into *Shari'ah*, *Tarīqah* and *Ḥaqīqah* and *Tarbiyyah* (spiritual training) are not without condemnation of Jabata. He therefore submits that those classifications are neither available in the days of the Prophet nor in the period of the *Salaf*.¹²⁶ He equally claims that he did the *Tarbiyah* before he left Sufism and that it (*Tarbiyah*) is nothing but a mere ploy to deceive people.¹²⁷ He alluded to the case of Prophet Mūsā and Khidr claiming that what transpired between them was a mere question of knowledge and *Shari'ah* and that there is nothing spectacular about it as the Sufis used to clam.¹²⁸

This may not be correct because *Ṣaḥīḥ 'l-Bukhārī* records how exclaimed the Prophet was when he narrated the story to his companions. He (Prophet) states:

قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَدِدْنَا أَنَّ مُوسَى كَانَ صَبَرَ فَقَصَّ اللَّهُ
عَلَيْنَا مِنْ خَيْرِهِمَا¹²⁷

The Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, said that how we wish Mūsā exercise more patience so that Allah would have told us more about them.

If this is the remark of the Prophet, then declaring it a mere tale by anyone would be a disservice to the message of the Qur'ān.

Jabata equally asserts that Sufis have lied against Imam Malik, especially on the popular statement that is ascribed to him. It reads:

من تصوف ولم يتفقه فقد تزندق ، ومن تفقه ولم يتصوف فقد تفسق ،
ومن جمع بينهما فقد تحقق¹³⁰

Whoever practises Sufism without firm knowledge of Fiqh has indeed, become a libertine. And whoever is a jurist without practising Sufism has indeed become a hypocrite. While, whoever combines the two has proven the truth.

He submits that Sufism was never there in the days of Imam Mālik, so how can he make the statement? He substantiates this further that the statement cannot be found in any of his works except those of the Sufis.

The claim of Jabata here appears genuine because none of the works of Imam Mālik contains it or those of the scholars from his school of thought contain that statement. That however does not mean there was no Sufism in his days. In *Tartību 'l-Madārik* of Qādī 'Iyāḍ, a prominent *Mawālik*, we find this report:

فقال رجل من أهل نصيبين يا أبا عبد الله عندنا قوم يقال لهم الصوفية يأكلون كثيراً ثم يأخذون في القصائد ثم يقومون فيرقصون. فقال مالك: الصبيان هم؟ قال لا. قال أمجانين؟ قال لا، قوم مشائخ وغير ذلك عقلاً. قال مالك ما سمعت أن أحداً من أهل الإسلام يفعل هذا.¹³¹

A man from Nasib asked (Imam Malik) Oh father of Abdullahi! There are people in our place whom they are referred to as Sufis. They eat too much, they used to compose poems and dance. He (Mālik) asked: Are they children? He replied no. He (Mālik) asked again: Are they mad? They are erudite scholars and people of intelligence. Mālik then said, I have never heard anyone doing this among the Muslims.

From the above quotation, as negative as the attitude of Imam Mālik is, it proves the existence of Sufism in the days of Imam Mālik. This can equally be corroborated with the submission of Ibn Khalidun in his *Muqaddimah* as cited in the third chapter of this work among others.

A contextual analysis and understanding of this quotation shows that the descriptions do not match the Sufis. Nevertheless, as negative as the attitude of Imam Mālik to Sufism is, if one realises that Imam Mālik lived and died in Madinah,¹³² one will understand that various issues, as explained in the chapters two and three of this work, that accounted for the emergence of Sufism took place at places outside Makkah and Madinah like Kufah, Iraq, Syria, Damascus among others. So, from every indication, it is possible for him not to have heard about Sufism as it was just evolving that time. What is however established, elsewhere in the same work of 'Iyad is that Imam Mālik confirmed *Zuhd* as enshrined in Islam and he was himself a *Zāhid*¹³³ and he used to wear *Ṣūf* (woollen garment) in imitation of the Prophet.¹³⁴

Jabata further identifies different principles and practices of the Sufis, which in his view are not in line with the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunnah*. They include the recitation of *Ṣalāt 'l-Fātiḥ*, *Dalāi'l Al-Khayrāt*, use of *Tasbiḥ* (rosary), *Mawlidun-Nabiy* (Celebration of Prophet's birthday), method of initiation, manner of *Adhkār*, veneration of saints, grave visitations among others. He submits that religious activities of whatever kind must be carried out according to the established rules in authentic traditions of the Prophet and teachings of the *Salaf*.¹³⁵ He mocks Sufism by declaring it as a concept that was developed from the philosophical thoughts of some enemies of Islam like Abu Lahab and Abu-Jahal among others who opposed to the mission of the Prophet. Sufis therefore are descendants of those anti-Islam personalities because a cursory study of their doctrines shows that they are all out to distort Islam, suppress the message of the Prophet and propagate paganism and humanism among others. Shaykh ʿAbdul-Qadir Jīlān and Shaykh Ahmad Tijānī among other prominent Sufis are declared as infidels by him.¹³⁶ He cites frequently the works of Sufis of both Qādiriyyah and Tijāniyyah orders to point out what he considers as outrageous in them.

Jabata claims that he is not the first to speak against Sufism, Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawizyyah, Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb, Al-ʿUthaymīn, Ibn Bāz, Shaykh Fawzān among other are some of his precursors that he mentioned.¹³⁷ The assertion of Jabata is far from the truth considering the views and submissions of the first three scholars which have been discussed in the chapter three of this work. The gist is that each of them holds pair views about Sufism. They did not condemn Sufism out rightly like him. What is understood from his submissions is that he accepts only the criticism of Sufism by those scholars and presents same as the whole of their submissions. What could be responsible for this may not be different from other *Salafiyyah* scholars who take no time to read through the entire works of their precursors or intentionally hide their pro-*Ṣūfī* submissions. Those who condemned Sufism without recourse are the last three scholars, two of whom have been discussed in the third chapter of this work. It would have been proper therefore, if he limited himself to those three scholars.

Further still, Jabata brings up a fresh and a new argument on the legitimacy or otherwise of Sufism in Islam. He states that some scholars claim that Sufism came as a form of *Maṣlaḥah* (public interest), especially as a result of crises and worldliness that engulfed the *Ummah* during the days of Umayyad dynasty and the subsequent engrossed in worldliness by the ruling class which affected others in the society. Scholars then came up with it to preserve the Islamic act of spirituality and to rescue Islam from any form of interpolations. He submits that this cannot hold water because *Maṣlaḥah* must have an indirect root in the Qur'ān whereas there is nothing to prove Sufism therein.¹³⁸

What is discovered from the interaction of the researcher with Jabata is that he (Jabata) is a self-taught scholar who believes that Arabic is the only barrier that prevents one from being an Islamic scholar. Once the barrier of Arabic language is broken, one is qualified to conduct research and make conclusions. Though he submits that he reads only the works of the *Salafiyyah* scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah, Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb, Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn among others, he used to disagree with them on several occasions, especially when their submissions are not inline with his own thought. Also, it is generally observed that some of the submissions of Jabata on Sufism are not different from those of the general *Salafiyyah* scholars which many of them have been trashed out before in this work. Jabata adopts a general lens in his assessment of Sufis, hence he sees everyone as the same without any difference. He therefore mixes up the Sufis with the people of *Jalabis* (local Mallams) and other pseudo-scholars, whereas they exist in parallel. Jabata's tentacles extended from Ilorin to nooks and crannies of Yorubaland and his *Daʿwah* activities are spreading like wild fire. It is discovered from our various informants across the Yorubaland that a nomenclature *As-Salafiyyat 'l-Jabatiyyah* is now becoming a household name with which his group and admirers are being referred to by the Sufis in the south west. Though, he did not engage the Sufis in a physical combats, his mission is waxing stronger on daily basis as his followers are increasing tremendously.

Dr Abdur-Razzāq Abdul-Majid Alaro

He is an associate professor of Islamic law in the University of Ilorin. He was born in 1968 in Ilorin. He attended Oke-Pakata Primary school between 1976 and 1981/1982 for his primary education. He proceeded to Muhyideen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Kulende, Ilorin, immediately after his primary school (1982), for his secondary education which he completed in 1987.¹³⁹ There, he combined western education with Arabic and Islamic studies. After his graduation from Muhyideen, he was admitted into Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria to study Law in 1989 but after the first year, he secured a scholarship to study in Saudi Arabia. He therefore moved there. He attended the Islamic University of Madinah, Saudi Arabia and obtained his first degree in 1993, Master degree in 1997 and Ph.D. in 2002 all in *Shari'ah* law. As someone who is thirsty of Islamic knowledge and always wishes to know more, Alaro enrolled at Omdurman Islamic University, Sudan for another course in *Uṣūlu 'd-Dīn*. He therefore obtained both masters and Ph.D Degrees in the field in the year 2007 and 2013 respectively.¹⁴⁰

Immediately after his graduation, Alaro was offered an appointment by the Saudi government at the Academic wing of the King Fahd Qur'an Academy, where the Qur'ān is being translated into different languages of the world. There, he rose through the ranks to become the head of African translations Units, where he oversaw all African translations of the Qur'ān that emanate from the Academy.¹⁴¹ Later, he joined the service of the University of Ilorin in 2008 as academic staff on secondment from Saudi Arabia, but became a permanent staff member since 2014. Alaro is the only Nigerian among the fifteen (15) outstanding Alumni of Islamic University of Madinah that were recognised in 2017.¹⁴²

Alaro is a known authority in the field of *Da'wah* in Yorubaland. He is also a principal partner appointed by Saudi Authority to review the Yoruba translation of Al-Qur'ān.¹⁴³ Many of his lectures, can be accessed online via DawahNigeria website,¹⁴⁴ though his main *Da'wah* activities are being coordinated by *As-Sunnah* Academy of *Da'wah* and Research, Tanke, Ilorin.¹⁴⁵ It (As-Sunnah) is a centre established under his auspices with branches or activities across Nigeria, both in the north and the south. For instance, the Academy used to hold an annual

get-together for Muslims scholars to ruminate on contemporary issues. Recently, a programme on *Daʿwah* and the use of Information Communication Technology (ICT) was held across Nigeria in places like Ilorin, Abuja, Auchi, Osogbo, Kano¹⁴⁶ among others.

As-Sunnah Academy is equally a charitable or welfare organisation that renders different humanitarian services to the less privilege in the society. Scores of borehole have been sunk through its courtesy, prisons and hospitals are visited among other humanitarian services.¹⁴⁷ The sponsorship of his *Daʿwah* activities has been attributed to three different sources. These are his personal money, aids from both friends and admirers and Saudi authority. He therefore debunks the claim that Saudi government is providing aids to some people to preach against Sufism stating that the sponsorship is mainly for general *Daʿwah* targeting at educating people on pristine Islam and identifying and preaching against every unislamic element in the society.¹⁴⁸

Alaro used to be a guest lecturer at different forums, especially those that are organised by Muslim Students' Society of Nigeria (MSSN) and *Ahlu 's-Sunnah wal Jamā'ah* members and their affiliates across University campuses, especially in South-western Nigeria and various communities. For instance, he has presented many lectures at the Umar Al-Khattab mosque, Kuntu, Ilorin. The Muslim Community in Lekki, Lagos state invited him as guest lecturer at a training workshop organised for the Imams in the area.¹⁴⁹ He has a wide range of influence on the youths across Yorubaland. In fact almost all our *Ṣūfī* informants in Yorubaland mentioned his name.

The stand of Alaro on Sufism is not generally different from those of the modern *Salafiyyah* scholars, especially Shaykh Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn. However, he confirms that he used to practise Sufism at his tender age before he renounced it.¹⁵⁰ He equally maintains that there is a level of Sufism that is acceptable to him, especially if it is practised in accordance with the rules of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*.¹⁵¹ In other words, whatever is in line with them (Qur'ān and *Sunnah*) should be taken and whatever that is contrary to them (Qur'ān and *Sunnah*) should be rejected and be regarded as *Bid'ah*. Alaro further explains that the Prophet was never a *Ṣūfī* not to talk of being a Tijānī or Qādirī. So, it will be absurd for anyone to practise what was not practised by the Prophet who was the flag bearer of the religion.¹⁵²

Alaro briefly defines *Bid'ah* as anything that the Prophet neither did nor taught when he was alive. Particular reference is made to the recently celebrated *Mawlid* of Shaykh Ibrahim in Ilorin as a form of *Bid'ah* which is being held in high esteem by the Muslims. He argues further that neither the Prophet nor his companions celebrated their birthdays and that the most unfortunate thing is that the recent celebration in Ilorin is not even that of the Prophet but that of Shaykh Ibrahim. It is indeed a step up *Bid'ah*. He equally explains that *Bid'ah* is applicable only to the religious matters and it is divisible. What is applicable to non-religious matters is either *Halāl* (lawful) or *Harām* (unlawful).¹⁵³

In one of his latest lectures on Sufism, entitled: *The position of Sufism in Islam*, which is literally translated into Yoruba language by him as: *Ohun ti o yeki Muslimi mon nipa Şūfī*, because the lecture is delivered in Yoruba language, Alaro criticises Sufism from the angle of *Bid'ah* pointing out that many of the religious engagements of the Sufis are baseless, with neither evidence from the Qur'ān nor authentic *Sunnah*.¹⁵⁴ He explains his points as submitted by Al-ʿUthaymīn on *Bid'ah* that for a worship to be acceptable to Allah, it has to be *Sharʿah* compliant in all ramifications.¹⁵⁵ He therefore sets a yardstick to measure Sufism in the following format: *At-Tawqīt* (timing), *Al-Makān* (place) *Al-ʿAdad* (number), *Jins* (kinds), *Qadr* (Quantity) and *Kayfiyyah* (methods). He submits that Sufis' activities comply not with any of these; therefore their acts are baseless and lack credence from the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*. He equally condemns the Sufis, arbitrary approach and understanding of the concept of *Ilihām* (intuition), *Ru'yah* (dream), *Tawassul* (intercession)¹⁵⁶ among others. The view of Alaro is not different from other *Salafiyyah* scholars. He equally considered Sufism as a form of *Bid'ah* that people freely indulge in without hesitation.

The various submissions of Alaro as given above confirm different submissions about Salafism and Sufism in this work. Firstly, his confirmation of aids from especially foreign bodies like Saudi Arabia, seems to have justified the claim in the second chapter of this work that Saudi authority and some individuals are spreading Wahhābism across the Islamic world and Nigeria inclusive, through the sponsorship of different activities put in place by the Saudi Arabian Universities ex-students or people of like minds in the places where there is no Saudi alumnus. Such is the case of Shaykh Gumi as submitted above.

The popular claim that Saudi is sponsoring some scholars to speak and condemn Sufism and the Sufis in Nigeria has element of truth, though it was debunked by Alaro during the course of interview, his (Alaro) grounds appear lame and unsubstantiated. This is because he confirms the sponsorship but denies Sufism as the target. This could not hold water because it is generally known that Saudi stands against Sufism and he who paid the piper will surely dictate the tune. The cases of Shaykh Adam and Gumi cited above can also lend support to the Sufis claim and dismantle that of Alaro, Also, the fact that the sponsored *Salafiyyah* preachers are more particular about Sufism seems to have strengthened the position of this thesis. More so, Nigeria is not the only place where such campaign is going on. Countries like Egypt, Pakistan, India, Turkey among others are being condemned by the Saudis for the prevalent of Sufism there and campaign of Salafism/Wahhabism are on the rise in those countries.

Another major point which needs trashing from the submissions of Alaro above is the definition of Sufism using the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* as the yardsticks and on the basis of which he either accepts or rejects Sufism is shrouded in confusion. At first, he admits that there are some levels of admissibility of Sufism to him and at another place he declared it as a *Bid'ah*. Let us remember that he had earlier said that *Bid'ah* is only relevant in matters of religion and it is divisible. This is clearly a self-contradiction and an indication that he is at cross-road between accepting the reality and standing with the terms of his *Salafi* masters. It is therefore a confirmation of him not knowing what Sufism is really all about, unwillingness to conduct adequate research into Sufism and his willingness to dance to the tune of his *Salafi* mentors without necessarily examining their (*Salafi* mentors) objectivity. This is because one of the primary objectives of this work is to examine the doctrines and practices of Sufism as discussed by *Salafiyyūn* in juxtaposition with the frame work of the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*. And up to this point, nothing has been examined on Sufism without bringing out relevant Qur'anic and *Ḥadīth* evidence from the works of the Sufis. To rightly put the claim therefore, it can be said that he (Alaro) defines Sufism within the perimeters of the *Wahhābiyyah* understanding and not in accordance with the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* because in its ordinary sense, the Sufis provided Qur'anic and *Ḥadīth* evidence to buttress their doctrines and practices, they only differ on interpretations.

