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EDITOR'S COMMENTS

In Abdusalam's article on classical Arabic poetry, he compares Hassan b. Thabit's eulogy and satire in the pre-Islamic and Early Islamic eras with illustrations on the poet's style of composition, his goals and the import of his works on the society. On the other hand, Nafiu attempts a comparative study of two prominent poets of the Turkish Era of Arabic literature and gives example of poetic extracts from their encomia (*mada'ih*). He concludes with a verdict that al-Hilh-wan more concerned about elaborate artistic portrait of his patrons while the Sana' was fond of hyperbolical description of his subject-matter. He concludes by affirming that the two poets were good representations of their era.

Amin's article is on Shaykh Muhammad al-Amin al-kanemi, the progenitor of the Shehus of Borno in Nigeria. It examines the great scholar's mastery of Arabic as shown in one of his literary polemical epistles, to Shaykh Uthman b. Fodiyo of Sokoto Caliphate.

This volume presents three articles on Christian studies. All of them examine recent developments and how these developments affect, and are affected by the Christian message. On the global level, Dr. Abioye interrogates some new trends in the Catholic Church as paradigm for impending changes in Christian theology. On the other hand, the portrait of the suffering Messaiah as explicated in the book of Psalm engages the attention of Dr. Ogunkunle who seeks to locate this portrait within the African Context. Technology and its perpetual relevance to every human enterprise is the focus of the next paper in Christian studies. Coming nearer home, Dr. Owoeye examines the influence of the electro-media technology on evangelism among the Pentecostal Churches of Yorubaland. Lastly, the paper on "social dynamics of spirit possession in the Ancient Near east" by Dada analyses controversies on the phenomenon of spirit possession as underscored by the perspectives of people of the ancient near east.

Songs are crucial components of rituals worldwide, this explains why Dr. Ayantayo examines the religious and ethical significance of Igbo song to the contemporary Igbomina in Osun State of Nigeria. This is the first of the two papers on comparative religious studies (History of Religion) in this volume. The second is an interesting interrogation of the legend of Sango by Oguntola-Laguda. This paper exposes misappropriations of information and assumption for the personality of Sango and seeks to rectify them as much as possible.

Four papers are hereby presented from the Islamic studies table. The first by Arikewuyo seeks to correct misconceived ideals of Islam on gender equity and sex roles. The second offers lesson for the youth from the story of Ashab Al-kahf and this is by Imam. A historical presentation of administration in Northern Nigeria up to the 19th century and the 'Ulama' is the focus of the next paper by Jawondo. The paper notes the

many significant contributions of the 'Ulama' to the social economic and political developments of Northern Nigeria till date. The last paper from this section analyses the impact of modern technology on Da'wah in third world nations, and it is by Adetona. He encourages Muslim organizations to invest on technology especially, communications technology.

These papers cover a wide range of topics but they all agree on the need to learn from the past, assess the present and to prepare for the future for the advancement of the course of religion.

The taste of the pudding they say, is in the eating. We have the honour of inviting scholars to read and digest this volume. As usual sincere comments and critiques of the articles are welcome.

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المدح والهجاء في شعر حسان بن ثابت في الجاهلية والإسلام

إعداد

عبد الغني أبمبولا عبد السلام

مقدمة:

المدح والهجاء غرضان في جميع العصور الأدبية وخاصة في العصرين الجاهلي وصدر الإسلام، حيث يؤدي كلاهما دورا مهما في تقييد الشؤون الاجتماعية السائدة في المجتمع حينئذ، ولا يختلف هذا الدور في العصرين. وخير من يمثل هذين العصرين في إظهار دور الغرضين هو حسان بن ثابت.

وفي هذه المقالة نتناول شعر المدح والهجاء عند حسان بن ثابت بدراسة مقارنة بين الغرضين من ناحية اللغة والأسلوب.

