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Aliyu Sakariyau Alabi

Geboren te Ilorin, Nigeria in 1974

Promotiecommissie

Promotor:

Prof. dr. Robert J. Ross

Overige leden:

Prof. dr. Stefan Reichmuth (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)

Prof. dr. Benjamin F. Soares (ASC Leiden)/University of Amsterdam

Prof. dr. Mirjam De Bruijn

Prof. dr. Jan-Bart Gewald

For my parents, Alhaji Aliyu Kawu (*Allahumma yarhamuhu*) and Alhaja Mero
Aliyu

'Fun èko to yè géré'

and

my family

Fatima Temitope, Farouq Ayinde-Ajirife and Abdullahi Atanda-Adebayo and
Maryam Kate Ayinke

For enduring me and the books

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Glossary of Arabic, Yoruba and Hausa Terms

<i>Adab</i>	Etiquette/education
<i>Etiquette/education</i>	Of or relating to Adabiyya School of pedagogy
<i>Aimmah</i>	Sing. Imam – Prayer leaders
<i>Ajami/ajemi</i>	Hausa/Yoruba written in Arabic script
<i>Ajanasi</i>	Reciters/prompter of verses for one giving a sermon
<i>Ajitu</i>	Vowels learning Stage in Traditional Qur’anic School
<i>Alfa</i>	Yoruba appellation for an Islamic scholar
<i>Almajiri</i>	Student of (Boarding) Qur’anic School among the Hausa/Fulani
<i>Amid</i>	Principal in a madrasah
<i>Amirul mumeen</i>	The leader of the Faithfuls
<i>Annasara</i>	Christian
<i>Asalatu</i>	Benedictions on the Prophet/prayer meetings for this
<i>Bait l mal</i>	The treasury
<i>Bakatabi/ Ahl al kitab</i>	People of the book-Christians and Jews
<i>Balogun</i>	War chief/ head of a Traditional ward in Ilorin
<i>Baraka/alubarika</i>	Blessing
<i>Daawah</i>	Propagation of religion
<i>Demure/damure</i>	The sign that signifies absence of a vowel in Arabic (sukun)
<i>Eesu/yisu</i>	From Arabic Hizb, 1/60 th of the Qur’an
<i>Eid</i>	Either of two annual Muslim festivals
<i>Eko</i>	Lagos
<i>Eleha</i>	One in purdah
<i>Fiqh</i>	Islamic jurisprudence
<i>Fisebilillahi</i>	In the course of Allah
<i>Grand khadi</i>	The highest judicial official of the Shariah Court
<i>Hadith</i>	The sayings of the Prophet of Islam
<i>Hajj</i>	The annual Pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>Halqa</i>	Sitting circle in a study group
<i>Hantu</i>	Writing, from Arabic khatt
<i>Hijab</i>	Female Muslim head cover
<i>Hijrah</i>	Muslim Lunar Calendar
<i>Huffaz</i>	Sing. Hafiz- memorizers of the Qur’an
<i>Ibtidaiyya</i>	Primary level of a madrasah
<i>I’dadiyya</i>	Junior Secondary level of a madrasah
<i>Ile kewu wala</i>	Slate Qur’anic School
<i>Ilm</i>	Knowledge
<i>Imale</i>	From Mali- Yoruba name for Muslims
<i>Imam jamiu</i>	Imam of Friday congregational prayers
<i>Imam ratibi</i>	Imam of daily prayers
<i>Insan kamil</i>	The perfect man (an attribute of the Prophet)

<i>Istijaba</i>	Intercessory power of prayer
<i>Iyawo sara</i>	A bride freely given especially to a scholar
<i>Jahiliyyah</i>	Pre-Islamic Era in Arabia
<i>Jalabi</i>	Spiritual consultancy by scholars
<i>Jalalain</i>	A popular exegetical work of the Qur'an
<i>Jamaa</i>	Group or congregation of Muslims
<i>Jihad</i>	Strive or struggle for religious cause
<i>Jizya</i>	Capitation tax paid by non-Muslim citizens
<i>Kakaaki</i>	Royal trumpet
<i>Kalamu</i>	Writing reed
<i>Karamat</i>	Honorific acts associated with saints
<i>Kewu ilimi</i>	Traditional higher Islamic Studies
<i>Khalipha</i>	Viceroy or leader of a group
<i>Lailatul qadr</i>	Night of Majesty
<i>Larubawa</i>	Arabs
<i>Liman/Lemamu</i>	Prayer leader from Arabic al-Imam
<i>Madaris</i>	Pl. of Madrasah
<i>Madrasah</i>	A modern Islamic and Arabic school
<i>Magaji</i>	A chief, usually of a sub ward
<i>Makaranta allo</i>	Slate Qur'anic School
<i>Makondoro</i>	Members of Zumratul Mu'meenina
<i>Maliki</i>	One of the four Sunni rites in Islam
<i>Mallam</i>	Hausa name for a scholar
<i>Markaziyya</i>	Of or relating to Markaziyya School of pedagogy
<i>Maulud nabiyy</i>	Commemoration of the Prophet's birth
<i>Mualim</i>	Male Teacher
<i>Mualimat</i>	Female teacher
<i>Mudir</i>	Proprietor of a Madrasah
<i>Mufassir</i>	An exegete
<i>Naskh</i>	An Arabic script derived from the thuluth
<i>Nisf Shaaban</i>	Half of the month of Shaaban
<i>Ofi</i>	Hand-woven cloth
<i>Ogere</i>	Consonant learning level in the Traditional Qur'anic School
<i>Owo alaruba</i>	Fees paid by pupils of Qur'anic School every Wednesday
<i>Qadi/alkali</i>	A judge of the Shariah Court
<i>Qadiriyya</i>	A Sufi order
<i>Qaidat Baghdadi</i>	Popular Arabic primer
<i>Raodat al atfal</i>	Kindergarten /nursery level of a madrasah
<i>Rufua</i>	Short 'u' vowel in Arabic
<i>Shariah</i>	The code of Islamic laws
<i>Shirk</i>	Polytheism
<i>Sunnah</i>	The traditions of the Prophet of Islam
<i>Tadawa</i>	Ink for writing on wala, from Hausa tawada
<i>Tafsir</i>	Exegesis

<i>Tahfiz</i>	Memorization of Qur'an
<i>Tajweed</i>	Science of Qur'an Recitation
<i>Taqwa</i>	Piety
<i>Tarbiya</i>	Training (education)
<i>Tariqa/pl.turuq</i>	The path of a Sufi order
<i>Tesuba/Tasbih</i>	Strung prayer counter
<i>Thanawiyya/Tawjihiyya</i>	Senior Secondary level of a madrasah
<i>Thuluth</i>	Curved and oblique Arabic script
<i>Tijjaniyya</i>	A Sufi order
<i>Ulama</i>	Sing. Alim - scholars
<i>Ummah</i>	The Muslim community
<i>Waasi</i>	Sermon, from Arabic wa'z
<i>Waka</i>	Poetic songs/ religious poetry
<i>Wala</i>	Wooden slate for writing Qur'an verses for pupils
<i>Wird</i>	Daily litany performed by members of a Sufi order
<i>Wolima</i>	Ceremony of finishing the study of the Qur'an
<i>Woseli/wasali</i>	The vowel diacritical mark below or above an Arabic letter
<i>Yehudi</i>	Jew
<i>Zakat</i>	The poor due, one of the pillars of Islam
<i>Zuhud</i>	Asceticism

Abbreviations

A.H.	After Hijrah
CAILS	College of Arabic and Islamic Legal Studies
CE	Christian Era
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CRK	Christian Religious Knowledge
COE	College of Education
FOMWAN	Federation of Muslim Women Organizations of Nigeria
IIT	International Institute of Islamic Thought
IRO	International Islamic Relief Organization
IJMB	Interim Joint Matriculation Board
IRK	Islamic Religious Knowledge
IVC	Islamic Vacation Course
JAAIS	Joint Association of Arabic and Islamic Schools
JIS	Junior Islamic School
JNI	Jamaatul Nasrul Islam
MSSN	Muslim Student Society of Nigerian
NA	Native Authority
NACOMYO	National Committee of Muslim Youth Organization
NAI	National Archives Ibadan
NAISP	National Association of Arabic and Islamic Schools Proprietors
NAK	National Archives Kaduna
NASFAT	Nasrul-Lahi-l-Fatih
NATAIS	National Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies
NBAIS	National Board for Arabic Islamic Examination Board
NCE	National Certificate of Education
NECO	National Examinational Council
PRO	Public Record Office
QUAREEB	Al Fatih-UI- Quareeb
RNC	Royal Niger Company
SAS	School of Arabic Studies
SIS	Senior Islamic School
WAEC	West African Examination Council
WAFF	West African Frontier Force
WAMY	World Assembly of Muslim Youth
YOUMBAS	Young Muslim Brothers and Sisters
AG	Action Group
NPC	Northern Peoples Congress
ITP	Ilorin Talaka Parapo
CMO	Council of Muslim Organizations
WML	World Muslim League

Orthography

I have tried to give the standard Arabic spelling wherever possible but I have also used the local variations as well.

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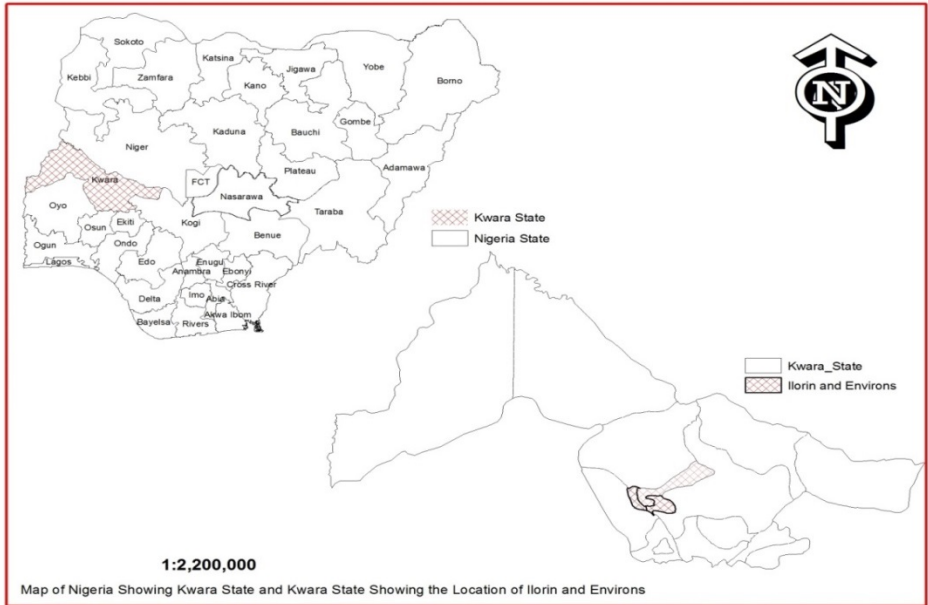
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Abstract

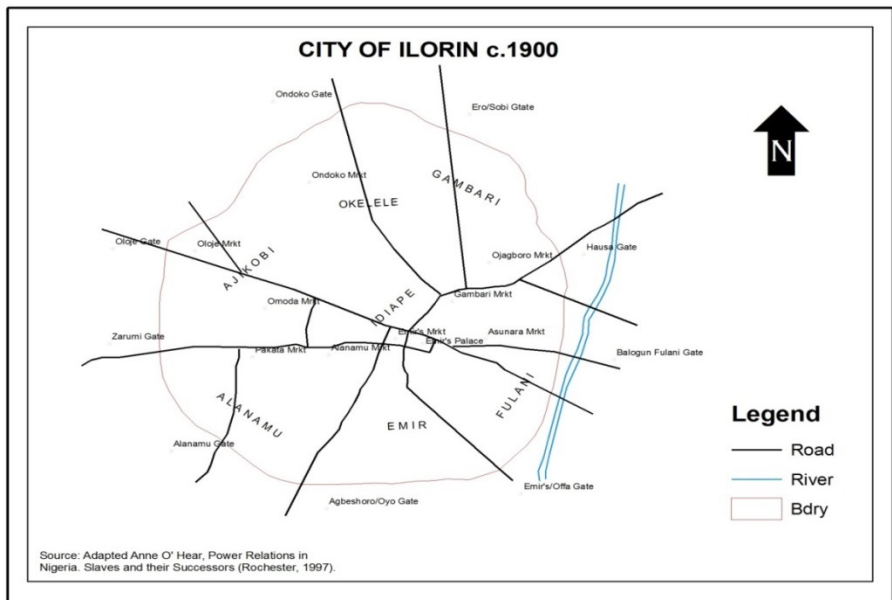
Established as a citadel of Islam in the nineteenth century, Ilorin came under the colonial hegemony of the British at the end of the nineteenth century. Thenceforth the history of Islamic education became an unending dynamics of engagement with the challenges that the rival system of western education pose to Islamic education. Starting in the colonial period and into the early decades of independence, within Ilorin as well as from without Ilorin, the ulama responded to this challenge mainly in three ways, corresponding to schools of thought of Islamic education in Ilorin.

First, there is the tolerant Adabiyah School favoring western education in conjunction with Islamic education, then the *Zumratu Mu'meenina (makondoro)* School that was strictly against western education. The third school, Markaziyya, privileged Arabic/Islamic education as a standalone system, tolerant of western education only as independent of the Islamic system. From the colonial period onward, Islamic education followed this trifurcate system to a greater or lesser extent, even when a scholar does not categorically belong to any of these schools.

Although the ultimate aim of a positive hereafter for Islamic education, against material benefit plays a crucial role in limiting the material strength of the system, this thesis argues that society's attitude towards the system, absence of reliable state support and the weak financial wherewithal when compared with the western system are all connected as hindrance to progress in the system. Despite this limited capacity, the scholars have been unrelenting, continuously adapting the system to the needs of the society, such as transformation of the traditional Qur'anic schools into *madaris* (sing. *madrasah*) from the colonial period, reforming the methods, curriculum and routes to be followed to running of the two systems within their *madaris*, especially since the government declined dominance in the provision of western education from the late twentieth century. More than is credited to them the scholars have actually contributed to the development of western education even as the attention given to the western system of education by the government and the society has not been very encouraging to its own development.



Map 1. Ilorin and environs



Map.2. Map of Ilorin City at the onset of colonial rule.

Chapter One

Islam, Muslims and Concepts of Education

Introduction

Over the one hundred and fifteen years since the conquest of Ilorin by the British forces in 1897, significant changes occurred in the institution of Islamic education in Ilorin. On the surface it would appear that Muslims have always had their educational institutions and that not much has changed. The immutable core of the Islamic education system- the Glorious Qur'an- makes this assumption all the more easy. The Qur'an has retained its unique pristine nature and the collections of hadith and much of the exegetical and philosophical sciences surrounding these two had been canonized since the Middle Ages. However, a deeper and rigorous examination of the history of this institution in Ilorin during this period revealed a more nuanced and dynamic history, especially around the process of acquisition and impartation of knowledge in the Islamic sense of it. The structure and modes of this knowledge system underwent significant changes. The encounter with the western weltanschauung, directly and indirectly in the form of colonialism and western education, played a crucial role in the form and manner the transformation of the Islamic education system took place in Ilorin. The effects of this encounter go beyond the formal process of imparting knowledge into other spheres of life where the influences of the scholars are felt.

The general history of Ilorin and especially its intellectual history had little choice but to lend itself to this transformation. A relatively modern society, much of its current form was laid in the nineteenth century, even though it had some roots back in the seventeenth century.¹ The significance of Ilorin as a city lies in the Islamisation of the city, especially after the Fulani-led Muslims of diverse ethnic backgrounds emerged as the rulers of Ilorin, as a Muslim city among the Yoruba speaking people of south western Nigeria. The activities of Islamic scholars, always the vanguard of Islam, are central to the emergence of Ilorin as a Muslim city and a citadel of Islamic learning.² A major preoccupation of these scholars is the

¹ For early history of Ilorin see works such as Ahmad B. Abubakar, 'Taalif Akbar Alqurun Min Umara Bilad Ilory' (Arabic manuscript, 1912) Samuel Johnson, *History of the Yoruba* (Lagos: C.C.S Bookshops, Reprint, 1976); Safi Jimba, *Iwe Itan Ilorin* (Ilorin: Jimba Publishers, 1990), and L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin the Journey so far* (Ilorin: Atoto Press Ltd, 1994).

² Saka Adegbite Balogun, 'Gwandu Emirates in the Nineteenth Century with Special References to Political Relations: 1817- 1903' (PhD thesis, University of Ibadan, 1970), 139;

transmission of learning even as their activities spanned a variety of other vocations.

Although Muslims have always aligned to different paradigms of knowledge, yet within the Islamic world, there has always been something universal about their approaches to knowledge.³ This, no doubt is to be found in the centrality and immutable nature of the Quran, however the interpretations, on which all Muslim knowledge must find some anchor.⁴ This gives the Muslim knowledge world some sense of unity despite the intra-religious differences. The encounter of the Muslim world in the modern period with western imperialism and its accompanying weltanschauung embedded in its educational system led to a dichotomy of knowledge into the 'Islamic' and 'western'. By this time the Muslims have minimal control over secular knowledge production unlike in earlier epochs of Muslim History.⁵

This is partly responsible for the separation of education into the opposites of western and Islamic education in Muslim societies in the modern world. The West, on the one hand largely determines the trends in the secular knowledge world, the hallmark of which is scientism and individualism.⁶ This has given the West an almost unbridled power over the economic and political spheres that ultimately

Stefan Reichmuth, 'Sheikh Adam I Came to Know Him-Memories of an Islamologist,' Keynote Address at the International Conference on the Life and Times of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri, August, 2012.

³ I am alluding to an absence of a sharp dichotomy of education or knowledge into 'western' and 'Islamic' which are rather modern result of imperial political and economic encounters of the Muslim world with the West. This does not mean Muslims have a single idea about what knowledge is or even approach to knowledge. This is somewhat akin to Ware's argument that the embodied approach to knowledge was once paradigmatic throughout the Muslim world even though specific materials and techniques differ in different locations. Rudolph T. Ware III, *The Walking Qur'an - Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge and His in west Africa* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 10.

⁴ This is closely related to the Unitarian theology of Islam. Unity of God as espoused by Islam presupposes unity of knowledge as well. If God is one and omniscient, then no knowledge can exist outside his knowledge. All knowledge emanates from the Almighty. The West had by the modern period moved from theism to deism. See Günther Lottes, 'The Birth of European Modernity from the Spirit of Enlightenment.' <http://www.aufklaerung-im-dialog.de/assets/Uploads/PDFs>. Accessed 27-12-2014.

⁵ See for examples, Mehdi Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education* (Colorado: University of Colorado Press, 1964) and Jonathan Lyons, *House of Wisdom- How the Arabs Transform Western Civilization*, (London, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010).

⁶ Although western education first made its appearance through missionaries, in Muslim territories in Northern Nigeria, the secular form was the type introduced by the colonial authority and it has continued in this form in the post-colonial period tempered by religious culture of the different territories.

determine, if not what sort of life, how Muslims live their lives.⁷ The Muslims, on the other hand unequivocally hold onto their educational system, largely based in the religious sciences; the rationalist Muslim scholars having lost the battle to orthodox scholars early in the classical age of Muslim scholarship.⁸ In this Muslim knowledge production system are to be found the strength and vitality of the Muslims wherever they may be found.

Although scholars have written about Islamic education in Ilorin, taking on different aspects of this rather broad topic, yet a lot still needs to be questioned about the narratives around the history of this institution. This thesis will question the colonial narrative of the institution as static and not adaptive to modern trends. If it was not as static as claimed, what then are the indices of the dynamism of the Islamic education system in Ilorin? This work will go deeper and cover a longer period than previous studies in this area. It will argue that colonial understanding of Islamic education is at variance with some of the historical events in the Islamic education system during the colonial era. Oftentimes, looking at the Islamic education system from a superior point of view, the colonial order failed to see the dynamism and adaptive strategies the scholars were deploying against a colonial system that was threatening its relevance. It would appear that the colonial system was unaware or did not care about this concern of the Islamic scholars.

Pax Britannica itself contributed, if unwittingly, to the development of Islamic education. Peace engendered an outpouring of Ilorin scholars, bearing the fruits of a century old devotion to Islamic education within Ilorin. These home grown scholars fanned out into the Yoruba region up to the coast in Lagos and as far the confluence of the rivers Niger and Benue, in missionary endeavors, cutting their intellectual teeth in these fertile regions. Contacts with ideas from across the world through these journeys came to reflect and influence the reforms of the Islamic education system in Ilorin that took place throughout the colonial period and into the decade of independence.

This thesis aims to bring out a narrative of adaptation and appropriation of western ideas in educational praxis by the ulama in response to the domineering nature of western education, as a defense of their vocation, and to elevate the standard of their profession and promote Islamic learning. While colonial officials complained of the ulama unwillingness or inability to adapt to the modern pedagogical system, yet there was complete silence on the innovative ways some of the scholars were

⁷ P.B. Clarke and Ian Linden, *Islam in Modern Nigeria: A Study of a Muslim Community in a Post-Independence State 1960-1983* (Munchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1984), 126.

⁸ P.K Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, revised tenth edition (London: Macmillan Publishers, 2002), 411.

making in this direction, such as will be shown with the Adabiyya group in this work.

Although there were some positive understandings of the Islamic education system by some of the colonial officials (however they were a minority), subsumed within the general colonial notion that it was not the aim of the colonial order to develop the religion of the people. The colonial policy of ‘noninterference in the religion of the people’⁹ gave a shield to this idea that the colonial officials had little or no role to play in the religious education of the people, even within its own secular educational institutions, where it had accommodated some form of Islamic education in a pacifist move to get Muslims to accept western education. This policy partly lends weight to the argument by African scholars that colonial rule was essentially an economic enterprise; what social development came through was only necessary to aid the expropriation agenda of the colonial enterprise.¹⁰ A similar argument is that western education was introduced to produce administrative personnel for the colonial system and not necessarily to develop an educated society, especially of the scientific and technical type that can transform a society from an underdeveloped one to a developed one, as the colonial narrative of civilizing Africans suggested.¹¹

From early in the colonial era, the scholars had begun responding to the challenge that colonialism and western education posed to their educational system. Indices of this are best illustrated by the trifurcate response that will be discussed in chapter three. These responses are important signposts, in that they set the grooves that Islamic education would largely follow throughout the twentieth century and even beyond. Thus, scholars would either belong to either the tolerant Adabiyya, the traditional rejectionist school, best exemplified by the Zumratul Mu’meenina (*makondoro*) or the Arabic privileging Markazi schools of pedagogy.¹² The trend has remained with slight modifications, such as the rejectionist school becoming more of taking a critical stance instead of outright rejection of western education. In all these, we see a response to the same phenomenon of the state supported western education system from the colonial period through to the twenty-first century.

⁹ NAK ‘Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools’ Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

¹⁰ Claude Ake, *A Political Economy of Africa* (New York: Longman, 1981).

¹¹ See F.D. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1966), 4-5, for the civilizing argument and Ake, *A Political Economy*, for the argument against the civilizing narrative.

¹² As Reichmuth noted, all the three schools can be linked one way or the other to Sheikh Tajul Adab. Stefan Reichmuth, ‘Sheikh Adam As I Came to Know Him-Memories of an Islamologist,’ Keynote Address at the International Conference on the Life and Times of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri, August, 2012.

Among scholars of Ilorin background, writing on the history of Islamic education, there is a tendency to argue for the Islamic education system,¹³ trying to put it at par with western education. While this thesis agrees with the important nature of this institution in the lives of the people of Ilorin, it differs by pointing out the different aims and objectives of western education in comparison with the Islamic notion of education, a major reason for the inequalities observed between the two systems. These inequalities themselves, such as the attention and funding accruing differently to the two educational systems (with the Islamic system on the disadvantaged side) were the reasons for these arguments. However, as will be shown this thesis, the core aims of the two systems are poles apart even though there are many parts where they intertwine and agree. An understanding of this primal difference will be helpful in contextualizing the developments and challenges the Islamic education system had to grapple with.

The ultimate aim of Islamic education, which is a positive hereafter,¹⁴ has provided a ready anchorage for any concept one may want to deploy in exploring the history of Islamic education. It is an educational system irretrievably linked to Islam as a religion. While pedagogy and praxis may vary across time, space and regions, the aims remain the same. Hence, there is always a central point to return to, an immutable core. Hence revivalism has always been around Muslim and always come to the fore in times of disturbances of the status quo such as colonialism entailed as well as globalization. The Quran and the Sunna as this core is approached differently by Muslims, hence we have a variety of responses from Muslims to challenges facing the Muslim world.¹⁵

For the Islamic scholars in Ilorin, modernization can be used to explain their responses to the challenges they had to grapple with in the Islamic education

¹³ See A.K.W. Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in Ilorin' (M.A Dissertation, Department of Islamic Studies, University of Ibadan, 1984) and Salihu Oloruntoyin Muhammad, 'A Study of Selected Private Institutions of Arabic and Islamic Studies in Kwara State of Nigeria' (M.A Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1987).

¹⁴ Rahman, Fazlur, *Islam* (New York: Doubleday Anchor book, 1968), 77.

¹⁵ Such as the theory of Islamization of knowledge as a strategy to grapple with the challenge of the dual and sometimes conflicting educational systems that Muslims have to grapple with in the post-colonial period. It essentially seeks to bring all knowledge with an Islamic framework. S.M.N. Al Attas, *Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979) is an important text in the Islamization of Knowledge discourse. Siddiqi has argued for Islamization of education rather than knowledge. He opined that education as a process is more suitable for Islamization rather than knowledge, as something that is a finished product of education. Islamization of knowledge would entail a constant re-evaluation of finished product, but if the process is Islamized, then it will always rub off on the finished product. See Nejatullah Siddiqi, 'Islamization of Knowledge: Reflections on Priorities' *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, Volume 28, No.3

system. it is interesting to note that Islamic scholars in Ilorin, not grounded in the western educational system nor equipped in the western epistemological tools, from the colonial era through to the present time have been employing notions around Islamization of knowledge in developing the Islamic education system. They may not have engaged in rigorous theoretical discourse, yet the outcome of their reformations of the Islamic education system have indices of the expected outcome of Islamization of knowledge that Muslim intellectuals, mostly in western styled institutions, have been theorizing about in the post-colonial period. The ulama do not even appear to have cognizance of the theorization that Muslim scholars steeped in western epistemological background have done on Islamization of knowledge. What they have done can be termed as modernization praxis, devoid of much academic discourse.