Furthermore, the definition of *Bid'ah* as given by Alaro appears too narrow and contradictory to the general belief and definitions as given in the second chapter of this work, especially in the submission of Al-ʿUthaymīn. And attacking Sufism from *Bid'ah* perspectives cannot hold water because it is one of the issues that have been extensively discussed in this work and references are made to many religious activities by the *Wahhābiyyah* which were not done by the Prophet. Instances can be given in respect of *Nāfilat-Ṭarāwiḥ* and *'Usbūʿ Shaykh Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb* and many more as identified in the second and third chapters of this thesis. Also, the perimeters that were set out with which he weighs Sufism if applied to various forms of *ʿIbādāt*, even as being observed by the *Salafiyyah* will give the same result. The best instance is that of *Nāfilat-Ṭarāwiḥ* among others as given in chapter two of this work.

Also, one finds no difficulty in understanding the stand of scholars like Alaro on what Sufism is all about. They seem to be more particular about the nomenclature than the contents of *Taṣawwuf*. Sufism is therefore perceived by them as a concept that is quite different from the main stream Islam. From various analyses, it is cleared that Sufism and its affiliates have etymological relevance in the Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth*. In fact, it is essentially built on the teachings of the Prophet, ranging from his personal life, religious activities to his interactions with people, especially his companions. The practices like *Faqr* (poverty), *Dhikr* (remembrance), *Mahabbah* (love), *Tazkiyyah* (soul purification) among others are both taught and practised by the Prophet. The claim that the Prophet was not a *Ṣūfī* therefore becomes a relative one. This is because to the Wahhābis, he is not a *Ṣūfī* but to the Sufis, he is because the Prophet is an embodiment of many teachings which an individual takes after different patterns and styles from his (Prophet) life as enjoined by the Qur'ān and the *Ḥadīth*.

4.3 Major *Ṣūfī* Orders in Nigeria and their Criticisms

The Qādiriyyah Order

Various records hold that the Qādiriyyah is the oldest and a major *Ṣūfī* order to reckon with in Nigeria.¹⁵⁷ It is an order that was founded by Shaykh ʿAbdul-Qādir Jilānī (d.561AH/1166CE) in Baghdad¹⁵⁸ from where it spread across the Islamic world. According to Jimoh, the exact date of the entry of Qādiriyyah order into Nigeria is not known. However, scholars have suggested different dates of possible entry of the order into the country. Ahmad

suggests that the order reached the shore of Nigeria through Kanem Bornu around twelfth to thirteenth centuries courtesy of Shaykh Al-Maghīlī Al-Tilmisānī (d.1503CE),¹⁵⁹ while in a rider to that, Adam is of the opinion that it got to Nigeria from the hand of Shaykh ʿUmar Al-Kuntī (d.1799) through Sokoto.¹⁶⁰

The order however spreads fast in Nigeria from the hand of Shaykh ʿUthmān Ibn Fūdī.¹⁶¹ This is because he was not only himself a member but he also used his influence to spread the order, hence his brothers, children, students and disciples adopt Al-Qādirī as an affiliate to their names.¹⁶² This trend continues till the recent time when it is discovered that many Sokoto people can identify no difference between what is Islam and what is Qādiriyyah. They often introduced themselves as *Qadirawa*.¹⁶³ Abubakar Gumi observes:

I remember as a child that whenever the town crier went round to shout out announcements to the public, he addressed the people as *Qadirawa*. I did not understand why he should call them by that name, other than because they were subjects of the Emir, so for a long time I really thought *Qadirawa* was another term for *Talakawa*.¹⁶⁴

The passage above therefore confirms how widespread and household the Qādiriyyah order was in the Sokoto Caliphate. It is from the Sokoto therefore that the order spread to various part of Nigeria as we have it today.¹⁶⁵

Shaykh Ibn Fūdī wrote quite a number of works on Qādiriyyah covering different topical issues, all in the bid to make the order a household in all his conquered territories. Some of those works include: *As-Salāsīl ʾdh-Dhabīyyah*, *As-Salāsīl Qādiriyyah* among others.¹⁶⁶ His son, Muhmmad Bello equally wrote *Miftāḥu ʾs-Sidād*.¹⁶⁷ The order spread to Kano in the hands of Mallam Kibri who was initiated by Al-Kunti.¹⁶⁸ Shaykh Saʿd Badamasi Al-Balili Al-Fandaki was the first to build Qādiriyyah *Zāwiyyah* in Kano.¹⁶⁹ This was followed by Adam Namʿaji and Shaykh Naṣīru ʾd-Dīn Kabarā (d.1996) who was the grand leader of Qādiriyyah order in Nigeria in his days.¹⁷⁰ Kabarā was a prolific writer who wrote to explain and defend the Qādiriyyah doctrines and practices. He was also a reformer who introduced some practices into the Qādiriyyah circle, hence his brand of the Qādiriyyah is often described as Nasiriyyah.¹⁷¹ Among his reforming activities was the compilation, translation and explanation of the Qādiriyyah doctrines in Hausa Language.¹⁷² Also, the use of Bandiri (druming) is attributed to him,¹⁷³ and Celebration of *Mawlidu* of Shaykh Abdul-Qadir¹⁷⁴ among others. His son, Qarībullāh Naṣīru ʾd-

Dīn Kabarā¹⁷⁵ who succeeds him, has been working round the clock to take the Qādiriyyah in Nigeria to the next level.

The Tijāniyyah Order

The Tijāniyyah order was founded by Shaykh Ahmad At-Tijānī (d.1815CE) in Fez, Morocco.¹⁷⁶ The order gained wide acceptance among Muslims across Africa and Nigeria inclusive. It is often said by many writers and adherents of the Tijāniyyah that the order has the largest number of followers than any other *Ṣūfī* groups in the country.¹⁷⁷ Shaykh Umar Al-Fūṭī (d.1864CE) is said to be responsible for the spread of the order to West Africa in general and Nigeria in particular.¹⁷⁸ The morale of the order was boosted with the purported acceptance of the order by Sultan Muhammad Bello which has become an object of arguments, claims and counter claims from the adherents of the Qādiriyyah and the Tijāniyyah, each adducing proofs that he belonged to them. Adam rightly submits:

ولما اتصل بالسلطان محمد بللو بن عثمان في سوكونو، وساعده على نشر هذه الطريقة
حتى أشيعت الأنباء بانتساب محمد بللو إلى التجاني.¹⁸⁰

When the order (Tijāniyyah) got to Sultan Muhammad Bello ibn ^cUthman in Sokoto, he assisted him (Umar) in spreading the Tijāniyyah to the extent that the news of his affinity (acceptance or initiation) to the order spread.

The submission of Shaykh Adam above is further strengthened by the conclusion of Quadri, who after weighing every evidence concludes that Bello was a mere admirer of Saints in general who did not discriminate against any *Ṣūfī* order.¹⁸¹ There is no valid evidence that Muhammad Bello was initiated into the Tijāniyyah but he registered his interest in the acceptance and spread of the order to the nooks and crannies of his territories.¹⁸²

Other scholars who have played active roles in the spread of the order in Nigeria is Shaykh Ibrahim Niass who had influence across the Tijāniyyah world. He has a lot of followers

in Nigeria including Shaykh ^cUthmān Bayrbayr, Kano Shaykh Abubakari ^cAtiq, Mallam Sani Kafangha¹⁸³ among others. There are many factors which contributed to the unprecedented wide spread of the order in Nigeria in the hands of Shaykh Ibrahim Niass. These include his periodic visits to Nigeria which afforded him the opportunity to meet with different prominent personalities in the country, including the then Emir of Kano, Muhammad Sanusi Lamido and Shaykh Nasir Kabara, a prominent Qādiriyyah scholar¹⁸⁴ among others. Shaykh Ibrahim therefore gained a number of disciples across the north and the south of Nigeria. Formation of Jamā^cat al-Faydah at- Tijāniyyah, Jamā^cat 'l-Anṣāru 'd-Dīn among others equally earned more prestige which assisted in propagating Tijāniyyah across the globe.¹⁸⁵ Also, availability of many of his works which covered different aspects of Islamic sciences is another major factor that contributed immensely in the wide spread of influence.¹⁸⁶ Shaykh Ibrahim was equally approached by many Nigerian Muslims and non-Muslims for spiritual assistance and to get *Sirr* (metaphysical power)¹⁸⁷ among others.

Areas of Criticisms and Accusations

Generally speaking, accusations leveled against Sufism in Nigeria are not different from others across the Islamic world and many of those allegations have been trashed out in the previous chapters and discussions. Basically, attacks on Sufism usually come under the umbrella of *Bid'ah*. The instance of lengthy arguments between the *Salaḥī* and *Ṣūfī* scholars with response from either side is shown in the discourse on *Mawlid 'n-Nabiyy* and *Bid'ah* among other topical issues. Here are few areas that have not been discussed previously.

Al-Ḥaqīqatu 'l-Muḥammadiyyah (The Reality of Muhammad Personality)

This is a mystical concept focused on the transcendence of Prophet Muhammad beyond the sphere of ordinary human being.¹⁸⁸ It explains the eternity of his being as the first creature of Allah who will equally continue to live even after his physical departure from the world.¹⁸⁹ The extract explains better:

الحقيقة المحمدية تعني أن النور المحمدي أشرق قبل أن يكون الخلق، ومنه خلق الكون وما حوى، فهو أول شيء فاض عن الله سبحانه وتعالى، ثم ما زال يظهر ويتسلسل هذا النور في الأنبياء إلى أن وصل إلى محمد، فكان محمد خاتم الأنبياء بهذا المعنى ولذا

بدىء به الأمر وختم، وكان محمد أكمل تجلى خلقي ظهر فيه الحق فهو الإنسان الكامل...وأصبح مقابلا للذات الإلهية.¹⁹⁰

The Reality of Muhammad's being indicates that his essence (light) predates all creatures. It is from it that the cosmos and its constituents came into being. It is the first to emanate from Allah, Most exalted. Then, it continues to manifest and connect all prophets till it gets to Muhammad who was the seal of the prophets, hence everything starts and ends with him. Muhammad was the most perfect of all creatures. It is in him that the truth manifests. He is indeed, a perfect being...hence, he is a reflection of divine essence.

This concept is widely circulated among the Sufis and it accounts for their claimed connection with him for communication and communion, even after his demise. They claim that he has given them further instructions and special prayers in form of revelation. As indicated in the third chapter of this work, many of the *Awrad* of the Sufis, including *Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl*, *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* among others are said to be either received or sanctioned by the Prophet through this medium.

There are many instances in the Qur'ān which reveal that the soul of man has been in existence before his real existence. Solagberu¹⁹¹ outlines some of those instances in the Qur'ān to include, the prophecy of Prophet 'Isā about Prophet Muhammad (Q.61:6), fore-mentioning of Prophet Muhammad's coming (Q.7:156-157), the event of primordial covenant (7:172 and 3:81) among others. For instance, Quran 3:81 reads:

وَإِذْ أَخَذَ اللَّهُ مِيثَاقَ النَّبِيِّينَ لَمَا آتَيْتُكُمْ مِنْ كِتَابٍ وَحِكْمَةٍ ثُمَّ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مُصَدِّقٌ لِمَا مَعَكُمْ لَتُؤْمِنُنَّ بِهِ وَلَتَنْصُرُنَّهُ قَالَ أَأَقْرَرْتُمْ وَأَخَذْتُمْ عَلَىٰ ذَٰلِكُمْ إِصْرِي قَالُوا أَقْرَرْنَا قَالَ فَاشْهَدُوا وَأَنَا مَعَكُمْ مِنَ الشَّاهِدِينَ

And [recall, O People of the Scripture], when Allah took the covenant of the prophets, [saying], "Whatever I give you of the Scripture and wisdom and then there comes to you a messenger confirming what is with you, you [must] believe in him and support him." [Allah] said, "Have you acknowledged and taken upon that My commitment?"¹¹⁶ They said, "We have acknowledged it." He said, "Then bear witness, and I am with you among the witnesses."¹⁹²

From the above verse, exegetes agree that the messenger being referred to in the verse is Prophet Muhammad. The content therefore establishes the pre-existence of the Prophet before his actual

birth. This is further corroborated by the Prophet himself when he says, as reported in one of his *Aḥādith* thus:

عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ شَقِيقٍ عَنْ رَجُلٍ قَالَ قُلْتُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ مَتَى جُعِلْتَ نَبِيًّا
قَالَ وَآدَمَ بَيْنَ الرُّوحِ وَالْجَسَدِ...رواه أحمد¹⁹³

On the authority of ‘Abdullahi bin Shāqiq who reported from a man who said he asked the Prophet that Oh Messenger of Allah! When were you made a Prophet? He replied (I have been a Prophet) when Adam was between the soul and the body....Narrated by Ahmad

Scrutinising the above *Ḥadith*, Al-Bānī submits that its chain is sound or authentic (*Ṣaḥīḥ Isnād*) but with comment that there is nothing to prove the pre-existence of the Prophet as the first creature of Allah, probably before Adam from other sources. It is on the basis of this that he rejects the narration and declares it as faulty.¹⁹⁴ The submission of Al-Bānī is inherent in defect and avoidable error because this *Ḥadith* is in line with the Qur’an and it has a chain of narrators that is sound and reliable. It is therefore relevant and applicable.

Those are some of the evidence to establish the pre-existence of Prophet Muhammad. While his existence after his demise is equally demonstrated in different references. As-Sayūṭī while commenting on the Qur’an 3: 169 quoted in chapter three of this work writes:

أَنْ نَبِينَا صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَيٌّ بَعْدَ وَفَاتِهِ وَإِنَّهُ يَسِرُّ بِطَاعَاتِ أُمَّتِهِ
وَيَحْزَنُ بِمَعَاصِي الْعَصَاةِ مِنْهُمْ وَأَنَّهُ تَبْلُغُهُ صَلَاةٌ مَنْ يَصَلِّي عَلَيْهِ مِنْ
أُمَّتِهِ¹⁹⁵

Indeed, our Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him is alive after his death. He feels happy for the obedience of his community and sad for the disobedient ones among them. Indeed, the blessing of whoever among his nation seeks it for him gets to him.

As-Sayūṭī argues further that since it is established in the Qur’ān that ‘*Awliyā*’ and martyrs do not die, therefore it belittles the Prophet whose status is far above them to have died. In the same light, Al-Qurṭubī equally submits that death is a mere transformation or separation of body and

soul and that it is not the end of existence.¹⁹⁶ It is on the basis of these arguments that Sufis base the concept of Reality of Muhammad on.

The *Salafiyyah* scholars contest this proclamation with vigour. They do not spare words in declaring it as philosophical trends which have crept into Islam courtesy of Sufis like Ibn ʿArabī, Al-Ḥallāj among others who postulate concepts like *Al-Ḥulūl* (spiritual transformation) and *Waḥdatul-Wujūd*. They frequently cite the Qurʾān where Allah says:

إِنَّكَ مَيِّتٌ وَإِنَّهُمْ مَيِّتُونَ

Truly you will die (one day), and truly they (too) will die (one day).Q39:30

Salafiyyah scholars therefore, by the provision of this verse, argue that the Prophet had died and can neither come back nor do anything after his demise.¹⁹⁷

It is pertinent to point out the Ṣūfīs' position in this regard. The Sufis are convinced that the Prophet is vehement about the possibility of his appearance to people after his departure from this world as recorded by both *Al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim* in their respective compilations. The *Ḥadīth* reads:

عَنْ الزُّهْرِيِّ حَدَّثَنِي أَبُو سَلَمَةَ أَنَّ أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ مَنْ رَأَانِي فِي الْمَنَامِ فَسِيرَانِي فِي الْيَقَظَةِ وَلَا يَمَثُلُ الشَّيْطَانُ بِي...رواه البخاري¹⁹⁸

On the authority of Zuhayri who said that Abū-Salamah informed him that, indeed Abā-Hurayrah said that he heard the Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allah be with him saying that whoever saw me in his dream will equally see me wakefully. Shaytān can never take my form... Narrated by Bukhārī

This tradition of the Prophet is not without divergence of opinions among the Scholars, though no one questions its authenticity, except Al-Bānī due to textual contradiction between Bakhārī and Muslim's reports.¹⁹⁹ Ibn Ḥajar, among other scholars submits that sighting the Prophet in the state of full consciousness refers to the day of resurrection when he (the Prophet) will intercede

for the believers.²⁰⁰ Al-^cAyīnī submits further, that it provides a good tiding to those who were not in Madinah to see him physically and those believers who accepted Islam after his demise who have not been opportune to see him physically but dreamt about him to have that privilege on the day of resurrection.²⁰¹ To some other scholars, especially the Sufis, like Harazim, both the dream and physical sight of the Prophet with naked eyes as claimed by many are possible.²⁰² Different *Ṣūfī* and non- *Ṣūfī* figures including Shaykh Abdul-Qādir and Imam As-Sayūtī have claimed to have seen the Prophet physically.²⁰³ In fact, *Al-Fawzu wa 'n-Najāt* mentions many scholars who have laid claims to sighting Prophet physically after his demise. Therefore, to the Sufis, the Prophet is very much alive and can be seen wakefully by any saint at any time.