حسان بن ثابت مولده ووفاته: (١)

ولد حسان في يثرب، ولم يذكر أحد من رواة أخباره سنة مولده، ونشأ فيها، فهو إذا من أهل المدر أي سكان المدن والقرى، على نشأته الحضرية. كان متأثرا بالحياة البدوية، ويظهر ذلك في شعره خصوصا ما قاله في جاهليته. (٢)

ويعد حسان في المعمرين، فقد روي أنه عاش ستين سنة في الجاهلية وستين سنة في الإسلام. اتصل في الجاهلية بملوك الغساسنة والمناذرة، وأبدع جدا في مدح الغساسنة فأحيوا، وكانوا يرسلون إليه الهدايا السنية. (٣)

THE "ULAMA" AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF NORTHERN NIGERIA UP TO THE 19TH CENTURY

BY

IBRAHIM ABDULGANIYU JAWONDO

Intoduction

The architects of the political entity called Nigeria were Lord and Mrs Frederick Lugard. Flora Shaw, then a spinster and a journalist with the *London Times* in 1897 was the first person to suggest in one of her articles that the Niger area under the British be considered an entity with the name Nigeria. Lord Lugard, a Brigadier General who later married Flora Shaw, got the opportunity to actualise his wife's idea in 1900 when he named the Northern Protectorate as Northern Nigeria. And by 1914, with the amalgamation of northern and southern protectorates, Nigeria became a common name for both areas¹.

Since 1914, administrators, diplomats, authors, journalists, etcetera of varying background have referred to the country as Nigeria. From the foregoing, it is clear that there was nothing like Northern Nigeria nor Nigeria before 1900 and 1914 respectively. Thus, the writer only adopted the name Northern Nigeria in this paper for convenience sake. This paper is however, concerned with the areas that came under the sway of the Royal Niger Company and other areas which have since 1900 become known and addressed as Northern Nigeria.

The Emergence of 'Ulama' Class in Northern Nigeria to the 19th Century.

Islam and Islamic education are inseparable. Islam stresses the acquisition of knowledge to the Muslims, male or female, old or young, abled or disabled, rich or poor. It also has special regard and benefits for the learned over and above the ignorant here on earth and the hereafter². Thus, the Muslims wherever they found themselves, they practised preaching, teaching, learning and writing as service to humanity to be rewarded by Allah. On the educational activities of the learned Muslims, Malkiat, has this to say:

The Muslims..., were interested in learning and wherever they went they set up schools and Universities where students and scholars studied Koran (sic) and other sacred writings of Islam... Many of the modern science were developed in these places.³

The early Islamic centres like AL-Azhar University of Cairo, Cordova University in Spain, Basira, Kufa and Baghdad Universities, Sankore University in Timbuktu, the great mosque of Jenne and a host of others brought to lime light Islamic civilization between 7th and 16th centuries which brilliantly contributed to human betterment in many branches of the arts and sciences⁴. Since Islam was a foreign religion in Nigeria and was introduced by foreign 'Ulama' and Muslim merchants, it therefore follows that the foreign 'Ulama' and Muslim merchants were the architects of the emergence of the 'Ulama' class in Northern Nigeria.

The spread of Islam and its literacy in West Africa was largely brought about by the Muslim clerics and merchants. The Sanhaja Berbers of North Africa among whom were Muslim clerics and merchants took advantage of the trans-saharan trade routes to spread Islamic literacy to West Africa. The trans-saharan trade between the North African countries and the early kingdoms of Western Sudan contributed immensely to the spread of Islam and of course Islamic literacy among the Sudan people⁵. The Berbers stayed, preached, and taught Arabic and Islam in old Ghana, Mali and Songhai empires. Among the scholars who contributed to the spread of literacy in the early kingdoms of West Africa were Shaikh Sidi Abd al-Rahman, Shaikh Aqit and his sons Abdullahi, Ahmad and Mahmud, Shaikh And-aq-Muhammad, al-Faqih Muhammad, Shaikh Umar b. Muhammad and a host of others known and unknown to history⁶. The rulers of West African Kingdoms played a great role in the emergence of the indigenous 'Ulama'. Mai Mansa Musa of Mali Empire sent a number of Malians to Fez for study. In Northern Nigeria, foreign Ulama also taught Arabic and Islamic sciences. Of note is Shaikh Muhammad Mani from Fez who sojourned in Borno⁷. Through the activities of these foreign scholars in West Africa, indigenous scholars later sprang up such as the Wangara and the Fulani. They were responsible for spreading Islam to other areas of the western and central Sudan.