By dynamic and adaptive strategies the ulama have deployed modernization as a defense and a promotion of the educational institution where their significance is based. The gradual development from traditional pedagogic practice to modern pedagogy as will be seen in the history of the madrasah system where the bulk of Islamic education now takes place is a pointer to this fact.¹⁶ We can as well see how western system of education had rubbed off on the Islamic education system and vice versa. Western methods and organization have been deployed in the madrasah system and the western system as well has had to give Islamics¹⁷ a recognizable presence in the system. Western education among the Muslims in Ilorin has generally become accepted as a modern necessary phenomenon and is less seen as 'western' even as the term western continued to be used for this system of education.¹⁸ Both are seen as necessary requirements for a Muslim, usually to be pursued differently.¹⁹ However, increasingly both are being pursued simultaneously, sometimes within the same school in varying degrees of intensity, as more Muslim edupreneurs are involved in the booming private education sector

¹⁶ The traditional ulama could be said to be engaged in modernization of an Islamic framework from the colonial period to contemporary time while the Muslim scholars in the western system are engaged in an Islamization of the western framework; an aim common to both of them being the protection and promotion of Islamic heritage among Muslims in a globalizing world.

¹⁷ Oloyede argued for the use of the term 'Islamics' to denote the discipline around the study of Islam. See Is-haq O. Oloyede, *Islamics: The Conflux of Disciplines*, 116th Inaugural Lecture, University of Ilorin (Ilorin: University of Ilorin Press, 2012.)

¹⁸ The nature of Muslim societies' encounter with western education through colonial hegemony and the ignorance of most Muslims about the contribution of Muslim scholars to the development of the western education system have made it difficult for a more nuanced term such as modern or universal education to be applied to this system of education.

¹⁹ Sometimes different members of a family pursue different lines, some western education, some the Islamic education line. Most often the average citizen has some of one and a lot of the other system.

that is increasingly becoming the major provider of western system of education. Some of the ulama have also embraced this phenomenon as will be shown in chapter four.

In the general narrative about the relationship between the ulama and the western education system, the notion that Islamic scholars were against western system of education is prevalent. Recent events around the world and even in Nigeria, especially in the twenty-first century has further entrenched this idea.²⁰ This thesis, however, shows that in the historical experience of the scholars of Ilorin, rather than this anti-western education stance, the more general experience had been rather a promotion of western education for Muslims. This is not to say there were no resistances or even outright rejection of western education. Even outright rejection thawed over the decades to a more critical and wary stance. For the most part, what the scholars were against are elements of western education they considered detrimental to Islamic ways of living. Even these, they were able to circumvent through selective modernization praxes. Contextualized within the broader regional, national and international contexts, some uniqueness could be discerned in Ilorin's experience.

For example, radicalization through madrasah system does not appear to have taken place in Ilorin.²¹ In fact radicalization have mostly come from those who have attained their Islamic knowledge mostly through the western system and largely through self-learning, which is frowned upon in the traditional system.²² The scholars of traditional and madrasah system have come to regard these latter day scholars as pseudo scholars, lacking depth in knowledge and respect for authority as is customary in the traditional and madrasah system.

A recurrent signpost throughout this thesis is the adaptive dynamism of the Islamic education system in Ilorin around a conservative core. The core of Islamic education may be pristine and universal, but its applications tended to have a local

²⁰ The phenomenon of Boko Haram insurgency some parts of Northern Nigeria in recent times is most poignant. See Marc-Antoine Perouse de Montclos (ed.) *Boko Haram- Islamism, politics, security, and state in Nigeria* (Leiden, 2014).

²¹ This has been a recurrent western concern since the incident of 9/11. See Shehzad H. Qazi, 'A War Without Bombs: Civil Society Initiatives Against Radicalization in Pakistan,' Policy Brief 60 (Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, 2013). In the course of the fieldwork I noticed many of the teachers of the *madaris* frown upon students showing tendencies of radicalism.

²² John Azumah, 'Boko Haram in Retrospect,' *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, (2015) 26:1, 33-52. He has alluded to the origin of radical Militant Muslim groups from among western educated Muslims.

tone.²³ There are local varieties to the praxis around this system of education for it to be unique in certain localities such as Ilorin. This thesis aims to tease out this unique experience of Ilorin as an Islamic city whose fame rested on the praxis of this institution. Islamic education in Ilorin can no longer be treated as some traditional knowledge production system; it has come to embrace modern trends while still retaining some of the traditional essence. Some of the traditional practice had been gradually replaced with contemporary practice, some with influences from around the Muslim world. Typologies of Islamic education range from the traditional mode, madrasah mode, to the type attainable in the western system of education, especially of the higher education type. Other informal modes such as open air sermons, recordings of such on audio-visual materials as well as the mass media have added to the repertoire of the Islamic education system.²⁴

Reichmuth²⁵ in his remarkable work on the Islamic education in Ilorin has shown that Islamic education is the pivot around which Ilorin as a multicultural society was able to achieve social integration. Islam, sustained by the ulama and the Islamic education system was the rallying point for the diverse multi-ethnic groups that formed Ilorin.²⁶ Islam was the pot into which the diversity of the people melted and the primal index of identity of Ilorins as a people. Religion comes before ancestry and language as indices of identity of the people of Ilorin.²⁷ The ulama as the vanguards of Islam played an important role in this social integration. Apart from being teachers, the scholars are renowned for their magical-therapeutic services.²⁸ Even the establishment of the emirate is linked to the provision of this service and again during the consolidation of the emirate, especially against the irredentist wars of the Yorubas, this magical-spiritual skill served the military aristocrats. In the twentieth century, this service serves the merchant and trading class but also the

²³ Local and contemporary experience and practice can be seen in how scholars from different geographical and cultural backgrounds view Islamic education despite its universal values. For example see the works of Yusef Waghid, *Conceptions of Islamic Education* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2011); Douglass Susan L. & Shaikh Munir A., 'Defining Islamic Education: Differentiation and Application' *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, Vol. 7(1) (2004), 12-13.

²⁴ Rosalind I.J. Hackett and Benjamin F. Soares eds., (Introduction) *New Media and Religious Transformations in Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), 2.

²⁵ Stefan Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung und Soziale Integration in Ilorin* (Munster: Lit. Verlag, 1998).

²⁶ The other being its military strength, also connected to its economy based on slavery (especially in the nineteenth century) and trade. See Ann O'Hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria: Ilorin Slaves and their Successors* (Rochester: University of Rochester, 1997).

²⁷ Aliyu S. Alabi, 'Indices of Ethnic Identity in a Multicultural Society: An Appraisal of Ilorin's Ethnic Identity,' *FAIS Journal of Humanities*, Vol.4 No.2.July (2010), 1-29. Bayero University Kano.

²⁸ Balogun, 'Gwandu Emirate.' 141.

society in general. These are reflected in chapter six, showing the role of the scholars in spheres outside the acquisition and impartation of knowledge. These post-study acts of scholars bring out the influence of the scholars on the society outside and in conjunction with their educational praxis.

This study then, is essentially about the history of this Islamic educational system in Ilorin, Nigeria, an almost wholly Muslim society, particularly in the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century. From early in the history of the city, the legitimacy of the town and its leaders is rooted in Islam and Islamic education has remained the promoter and sustainer of the Islamic identity of the town. Less than a century into its existence as a Muslim city, it encountered western civilization in the form of colonialism and accompaniments such as western education and Christianity and its brand of capitalism.²⁹ It is a history of the town's encounter with the challenges and opportunities that a Muslim society had to deal with in its traditional religious educational institution that is sacrosanct to its identity, in the modern world and how it has fared, against the state supported western system of education. This exertion in knowledge production gave the Muslims of Ilorin power which has far reaching influence beyond religious utilization. The power reverberates on all aspects of life of the people from the political, social and intellectual to the economic. It is a history of unrelenting scholars who not only promoted their educational system but also the western system that has remained an albatross to their own system.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section introduces the work, the rationale, theoretical underpinnings, objectives, methodology and sources and a review of relevant literature. The second section briefly examines the history of the two phases of Islamic education in the nineteenth century Ilorin: the Okesuna phase and emirate phase, the prelude to the main period of study, the twentieth century early twenty-first century.

Research Rationale: Education is an integral part of all societies' history. All societies educate their citizens; hence cultural differences entail a differentiation of the concepts of education in different societies. In Africa, education is usually classified into three modes: traditional or indigenous mode, Islamic and the western mode. Education in simple terms refers to the effort of a society or group to pass on its heritage through a system; any of, some or all of oral, written, formal, informal

²⁹ See especially chapter one, Robert Shenton, *The Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria*, (London: James Currey, 1986), about the economy of Northern Nigeria before colonialism.

and non-formal modes of learning.³⁰ The educational system of a people is thus a most important prism through which we can have a greater understanding of the ideas that make a people.

To understand the people of Ilorin, an understanding of the educational system through which members of the society are made is of paramount importance. In this period under investigation, two educational systems struggled for the attention of the people; neither easy to ignore. While western education was foreign and introduced through the hegemonic power of the Europeans, the Islamic education system, essential to the people, remains a most important feature of the life of the people. The dynamics of the struggles and engagements of the two systems have been most important in the life of the people of Ilorin since the beginning of the twentieth century.

In the rapidly changing and evolving world characteristic of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, historical events also follow this trend of rapidly changing and evolving pattern of the world, requiring constant recording and re-evaluation of events. This is even more acute for developing nations where a record keeping culture is poor or inadequate in comparison with the developed world. Within the space of a hundred years, of the twentieth century, the world in general and its localities have experienced more changes and development than during the last thousand years before the said period. Modernity, while it has brought many positive values to the society, through omission or commission of human engagement with it, many values and practices of people that identifies them are being eroded and in the absence of records, there is the hazard of a near future of a situation where some cultures may no longer be able to interact with certain aspects of their past.³¹

This unending dialogue between the past and the present³² is threatened in such societies, necessitating the need for the historian to continuously interact with facts on ground before they recede into the oblivion. For example, the simple methods of

³⁰ P.K Tibenderana, *Education and Cultural Change in Northern Nigeria 1906-1966 - A Study in the Creation of a Dependent Culture* (Kampala: Fontain Publishers, 2003), 1; Babs Fafunwa, *History of Education in Nigeria*, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974), 1; Jubril Aminu, 'Towards a Strategy for Education and Development in Africa' -in- Nur Alkali, Adamu Adamu, Awwal Yadudu, Rashid Motem and Haruna Salihi (eds.), *Islam in Africa-Proceedings of the Islam in Africa Conference* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 1993); Gary MacCulloch (ed.), *History of Education*, (London: Routledge, 2005), 4.

³¹ Even materially advanced cultures, this is also a concern. See William Cronon, Presidential Address 'Storytelling' *American Historical Review*, February 2013.

³² E. H Carr, *What is History* 2nd Edition (London: Penguin Books, 1987), 30.

teaching at the earliest stage in Qur'anic schools in Ilorin are fading away.³³ The methods are not set in specific records, but based on praxis, (stored in the memories of the practitioners) which have changed over the years and are continuously being adapted to new situations. Many aspects of the methods are being forgotten as will be shown in chapter three of this thesis, due to changing practices. The antiquarian concern for this is based on the multiculturalism embedded in this praxis as a pointer to the multi-ethnic indices of Ilorin as a melting pot. This forms one of the bases of this thesis. The writing of the history will thus bring new insights to the past while reinforcing and expanding the understanding already in the memory of the society as recorded history.

While a number of works have been written on Ilorin and Islamic education, this work brings new insights and understanding to the history of Islamic education such as the trifurcated responses to the hegemonic challenge that colonialism and western education posed to this institution. These have formed the foundation of the dynamic interaction and engagement of Muslims with western education that has continued in the post-colonial period right into the twenty-first century. Colonialism, the harbinger of western education, may have gone but western education has remained and is now a cultural phenomenon in the society, acting as an agency of globalization in diverse fields. Its importance, on its own merits and in an unending dynamics with Islamic education cannot be overemphasized. Both institutions continuously interact and rub off each other as will be demonstrated throughout this thesis.

Although Ilorin has not suffered from lack of attention of researchers, researches on Ilorin history have tended to focus on political and economic history of Ilorin. Although the intellectual history of the people has gotten some attention as well, as we find in the seminal work of Stefan Reichmuth,³⁴ a number of theses and many undergraduate research works, not much attention has been given to Islamic education especially at the terminal degree level. Little attention has been given to the history of Islamic education, an important aspect of the social and intellectual history of the town. A prominent Muslim city, Islam is the quintessence around which the life of the people revolves. Given the umbilical relationship between Islam and education, this institution of Islamic education is of paramount importance in understanding the people, their history and identity.

³³ Aliyu S. Alabi, 'Local to Global: a Fading Cultural Memory in Alphabet and Syllable Teaching in Quranic Education in Ilorin.' Paper presented at the Conference, 'Ilorin: History, Culture and Lessons for Peaceful Co-existence.' Centre for Ilorin Studies, University of Ilorin, May 2013.

³⁴ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*.

Objectives of the Study: This research aims at examining the history of Islamic education in Ilorin, as an important aspect of the social intellectual history of a Muslim society in the twentieth century, a time that marks the coming of age of the town and its intellectuals. It was a century of opportunities as well as challenges for the development of Islamic education.

The study will explore the process of acquiring Islamic education, the dynamism of the system and the challenges this system of education had to contend with in the period of study, the whole of twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century. It will examine the influence of Pax Britannica on the development of Islamic education in the early colonial period and how this would influence the reforms and development that laid the foundation for future developments. This will include how it has faced the challenges of the modern era, given its rapid growth and expansion in this period. It will also explore the relationship between Islamic education and western education and values and how both systems engaged each other and the influence of this on the society. The interaction and relations between the two systems remained a recurrent theme throughout the period of study.

The forms of Islamic education, mode of studies, curricula, structures (supra and physical) will also be studied. It will look at the influence of encounter with the outside world, including acquisition of higher Islamic education abroad (especially in the Middle East) as well as the spread of Islamic education beyond Ilorin by missionary educationists. The research will study the impact of Islamic education on the development of popular Islamic movements from the 1940s and 1950s onwards. What was the reaction of the traditional system to modernization of Islamic education? How has Islamic education served as a censor to western ideas and influences and the influence of western education on the developments in Islamic education? How has the traditional political set up fared along with the institution of Islamic education in this period, given the symbiotic relationship between the two since the establishment of the emirate? These questions will guide the course of this account.

This work also examines the madrasah system of Islamic education that resulted from the reforms of the ulama in the colonial period and which continued into the post-independence period. With the bulk of intermediate Islamic education now taking place in the *madaris*, this research will explore the history and organization of this important mode of Islamic education. What distinguishes this system from other modes? What are the challenges facing this system and how has it coped in the face of changing socio-economic realities in the society? This study will also examine the roles and influence of the products of the Islamic education system: in the varied forms such as the religious teachers, imams, preachers-moulders of

opinion, spiritual consultants, authors of religious literature and legal practitioners, on the Muslim community of Ilorin.

The cleavages in methods of Islamic education in Ilorin as espoused by the different schools of pedagogy will be examined and the overlapping nature of these seemingly opposing systems. This will help to contrast how significantly Islamic education differs from that of the Hausa/Fulani speaking areas of northern Nigeria and the rest of the Muslim world. This study also intends to tease out the participation of the female in this male dominated system. Study will add new knowledge in areas hitherto unexplored and deepen areas already touched. There is the need to explore the development of Islamic education given the significant influence of this institution on the society being studied. This will enhance our understanding of a strong influence on the history of the people in relation to other developments in Ilorin. It pervades the structure of the society from the emirate hierarchy to other spheres, economic and social, formal and informal networks in the society.

Scope, Boundaries and Methodologies of Research: This thesis is based on a combination of field work and archival and documentary study. Both methods have their advantages and their limitations. Moreover, neither oral sources nor written records make history until the historian has made meaning out of them.³⁵ Therefore it has been necessary to create a synthesis of oral historical records, written works and field studies. Based on this, a narrative of adaptability of the Islamic education has been identified. A reading of the signposts in the developments of the system indicates the system as responding to the more powerful western education system.

The study has focused on the colonial and post-colonial experience of Ilorin within the scheme of Islamic education. This research is largely limited to the city of Ilorin, the capital of Ilorin emirate as well as the capital of Kwara State of Nigeria. The emirate consists of the capital and outlying districts. The capital presently consists of three of the five local government areas that make up the emirate. The choice of the capital city for the focus is due to the concentration of scholars and centres of Islamic education in the capital city. This, however, does not mean that the lived experiences of Ilorin scholars in other cities were not explored. The very nature of Islamic education and scholarship often involve travelling to acquire and spread knowledge and religion. Ilorin is necessarily the focus and base of this study, from which explorations into other spatial realms in which scholars of Ilorin were involved in the praxis of Islamic education were examined as extension of this focus on Ilorin. A thread running throughout this thesis is the struggle of the

³⁵ Carr, *What is History*, 5.

scholars of Islamic education to strengthen their institution in direct and indirect competition with the powerful state backed western system of education. The period covered in this work is from the British conquest of Ilorin in 1897 to the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Despite the availability of the most scientific means of record keeping and the many important works undertaken by Africans and non-Africans in writing the histories of Africa, many aspects of African societies are still under-recorded. For these reasons, the writing of the history of an African society or aspects of the history of such a society requires adopting multiple methods and sources in the reconstruction of past events. This has been the trend for many years and this work is no exception to this approach. The dominance of the West in the scientific recording and writing on Africa also means the interest of the West plays an important role in what aspects of African history are recorded.³⁶ As a result, some aspects of African history have received more attention than others.

Field work for this research was first conducted in Ilorin, between April and December 2012 and then May to December 2013 and parts of 2014. This enabled me to acquire a practical understanding of some of the everyday praxes of Islamic learning in both the Qur'anic schools and the *madaris*. This allowed some glimpses into the changes that have occurred in the system when compared with what had been observed in previous studies as well as my own experience of the system as a participant/observant.

When I began this research, I knew I would have to make considerable use of oral historical knowledge, not only on little known aspects of this history but also to corroborate and enliven what has already been recorded. The use of oral evidence has been agreed upon by many scholars of African history as requisite in writing African history.³⁷ The availability of the most scientific means of record keeping has not diminished this need for the writing of African history using oral history. Rather in the postmodern era, digital technology has become a tool of oral historical research. It is a solid way of capturing the lived experience of the people.³⁸

³⁶ Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, 'Politics and Poetics of Exile: Edward Said in Africa' (*Research in African Literatures* Vol. 36 (3) 2005) 1-22

³⁷ S. P. M'bra Ekeanza, Oral Tradition and the Writing of History in E.J Alagoa (ed.), *Oral Tradition and Oral History in African and the Diaspora: Theory and practice* (Centre for black and African Arts and civilization and Nigerian Association for Oral History and Tradition, 1990), 82.

³⁸ Valerie J. Janesic, 'Oral History Interviewing: Issues and Possibilities' – in – Patricia Leavy (ed.) *The Oxford handbook of Qualitative Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Through the lived experience of the stakeholders of this institution, teachers and proprietors of the *madaris*, many aspects of the history of the institution were teased out and strands woven together to interpret the events of the past. Most of these interviews and discussions took place in Ilorin and were conducted in Yoruba. Some were gleaned from oral and communicative interviews with informants in Ogbomosho and in Sokoto as well. Some of these were corroborated by the many written sources available on the history of the Ilorin. This enabled internal and external checks on the evidences, necessary for the historian to make fairly certain deductions. In so doing, the study has exploited the fact that our lives are rooted in narratives and narrative practices. Story telling is an essential human preoccupation. It is one of man's ways of reckoning with time. As a result of this, the fluid, multiple and negotiated identity of a people is always under narrative construction.

“We are called upon to make a sense of and remember the past in order to move ahead and attend to the future. Thus time, memory and narrative are inextricably linked.”³⁹

In the humanities, we are supposed to be studying people, observing their lived experiences, and trying to understand their lives. Narratives come closer to representing the contexts and integrity of the lives of a people. To the extent that descriptions of the social world involve translating “knowing” into “telling,” they can be seen as narratives, saturated by gaps between experience and its expression.⁴⁰

“Indigenous (African) approaches to research are fundamentally rooted in the traditions and knowledge systems of indigenous people...necessarily includes overarching (and in some ways unifying) colonial structures in which people find themselves embedded.”⁴¹

The history of Islamic education in Ilorin is sifted out of the prosopography of the scholars of this institution as will become obvious throughout this work. Despite its positive contribution, one of the drawbacks of oral historical knowledge especially based on everyday praxes (that change over time) of scholars is the loss of vital information when not recorded, as some of the scholars are living historical

³⁹ Arthur Bochner and Nicholas A. Riggs, ‘Practicing Narrative Enquiry’ – in – Patricia Leavy (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁴⁰ Bochner and Riggs, ‘Practicing Narrative Enquiry.’

⁴¹ Michael Evans, Adrian Miller, Peter J. Hutchinson, and Carlene Dingwall, ‘Decolonizing Research Practice: Indigenous methodologies, Aboriginal methods and knowledge/Knowing’ – in – Patricia Leavy (ed.) *The Oxford handbook of Qualitative Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,2014).

repositories of events around their vocation.⁴² The death of some of the scholars before appointments could be made during the course of this study testified to the dangers of unrecorded history in the memory of some of the key actors. Some also passed away after vital information was gotten from them. Despite this drawback, it remains a veritable source of understanding the history of this institution. When examined through the embodied framework, it enables an understanding of the constant and dynamic variables that shapes the history of the system and we see how adaptive the system had been in the period studied.⁴³

The historical approach helps to contextualize the signposts of developments in the Islamic education system and its interactions with the western system. While not connected directly to each other in most instances, events in both spheres have bearings on each other and the story of one cannot be complete without the other. And this cannot be pinned down to colonial encounter alone as it has continued in the engagement with the post-colonial state having Muslims as key actors in the process.

In addition, archival records both in Nigeria and United Kingdom (National Archives in Kaduna and Ibadan and Arewa House, Kaduna, in Nigeria; as well as the Public Record Office at Kew Gardens and the Rhodes House collection at the University of Oxford, United Kingdom) provided important information especially on the colonial period, when the foundation for many of the later events examined this work was laid. In contrast to the post-independence period, the colonial era sources were mainly written sources, in the form of records of official policies and correspondences of the colonial officials. They proved useful in reconstructing colonial forays into Islamic education through its educational policies. While these written sources provides an array of information on government policies and as views of outsiders, they have little to offer on the inside dynamics of the Islamic system. Prosopography, oral accounts and quotidian praxes helped to bring the insider historical events into perspectives.

The use of varied sources enabled contextualization and questioning of the respective sources, thus bringing out their inadequacies and or strengthening their

⁴² Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 190. In this seminal work Vansina, pointed out the values of oral historical knowledge despite its weaknesses such unreliability of some witnesses and the problem of chronology and selectivity, something not unknown in written sources as well.

⁴³ Rudolph T. Ware III, *The Walking Qur'an - Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge and History in west Africa* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2014). Ware's study centers on Muslims' preoccupation with memorization, mimesis and service subsumed into embodiment of knowledge as the intrinsic strength and value of Islamic learning whether of the esoteric or exoteric paradigm.

validity as the case may be. Oral sources have been helpful in bringing out little known or unrecorded events which are, however, significant to our understanding of important signposts in the history of Islamic education in Ilorin. For example, while colonial records points out Islamic education as backward and rote, oral historical accounts and written sources from within the Islamic education system have shown the system to be more advanced and dynamic than colonial records would have us believe. In similar ways written sources have been used in interrogating the oral narratives.

Colonial records show the understanding of the colonial authority of the system as inadequate and that this view was much influenced by the power relations between the colonizer and the colonized. While the observations of the colonial authority were correct in certain ways, in many ways it betrays a lack of understanding of the episteme of the system of the colonized. Whereas some colonial officers showed genuine interest in the Islamic education system of the colonized, many did not see such as necessary, finding the excuse in the ambiguities of the colonial policy of non-interference and improving Islamic learning along what it considered enlightened lines- a rationalist approach to Arabic learning unlike the religious approach of the clerics.⁴⁴ Writings on the aspects of the history of the Islamic education system in the post-colonial period, especially writers from within Ilorin, have tended to see the system as being at the receiving end of government policies and advocating for more government interventions in the system. Reichmuth's approach, however, was different, since he focused on the role of the Islamic education system as the agency of societal integration of a society multi ethnic in origin but anchored in a universal religion.⁴⁵ Through this, we are able to see the Islamic system as dynamic and powerful enough to push its agenda and relevance into the public socio-political and economic space, especially through its agents rooted in both systems of education. Together with bits of surface archaeological evidence and relics in Ilorin, these form the primary sources of evidence for this work.

There were of course limitations to the various sources, and to the research. My limited working knowledge of Arabic, the most important language of Islamic education, partly hindered this research in exploring areas that might have nuanced this work. Textual analysis of the texts used in teaching was limited, even though some of these were explored in parts of this work. Further explorations would have yielded more knowledge, for example, the 'secular' contents of some of the subjects

⁴⁴ NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools', Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

⁴⁵ Stefan Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung und Soziale Integration in Ilorin* (Munster: Lit. Verlag, 1998).

being taught in the *madaris*. The absence of adequate records as well hindered analysis across time. For example, we have some figures of the pupils in Qur'anic schools in the colonial period; this gets more difficult as we enter the post-colonial period. The records of government's relations with this institution in the post-colonial period were also sparse. Though attempts were made to get this information, what was gotten from the Ministry of Education in Ilorin, was not as rich as hinted by previous research conducted by other scholars. This is due to a poor record-keeping culture and perhaps a change in relations between the government and the *madaris* as would be indicated in this research. The structures of both have changed over the years and there appears not to have been adequate realignment of otherwise unstable and sometimes informal relations. Suffice to say, inadequate funding and evidence and to an extent, time precluded further explorations of some of these areas that might have further shed light on our concerns.

From the middle of the twentieth century, historians have come to accept quantitative methods as indeed helpful to their craft and it has since become part of the oeuvre of the interdisciplinarity of the discipline.⁴⁶ A survey using the questionnaire method proved a very useful tool in coming to some understanding of the many aspects of the workings of the *madaris*, where some of the most important Islamic education now takes place. Individual studies of the numerous *madaris* alone could not have furnished the knowledge derived through the survey. Some statistics were as well teased out to give some graphical understanding of the workings of the institution.

The works of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri,⁴⁷ Stefan Reichmuth,⁴⁸ Hakeem O. Danmole,⁴⁹ A.K.W. Aliy-Kamal⁵⁰ and Salihu O. Mohammed⁵¹ among others provided foundational materials on which this thesis is built. Other primary sources include newspaper reports, magazines, pamphlets and prayer texts. The

⁴⁶ John F. Reynolds, 'Do Historians Count Anymore? The Status of Quantitative Methods in History, 1975-1995 (1988: *Historical Methods* Vol.31 (4)

⁴⁷ Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur Mashahir Ulama Iluri* (Agege, Maktabat, 1982); Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri, *Al Islam fi Nijeriyya wa Uthman bn Fudi* (Arabic) (Agege, Maktabat, 1978).

⁴⁸ Stefan Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung und Soziale Integration in Ilorin* (Munster: Lit. Verlag, 1998).

⁴⁹ H.O.A. Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate: A History of Islam in Ilorin' (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1980)

⁵⁰ A.K.W. Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in Ilorin' (M.A Dissertation, Department of Islamic Studies, University of Ibadan, 1984).