What seems to have strengthened the position of the Sufis which the *Salafīyyūn* are unconscious of in their analyses and arguments is a statement in the recitation of *Tashahhud* (السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ) which simply means: “peace be on to you. Ibn Mas^cūd as reported by Al-Bukhārī draws the attention to the change that was introduced by the companions after the demise of the Prophet. The *Hadith* reads:

حَدَّثَنَا سَيْفٌ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ مُجَاهِدًا ... قَالَ سَمِعْتُ ابْنَ مَسْعُودٍ يَقُولُ عَلَّمَنِي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ... التَّشَهُّدَ كَمَا يُعَلِّمُنِي السُّورَةَ مِنَ الْقُرْآنِ التَّحِيَّاتُ لِلَّهِ ... السَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ ... وَهُوَ بَيْنَ ظَهْرَانَيْنَا فَلَمَّا قُبِضَ قُلْنَا السَّلَامُ يَغْنِي عَلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ... رواه البخاري²⁰⁴

Sayf told us that he heard Mujāhid who equally said that he heard Ibn Mas^cūd saying: I was taught by the messenger of Allah, may the blessings and peace of Allah be unto him,...*Tashahhud* just as he taught me a chapter of the Qur’ān. (Good) greeting belongs to Allah...peace be onto you Oh Prophet!...he (Prophet) was in our midst then. But after

his demise, we used to recite: Peace i.e be unto the Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allah be unto him. (Al-Bukhārī)

From the above report, it is shown how **عَلَيْكَ** (onto you) which was in use during the life time of the Prophet was changed to **عَلَى النَّبِيِّ** (onto the Prophet) after his demise probably it was thought by the companions that the Prophet had died and he had gone forever, using a second person pronoun (**كَ**) for him, which will indicate his presence after his demise, will therefore be inappropriate, hence the change.

The position of Ibn Masʿūd as given above, which invariably is in line with the thought of whoever rejects the concept of Reality of Muhammad, has been rejected by many *Salafiyyah* scholars like Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn. They argue that the Prophet never taught his companions such change, therefore it cannot hold water. They describe it as a mere opinion of Ibn Masʿūd which is not binding on anyone.²⁰⁵ They argue further that it is imperative to read the *Tashahhud* as taught by the Prophet (i.e **عَلَيْكَ**) because it indicates the spiritual presence of the Prophet in the minds of the reciter or worshipper.²⁰⁶ This undoubtedly has lent credence to the Sufis' perception of spiritual immortality of the Prophet which the *Salafiyyah* scholars rejected.

Silsilah (Chain)

It is otherwise known as *Bayʿah* (oath of allegiance) which links a *Murīd* (novice) to his Shaykh and to the founder of a *Ṭarīqah* (order) and down to the Prophet through either Ḥassan or Ḥusayn to ʿAlī.²⁰⁷ Many Sufis have laid claim to *Sharīf* (a member of Prophet's household) through this connection. Also, it is this connection that makes the recitation of the *Adhkār* of a particular order legitimate.²⁰⁸ The reason why the *Salafiyyah* scholars take the Sufis up in this regard is that they are of the view that, firstly, there is no sure linkage between the Prophet and any one, be him or her Shaykh or ordinary Muslim.²⁰⁹ The second is that it is outrageous to seek permission from anyone before a Muslim recites a *dhikr* or offers a sacrifice or worships Allah.

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The Sufis provide evidence from both the Qurʾān and the *Sunnah* to drive home their points. The instance given include the different kind of *Bayʿah* that took place between the Prophet and his Companions on different occasions like the instance of *Bayʿat ʿr-Riḍwān* which

led to the treaty of *Hudaybiyyah*²¹¹ among others. Also, until the period of Mu'awiyyah when Muslim *Ummah* was engulfed with civil crisis, *Bay'ah* was offered to each of the four rightly guided Caliphs upon their appointment to lead the Muslim Community.²¹²

Also, the Sufis are more specific and particular about the case of a *Muslimah* who came to the Prophet for *Bay'ah* as reported in the Qur'ān. Allah says:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ إِذَا جَاءَكَ الْمُؤْمِنَاتُ يُبَايِعُكَ عَلَى أَنْ لَا يَشْرِكْنَ بِاللَّهِ شَيْئًا
وَلَا يَسْرِقْنَ وَلَا يَزْنِينَ وَلَا يَقْتُلْنَ أَوْلَادَهُنَّ وَلَا يَأْتِينَ بِبُهْتَانٍ يَفْتَرِينَهُ بَيْنَ
أَيْدِيهِنَّ وَأَرْجُلِهِنَّ وَلَا يَعْصِيَنَّكَ فِي مَعْرُوفٍ فَبَايِعْهُنَّ وَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُنَّ اللَّهُ
إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ

O Prophet! When believing women come to thee to take the oath of fealty to thee, that they will not associate in worship any other thing whatever with Allah, that they will not steal, that they will not commit adultery (or fornication), that they will not kill their children, that they will not utter slander, intentionally forging falsehood, and that they will not disobey thee in any just matter, - then do thou receive their fealty, and pray to Allah for the forgiveness (of their sins): for Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful.
(Q60:12)²¹³

The above verse, in the view of the Sufis, is a demonstration of where they draw their inspiration because they argue that the allegiance, if it is not necessary after being a believer, the woman would not have come to the Prophet to pledge religious and social allegiance or it (allegiance) would have been turned down by him if it is not important.²¹⁴

Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ and Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl

These are two important recitations in form of seeking Allah's blessings and peace for the Prophet Muhammad. They are prominent among the Sufis especially among the members of the Tijāniyyah. According to the Tijāniyyah scholars like Zachary who narrates the story of how *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* came into existence, it is a *Ṣalāt* that was revealed in a sheet of paper to Shaykh Muhammad Mustapha Al-Bakrī who specifically supplicated to Allah in the Prophet mosque in *Ka'bbah* for a special type of *Ṣalāt* which will encompass the rewards of various other form of *Ṣalāwāt*.²¹⁵ This has however been contested by different *Salafiyyah* scholars who doubt its possibility. The Sufis in defense of their claims made particular reference to a narration from different Muslim historians like Ibn Sa'ad, Ibn Kathīr, Ad-Dhahābī, As-Sayūṭī among others in relation to 'Umar bin 'Abdul-'Azīz which reads:

عن يوسف بن ماهك قال: بينا نحن نسوي التراب على قبر عمر بن عبد العزيز، إذ سقط علينا كتاب من السماء فيه: بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، أمان من الله لعمر بن عبد العزيز من النار²¹⁶

On the authority of Yūsuf bin Māhik who said: As we were levelling sand on the grave of 'Umar bin 'Abdul-'Aziz, a book fell on us from the heaven wherein it is written: In the name of Allah the most beneficent and the most merciful, (this is) an assurance from Allah that 'Umar bin 'Abdul-'Aziz is saved from the hell fire.

The content of the above excerpt depicts that 'Umar bin 'Abdul-'Aziz has secured the ticket to the paradise and it was a revelation from Allah. Since the possibility of this has never been contested by any *Salafiyyah* scholars, having been reported by their admired scholars, then rejecting the same method vis-à-vis the *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ*, according to the Sufis cannot stand.

According to *Jawāhir 'l-Ma'ānī*, and as could be inferred from the above narration, Shaykh Ahmad Tijānī was not the originator of *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* but he adopted it. It is even said that he had at one time or the other abandoned it before he was ordered by the Prophet who appeared to him to return to it. *Jawāhir 'l-Ma'ānī* reads:

ثم أمرني بالرجوع - صلى الله عليه وسلم - إلى صلاة الفاتح لما أغلق ، فلما أمرني بالرجوع إليها ، سألته - صلى الله عليه وسلم - عن فضلها فأخبرني أولاً بأن المرة الواحدة منها تعدل من القرآن ست مرات ، ثم أخبرني ثانياً أن المرة الواحدة منها تعدل من كل تسبيح وقع في الكون ، ومن كل ذكر ومن كل دعاء كبير أو صغير ، ... لأنه من الأذكار²¹⁷

Then, he, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, instructed me to return to the recitation of *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* ... Thereafter, I enquired from him, may the blessing and peace of Allah be upon him, about its value. He therefore informed me thus: Firstly, its single recitation is equal to six recitations of the Qur'ān. Secondly, a recitation of it (*Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ*) is equivalent to every bit of glorification, remembrance and supplication from all creature...because it is a form of remembrance.

The above quotation from *Jawāhir* shows the importance that the Tijāniyyah adherents accorded to it. Also, in one of the responses of the Shaykh Tijānī to some questions posed to him on *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* vis-à-vis the rationale behind the Prophet not teaching his Companions the *Ṣalāt*, especially when he knew its rare value and importance, it is said that it is so because he wants it to be revealed to the world through the seal of the saints at the tail end of the world when religious values must have been greatly lost.²¹⁸

The same goes for *Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl*, firstly in terms of origin, Ashile has narrated that when Shaykh Ahmad Tijānī got to Egypt, he was sitting under a tree when he noticed a strange appearance who later turn out to be Prophet Muhammad while he (Ahmad) was wakeful in the broad day light²¹⁹. He (Ahmad) then composed *Kalimatu 't-Tarhibah* (welcome speech) in seven different tones. It was the content of the speech that is later referred to as *Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl*.²²⁰ This is equally not with some elements of disputations from the *Salafiyyah* scholars. The various arguments from them (*Salafiyyūn*) were countered by the Sufis who compared what transpired between the Shaykh and the Prophet with the experience of the Prophet during his ascension to

the heaven (*Mi^crāj*) when he equally greeted Allah with *At-Tashahhud*²²¹ which is now being recited in *Ṣalāwāt*.

Apart from the rewards that will accrue for whoever recites both *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* and *Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl* which is said to be more than six thousand rounds of recitation of the Qur'ān,²²² there are other specifications regarding the recitation of the latter in particular (*Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl*). This include the obligation of being in the state of purity with water ablution only,²²³ because it is said that the Prophet will be present when and wherever it is being recited. Furthermore, whoever wishes to see the Prophet while sleeping should endeavour to recite it before sleeping.²²⁴ There is also a submission that it (*Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl*) has metaphysical importance and that it can be recited in a moving vehicle to prevent accident.²²⁵

Salafiyyah scholars have reacted to each of these supplications of the Tijāniyyah order. They argue that their origin is tantamount to revelation.²²⁶ It is therefore an indication that the Prophet did not complete his mission.²²⁷ This, according to them, negates the position of the Qur'ān which posits the completion and perfection of the message of Islam as indicated in Q5:3. It is imperative to indicate the Imam Mālik's reaction to this verse. He says:

فما لم يكن يومئذ دينا فلا يكون اليوم دينا²²⁸

Whatever that is not part of Islam that time when the verse was revealed) can never be part of it nowadays.

Therefore, *Salafiyyah* scholars argue that since the only *Ṣalāt* that was taught by the Prophet to his Companions is *Ṣalātu 'l-Ibrahimiyyah*,²²⁹ no other one can be rated above it. Also, the *Ḥadith* cited above (chapter two) which indicates that the Prophet did not leave anything that is beneficial or otherwise unexplained to his *Ummah* will be put to questions.²³⁰ They argue further that the recitation of either *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* or *Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl* can ex-communicate one from the fold of Islam. This is because it means one professes a belief that they are superior to the Qur'ān and other acts of *'Ibādāt* that are directed therein.²³¹

Shaykh Gumi among other prominent scholars is particular in his contention against *Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl* especially its grammatical composition. He argues that the word *Al-asqami*

(الأسقم) which literally means sickness or imperfection is a pointer to the inherent error in its composition and grammatical imperfection which boils down to imperfection and unrighteousness of the *Ṣūfī* 't- *Turuq*. He explores grammatical tools to displace the *Ṣūfī* scholars' explanations of it as a superlative form of *Istiḳāmah* which means most perfect, most upright or most righteous. He therefore submits that it connotes sickness and imperfection,²³² which ought not to be used in relation to the Prophet and Islam.

Scholars have rendered different grammatical analyses to explain the possibility of the word *Asqami* which has been alleged to have harboured some defects because in its ordinary grammatical sense, it connotes negativity which is contrary to the positive meaning it carries to the *Ṣūfī* of Tijāniyyah order. In explaining the possibility of the Sufis' usage, a Professor of Arabic Language, A.N. Suwayd writes:

الكلمة الأسقم الواردة في جوهرة الكمال أصلها : الأقوام وهي أفعل تفضيل من الفعل
الأجواف الثلاثي: قام أو من الفعل الأجواف أقام على وزن أفعل على رأي سيبويه،...²³³

The word *Al-Asqami* that is contained in *Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl* has its origin from *Al-Aqwām* (uprightness). It is a superlative form from hollow trilateral verb “Qāma” (to stand) or from hollow verb “*Aqāma*” on the scale of *Af^C al* as submitted by Sībaway...

Also, in another dimension, Al-Barkātī in his own explanation writes:

كلمة الأسقم أصلها إسم تفضيل دخلت عليه -ال - التعريف وتلاقى بمادته أربعة أفعال ،
الفعل الأول إستقام وهو فعل سداسي من مزيد الثلاثي وأصله قام وزيدت عليه الهمزة
والسين والتاء وهو قَوْمٌ من القيام ، والوصف منه مستقيم ، وإسم التفضيل منه أسقم
وأقوم الأول بحذف بعض زوائده والثاني بحذف جميع زوائده ومعني الأسقم الأعدل
والأقوم²³⁴

The word *Al-asqami* has its origin from superlative noun which takes “the” to make it definite. Four verbs can be deduced from it. The first verb (there from) is *Istiḳām* (upright) which is six-letter fold from trilateral (verb form) with additional letters. It is coined from *Qām* (standing) with letter *hamza*, *sin* and *ta'u* added to it. It then became *Qawuma* (stand) from *Al-Qiyām*, (a verbal noun which denotes standing) and from it again *Mustaqīm* (uprightness) can be coined. The superlative noun therefrom, therefore, will either be *Asqami* or *Aqwam* (both means uprightness). It will be the first (*Asqami*) if some of the additional letters are elided and it will be the second if all the additional

letters are completely elided. It will now give the meaning as *Al-Asqami*, *Al-‘Adal* or *Al-Aqwami* (each means just and uprightness).

Equally, a recent PhD thesis submitted to the department of Arabic, University of Ilorin by Ibrahim, has come up with another shade of analysis in which the word *Asqami* is said to be a superlative form of *Istiḳāmah* (uprightness) from *الفعل المزداد الرباعي* (the quadraliteral verb form with additional letters).²³⁵ From these analyses therefore, it is clear that the word *Asqami* as conceived by the Sufis of Tijāniyyah circle, has a place in Arabic grammar and does not mean sickness at all time.

A reference to that can be drawn from the Qur’ān, where a particular expression may carry two different meanings, especially in opposite sense and it is sometimes occasioned by geographical differences. The explanations that are rendered by different exegetes on the actual meaning of the Qur’ānic expression: *قُرُوء* (Q.2:228) where it connotes the period of cleanliness according to *Hijaz* (Makkah) scholars or menstruation as submitted by *Kufah* (Iraq) scholars²³⁶ can be used as a yardstick to substantiate the position of the Sufis. This, therefore, lends support to the conclusion of Quadri on the word *Asqami* as argued by Al-Ḥāfiẓ Al-Miṣrī that the usage of such expression for uprightness is prevalent in Moroccan dialect.²³⁷ It is on this basis that this thesis concludes that the *Asqami* is in line with Arabic grammar and a leave can be borrowed from the scholars’ explanations of the Quranic verse above. Therefore the claims of the *Salafiyyūn* on the word *Asqam* cannot stand.

In defense of the accusations of *Salafiyyah* scholars on both *Ṣalātu ‘l-Fātiḥ* or *Jawharatu ‘l-Kamāl*, Abdullahi submits that the suggested rewards that will accrue for whoever recites either of the two forms of *Ṣalāt* should not be viewed or understood exoterically but esoterically.²³⁸ In other words, he explains that this could be properly understood if one considers the conditions that are attached to the recitation of the Qur’ān which appear somewhat stringent and those that are attached to the recitation of *Ṣalāwāt* which come without any restricted conditions compared to that of the Qur’ān. This explains the popular statement which is found, especially in the works of the *Ṣūfi* which reads:

رب قارئ للقرآن والقرآن يلعنه²³⁹

At times, the Qur’ān curses its reciter.

It can be deduced from the above statement that since *Aṣ-Ṣalāt* can be said for the Prophet in whatever manner without any rigid condition and the reciter stands to get rewards, a recitation of the Qur’ān that is devoid of proper pronunciation of its letters and other rules like *tajwīd*, being in state of purity, application of its instructions among others is as good as not reciting it at all, not matter the number that one recites.²⁴⁰

It should be pointed out that scholars are in wilderness regarding the status of this statement as it is often referred to as *Ḥadīth*. In other words, there is a sort of confusion as to whether or not the above extraction is a *Ḥadīth* that emanated from the Prophet. Modern *Salafiyyah* scholars like Al-^cUthaymin and Ibn Bāz in their various works while answering the question posed to them on the statement expressed doubt as to whether or not it is a *Ḥadīth*. They however do not doubt its veracity. Al-^cUthaymin writes:

إن صح فالمراد بقارئ القرآن الذي يلغنه القرآن هو القارئ يقرأ
القرآن ولكنه لا يؤمن بأخباره ولا يعمل بأحكامه...فمثل هذا القارئ
يكون قارئاً للقرآن لكن القرآن في الحقيقة برئ منه²⁴¹

If at all this narration is sound, what is intended by the reciter who will be cursed by the Qur’ān is the one who recites it without believing in its messages and he does not act according to its rules and regulations...Such a reciter recites but in essence, the Qur’ān disassociates itself from him.