The Wangarawa 'Ulama' and traders were believed, according to Kani, to have spread Islam and its education into the Hausa States of Kano, Katsina, Zazzau (Zaira), Gobir, Daura, Kano and Biram⁸. However, this stand is no longer acceptable. Al-Hajj has made it clear that Islam had been established and was widely known among the aristocrats in those areas before the advent of the Wangarawa. The Wangarawa scholars only worked relentlessly to convert the masses of the areas who were traditionists to Islam⁹. The indigenous Fulani scholars complemented the Wangarawa's proselytization efforts in Hausaland and beyond. In Borno, the Islamic literary activities of the following scholars become indelible in the Borno history as they led to the production of a crop of indigenous 'Ulama'. They included Muhammad b. Mani who is believed to have introduced Islam into Borno. He taught

Arabic and Islamic Sciences to several Borno Muslims and rulers up to the reign of Mai Hummai Jilmi (1085-1097)¹⁰. Others were Ahmad b. Fartuwa, the chronicler of Mai Idrees Aloma, Ahmad b. Abdul Quwatta, the chief Imam and Qadi of Mai Ali Ghaji, Umar b. Uthman Masbarma, Adam b. Ibrahim, Muhammad Ali and al-Bakri as well as Abubakar al Bakum¹¹. Among the indigenous scholars who distinguished themselves in teaching, learning, preaching and writing were Muhammad b. al-Hajj Abd al-Rahman al Barnawi and al-Tahir b. Ibrahim al-Fulati. Borno scholars were proficient in the reading, teaching and writing of the Quran. Some of them increased their learning at Islamic institutions in Egypt and Hijaz¹². Sources are silent about the names of the Arabic schools established by these great scholars or by the Mais in Borno. However, it is not unlikely that they carried their teaching and preaching to commercial centres in Borno and/or that their pupils visited their houses for learning. Mai Kashim Biri (1242-1267) is said to have established the Madrasat Ibn Rushi in Egypt. Mai Dunama II also established a hostel in Cairo for students and scholars of Borno¹³.

In Kano, the literary tradition was established and nurtured to maturity by scholars like Ahmad b. Umar b. Godala, Makhluf al-Bilbali, Shaikh Aqit, and Abd Rahman Sugain. The Wangarawa scholars led by AbdulRahman Zaite included Shaikh Gurdamus who was appointed Imam and Shaikh Lawal who was the Muezzin¹⁴. Another important scholar whose literary activities affected the educational and political activities of not only Kano but the whole of West Africa was Shaikh Muhammad b. Abd al-karim al-Maghili who wrote the *Obligation of the Princes* for Sarkin Kano, Muhammad Rumfa. In his company was Shaikh Sidi Fara¹⁵. It is not unlikely that the scholars started their educational activities first in the mosque, then later extended to other quarters of the town as Islam gained more ground.

In Katsina, literary activities and training of indigenous Mallams were championed by some of the 'Ulama' who had earlier stayed in Kano. Such 'Ulama' included Ahmad b. Umar b. Godala and Makhluf al-Bilbali. Ahmad al Tazakhti was a scholar in his own merit and was appointed Qadi in Katsina. The indigenous 'Ulama' that benefited from their teaching and literature rose to the pinnacle of knowledge. They included Muhammad al-Kashnawi (Dan Marina), Muhammad Dan Masani and Muhammad b. Muhammad al Fulani al-Kashinawi¹⁶. Shaikh Jibril b. Umar was a scholar of repute who toured extensively in the Agades and Hausaland, teaching and preaching. Some of his students included Shaikh Usumanu Danfodiyo, Shaikh Abdullahi Fodiyo and Shaikh Alimi of Ilorin¹⁷. With the emergence of the indigenous 'Ulama' in different parts of Northern Nigeria, the existing centres of Islamic learning were improved and new ones established. Some famous learning centres existed at Zaria, Kano, Katsina, Yandoto, Degel, et cetera. Scholars and

students moved around Northern Nigeria to either acquire or dispense knowledge. Thus, the establishment of Islamic literary tradition in Northern Nigeria is a credit to the Arab, the Wangarawa, the Fulani and the Kanuri groups¹⁸.

The 'Ulama' and the Administration of Northern Nigeria to the 19th Century.

Borno was one of the earliest known states in the Nigerian region for evolving early enough a form of centralised government and for her Islamic heritage. In fact, the backbone of the state and government of Borno was the 'Ulama'. They played significant role in the establishment, stability and longevity of the empire. The 'Ulama' served in various capacities under successive administration in Borno. Although Islam had been among the people of Borno, it is generally believed that the first Mai to accept Islam was Mai Hummai Jilmi (1085-1097) at about 1086 A.D through Muhammad Ibn Mani.¹⁹ This positioned him and Borno well with the countries of the North Africa and made Borno a nerve centre of Muslim influence in the central Sudan.