⁵¹ Salihu Oloruntoyin Muhammad, 'A Study of Selected Private Institutions of Arabic and Islamic Studies in Kwara State of Nigeria', (M.A Islamic Studies: Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1987).

considerable number of works, published and unpublished, on aspects of Ilorin history in Nigerian universities, provided many secondary sources for this work. The many dissertations and theses from the undergraduate to terminal degree level have been of immense help in reconstructing the history of Islamic education in Ilorin.

The internet provided some valuable materials including photographs, video recording of sermons of the scholars and other useful information. Audio-visual recordings of the sermons provided glimpses into the world of the scholars as well as the history of the institution. Many of the photographs were taken in the course of the field work by the researcher while others were provided by relatives and respondents. Observer/participant method allowed for the observations of new trends such as the bifocal school and the *tahfiz* schools that have not been captured in earlier studies. Field work also enabled a gendered approach, showing the importance and role of women in Islamic knowledge production and how this has enabled their greater presence in public religious discourse.

While previous studies have approached history of Islamic education as the agency of societal integration, I have approached the subject as a history of an adaptive institution that is constantly responding to the challenges that western education pose to it. Through this, we have an understanding of the responses of the scholars as largely positive, often using the structures of its rival to bolster and strengthen itself. I used the Islamization of knowledge framework retroactively in contrast the reforms (modernization praxes) which the traditional scholars had carried out in their response to western education, beginning in the colonial period and going on into the present to explain the continuous adaptations by Muslims to bring knowledge of both systems within their control and worldview as can be seen in the example of the emerging bifocal schools. More than theoretical discourse, notions and expected outcomes of Islamization of knowledge is discernible in the praxes of Islamic education system even if the actors have not engaged in any rigorous academic discourse or labelled their actions 'Islamization.' From their praxes, the themes of the academic discourse of Islamization have been teased out.

None of the previous works have examined the pedagogical schools of thought as responses of a hitherto universal paradigm of knowledge production to the colonial encounter and the challenge of western education.⁵² By examining the role of western education and its methods as a determinant of change and developments in the Islamic education system, we are able to see how the encounter with colonialism and western education has been very influential with far reaching consequences for

⁵² Ware, *The Walking Qur'an*, 10.

Islamic education system. The adaptive nature of the institution in the face of the rapidly changing conditions that they have experienced: subjugation by imperial powers, economic effects of world capitalism, the political transformation of the Nigerian state and the many social dislocations associated with these processes is thus brought to the fore.⁵³

In short, the gathering of data and writing of this work required an interdisciplinary approach. As noted by Zeleza, interdisciplinary approach is not a static phenomenon but is part of the transformations of academic work, which in turn reflect the changing dynamics of wider society.⁵⁴ No discipline is capable, by itself, of explaining the complex and the social, economic and political phenomena and processes in an increasingly globalized world. This interdisciplinarity leads one to picking bits and pieces from other disciplines to enrich one's work.

I had a number of advantages as a participant/observer (however peripheral) of the Islamic education institution, I was able to use some of my experiences and that of my family and community in coming to some understanding of the dynamics of the institution. This enables some engagement with the society being studied (or at least helped to demonstrate the relevance of the knowledge being produced).⁵⁵ The method of writing is comparative and thematic in approach (between Ilorin, the rest of the north and Yoruba region and the rest of the Muslim world) on the mode of learning in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Ilorin. The dearth of systematic records makes a strict chronological order difficult, hence the choice of chrono-thematic approach in writing the history of this institution. This is also partly responsible for the narrative and descriptive approach in writing parts of this work.

⁵³ . Louis Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge-Religion, power and schooling in a West African Muslim society* (Bloomington; Indiana University Press, 2001) ,3-7.

⁵⁴ Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, 'The Disciplinary, Interdisciplinary and Global Dimensions of African Studies' (*International Journal of Renaissance Studies*, 1:2, 2006) 195-220 .

⁵⁵ Sally Mathews, 'Teaching and Researching Africa in 'Engaged' Way: The Possibilities and Limitations of 'Community Engagement', *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, Vol. 8 No.1 (2010)

Education in Islam: Defining Islamic education has always been problematic, especially in the modern period. As Halstead ⁵⁶ has pointed out, a Muslim philosophy of education is problematic from Muslim understanding of the two key words, philosophy and education. Philosophy came after religion and was refined to fit into the tenets of the religion. For this reason, puritans have problems with any form of ‘philosophy’ as something extraneous to the revealed religion. There were no known philosophers in Arabia before the time of the prophet ⁵⁷ nor during his lifetime; there was not any form of refined philosophy for the new religion to adapt to as we have in the case of religious rituals, some of which predated Islam but were adapted into the new religion.⁵⁸

Muslim or Islamic Philosophy was the result of contact of the Arab Muslims with the more sedentary cultures of Persia, Egypt, Syrian, Greek and certain elements of these cultures were adapted into Islamic thought. The translation of Greek classics in this early period fostered the Aristotelian tradition of pursuit of truth with the help of human reasoning. It resulted in the development of structured theology (*kalam* in Arabic), the rational theology of the Mutazilites, the more systematic philosophy of the classical Islamic era ⁵⁹

Education on the other hand was not alien to the Arabic tongue but its meaning fits incongruously with western philosophic understanding of the word in accordance with its analytic tradition. Three words *ilm* (knowledge), *adab* (manners or morals), and *tarbiyah* (nurture) are usually translated as education, each emphasizing different aspects and there is porosity of meaning between the three words. The heart of the Muslim concept of education:

“...is the aim of producing good Muslims with an understanding of Islamic rules of behavior and a strong knowledge of and a commitment to the faith.” ⁶⁰

More than the process, the purpose of education is an important index in understanding Islamic education. In Muslim countries, the two contending systems of education in the modern world are the western and Islamic. Though there are areas of agreement between the two such as in aspects of contents and method, the single most important difference lies in the ultimate aim of education in both

⁵⁶ Mark Halstead J., ‘An Islamic Concept of Education’ *Comparative Education*, Vol.40 No.4. (2004) 517.

⁵⁷ Bayard Dodge, *Muslim Education in Medieval Times* (Washington: The Middle East Institute, 1962), 1.

⁵⁸ For example, the Hajj (pilgrimage) ritual and (*diyya*) payment of blood money predate Islam but were modified to the tenets of the new religion.

⁵⁹ Halstead, ‘An Islamic Concept,’ 518.

⁶⁰ Halstead, ‘An Islamic Concept,’ 519.

systems. In Islam, education, whatever the content or method must ultimately lead the student to being a good (Muslim) person according to Islamic ideals for the purpose of attainment of a positive afterlife. In Islam, there is no knowledge for knowledge's sake.⁶¹

Thus, in Islam, all material and immaterial knowledge must end in the attainment of a positive afterlife which is well defined. Therefore, the contents and methods of Islamic education are ultimately determined by the purpose or goal of education. The end (the hereafter-which is well defined) justifies the means (varied methods and contents- not sharply defined) in Islamic education. The means is mostly determined by the socio-cultural milieu it is operating in, and even in this, differences always have a central Islamic point where they converge. The means or methods, on the one hand, may change or adapt with time and experience. The hereafter (the end) on the other hand is concluded. By Islamic doctrine, it is a fixed future which no historical circumstance can change or have remodeled to its own ideas.⁶²

Islamic education therefore, deriving from its purpose, is the system of education that seeks to develop a Muslim physically, emotionally intellectually and spiritually. It is one that brings him/her closer to his/her Creator and develops him/her into a responsible social being. It is an education that integrates knowledge, life and social skills, so as to generate responsible members of the community, nation and the world.⁶³ Knowledge of God is equated with the process of learning. Islamic education is unique in the sense of unity of knowledge (*tawhid*).⁶⁴ The ultimate source of knowledge is divine and the purpose at its core aims at religio-spiritual sanctity. The nature of Islamic education is such that it holds that all knowledge comes from God. The noble Qur'an is the final authority that confirms the truth in our rational or empirical investigation.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Halstead, 'An Islamic Concept,' 520. This does not mean knowledge outside direct concern of religion such as say physics or nantechnology is not allowed, but rather the concern would be what positive value can they add to humanity and as an acknowledgement of a Supreme Being responsible for the creation of the worlds. In this respect, satisfaction of curiosity is not the only but one of the many reasons for the pursuit of knowledge as exemplified by the careers of classical Muslim scholars who bestrode the world of practical sciences like mathematics, medicine as well as the religious sciences.

⁶² See Ashraf Ali Syed, -in-Preface to Al Attas, *Aims and Objectives* and Halstead, 'An Islamic Concept,' 521.

⁶³ Halstead, 'An Islamic Concept,' 522-523.

⁶⁴ Bradley J. Cook, 'Islamic Versus Western Conceptions of Education' Reflections on Egypt', *International Review of Education*, Volume 45 (3/4) 1999 339-357.

⁶⁵ Fazlur, *Islam*, 77; Douglass Susan L. & Shaikh Munir A., 'Defining Islamic Education: Differentiation and Application,' *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, Vol. 7(1) (2004), 12-13.

Man, the Qur'an has said is the vicegerent of God (*Khalifah Allah*);

“And your Lord said to the angels: Lo! I am about to place a viceroy in the earth, they said: Wilt thou place therein one who will do harm therein and will shed blood, while we, we hymn Thy praise and sanctify Thee? He said: Surely I know that which ye know not.”⁶⁶

And the purpose of his creation is service or worship of Allah:

“I created the jinn and humankind only that they might worship Me”⁶⁷

To guide man for this purpose, prophets had been sent unto every generation and people, culminating in the seal of the prophets, Muhammad, who was also given the Qur'an as a guide and warning to mankind. In Muhammad, mankind has a perfect model (*insan kamil*) to follow. Man is to achieve his purpose in life by surrendering to the will of Allah which is contained in the Qur'an and follow the example of the prophet (*Sunnah*). These two form the core, pivot of all learning a Muslim may attain. Infinity of learning is only limited by its religious tether.

Theoretical Framework

At the time of the prophet, organized system of education was not in existence in Arabia, although among the Jews and Christians, some level of literacy existed. The literary culture was largely oral, the recitation and listening to verse and proverbs and there is the annual popular fair near Mecca where poets contested.⁶⁸ Munir ud-deen, quoting Goldziher, argued that the period before Islam was not as ignorance infused as is generally referred to; the meaning of *jahiliyyah* often translated as ‘state of ignorance’ or ‘the ignorance’ is better understood as ‘those barbaric practices,’ ‘savage temper,’ ‘the tribal pride and endless tribal feuds, the cult of revenge, the implacability and all other characteristics which Islam was destined to overcome.’⁶⁹

In the beginning the purpose of Islamic education was to explicate on the divine revelation. It became necessary to understand Arabic language because the revelation was done in Arabic. Arabic became the lingua franca of the religion. The

⁶⁶ The Glorious Qur'an (2nd ed.), Translated by Maulavi Muhammad Ali (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman-I-Ishaat-I-Islam, 1920) 2:30.

⁶⁷ Q 51:56

⁶⁸ Dodge, *Muslim Education*, 1.

⁶⁹ Munir-ud-deen Ahmed, *Muslim Education and the Scholars' Social Status up to the Fifth Century of the Muslim Era in the Light of Tarikh Baghdad* (Zurich: Verlag, 1968), 25.

practice of the religion is not possible without the most rudimentary understanding of Arabic and no one could be a successful imam, teacher or government official unless he is familiar with the language.⁷⁰ At the heart of Muslim concept of education is the aim of producing good Muslims with an understanding of Islamic rules of behavior and a strong knowledge of and commitment to faith. One must take into cognizance the fact that Arabic language does not allow for the differentiations between education, teaching, training, schooling, instruction and upbringing as obtained in western philosophy of education stemmed in the analytical tradition. The word 'ilm' in Arabic is used interchangeably and can connote all these variables.⁷¹

Medieval Muslim scholars such as Al-Zarnuji⁷² and Ibn Khaldun as well discussed the praxis of knowledge in their work which has also found relevance with modern Muslim scholars. Ibn Khaldun in his monumental work *Muqaddimma* enumerated the qualities of what he called the philosophical sciences and the traditional sciences. The former man acquires through thinking, using speculation and research. The later he says are based on the authority of the given religious law.⁷³

After successful opposition to Mutazila and Shi'ite doctrines, the medieval ulama developed their sciences and taught them in such a way a defense was erected for this body of knowledge. The ulama appropriated not only their field but all field of knowledge. Thus, all knowledge is subservient to their dogma leading to a stifling of original thinking, found in early Muslim learning.⁷⁴ From medieval time, Muslim concept of knowledge is that of acquisition rather than the western modern concept of something to be searched and discovered by the mind and given an active role in knowledge. By the advent of the modern period, scholarship in the Muslim world had been relegated to mainly the religious sciences, coupled with the weakened socio-economic and political structures of most Muslim societies; in this state did the Muslim world encountered western weltanschauung through imperialism.

⁷⁰ Dodge, *Muslim Education*, 31.

⁷¹ For a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the concept of knowledge in Islam, see Frantz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant* (Leiden: Brill, 1970). See also J. M. Halstead, 'An Islamic Concept of Education' *Comparative Education*, Vol. 40 (4) (2004) 522-524.

⁷² Burhan al Din Al-Zarnuji 602AH/1223CE, is the author of the celebrated pedagogical treatise *Ta'līm al-Muta'allim-Tarīq at-Ta'allum (Instruction of the Student: The Method of Learning)*. Al-Zarnuji's work is very influential on one of the pedagogical schools in Ilorin, discussed in chapter three of this work.

⁷³ Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah* Translated by Franz Rosenthal, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2005), 343-344.

⁷⁴ Khaldun, *Muqaddimah*, 352, see also Halstead, 'An Islamic Concept,' 518.

Muslims find themselves in a modern world where education became a binary phenomenon of western and Islamic education and the possibility to follow one or the other of the two systems or combine both, often with a stronger leaning to one of the two. For Muslims, life is not to be taken as an end in itself but as a process to a positive hereafter. As Al Attas argued, the purpose or aim of Islamic education is the production of a good man. Thus, education is the process that helps man to achieve the wisdom to fulfill his destiny. He located the problem of Islamic education in the modern world in the internal rot in Muslim societies; the loss of *adab* (social and moral education), prevalence of pseudo-scholars and what he calls a leveling of authority.⁷⁵

Most noticeable in al Attas' discourse is a desire to have a truly Muslim educational system so that all knowledge can submit to its epistemology. In doing this, unlike some other writers before and after him, he seemed to downplay the role of Muslim scholarship in the development of western educational system.⁷⁶ As Siddiqi has argued, Islamization (which sometimes conflates with modernization) should be of the education rather than knowledge. Knowledge in many instances is a finished product whereas education is a process and dynamic.⁷⁷ To focus on (Islamization of) knowledge is to constantly have to fit and refit it into a framework that may not work but if the process (education) is Islamic, then the product (knowledge) is more likely to have the Islamic identity that is the concern of the Muslims.

As can be seen, the Islamization of knowledge project has largely been located within western education institutions and mostly at higher education level, in Nigeria and particularly in Ilorin.⁷⁸ The operators of the madaris have not been

⁷⁵ Al Attas, *Aims and Objective*, 3. A key purpose of the book is to provide some guidance that will help Muslims identify and isolate key western concepts that is not aligned to Islamic notion of knowledge from which Muslims can then lay a framework for the Islamization of knowledge.

⁷⁶ See for examples, Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins* and Lyons, *House of Wisdom*. Since the publication of the work, it has inspired a number of other works such as Bashir Galadanci (ed.), *Islamisation of Knowledge -A Research Guide* (Kano: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2000); M. Akhtar Siddiqui, *Development of Muslims Through Education* (New Delhi: Institute of Objective Studies, 2004); Waghid, *Conceptions of Islamic*.

⁷⁷ Siddiqi, Muhammad Nejatullah, 'Islamization of Knowledge: Reflections on Priorities' *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, Volume 28, No.3.

⁷⁸ It can be seen as largely a proactive defensive discourse that highlights the weak, socio-economic and political status of Muslims in the modern world. This should not detract from the fact that it has been helpful to Muslims, even if it is mainly in the western type institutions of learning. For an exploration of Islamization of the sciences see, Leif Erik Stenberg, 'The Islamization of Science: Four Muslim positions developing an Islamic modernity', (Ph. D: Lund Universitet, 1994)

privity to the movement as such and it has very little meaning to them. Their modernization efforts on the other hand based on praxes, hardly on theory, can be seen from the kindergarten through to tertiary level of education. Pragmatism and adaptation have been their strategy in developing the Islamic education system of the madrasah mode where some of the most important Islamic education now takes place. The theory is helpful in helping to put into perspectives and in contrast with the efforts of the ulama, right from the colonial period to the present, as we can see some of the expected outcome of the theory of the western based scholars in the reforms of the ulama, deploying pragmatic adaptive strategies to develop and promote their system and even including western type schooling in their reforms. In their actions we see a confirmation of Halstead argument that from the Islamic perspective all knowledge is united through the omniscience of the divine. All knowledge has spiritual and religious significance and ultimately should be tailored towards the service of God.⁷⁹ Commensurate to their respective capacities we can argue that they have done more for the western system than the western system has done for their own system.

Two scholars⁸⁰ from America, writing in the post 9/11 era when the term 'Islamic' has gained some attention, have also theorized on the concept of Islamic education. The key argument of their paper is the shared characteristics of holistic and purposeful education between western and Islamic education traditions, informed by shared and cumulative transmission of knowledge over the centuries. Often, they argue, the focus of people is on the differences rather than parallel ideas, value and institutions with other societies. The differences are easier to recognize and often imagined as unbridgeable with the other. For the scholars, the term 'Islamic' is one of the signifiers often used to delineate familiar terms and construct unreachable concepts about them.

Muslims use the term to refer to what relates to Islamic teachings and institutions. An argument by them is that the term is also often used by Muslims and non-Muslims alike to elevate cultural expressions to normative institutions and practices. For Muslims, the insistence by western episteme for delineation of Muslim life precisely into the secular and religious is the crux of the problem. For Muslims, there can be no cultural or social practice outside of Islam.⁸¹ Indeed the argument that Muslims and Islam are two different phenomena is valid; for Islam is the ideal which the believers (Muslims) in that ideal strive toward. The two for

⁷⁹ Halstead, 'An Islamic Concept.' 522.

⁸⁰ Susan and. Munir, 'Defining Islamic Education.'

⁸¹ Argument by Muslims for a unitary framework for understanding their world is not a negation of differences or divergence of opinions, approaches, dogmas and strategies. Rather it should be seen as a tenacious link to their Unitarian theology.

Muslims, however, are inseparable even at the expense of misunderstanding by outsiders.

Like most contemporary theorists of Islamic education, one can discern a common trend, the influence of the historical and geo-cultural background of the authors. Susan and Munir are concerned about the negative stereotyping of Muslims. However, in trying to conceptualize what Islamic education is, they ended up further splitting the contentious bifurcation of education from two into four typologies: namely education of Muslims, education for Muslims, education about Islam (further split into, one, those in government approved curriculum, taught in schools and two, those of the media including the popular media, world wide web and academia) and lastly education in the Islamic spirit.⁸²

They have arrived at these conclusions by focusing more on mutually aligned western and Islamic concepts of education drawing especially on the history of education of both cultures and how they have rubbed off on each other, less on the differences which are much of a modern clash of ideologies resulting from socio-economic and political relations. Their existential experience of living in the United States of America no doubt also has its influence in their discourse.

Discernible in all expostulations on the concept of Islamic education is the conflict and difficult interaction between Islamic notions of education and western ideas, especially on education. Islamic notion hinges education on an immutable center while for the west, that center is dynamic. This, however, does not preclude areas of agreement and interrelation between both worldviews, but since the soul of any system is in its center,⁸³ the disparity between the centers of both weltanschauungs will always remain irreconcilable. For the Muslims, the aim or purpose of education is the primary idea to be considered before the means which presupposes a leash. This leash based on immaterial values is an anathema to modern western thought, influenced by scientism. For the Muslims, the immaterial values of religion is a necessity for man to avoid slips and errors, to keep him disciplined and in deference to a higher authority of the Supreme Being explicated for man through the Glorious Qur'an and the practice of the Prophet of Islam.

Also striking is the fact that most modern Muslim theorists of Islamic education have all been through the western system of education and exposure to this system had been most crucial in the formation of their ideas. The dilemma of the Muslims cuts both way. Here is a system that does not fully suits or serves them, yet they

⁸² Susan and. Munir, 'Defining Islamic Education.' 11.

⁸³ The arena of the meaningful concepts that gives them their distinctive character. Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 1.

cannot do away with. The power that western education confers on those who control it is not lost on the Muslims, perhaps because they see themselves as the recipients of the negative ends of the system. To attain this power, they seek to infuse it with the ideology of Islam.

As more Muslims get exposed to the western system, the yearning for an Islamically oriented educational system gets stronger even as their socio-economic and political life gets more structured along western models. While the modern Muslim theorists have their base in western system, the traditional class of scholars whose powers have largely been limited to the religious sphere and whose financial wherewithal is weak have concern themselves with modernization, seen through their praxis, devoid of much theorizing, especially of the western academic model.

The paradox of the contention between western and Islamic education systems, for the souls of Muslims is that while western education is an albatross to Islamic education system, within the western education system are also opportunities, some of which have been harnessed, and are continuously being adapted for the strengthening and uplifting of Islamic education system. The power of western education is what Muslims would continue to tame toward re-empowerment of their system (already weak before the encounter with western ideas in the modern world and further weakened by the encounter) and since subjected to competition and collaboration with the western system in the educational sector.

Review of Relevant Literature on the Area of Study

Although Ilorin has enjoyed the attention of researchers, especially its political and economic history,⁸⁴ few scholars have focused on Ilorin's intellectual history, especially the field of Islamic education for which Ilorin is renowned for especially

⁸⁴ Works such as Garvin, R.J. 'The Impact of Colonial Rule on Ilorin Economy, 1897-1930'- in- *Centrepoin*, A Quarterly Journal of Intellectual, Scientific and Cultural Interest, Vol.1, no.1, (1977) 13-52; Sulu, M. 1953. 'History of Ilorin,' Typescript, Rhodes House, mss.afs.s.1210, Oxford; Danmole H. O. 1989/1990. 'Integration in a Nigerian Society in the Nineteenth Century: The Ilorin Example' in *Africa: Revista do Centro de Estudos Africanos*, USP, S. Paulo, 12-13 (1): 25-42; Danmole H. O. 1992, 'Crises, Warfare and Diplomacy in Nineteenth Century Ilorin' in Toyin Falola and Robin Law (eds.), *Warfare and Diplomacy in PreColonial Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Robert Smith* (Madison, 1992); O'Hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria*; Banwo A.O., 'The Colonial State and Ilorin Emirate Economy 1900-1960' (Phd Thesis: University of Ilorin, 1998); B.A Fatayi, 'Politics of Protest: A Case Study of Ilorin Talaka Parapo' (M.A Dissertation: Department of History, University of Ilorin, 1986); S.O. Arifalo, 'Egbeomo Oduduwa and Yoruba Irredentism, 1949-1958' *Odu—* (34) (1988) 88-101. Indigenous writers have also made contributions in the historiography of Ilorin, bringing their local experience and understanding into the history of Ilorin: notably Safi Jimba, Iwe *Itan Ilorin* (Ilorin: Jimba Publishers, 1990), and L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin the Journey so far* (Ilorin: Atoto Press Ltd, 1994).

among the Yoruba speaking people of south western Nigeria. This lacuna is what this study intends to fill. One of the early scholars to engage with the writing on the history of Islamic education in Ilorin is Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri. His works especially, *Lamahat al-Ballur fi Mashahir Ulama Iluri*⁸⁵ (Glimpses of Gemstones of the History of Famous Islamic scholars of Ilorin) and *Al Islam fi Nijeriyya wa Uthman bn Fudi*⁸⁶ (Islam in Nigeria and Uthman bn Fudi) form some of the key primary sources for writing on the history of Islamic education. As an icon of Islamic education among the Yoruba, with Ilorin background, his works reflected his vast experience as well as those of other scholars. In *Lamahat*, his prosopographical accounts give us insights to lives of scholars with whom he was directly familiar as well as those whose accounts he had gleaned from older scholars.⁸⁷ For an institution that most of its activities were not recorded, the lived experiences of the scholars as pivots of the institution formed an important source from which to glean the general trends in the system, especially of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, part of which period he was an important figure.

As a stakeholder in the system, his work reflected the concern of scholars with the challenge that colonialism and western education have impinged on the Islamic education system. Although he made mention of the *madaris* (sing. madrasah) in his works, he did not go into the details of its organization and the adaptations the *madaris* have made from the colonial period through to the 1970s, the period around which he wrote some of his works. He also did not deeply explore the influence of Islamic and western education on each other in the Ilorin. This work intends to fill some of these gap as well as subsequent events which he could not have written about. One must also take cognizance of the fact the he was not writing from a background of western scientific episteme of historiography. Overall, the work is a good introduction into the study of Islamic education in Ilorin. Written by one of the iconic scholars of Ilorin in the twentieth century and as a pioneering work, it remains invaluable as a reference to the study of Islamic education and its scholars in Ilorin.

While *Lamahat* gave particular attention to scholars in Ilorin, *Al Islam fi Nijeriyya* focused more on the Yoruba region and the early history of Islam among the Yoruba. He wrote on the challenge of western civilization and Christianity on Muslims and their educational system. He gave attention to the response of Muslims to some these challenges such as the forming of organizations. This work also gives us insights into his educational philosophy and pan-Islamic ideas. He

⁸⁵ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*.

⁸⁶ Al Iluri, *Al Islam fi Nijeriyya*.

⁸⁷ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*. 9.

comes out as ruing the lack of planning by Muslim missionaries and their weakness in connecting the past with the present so as to plan well into the future.⁸⁸ The Christian/colonial onslaught on Muslim lands had been successful, he argued, because they (missionaries and colonial authority) had studied the Muslim societies before embarking on their mission. Hence, he advocated deep knowledge and planning for Muslim missionaries.

Overall the work gives us an insight into his pedagogy and pan-Islamic instincts as well as his deep interest in historiography. While this thesis is not on the Yoruba region as such, the study is invaluable given the importance of Ilorin scholars in the propagation of Islamic education among the Yoruba. It serves as well as corroborative evidence on ideals that influenced the developments in Islamic education in Ilorin. Al Iluri's works are remarkable in the sense that he lived most of his life outside of Ilorin but he kept a keen eye on the developments that was going on in Ilorin and has recorded them for posterity.

*Islamische Bildung und Soziale Integration in Ilorin*⁸⁹ (Islamic Education and Social Integration in Ilorin) by Stefan Reichmuth is perhaps the most exhaustive treatise on the history of Islamic education and the scholars of this institution in Ilorin at present. The result of close to a decade of research, the work explores the role of scholars and their institution in the social integration of the different groups that coalesced to define Ilorin as a people and society.