The above submission of Al-^cUthaymīn which is not different from that of Ibn Bāz²⁴² is the same as the expression of the Sufis, which informs their position, as could be found in *Jawā’ir l-Ma’ānī*.²⁴³ The only point of argument centres on whether or not it is a *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet. It is pertinent to mention that Al-Ghazālī reports it in his *Iḥyā’* on the authority of Anas bin Mālīk²⁴⁴ while Al-Shuqayrī in his *As-Sunnah* declares it as *Mawḍū’* (fabrication). He argues further that it cannot be found in any work or compilation of *Ḥadīth* except the work of Al-Ghazālī.²⁴⁵ Since there is no counter argument from any quarter, one is bound to accept that it is a fabricated *Ḥadīth* and one should decline from attributing it to the Prophet. This however

should not jettison its relevance and application, especially when there is uniformity among the divides on its message.

Another point of explanation from the Sufis is that the rewards as apportioned to both *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* and *Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl* are best likened to *Targhīb* (encouragement) which is prominent in Islamic legislations. Scholars have indicated different such instances from the Qur'ān and the *Ḥadīth*. The instance can be given from the Quranic position on *Tahjjud*, which is a meritorious deed, but is legislated upon in the Qur'an by encouragement instead of compulsion. The Qur'ān is vehement in declaring it as a voluntary act. Also, there are *Aḥādith* in both Tirmidhī and Ahmad which point to some *Suwar* like *Zulzalah*, *Ikḥlāṣ* and *Kāfirūn* that attract rewards equivalent to half, one-third and one-fourth of the rewards accruable to whoever recites the entire Qur'ān.²⁴⁶ Also, It is important to note that the Sufis do not make any attempt to replace *Ṣalātu Ibrahimiyyah* with *Ṣalāt 'l-Fātiḥ* in daily ritual obligatory *Ṣalāwāt* or in *Ṣalātu 'l-Janāzah* (funeral prayer)²⁴⁷ In the two instances, it is instructive for one to recite no other *Ṣalāt* except *Ibrahimiyyah*. The members of the *Tijāniyyah* by doing this and according to Saleh²⁴⁸ appear to have distinguished between obligatory acts and the *Mustaḥab* (voluntary) in the sense that they recite *Ṣalātu Ibrahimiyyah* in their *Ṣalāwāt* and not *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ*. If the Sufis intend to place *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* or *Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl* over and above Qur'anic or Prophetic instructions as it is understood in its arbitrary sense, they should have recited it in daily *Ṣalāwat Mafrūdah* (compulsory) or write it in their works.

The argument on *Targhīb* is strengthened if one reads through the *Jawā'ir*'s regulations of the *Awṛād* of *Tijāniyyah*. It reads:

والصلاة على رسول الله بأي صيغة كانت...فإن كانت بصيغة الفاتح لما أغلق فهي أفضل²⁴⁹

And seek for Allah's blessing on the messenger of Allah in whatever formula...but the best is *Ṣalāt 'l-Fātiḥ*.

A glance at the proposition of the above extraction reveals the salient fact, which underscores the position of mere encouragement by the Sufis. This is because, if they intend superiority of those *Ṣalāwāt* over and above the Qur'ān as it is generally and ordinarily deduced, they would not have given any option as reflected in their instructions. Furthermore, another salient fact is that

Ṣalāt 'l-Fātiḥ did not emanate from Shaykh Ahmad Tijānī but from Shaykh Muhammad Bakr²⁵⁰ as narrated above.

Lastly, the alleged ridiculing of the Qur'ān by Shaykh Ahmad Tijānī according to *Salafiyyah* scholars seems unjustifiable if one takes time to read the entire *Jawā'ir 'l-Ma'ānī* with rapt attention, especially the areas where those issues are mentioned on the *Ṣalāt 'l-Fātiḥ* vis-à-vis how the Qur'ān is conceptualised therein. A section of *Jawā'ir 'l-Ma'ānī* says:

الكلام على التفضيل بين الصلاة على النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم وبين تلاوة القرآن،
أما تفضيل القرآن على جميع الكلام من الأذكار و الصلاة على النبي وغيره من الكلام فأمر
أوضح من الشمس كما هو معلوم...وتفضيله من حيثين الحيثية الأولى: كونه كلام الذات
المقدسة المتصفة بالعظمة...في هذه المرتبة لا يوازيه كلام. والحيثية الثانية: ما دل عليه من
العلوم والمعارف ومحاسن الاداب وطرق الهدى ومكارم الأخلاق والأحكام الإلهية
...والقران في حقه هو أفضل من جميع الأذكار²⁵¹

Discourse on the superiority between seeking Allah's blessings for the soul of the Prophet and the recitation of the Qur'an. As for the superiority of the Qur'an over and above other forms of *adhkār* (formulas for remembering Allah) and *Ṣalāt* (seeking Allah's blessings for the soul of the Prophet) among others. If compared, is like the ray of the sun (compared to other sources of light) just as it is known. This superiority is better understood in two perspectives. Firstly, it (Qur'ān) is divine...hence, no speech can be compared with it due to its mightiness. Secondly, its content is rich in knowledge, Gnosticism, morals, guidance, good characters and divine laws (while others are not)...The glorious Qur'ān therefore is best of all forms of *Adhkār*.

The above passage from *Jawā'iru 'l-Ma'ānī*, according to Zachary Wright in his *Removal of confusion* depicts the true disposition of Tijāniyyah to both the Qur'an and *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ*. He submits that:

The invocation of blessing on the Prophet is a supererogatory worship, while recitation of the Qur'ān is obligatory on the believer; so, the recitation can never be left aside. The Shaykh said: "Rather the recitation of the Qur'ān is more vital (than prayer on the Prophet), because it is required by the Sacred Law due to its merits narrated to us, and because it is the foundation of the Sacred Law and the way of the Lord's dealing with creation. There is also the great punishment reserved for the one who leaves the Qur'ān".²⁵²

The above quotation from the Tijānis regards recitation of Qur'an as obligatory and recitation of the *Ṣalāt* as non-obligatory, then it follows that no amount of *Nāfilah* (supererogatory) can take the place of *Fard* (compulsory), hence the quotation equally indicates that neglecting the recitation of the Qur'ān attracts punishment while there is no such declaration in relation to *Ṣalāwat*. This can equally be taken to substantiate the *Targhīb* nature of the Tijāniyyah postulations on *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* or *Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl* which is ordinarily meant to gain wider acceptance. This therefore depicts the *Salafiyyah* scholars as quoting the *Jawā'iru 'l-Ma'ānī* out of context, hence there points lack basis. The submission of Saleh is equally another form of defense of the Tijāniyyah's position and the defense of the Qur'ān. He submits that the statement which accredits the outrageous rewards for recitation of *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* and placing it above the Qur'an sounds illogical, untrue²⁵³ and does not emanate from Shaykh Tijānī but an importation by the detractors to cause distortions.²⁵⁴ This can even be substantiated with, yet another declaration from the Shaykh that his words and deeds should be scaled with *Sharī'ah*. Whatever that is in line with *Sharī'ah* should be taken while whatever that is contrary should be rejected.

The Qādiriyyah is specifically condemned by *Salafiyyah* scholars as contained in the Ibn Bāz's submission in one of his *Fatāwā*. He extracted different quotation from *Al-Fuyūdāt 'r-Rabāniyyah*,²⁵⁵ a popular book of instructions of the Qādiriyyah order. He is specific about the poems which attributed extraordinary powers to Shaykh Abdul-Qādir. Such powers include, the postulations that he (Abdul-Qādir) is the source of all forms of knowledge, that he can quench the fire of hell, and that he will protect his followers on the day of resurrection from torments²⁵⁶ among others. Ibn Bāz is categorical in declaring these as falsehood, impracticable, act of faithlessness (*Kufr*) and the ploy to lead people astray.²⁵⁷ He posited further that on the day of

resurrection when the like of Prophets Ibrahim, Mūsā and ʿĪsā will be subjected to torment and will only be delivered by Prophet Muhammad through his intercession, how will it be possible for someone below the status of a prophet to deliver them when it is obvious that he cannot deliver himself from the torment of that day.²⁵⁸

4.4 Anti- *Ṣūfī* activities in Nigeria and their effects on Sufism

There are different anti-*Ṣūfī* activities that are going on in Nigeria as could be inferred from various analyses above. It is clear that the *Salafiyyah* scholars did not relent in educating the masses and driving people away from the Sufis and Sufism. Each of the above identified personalities and movements have different and sometimes same approach in their bid to tackle Sufism. A summary of these activities reflects the formation of different groups under the canopy of *Ahlus-Sunnah wal-Jamāʿah*, with the key objective of embarking on campaigns against Sufism. Media, both electronic and print, including social media, are filled with different programmes on Sufism anchored by different *Salafiyyah* trained preachers. An instance of this is given vis-à-vis Sunnah TV which is established and run by *Izālah* in the Northern part of the country.²⁵⁹ In some other instances, anti-*Ṣūfī* programmes are sponsored on both public and private media outfits to enlighten the masses against Sufism. Some of them include, *Ad-Dalil 's-Sharʿ* which is anchored on Radio Kwara by Dr. Abdur-Rahman Kakuri. Equally, Muhammad Ali Jabata anchors programmes on different Radio stations like, Okin (Offa), Raypower (Ilorin), Gravity (Igbobo), Lagelu FM station (Ibadan)²⁶⁰ among others.

Apart from the general and individual websites created by *Salafiyyah* scholars, there are specific sites that serve as platforms for all *Salafiyyah* scholars in Nigeria across the three zones. Some of these sites are called *DawahNigeria*,²⁶¹ *Voice of Salafiyyah*,²⁶² *Simply Salafiyyah*²⁶³ among others. Lectures of various *Salafiyyah* scholars in three major languages in Nigeria and English are uploaded for download under different topics. The sites equally play host to different topical issues in Islam as related to Nigeria but in *Salafiyyah* colouration. Also, *Ahlu 's-Sunnah* has different facebook pages, Twitter handles and Whatsapp groups, like *Al-ʿAqīdah Al-Wasitiyyah*, *Multaqah Aqullam Al-Arabiyyah*²⁶⁴ among others wherein campaign against Sufism is featured.

Also, public lectures, *Taʿlīm* and *Ḥalqah* (studies circle) are organised on regular interval where people are invited for lectures or members of *Ahlu 's-Sunnah* in a particular locality will invite a *Salafiyyah* scholar for public lectures. Along with this, different books are written and pamphlets are issued by the *Salafiyyah* scholars for their campaign to have a wider outreach. In some instances, schools are established at various levels for the same purpose. It is said that Al-Hikmah University, Ilorin and Al-Falah Islamic Institute, Ekperi, Edo State are established in connection with the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) which has its headquarters in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, to strengthen Salafism/Wahhābisim in Nigeria.²⁶⁵ This is not unconnected with the fact that many of the lecturers in the departments of both Arabic and Islamic studies, especially Al-Hikmah University are Saudi trained and paid scholars,²⁶⁶ though this (Salafism) may not be the objective of the founder.

The effect of different anti-*Ṣūfī* activities on the Sufis and Sufism in Nigeria is enormous. Since the commencement of attacks from the *Salafiyyūn*, membership of Sufism has reduced.²⁶⁷ Some denounce Sufism, while some who have not joined made up their minds not to do so. This is not because they subscribe to or agree with the *Salafiyyūn*, whose outburst on Sufism is frequent, but because they want to stay away from confusion and to maintain neutrality. Also, there are cases of many people who do not want to be identified as Sufis or with any *Ṣūfī* group. They prefer to practise Sufism privately and not making it public.

Equally, *Salafiyyah* scholars' activities against Sufism have accounted for many activities of the *Ṣūfī* which are now being held in low-key manner. Prior to the influence of *Salafiyyūn*, the *Ṣūfī* activities were held in high esteem and carried out collectively among Muslims regardless of whether or not one was a *Ṣūfī*. Activities like *Mawlidu Nabīyy* celebration were jointly and generally carried out in various higher institution campuses under the auspices of MSSN. Today, they have replaced it with *Jihād* week. That notwithstanding, association of Tijāniyyah and Qādiriyyah students in some campuses have continued to organise and celebrate *Mawlid*.

Another effect of *Salafiyyah* campaign on Sufism is the reduction in the level of acceptance and use of *Subḥah* (rosary), despite the approval by Ibn Taymiyyah and Al-ʿUthaymīn.²⁶⁸ Muslims in Nigeria before *Salafis'* campaign used *Subḥah* as a form of Islamic identity. They used to hang it in their cars or as wrist band while other held it in their hands everywhere they went as part of their mode of dressing. Some were even kept in mosques for the

use of those who might have forgotten theirs at home among others. Sufis in particular were often referred to among the Yoruba Muslims as *Awon Ijo Oni Tesuba* (people of *Tasbih*)²⁶⁹ and many scholars talk about *Subḥah* as if, ordinarily, it has miraculous power by itself. Today, people rarely move about with it, except the elderly Muslims and staunch *Ṣūfī* members while many who could not do without it kept it for indoor uses.

Sufis are today being painted as members of deviant groups like the *Shi'ah*,²⁷⁰ hence many people hold back from any form of association with them as if they are condemned to hell. Quadri, while acknowledging the effects of *Izālah* activities on Sufism in Nigeria writes:

The *Izalah* has succeeded, however, if viewed from another perspective, because it has provided another view about Sufism to some Nigerian Muslims who had been listening to the *Sufis'* view. These people are now left to decide on which way they will follow.²⁷¹

The success that the above extract refers to, especially among the youths, is not majorly unconnected to the campaign among other activities of not only *Izālah* but also other anti-*Ṣūfī* movements like MSSN, *Ahlu 's-Sunnah* among others.

However, there are some positive impacts on the part of the *Ṣūfī* adherents. This is because *Salafiyyah's* campaign has united different *Ṣūfī* blocs, which hitherto, the members were on the each other's necks over doctrinal superiority and political questions.²⁷² The days of Sir Ahmadu Bello, a strong Qādiriyyah and Northern People Congress (NPC) leader and founder, and Aminu Kano of Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) and a staunch Tijāniyyah adherent testifies to how Sufism is dragged into the Nigerian political landscape.²⁷³ The imbroglio between the adherents of the Tijāniyyah and the Qādiriyyah in Nigeria which has been gathering mouse got to the peak at this time, particularly between Sokoto, a predominantly Qādiriyyah enclave and Kano where the Tijāniyyah dominated. Also, it should be mentioned that the two political gladiators (Sardauna and Aminu Kano) lived in the two cities. The tempest cost Muhammad Sanusi, the then Emir of Kano and the leader of the Tijāniyyah in Nigeria, his stool as Emir. The upheavals continued till the spring up of *Salafiyyah's* activities.²⁷⁴

Having realised the dastard effects of the *Salafiyyah's* moves to displace Sufism, they discovered the imperativeness of joining hands to fight the common enemies.²⁷⁵ This has helped

a lot in tackling and challenging their common enemies. Ousmane observes that immediately after the creation of *Izālah* with its activities having serious effects on Sufism, many Islamic organisations came into existence courtesy of *Ṣūfī* adherents to combat the activities of *Izālah*. He identified *Jamā'at aṣ-Ṣūfiyyah* in Ilorin, *Jamā'at Ahlu Sunnah* in Kaduna and *Kungiyar Dakarun Dan Fodio* in Sokoto. The scenario in Kano appeared somewhat different because the city plays host to many prominent Sufis.²⁷⁶ Also, Kano happens to be the heart beat of Northern Nigeria in terms of civilization.

To specifically tackle the menace of *Izālah* in Kano, a movement called *Jundullahi* was formed in 1980 with the joint efforts of both the Qādiriyyah and the Tijāniyyah under the auspices of Alhaji Kamaldeen Na Ma'aji (d1981), though its lifespan was short, the effect of its short activities is widely felt. It adopted print media as the medium through which it fought the *Izālah*. Posters and handbills are printed and distributed widely to educate people on Sufism and checkmate *Izālah*. In one of their posters, Ousmane presents this layout:

The posters were displayed prominently in many areas of Kano during the peak of the Jundullahi movement activity in the early 1980s. They carried the following captions:

- 1) If you argue that the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, is only a man like all others [. . .] that he eats and drinks like everybody, that he is in no sense superior to anybody,
- 2) [that] who ever seeks the intercession (*tawasulli* in Hausa, *tawassul* in Arabic) of the Prophet, a *wali*, a righteous (*mutumin kirki* in Hausa), has committed associationism [. . .].
- 3) If you are a member of the party that persecutes the Muslims who perform *dhikr* (recitation of the name of God) or who repent (*istighfari* in Hausa, *istighfar* in Arabic) or who prevent them from doing so,
- 4) If you are one of the cursed ones who state that the marriage of their parents is void because the *salat al-fatih* was recited during its celebration,
- 5) If you are among the cursed ones who label the disciples of the Sufi orders or the saints associationists, or if you insult the Tijanis who perform the ritual of the *wazifa*,
- 6) If you are among the libertines who label those who genuflect to greet their “elders” infidels (*kafiri* in Hausa, *Kafir* pl. *Kuffar* in Arabic) for instance a son genuflecting to greet his father, a woman her husband,

a subject his chief, if you say this is associationism [. . .],

– 7) If you are among the satans who bring trouble to the authorities of Nigeria, and particularly those of Northern Nigeria,

– 8) If you are among the damned who insult the servants of God among the prophets, the saints, (*waliyyan Allah*), the righteous (*salihai* in Hausa, *salihin* in Arabic), and indeed our Muslim Native Authorities

(*sarakuna*), If you are part of those, and if you do not repent, you may see from this world, what shall be your fate in your grave.²⁷⁷

A glance at each of the above items reveals how they intend to tackle the actions of the *Izālah*. The founder could not live long before his demise. This did not initially reduce the wave of the activities of *Jundullahi*, but was not too long before it went into the dustbin of history.