There existed a symbiotic relationship between the successive rulers of Borno and the 'Ulama'. The ulama served as *Imams*, *Qadis*, *Waziris*, treasurers, scribes, chief of police, diplomats and charm makers as early as the reign of Mai Selemma (C. 1194-1221). As for the rulers, they maintained financially the 'Ulama'. They also sponsored Islamic rites and missionary activities. The Ulama were also assured of the safety of their lives and property²⁰. Dunama Dabbalemi I (C.1221-1259) and II (1476-1503) did not only practise Islam but used it as an administrative tool. Dunama II invited, sought and obtained support of Fulani 'ulama' from Mali who assisted him in carrying out internal and external policies²¹. In this same manner, Mai Ali Gaji (C. 1472-1504) sought, received and used the advice of the 'ulama' among whom were his chief *Imam* and *Qadi* Shaikh Ahmad b. Abd al-Quwata and the Masbarma Shaikh 'Umar b. 'Uthman, Shaikh Adam b. Ibrahim and al-Qadi Muhammad Ali by ruling with examples and not precepts²². Ali Gaji set a religious example by reading the holy Quran publicly and limited his wives to four²³. Although this is what is expected of a good muslim which he claimed to be, he however must have accepted this to ensure the continuity of assistance of the 'ulama' for self and state sustenance. Ali's son, Idris Katagarmbe also enjoyed the patronage of the above scholars as ministers and chroniclers²⁴.

The activities, achievements and other state affairs during the reign of Mai Idris Alooma (C 1580-1617) became known through the treatise written by his chief Imam Shaikh Ahmad b. Fartuwa titled: *A History of the First Twelve Years of the Reign of Idris Alooma*, containing details of his wars and battles²⁵. The 'ulama' served him as diplomats in Tripoli and Turkey and other North Africa and Maghreb countries. His army was strengthened with the importation and training in the use of

Turkish musketeers and Arab horses and camels with which he crushed his traditional and political enemies²⁶. The 'ulama', beside been advisers to political officers dispensed justice with the use of sharia²⁷ thereby ensuring peaceful co-existence and stability of the empire. Furthermore, Shaikh El-kanemi who was a good councillor to and an ally of the Mais defended Borno sovereignty administratively, intellectually and militarily, against Fulani invasion of Borno²⁸.

In Hausaland, Kano was the first to enjoy the socio-political and religious services of the 'ulama'. Yaji (C.1349-1385), who some scholars believed to have first received Islam into Kano, appointed 'ulama' as *Imams*, *Muezzins* and *Qadis*²⁹. The political influence of the 'Ulama' was much felt during the reign of Muhammad Rumfa (1463-1499). Shaikh al-Maghili served Muhammad Rumfa as a special duty minister. He was so influential in the state affairs and among the Muslim clerics. Upon request made by Rumfa, Shaikh al-Maghili compiled the "*Obligation of the Princes*" to guide Rumfa in his administration of Kano and to aid strong, successful and lasting administration³⁰. The work however later became a political handbook for West African rulers. Muhammad Rumfa having realised the numerous benefits his association with Islam and the 'ulama' had fetched him and those expected, he became over-zealous on the spread of Islam. He popularised the performance of Id-Fitr (end of Ramadan festival) and Id-I-kabir (or) Adha (The annual sacrifice of rams as done by prophet Ibrahim in place of his son Ismail)³¹. Clarke succinctly describes Rumfa's reasons for being instrumental to the spread of Islam as follows:

Muhammad Rumfa may have wanted to see Islam established in a real sense as the state religion, perhaps seeing in Islam a means of bolstering his authority and ensuring that Kano reaped the maximum possible benefit from its increasing involvement in international trade³².

However, Rumfa's activities on the spread of Islam could also have been informed by mere conviction of the genuineness of Islam as a religion.