The central thesis of the work is the role of Islamic education as the pivot around which societal integration was achieved. This he traced through the history of the city from the Okesuna phase through to the formation of the city into an emirate, the role of Islam as the legitimizing tool of Fulani rulers and the important role the scholars of Islam played in the history of the city. The work pointed out the central location of Ilorin both geographically and culturally as an important factor in the redefinition of Ilorin identity, both in the nineteenth century when it became an emirate and in the twentieth century urban life. The emirs had spent most of the nineteenth century inviting scholars especially from the north to settle in Ilorin and help develop the Islamic identity of the town. He was able to delve into the multi-ethnic root and composition of these scholars and how that helped to define Ilorin's multiculturalism.

This role of the scholars as a pivotal group in the society continued in the colonial period and he pointed out how the scholars latched on to Yoruba penchant for association and clubs and harnessed this to serve Islam through the establishment of

⁸⁸ Al Iluri, *Al Islam fi Nijeriyya*, 176.

⁸⁹ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*.

Muslim organizations; their missionary activities in the commercial city of Lagos as well as other Yoruba cities having a great influence on this, especially in the first half of the twentieth century. These scholars apart from being teachers are also renowned for their magical-therapeutic services. As a distinct social group, the scholars also served as the mobilizing factor for the community through relationship and network of teachers and students within and outside Ilorin; development of new Arabic mode of education, increasing participation of women in religious activities and growing literary production in Arabic.

The research shows the role of scholars as conscience of the society; their preaching as a source of public order. The presence of Muslims in public institutions, growth of Friday mosques, development of private institutions of learning, both western and Arabo-Islamic, development of Muslim organizations, and youth and women participation in these, all reflected the influence of these scholars. The work highlights how the scholars responded to the challenges of their vocation, especially those posed by western education and the economic and political structure of the state and the country: through formalization and modernization of Arabic schools, establishment of organizations, local and national and connections to international centers of Muslim education and organizations in the Middle East. Through their students and clients in public life they sought to promote and protect Muslim interests.

One will get an insight to the development of the modern Arabic schools in Ilorin, their mode of operation as well as scholarly literary production in Arabic and the classical Islamic texts in private collections of scholars of Ilorin from the pre-empire era to the post-colonial era. Through the lens of social integration the work demonstrated the importance and dynamism of Islamic education and its guardians in the life of the people of Ilorin in their private, individual as well as a community in public life.

While the work focused on Islamic education and its role as harbinger of social integration, the work tilted a little more to the Markaziyya network than the Adabiyya network. The researcher's background in Arabic and close working relationship with the founder of the Markaziyya network is probably responsible for this. This work seeks to examine Islamic education beyond being a force of integration but also as a quintessential institution that is at the same time struggling for relevance in a socio-economic and political environment that its actors are much rooted in it. The dynamism of the institution thus comes out in the face of this challenge. This work will explore the phases of development in Islamic education in Ilorin through the career of some of the iconic scholars and how the scholars have continuously responded to events as it pertains to their vocation. This study will

build on the research of Reichmuth to further explore the dynamics of the last two decades since it was written. A number of Reichmuth's articles and chapters in books also focused on Islamic education in Ilorin and remain important sources for this study.

Aliy-Kamal's dissertation 'Islamic Education in Ilorin,'⁹⁰ is one of the few works on the history of Islamic education in Ilorin up to 1980. The work examined the history of Islamic education in Ilorin, beginning with an examination of informal traditional education in existence before the coming of Islamic education. The researcher listed the scholars who were with Sheikh Alimi when he came to settle in Ilorin and the significance of the half of the *jalalain* (book on exegesis) that Alimi first came to Ilorin with, which had not been seen in Ilorin before then.

He mentioned the beginning of poetical works by some Ilorin scholars in the nineteenth century and the contribution of Emir Shitta to the development of Islamic learning by inviting scholars to settle and teach in Ilorin. Islamic learning began slowly in Ilorin, he argued, partly because the influence of traditional religion was still strong in the early period. The first teachers were traders first and teaching was only a secondary occupation. The first set of converts/students being adults could not devote most of their time to learning due to other engagements they had to deal with. Language barrier between the initial teachers who were Hausas, Nupes and Fulanis and the students who were Yorubas was part of the reason for the slow development of Islamic learning, as the students first had to learn the language of the teacher to be able to study under them, especially the higher studies that involves translation of texts.

In chapter three, he explored the influence of western education on the Islamic education. He examined the pioneering efforts of Shaikh Kamalud-deen al Adabiyy in establishing Ansarul Islam Society and the beginning of organized Islamic education, borrowing some methods of the western system, such as the use of building specifically built for schooling, development of curriculum and used of standard Arabic textbooks. He mentioned the problems these new *madaris* faced especially after states were created out of the Northern Region which led to cessation of government assistance to some of the reformed schools. This resulted in the attempts to interface the Arabic schools with the state government in early 1980s.

While the work is good attempt at the history of Islamic education, however the work did not explore some aspects of that history deeply. Little attention was paid

⁹⁰ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education.'

to the influence of greater communication with the Muslim world in the development of Islamic education. The work underexplored the pioneering work of Shaikh Kamalud-deen in modernizing Islamic education and the influence of his mentor Shaikh Tajul Adab as well as the influence of these on subsequent scholars to follow in their footsteps. Not much was revealed about the resistance to the innovative system introduced by Sheikh Kamalud-deen. This may have been the result of avoiding being hagiographic since he belongs to the Adabiyya group. Despite these shortcomings, the researcher has given a good foundation on which other scholars have built on since then. The work is a pointer to the need to further explore the themes covered in the work, which this work intends to do.

‘A Study of Selected Private Institutions of Arabic and Islamic Studies in Kwara State of Nigeria’⁹¹ by Salihu Oloruntoyin Muhammad focused on the formal Arabic and Islamic schools in the old Kwara state before Kogi State was carved out of Kwara State. He traced the history of the introduction of Arabic and Islamic education in the various towns in the state through the effort of missionaries who started out teaching the rudimentary aspects of the religion to the new converts. The work, based on twenty one selected private institutions of Arabic and Islamic studies examined the challenges these schools contended with. Ten of this number were schools based in Ilorin, hence the importance of this work. He traced the origin of formal Arabic and Islamic school system which emerged from the traditional *makaranta allo (Ile kewu wala)* and *makarantar ilmi (kewu ilimi)* during the colonial period through the pioneering efforts of scholars such as Sheikh Kamalud-deen al Adaby and Sheikh Adam Abdullah Al Iluri and others.

Using questionnaire as a tool, the researcher was able to bring out the challenges faced by these schools and attempts made to proffer answers to some of these. He examined the curricula, levels of education offered from *Ibtidaiyya* (primary), through *I’dadiyya* (intermediate) to *Thanawiyya* (senior secondary) levels, organization and financial structures of these schools. The work faults the non-uniformity in the curricula of the schools as each school worked according to its own program. This, with misplaced standard of subjects and texts being taught: either too high or too low for the level to which they were allocated, made the schools less amenable to intervention.

Because these schools were also managed largely by individuals without the financial wherewithal required, many aspects of the school management remained in theory. Thus, the schools operated in informal ways despite the desire to make the schools formal in operation. In essence, Curricula, management and finance of

⁹¹ Muhammad, ‘A Study of Selected.’

these institutions form a triad on which all the problems facing these institutions could be subsumed.

The work also illustrates how the schools through their association (Joint Association of Arabic and Islamic Schools-JAAIS) as well as other individuals and organizations tried to intervene and interface the Arabic and Islamic institutions with government agencies especially the Ministry of Education. These efforts in the state yielded some results such as recognition from government and grant-in-aid given to some of the Arabic schools. In the 1970s, it was more fruitful when the government paid some attention to the organization. However, the results of this effort receded in significance from the mid-1980s, coinciding with the economic downturn in the country.

The work thus provides good materials on the workings of these schools especially in the 1980s. Though the researcher, as a stakeholder in the system, sometimes argues for the system, the work has good raw materials through which the history of Islamic education, of the formal modern type, can be reconstructed. While the work has contributed to the understanding of the working of the *madaris* in Ilorin, its focus was not primarily on Ilorin, the prominence of Ilorin *madaris* in the work only points to the importance and preoccupation of Ilorin with Islamic education. This study will go further by examining more schools and covering a longer period of study including the developments of the last two decades since it was written.

A number of other works, while not directly concerned with Islamic education have also contributed to the narratives on Islamic education Ilorin. Such works include Danmole's thesis 'The Frontier- Emirate- A History of Islam in Ilorin,'⁹² Jawondo's thesis 'The Place of Mosque in the History of Ilorin Emirate 1823-2000,'⁹³ and Sambo's 'The development of Tafsir in Ilorin Emirate 1950- 2000.'⁹⁴ While Danmole's work is on the history of Islam, it nevertheless is a secondary history of Islamic education, given that the scholars are the vanguards of Islam and the regenerative educational institution of Islam. The work is insightful on the gradual development of Islam in Ilorin in the nineteenth century and the inter-relationship between Islam and the emirate which culminated in reinvigorated impetus in the early twentieth century, as well as the role of scholars in spreading the religion and fame of the town, not only in Ilorin but also in the rest of Yoruba region. The thesis

⁹² Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate: A History of Islam in Ilorin' (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1980)

⁹³ Jawondo, 'The Place of Mosque in the History of Ilorin Emirate 1823-2000' (PhD Thesis: Usmanu Dan Fodiyo University Sokoto, 2004)

⁹⁴ Sambo, Abdulkadir A., 'The Development of Tafsir in Ilorin Emirate 1950 - 2000' (PhD Thesis: Bayero University Kano, 2008.)

shows that the consolidation of Islam in Ilorin depended more on peaceful process rather than on military conquest especially in the twentieth century.

The work has given us insights into the development of scholarship in the nineteenth century and well as the missionary endeavors of Ilorin scholars among the Yoruba, facilitated by Pax Britannica. We see the role of the emirs as patrons of the scholars and how these scholars, like Al Iluri also mentioned, were the early students of secular western education. Here, we see the beginning of the influence of Islam on western education as well as the beginning of Islamic education in western educational system.

One of the earliest PhD theses focusing on the history of Ilorin, it is no accident that the focus of the work is on the history of Islam; the quintessence index of Ilorin's identity. It has remained a reference for all subsequent researches on Ilorin. However, the work is not primarily an intellectual history. As the title indicates, it is a history of Islam in Ilorin. Nevertheless it gives insights to some of the educational activities of the scholars. It connects to this research as the history of Islam in any Muslim society is very much a reflection of its scholarship and it gives insights to the various aspects of and influence of Islamic education in Ilorin, especially post-study activities of the scholars. A study of Islam inevitably explores the activities of the scholars who have won for themselves the role of vanguards of the religion.

Similarly, Jawondo's work while not primarily concerned with Islamic education, inevitably delves into Islamic education since mosques were the first and original educational institutions throughout the Muslim world including Ilorin emirate. A major contribution of the work is the history of Darul Uloom madrasah which partly grew out of the old central mosque of Ilorin. The work however, did not explore mosques as an integral part of the *madaris*, which this work intends to explore to show the relationship between religion and its educational system. Sambo's work dwells on sermons, one of the post-study activities of the scholars. This public education strand forms part of the exploration of this thesis. While his work focused on the views and ideas of some Ilorin exegetes and their locations, especially in the traditional setting of Ilorin, this works will go beyond this to include the use of the mass media for this purpose.

Other studies that connect with this study include Gbadamosi's *The Growth of Islam among the Yorubas 1861-1908*.⁹⁵ Like Danmole's work, the focus is on Islam but among the Yoruba. Its importance lies in the highlighting of the dominance of Ilorin scholars in the spread of Islam among the Yoruba. We also get insights into

⁹⁵ G.T.O Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam Among the Yorubas 1841- 1908* (London, Longman Group Limited, 1978).

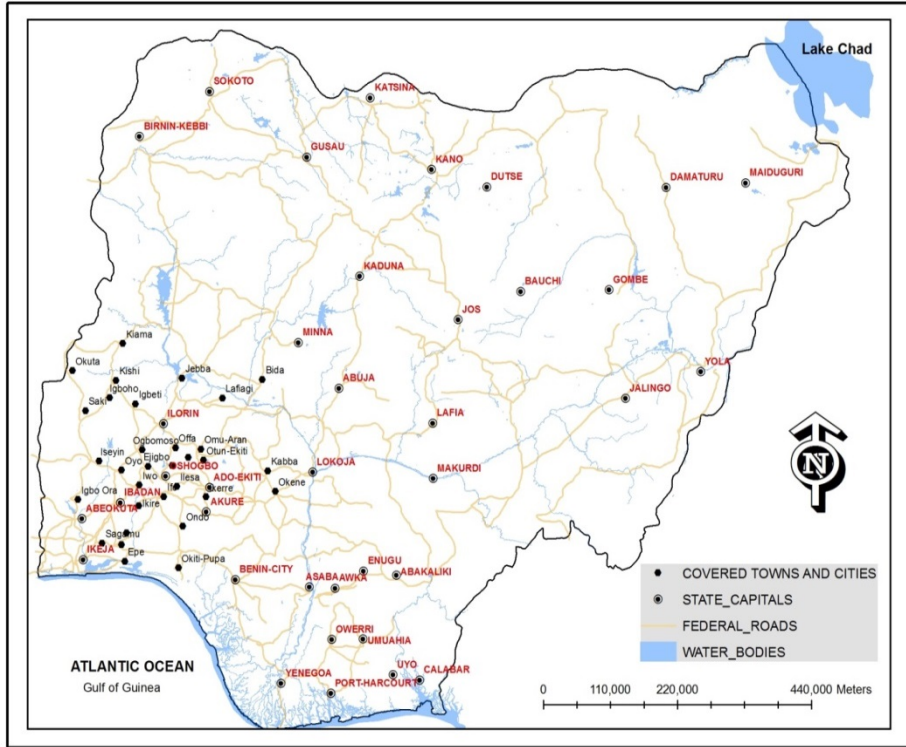
the early acquiescence of Yoruba Muslims to western education compared to Ilorin but which eventually rubbed off on Ilorin as well. In the same vein the work highlights the Yoruba inclination towards forming organizations rubbing off on Islam.

Also of importance, Umar's 'Muslim Responses to British Colonialism in Northern Nigeria 1903-1945,'⁹⁶ examines the responses of Muslims to colonialism in Northern Nigeria in their varied forms rather than the binary themes of resistance and collaboration. The work examines how Muslims conceptualize, interpret, rationalize and negotiate everyday Muslim life under the non-Islamic political hegemony of British colonialism. The work looks at the Islamic ideas invoked to comprehend and react to changes brought about by colonialism.

The study argues that appropriation, containment and surveillance were the fundamental props of British colonial policy towards Islam in Northern Nigeria. These constituted the challenges to the Muslims and against which they authorized multiple responses through Islamic legal discourses and literary allegories in Hausa. The work corroborates the trifurcate pedagogical response of Ilorin scholars to the introduction of western education in Ilorin. While Umar's work covers the whole of northern Nigeria and scholars' intellectual as well emirs' responses, this thesis is concerned with pedagogical response of the ulama to the challenge of western education in Ilorin. While the few works that have focused on Islamic education in Ilorin have been remarkable, there is still need to further deepen our knowledge of the institution and explore new areas and developments, some of which this work intends to do. Globalization is quickening historical developments, thus requiring a constant re-examination of historical events.

⁹⁶ Umar, Muhammad Sani, 'Muslim Responses to British Colonialism in Northern Nigeria 1903-1945' (PhD Thesis: North Western University Illinois, 1997).

Section two



Map 3. Map showing some of the towns and cities Ilorin scholars were active in as missionaries.

Islamic Education in Ilorin in the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century was the century of incubation for Islamic education in Ilorin, while the twentieth century saw the flowering of the efforts of the previous centuries.⁹⁷ The influence of Islam had been around Ilorin from early in its history when it was a loose collection of semi-autonomous settlements.⁹⁸ When the

⁹⁷ H.O. Danmole, 'The Growth of Islamic Learning in Ilorin in the Nineteenth Century,' *Journal of Religions*, Vol.6 &7, (1982) 24, explores this incubatory period.

⁹⁸ There were the Okesuna, Idi-ape, Gambari and Gaa-Fulani settlements, each existing almost autonomously of each other. The primordial Yoruba settlement is Idi-ape, a vassal outpost of the old Oyo Empire. Gambari in the east was the way station trading settlement between Hausa and Yoruba regions, peopled by Hausa, Kanuri, Nupe and Baruba ethnic groups. The semi-nomadic Fulanis had their Gaa around the location of the future palace of

foundation of Ilorin as an emirate was to be laid, Islam became the most defining and decisive agency in the structure the town was to take. Islamic education as the promoter and regenerative agency of the religion necessarily is to be found wherever Islam is, however rudimentary. The sacredness of Arabic as the language of the religion and for which there is no alternative especially for its rituals, presupposes some kind of learning for Muslims whose native language is not Arabic. Thus, from early in its history some form of Islamic education had been taking place in Ilorin.

The scholars of Okesuna⁹⁹ were the first Muslim educationists in Ilorin. As an exclusive Muslim settlement, the passing on of Islamic knowledge can be taken as a given. We know that before the arrival of Alimi,¹⁰⁰ they had only half of the book of (*Jalalain*) exegesis which presupposes that their knowledge is limited to the half volume.¹⁰¹ They had other books of religious sciences as well. Living an exclusive

the emirs. Okesuna in the west, completed the loose collection of settlements. In the build up of the emirate Alanamu and Ajikobi areas also emerged. See Sheikh Ahmad Adisa-Onikoko, *A History of Ilorin Emirate*, (Ilorin; Sat Adis Enterprises, 1992), 3; Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*, 203-204; Jimoh, *Ilorin the Journey*, 70-75; Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 26, 39, H.B. Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer of Ilorin Province* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1929), 67.

⁹⁹ Okesuna (literally means 'Hill of Prophetic Tradition' derived from the Yoruba word 'oke' (uphill or raised ground) and the Arabic word Sunnah (traditions of the Prophet). It was an exclusive Muslim and trading settlement established most probably in the eighteenth century. On the route to Ogbomosho in the west, it was a little farther away from the other semi-independent settlements of Gambari and Idi-ape and nomadic Fulani settlements. The only leader of the settlement we know of is Al Tahir, popularly known as Solagberu, a scholar of Borno and Yoruba parentage. In the struggle for the establishment of Ilorin as an emirate by Abdulsalami, the first emir, Solagberu clashed with him. Okesuna was destroyed, Solagberu died in the process. Some of the scholars fled to Ogbomosho while the remnants resettled into the new settlements of Alanamu and Ajikobi, also called Oke-Imale, which emerged after the establishment of the emirate. For more on the history of this short-lived Muslim settlement see, Adisa-Onikoko, *A History of Ilorin Emirate*, 3; Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*, 203-204; Jimoh, *Ilorin the Journey*, 70-75; Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 26, 39, Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer of Ilorin*, 67.

¹⁰⁰ For a history of this patron scholar ancestor of the Fulani rulers of Ilorin, see Aminul-lahi Adamu El-Gambari, 'As-Shaikh Alimi Bin Janta El-Fulani El Toroddi 1153-1236 A.H/1740-1820 AD Wa Athari Jihadu fi Taasisiyya Daulat Islamiyya fi Imarat Iluri wa Nashri Islami fi Bilad Yuruba (As-Shaikh Alimi Bin Janta El-Fulani El Toroddi 1153-1236 A.H/1740-1820 AD and Impacts of his Jihad in the Establishment of Islamic State in Ilorin Emirate and Spread of Islam in Yoruba land)' (BA Islamic Studies, Bayero University Kano, 1994); Balogun Saka Adegbite, 'Gwandu Emirates in the Nineteenth Century with Special Reference to Political Relations: 1817-1903' (Phd thesis: University of Ibadan, 1970), 155-157.

¹⁰¹ Adisa-Onikoko, *A History of Ilorin*, 8; Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in Ilorin,' 33. Reichmuth's study suggests this lore, traced to Al Iluri (which he also derived from oral history) is a legitimizing trope which gives Alimi authority over Okesuna scholars, many of whom were of Borno origin. This and some of the extant texts from Borno imply the

life meant religion was practiced with zeal even though the source of their knowledge was limited. Knowledge of Arabic as a language on its own may not have been very strong. Emphasis was more on the praxes of the religion which requires no strong knowledge of Arabic.¹⁰²

When the Fulani established the emirate and obliterated Okesuna, Ilorin became what Okesuna might have been if it had not been destroyed.¹⁰³ Ilorin simply replaced Okesuna as a bigger, stronger and more organized Muslim society with multicultural antecedents.¹⁰⁴ In the absence of written records, what we have come to know of Okesuna largely came from oral traditions, memories kept sacred by descendants of those who survived the destruction of Okesuna, some of which came to be written down in the twentieth century, through the works of Adam Al Ilorin, Reichmuth and others.¹⁰⁵

In Gambari area, populated largely by Hausa traders,¹⁰⁶ many of whom had settled in the area, some form of Islamic education must have been taking place as well. Traders have been known to be a major means through which Islam spread to most parts of West Africa. More of a trading settlement, as Levtzion has argued elsewhere,¹⁰⁷ it was not the traders particularly who were responsible for the propagation of the religion and its education but the scholars who remained behind

profoundness of their learning. The destruction of Okesuna and dispersal of many of its scholars blurs our understanding of the scholarship of its scholars. See Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*. 9, 20; Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 26, 39.

¹⁰² A.M. Thaqafi, *Tarikh al-Adab li Arabiy fi Madinat Ilorin* (Cairo: Sharqatul al Arabi al Dauliyya li Tobwa Nashri, 2008), 23.

¹⁰³ It is noteworthy that both Muslim camps were multi-ethnic in composition. For more on the history of the intrigues and the struggle for power between the Fulani-led Muslims and Afonja (leader of the Yoruba settlement at Idi-Ape: He invited Alimi to Ilorin to provide magical-spiritual service to him in his attrition with the Monarch of old Oyo, of which he was the generalissimo) on the one hand and later on the other hand between Fulani-led Muslims and Okesuna Muslims led by Solagberu, see Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 26, 39 ; Jimoh, *Ilorin the Journey*, 55-57; Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*, 197-205; Ikokoro, 'Taalif Akbar Alqurun.'

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix I for the different facial marks in Ilorin as indices of this multiculturalism.

¹⁰⁵ See Al Iluri, *Lamahat Al Ballur fi*, 21-22; Stefan Reichmuth, 'Literary Culture and Arabic Manuscripts in nineteenth Century Ilorin' -in- Graziano Kratli and Ghislaine Lydon (Eds), *The Trans-Sahara Book Trade manuscript culture, Arabic literacy and intellectual history in Muslim Africa*, (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2011), 213-240.

¹⁰⁶ Its early leaders (Sarkin Gambari and Sarkin Gobir) were from the Zamfara region and its inhabitants were parts of Afonja's army. Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 27.

¹⁰⁷ Nehemiah Levtzion, 'Islam in Bilad al Sudan to 1800' -in- Nehemia Levtzion & Randall L. Pouwels (eds), *The History of Islam in Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000), 68. This does not mean there was a clear cut division of labour between scholars and traders. Both were often one and the same persons.

in these settlements. This was to get further impetus upon the advent of the Fulani rulers of Ilorin who encouraged the spread of Islamic knowledge.

The Fulanis who had their settlement near the center of the town and the future palace of the emirs, were Muslims too, even if as with most nomadic Fulanis, their Islam was fairly nominal. In changing from a nomadic to sedentary life, Fulanis often take to scholarship and soldering which suits their temperaments more than farming.¹⁰⁸ Many of the scholars of the nineteenth century were Fulanis, a few of whom had been at Okesuna with other scholars before the establishment of the emirate.

The foundation laid by Abdulsalami was built upon by his brother and successor Shitta (1836-61) from whose time we begin to have some written evidence of activities that took place in Ilorin. Shitta, we learn was well versed in Arabic himself. The traveler Campbell in 1859 noticed there were a number of Qur'anic schools in the town.¹⁰⁹ The scholars who responded to the calls of the emirs were to help spread learning in Ilorin.¹¹⁰ These scholars from different ethnic and geographic backgrounds also brought intellectual traditions (including books) from their various places making it possible for the scholars in Ilorin to have access to all these varied knowledge background.¹¹¹

When Clarke visited Ilorin during the time of Shitta, he mentioned coming across a scholar engrossed with books.¹¹² This is an indication of the preoccupation of the scholars of Ilorin at this period. As part of efforts to strengthen the town as a Muslim city, Shitta encouraged the settlement of returnee slaves from Sierra Leone.¹¹³ In the reign of the next two emirs Zubeir (1861-1869) and emir Aliyu (1869-91), the town and the religion continued to be consolidated.

¹⁰⁸ V. Azarya, Sedenterization among and Ethnic Identity among the Fulbe: A Comparative Overview -in- P. K. Eguchi and V. Azarya, (eds) *Unity and Diversity of a People: The Search for Fulbe Identity* (Tokyo: Senri Ethnological Studies, No. 35, 1993) 37-38.

¹⁰⁹ Robert Campbell , *A Pilgrimage to Motherland* (Philadelphia: Thomas Hamilton, 1861), 104.

¹¹⁰ Danmole, 'The Growth of Islamic. '; Al Iluri, *Lamahat al- Balluri fi*, 28.

¹¹¹ Thaqafi, *Tarikh li Adab*, 19; Reichmuth, 'Literary Culture and.'

¹¹² W.H. Clarke, *Travels and Exploration in Yorubaland 1854-1858*, edited by J.A. Atanda (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1972), 84.

¹¹³ Gibril R. Cole, *The Krio of West Africa- Islam, Culture, Creolization and Colonialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2013), 79-80. Cole's work indicates that these returnee slaves had been citizens of these regions who had been taken to Sierra Leone as a result of the wars of the nineteenth century, of which Ilorin had played a prominent role. Their return had also been inspired by pressures from Christian missionaries

In this period also, scholars born and trained in Ilorin began to come of age and establish their own schools in the town. The early scholars as we have noted, mostly came from other areas, especially the north, to make the new Muslim city their home in order to propagate the religion as encouraged by the emirs whose legitimacy is tied to the religion of Islam. Among the home grown scholars were Sheikh Busairi bn. Badru-deen (d.1910) and Sheikh Musa Okelele (d. 1907) both of whom had studied under Sheikh al Takuti, who came from the Nupe region.¹¹⁴ In the schools founded by these scholars, Arabic grammar and literature were taught. These ancillary subjects were taught to help students have a better understanding of the religious sciences.¹¹⁵

This development was helpful for the growth of Islamic education. As more specialist scholars and the schools were available it became possible for students to study different subjects under different teachers who were renowned as specialists in these fields. From indications, Ilorin scholars had to rely largely on the scholars available in the town to acquire their knowledge. Though travelling in search of knowledge among Muslims is as old as the religion itself, it was not a strong trend in Ilorin as such during the nineteenth century. Al Iluri made mention of scholars (such as Sheikh Ibrahim Baba Turare) of Ilorin travelling to Hausa region or Borno in search of knowledge and spreading such upon returning to Ilorin.¹¹⁶

The distance between Ilorin and the great centers of learning in Hausa region such as Katsina, Kano, Borno and later Sokoto as well, may have been responsible for this limited travelling in search of knowledge. The language barrier must also have discouraged this trend. The earlier learners of the advanced studies in Ilorin had to first master the language of their teachers, mostly Hausa which is not the lingua franca in Ilorin before he can study the advanced work which have to be translated from Arabic to any of the languages. The fact that most of the early scholars came from these regions may have discouraged the would-be searcher of knowledge to embark on such journey as the teachers were coming down to Ilorin.