More so, there are a lot of intra fronts both at local and international levels among the *Ṣūfī* circles of same background to tackle the concomitant effects of anti- *Ṣūfī* campaign and propaganda and to strengthen the members' awareness and commitments. The Tijāniyyah, for instance, has a lot of intra-circles which were founded in the early days. They include *Jamā'at al Faydah* founded by Shaykh Ibrahim Niass in Senegal in 1930, *Jamā'at Anṣār ad-Dīn* (the Supporters of the Religion of Islam) 1946, *Jamā'at Anwār al-Faydah* (Congregation of the Light of Grace), 1958.²⁷⁸ The first locally formed and most powerful among them is the *Fityān al-Islam* (The Heroes of Islam). It was founded on 11th November 1963, but became much active when the *Izālah* was established in 1978. *Fityān* was used to checkmate the influence of the *Izālah's* onslaught on Sufism. It was effective.²⁷⁹ When its activities got to the peak, branches were established across the cities in the North and its scholars were trained specifically to counter the *Izālah's* teachings against Sufism.²⁸⁰ Those that were formed in the recent time include *Al-Faydah*, *Al-Ibrahimiyyah*, Tijāniyyah Muslim Students Association of Nigeria (TIMSAN), 2011, International Organization of Tijāniyyah Brotherhood (IOTB) which was registered in 2005 and the recently re-lunched Ansarudeen At-Tijāniyy, 2016, which has the present Emir of Kano, Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, a Tijāniyyah adherent as its president.²⁸¹ These associations have gone a long way in strengthening the membership of the Tijāniyyah across Nigeria and beyond.

However, it is discovered that the Tijāniyyah is more disposed to propaganda and better involved in defense of Sufism than the Qādiriyyah.²⁸² Not that the Qādiriyyah's approach in tackling the anti-*Ṣūfī* influences and elements is not as pragmatic as that of the Tijāniyyah, they do not have formidable arms, neither do they deploy modern tactics like the Tijāniyyah. Another point of variation between the two main *Ṣūfī* groups is the absence of more intra-groups among the Qādiriyyah adherents compared to those of the Tijāniyyah.²⁸³ Abdullahi buttresses this with the fact that in Yorubaland for instance, every Qādiriyyah member has their allegiance to Alfa Nda Ṣalātī as the *Khalīfah* of *Al-Qādiriyyah An-Nasiriyyah*. Whereas, the Tijāniyyah members in Nigeria has different links to Shaykh Ibrahim Niass.²⁸⁴ It is important to state that there is the existence of Qādiriyyah Muslim Students Association of Nigeria (QAMSAN). It was registered recently, in the University of Ilorin in the year 2014 and it held its first *Mawlid* celebration on the campus in January, 2017.²⁸⁵ Prior to this, the President of the Association disclosed that the members of the Qādiriyyah had been engaging and participating in different Qādiriyyah and *Sufi* activities across campuses in Nigeria and that the delay in its Unilorin registration was not unconnected to administrative bottlenecks because the application had been submitted for a long period of time, even before his (current president) admission into the University, four years ago.

Nevertheless, there are joint programmes like *Mawlid* celebration among others which are organised collectively by every *Ṣūfī* group in a given locality. The instance is seen in the 2015 when *Mawlid* celebration was held collectively by the Sufis across Northern Nigeria at the Eagle square, Abuja, Federal Capital Territory.²⁸⁶ Also, books are jointly authored to explain the nitty-gritty of Sufism and to respond to various anti-*Ṣūfī* statements and allegations and works that had been authored by anti-*Ṣūfī* scholars which are gaining momentum. The instance of *‘Aqīdatu ’ṣ-Ṣaḥīḥah* which *Raf‘u ’l Shubuhāt ‘an mā fī Qādiriyyah wa ‘t-Tijāniyyah min al Shaṭaḥāt* (Lifting the Doubts about the Qādiriyyah and the *Tijāniyyah*) is jointly written by Muhammad Ibrahim Maimasa and Ali Jabata. The two Ilorin scholars wrote the work to explain and defend Sufism in the area against the influence of Gumi and the *Izālah*.²⁸⁷ Also, there are joint confrontations by the *Ṣūfī* of the Tijāniyyah and the Qādiriyyah adherents on Television, which started in the days of Gumi till the present time. Records bear witness to historical debate in the seventies (70s) between Abubakar Gumi, Naṣīru ‘d-Dīn Kabarā, Dahiru Bauchi and Ibrahim Saleh.²⁸⁸

There is reminiscence of this debate today in most northern states where the Sufis broadcast programmes both on Television and Radio. The Tijāniyyah in Kwara state, for instance, sponsors a weekly programme on Harmony FM Radio station tagged: *At-Taṣawwuf 'l-Islāmī*²⁸⁹ while Qādiriyyah uses *As-Sharī'atu 'l-Islamiyyah*, a Friday morning programme on Radio Kwara to explain, defend and educate the listeners on Sufism in general and Qādiriyyah order in particular and to promote Sufism general or individual's order that might have sponsored the programmes.²⁹⁰ Also, public lectures are organised by both the Qādiriyyah and Tijāniyyah to elucidate on *Ṣūfī* doctrines and practices.²⁹¹

The latest dimensional approach by the Sufis, especially the Qādiriyyah in the North, to the anti- *Ṣūfī* activities of the *Salafīyyah* bloc is systematic incorporation of their activities into the school curriculum at various levels as observed by Hills. He writes:

These programs are built around education— schools and colleges, lessons and courses. Today, the *Qādiriyya* runs a nursery, a primary school, a secondary school, and a college that is accredited to award diplomas.²⁹²

The success of these attempts will undoubtedly go a long way in suppressing various anti- *Ṣūfī* activities and re-position *Ṣūfī* adherents to their lost glory. This is because, if these plans materialised and institutionalised, various threats and moves to uprooting Sufism become impossible for either an individual or group of individuals.

Also, Shaykh Qaribullah Nasir Kabara who is currently the grand-leader of the Qādiriyyah in Nigeria and West Africa sub-region is planning a green city project.²⁹³ The project is geared towards establishing a Qādiriyyah city in Kano, Kano State, having realised that over one and a half million Muslim pilgrims from West Africa come to Kano annually to visit the tombs of the local Qādiriyyah saints and for the annual *Mawkib* festival. It is therefore considered imperative to have a formal place specifically designated for this purpose and other Qādiriyyah activities in Kano. It is estimated that the Qādiriyyah has about fifteen Million members in West Africa sub-region. The order runs 118 primary schools, 34 secondary schools, two *Madrasah* and has more than 8,000 affiliated mosques. This is therefore an attempt to harness various recourses in building a city for the Qādiriyyah adherents in Nigeria and other Qādiriyyah pilgrims from other parts of the world. The environmental plan features School with different learning facilities, environmental outlook, feeding programmes, faith and lifestyle,

media and partnership/alliances.²⁹⁴ It has been approved by the Kano State government and if completed it will be a distinct Qādiriyyah village.

4.5 Effects of rivalry between the *Salafiyyūn* and the Sufis on Nigerian Muslims

Since the inception of differences in the Muslim *Ummah* in Nigeria, the hitherto unity and brotherhood among the Muslims has been threatened and thwarted. This has responsible for various divisions among the Muslims which seems irreconcilable. There are unhealthy campaigns against each other, both sides leveling several allegations against one another. They castigate and lampoon one another. The *Salafiyyah* is specifically noted for tagging the Sufis as *Kuffār*²⁹⁵ despite the Prophetic warning against such declaration. In fact, the manner of pronouncing *Takfīr* by the *Salafiyyah* scholars contravened the rules as set out in the second chapter of this work. In effect, the Muslim community which is supposed to exist as one and indivisible entity, breaks into uncountable pieces. Muslims cannot hold to one rope of Allah as enshrined in the Qur'an (Q3:103) with which they would be seen and speak with one voice.

Another major effect of the unhealthy rivalry between the *Salafiyyūn* and the Sufis in Nigeria which informed the decision to embark on this topic is that many Muslims are left in the wilderness of doubts and confusions. Many lost bearing vis-à-vis spirituality and could not make a head way. Abstinance of many from being either *Şūfī* or *Salafī* has been responsible in no small measure for low-level of spiritual consciousness and uprightness among the Muslims. This is because, Sufism, which is majorly attacked as previously mentioned in this work, is largely concerned with Islamic spirituality. Displacing it is tantamount to dismantling Islamic spirituality. In Nigerian society today, socio-political, moral and economic values have no place. This is occasioned by the loss of advocacy for spiritual activities and absence of dedication to same among the Muslims.

Also, in the opinion of Olayiwola, there are high level of discrimination among the Muslims and pluralisation and polarisation of sectarianism and sectarian mosques. There are unhealthy campaigns against each other, both sides leveling several allegations against one another. They castigate and lampoon one another and in some instances there are cases physical attacks. The instance is seen from Quadri's observation who documents how many Imams were

removed and many mosques were dissented for this feud.²⁹⁶ He gave the instance of Mallam Sani, in Sagamu, Ogun State, Mallam Muhammad Lawan Sidi, Iddah, Kogi State, Mallam Muhammad Mustafa, Funtua, Katsina State among other all of whom were Sufis but were made by *Izālah* to forfeit their Imamship due to the adherence to Sufism. There are equally cases of physical attacks. Apart from that of Danji village, near Funtua, and those ones in Jos, Plateau State that were reported by Quadri,²⁹⁷ there more recent cases in Iddah, Kogi, Adamawa Area Council, Federal Polytechnic, Bida, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University, Bauchi, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife and that of University of Ilorin all of which have been mentioned before in this chapter.

He submits further that absence of unity and cohesion among the Muslims in Nigeria has responsible for absence of due recognition of Islam by the Nigerian government.²⁹⁸ Prior to the dichotomy between the *Salafiyyah* and *Şūfiyyah* in Nigeria, the Nigerian Muslims spoke with one voice and were able to secure annual declaration of public holiday to mark the two *Elds* (Islamic festivals) and *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* and inclusion of Islamic Studies at various levels of education.²⁹⁹ Today, there had been agitations from some quarters calling for declaration of public holiday to mark the annual *Hijrah* celebration but since the voice is not one, it felt into the deaf hear of the government.

4.6 The way forward

The strained relationship between the *Salafiyyah* and *Şūfi* scholars has become wide spread and it has contributed in no small measures to the division among the Nigerian Muslims. In proffering a lasting solution to this menace therefore, the onus lies largely on the Nigeria Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) which is the apex Islamic body that oversees the Islamic affairs in the country. It was founded in August, 1973 as an umbrella body for other Muslim associations, societies and organizations in Nigeria. It has eminent Nigerians, including the scholars serving on its committees.³⁰⁰ The NSCIA is more disposed to tackling any form of marginalisation against the interest of Muslims, especially in the political matter and for the advancement of the course of Nigerian Muslims.³⁰¹ It has the following as part of its main objectives:

- To promote Islamic solidarity through fostering brotherhood and cooperation among Muslims in Nigeria and other parts of the World.

- To ensure uniform observance of Islamic rites including festivals throughout the Federation of Nigeria.
- To promote better understanding and practice of Islam.³⁰²

The above items are some of the key objectives for the formation of NSCIA, especially as they are related to this discourse. As spelt out, it is clear that the main objective of the NSCIA as the umbrella body for the Muslims of different backgrounds in Nigeria is to promote and protect the unity of the *Ummah*. The major division that bedevils the fates of Nigerian Muslims today is between the *Salafī* and *Šūfī* adherents, which started long time ago, even before the formation of the NSCIA. The imbroglio started in the days when JNI was the leading Islamic body in the country, shortly after the demise of the late Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello and there was nothing to show that it (JNI) took it as a duty upon itself to wage into the crisis. Different factors may be responsible for this as could be inferred from the previous discussions in this work, but that notwithstanding, with the formation of NSCIA as an alternative to JNI,³⁰³ the issue of Muslim Unity should be of paramount importance to the body.

Oloyede rightly observes that:

The Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs is the platform provided by the Muslims in Nigeria for interacting among themselves and interacting with the public, particularly the Government in the management of the affairs of Islam in Nigeria. So, it is the highest organ as the name suggests for interacting with others on behalf of Muslims in Nigeria. The Council represents and protects the interest of Muslims in Nigeria. It is made up of representatives from all segments of the Muslim community and it is for that reason that it speaks for the Muslims in Nigeria.³⁰⁴

If the Council has been upright with regards to this observation of Oloyede, the dichotomy between the two major Muslim bodies would have been long resolved. This is because as spelt out in the constitution, items 3 of Article 10 which provides for committees has set out the machinery for this purpose. Among the standing committees which can tackle this menace are Elders, *Fatāwā*, *Daʿwah*, Research and policy and legal councils.³⁰⁵ The functions of each of these committees as contained in the constitution are geared towards resolving whatever crisis that may be brewing among the Muslims and to foster peace and brotherhood.

Practically, a synergy for intellectual engagements between the scholars of *Şūfī* and *Salafī* can be put in place to deliberate on burning issues between the two groups and come with suggestions that will assist in attaining the concept of “unity in diversity”, while the Council provides a legal framework, courtesy of its legal Council and make ways for its enforcement. This will go a long way in preserving the unity of Muslims and limiting the level of divisions among the Muslim *Ummah* in Nigeria. This is imperative because in many places in the Qur’ān, Muslims are enjoined to live as one and indivisible entity. This may be difficult in the light of other Qur’anic provisions which seemingly depict the Muslims as a fragmented one, but what is conceived here is similar to what is going on in the country like Saudi Arabia where there are different Islamic elements like the Sufis, *Ikhwān*, *Madkhalī* but *Wahhābiyyah* stands and overshadows all.³⁰⁶ NSCIA should be the image bearer of Nigerian Muslims and should find ways of bringing various groups among the Muslims under its control.

Conclusion

It is clear from various analyses in this chapter that the advent of Islam in Nigeria predates the existence of the country as a nation. This is because the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates took place in 1914, whereas the British imperialists who responsible for the amalgamation met Islam on ground on their arrival. There is no clear date as to the advent of Islam in the southern part of the country but records bear testimony that it was around 14th century, precisely in the days of Mansa Kanka Musa of Mali that Islam got to Yorubaland. Also, it is clear from this work that Salafism met Sufism in Nigeria because Islam came almost with Sufism. In other words, Sufis were not only among those who brought Islam to Nigeria, but also played active roles in its consolidation in the land.

The emergence of Salafism is traced to the days of Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello’s interactions with Saudi Arabian government via Muslim World League (MWL) and his adoption of Shaykh Abubakar Gumi as the mouth-piece. This paved way for Gumi to launch his anti- *Şūfī* activities in the late sixties (60s), probably after the demise of Sardauna. Since then, Gumi’s activities against the Sufis have been masterminded by the Saudi Arabia authorities. The

activities got to the peak with the formation of *Izālah* Movement with branches springing up at different places across Northern Nigeria.

The scenario was a bit different in the south due to the resistance of the scholars like Shaykh Adam Al-Ilori to Saudi call. Another calculated attempt that was adopted by Saudi Arabian government via issuance of scholarships to the indigenes to study Islamic related courses in their Universities and send them back home after graduation to campaign against Sufism. This has yielded the desired results by the Saudi Arabian government. Today, Southern Nigeria is populated with many graduates from Saudi Arabia and anti- *Ṣūfī* propaganda is on the increase. MSSN has been subjugated to join hands with *Ahlu 's-Sunnah* in this campaign. The personalities like Dr Alaro and Jabata are known for their anti- *Ṣūfī* postures, especially in Kwara State and in the Southern part of the country. Many anti- *Ṣūfī* activities are staged both on Nigeria Higher institutions campuses and public places. Public lectures are held on a regular basis and media (print, electronic and social) are used to clampdown on Sufism, all being sponsored by Saudi Arabian government, under the umbrella of *Da'wah*.