In other areas of Hausaland, rulers and 'Ulama' patronised one another for good government and sustainable administration. In Katsina, Muhammad enjoyed the services of the 'Ulama' like Shaikh Al-Maghili who visited Katsina in 1493 and Shaikh Mukhuluf b. Ali who taught Islamic science in Katsina. The reign of Ali Morabus (1498-1524) witnessed the services of Aida Ahmad al-Tazakhti (C.1529-1530) as the *Qadi* of Katsina³³. However in Kebbi, there is no evidence about scholars that stayed and taught Islam there but the fact that the 16th century kings of Kebbi were Muslims and had political relationship with Songhai³⁴ suggests that they had contact and dealings with some itinerant but influential scholars. Such

development perhaps might have occurred in Zazzau (Zaria) during the reign of Muhammad Barau (1466-1493)³⁵. Nothing is known about the early influence of 'ulama' on Yauri.

By the end of the 18th century, a strong, reputable 'ulama' class and Muslims had emerged in Nupe and Ilorin and were in one way or the other contributing to the enlightenment campaigns in the areas through intensive teaching and preaching. In Nupe for example, the 'ulama' consisted of Fulani and indogenous Nupe *Mallam* who were vocal and critical of the existing situations. Among them were *Mallam* Musa and Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad Sharif and later *Mallam* Dendo³⁶. In Ilorin, Shaikh al-Tahir popularly called Solagberu, together with other scholars and muslim adherents lived at Okesunna, where extensive teaching and preaching were carried out. Shaikh Alimi was specifically invited by Afonja, to assist spiritually, in the administration of Ilorin³⁷. It should be noted and in fact emphasized that during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, rulers in the Northern Nigerian region eagerly sought and obtained assistance of one scholar or another for their inherent advantages. Clarke, therefore, writes the following to expose the benefits of the symbiotic relationship between the rulers and scholars.

Rulers, whether Muslim or not, appointed some Muslims as advisers, councillors, administrators, and secretaries. One of the main reasons for this was that Muslims were literate in Arabic. These had many advantages for the rulers. A Universalistic language like Arabic could be of assistance in establishing the conditions necessary for the smooth and efficient organization of long distance trade, or in establishing and strengthening relations with muslim states of North-Africa. Arabic was also used as the medium for writing despatches and orders for summoning military aid, for the issuing of administrative directives to provincial governors, for disseminating propaganda, for recording history. It was the language of learning, the language of the diplomat, the merchant, the lawyer and the teacher. Moreover, it enjoyed a "sacred" character. The written word in Arabic was considered to have a great deal of power to heal and protect³⁸.

At this juncture, it should be stressed that by the end of the 18th century, Islam remained the religion of the elite and courts in the Northern Nigerian region. The masses that formed the bulk of the inhabitants were animists and at any given opportunity challenged Islam. For instance, the pagan Bulala of Borno made

continuous attack on the government of Mai Dunama II in protest against his Islamic programmes in the empire. In Kano, Yaji's attempts to make Islam a state religion was always challenged. The traditionalists as part of their protest plans excreted in the Mosque.³⁹ The rulers and their chiefs also resorted to traditional religion and sacrifices. In short, the practice of Islam was mixed with customs and traditional religious practices, from one area to another and in varying degrees⁴⁰. By this period too, some elite outside government had emerged as a result of unrelenting teaching and preaching activities, of the 'ulama'. They became literate in Arabic, read many Arabic literature which opened their minds to the elements of Islamic government. They were therefore critical of the situation in their areas which they felt was not in conformity with what was obtainable in other Muslim countries of North Africa and the Maghreb⁴¹. Thus, as a result of syncretic attitude of the people, political, social and economic injustice of the rulers, against the masses, the Islamic revolution in the 19th century was brought about in the Northern Nigerian region.

The 19th century Islamic revolution in the Nigeria region started in Sokoto in 1804 under the able leadership of Shaikh Usmanu Dan Fodiyo, closely assisted by his brother Abdullahi Fodiyo and his son Muhammad Bello. The Jihad of the sword was preceded by the intellectual Jihad, whereby the scholars publicly and verbally condemned the political inadequacies of the rulers and their aides⁴². The poor and the needy that bore the brunt of the political and economic oppressions, were therefore sensitised and energised to rise up to the challenge. Diverse literature was also produced, which mobilised the elite to raise and challenge the socio-economic and religio-political decadence in the society. The teaching, preaching and writings of the scholars appealed to, and captured the senses of the different elements of people in the society. Such included the poor and the rich, the illiterate and the literate, the nobles, royalists and the servants. Thus, an all embracing movement aimed at distilling the Islamic values into a broad spectrum of the society emerged⁴³. The Jihad which ensued in Sokoto between Shaikh Usmanu Dan Fodiyo and the king of Gobir Yunfa spread to other areas of the present day Northern Nigeria, through the latter's flag bearers⁴⁴. Consequently, it led to the establishment of an Islamic polity guided by the ethos of Sharia⁴⁵. It spread over an area of about 466,000 square kilometres, divided between Abdullahi b. Fodiyo and Muhammad Bello, who were brother and son respectively to Shaikh Usmanu Danfodiyo⁴⁶. The western emirates which included Ilorin and Nupe had their headquarters at Gwandu under Abdullahi Fodiyo. The Eastern emirates under Muhammad Bello included Zamfara, Katsina, Kano, Daura, Bauchi and Katagun with Sokoto as the headquarters⁴⁷.