As the nineteenth century was drawing to an end, Islam had become very strong in Ilorin and the texts the scholars were studying is an indication of the advancement in their learning. The Qur'an as in all Muslim educational system is the primary text, followed by the books on the exegesis of the Qur'an. In Ilorin, the most

in Sierra Leone seeking to convert the inhabitants. See also Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam*, 26-29, where he treated the general history of Muslim returnees from Sierra Leone.

¹¹⁴ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur fi*, 25-28; Danmole, 'The Growth of Islamic. ';Thaqafi, *Tarikh li Adab*, 20.

¹¹⁵ Danmole, 'The Growth of Islamic.'

¹¹⁶ Al Iluri, *Lamahtu balluri fi*, 33.

popular text on exegesis was the tafsir Jalalain written by the two Jalals, Jalal al Din al Mahali (d. 864) and Jalal al Din al Suyuti (1445-1505). For the study of hadith, the *Sahih* of Muhammad b. Ismail al Bukhari (810-870) and *Sahih Muslim* were the popular texts. Books of poetry and grammar included *Mukhtassar* of Muhammad b. Mu'ty Ali Sudani, *Kitab al Nahw* and *Qawaid al Lughah al Arabiyya* by Muhammad b. Dawud al Sinhaji Ajarrumi. In the field of jurisprudence, *Kitab al Muwatta* by Malik b. Anas b. al Asbahi (712-796) one of the oldest books of law, the *Mukhtassar* of Khalil bn Ishaq al Jundi, the *Risala* of Abdullah b. Abi Zayd Abdulrahman al Qayrawani, *Tuhfat al Hukkam* of Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Asim as well as the *Ashmawiyya* are some of the main texts of the dominant Maliki doctrine in the West Africa sub region.¹¹⁷

Efforts put into the development of Islamic education had by this time began to yield some fruits in advanced scholarship in the form of original writings such as the *qasida* (ode-)written in 1888 in praise of the emir Aliyu (1869-91) occasioned by the success of the war on Offa. It was written by Muhammad at Thanni, titled *Qasidat al waq'at ofa*.¹¹⁸ As the fruits of scholarship were ripening, it began to spill out in the form of missionary outpouring of Ilorin scholars into other parts of Yoruba region and even around the confluence of rivers Niger and Benue. This trend was to help reverse the earlier trend of Muslims flocking to Ilorin and depleting the numbers of Muslims in Yoruba region. The scholars began to move into other towns as teachers, preachers and spiritualists winning people over to Islam where it was not in existence and strengthening it where it had some hold.¹¹⁹

As Danmole noted, religious missionary fervor was a strong reason for the outpouring of scholars but also important is the hierarchical nature of Muslim learning and culture. For example, a student even after emerging as an independent scholar after taking permission from his teacher, will continue to accord his teacher reverence and remain subservient to him, at least intellectually.¹²⁰ Most of these scholars have had their education in Ilorin and their teachers were still around. To fully achieve their potential, therefore, many resort to moving to fresher ground where they can exercise their intellectual prowess and opportunities for personal

¹¹⁷ This is by no means an exhaustive list, for more details see Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 356-379; Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 116-117. See also Razaq Abubakre and Stefan Reichmuth, 'Ilorin and Nupe In the nineteenth and Twentieth centuries' - in- John O. Hunwick, *Arabic Literature of Africa Vol.II The Writings of Central Sudanic Africa* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 445-446.

¹¹⁸ See the poem in Danmole, 'The Growth of Islamic,' 24.

¹¹⁹ Al Iluri, *Islam fi Najjriyyah*, 140-143. Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam*, 49.

¹²⁰ Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 120.

growth and fame were stronger. Some of these scholars were also traders who were travelling to the southern towns such as Iseyin, Ibadan and Lagos.¹²¹

Hence by the end century the scholars from Ilorin can be found all over Yoruba towns and cities, the fame and reputation of Ilorin and its scholars as vanguard of Islam well entrenched in the psyche of the Yorubas. By this time, Ilorin had begun to draw the attention of the British who had colonized Lagos for decades and whose hinterland trade Ilorin and Nupe raids were affecting.¹²² In this ambience was Ilorin conquered by the British, who eventually introduced western system of education that remained a perennial challenge and yardstick to developments in the Islamic education system.

Outline of the thesis

This thesis is structured into seven chapters. Chapter one introduces the work, the objectives of the study and the theoretical framework. Divided into two sections; the first part introduces the research topic and tries to analyze the meaning of education within Islamic framework of thought in comparison with the modern western notion of education. This includes objectives of the study and a review of relevant literature. This foregrounds the recurrent themes of encounter and interaction between the two systems of education in Ilorin under this period of study. The second part explores the history of Islamic education in Ilorin in the nineteenth century as a prelude to our period of study, the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Chapter two explores the contact of Ilorin with western civilization and modernity through colonial conquest and the implications of this for the educational system of the Muslim society of Ilorin. This event marked a turning point not only for Islamic education but also the society as whole. The chapter as well attempts a classification of Islamic education, anchored on ownership of institution of learning. Colonial administration's appropriation of the Islamic education into its newly introduced western education is also examined.

Chapter three examines the pedagogy of Islamic education and the challenges of the modern world: the methods of imparting knowledge in the traditional Qur'anic education before the reformation of some of the Qur'anic schools into modern *madaris*. This pedagogic practice existed in a number of forms, especially the linguistic means of imparting the primary knowledge of Qur'an reading. We would

¹²¹ Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 146; Al Iluri, *Islam fi Najiriyyah*, 142.

¹²² H.O.A. Danmole, 'The Abortive Peace Missions: Intervention of Lagos Muslims in Anglo-Ilorin Boundary Dispute 1894-1896' *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria* Vol. XII Nos. 1 & 2 (1995/1996).

also be looking at the careers of some prominent Islamic scholars and their reforms and contribution to the development of Islamic education in the colonial period, both as missionaries and educationists. The chapter pays particular attention to the trifurcate response to the challenge of western education by the scholars; namely the Adabiyya, Zumratul Mu'meneena (*makondoro*) and Markaziyya pedagogical schools. These basically laid the foundation on which later developments were built.

Chapter four examines the madrasah education system in the post-independence period witnessed with increased globalization with varying implications for Islamic education. The workings of the *madaris* were examined through a questionnaire administered across the spectrum of the *madaris* in this system. Through this, the salient features of this important mode, where the bulk of intermediate Islamic education is produced and reproduced, is teased out. The chapter as well examines the emergence of *Tahfiz* (memorization) schools at the end of the twentieth century. These new form of Islamic schools reflects the progress and revivalism in Islamic education influenced by the global interaction of the Muslim world. The chapter as well examines the development of Islamic education within the western system of education in this period. The female in Islamic education is also examined in this chapter, exploring the minority though important status of the female in Islamic education.

Chapter five explores higher Islamic education where the scholarship of Islamic education is refined and devolved down to the lower levels of education as well as into the society. This is explored both in the traditional form where it operates informally and in the structured system of the *madaris* and institutions of higher learning of the western system. This includes the impact of globalization and connection to the Middle Eastern countries with regard to the opportunities for higher Islamic education, including diversification into non-religious disciplines and how this impacted on the system at home. Higher Islamic education in the western institution of higher learning forms part of this exploration. The chapter as well examines the impact of higher education on society, especially the scholarly output that this facilitated both in the formal and informal mode.

Chapter six is concerned with the dynamics of the institution of the Islamic education as an important pivot of a society and how both engaged each other. The identity and legitimacy of the town, primarily connected to Islam is sustained through the praxis of the scholars as moulders of public opinion. The chapter as well explores the career paths opened to the scholars such as teachers and school administrators, preachers, spiritual consultants, jurists, administrators, clerics and mass communicators. Here, we see scholars putting their knowledge into practical

use. It looks at the role of Muslim organizations as educators and mediators for the people. The chapter also looks at the role of the mass media as an agency of Islamic education and finally the chapter examines the role of women as propagators of the religion whose presence and voice in public discourse of religion has moved from relative obscurity to a more nuanced presence. Subordinate to the men, yet they form an important stream as propagators of religion, particularly among the women folk but also in the society as a whole. Chapter seven is the summary and conclusion.

Chapter Two

Islamic Education in the Colonial Period: Conquest and Challenges 1897-1960

Introduction

The encounter with colonialism at the end of the nineteenth century changed the course of history of Ilorin. As noted in the previous chapter, the nineteenth century was the foundational period for the establishment of Ilorin emirate and for the consolidation of her Islamic identity. Emerging from the multi-ethnic settlements under the leadership of Fulani clerics into an Islamic city;¹ the city's legitimacy, power and prestige was derived from this Islamic identity, military strength and alliances of the various groups that formed Ilorin. By the end of the nineteenth century it was both a regional military power and the leading light of Islam among the Yoruba.² This sense of power eventually led to a bitter encounter with the superior military might of the British colonialists already well-established at the coast in Lagos.³ This will have implications not only for its political and military rulers but also for Islamic education as the regenerative agency of the Islamic identity of the city.

This chapter will examine the methods of traditional Qur'anic education, some of which have changed in the course of the twentieth century, some obsolete because of adaptation of new methods and devices. An example is the tri-lingual method of imparting the knowledge of reading the Qur'an. These have been replaced by simpler standard modern Arabic methods. It will also examine the coming into contact of Ilorin, and thus all its Islamic heritage, with the western world and ideas through the British conquest and imposition of colonial rule. Not having enough personnel to run her new territories, the British introduced indirect rule, latching on to the administrative structure of the emirate already on ground.⁴ But the new order

¹ Abdul-Rasheed Na'Allah, *Africanity, Islamicity and Performativity-Identity in the House of Ilorin* (Bayreuth: Bayreuth African Studies, 2009). This work explores the multiple strands of the identity of Ilorin people.

² For works on this early part of Ilorin history see Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate' 104-107; Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer*; Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*; Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*; Thaqafi, *Tarikh li Adab*, 23-24.

³ For the military expedition, see C.F.S. Vandeleur, *Campaigning on the Upper Nile and Niger* (London: Geographical Society, 1898), 283; Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 72-74. Starting with Abdulsalami, the first emir, the emirs spent most of the nineteenth century in entrenching Islam in the city, attracting Muslims, scholars and laymen from Yoruba region as well as Hausa region and Borno and even returning slaves from Sierra Leone. As they were consolidating the political and religious structure of the town, they also had to contend with the irredentists of the old Oyo Empire who were scheming to reclaim Ilorin from the Fulani dynasty.

⁴ Rhodes House Mss Afr. 1358. W.L. Hogan 'Development of Education in Northern Nigeria 1920-1952'.

needed people who would run such a structure according to a system that suits its own ideas and who therefore must be exposed to the western educational system of the British. This system had Christian origins and influences and the first advocates of the system among the people of Ilorin were Christian missionaries who had earlier been subtly rebuffed before the conquest.⁵ This, including the bitter encounter with the colonialists, fellow Europeans like the missionaries, made the people of Ilorin to reject the western system of education, in continuity of resistance to British hegemony.⁶ To douse Muslims' fears and anxiety, the colonial authority, apart from discouraging Christian missionaries from Muslim territories, also made efforts to appropriate Islamic education, which it considered as lacking a proper structure,⁷ along lines it considered enlightened, under its secular education program for Muslims. Even this would take time and perseverance before the confidence of some Muslims could be won for it.

Conquest of Ilorin

The Ilorins, deriving vitality from the fraternity of a newly established state anchored in religion, the Muslim faith, the first of its kind among Yoruba speaking people, were able to repulse the waves of Yoruba armies sent against it and in the process, emboldened by their success, subjugated Yoruba towns one after the other until checked by the equally new town of Ibadan. In the process, there emerged a powerful warrior elite class who were also the emirs' chiefs and who derived gains from the raids.⁸ Earlier in the century the emirs were powerful and had empowered the Baloguns but towards the end the century the tide had turned against the emirs who increasingly came under the influence of the Baloguns.⁹ This military aristocracy which had given Ilorin its military power was also responsible for making her vulnerable to British conquest, by being against the pacific moves of both the emir Momo (1891-1896) and the British, already well-established in Lagos.¹⁰

The hostility and rivalry between Ibadan and Ilorin especially after the Jalumi war¹¹ (1878) in which Ilorin suffered a great loss and the subsequent Offa war (1886) eventually drew the British into Ilorin affairs. The British were by this time well

⁵ Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 106-109.

⁶ Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 137.

⁷ NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools.' Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

⁸ Rhodes House, Dwyer's Report 958 'Extracts from April 1902'.

⁹ Rhodes House, Dwyer's Report 958 'Extracts from June 1902 and July 1904 reports'.

¹⁰ See NAI CSO 278/1918. 'Letter of Carter to Emir of Ilorin, dated 8 November, 1894.' For events leading to the conquest of Ilorin, see Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*, chapters 30-32.

¹¹ See, Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*, 427-434; Jimba, *Iwe Itan Ilorin*, 159-164; Jimoh, *Ilorin, The Journey*, 119-121, for details of the war and events leading to it.

established in Lagos, having colonized it in 1861.¹² From 1889 when Major Macdonald visited Ilorin to resolve the differences between Ilorin and Ibadan, the British began to have some active say in Ilorin affairs. Emir Aliyu (1886-1891) was reigning at this period. When the peace envoys of Governor Carter visited Ilorin during the Offa war in April 1886, the emir was not particularly warm to the peace envoys. They were jeered at and the crowd called them *anasara*, meaning Nazerenes or Christians. The emir told the envoys that the Ilorins were the assailed parties in the conflict and that the Ibadans were the party to be entreated to call off hostilities.¹³

Captain Ferryman made efforts to resolve the impasse after the visit of the envoys from Lagos but the emir was handicapped by the war commanders. Emir Abdulsalami II Momolosh (popularly referred to as Oba Momo (1891-1895), who succeeded him was even more pacific in nature than his predecessor and welcomed Governor Carter of Lagos who came with Captain Bower in 1893.¹⁴ The Baloguns were opposed to all these attempts at peace. They derived their power and wealth from the wars, giving them leverage over the emirs. As patron of scholars, they had the support of the scholars against the emir. When the clerics heard of the proposed visit of the governor, they requested from Oba Momo some money and bullocks with which to make charms and prayers that would prevent the *anasara* (Christians) from entering Ilorin. Though the emir was not in agreement with their aims, he nevertheless obliged them.¹⁵ The emir had referred to the Europeans as his brothers.¹⁶

After the visit of the governor, who had assurance of mutual friendship from the emir, the emir had asked the clerics the outcome of their efforts. He told them he knew the futility of their mission and had obliged them so they would not have cause to blame him afterward for the visit of the governor, since they would have blamed him for not providing the means for the prayers necessary to prevent the

¹² For British conquest of Lagos see Obaro Ikime, *The Fall of Nigeria* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1977), 93-101; Toyin Falola, *Colonialism and Violence in Nigeria* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 4.

¹³ Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*, 516.

¹⁴ Weary of war having seen horrors of war, he made moves to open up the city to trade from the south and exchanged presents with Alafin of Oyo. See Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 67; Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 72.

¹⁵ Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*, 628.

¹⁶ Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*, 628. The emir felt a pride in racial affinity with the Europeans. Either the Europeans had impressed upon him that they are brothers on account of Fulanis being light complexioned or he had harkened back to his pristine Fulani root and considered the Europeans as his brother with whom he can deal with favourably but this does not appear to have impressed the Baloguns either way.

Governor from coming to Ilorin. He thereafter asked them to be more honest in their dealings in the future. The emir earned the ire of the scholars who thereafter leant their support to the Baloguns.¹⁷ Subsequently the emir was isolated and his brother Alege was tricked to intrigue against him with the false hope he will be made the emir after Momo would have been deposed.

The emir finally committed suicide when he was besieged by the supporters of the Baloguns in his palace. He is said to have blown up himself together with his head slave. His retort to the clerics may have been responsible for the largely negative image of the emir in the popular lore of the people of Ilorin.¹⁸ The disapproval of the clerics would have been communicated to the populace who look up to them for popular opinions. The scholars had been supportive of the rebels since he had subtly snubbed them. The rebels portrayed him as failing in his duty to defend the city as a Muslim town against unbelievers.¹⁹ His early demise was not unconnected with his attempt at some independence from the Baloguns through his peace initiatives which goes contrary to their belligerent motives. He had been recalled from the Offa war camp to become the emir and Balogun Gambari Karara with whom they were together in Offa was supportive of his becoming the emir, though both later fell apart. Karara died on his way back to Ilorin from Offa camp, perhaps to call the emir to order.²⁰ The horrors of war may also have influenced his pacific instincts. His brother, Alege was thereafter told he was unfit to be the emir, having betrayed his brother. Emir Suleiman succeeded Momo as the sixth emir and it was under him that the forces of the Royal Niger Company eventually conquered Ilorin in February 1897.

Governor Carter of Lagos had stationed a unit of constabulary at Odo-Otin to prevent Ilorin raids to the south. In 1894 Captain Bower representing the Governor of Lagos and Captain Lugard of the Royal Niger Company fixed a boundary

¹⁷ Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*, 628; Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 72. Alluded to the fact of his relation to the Yoruba through his mother, as being responsible for his pacific stance toward the Yorubas.

¹⁸ See Isiaka Aliagan, *Oba Momo- A Historical Play* (Ilorin: NNI publisher, 2001). Aliagan's play portrays him as a misunderstood peace seeking emir. In popular lore he is presented as a wicked ruler who would ask that a pregnant woman be disemboweled so he could see the baby inside or have people impaled in the market square. When an emir dares the clerics, they fight such an emir with prayers and their influence on people's opinion, believed to be their strongest weapon, since they have no material power over the emir except spiritual power. The opinion of the scholars after this incident must have been negative and this must have been communicated to the populace, thus the popularity of the image of a wicked and unkind emir. See also Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 67 and Jimba, *Iwe Itan*, 93.

¹⁹ Danmole, *The Frontier Emirate*, 150.

²⁰ Jimoh, *Ilorin, The Journey*, 8. Karara had thousands of soldiers on horseback and foot escort him from the war camp in Offa to Ilorin to assume the throne as the new emir.

between the spheres of influence of both Ilorin and Ibadan.²¹ This had encouraged some Ilorin vassals to stop paying tributes to Ilorin. By 1896 Ilorin Ajeles (Residents) were chased out of Awtun, Ishan, Ikole and Aiyede (all vassals of Ilorin). When Ilorin troops under Balogun Gambari Adamu, son of Karara, tried to recoup these territories, help of the constabulary was sought by these towns and a crushing blow was dealt on Ilorin forces at Erinmope in Ekiti territories to the south. The Balogun Gambari, Adamu lost his life and Ilorin forces retreated but not before burying the dead Balogun.²²

Meanwhile the commercial interest of the Royal Niger Company had been threatened by the slave raids of Nupes from Bida and those of Ilorins who sometimes have joint slave raids of the Kabba regions along the commercial routes of the Royal Niger Company. Bida was first visited and from there, the forces of the Royal Niger Company under Tubman Goldie marched towards Ilorin crossing river Niger at Jebba.²³ The city was shelled from Apata Yakuba (a settlement on the outskirts of the town). Most of Ilorin army had been away at Erinmope and a hasty recall was of no help. Ilorin's eight to ten thousand strong army, including a cavalry of eight hundred horsemen were no match for the better equipped forces of the Royal Niger Company.²⁴ The emir's quarters was especially focused, the bombardment setting it ablaze and the surrounding settlements. There was pandemonium, no less aided by shells that exploded prematurely in the air.²⁵

²¹ NAK Iloprof 3575/1917 'Early Exploration and Administration and Military Expedition'.

²² Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 74.

²³ Ilorin was also a source of rivalry for the commercial interests between the government in Lagos and the RNC.

²⁴ NAI CSO 278/1918. 'Sir Carter Chamberlain Notes, 6-12-1895'; Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery - the course of abolition in Northern Nigeria 1897-1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 18.

²⁵ Vandeleur, *Campaigning on the*, 7; Jimoh, Ilorin: *The Journey*, 186; NAK Iloprof 3575/1917 'Early Exploration and Administration and Military Expedition'; Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 74-75.

The town walls were thereafter destroyed, no doubt to prevent future resistance.²⁶ The resistance had been feeble; no loss of life was mentioned on the side of the Royal Niger Constabulary but Ilorin forces lost about 200 horsemen and many dwellings caught fire as a result of the shelling.²⁷ The RNC left without a detachment, confident their military display had left enough impression in the minds of the people of the power of the invading force to discourage any future rebellion. In 1898 a detachment of West African Frontier Force (WAFF) was stationed in Ilorin under Captain Somerset. With the power of Ilorin broken, the Ekitis who were vassals of Ilorin revolted and encouraged by the Ibadan Resident, the Ekitis formed a council with the Ore of Awtun as president.²⁸

Effective occupation of Ilorin began in November 1898 when Lieutenant F. H. Ruxton marched into Ilorin to relieve the West African Frontier Force. He was granted civil powers as Senior Executive Officer. The first Resident of Ilorin, D.W.Carnegie, was appointed in 1900. When he arrived in Ilorin, he found that the real wielder of power was the senior Balogun, of Alanamu, the emir largely a puppet in his hand and the other Baloguns. Balogun Alanamu was bitterly opposed to the new British regime and warned the people that the new regime would be short lived and anyone who opposed him would pay a price then. There was a general state of insecurity, daylight robbery and murder was rampant. Caravans were not allowed to pass down to Lagos nor were traders from Lagos allowed into Ilorin. A detachment was called in from Jebba and some normalcy returned. Some of the towns that had thrown off allegiance to Ilorin returned their allegiance.²⁹

The emir finding himself backed up by the Resident gradually regained his confidence and power as the ruler of Ilorin especially as the new regime insisted on the payment of tribute to the emirate. The power of Balogun Alanamu was whittled down. He was eventually tried publicly outside the emir's palace as unfit to continue to hold his position and was deposed, stripped of his farm and exiled to Ogbomosho where he lived till his death in 1910.³⁰ Subsequently the powers of the emirs were bolstered and those of the Baloguns whittled down and by the time Nigeria gained independence in 1960 the balance of power had tilted largely in favor of the emirs against those of the Baloguns, the opposite of what obtained in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

²⁶ Today all signs of the wall had been obliterated except some obscure portions. Unlike older cities like Kano, the walls were probably not fully developed, hence it was easy to obliterate.

²⁷ Vandeleur, *Campaigning on the Niger*, 292-295.

²⁸ Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 76.

²⁹ Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 77.

³⁰ Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 77.

While the British were making preparations for the occupation of key northern cities of Kano and Sokoto, a message arrived from Sokoto asking Ilorin to cause some diversion. The authorities in Sokoto must have had some inkling about the intention of the British and were hoping to buy time. The emir, however, refused and the messenger chased out of town.³¹ The scholars were not happy about this event and it may have been among the events that built up into the conflict of 1913, with the scholars actively involved.³² The reinstatement of the lost powers of the emir must have informed his loyalty to the British rather than to Sokoto whose power was not as decisive as that of the British.

The conquest of Ilorin and later that of Kano and Sokoto were key conquests that brought the caliphate under British rule. Ilorin was the frontier emirate of the caliphate; the easy capitulation of Ilorin (and Bida just before Ilorin) made the other conquests less difficult and bolstered the confidence of the British who despite their military superiority were cautious and tactical in their conquests. The diversion Sokoto wanted was not forthcoming and it was a matter of time before the British attacked Sokoto, the capital of the caliphate. After Ilorin, it was Kano, the commercial power of the caliphate that was targeted. This was followed by Sokoto, the spiritual heart of the caliphate.³³ With these three cities captured, the remainder of the caliphate would have to surrender to the British power, one after the other. Had Ilorin given a stronger resistance, the conquest of the caliphate might have taken a different turn.

Islamic Education: Challenges and Implications of Colonial Conquest

Colonial conquest as primarily an economic agenda might not have directly targeted Islamic scholars and their educational institution, but the Islamic educational system was greatly affected by the implications of the colonial imposition. By subjugating the political and military authorities of the city, every other group under these two were implicated by the consequences of the conquest. Introduction of indirect rule made direct contact with the colonial authority limited, thus the scholars had mainly the emir to contend with. As a group supportive of the political agenda of the emir and the military affairs of the aristocrats, the subjugation of these two created a problem of loyalty for many of the clerics. The surrender of the emir and his warlords to the British was seen by many of the scholars (and some of the warlords) as a betrayal of their trust and responsibility as protectors and guarantors of the

³¹ Rhodes House, Dwyer's Report 958, '1904 Annual Report'; Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 78.

³² Danmole, *The Frontier Emirate*, 150.

³³ On the conquest of these emirates of the Sokoto caliphate see Ikime, *The Fall of Nigeria*, 76-77, 119-29, 190-209.

Islamic essence of the town.³⁴ Although not all the scholars saw the actions of the rulers as an anathema, many kept their distance by way of protest.

Although Islamic education existed as an informal institution with no designated administrative apparatus, specifically designed for it in the pre-colonial period, the scholars as the pivot of that informal setting greatly relied on the patronage of the emir and the military aristocracy, whom they also supported as advisors and providers of magical-therapeutic service to them. While colonial conquest did not completely alter this relationship, it affected the context of this relationship. Those scholars who kept their distance looked elsewhere for patronage. While one cannot argue that the patronage of the emirs and the aristocrats wholly sustained the system, since not all scholars were connected to them even in the pre-colonial period, there is no doubt that the leading clerics benefitted from the patronage.

The legitimizing role of the scholars was partly circumscribed under the indirect rule system since the emir, now greatly empowered by the colonial authority, had the colonial authority as the most important source of his power. The power of the military aristocrats and the scholars to check on the powers of the emirs was greatly reduced. This decreased power of the scholars and the military aristocrats led to a number of incidents in the colonial period between the emir and the aristocrats, backed by the scholars, such as the 1913 tax riots, used as an opportunity to protest their loss of relevance.³⁵

One of the consequences of colonial rule in Ilorin was the introduction of taxes from where the salaries of the emirs and his chiefs were paid and parts of it used for the administration of the province. The scholars were against this because the British colonialists were foreigners and non-Muslims who have usurped the powers of Muslims. The argument of the ulama was that it was the people of Ilorin, as Muslims, who should be collecting such *jizya* (capitation tax) as they were now being subjected to pay. The *zakat* (poor dues), one of the five pillars of Islam, was what the scholars believed in and preferred. They argued that the capitation tax is not in the Qur'an; only *zakat* is allowed by Islam.³⁶ This argument does not appear to have been tabled before the colonial authority, though it is probable they argued like this before the emir or the Chief Imam to whom they had access.