Qādiriyyah and Tijāniyyah are major *Ṣūfī* orders that have been prominent across the cities and towns in Nigeria. Different aspects of their doctrines and practices, including *Al-Ḥaqīqat 'l-Muhammadiyyah*, *Silsilah*, *Jawharat 'l-Kamāl* and *Ṣalāt 'l-Fātiḥ* among others have been condemned. A critical examination of each of these elements as demonstrated in this work has revealed their credence in the Islamic sources and frameworks, though *Salafīyyūn* still stick to their guns. From every indication, the doctrine of *Al-Ḥaqīqat 'l-Muhammadiyyah* is enshrined both in the Qur'ān and the *Ḥadith*. This is because, as indicated in this work, there are Qur'anic and *Ḥadith* provisions for pre and post existence of Muhammad after his demise. But *Salafīyyah* scholars rejected it claiming that it was taught neither by the Prophet nor his companions. They claimed that the Prophet had died and cannot be seen by anyone except in dream. The truth remains that the doctrine of Reality of Muhammad is the corner stone of Sufism and a medium through which Sufis establish a link and communication with him. It is only rejected by the *Salafīyyah* because it will bring their entire campaign against Sufism into nullity, if it should be accepted. Also, the doctrine can only be properly understood through intense spiritual acts which the *Salafīyyūn* did not engage themselves in it.

The cases of *Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl* and *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* are largely discussed. The issues around them centre on the possibility and acceptability of the medium through which they were

come about as explained by the Sufis. Also, another bone of contention between the *Salafīyyūn* and the Sufis is their status vis-à-vis the Qur’ān, especially the stipulated rewards for their reciters. The submissions of the Sufis on the mediums through which *At-Tahiyah* (*Tashshahhud*) and the message of assurance that ‘Umar bin ‘Abdul-Azīz is excluded from the dwellers of hellfire are received make the claims of the Sufis on the modes of their (*Jawhāratu ’l-Kamāl* and *Ṣalāt ’l-Fātiḥ*) coming into existence possible. As for the rewards, the Sufis have submitted that they are mere *Targhīb* (enticement) to make them gain wider acceptance and they (Sufis) agreed that they cannot be superior to the Qur’ān.

The effect of *Salafīyyah* campaign against Sufism is enormous. It has adversely affected Sufism and Nigerian Muslims at large. It has negatively affected Nigerian Muslims in terms of unity and brotherhood that Islam enjoins among its adherents. Many Muslims are living in the wilderness of doubts and confusions, especially in matters of spirituality. It was a bit late before the Sufis realise the need to drop their intra-hostilities occasioned by supremacy battle between the Tijāniyyah and Qādiriyyah and joined forces to combat the *Salafīyyūn*. Various fronts were formed with combined efforts and various mediums were adopted to tackle the *Salafīyyūn*. With their frantic efforts, they have recorded some successes within a short period, though they have not been able to redeem their image which has been dented by the *Salafīyyah* nor address their decimated population. The supremacy battles and struggles therefore continue between the *Salafī* and *Ṣūfī* adherents in Nigeria till the present time. The Nigeria Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) is therefore identified as the major body that can intervene in the struggle because of the adverse effects that it (the *Ṣūfī* / *Salafī* struggle) has on the Muslims in general. This could be achieved by providing a platform for intellectual gathering of Muslim scholars to mediate and bring the two feuding groups together.

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221. F. Ar-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥu 'l-Ghayb*, (Al-Maktabat As-Shāmilah, Vol.1) 220
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255. I.S.S. Al-Qadiri, *Al-Fuyūdāt Al-Rabāniyyah*,
256. I.S.S. Al-Qadiri,...68
257. A.A. Ibn Bāz, *Fatāwā 'l-Lajnat 'd-Dā'imah*, (Al-Maktabat As-Shāmilah, Vol.2)355

258. A.A. Ibn Bāz, ...
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277. O. Kane,....
278. R. Blench & others, *The Role of Traditional Rulers in Conflict Prevention and Mediation in Nigeria*, (An interim report prepared for The Department For International Development (DFID), 2006) 41
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280. Y.A.Quadri,...
281. Gathered from interviews with the leader of TIMSAN, Muqaddam Ibrahim Abdullah Niass (President of IOTB), and Dr. Awwal Baba Taofiq, The Cordinator, Ansarudeen At-Tijaniyyah, Kwara State and North Central coordinator.
282. An interview with Alhaji Abdullah Toyin Salat....
283. An interview with Alhaji Abdullah Toyin Salat....

284. This was gathered from Dr. A.B. Taofiq on 25/10/2016 while discussing the issue of unity among the Tijāniyyah members when they were preparing for the *Mawlid* of Shaykh Ibrahim Niass which was planned to hold on 29th of April, 2017. One of the factors that accounted for the rumbles among various adherents of Tijaniyyah in Nigeria is superiority complex. This is occasioned due to different and independent links that the like Shaykh Muhammad Awwal, Omupo, Shaykh Sani Awwal among others had with Shaykh Ibrahim.
285. An interview the QAMSAN President.....
286. This event was broadcasted by the ChannelTv News@10.
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289. It is a Radio programme sponsored by IOTB on every Sunday on Harmony FM Stations.
290. It is a programme sponsored by Markaz Abdullahi Umar Nazif Al-Islami Al-Khayri.
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295. M.S. Al-^cUthaymin,...(Vol.5) 82
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297. Y.A. Quadri...
298. A.Olayiwola,...124, 252 & 257
299. This used to be the argument of Honourable Justice AbdulQadir Orire (rtd), The former Grand-Kadi, Kwara State Shariah Court of Appeal and the Chairman Kwara State Hijrah Committee, each time there is Hijrah Celebration in the state and he delivered his speech.
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302. http://www.nscia.com.ng/constitution_of_the_Nigeria_supreme_council_for_Islamic_affairs/ (accessed on 12/02/2017)
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CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

Taşawwuf is undoubtedly one of the controversial subjects in Islam which scholars of different backgrounds and ages have discussed at length. *Salafiyyah* scholars whose submissions this work attempts to examine are among the scholars with special interest in Sufism. The first chapter introduces this work by outlining the motives behind it. The primary objective is to break a new ground and to re-direct the minds of scholars to the salient issues which are germane to understanding the bone of contention between the *Salafiyyūn* and Sufis. It equally sets out how the set objectives would be achieved. Also indicated in the first chapter of this work are the areas to be covered and focused on as well as the constraints that necessitate the exclusion of the areas that are considered not vital to this work.

In chapter two, it is said that *Salafiyyah* as a nomenclature has different connotations depending on the perspective from which one looks at it. It is sometimes referred to as *Ahlu 's-Sunnah wal-Jamā'ah*, *Ahlu 'l-Ḥadīth*, among others. *Salafiyyah* itself is divided into various movements ranging from the Purist, to the Political, and *Jihadī Salafī*. It has historically metamorphosed from *Ahlu 'l-Athari* as coined by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbali to the time of Ibn Taymiyyah who was the first to bring the nomenclature to the limelight, though there is an indirect reference for it in *Ḥadīth*. The period of *Salaf* itself was characterised by different events which consequently made the *Ummah* to be engulfed with distrust, suspicion, fragmentation, among others. All these made the Muslims of later generations to quench for true Islamic spirit and identity. The dire need to separate the chaff from the grain through identifying and retaining the true Islamic identity and spirit is responsible for various groups and sects that sprang afterwards with each laying claim to righteousness and following the footsteps of the *Salaf*.

The *‘Aqīdah* of *Salafiyyah* is not ordinarily different from that of the ordinary Muslims. The only thing is that their approach to the interpretation of some Islamic tenets is somewhat different from the conventional understanding. The *Salafiyyah* scholars always posed to stay by the outer or apparent meanings of the verses of the Qur’ān without digging for deeper interpretation, except as given by the Prophet, his Companions or as may be interpreted by the *Salaf*. The *Salafiyyah* group unanimously divided the principle of Islamic *Tawḥīd* into three, with divergent views over the fourth classification, *Tawḥīd 'l-Hakimiyyah*. They equally came up with another unique approach in their explanation of the *Kalimatu-Shahhādah: Shurūṭ 's-Shahhādah* (conditions of *Shahhādah*), including *Al-Walā' Wal-Barā'* (loving and hating for Allah’s sake), *Takfīr* (anathematisation), among others.

The issue of *Bid'ah*, which forms one of the core doctrines of the *Salafiyyah*, is discussed from different perspectives by examining the denotations and connotations of Qur’anic verses and selected celebrated *Aḥādith* of the Prophet on it. The views of various scholars are not left out with the summation that *Bid'ah*, to many modern *Salafiyyah* scholars, is indivisible or unclassifiable into whatever form. But the reality has shown that innovation is not only divisible but can also be more than two as it is generally submitted by some other scholars, even within the bloc of *Salafiyyah*. The major *Salafiyyah* scholars at different times who have a tremendous

influence on the crystallisation of its doctrines as discussed in this work include, Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah, Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb, Muhammad Naşru 'd-Dīn Al-Bānī, Shaykh Ibn Bāz, and Shaykh Al-^Uthaymīn among others. The influence of *Salafiyyah* scholars across the globe today is equally discussed with various factors that have favoured them, including the deployment of petrol-dollars to spread their ideologies across the Islamic world and beyond.

The third chapter of this work focuses on *Salafiyyah* scholars' discourse on Sufism, including its principles or doctrines and practices. It started with the origin of Sufism covering various accounts of the *Salafiyyah* scholars on the different possible sources of Sufism outside the mainstream Islam and the submissions of the Sufis on how Sufism originated. This work thereafter examines various sources and established the sources of Sufism within the Islamic framework and within the Islamic perimeters. It equally reflects the traces and elements of Sufism during the period of the *Salaf* with the identification of some key personalities whose footsteps the Sufis follow. After that, discourse is equally held in this work on the positions of each of the major *Salafiyyah* scholars at both classical and modern periods, and it was discovered that the scholars in the modern time like Ibn Bāz and Al-^Uthaymīn have no recourse for Sufism, while the classical scholars do have.

The doctrine of *Wilāyah* (Sainthood), *Fanā'* (annihilation), *Maḥabbah* (love) and *Zuhd* (asceticism) are extensively discussed in the light of both *Salafiyyah* and Sufis discourse on each of them. Also, practices like *Tawassul* (intercession), *Ziyāratu 'l-Qubūr* (grave visitation), *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* (celebration of Prophet's birthday) are equally not left out. The discourse also covers *Wird* (*litany*) as practised by the Sufis and discussed by the modern *Salafiyyah* scholars. By and large, there exists a parallel line between the two groups and each sticks to its gun. But the bottom line is that there is no clear evidence to prove that *Salafiyyah* scholars have properly read and digested the works and expressions of the Sufis on each of these doctrines and practices.

Another major discourse which this chapter focuses on is the *Salafiyyah's* discussions on some prominent controversial *Ṣūfī* personalities like Al-Bisṭāmī, Al-Hallaj and Ibn ^ʿArabī. Out of the three of them, only Al-Bisṭāmī was not condemned but *Shaṭḥāt* (theophanic locutions)

which brought him into the central stage of mystical discourse was condemned by both Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn, while the like of Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim did not condemn him.

The fourth chapter of this work discusses the interaction between the *Salafiyyūn* and Sufis in Nigeria. It is clear from every indication that Salafism arrives in Nigeria much after Sufism, which came almost with Islam. Also, different anti-*Ṣūfī* personalities and various activities to bring down Sufism in Nigeria are discussed. The two key orders, Tijāniyyah and Qadiriyyah, with particulars reference to the areas of accusations, like *Al-Ḥaqīqatu 'l-Muhammadiyyah* (Muhammad's Reality), *Silsilah* (chain), *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* and *Jawharatu 'l-Kamāl* are extensively discussed. The effects of the cat-and-rat-like relationship between the *Ṣūfī* and the *Salafī* on Sufism in particular and Nigerian Muslims in general are discussed. Also, there was a suggestion as to the way forward to enhance oneness of the *Ummah*, and NSCIA is identified as the key body that can address the lingering issues between the two key Islamic bodies in Nigeria and bring the rancor into extinction or to the barest minimum.

5.2 Findings

The controversial nature of Sufism in Islam which has been generating reactions and counter-reactions from the *Salafiyyah* and the *Ṣūfī* scholars has dragged many scholars into confusion, while many Muslims are left in the wilderness of doubts. This has equally pushed each of the two groups to extremes with neither being ready to come to term with the other and see the need to be on the same page. The *Salafiyyah* side is laying claims to righteousness while the Sufis are equally claiming the same. However, in reality, neither of the two groups has absolute monopoly of rightness. This is because what each of them emphasises is central to Islam and a basic concept therein. One can neither downplay the importance of Islamic spirituality

which the *Ṣūfī* emphasises nor the understanding of various Islamic concepts in the lights of the teachings of the *Salaf* which the *Salafiyyūn* equally seem to have bent on. There is, therefore, the impending need to have a position which will strike a balance between the two extremes. This work has provided such a balance because it has investigated and shed lights on the lingering issues between them. Having examined the various sources and arguments of both sides, the following findings are therefore made from the various analyses.

The *Salafiyyah* is best understood and conceived as a *Manhaj* (concept) and not *Madhhab* (school of thought) as being demonstrated by the modern *Salafiyyah* scholars. This is because *Salafiyyah* is a concept that evolved from the teachings of the early Community of Muslims (*Salaf*). It is clear from every indication that the members of immediate Community of the Prophet (the Companions) spread across the Islamic world, especially after the demise of the Prophet. There is also a natural variation in humanity which have accounted for difference of opinions among the Companions, it therefore becomes an imperative to approach, discuss and conceive the period of *Salaf* as a broad conceptual framework (*Manhaj*). This can go a long way in addressing various challenges among the Muslim *Ummah*, which is equally diverse across the times and places, instead of *Madhhab* (school of thought) as it is being perceived today, especially by the present-day *Salafiyyah* scholars. Also, it should be indicated that Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn are key players in this regard in the recent time.

Also, it is generally known that the modern *Salafiyyah* scholars have their allegiance exclusively to *Ḥanābilah* school of thought. This has made them to object and reject Sufism as its condemnation is alleged to be a part of Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbali's teachings. This is discovered to be untrue from all indications. It is established in this work that one of the works of Imam Hanbali is *Kitabu 'z-Zuhd* wherein he discusses issues that are related to Sufism and some personalities that are held in high esteem by the Sufis. Also, it is submitted in this work that part of what metamorphosed into Sufism is *Zuhd* as exemplified by different Prophets, including Prophet Muhammad and his Companions. It is clear that Sufis fashioned their teachings after the Prophetic approach to life, worldly matters and his teachings of spirituality to the Companions, especially the Companions of the Bench (*Ahlu 'ṣ-Ṣuffah*). These equally seem to be the

background to Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim and Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb's expression of paired views about Sufism. If the alleged condemnation by Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbali is true, these scholars who are major exponents of his teachings would have amplified it beyond any reasonable doubt. But there is nothing of such. None of them outrightly condemned Sufism but attempted to set perimeters for Sufism, especially those elements they believed to be superfluous in their doctrines and practices.

Many of the present day *Salafiyyah* advocates appear somewhat not in absolute tune with the original and pristine teachings of the *Salaf* both in spirit and practice. This is because they confined their loyalties to *Ḥanābilah* school in the spirit and understanding of scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim, and Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb among others. The works of prominent modern *Salafiyyah* scholars like Al-^ʿUthaymīn and Ibn Bāz are replete with encomiums and celebration of these scholars. This points to their reduction of *Salaf*'s teachings to a *Madhhab* (a school of thought). This is inappropriate because the reality is that neither the *Ḥanābilah* school which is being glorified by modern *Salafiyyah* scholars nor these few scholars can encapsulate all that transpired during the period of the *Salaf*. Equally, a further examination of the works of modern *Salafiyyah* scholars like Ibn Bāz and Al-^ʿUthaymīn will undoubtedly reflect the fact that the said loyalty is doctored or tailored to their personal understanding and has little or no bearing in most cases to the position of their precursors identified above. Ibn Bāz and Al-^ʿUthaymīn among others in many cases abandoned the righteous submissions of their precursors and invent their own views.

Another key point that subtracts the level of compliance of the present day *Salafiyyah* scholars to the teachings of the *Salaf* is their position and understanding of Sufism, which they refused to accept as part of the teachings of the *Salaf*. The likes of Shaykh Ibn Bāz, Al-^ʿUthaymīn, Alaro and Jabata among others who are prominent scholars in the *Salafiyyah* circle in the modern time argued against Sufism and declared the Sufis as *Kuffār*. According to various findings in this work, it is revealed that the seed of Sufism was not only sown in the period of the *Salaf* but also started to germinate during the period, hence it is remarked by Ibn Khaldūn that those who shunned worldliness in the second generation of Islam were called and referred to as Sufis. Also, it is revealed in this work that Sufism is coined from the broad teachings and

lifestyles of the Prophet and his Companions, especially the Companions of the Bench (*Ahlu 'ş-Şuffah*). If these teachings were later conceptualised to become what is known as Sufism today, it will be absurd for anyone to declare such a concept as *Bid'ah* or alien to Islam.