Scholars, Muslim clerics and merchants, continued to propel forward the socio-political, religio-economic activities of the Sokoto Caliphate until the coming

and conquest of the British colonialists. The 'ulama' challenged intellectually and militarily, the British in defence of the sovereignty of their areas. However, the 'ulama' lost the battles to the British colonialists. This was as a result of superiority of the British weapons, tactics and diplomacy over and above those of the 'ulama'.⁴⁸ Consequently, the 'ulama' in the various emirates of Northern Nigeria, organised secret mahdist movements to resist British occupation, by striking here and there at the least expected places and time to detract the colonialists, interrupt their programmes and destroy their visible presence⁴⁹. After the conquest of the Sokoto caliphate in 1903, the British realised the cohesion, which Islam provided among the muslim at resisting colonial conquest. In the same manner, they realised the efficacy of the established political, judicial and taxation system of the pre-British Northern Nigerian rulers. Lugard, therefore, resolved to rule the northern protectorate through the existing traditional institutions under the advice and supervision of the British Resident. This system of local administration was called indirect rule.

Consequently, the Emirs of Northern Nigeria, who were usually Mallams in their own rights became very relevant in the political affairs of their conquered areas. These Emirs also constituted in their emirates the 'Ulama' class, who gave them guidance on religio-political affairs of their emirates. The 'Ulama' became relevant politically, as they served as intermediary between the Emir and the masses. Consequently, they possessed the instrument for mass mobilization, for or against the government policies. Since independence, the 'Ulama' of Northern Nigeria have continued to play significant role in the establishment and stability of any government in Nigeria be it military or civilian.

Conclusion

The Northern Nigeria 'Ulama' possessed Arabic knowledge which they used as an instrument of political, economic, social and religious mobilization, for or against the rulers of the Northern Nigeria region. Through preaching, teaching and writing, the 'Ulama' mobilised the masses against educational deprivation, politico-economic oppressions, social injustice and religious vices. They have also used the same instrument, Arabic, to write treatises for conclusion of intra and inter states treaties, and documentation of the activities of the various states⁵⁰.

The 'Ulama' mobilised the Northern Nigeria populace for the defence of their rights and discharge of their responsibilities to the state and vice-versa. The 'ulama' used their position as advisers, diplomats, scribes, *Imams*, *Qadis* and treasurers to the rulers, to influence them to be awaken to their responsibilities to self, subjects and God. For the stability of the various states of the Northern Nigeria, the 'ulama' with their personalities drew Muslim merchants to their various areas. This increased revenue sources of the rulers. Besides, the 'ulama' also raised and

used their armies, to help crush internal strife and external attacks on their states of residence.

The 'Ulama' used their efficacious charms and supplications to assist the rulers in stabilising their states. The charms and supplications were directed at winning wars, protection against famine, to cause rainfall, security and safety of both the people and the state. Individuals consulted and obtained spiritual assistance from the 'Ulama' to enhance their prestige, protection against witchcraft or nullify its evil effects, to overcome barrenness, for profit making in business, bumper harvests on the farm, to heal illness, to aid knowledge accumulation and protection against spiritual attacks.

The socio-political, economic and religious activities of the 'ulama' in Northern Nigeria swelled the population of the area. Different nationals sojourned in different areas, for differing interests, such as the acquisition of Islamic learning, commercial activities, spiritual succour, solace and comfort and to learn one trade or another from the 'Ulama'. These ranged from preparation of herbs to different crafts. It is interesting to note that apart from the indelible contributions of the Ulama to the social, economic, political and religious development, of their host states, many of the emigrants remained in their areas of sojourn and ranked very high in the religious and political hierarchy of the states. Their descendants are found in the areas till date.

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