The Ilorins, a military power among the Yoruba before the conquest, were accustomed to collecting tributes from vassals, some of which must have flowed in the way of the clerics, as a class dependent on patronage of the elite, especially the

³⁴ Rhodes House, 'Dwyer's Report 958, Extracts from January 1904'.

³⁵ Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteers*, 79.

³⁶ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*, 15.

military aristocracy, who in turn depended on the clerics for prayers, amulets and charms believed to be crucial to success in war and in life generally.³⁷ These clerics were the conscience of the society and could influence society's thinking or opinion in favor or against an individual or group. Colonial imposition put some dent on this power of the clerics, hence their negative disposition to colonial affairs.

The reversal of fortune under Christian British sovereignty was anathema to the rulers and the clerics. Economic and political powers of the emirs and the military aristocrats derived from tributes paid by vassals conquered by the Ilorin forces.³⁸ These sources of power now came under the supervision of the colonial regime; not only foreign but also non-Muslim. While indirect rule assured the continuation of vassals' deference to Ilorin and payment of taxes,³⁹ the equation of this power was reworked to favor the emir who until then had depended on favors of his war chiefs. The military aristocrats resisted the new regime by instigating civil disobedience which was quickly brought under control by the colonial authority. While this had little to do with educational praxis of the scholars, they were affected in so far as their patrons were affected, hence both united in the 1913 tax riots.⁴⁰

For the emirs, for noncooperation with the new authority, they had a throne to lose.⁴¹ Most chose to cooperate, especially since it gave them new powers.⁴² The implication of the new arrangement was a muffling of critical acts of the Baloguns who had hitherto been checks on the emirs and prior to the conquest had been the one controlling the emirs towards the end of the nineteenth century.⁴³ Although the scholars had no direct loss of revenue like the aristocrats, the symbiotic relationship between the two meant the loss of power of the aristocrats led to a reduction in the patronage available to the scholar as well. Unlike the emirs and the Baloguns who could be deposed,⁴⁴ the scholars had no throne to lose and were thus freer to

³⁷ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 8.

³⁸ Rhodes House, 'Dwyer's Report 958, Extracts from April 1902.'

³⁹ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 82.

⁴⁰ Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer of Ilorin*, 77-79.

⁴¹ Muhammad S. Umar, *Islam and Colonialism: intellectual responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria to British colonial rule* (Leiden: Koninklijke BV, 2006), 157.

⁴² This was particularly true for Ilorin. Vandeleur mentioned the relief of emir Sulaiman and his party when they were recalled to Ilorin after the bombardment and they found out that the only price they have to pay is obedience to the new overlords. The emirs of Ilorin generally cooperated with the colonial authority. In return the colonial authority tilted the balance of power in favor of the emirs against those of the Baloguns who had been more powerful. Vandeleur, *Campaigning on the Niger*, 368.

⁴³ Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer of Ilorin*, 74.

⁴⁴ Balagun Alanamu, who was recalcitrant towards the new order was deposed in 1900 and exiled to the Ogbomosho and Balagun Ajikobi was deposed in 1907 as deterrence to others. See Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer of Ilorin*, 77-78; Danmole, *The Frontier Emirate*, 201.

manoeuvre their acts against the new order. They could choose not to have dealings with the emirs but the emirs could not ignore them because the emirs' prestige and authority over the people partly derives from recognition and service from these scholars. They could criticize the emirs in their sermons and most importantly, they could, as many did, refuse to accept colonial innovations such as western education or working for the regime's bureaucracy.⁴⁵

Al Iluri narrated how the scholars led by the imam of Omoda⁴⁶ ward led other scholars to protest against the Native Authority, ostensibly to protest against the new tax regime but perhaps more importantly venting their anger at the loss of relevance the new order had subjected most of them.⁴⁷ He narrated how one of the protesting scholars was arrested, leading to a protest led by one Abdul Rahman bn Bello. The poetry chanted in protest by the scholars has remained a popular poem among the scholars and al Iluri has translated the poem into Arabic.⁴⁸

When colonial administration began, many of the scholars distanced themselves from the administration of the emir under the British. The British, however, still needed their service for administration, especially as qadi of the newly created sharia courts and as scribes.⁴⁹ This forced the British to seek the emir to ask the scholars to assist with administration. Some of the scholars accepted and helped with government administration and some refused to work for the government.⁵⁰ This refusal to work for the government also meant some of the scholars would have nothing to do with western education and warned their children against having anything to do with it. This was the case in Ile Gbagba, where the scholars have had close relations with the emirs since the time of emir Shitta.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*, 16.

⁴⁶ He was found out by the colonial authority as the brain behind the protests in 1913 against paying of taxes and was abducted from his house in the night by the colonial police officials. It may be this incident that Al Iluri is referring to. See Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer of Ilorin*, 80.

⁴⁷ In 1907, Balogun Ajikobi Biala was deposed and in 1913 a tax riot broke out, all of which had the scholars actively involved. The involvement of the scholars no doubt has much to do with the loss of their relevance to the emiral authority relative to the pre-colonial period and the perception of the emir as a tool in the hands of the colonial authority.

⁴⁸ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*, 15.

⁴⁹ Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 179.

⁵⁰ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*, 16.

⁵¹ Discussions with Alhaji Muhammad Shafii (Chief Imam, Ansarud-deen Society Ilorin), 17-5-2012; at the scholarly family of Omo-Iya in Gambari ward, similar scenario occurred. See Kalli Alkali Yusuf Gazali, *The Kanuri in Diaspora- the Contributions of Kanem-Borno Ulama to Islamic Education in Nupe and Yorubalands* (Lagos: CSS Bookshop, 2005), 186.

affected, in so far as patronage of the scholars was affected. Nonetheless the introduction of western system of education had the most important implications for the transmission of learning.⁵⁷ Until the advent of colonialism, the Islamic education system was the only system available for the transmission of learning. As an extension of the religion, it is the most important regenerative agency of the values and ethos of the Muslim society of Ilorin. The scholars who shared a second layer of authority with the military aristocrats are its guardians and thus bore the brunt of the new rival educational system.

Operating informally, the Islamic education system served social and religious purposes in the day to day life of the people. The introduction of western education by the colonial authority was the most disruptive action of the British to the institution of Islamic education; not by directly altering the system or interfering in its operation; rather, the challenges of the newly introduced rival educational system forced the Islamic education system to respond in a varieties of ways, some favorable to its development, some not so favorable. These will be treated in greater details in the third chapter. From then onward the two systems progressed in almost parallel routes but with different strategies, strength and impact on the society. At some points their paths would cross and coalesce into a single system and at others they diverge significantly.

In the early years, the people resisted western⁵⁸ education and many scholars disassociated themselves from the new system, not trusting any good to come from a system that had relegated their cherished system into the background. The system as a 'Christian' colonial instrument was rejected as an extension of the revulsion for the colonial rule over a Muslim territory. For example, the argument of the scholars in Ile Gbagba⁵⁹ during the early colonial period was that anyone who attended western school would work for the government as it invariably was the practice in the early colonial period.⁶⁰ To guard against not working for the government then was not to attend the western school. It was not until the late twentieth century before some took to western education in scholarly households such as Ile

⁵⁷ Although western education began slowly with a few schools even up to the end of colonialism, the power imbued with it for social, economic and even political mobility for individuals is stronger than the more numerous Qur'anic schools mostly tailored towards religious needs.

⁵⁸ Which began only in the second decade after the occupation.

⁵⁹ One of the oldest Qur'anic schools in Ilorin, located in Gambari ward and established from the reign of the second emir Shitta (1842-1860). See Aliy-Kamal, *Islamic Education*, 32.

⁶⁰ It was from among the Islamic scholars that the first adult students of the government school were recruited. They became teachers after a short training and it was almost a given that western education was a certain route to working for the colonial administration.

Gbagba,⁶¹ although others had also early acquiesced to western education within that household.⁶²

Methods of Traditional Qur'anic/Islamic Education

The first duty of any Muslim convert is to learn the rudiments of the rituals of the religion. This includes the call to prayer and the various salutations and recitations accompanying the prayers, ritual of ablution and as well as Qur'anic verses to be used in prayers. These must of necessity be in Arabic, hence religious education begins with these, often an oral exercise and committed to memory. In the early period of Islam in Ilorin as happened in other places as well, Islamic education was not widely conducted nor was it well organized as compared to the modern period of the twentieth century.⁶³ The promoters of the religion at this incipient period were mostly traders who used the opportunity of their commercial engagements to also spread the religion. For example Al-Tahir Solagberu, the leader of the Muslim trading settlement of Okesuna, is known to have been a merchant who had travelled widely in northern Yoruba region.⁶⁴

These promoters of the religion were often on the move from one town to the other in pursuit of their commercial interests. The students themselves were adults who were occupied with their own economic engagements as well. Hence, full attention could not be given to the study at the early period.⁶⁵ This is reminiscent of the first converts to Islam in the time of the Prophet in Arabia who were mostly emigrants in Medina and had to learn the rudiments of the new religion directly from the prophet.⁶⁶ In both instances organized education systems were later developments.

Until the third decade of the twentieth century when colonialism had been well entrenched, Islamic education in Ilorin can be considered as a whole system with different pedagogical techniques rooted in its multi-ethnic composition. In this

⁶¹ This was particularly true for the children of the senior teacher of the school from the 1940s to the late 1980s, Sheikh AbdulSalam Gatimala (d. 2-4-1988). Those who had western education in Ile Gbagba at the early period had it with the Adabiyah School of Shaikh Kamalud-deen, such Alfa Ibrahim Alfa (class of 1943) and Muhammad Shafii (1950s class). Discussions with Alhaji Muhammad Shafii, 17-5-2012.

⁶² This attitude of the clerics is reminiscent of attitude of imam Hambali who loathed scholars to work for the government and fought for the independence of the scholars from rulers during Abbasid's Al-Ma'mun's reign. Hambali fought and won for the ulama the notion that they were the custodian of the truth, as a class obliged to uphold the teachings of Islam, 'to command the good and forbid the evil.' See Ira M. Lapidus, 'State and Religion in Islamic Societies' *Past and Present* 151 (1) (1996), 3-27.

⁶³ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education,' 36.

⁶⁴ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 26.

⁶⁵ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education,' 36.

⁶⁶ Ahmed, *Muslim Education*, 28.

respect it can be seen as one. The coming of the western system of education would gradually engender a new pedagogical cleavage within the system, this time not based on ethno-regional roots but in response of the Ilorin system as a whole to the new rival system of western education. Until then the system remained an informal system based on personal relationship between the teacher and his students. It had no formal structure such as purpose-built schools or fixed duration of studies and strictly planned curriculum. When a scholar had reached a point in his learning and had sought the permission and blessing of his teacher, he could start his own school in the neighborhood mosque, under a tree or in the piazza of his own house.⁶⁷

There was no authority to report his intention to start a school, or to register with. Usually the transition from studentship to that of being a teacher is blurred. A teaching career begins during studentship as assistant to the teacher and helping to teach those at a lower level or mates less intellectually endowed. This fluid nature of teaching and location of school thus makes the starting point in a teaching career less specific.⁶⁸ Teaching could take place anywhere and anytime and indeed have been conducted in working places such as weaving shed or in markets. Partly the religious purpose of this education is responsible for this informal nature of the Islamic school system. Teaching is also considered a religious cum communal service that carries little pecuniary gains. On Wednesdays, the last day of the school week, a token fee is usually given, called *owo alaruba* (Wednesday's dues).⁶⁹ This practice has largely been done away with and replaced with monthly stipends, although many still do not take payments for teaching.⁷⁰

The religion itself spread gradually among the people.⁷¹ Even after the Fulani had entrenched Islam as the state religion, there were still some animists among the Muslims, especially among their vassals in the non-metropolitan areas. In the city, open expression of such belief or practices was rather very limited. Even in the twentieth century, some still practiced these beliefs in the rural areas and in parts of the city itself⁷² and were tolerated since they no longer posed any threat to Muslims

⁶⁷ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in,' 45.

⁶⁸ Discussions with Imam Yakubu Aliagan. 12-9-2012.

⁶⁹ Babatunde, 'Traditional Qur'anic School,' 46. This is most likely a twentieth century adaption. In the preceding period, before the monetized economy of the colonial period, foodstuff and other materials would have been the remuneration. See also Ware, *The Walking Qur'an*, 186.

⁷⁰ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 110.

⁷¹ Thaqafi, *Tarikh li Adab*, 23.

⁷² Such as Oloje and Okelele, hence a dictum '*Ko l'anfani bi mosalasi Oloje* (as worthless as Oloje's mosque)' alluding to the weak status of Islam in these areas. However, this distinction is no longer tenable and the dictum itself would sound pejorative in the twenty-first century.

as can be deduced from the anecdote of Sheikh Adaara.⁷³ Another example is the spectacle of hunters coming to the *eid* praying ground in their regalia and their gunshots salutes at the *eid* praying ground.⁷⁴ In the rural areas of the emirate as well as towns later subjugated by the Ilorins, capitulation was what was mostly required. Thereafter they were usually left with their beliefs once Ilorin supremacy had been accepted.⁷⁵

Also noteworthy is the fact that the earliest scholars in Ilorin were mostly of Hausa, Kanuri and Fulani ethnic background from the north.⁷⁶ The students therefore had to learn the language of their teachers first before studying under them.⁷⁷ There were noticeable barriers to the rapid spread of the religion despite its ascendancy at the early period in the first few decades of the nineteenth century. Aliy-Kamal noted some barriers to the development of Islamic learning: these include a slow progress of conversion, the barrier of language of the teachers,⁷⁸ commercial interest of teachers and students and rudimentary teaching. However, rudimentary teaching could only have been at the primary level of Qur'an reading studies, which targeted the masses.

Before the phonetic pronunciation of the Arabic letters became common place after the reformation of some leading Qur'anic schools to modern *madaris* (sing. *madrasah*) and closer communication with the Arab world, the letters of the alphabet had been given local names by the scholars over the centuries. This was to make it easier for students to understand the foreign Arabic script. This adaptation was done in Borno and Hausa region where Islam has been in existence since the

⁷³ In explaining the sanctity of Agbaji quarters of Ilorin where no drumming is allowed, women are not to wear trousers and move about with head uncovered, he mentioned the story of a masquerade who tried to challenge this sanctity. In the early days, even a dog that strayed into Agbaji would be stoned to death. During the reign of Emir Zulkarnaini Muhammad Gambari (1959-1992), some hunters with *egungun* (masquerades) came to pay homage to the emir during one of their festivals, apparently from some rural area and were told they cannot go near Agbaji. One of them dared the lore and attempted to go there but fell down before he got close to Agbaji. The sanctity of the quarters is believed to be responsible for the masquerade's fall. Discussions with Sheikh Abdulkareem Adaara, Agbaji. 22-7-2012.

⁷⁴ This was done as honour to the emir and was in practice up till end of the twentieth century but has been discontinued. It is now considered un-Islamic, due to the revivalism that could be observed in many Muslim communities towards the end of the twentieth century.

⁷⁵ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education,' 36.

⁷⁶ Reichmuth, A Regional Centre, 233.

⁷⁷ Babatunde, 'Traditional Qur'anic School,' 39.

⁷⁸ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education,' 36. There were still remnants of this problem in the early part of the twentieth century though of a minor concern. Imam Yakub Aliagan for example, left one of his teachers because of this language barrier as the teacher could only teach the *ilimi* knowledge in Hausa language, which the Imam had no command of. Discussions with Imam Yakubu Aliagan. 12-9-2012.

tenth and thirteenth centuries respectively. The Fulanis who had settled in these regions also had their own phonetic adaptation. The scholars of these two regions in their trading activities played important roles in the spread of Islam to Yoruba region since the seventeenth century⁷⁹ or even a little earlier but it was not until the nineteenth century and twentieth century that Islam became well entrenched among the Yoruba speaking people, especially after the establishment of Ilorin emirate as a major center of Islam in Yoruba region.⁸⁰ As such the phonetic pronunciation adapted in these two regions was adopted with slight phonological adaptations.

Indices of the multi-ethnic Muslim ensemble that formed Ilorin can be found the language of teaching Qur'an recitation at the lowest level of teaching the Arabic alphabet and syllable formation in Ilorin. Three major languages were used in imparting knowledge at this level, namely Hausa and Fulani, the languages of the early leading scholars and Yoruba- the lingua franca of the town. This system persisted well into the late twentieth century when the use of standard Arabic phonetics of *Qaidat Baghdadi* Arabic primer became the norm and the use of slate barely surviving. Islam had long been established among the Hausas and Kanuris among whom the Fulanis also lived.⁸¹ As such the initial languages of instruction in Islamic education were largely Hausa⁸² and Fulani. Yoruba, the lingua franca in Ilorin, also became a language of instruction after native speakers of the language had become well-grounded in Islamic education and when the Hausa and Fulani scholars have acculturated into Ilorin with Yoruba as their lingua franca especially by the second generation of such scholars who had settled in Ilorin. Even at this, the names of the letters were mainly adapted to Yoruba phonetics from the Hausa originals.⁸³

⁷⁹ R.D Abubakre, *The Interplay of Arabic and Yoruba Cultures in South-Western Nigeria* (Iwo: Daru 'l-'ilm Publishers, 2004), 21; Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam*, 4.

⁸⁰ Al Iluri, *Islam fi Nigeria*, 41.

⁸¹ For history of Islam in Borno and Hausa regions see Mervyn Hiskett, *The Development of Islam in West Africa* (London: Longman, 1984); Levtzion, *Islam in Bilad*, 80-85; J. Spencer Trimingham, *A History of Islam in West Africa*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962) section 2 and 3 of Chapter Three.

⁸² Though Islam had an earlier start in Borno, Kanuri never attained the status of lingua franca as Hausa did, outside of Borno. This perhaps explains why Hausa phonetics is prevalent even if the school is run by people of Borno origin such as Ile Gbagba where Hausa is the language of instruction. One must also take cognizance of the fact of ethnic ancestry in Ilorin is well mixed. Hence, an individual usually would have more than one of these bloods in him. The same way, ethnic ancestry does not necessarily determine the language of instruction to be used.

⁸³ In the traditional Qur'anic school, the more technical aspects of Arabic phonetics such as *tanwin* (nunation) resulting from a double vowel and doubling of consonants are not taught, especially as the Yoruba do not have similar linguistic devices in their language. Only in the

In the process of acculturation, the Yoruba adopted the Hausa vowels and gradually replaced parts of the defining phrase with Yoruba words. For example, the Hausa uses *wasali*, from Arabic ⁸⁴ *wasla* for both *fatha* (short a) and *kasra* (short: i) using *bisa* (on top) and *kasa* (below) to qualify them. These were replaced in Yoruba language with *l'oke* (on top) and *nisale* (below). The third vowel is called *rufua* (damma, the short u) from Arabic *raf* meaning pronunciation of the final consonant with 'u'. *Damure* is used in place of *sukun* (resting), the 'o' like symbol that indicates a consonant has no vowel.⁸⁵ Thus *fatiha* becomes *woseli oke* (*wasla* on top), *kasra* becomes *woseli isale* (*wasla* below). *Rufua* and *damure* remained unchanged. With time *woseli* was replaced with the Yoruba word *omo* (meaning mark or sign- literally a child). It thus became *to l'omo loke* for *fatiha* (with a mark on top) or *to lomo nisale* for *kasra* (with a mark below).⁸⁶ *Damure* and *rufua* is used for *sukun* and *damma* respectively. *Alif mad* (long a) becomes *alau beki*.⁸⁷ In the Fulani school the vowels are represented thus: *Masido* (fatha) *masiles* (kasra.) *Tur* (damma). *Oi* stands for (sukun).⁸⁸

In the schools, reflecting the ethnic origin of the founding scholars of such schools, the teaching of syllable formation is done either in Yoruba,⁸⁹ Hausa or Fulani. Some of the letters are also named differently according to the language being used. The Yoruba pronunciation was adapted from Hausa and pronounced to suit Yoruba phonetics. The Fulani had words for some of the letters completely different from the Hausa pronunciation while some are similar. Syllables and words are formed by

advanced class are these taught, if the teacher is also an Arabic language specialist. Alabi, 'Indices of Ethnic Identity.' See Appendix VI for the table of the Arabic alphabet and adaptations across languages in Ilorin.

⁸⁴ The vowels in Hausa (of Ilorin, see next note) are called *wasali bisa* (fatha-top diacritic), *wasali kasa* (kasra-bottom diacritic) and *rufua* (damma). *Damure* is used for (sukun), the symbol in Arabic that a consonant is carrying no vowel. This is often taught as vowel though it is not.

⁸⁵ Nasiru, 'Islamic Learning,' 83.

⁸⁶ Aliy-Kamal. 'Islamic Education in,' 50: Discussions with Alfa Saidu, Oko Erin. 91-6-2012.

⁸⁷ This was derived from Hausa *alifu baki* (black alif). This was derived from textual practice of using colour to denote certain letters. When alif is written with the red ink on paper, it is called *alifu ja* (the ja has double meaning. It means red and also lengthening at the same time, indicating a long vowel). Personal communications with Mallam Usman Muhammad Modibbo. 25-4-2013.

⁸⁸ Personal communications with Mallam Usman Muhammad Modibbo, 25-4-2013.

⁸⁹ In the traditional Qur'anic school, the more technical aspects of Arabic phonetics such as the *tanwin* (nunation) resulting from doubling of a vowel sign were not taught since Yoruba does not have such linguistic devices. Only in the advanced classes were these taught.

saying the relational position of the consonants and the (diacritical) vowels in a word.⁹⁰

These would be written on a slate before the printed Arabic *Qaidat Baghdadi* became the popular primer. It is to be noticed that the old Hausa traditional syllable formation method employs between five to nine words to explain what sound the consonants and the vowels would give for a syllable. The Yoruba spelling uses about six words to pronounce a syllable in the long form or four in the short form. The Fulani spelling uses an average of four to five words while the (modern) standard Arabic pronunciation makes use of an average of three or four words, thus shorter than the Hausa, Fulani and Yoruba methods of spelling.⁹¹ The Fulani schools also began their lessons at the syllable formation stage unlike the Hausa and thus Yoruba that began theirs with alphabet pronunciation. The alphabet is learned together with the syllable formation in Fulani schools.

In the early period the teaching and learning materials were not sophisticated. A wooden slate (*walaa*⁹²) was the writing material for learning to read the Qur'an. They are of two types, one is white and the other is dyed black, usually of hard wood. The white slate is used for learning purposes and come in different sizes. The second type is dyed dark and has a smooth surface.⁹³ The wood of the following trees are used for making the slate; agan-o (*Khaya ivorensis*), ayan (*prosopis africana*), Afara (*terminalia superba*). Wood carvers (*ogbena*) used to make the slates but it has since become part of woodworkers' or carpenters' repertoire. The advent of printed Arabic primer especially *Qaidat Baghdadi* has gradually phased out the *ile kewu wala* (slate Qur'anic school) in most parts of Ilorin by the end of

⁹⁰ Arabic vowels are not part of the alphabet and the position of the diacritical vowels either at the top or bottom of the letter determine their sounds. At an advanced level, though, Arabic could be read without the vowel signs. See Appendix VI for a sample of tri-lingual teaching of syllable and word formation. For a somewhat similar adaptation of Arabic into a local dialect in Bosnia, see Azra Gadzo-Kasumovic, Education- Beginning and Development of the Ottoman-Islamic Literacy in the Bosnian Eyalet- Ali Caksu (ed.), *Learning and Education in the Ottoman World* (Istanbul :The Research Centre for Islamic History, Art And Culture (IRCICA, 2001), 219.

⁹¹ Towards the end of the twentieth century most Qur'anic schools have adopted the modern pronunciation and the old system is gradually being forgotten. Respondents who had been trained with this system but had since adapted to the modern system had slight recollection slips, due to non-usage.

⁹² Wala (derived from Hausa *allo*, from Arabic *lahw*) is a rectangular carved slate of various designs and sizes. Some have handles at the longer sides but all have a 'T' like top handle, the cross usually curved like an inverted crescent.

⁹³ Some would bury the slate for seven days by the riverside to attain the dark colour. This is used in writing verses of the Qur'an and symbols for magico-therapeutic purposes. This writing is then washed with water into a bowl and drunk. Sometimes rain or spring water or dews, considered pure, are used. Discussions with Alfa Zakariya Yahaya. 20-4-2013.

the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century. Only a few could still be found.

The ink (*tadawa* or *tadaa*) is made from boiling the young leaves of *oori* (*vitex doniana*) tree.⁹⁴ The bark of the tree is also used for this. Mostly done by women, the water is boiled for up to three days till it thickens and becomes dark before it is ready for use⁹⁵. The leaves are also eaten as vegetable. For the ink for the white slate, potash is added, but it is not included for the ink meant for the dyed slate. The one with potash is called *oku* (dead) and the other one without potash is called *aye* (alive). Red pepper is ground and added to achieve the red colour used in writing the diacritical marks and for decoration on texts written on paper.⁹⁶

Sometimes in the second half of the twentieth century, boiling of sugar was improvised. Sugar is boiled till it becomes a dark liquid. This is used mainly for the darkened slate. The pen is made of either sliced bamboo stem or guinea corn stalk. This is sharpened with knife to a tapered end. The tapered end is sometimes sliced in half to retain some ink. With this, the lessons are written on the *walaa*. After each lesson had been mastered, the student is given leave to wash the slate. This is done with water and dried. The surfaced is then smoothened with leaves of *ipin* tree (*ficus asperifolia*). In modern times sandpaper is also used. A thin film of pap is then rubbed on the surface of the slate to prevent the ink blotting the surface.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ *Tawada* in Hausa. Reichmuth, *Literary Culture and Arabic Manuscripts*, 47

⁹⁵ Discussions with Alhaji Mahmud A. Bello Ahmadu and Alhaji Muhammad Sani Ibrahim (Islamic book sellers) 31-10-2012; Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education,' p.48.

⁹⁶ Nasiru, 'Islamic Learning,' 82.

⁹⁷ In Gbagba Qur'anic School chalk (*efun*) is rubbed on the surface. This gives a sharp contrast to the dark ink.



Fig. 1. *Ile kewu walaa*. Qaidat Baghdadi primer could be seen with some of the pupils. Picture taken by researcher, 2014.



Fig. 2. One of the few surviving *Ile Kewu Walaa* (slate Qur'anic School) opposite Darul Uloom, Isale Koto. Pictures taken by the researcher in 2014.