By nomenclature, there ought not to be any major difference in the submissions of *Salafiyyah* of different generations on any issue. This is because the modern scholars build essentially on the views and submissions of their predecessors. This, however, is impracticable and unachievable when one reads through the works of each of these scholars, especially on Sufism. There is a wide range of irreconcilable disparities between the scholars of *Salafiyyah* of different ages. A cursory study of the works of the classical *Salafiyyah* scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn ʿAbdul Wahhāb, Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah, and a host of others, and their reports about their interaction with Sufis reveals no hostility or outright condemnation of Sufism as being circulated and propagated by the modern and present-day *Salafiyyah*. Generally speaking, their attempt was to redefine the activities of Sufism and set perimeters, using the Qurʾān and the *Sunnah* as the yardsticks. They, therefore, accept whatever that is in consonance with both primary sources of Islam and reject whatever that runs contrary to both in the outward sense. Some noticeable areas of discrepancies between the two camps will be presented in subsequent paragraphs.

One of the areas of noticeable disparity between modern and classical scholars of *Salafiyyah* on Sufism is the aspect of the origin and legitimacy of *Taşawwuf*. Modern *Salafiyyah* scholars are vehement in their displacement of Sufism and its declaration as *Bid'ah*, *Shirk* (polytheism) and an element that lacks credence in Islam. *Şūfī* orders are often mentioned along with deviant groups and sects like *Shiʿah*, *Muʿtazilah* among others. On the contrary, classical *Salafiyyah* scholars as mentioned above do not contend or doubt the origin of Sufism within the primary sources of Islam. Many of them have confirmed and even proved both the origin and legitimacy of Sufism in Islam. They disposed favourably to Sufism and the Sufis of their time.

The second noticeable disparity between the *Salafiyyah* scholars of different generations is one-sidedness. A careful study of modern scholars reveals that their submissions are grossly one-sided. They largely condemn Sufism and reject it outrightly, except few scholars like Al-

Qarḍāwī among others as indicated in this work. This is not the case when one examines the position of the classical scholars. They expressed paired views. They support as well as reject some elements of Sufism and some of its scholars. The admiration and adoration of scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim among others for some Sufis has been expressed above. However, neither commendation nor admiration is displayed in the works of scholars like Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn and their disciples.

The third area of noticeable dissimilarity between the submissions of classical and modern *Salafīyyah* scholars is irreconcilable divisions within the bloc of modern *Salafīyyah* whereas such is absent among the classical scholars. Ibn Bāz, Al-ʿUthaymīn, Ibn Al-Fawzān and many *Wahhābiyyah* or Saudi *Salafīyyah* scholars are all out to condemn Sufism in its entirety. They do not mince words in their condemnation of it and its men. On the contrary, *Salafīyyah* scholars mainly from Egypt, Pakistan, India, among others like Al-Qarḍāwī, Asrar Rashīd, Muhammad Tahir 'l-Qadri, ʿIṣām Al-Bashir, Hasan ʿAlī among others are prominent Sufis adherent scholars, writers and speakers in the modern time. Therefore, these are some modern *Salafīyyah* scholars who align themselves with the classical and orthodox scholars.

Furthermore, it is generally observed that the point of difference between them could be better viewed from both ideal and reality perspectives. The classical *Salafīyyah* scholars accepted the reality by adopting Sufism as an integral part of Islam which concerns itself mainly with spirituality. It is an undeniable fact that Sufism conceptualises various spiritual teachings contained in both the Qurʾān and the *Sunnah*. On the other hand, modern scholars of *Salafīyyah* reject and deny this reality but attempt to separate spirituality from temporal matters thereby reducing Islam to the status of religions that demand not much from their adherents. This is purely a secularist and materialistic idea. Islam weaves both spiritual and mundane matters into an integral whole.

Bidʿah, as a concept and as discussed in this work, has not been properly understood by the overwhelming majority of Muslims, including many scholars. It is discovered that not every *Bidʿah* is a misguidance or an aberration and that its classification into whatever kinds as demonstrated in this work is inevitable. The evidence in this work shows that modern *Salafīyyah* scholars who subscribe to and argue for non-classification of *Bidʿah* could not but be caught with

the web of classifying innovation in their submissions. Therefore, classification of *Bid'ah* is inevitable. It could be summed up, that *Bid'ah* is any newly introduced or invented matter into Islam and it is of two kinds. Good innovation is whatever that aids or facilitates the cause of the religion, while bad innovation is the opposite. Regardless of any further clarification, good innovation is acceptable while bad innovation is condemned and should be rejected.

Having examined the concept of *Bid'ah* from different perspectives and having assessed all the available evidence, it is clearly shown that *Bid'ah* is not a negative, repugnant or abhorrent term in Islam as it is being widely represented by some scholars, especially the *Salafiyyūn*. This is clearly shown in the Qur'ān as explained by exegetes in the case of monasticism. *Bid'ah* is a tool that can be used to tackle the challenges of time both in religious and mundane matters once it is understood in the sense of good (*Hasanah*) or bad (*Sayyi'ah*). Therefore, the former is *Halāl* (lawful) while the latter is *Harām* (unlawful).

Ordinarily, classification of *Bid'ah* into whatever kinds by scholars should not call for polemics among them. This is because there are a lot of other technical terms and concepts that were classified by scholars for different purposes. The instances are seen in respect of scholars' categorisation of human actions in the religious matter (*ḥukm*) into five (5). These are *Farḍ*, (compulsory), *Mandūb* (recommended), *Mubāḥah* (likeable), *Makrūh* (detestable) and *Harām* (forbidden). *Shirk* (polytheism) is equally divided into two. These are *Ash-Shirku 'l-Aṣghar* (minor polytheism) and *Ash-Shirk 'l-Akbar* (Major polytheism). *Kufr* (infidelity) is also classified into major (*Kufr*) and minor (*kufr dunna kufrin*) among others. It is necessary to note that none of these is divided either in the Qur'ān or the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet but by some scholars.

Furthermore, it is pointed out in this work that the Sufis who are mostly accused of perpetrating the acts of *Bid'ah* have a clear and adequate understanding of what innovation is all about including its constituents. Therefore, they provide evidence to defend their position and to demonstrate their understanding of the perilous nature of the concept of *Bid'ah* in Islam. The Sufis align themselves with the position and understanding of the early *Salaf* and orthodox or classical scholars on *Bid'ah*. One other point that could be deduced from the discourse of the *Salafiyyah* scholars on *Bid'ah* is that their pattern of classification of innovation into religious and mundane matters lacks credence or reference from the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*, whereas the

Sufis adopt a method (good or bad) that has direct and valid reference in the tradition of the Prophet. They (the Sufis) therefore exonerate themselves from the submission of the *Salafiyyah* because they believe that there is no difference between what is worldly or religious, except in the view of the secularist or materialist.

Also, it is clearly established in this work that the *Salafiyyūn* are equally guilty of some practices which they described as heinous and accused the Sufis of them under the umbrella of *Bid'ah* and what either was or was not practised by the *Salaf*. This is clearly demonstrated in the second and third chapters of this work where the concept of *Bid'ah* and *Mawlid* are discussed. Despite their all out war against the Sufis on innovation and celebration of the Prophet's birthday, their observance of twenty *Nāfilat* as *Tarāwih* during the month of *Ramaḍān* and the celebration of Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb's week which commemorates his birthday, among others, depict their compromising postures. This proves that *Salafiyyah* scholars in the modern time are not in compliance with the real teachings of the *Salaf*. What could be responsible for this may not be different from either their non-understanding of the true nature of *Salaf* or inability to properly digest Islamic literatures.

The interaction between the *Salafiyyah* and *Ṣūfī* adherents in Nigeria remains unhealthy and its waxing stronger on daily basis. Actually, the Salafism got to the shore of Nigeria much later after the presence of Sufism which came almost along with Islam itself. Despite the late arrival, there was an intensive and well coordinated activity to water-down Sufism and the Sufis' influence via the personalities like Shaykh Abubakar Gumi and *Izalah* movement that was formed under his influence and Dr Abdur-Razzaq Alaro, and Shaykh Muhammad Ali Jabata. Their efforts were on the verge of absolute success before they were halted by the Sufis who buried various face-offs within their blocs and combined efforts to tackle the *Salafiyyūn*. The fierce battle between the *Salafiyyah* and *Sufiyyah* continues till the present time but with modifications. *Salafiyyah* in the north is not as strong as it used to be while the in the south their influence is on the increase in places like Oyo and Osun, while Ogun is the least affected. Both of them maintain the temple in Lagos State. This has affected the Muslims in Nigeria greatly. It constitutes a serious source of divisions among the Muslims, while many are living in the state of perpetual confusion as to the right or the wrong between the two. NSCIA is therefore charged

with the responsibility of providing a lasting solution to the menace for the needed peace and harmonious relationship to reign among the Nigerian Muslims.

In developing a framework for mutual understanding among various opposing groups in Islam and as discussed in this work, it is discovered that scholars, especially in the modern time, do not bother themselves in understanding their opponents' views from their works. In other words, there is no inter-dependent research and cross-examination of ideas which can bring about cross-fertilisation of ideas as it will enhance the overview of what each side of the divides is putting across. Rather, many scholars stand aloof and assess a concept not from the submissions of the propounder but as may be literally understood either by them (assessors) and their cohorts. The style or procedure that is adopted in this work is examination of a concept from the works of the core *Ṣūfī* scholars vis-à-vis the submissions of the major *Salafiyyah* scholars on that concept, examination of their sources, using classical works of *Tafāsīr* for Qur'anic verses and scrutinisation of relevant *Aḥādīth* using Al-Bānī as the yardstick. Sometimes, the need to be properly guided and to give sound judgment takes us to shop for the views of other scholars, especially those that are venerated by either side or both sides before making a conclusion. If this method is adopted by scholars, issues that are generating controversies will be resolved intellectually without much stress.

5.3 Observations and Recommendations

The interaction between the *Salafiyyūn* and Sufis which this work focuses on has been an interesting one. This is because their interactions could be best described as a parallel form of interaction with neither side crossing the line. Many *Salafiyyūn*, in the modern time, do not bother to read *Ṣūfī's* works and assess their contents objectively as done by the classical scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Qayyim among others. A reading through the works of major modern *Salafiyyah* scholars like Shaykh Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn and their submissions on

Sufism confirms this fact. They largely relied on secondary evidence to prove and drive home their points. It is on the basis of this second-hand information that the modern *Salafiyyūn* declared the Sufis *Kuffār* (Infidels). Equally, Sufis who have been the object of accusations from the *Salafiyyūn* make little or no effort to read the works of the *Salafiyyah* scholars. They initially concerned themselves with writings that are meant to explain their doctrines and draw people to Sufism, not until when they are bitten harder before they started to produce works in defence of their teachings and practices. It is equally observed that modern *Salafiyyah* scholars are making efforts to brand the classical *Salafiyyah* scholars as anti- Sufis. This is because emphasis is always placed on their anti-*Ṣūfī* submissions. Whereas, reading through their works, one will discover that they expressed paired views for and against the Sufis and Sufism.

Another major observation during the course of this work is the willingness of the Sufis to grant interview and to disclose vital information about their doctrines and practices while the *Salafiyyah* scholars exhibit high sense of hesitations. There is evidence of unwillingness to grant interview on the part of the *Salafiyyah* scholars like Dr. Abdur-Razzaq Alaro and Shaykh Muhammad Ali Jabata, the duo who are major prominent *Salafiyyah* personalities that this work discussed. This work initially relied, essentially, on hundreds of their lectures that are available on the internet. They (lectures) were downloaded and their stand on Sufism is assessed. This later assisted in enriching the quality of this thesis because when they later succumbed to grant interview, after frantic efforts on our part, the proceeds from the lectures served as the guide in which some of the views expressed in the lectures were confirmed and re-affirmed. Some were modified and some were further clarified.

It is equally observed that scholars nowadays neither write nor produce many voluminous works like those before. It is one of the problems encountered during the course of this work. This is because there is evidence of over-reliance on the works and views of the early scholars by the modern ones without necessarily attempting to produce their own works that fix the problems of their own time and can stand the test of time. Even, those that were produced in the modern time are better described as pamphlets. It is observed that the works of present-day scholars, despite their pamphlet nature, are replete with verbatim expressions from the earlier

scholars. The best instance is seen in *Fatāwā* of Ibn Bāz and Al-^cUthaymīn. Juxtaposing them with the works of their disciples on the same topic, one will discover that the ideas and style of expression are not different. This may make their works not to be absolutely in tune with the modern needs because there is a variation of time and place which must have changed things and called for a fine-tuning no matter how little it may be. This is even one of the reasons why this work capitalises on the works of these two scholars because one is sure that whatever that is contained in the works of Ibn Bāz and Al-Uthaymīn is not different from others and can form the basis of our judgment.

The condemnation of Sufism by the *Salafiyyah* scholars is largely based on over-generalisation due to some alleged “unholy” acts that some *Ṣūfī* personalities like Ibn ^cArabī, Al-Ḥallāj, Al-Bisṭāmī engaged themselves in forgetting that the whole cannot be condemned for the defects that are inherent in the part or a baby cannot be thrown away with the bath water. It is equally observed that *Salafiyyah* scholars take no time to read through a particular work from cover to cover before forming an opinion or passing a judgment. An instance in respect of this can be given vis-à-vis the discourse on *Ṣalātu 'l-Fātiḥ* and its alleged superiority over the Qur'an as contained in the fourth chapter of this work. Had *Salafiyyah* scholars taken the time to read *Jawāhiru 'l-Ma^cānī* completely, their submissions may be different from what is being popularised all over. This is because the author later cleared the air elsewhere in the same work. Above all, it is clearly stated therein that whatever that is not in line with *Shari^cah* in their doctrines and practices should be rejected.

It is equally observed that the basis for most of the claims on Sufism by *Salafiyyah* scholars are not unconnected with the identification of some semblance and similarities in the doctrines and practices of Sufism and where they were alleged to have drawn inspirations for any of the doctrines or the practices of the Sufis. It should therefore be pointed out that having element of similarities appears not substantive enough to attribute Sufism to them because most of these elements are justified by the Sufis to be within the purview of both the Qur'an and authentic *Aḥādīth* of the Prophet as discussed in this work.

Another key observation is that *Salafiyyah* scholars do not go into deep interpretations as their *Şūfī* counterpart. In other words, *Salafiyyūn* take to exotericism (*Zāhir*) while the Sufis take to esotericism (*Bātin*). This is often the basis of disagreements and controversies between the two camps. Sufis are known for their esoteric interpretation of both Qur'ānic and *Ḥadīth* texts while the *Salafiyyūn* detest that. In fact, this is one of the key factors for which the *Salafiyyah* scholars over a long period of time have condemned Sufism. But, if there can be synergy for cross-examination of views and ideas, this may continue to exist and may bring an end to the cat-and-rat-like relationship that exists between the two key Islamic groups. It is equally observed that one of the beauties of this cat-and-rat-like relationship is that each side of the divides exercises caution in their dealings and in their affairs. It equally preserves Islam against being arbitrarily engrossed in one side, neither to the *Salafiyyah* alone nor to the *Şūfī*.

In the light of the above observations, therefore, this work recommends that efforts should be made by different scholars, especially the *Salafiyyah*, to thoroughly examine works of their opponents before making a position or passing a judgment. This will enhance objectivity in their submissions and will equally go a long way in breeding a mutual understanding between the two opposing groups in Islam. Also, efforts should be made by *Salafiyyah* scholars to update their various works and ensure that their positions are genuinely presented. Over-reliance on a selected scholar's works and duplication of ideas should be avoided. It is necessary because what is obtainable yesterday must have been slightly different and thereby making it necessary to update views to make them relevant and problem-solving oriented.

A further research on different aspects of Salafism and Sufism is recommended, such as the *Salafiyyūn*' claims on the relationship between the Shi'ah, Tablīgh movements and Sufism. This is often mentioned by the *Salafiyyah* scholars in their works. This will go a long way in separating the chaff from the grains and to the extent of their relationship, if any, with one another. Also, independent researches on Sufism and the Four Imams of the schools of thought in Islam, Sufism and Classical *Salafiyyah* scholars, pro-*Şūfī* scholars among modern *Salafiyyah* scholars among others are recommended in this work.

Also, there is the need for an independent work which will be described as *Magnus opus* on *Bid'ah* with particular reference to *Fiqh*, *ʿAqīdah*, and *Manhaj*. *Salaf* should be re-defined in a manner to make it a *Manhaj* instead of *Madhhab*. *Salafiyyah* scholars should consider their position on *Mawlid 'n-Nabiyy* as it can be used to further the course of Islam in modern time. This work calls for a synergy for intellectual engagement among various scholars on controversial issues. This will go a long way in reducing the arbitrary cessations from the main Islamic circle and can recall those that have ceded away, if they are made to realise where things went wrong. Also, this work recommends a re-examination of the positions held by the modern *Salafiyyah* scholars on Sufism which will be in line with the teachings and understanding of their classical counterparts. It is equally recommended that Sufis should sanitise their folk and get rid of pseudos who ignorantly parade themselves as *Ṣūfī* whereas, in reality, they are not. They should put in place measures to distinguish the real *Ṣūfī* from the fake ones and they should know that spokespersonship of Sufism should not be left for every Dick, Tom and Harry but those that are firmly grounded in knowledge and mystical practices. Sufis equally need to embark on public enlightenments to educate the masses on their cherished practices so that the masses can easily identify the real Sufis from the pseudo-Sufis.