In the nineteenth century and into the early part of the twentieth century, books were a rarity, especially as the religion was just making a foothold and paper was scarce. The papers were of European make that found its way down through the trans-Saharan trade.⁹⁸ Before the printed Qur'an became common, when a student had advanced in his studies, he copied the lessons from the master copy with the teacher at the rate of about two pages per lesson.⁹⁹ Some developed the special ability as calligraphers through this means. Some made a living writing verses of the Qur'an on paper, and selling in the market.¹⁰⁰ In the first half of the twentieth century, the practice of hand copying of the Qur'an and other texts was still popular and some would not even touch or use printed Arabic books when they first began to appear.¹⁰¹ The advent of printing eventually rendered the practice obsolete. Hand written Qur'ans are considered sacred and cherished heirloom. Derisive songs were even composed against the use of printed Qur'an when they first made their appearance.

larubawa mu oti tan, ote itekute the Arab got drunk and printed nonsense¹⁰²

Time for lessons especially for Qur'anic studies include morning, late noon and night. The prevalence of western education in the second half of the twentieth century has made many of the Qur'anic schools mostly afternoon and night schools when most of the students would have returned from the western schools. Only those who do not attend western schools continue to study in the morning and they form a small percentage.

Until the modernization of Qur'anic schools into *madaris* began in the twentieth century, a major feature of the process of learning in the Qur'anic School is teaching through a devolvement method.¹⁰³ Usually there is only one teacher to a school, the population ranging from less than a dozen to several dozens of students.

⁹⁸ Reichmuth, *Literary Culture*, 18.

⁹⁹ Discussions with Imam Yakub Aliagan. 12-9-2012. There is the anecdote of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri of having copied the Arabic dictionary by hand early in his career. See 'Sheikh Buhari Musa, Bowo Agba- Respect elders' www.youtube.com. Accessed 4-2-2015.

¹⁰⁰ Discussions with Sheikh Suleiman Dan Borno. 28-12-2012. For contemporary preoccupation with manuscripts in Timbuktu See Shamil Jeppie, 'Making Book History in Timbuktu' -in- Caroline Davis and David Johnson, *The Book in Africa – Critical Debates* (Hampshire, Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 44-64.

¹⁰¹ Murray Last, 'The Book Trade and the Nature of Knowledge in Muslim Northern Nigeria' -in- Graziano Kratli and Ghislaine Lydon (Eds), *The Trans-Sahara Book Trade manuscript culture, Arabic literacy and intellectual history in Muslim Africa*, (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2011), 184.

¹⁰² Discussions with Sheikh Ahmad Adisa-Onikoko. 21-6-2012.

¹⁰³ The practice is still extant but has largely reduced. It will always be part of the Islamic education system because of the informal and social nature of the system.

In the absence of strict grading of students into classes, all students sit in a semi-circle round the teacher, within the reach of his cowhide with which to ensure discipline of his students.¹⁰⁴ Because each student progresses at his/her own pace, it is impossible for the teacher to pay equal or enough attention to all the students. As a result, the teacher teaches the most senior of the students after which they are released to assist the teacher in attending to other students. Though all the students are attended to by the teacher at one point or the other, a student usually receives a considerable amount of his learning from the senior students.



Fig. 3. A night Qur'an class at the home of Imam of Ita-Ajia Mosque. No slate, instead Qaidat Baghdadi is used here. Picture taken by researcher, 2014.

As each student moves up the ladder, he too passes on his knowledge this way to those behind him. However, only the more serious and promising students are assigned such tasks. Such student assistants sometimes have special time devoted to them by the teacher outside of the normal school hours and from this category of students the teacher would mentor prospective teachers of the future. Usually this is the beginning of the teaching career of a scholar.¹⁰⁵ This practice is still very much part of the Islamic education system especially in the Qur'anic schools, but also

¹⁰⁴ Shafii, 'Taalim Lughatul' 46. This system can still be observed in mosque circles where learning takes place.

¹⁰⁵ Discussions with Imam Yakubu Aliagan. 12-9-2012.

some of the *madaris* make use of the most senior students to assist in teaching the lower class. However, this practice is on the decrease, largely because the *madaris* have churned out large number of students, many of whom had gone to acquire diplomas and degrees and are ready to assist their alma mater even without remuneration. This decline, in the use of senior students as teaching assistants, seemed to have occurred between the late 1980s when this was observed¹⁰⁶ and the first decade of the twenty-first century.

In the Traditional Qur'anic School, when students have read the Qur'an to certain stages, ceremonies, called *wolima*, were devised to mark the stages. Latching onto the Yoruba penchant for celebrations, the early scholars devised these ceremonies to encourage the pupils and entice those who were not in school to join the school. Al Iluri said this was also used to win many non-Muslims into the religion in the early days of the religion among the Yoruba.¹⁰⁷ The 114 chapters of the Qur'an are divided into thirty parts; each part is called a *juzu*. Half of a *juzu* is called a *hizb* (called *yisu* or *eesu* in Yoruba). Sixty *hizbs* thus makes a whole Qur'an. A *hizb* is further divided into four parts; each called a *thumnu* (pronounced by the Yoruba as *summu*).

These divisions help Muslims to measure their recitations of the Qur'an whether for spiritual purpose or for educational purpose. To encourage the students in their studies;¹⁰⁸ when a pupil has reached *Suratul Fil* (chapter 105) the parents will prepare a feast of beans.¹⁰⁹ This will be brought to the school to be shared to the pupils. This serves to encourage the celebrant as well as those lagging behind their studies or the truants. At *Suratul A'la* (chapter 87), the first *hizb*, a chicken is killed and shared the same way, the teacher also taking his own share. At *Suratul Rahman*, the 7th *hizb* (chapter 55), a meal of *oka*¹¹⁰ is prepared. After this, for every *hizb* reached a certain amount is paid till *Suratul Yasin*, the 15th *hizb* (chapter 36).¹¹¹ In some schools, at *suratul yasin*, the reading will begin at the fifth verse, the preceding verses, especially the first verse considered too sacred to be read before the *wolimat* has been performed. The next *wolimat* is at *Suratul Tauba* (chapter 9).

¹⁰⁶ Muhammad, 'A Study of Selected' 144.

¹⁰⁷ Al Iluri, *Al Islam fi*, 142.

¹⁰⁸ For the sequence of these symbolic ceremonies see also, Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 111.

¹⁰⁹ Nasiru, 'Islamic Learning among' 61; Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education,' 53: Discussions with Imam Aliagan. 12-9-2012.

¹¹⁰ *Oka* is staple diet made from dried yam ground into flour. This is then prepared with boiling water into brownish or darkish mound taken with soup.

¹¹¹ At some point it used to be a kobo, most probably in the 1970s. Discussions with Imam Aliagan. 12-9-2012.

Here a sheep would be slaughtered. The other students would follow the student home singing:

Enyi ti ko kewu eku iya those of you who have not studied the Qur'an are suffering (in error)

Awa n jaye kalamu we are enjoying the grace of the pen

...mani aliafu nasiran ...they will know who is weaker in helpers

wa akalu adada and less in numbers.

Salamu kaola min rabi Peace! A word from a merciful lord¹¹²
rahimi

When the students have reached the last chapter (actually the second chapter in the arrangement in the Qur'an) they are made to seat separately from the remainder of the students and are given assignments to monitor and teach the junior ones. Here, like in *Suratul Yasin*, they are made to start reading from the eighth verse; the first seven verses are reserved for recitation at the grand *wolimat*, usually left till the wedding feast of the student.¹¹³ These practices, however, have changed substantially especially in the last three decades of the twentieth century. The stages are no longer strictly marked with the feasts mentioned. However, charities in the form of edibles continued to be brought to these schools as alms by parents and members of the community. Biscuits, fruits and cooked foods are common edibles brought to the schools.

The traditional slate Qur'anic schools have largely given way to new semi-formal Qur'anic schools. These are usually manned by young graduates of the *madaris*, unlike the traditional Qur'anic School where the teacher is usually a fully grown man or an old man. Unlike in the past when scholars, whether as teachers or spiritualists are old men, increasingly young men are taking up these roles, helped by the accelerated mode of learning available in the *madaris*.¹¹⁴ Benches and blackboards are used and students use exercise books for some of the lessons. The

¹¹² The first two lines are in Yoruba. The last three lines are verses from the Qur'an 72: 24 and 36:58 respectively. Discussions with Imam Aliagan. 12-9-2012. See also Abubakr, 'Zumratul Mu'minina (makondoro),' 18.

¹¹³ These chapters, like some others in the Qur'an start with letters, considered sacred, the meaning of which only Allah knows.

¹¹⁴ Stefan Reichmuth, 'Islamic Learning and "Western Education" in Nigeria: Concepts and Conflicts' -n- Riesz János and Hélène d'Almeida (eds) *Échanges Franco-Allemands sur l'Afrique* (Bayreuth African Studies 33, 1994), 175-184.

Qaidat Baghdadi has replaced the slates for teaching reading skills. Some of these schools have introduced some formal organizations into the schools such as using admission forms, attendance register and uniform wears and some form of fees. These schools operate mostly in the evening since most of their students are also in the western schools running in the morning. The traditional songs heralding the end of each day's lesson have also either been abandoned or replaced with new ones their teachers have learnt in the *madaris*.¹¹⁵

Depending on the population of the school, there could be two or more teachers and the school divided into different classes. Group teaching is privileged though individuals could progress at their own paces. The teachers sometimes were students pursuing their own higher studies in some *madaris*, colleges or universities or they may be engaged with some other vocations. Because of this, the students are also introduced to some Arabic language studies, hadith and introductory books of eschatology; subjects the young teachers learnt in the madrasah system.¹¹⁶

The grand *wolimat* signaling the completion of the Qur'an studies, now takes place as a group event, sometimes on a yearly basis, depending on the school. Certificates are awarded to the students. Parents pay certain amounts of money for this final ceremony as decided by the teachers and parents. Some schools include provision of food for the teachers during the ceremony. These grand ceremonies are about the only time the teachers could gain some substantial financial reward for their teaching efforts. Ceremonies are photographed and from the 1990s, video recording of the events have become the norm. If the school does not have enough space, a larger space is sought out nearby. The teachers invite their peers to witness the occasion. Families and well-wishers would follow the celebrants to the occasion.

Various gifts items; hand fans, exercise books and calendars with photographs of the celebrants and various items are shared out as gifts. It is interesting to note that private western schools that have proliferated in the last two decades have also copied this money spinning ceremonies from the Qur'anic schools.¹¹⁷ The Qur'anic schools charge some monthly stipends that are usually not strictly paid and thus look forward to these ceremonies as some form of compensation. Students are called out individually and families and well-wishers are encouraged to spend

¹¹⁵ See Appendix III for sample of some popular songs in the Traditional Qur'anic School.

¹¹⁶ In the past these used to be left till after the completion of Qur'an recitation study.

¹¹⁷ In mostly low fee paying western nursery and primary schools, pupils moving from pre nursery to nursery, nursery to primary and final year students are celebrated and parents are made to pay fixed amounts apart from what they would be made to pay publicly during the ceremonies. The western schools have actually learnt to raise more money through this means than most of the Qur'anic schools.

lavishly. Usually an invited scholar is given the role of reading the first chapter of the Qur'an and the first seven verses of the second chapter to the graduates in a ceremonial final instruction and the graduates would then recite in unison the same.

The *ilimi* schools are for students who have finished the Qur'an recitational studies and wish to study the meaning of the Qur'an and the other books of jurisprudence and allied subjects such as syntax, morphology, astronomy, history e.t.c. This would lead the student to become a well learned scholar and play such roles as qadi, imam, scribes and advisers to the rulers. Here, the books to be studied are varied and on different subjects. This often meant studying different texts with different teachers. Before printed texts became popular, the student had to copy a book from a teacher who has such a book. They were therefore held very sacred and jealously guarded.

Time for lessons at this stage is more flexible. Usually the lessons are held very early in the morning before the Qur'anic students arrive or late in the morning after the Qur'anic students have departed. This is necessary as lesson is about meaning of words which are translated phrase by phrase and a quieter environment than the loudly chanting environment of the Qur'anic School is preferable, though sometimes both take place at the same time. At other times the *ilimi* lessons could take place in the afternoon or in the night, when the Qur'anic School is on break. These times allow for the mature students to attend to their livelihood or if it is a young teacher, before his own Qur'an students arrive for their own lessons. In the past lessons were also conducted in workshops such as the *ofi* weaving sheds.¹¹⁸ The method at this stage is translation of texts 'phrase by phrase'. The student reads out and the teacher translates. Usually one student is attended to at a time, at most a few if they are studying the same text.

While the texts of studies, especially the Qur'an and some of the canonical texts for the advanced studies have not changed, new texts have been introduced in the course of contacts with the rest of the Muslim world, the same way the methods and means of imparting the knowledge in them have changed and are continuously being adapted with changes in the society. This is true both in the traditional *Ilimi* school and especially so in the *madaris*. Study period, materials and culture around learning have all been adapted to current situations. 'Traditional' may no longer be applicable to some these Qur'anic schools. While the learning maybe traditional, the methods are getting more and more modern. In the foreseeable future, electronic devices are likely to be adapted to learning. Although the technology is available, financial constraints have not yet allowed for these to be deployed to Qur'anic education or in large scale in the *madaris*.

¹¹⁸ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic education,' 45.

Classification of Islamic Education: Changing Dynamics around an Immutable Core

A most important feature that distinguishes the Islamic education system is the immutable root of its episteme. All knowledge must be rooted in the Qur'an. While this core is confirmed and unchangeable, the process of disseminating the knowledge (including content and social functions) is dynamic and responds to the dynamics of locale and history. The continuous adaptations around the immutable core through the learning process make the dynamics of the process less obvious. However, over time, the process had undergone changes enough for some of the processes to have become obsolete and even getting eroded from the collective memory of the people. This section examines the processes and methods of transmitting Islamic knowledge.

Stages of learning: In the absence of a formal structure of the system education, Islamic education at the beginning of the twentieth century and even earlier can only be reconstructed through an examination of the praxis of Islamic schools, some of which have not changed much up till toward the end of the twentieth century or even in the twenty-first century. Islamic education across time and regions has always been open ended. As in the other parts of the Muslim world, Islamic education can be categorized into mainly two stages in Ilorin; the elementary Qur'anic education (*Ile kewu wala*)¹¹⁹ and the advanced religious sciences (*kewu ilimi*) education.¹²⁰ The basic Islamic education is concerned with the knowledge of the basic tenets of the religion and praxis of the rituals of the religion. This knowledge can be attained with or without literacy. Where the religion was new, this knowledge was often passed on orally since learners were usually adults who have converted to the religion. They learned the basic ritual salutations in Arabic and a few verses of the Qur'an with which to practice the rituals of the religion.¹²¹

Where the religion has been well established, this basic knowledge acquisition is done with some literacy and is mostly suited to young children, though no adult would be denied the knowledge should he or she wants to start from this humble beginning. Most Muslims would go through this basic knowledge acquisition as part of socializing into the society. By far the most numerous and noticeable schools are the elementary Qur'anic schools. These piazza schools are to be found in every

¹¹⁹ Mahmud Muhammad Babatunde, 'Traditional Qur'anic School in Ilorin' (M.A Thesis: Islamic Studies-Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 2006), 32.

¹²⁰ *Kewu* is the generic name Yoruba have given to Islamic learning. The advanced form is called *ilimi*, derived from Arabic *ilm* meaning knowledge.

¹²¹ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in Ilorin,' 36.

locale.¹²² Literacy here is done in Arabic character. Basically the students are taught the Arabic alphabets, the formation of syllables and words from this for the primary purpose of recitation of the Qur'an. Here, pupils are taught the reading and writing of the Qur'an without understanding the meaning.¹²³ The sound and the inherent power in them as believed by the Muslims are sufficient at his stage for the meaning not to be necessary. At the end of this stage, the student should be able to read any portion of the Qur'an, some of it by heart, for use in the rituals of the religion.

Children from the neighborhood are brought to the school to begin their acculturation into the Islamic world.¹²⁴ Often learning begins as toddlers coming to school on the back of their elder sisters but only quiet toddlers are tolerated.¹²⁵ When the children begin to speak, they are kept in a separate part of the school where an older student teaches them the recitation of the alphabet in unison without using any writing material. Memorization, which is one of the hallmarks of Islamic learning begins at this very early stage. Here, the pupils begin acculturation into the Islamic education system.

From this class they graduate to learning to read the alphabet written on the slate for them by the teacher or any of the older students. It is an exciting moment for the pupils who get promoted from this chanting class to the slate class when announced by the teacher. A pupil could spend between some months to over a year in this class, depending on the age of entrance or aptitude.¹²⁶ In this class, it is usually the older students who handle the class on behalf of the teacher, though the teacher pays attention from his corner and sometimes assist in teaching the younger pupils. Usually they are taught three or more of the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet at a time. A pupil progresses at his/her own pace and may not progress to the next stage with his/her peers if the performance of such a pupil is not satisfactory to the teacher.

After learning the alphabet singly, the student begins to learn to recognize the letters in conjunction with other letters different from its arrangement in the alphabetic order. Usually the words of the shorter verses of the Qur'an are written without the vowel notations and the pupil will learn this for months or over a year depending on

¹²² Shafii, 'Taalim Lughatul Arabiyyah fi', 41.

¹²³ Albert Oziqi, *Education in Northern Nigeria* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981), 8; NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools' Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

¹²⁴ Ware III, *The Walking Qur'an*, 16.

¹²⁵ Discussions with Alfa Jubril Gbagba, Teacher at Gbagba Qur'anic School, 11-6-2012.

¹²⁶ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 105-7; Discussions with Alfa Jubril Gbagba, Teacher at Gbagba Qur'anic School, 11-6-2012.

his ability. This stage is called *ogere* (straightforward-implying without the notation). The verses of the Qur'an, usually a few at time, are written without the diacritical marks either by the teacher or the senior students for a token fee. This token forms part of the earnings for the teacher and the senior students, some of whom may be living with the teacher. The letters are read out and the words pronounced by the teacher in example to the pupils. This is done without reciting the relational position of the consonants and the vowels. The student reads out what the teacher has written and pronounced before him/her to show he/she has grasped the teacher's rendition and returns to his/her sitting position where he/she would continue chanting the verses along with other pupils till he/she has memorized them. No silent reading done.¹²⁷

This chanting aloud of the verses thus marks out the Qur'anic School. Any passerby could always know a Qur'anic school is nearby by the chanting that could be heard forty or more meters away. This stage is usually done reading from chapter one hundred and fourteen to eighty-seven in ascending order, comprising 1/60th of the Qur'an. However, the first chapter (*Suratul Fatiha*-the opening) is included, being the most important chapter used for ritual prayers. Here, memorization of these shorter verses of the Qur'an is the target of this stage. These form the most easily memorized part of the Qur'an for Muslims that comes handy for use in prayers. A student is tested by being asked to read out what he/she has learnt. If he/she satisfied the teacher as having learnt the reading correctly, he/she would be instructed to go and wash (*fo*) the slate in preparation for the next portion to be written and studied. When a student is observed to have slackened in his studies, he/she would be taken back to the previous lessons to repeat them until his/her reading is good.

¹²⁷ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 105-7; Discussions with Alfa Jubril Gbagba, Teacher at Gbagba Qur'anic school, 11-6-2012; Discussions with Alfa Saidu Oko Erin, 19-6-2012 and Imam Ahmad Yahaya Maisolati, 16-6-2012.



Fig. 3. Pupils and a teacher at Gbagba Qur’anic School in the early 1970s. Note the uniform dress of the pupils, attempts at some formalization. Picture from the personal Collections of Imam Ita-Ajia.

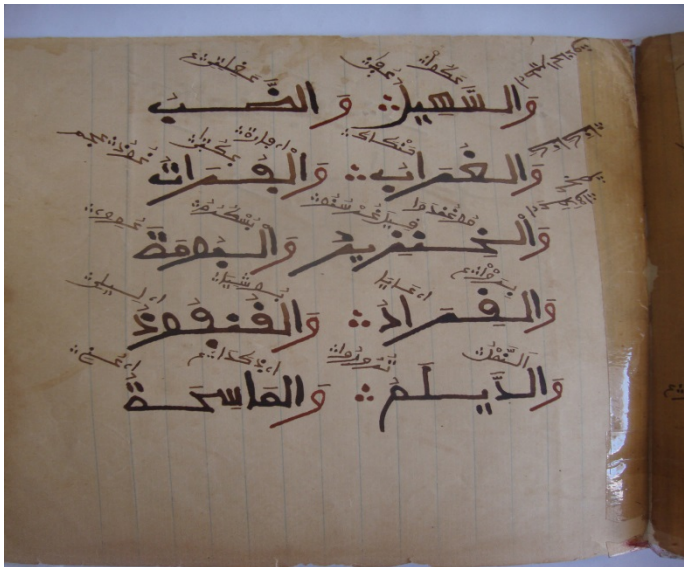


Fig. 5. A page of a tri-lingua text mentioning names of animals. The main text is in Arabic, the slanting notes are Hausa and Yoruba translations of the Arabic. Source: From the researcher’s family collection from early twentieth century.

This is then followed by the *ajitu* stage.¹²⁸ This is where the student will learn to unravel the relationship between the vowels and the consonants in giving out the sound of the written word. At this stage writing (*hantu-* from Arabic *khatt*) skill is acquired. There is no special training for this. It is acquired by observation and practice. This aspect of learning has largely faded out in the Qur'anic schools with the ascendance in the use of Qaidat Baghdadi primer for reading exercise instead of the slate.¹²⁹ This is particularly true from the late 1980s. Many now go through the Qur'anic School without using the slate at all, having little or no practice of the writing exercise. At this stage the writings are done with the diacritical marks. The student here learns to pronounce the words of the verses, starting from *Suratul fatiha*, the first chapter of the Qur'an and then reads the remaining chapters in ascending order from 114th chapter to the second chapter, which marks the end of the recitational study of the Qur'an. The arrangement is such because the shorter chapters are at the end according to its arrangement in the Qur'an and are therefore easily memorized for ritual purposes.

The advanced Islamic education stems from the basic knowledge of Qur'an recitation. Not many would go into this. Students are first introduced to short elementary treatises of a few pages dealing with faith, eschatology and the technicalities of the religious rituals before delving into more advanced theological books.¹³⁰ Students are also introduced into Arabic language and its many subdivisions. Mostly people aspiring to hold religious positions such as imams, qadis or teachers of the religious sciences go into advance studies. However, some out of religious interest also follow this path.

Classification of Islamic Schools

Shafii in his study on the teaching of Arabic language in Ilorin has classified the Qur'anic schools into three categories. Though the concern of the study is mainly on the study of Arabic as a language, Arabic cannot be divorced from Qur'anic education, for the study of Arabic as a language is essentially to facilitate the understanding of the Qur'anic sciences. The two are inseparable as far as Islamic

¹²⁸ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 105-7. This is called *Aditu* (lit. tied and untied, meaning unraveling) among the Yoruba of south west Nigeria. In Ilorin, it is called *ajitu*. See Wahab Oladejo Adigun Nasiru, 'Islamic Learning among the Yoruba (1896 to Modern Times)' (PhD thesis: University of Ibadan, 1977) 82, for explanations of this learning method among the Yoruba of South-Western Nigeria.

¹²⁹ Kuranga Muritala Yero, 'An Investigation into the Preferred Method of Teaching in Qur'an Schools in Ilorin Metropolis' (BA.ed Long Essay, University of Ado Ekiti, 2004), 21.

¹³⁰ Stefan Reichmuth, Literary Culture and Arabic Manuscripts in Nineteenth-Century Ilorin –in-Graziano Kratli & Ghislaine Lydon (eds), *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2011), 217; Discussions with Sheikh Abdulkareem Adaara, Agbaji. 22-7-2012 and Sheikh Imam Yakub Al-agna. 5-11-2013.

education is concerned. In the first category are Qur'anic schools to be found in any Muslim society, whether it is in the rural areas or urban centres, because it is central to the practice of the religion.¹³¹ In this basic school, recitational study of the Qur'an is the main preoccupation. Children are sent to these schools from around the age of three or four until they are well into puberty. For most Muslims this is only form of formal Islamic education they would get. With knowledge acquired in this form the basic rituals of the religion could be observed. A Muslim therefore does not need to have the kind of knowledge the scholars have to practice the religion. After the acquisition of the basic knowledge of the religion in these schools, such pupils move on to learn a trade or craft from within their family or outside the family. Some of these crafts like weaving and trading were favored by the scholars.¹³²

These Qur'anic schools can be found under trees, in mosques or the piazza of the houses of the teachers. Because the teachers in these schools are always close to the mosques, the schooling usually takes place there.¹³³ Such schools require only basic study materials and as such could be set up almost anywhere, the most important requirement being the availability of teacher and the students to conduct studies. Mats either of straw materials or animal skins, usually from skins of animals slaughtered during the *eid-al-adha* festivals are used for sitting. The teacher has a volume of the Qur'an with him though most teach without much recourse to it except for students who have advanced up in the Qur'an studies.¹³⁴

Before printed Qur'an became common, the whole Qur'an was studied using the slate and well into the twentieth century, some schools like that of Sheikh Abubakar Omo Iya and Gbagba Qur'anic schools still kept this tradition.¹³⁵ However, with the availability of printed Qur'an in the latter half of the twentieth century, especially the 1/30th (*Juz amma*) and the 5/30th excerpts of the Qur'an, there first began a reduction of parts studied with slate. In most schools when a student has reached *suratul aala* (1/60th) he is allowed to *gbe* (carry) the Qur'an and stop using the slate.¹³⁶ The Qur'an is considered too sacred for children to carry as whole. At this stage he can start reading from the pages of the Qur'an. Even so the whole Qur'an is still not allowed, he is allowed to take a few pages of the loose sheets he would

¹³¹ Muhammad Shafii, 'Taalim Lughatul Arabiyah Fi Ilorin' (B.A Thesis, Department of Arabic, University of Sokoto, 1982), 41.

¹³² Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 78; Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education,' 45.

¹³³ Shafii, 'Taalim Lughatul Arabiya' 41

¹³⁴ Badmas Olanrewaju Yusuf, 'An Examination of Qur'anic Learning in the Ilorin Emirate of Nigeria' *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* Vol.12 December, 1995.

¹³⁵ Discussions with Sheikh Suleiman Dan Borno (Mukadam Agba of Ilorin). 28-12-2012.

¹³⁶ As would be shown later, the slate would be done away with in most Qur'anic Schools in later years.

study at a time. These are kept between hard covers made from cartons or even plywood and are wound together with a leather strap or a rope.

In the second category are the *ilm* schools known locally as *ile kewu ilimi* (advanced school). Only when a student has undergone the primary stage are they able to advance into this stage. Usually those who aspire to hold religious positions such as imam, qadi or teacher delve into this. Subjects taught in this stage include Arabic language with all its sub-divisions, exegesis, jurisprudence and non-religious subjects such as logic, arithmetic and literature that are considered helpful to the study of the religious sciences. The teachers of the *ilm* schools are more knowledgeable than the teachers of the Qur'anic school because of the advanced nature of the studies concerned.¹³⁷ Not all Qur'anic school teachers are capable of giving lessons in the advanced class but most advanced schools have Qur'anic schools serving as a feeder and from which scholars can always cut their teeth as assistant teachers.