This work equally makes a clarion call on the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA) to rise to the occasion and make the unity of Muslim *Ummah* in Nigeria a priority. The local scholars from both sides should be engaged, through intellectual gathering, in reducing the burning issues which have negatively affected the Muslims in Nigeria in all ramifications to the barest minimum, if not totally eliminating them.

5.4. Contributions to Knowledge

Having examined the various issues that are related to Salafism and Sufism in Islam on the basis of which both have remained at loggerhead for a long period of time, it is pertinent to state what this thesis has contributed to the field of learning. The underlisted therefore are the contributions that this work has made.

- i. Removing the doubts in the minds of the Muslims on Sufism which were occasioned by the accusations of the *Salafiyyah* scholars who often condemn Sufism and declare it as an

alien element or *Bid'ah* which has crept into the fold of Islam. Also, the thesis establishes the fact that not every *Salafiyyah* scholar stood against Sufism both at the classical and the modern periods and that there are some whose dispositions to Sufism is favourable. Therefore, there is an irreconcilable disparity within the bloc of *Salafiyyah*.

- ii. Establishing the fact that the anti- *Şūfī* campaign in the modern time is spearheaded by *Wahhābiyyah* brand of *Salafiyyah* as championed by Ibn Bāz and Al-^cUthaymīn.
- iii. Establishing the fact that Ibn Abdul-Wahhāb who is generally painted as anti-*Sufi* scholar by the modern *Salafiyyah* scholars did not out rightly condemn or reject Sufism. The fact that he did not specifically author a book on Sufism substantiate this.
- iv. Establishing the fact that there are some *Şūfī* personalities and *Şūfī* orders that referred to themselves as *Salafiyyah* or *Ahalu 's-Sunnah*.
- v. Al-Ḥallāj was executed for political and social activism and not for his pronouncement of *Anā 'l-Ḥaq* (I'm the truth). This is because, if at all the declaration is an offence, it is not different from the pronouncement of Al-Biṣṭāmī who was neither executed nor generally condemned by the *Salafiyyah* scholars.
- vi. Clearing the air on the concept of *Bid'ah* which has been generally misunderstood by many *Salafiyyah* scholars who project it as negative concept that is absolutely rejected in Islam and also argue that it is not divisible. *Bid'ah* is, therefore, divisible into at least good and bad. The good *Bid'ah* is likened to *Ijtihād* (exercise of personal opinion), *Maṣlaḥ* or *Istiḥsān* (public interest) among others and is rewardable. Also, it is established in this work that both the *Salafiyyūn* and Sufis are guilty of innovation in matters of religions.
- vii. Establishing the fact that the existence of Sufism in Nigeria predates Salafism. This is because Sufism came almost with Islam while Salafism came much later. Also, that the anti- *Şūfī* campaign in Nigeria was initiated and coordinated by external forces (like, Saudi Arabia) and that it has affected Sufism greatly.
- viii. MSSN as it exists today has become an anti-*Şūfī* movement, contrary to the objectives of the founding fathers, whose motive for its establishment is to serve as an umbrella body for every Muslim student in Nigeria, regardless of doctrinal backgrounds or differences. Also, the scholars like Gumi, Abdur-Razzāq Alaro, Muhammad Ali Jabata championed

anti- *Ṣūfī* campaign in both the North and Southern parts of the country, especially in Yorubaland, and have caused some damages to Sufism via their anti-*Ṣūfī* activities.

- ix. Jama'at Nasri Islam is never an anti- *Ṣūfī* body but Gumi only made an attempt to make it so but was rejected when the motive was discovered, hence the formation of *Izalah*.
- x. NSCIA is identified as a major factor in finding a lasting solution to *Salafī* and *Ṣūfī* imbroglio.

5.5 Conclusion

The study concludes that the *Salafiyyah* or Salafism as it is being portrayed nowadays is embedded in great error. This is because the advocates have adopted the principle of exclusivism instead of an inclusive entity which it ordinarily suggests. *Salafiyyah* should remain a broad concept and should be all inclusive that encompasses different methodologies that can aid the attainment of the objectives of Islam. It should emphasis the practice of Islam as enshrined in the two main primary sources (Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth*) as practised by the companions, from whom the variations were engendered and as encapsulated by the four major schools of thought in Islam (*Madhhā'ib*). It is therefore a great error on the part of many *Salafiyyah* advocates in the modern time, especially the Saudi *Salafis*, who hold their allegiance to only the Hanābilah school of thought to the exclusion or less admissibility of other schools.

Salafiyyah scholars in modern time are not objective in their criticism of *Taṣawwuf* because it is discovered that many of their submissions are based on assumptions and over generalisations which made them to throw away the baby with the bath water. They failed to set standards for Sufism and the one (standard) sets by Ibn Taymiyyah and other classical *Salafiyyah* scholars are ignored. They did not differentiate either between *Taṣawwuf* and Sufis, they thereby condemned both. This can be compared to one who blames Islam for the faults of the Muslims. The study recommended a re-examination of the positions of the modern *Salafiyyah* scholars on Sufism which should be in line with the teachings and understanding of their classical counterparts.

The widespread of errors and misconceptions about Sufism among the modern *Salafiyyah* scholars is greatly connected to their over reliance on the views and submissions of the two eminent *Salafiyyah* scholars in the modern time whose tentacles spread across the Islamic world, including Nigeria. These are Shaykh Ibn Bāz and Al-'Uthaymīn. It is clearly shown from their

(the two scholars) works and various analysis from this work that these two eminent scholars have little or no understanding of what Sufism is all about. Also, they do not present a balance view as expressed by their precursors like Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah and Ibn ʿAbdul-Wahhāb among others. Instead, they emphasis their anti- *Ṣūfī* ideas and expressions and conceal their pro- *Ṣūfī* thoughts and their favourable dispositions to it.

Many of the modern *Salafiyyah* scholars' claims about Sufism are neither correct nor genuine. This is not unconnected to the fact that the *Salafiyyah* scholars examine many of the *Ṣūfī*'s doctrines and practices using their (*Salafiyyah*) "tools" and not as conceptualised by the Sufis. A critical study and analysis of some of them, in this work, has revealed that *Salafiyyah* scholars do not properly digest what they are all about and in some instances they fall into the same error which they accused the Sufis of. Such is the case of *Mawlidu 'n-Nabiyy* and *Bid ʿah* where they are equally guilty of both. Also, the analysis of *Al-Ḥaqīqatu Al-Muhammadiyyah* in this work has shown that they fall into the same error as the Sufis.

Modern *Salafiyyah* scholars failed to realised that Sufism or *Taṣawwuf* was a birth of necessity due to the situation the Muslims of the early Community found themselves after the death of the Prophet. A comparison between the period when the Prophet was alive and when he was no more is like the day and the night. The Muslims (Companions) lived in the broad daylight when the Prophet was alive, hence he was easily consulted on matters that posed problems to them. But his demise left for them a vacuum that can never be filled by any individual. Just like in the dark of the night when one needs light to properly view the same object that one viewed without any aid during the daylight, as the companions found themselves in the wilderness of doubts and confusions of all sort, they needed aids to deconstruct the broad teachings of the Prophet. This was what gave birth to various Islamic sciences as sow by the companions and watered by the generations that followed them.

Also, the attempt to falsify Sufism by modern *Salafiyyah* scholars is empty because they fail to realise that, sometimes, the desired falsification of an entity will require one to go through the entire process both in its theoretical and practical senses, as enjoined by the Qurʾān (Q.49:6), where Allah directs that one should endeavour to ascertain the truth before making conclusion in order that one will not regret one's action. The implication of the Quranic provision is that one cannot disprove what one does not take active participation in. Records bear witness that some

classical *Salafiyyah* scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah participated in Sufism and had affinity with Qādiriyyah order before coming up with various analyses on the subject matters. There is nothing to prove the practical participation of the like of Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn in Sufism, neither from their works nor from their actions. Not even from their disciples can one get such affinity. So, they do not really know what Sufism is actually all about. Therefore, it can be rightly said that they overruled the Qurʾānic principles and dance to the whims of their desires, especially on matters of Sufism.

Each time anti- *Ṣūfī* campaign is staged, what comes to mind is that every bloc of *Salafiyyah* circle is involved. This work has proven this general thought wrong because various evidence has proven that there are several brands of *Salafiyyah* movements in modern time that do not engage in the moves to condemn Sufism. In fact, there are those that are originally Sufis, like *Deobandiyyah* order who used to refer to themselves as *Salafiyyūn* and *Ahlus-Sunnah wal Jamāʿah*. Also, the *Salafiyyah* is divided into various groups depending on the founder or the operational methodology, hence there is *Wahhābiyyah*, which is Saudi-based, there is *Qutbiyyah*, *Al-Bāniyyah*, *Madkhaliyyah* among others. From various examinations and analysis, this work has revealed that only the *Wahhābiyyah* brand opposes to Sufism. This could be substantiated with the fact that works of the two eminent scholars of Saudi Arabia (Ibn Bāz and Al-ʿUthaymīn) which are extensively used in this work, are replete with anti-Sufism submissions and it is from the two of them that the outright campaign against Sufism and the *Ṣūfī* emanated and the campaign is waxing stronger even after their demise. Also, it is submitted in this work that it is the graduates from Saudi Arabian Universities that champion anti- *Ṣūfī* propaganda in every nook and cranny of the world.

There is the urgent need for the Sufis to sanitise themselves and get rid of the pseudo-Sufis that parade themselves as Sufism. There is the need to ensure not only a deep knowledge of Qurʾān, Sunnah but also a proficient knowledge in Arabic Language. These sciences are required for successful mystical voyage and experience. The proliferation of *Sufi* circle with many ignorant individuals and people with different missions is what largely responsible for *Salafiyyah* scholars' clampdown on Sufism. Sufism is quite different from how it is being presented to the people nowadays. The magicians and the Jalabis among others have disguised themselves as

Sufis. It is on the basis of this that *Salafiyyah* scholars like Jabata among others did not reckon with the Sufis.

Taşawwuf, as could be deduced from the submission of Imam Laqqānī in this work, is an integral part of traditional or orthodox Islam, hence it is part of the broad teachings of the *Salaf*. For an individual to be an upright Muslim, Sufism must be part of his religious or spiritual practices. Therefore, it can be rightly submitted that every true *Salafī* is a *Şūfī* and every true *Şūfī* is a *Salafī*. There is no difference between what makes a *Salafī* or a *Şūfī* within the teaching of Islam. Whoever argues to create or bring a difference between the two is not doing that in the interest of Islam. The fact that *Salafiyyah* advocats in the modern time could not hold a common front on Sufism shows that it (Sufism) is an integral part of Islam which can never be separated. There are *Salafiyyūn* in the modern time whose disposition to Sufism is favourably unimagined, while there are also those whose enmity is also unequal. If Sufism is not part of Islam, they would have held the same opinion and condemn it all together.

LIST OF INFORMANTS

S/N	NAME	DESIGNATION	AGE
1	Honourable Justice AbdulKadir Orire, (rtd) Grand-Kadi, Kwara State Shariah Court of Appeal, Ilorin	A prominent member of the Jamā'at Nasri 'l-Islam (JNI), in the days of Sardauna of Sokoto.	86
2	Muqaddam Ibrahim Abdullahi (AKA) Niass	A leading Tijāniyyah <i>Muqaddam</i> in Ilorin, Adabata, and a prominent member of International Organisation of Tijāniyyah Brotherhood (IOTB), Kwara State Branch.	50

3	Alhaj Abdullahi Toyin Salaty	A prominent Qādiriyyah <i>Muqaddam</i> who anchors <i>As-Sharīʿat 'l-Islamiyyah</i> , a radio Kwara programme which he often used to explain and defend the doctrines and practices of Sufism in general and Qadiriyyah in particular. He lives in Ilorin, Sango Area.	50
4	Dr Abdur-Razzaq Abdul-Majid Alaro.	He is a Saudi Arabian trained scholar and a leading <i>Salafiyyah</i> exponent in Ilorin with tentacles across the Yorubaland. He is also an Associate Professor of Islamic Law, University of Ilorin, Iorin, Nigeria.	49
5	Shaykh Muhammad Ali Jabata	A prominent <i>Salafiyyah</i> advocate in Ilorin and across the Yorubaland. He lives at Agbo-Oba Area in Ilorin.	Not given
6	Muhammad Bukhari Yahya Salaty	The <i>Muqaddam</i> of the Qādiriyyah Muslim Students Association of Nigeria (QAMSAN), University of Ilorin, Ilorin. 2016/2017 session.	30
7	Abdur-Rahim Dhikrullahi Isa	The <i>Muqaddam</i> of the Tijāniyyah Muslim Students Association of Nigeria (TIMSAN), University of Ilorin, Ilorin. 2016/2017 session.	27
8	Amisu Saidi Kayode	A prominent member of the Muslim Students Society of Nigeria (MSSN) who has served the society in different capacities ranging from being an <i>Amir</i> at the Mashood Abiola Polythecnic, Abekuta (MAPOLY), 2005/2006 session to Chairman of different committees of	40

		the Association both at the state and National levels. He is currently the State Amir of MSSN, Ogun State, Nigeria.	
9	Muhammad Jamaldeen Muhammad	The current National <i>Amir</i> of the Muslim Students Society of Nigeria (MSSN). 2017.	47
10	Ishaq Muhammad Ishiyaku	The current A-Zone <i>Amir</i> of the Muslim Students Society of Nigeria (MSSN), 2017.	43
11	Ishaq Yusuf	The MSSN <i>Amir</i> , University of Ilorin, Ilorin, 2016/2017 Session.	28
12	Lukman Okunola	The MSSN Administrative Secretary, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria. 2016/2017 Session.	26
13	<i>Khalīfah</i> Abdul-Ghaniyy Abdus-Salam	A prominent Qādiriyyah and the grand <i>Khalīfah</i> of Nda-Salaty in Ogbomosholand since 2006. His Zawiyah is named <i>Zawiyatul-Qādiriyyah</i> , Ogbomosho, Oyo State.	55
14	Shaykh Muhammad Tukur Adam	A prominent Tijāniyyah <i>Muqaddam</i> in Tudunwada, Gombe State, Nigeria.	62
15	Shaykh Abbas Ibrahim	A leading Tijāniyyah <i>Muqaddam</i> in Iddah, Kogi State. His <i>Zawiyah</i> is <i>Zawiyah Shaykh Abbas</i> , No. 4 Shati Road, Sabon Gari, Iddah, Kogi State.	52
16	Shaykh Nafiu Saika-Kahuta	A leading Tijāniyyah <i>Muqaddam</i> in Minna, Niger State.	75
17	<i>Muqaddam</i> Yahya Musa Sheda	A Tijāniyyah <i>Muqaddam</i> in Kwali Area Council in Abuja, Federal Capital Territory, Nigeria.	64

18	<i>Muqaddam</i> Ahmad Ismail	A Qādiriyyah <i>Muqaddam</i> of <i>Zawiyyat Rawdatul-Istijabah</i> in Gwagwalada Area, Abuja.	41
19	Shaykh Abubakar Firini	The grand <i>Khālīfah</i> of Hamahullahi in Kebbi State.	77
20	Alhaj Ibrahim Funtua	A leading <i>Tijāniyyah Muqaddam</i> in Funtua, Katsina State.	78
21	Mallam Muhammad Abdul-Qadir	A Close disciple of Shaykh Qarībullahi Nasiru Kabara. His <i>Zawiyyah</i> is named, Darul-Qādiriyyah, Kano	55
22	Shaykh Abdul-Qadir Muhammad Jami Tantolohun	A leading Qādiriyyah spokesperson in Ibadan. His <i>Zawiyyah</i> is named, <i>Zawiyyatu Man Yusawillāh fī Tariqatil-Qādiriyyah</i> , Odo-oba Cenral Mosque, Ibadan, Oyo State.	58
23	Shaykh Muhammad Suleiman Mahmud	The grand- <i>Khalīfah</i> of Nda-Salaty in Yewaland. <i>Zawiyyatu Allahu Latif Salaty Al-Ashrafiyyah</i> , Aiyetoro, Ogun State.	53
24	Alhaji Abdul-Yaqin Abdul-Karim Adetunji	A prominent <i>Tijāniyyah Muqaddam</i> in Ogbomosho. His <i>Zawiyyah</i> is named <i>Zawiyyatul-Hudā</i> , Ile Fedegbo, Isale Afon, Ogbomosho, Oyo State.	60
25	Mallam Dhikrullahi Adenigba	A prominent <i>Tijāniyyah Muqaddam</i> in Lagos. He renounced Ja ^C fariyyah group of <i>Tijāniyyah</i> recently. He is also a lecturer at Al-Hikmah University, Ilorin	47

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