In the third category are the modern Islamic schools. Lumped together in this category are the modern privately owned Arabic schools generally called madrasah and government schools where Arabic and Islamic studies are taught. The privately owned madrasah system (pl.*madaris*) is the result of scholars' efforts in rising to the challenge western education poses to traditional Muslim educational system. These schools are generally organized like the western schools, having their own curriculum. The schools are specifically built for learning with classrooms using tables and chairs unlike the traditional system of sitting on the mat or floor. In the government own schools, certain period of lessons are allocated for the study of Arabic or Islamic studies as part of the general secular education provided by the government.¹³⁸

Shafii's classification is largely based on the methods, levels and organization of learning. Classification of Islamic education, however, is a little more complicated especially in the period covered by this research. In addition to the indices used in his classification can be added the contents of learning and purpose of acquisition of knowledge in the different modes available. The coming of western education and civilization has been the most important challenge Islamic education has had to face and this had largely determined the various ways Muslims have devised to cope with this challenge. Western education came with and infused in its flag bearers enormous power and reduced Islamic education to the background, though not an insignificant background. It has resilience such that western education with all its

¹³⁷ Shafii, 'Taalim Lughatul Arabiya' 40.

¹³⁸ Shafii, 'Taalim Lughatul Arabiya,' 40.

socio economic and political power cannot but reckoned with it to a greater or lesser extent.

For the purpose of this research, Islamic education in the period understudy would be classified into two main categories, based on proprietorship, namely: privately run Islamic education and Islamic education in western institutions, with particular attention to the privately run Islamic schools, where in its truest sense Islamic education can be had. The privately run Islamic schools is further classified into Qur'anic schools and *madaris* (sing.madrasah). Subsumed in this categorization are other indices such as purpose of the system, method, duration of study, funding, subjects taught and organization etc. this categorization has been chosen because these are the two systems which most Muslims in Ilorin in modern times have to go through; the western system of education and Islamic system of education. In both systems Islamic education can be gotten to varying degrees.

The privately run Islamic education is the system where Islamic education in the classical sense of it can be gotten. This system is itself divided into two. One is old traditional system, informal in its arrangement but has also metamorphosed into some semi-formal mode in the last thirty years. The second, a twentieth century phenomenon, is the madrasah system (Islam-Arabic schools) formalized along some of the organization methods of the western educational system. Indices of this system include; private ownership, strictly for Muslims, language of scholarship is vernacular and Arabic and the primary purpose of establishment is religious. Islamic education in western institutions (private and public) is a subject among other subjects. At the primary and secondary school levels it is called Islamic Religious knowledge. At the post-secondary school level it is called Islamic Studies. It is a minor subject, not essential to the system. Here, the language of instruction is English with some Arabic, though vernacular is used at the primary school level.¹³⁹

At the primary and secondary school levels, the amount of knowledge acquired is hardly sufficient for the practice of the religious rituals which must necessarily be in Arabic. The time allocated is also not enough. This has root in the colonial period when religious education was introduced as an accommodated subject, primarily to win the confidence of Muslims.¹⁴⁰ In the wake of Islamic revivalism around the Muslim world starting from the 1990s, many Muslim owned private western institutions have tried to increase the amount of Islamic knowledge that can be gotten in the schools, more than in the conventional public schools.

¹³⁹ Intiaz Ahmad, 'Teaching Islamic Studies in the non-Arab World: With or without Arabic', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 21:3(2001), 272-285.

¹⁴⁰ NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools' Iloprof file No. 3196/3/1936.

The impact of Islamisation of knowledge could be seen at work in these Muslim run private schools. Some bear Arabic names or names suggesting Islamic culture and generally promote Islamic social norms. At the post-secondary school level, Islamic knowledge can be acquired with minimal knowledge of Arabic. Here also, the language of instruction is in English. However, at the turn of the millennium some government higher institutions have introduced education courses in Arabic medium in addition to the Islamic studies with English as medium of instruction.¹⁴¹ This is helpful to those who are crossing from the private Arabic medium madrasah to western higher institutions. These classifications then help our understanding of the possible routes to attain Islamic education in Ilorin.

Colonial Authority and Islamic Education in Ilorin

Ilorin differed from other emirates of Northern Nigeria, in that there was no strong and long established political tradition or institution to replace or build upon. Rather, the Fulani-led Muslims competed with other emerging powers within Ilorin and in the end emerged as the ultimate winner, suppressing and bringing other powers under its control. In Ilorin, the political system was built by the Fulani led Muslims almost from scratch. The Landers had been told in the 1830s there were twelve rulers in Ilorin, each no more powerful than the others.¹⁴² This would relate to the time of the first emir when the political structure of the new emirate was being set up and its geographical location among the Yorubas ensured a different power structure compared to other emirates of the Sokoto caliphate.

Next to the emir are the warlords and as Reichmuth observed, scholars together with the warlords are on that second layer of authority. They both exercised considerable power over the emir in the nineteenth century.¹⁴³ This was Ilorin's strength as well as a weakness. For most of the nineteenth century, Ilorin had to fight other Yoruba states to maintain its independence. This gave the Baloguns (the warlords) great power, so that by the end of the century they literally controlled the emirs.¹⁴⁴

Despite this, military resistance to the colonial conquest was feeble; as such resistance was largely non militant. Because of this, western education and ideas

¹⁴¹ Nasir Muhammad Baba, 'Islamic Schools, the Ulama and the State in the Educational Development of Northern Nigeria' *Bulletin de L'APAD* 33 (2011).

¹⁴² Stefan Reichmuth, A Regional Centre of Islamic Learning in Nigeria: Ilorin and its Influence on Yoruba Islam –in- Nicole Grandin & Marc Gaborieau (eds) *Madrasah La Transmission Du Savoir Dans Le Monde Musulma* (Op editions: Arguments, 1997), 233.

¹⁴³ Reichmuth, *Literary Culture*, 214.

¹⁴⁴ Aliyu S. Alabi, 'Indices of Ethnic Identity in a Multicultural Society: An Appraisal of Ilorin's Ethnic Identity,' *FAIS Journal of Humanities*, Vol.4 No.2. (2010), 1-29; Adisa-Onikoko, *A History of Ilorin*, 17.

were loathed in Ilorin, seen as something of Christianity or even *shaitan* (devil).¹⁴⁵ This attitude was not peculiar to Ilorin alone; it was the same wherever Muslims were to be found under colonial rule. Nevertheless Muslim resistance to western education was less at the coast than further north as Muslims there were quicker in acquiescing to western education with the encouragement of the colonial authority. In Ilorin, when the British introduced western type schools after the consolidation of the conquest, the people were suspicious and remained aloof. When the colonial authority requested from the rulers to send their children to school as an example to others, some of the aristocrats sent the children of their slaves or servants as guinea pigs for the new system, not trusting any good to come out of the system of the conquerors.¹⁴⁶

At the coast, the Muslims were quickest to realize the benefits to be derived from western education. The rulers did not derive their legitimacy from Islam, even if they were Muslims, compared to the north where Muslim polities have been in existence for centuries.¹⁴⁷ Ilorin, positioned geographically and cultural mid-way between the Hausa region and Yoruba region up to the coast was quicker than the emirates in Hausa region but slower than the rest of Yoruba region in acceding to western education. The intensity of resistance could thus be linked to the span of time Islam had been in existence in all the Muslim regions. Resistance was fiercest in Hausa region where it had been in existence for centuries. Though Islam had been in Yoruba region since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was largely peripheral. It was with the emergence of a Muslim dynasty in Ilorin in the nineteenth century that eventually Islam took a strong root, first in the Ilorin in the

¹⁴⁵ It is important to note that this does not represent the whole spectrum of attitudes towards the new order. It may be the more dominant attitude but there were also people who accepted the new situation such as traders to the south who could see the implications of the new system for social mobility. Also in this category are scholars who were familiar with the south west. The emir, Abdulkadir and his chiefs were also at the forefront of the promotion of western schooling. See NAK 'Proposed Classes for Koran Teachers' Iloprof file No. 2276; Peter Kazenga Tibenderana, 'The Emirs and the Spread of Western Education in Northern Nigeria, 1910-1946' *Journal of African History*, Vol.24, No.4 (1983), 517-534.

¹⁴⁶ Aliyu S. Alabi, *Voices After the Maxim Gun: Intellectual and Literary Opposition to Colonial Rule in Northern Nigeria* -in- Sa'idu Babura Ahmad and Ibrahim Khaleel Abdussalam (eds) *Resurgent Nigeria-Issues in Nigerian Intellectual History* (Ibadan, University Press Plc, 2011), 124-144; Discussions with Alhaji Saka Aleshinloye (Baba Isale of Ilorin) November, 1997. See also A.M. Kani and Gandi, *State and Society in the Sokoto Caliphate* (Sokoto: UDUS, 1990), 239. Despite this the emir, Abdulkadir was enthusiastic and the colonial records shows him as encouraging its development. See NAK 'Proposed Classes of Koranic Teachers', Iloprof file No. 2276; Leith Ross, 'Female Education in Ilorin Province' NAK file 89/1928/Vol.1. See also Tibedenrana,, 'The Emirs and the Spread.

¹⁴⁷ Danmole, *The Frontier Emirate*, 154.

nineteenth century and then the rest of Yoruba region towards the last half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century.¹⁴⁸

The colonial government assured the emirs that survived the imperial onslaught that the colonial enterprise had not come to disrupt the religious system. If this explanation partly satisfied the emirs, the Muslim intellectuals were not convinced. To the scholars, the emirs thereafter became agents of the colonial interest and less as custodian of Islam, the pivot of which the scholars are the guardians. In the Hausa region, the people resisted western education, calling school *makarka* (diversion), the education as *boko* (fake) and the teaching as *kafirchi* (unbelief).¹⁴⁹ As in other Muslim societies, resistance to the colonial order in the post-conquest period was championed in Ilorin by the Muslim scholars, most visible in resistance to western education.

After successful introduction of the indirect rule system,¹⁵⁰ the scholars were not deceived by the controlled authority of emirs. They could see where the real power was. This ensured appropriation of surplus without the presence of much British personnel. Muslim resistance was championed by the scholars and when all military resistance failed, it was the intellectual resistance that lasted through the colonial period and even beyond.¹⁵¹

Western education was introduced gradually and Muslims resisted it as an extension of the resistance to its promoter, the colonial order.¹⁵² Not having enough personnel

¹⁴⁸ See R.D Abubakre, *The Interplay of Arabic and Yoruba Cultures in South-Western Nigeria* (Iwo: Daru '1 -ilm Publishers, 2004) and Danmole, *The Frontier Emirate*, for this history.

¹⁴⁹ Abubakar Mustapha, 'Sabotage in Patronage: Islamic Education under Colonial Rule in Nigeria' *Journal of the NATAIS*, Vol.6, No.1 (2001) ; NAK 'Arabic and Religious instructions in Schools' Iloprof file No. 3196/3/1936.

¹⁵⁰ See Claude Ake, *A Political Economy of Africa*, (London: Longman Limited, 1981), 43-45; J. Ihonvbere and Toyin Falola, *Colonialism and Exploitation –in- Toyin Falola, Britain and Nigeria- Exploitation or Development?* (London: Zed Book, 1987), 19-24.

¹⁵¹ Alabi, 'Voices After.'

¹⁵² As mentioned earlier, there were supporters of the new order especially from the aristocrats and upper class. Another reason people in the lower class may not have taken to western education is the issue of fees. Education under colonial rule was never free unlike the attempts by Nigerian nationalist leaders in the Self-Government era prior to independence as well as the post independence government to provide free education. For Muslims struggling to pay tax and used to their own educational system where there were no formal fees, the payment of fees would also have counted against sending children to the new schools. For the aristocrats and the traders, especially familiar with the south, they were able to see it as a means for social mobility and so pushed their children to attend the new schools and were even disappointed and withdrew their children when they realized English language was not being taught at the school in the early days. NAK 'Proposed Classes of Koranic Teachers',

on ground, the colonial authority needed to train some Africans who would administer its bureaucracy. The colonial authority anticipated Muslim resistance and tried to ameliorate Muslim resistance by not allowing Christian missions into Muslim areas and started its own secular schools.¹⁵³ The colonial authority was also not too keen on promoting western education in Northern Nigeria, because in the southern protectorate where it has had experience for close to half a century, the effects of largely mission-provided education had begun to tell in educated southerners fighting for emancipation from colonial stranglehold through media such as newspaper and quasi-political organizations that western education had fostered among educated southerners.¹⁵⁴ In Northern Nigeria, the spectacle of western education became one of an unwilling or halfhearted master and a reluctant or disagreeing servant. The result is the imbalance in education between southern and northern Nigeria that has survived to the twenty-first century, though the gap has been closed considerably in the post-independence period.¹⁵⁵

Frederick Lugard, the High Commissioner of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria had interest in protecting the north and by extension the colonial order from corrupting influences of the western educated elements in Lagos and southern Nigeria. This is one of the geneses of the imbalance between the education in the north and the south as well as between the Muslim and non-Muslim areas of the Northern Nigeria. Lugard did not allow Christian missions in Muslim areas, ostensibly to protect interest of Muslims, but it was also in self-interest of the colonial order.¹⁵⁶ Christian missions in Muslim areas would have deepened Muslim resistance to colonialism, for which the British were very alert and avoided as much as possible. The missions were only to be allowed into regions which Lugard can guarantee their safety, to avoid drawing government into conflict. Government concern was mainly avoiding conflict smarting Muslims could give when missions come to their regions.¹⁵⁷ When Lugard supported Dr Miller of Church Missionary Society's (CMS) plan to undertake provision of education on behalf of government, he did so only because the government had neither the fund nor personnel to undertake the venture.¹⁵⁸

Iloprof file No. 2276; NAK 'Annual Report Education Department Ilorin Province', Iloprof file No. 3/1 0433/1928.

¹⁵³ Eliasu Yahaya, 'The Establishment and Development of Western Education in Ilorin Township 1900-1960,' (MA thesis: Department of History University of Ilorin 1998), 35.

¹⁵⁴ Ozi, *Education in Northern Nigeria*, 40.

¹⁵⁵ Ozi, *Education in Northern Nigeria*, 17.

¹⁵⁶ Ozi, *Education in Northern Nigeria*, 17.

¹⁵⁷ Sonia F. Graham, *Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria 1900-1919* (Ibadan: Ibadan University press, 1966), 7-8.

¹⁵⁸ Ozi, *Education in Northern*, 19.

Following a successful experiment of teaching the Roman characters, Dr Miller submitted a proposal to Lugard in 1906 which guided future educational policy of the colonial authority in Northern Nigeria. He proposed two different schools; one for selected mallams in all the emirates and another for sons of chiefs from all the Muslim areas of the north. Although Dr Miller agreed not to antagonize the religion of the pupils, he hoped to use the ambience of the school, which would be boarding, to subtly open their minds to the world of Christianity,¹⁵⁹ which he believed has better values than the religion of his pupils. The mallams' schools aimed to teach them Hausa in Roman characters in addition to English language, arithmetic and geography. The Boys' School would aim to train them to be patriotic, loyal and honest to the British.¹⁶⁰ Lugard left in 1906 before the plan could be put into action and his successor Percy Girouard was not supportive of the missionaries. The CMS went ahead with the school but because of its overt and covert conversion objectives, the mission accepted its failure by 1910 and converted its school into a regular mission school based on religious instruction. The government had to start its own secular education program.¹⁶¹

The work of planning and running a government system of education was put in charge of Hans Vischer, a Swiss naturalized British citizen, recommended for the job by Lugard. Vischer visited Cairo and Khartoum and the Gold Coast in 1909 to assess the educational system being run in these places. In Egypt, he felt the education was too European in nature and not rooted in the people's culture. In Khartoum, he found the system more suited to his ideas.¹⁶² In Accra where there were many mulattoes in the population who had adapted to European style of education, he felt that the system though good would not be suited for the northern region where the Muslim populations are to be found. It appears he was concerned with any system that best works for a region, whether it is a strictly European system like in Accra or European system grafted on a local system like he saw in Khartoum.¹⁶³ In the end, the Sudan model most appealed to Vischer and as policies would later show; his ideas is discernible in the educational policy pursued in Northern Nigeria.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ See the article by K, Education as a Mission Agency, Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record, January 1884. Vol. IX No.97.

¹⁶⁰ Ozi, *Education in Northern*, 20.

¹⁶¹ Ozi, *Education in Northern*, 21.

¹⁶² Rhodes House Mss Afr. 1358 W.L. Hogan 'Development of Education in Northern Nigeria 1920-1952', 13; Graham, *Government and Mission*, 68.

¹⁶³ Graham, *Government and Mission*, 72.

¹⁶⁴ Graham, *Government and Mission*, 74.

Vischer's educational plan, approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies had the following objectives:

1. Develop the national and racial characteristics of the natives on such a line as will enable them to use their moral and physical forces to the best advantage
2. Widen their mental horizon without destroying their respect for race and parentage
3. Supply men for employment under the government
4. Produce men who would be able to carry on native administration in the spirit of the government
5. Impart sufficient knowledge of western ideas to enable the natives meet the influx of traders and others from the coast, with the advent of the railway, on equal terms
6. Avoid creating a 'babu' class
7. Avoid encouraging the idea, readily formed by the natives, that it is more honorable to sit in an office than to earn a living by manual labour, by introducing at the earliest opportunity technical instruction side by side with purely clerical training ¹⁶⁵

Secular government education in the North began with the Nasarawa School in Kano in 1909 under Vischer. Vischer wanted the people to learn from Europe without losing their essence, the multiple identities, drawing on his own background in Swiss, German and British education systems. His educational ideas were analogous to Lugard's political indirect rule policy, which official caution and economic expediency had made a pragmatic option. There was a convergence of ideas of both officials. Like Lugard, Vischer's ideas were in favour 'craft' education against scholasticism, local rather than liberal. This could be seen in the building used for the school.¹⁶⁶ From inception the schools were built along class lines, one for the children of chiefs and another for the commoners. Subjects taught include arithmetic, geography, hygiene, Hausa and law. English was not taught at the primary level. By 1913, Ilorin had six pupils on its register.¹⁶⁷ It was from the Nasarawa School that mallams were trained to be used in opening provincial schools in other provinces, which the emirs had requested to be opened in their provinces.

On 22 February, 1915 a provincial school was established in Ilorin, largely to provide personnel for the Native Authority administration. It was started by Mr

¹⁶⁵ Ozigi, *Education in Northern*, 43; Graham, *Government and Mission*, 76

¹⁶⁶ Graham, *Government and Mission*, 77.

¹⁶⁷ Eliasu Yahaya, *The Establishment and Development*, 35-37.

H.H. Annetts (Assistant Director of Education Northern Provinces) and Mr S.L. Price. The Yoruba reading sheets were prepared by mallam Ibrahim and Mr Annetts. Western education started with the training of teachers in what was called a Normal class. Ten mallams were selected by Annetts and from the onset they were being prepared to assume the role of teachers in the near future. Eight of these were appointed to the newly opened provincial school.¹⁶⁸ The school had thirty-nine pupils all from Ilorin town and two mallams¹⁶⁹ manning a class each of the four classes. With the exception of mallam Musa, all the other teachers had been coopted from the normal class where they had been prepared for this role. By the end of the year the population had risen to eighty-one.

The school was not popular among the Ilorins despite the interest of the emir and his chiefs (who were noted to be sending the children of their slaves and servants instead of their own children).¹⁷⁰ The pupils were jeered at and attempts were made to burn down the school.¹⁷¹ Religious instruction for the pupils began on the 7th of March 1915, in town, not in the school. Here, a separation of the secular and religious studies had begun from inception. The emir appointed a *liman* (also *lemamu* prayer leader/teacher) who teaches five times per week, an hour daily.¹⁷² This may have served to douse Muslim apathy to western education, but the British also believed in the separation of both and had only allowed it to show the British had nothing against the religion of the people.

The following year in 1916, the population had increased when Nupe students joined the school. Until then, it was (an all-boys) day school. A residential building was built two miles from the town.¹⁷³ The pupils received instructions in the Qur'an daily except on Fridays. They were taught by mallam Muhammadu Isa. Mallam Sulai also taught twelve of the pupils and the teachers *Risala* and other theological works such *Zakkaki*, *Hukami*, *Shriniya* and *Zuhud*.¹⁷⁴ A school committee consisting of the Resident, the Emir, Waziri and two others nominated by the emir, Kure and

¹⁶⁸ NAK 'Report on Ilorin Provincial School' Iloprof File No. 44/1916/1.

¹⁶⁹ The British used the term 'mallam' somewhat to refer to different categories of teachers. It was used to refer to teachers of Qur'an in the traditional system, teachers of religious studies in the government school as well as teachers of secular subject. The term is a Hausa world meaning teacher, derived from the Arabic word *mualim* and among the Hausa has come to serve as the equivalent of 'Mr' in addition of the original meaning. Ilorin, Alfa is name given to the scholar of Islamic education.

¹⁷⁰ NAK 'Report on Ilorin Provincial School' Iloprof file No.44/1916; Discussions with Alhaji Saka Aleshinloye (Baba Isale of Ilorin, d. 2007), November 1997.

¹⁷¹ Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer of Ilorin*, 255.

¹⁷² NAK 'Report on Ilorin School' Iloprof file No. 234/1915.

¹⁷³ Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer of Ilorin*, 255.

¹⁷⁴ NAK 'Provincial School Annual Report' Iloprof file No.163/1917. See Appendix IV for the school's time table.

Magaji Ajanaku (sub-chiefs to the emir) was constituted to oversee the school. They inspected the school fortnightly, assisted in the collection of school fees and selection of new pupils.¹⁷⁵ Hausa was the language of instruction but by 1918, it had been substituted with Yoruba, the lingua franca of the town. Hausa had been used all the while because Ilorin province was a part of the north where Hausa is the lingua franca. Ilorin was the only Yoruba speaking province in the north and the early African teachers were Hausa speaking and there were few European officials who had working knowledge of Yoruba.

class	Number of pupils	Average Age
1	23	15
2	88	11
3	39	11
4	19	9
5	47	8
total= 216 ¹⁷⁶		

Table 1.¹⁷⁷ The composition of the Provincial School in 1916. Source NAK 'Report on Ilorin school' Iloprof file No.641/1916

By 1925 the response to western education had improved. The opportunity for employment in the Native Authority is a factor in this response but also proximity of the province to the coast. By 1929, ninety of the former students of the school had been employed by the Native Authority. Records show that forty-six percent (46%) of the pupils were relatives of the staff of the Native Authority (most aware of the benefits to be derived from the school), thirty-one percent (31%) children of the peasants, sixteen percent (16%) children of mallams (Muslim scholars) and seven percent (7%) those of traders.¹⁷⁸ Most of the early students were adults and were children or wards of aristocrats and their protégés, who had to attend a boarding school with their wives and servants. In a note to the Superintendent of Education, the Governor General indicated the undesirability of pupils to be married. He wanted the keeping of personal servants to be discouraged though not forbidden. The colonial authority had to tolerate these personal appendages of the

¹⁷⁵ NAK 'Report on the Ilorin Provincial School for the half-year ending 30th June 1916', Iloprof file No.641/1916.

¹⁷⁶ These include 54 Nupe pupils. The average age of the Pupils was 12 years.

¹⁷⁷ As can be seen from the table the classes were arranged in descending order with the most senior pupils in class one.

¹⁷⁸ Yahaya, 'The Establishment,' 42.

early scholars, though undesirable, since it was literally begging the emir to provide the students.¹⁷⁹

The emir was able to recruit pupils for the elementary school mostly from his relatives and workers. The school fee was 6d per student. The Qur'an and Arabic were being taught in a *zaure* (piazza) like in a traditional setting. Subjects taught in the school included writing, arithmetic, geography, hygiene, drawing and crafts. The standard of Qur'an and Arabic was considered low and the emir visited the school several times by way of encouraging the development of education.¹⁸⁰ By the second decade of its establishment, the school had gained some popularity in town, indicated by the enquiries the teachers received from the town about vacancies for new students. The authority also began to think of the possibility of opening another school in another part of the town. People wanted their children to be in the elementary school but were disappointed English was not taught there and day boys were not allowed in the primary school, so that they dropped their requests.¹⁸¹ At this time no mission school was yet available for the children of Christians and southerners living in Ilorin, to serve as an alternative.

A scheme was conceived of in the Northern Provinces with the aim to train the Qur'an teachers in the three Rs with the hope that they can return and teach these in their Qur'anic schools, thus serving as a bridge to those who may want to enter the elementary school. To attract these teachers to come to the school, the authority decided on providing some subsistence allowance for them. A subsistence allowance of 6/6d to one Pound a month was paid to the mallams in the course of training in 1930/31 by the Ilorin Native Authority but the payment was discontinued because the mallams thought the payment should continue after the training rather than see it as an incentive.

As the British foresaw, the opportunity for employment in the NA was what attracted the few Qur'an teachers that were interested in the scheme.¹⁸² The British assumption that the Qur'an teachers should be able to teach the subjects they learnt when they return to their schools was rather simplistic. At the time, the merit of any western education in most Muslim scholars' view could only serve the interest of the colonial order and they would not do it and it would have been resisted by the people. Any Qur'an teacher who tried such innovation risked being ostracized by the community and his fellow scholars.

¹⁷⁹ NAK 'Waive of Pupil Teachers Rules', Iloprof file No. 390/1920.

¹⁸⁰ NAK 'Annual Report Education Department Ilorin Province', Iloprof file No. 3/1 0433/1928.

¹⁸¹ This interest must be the influence of contacts with educated Yoruba of southern Nigeria.

¹⁸² NAK 'Proposed Classes of Koranic Teachers', Iloprof file No. 2276.

The British attitude toward Islamic education was rather ambivalent. While it claimed it did not want to interfere in the religious belief of the people, it did not appreciate the importance of the Muslim education system to the people; the attitude towards it at times patronizing. It also wanted some modifications especially in method and organization but was not ready to give it the needed support to do so nor did the colonial authority considered the opinions of the Muslim scholars relevant in such venture. Attempts by the British to develop Islamic education or tailor it to its taste did not take into consideration the feelings of the people still smarting from an imposition of authority the people considered an aberration. In the government school, the teaching of Arabic was not considered as part of the school curriculum as such but more like a bait to lure Muslims to the school or douse their apathy to the school. For example, the two Arabic teachers were paid out of NA non-education vote unlike the other six teachers, setting the tone for discrimination against the Arabic teachers in the scheme of things, which continued in the post-colonial period.¹⁸³

The official lukewarm attitude towards religious and Arabic education was perhaps responsible for the poor performance of the subject in the school. There was complain, for example, that out of about a hundred pupils, only fourteen completed the Qur'an course of instruction under the NA school. The students, like some others in the town where English was becoming popular, could see the power in the education provided through the medium of English. Like others too, they had little faith in the colonial school providing Arabic education. As it was also not examinable, they had little incentive to take it seriously. No doubt the influence of close contact with the southwest is also important in Ilorin. Government was interested in development of what it called secular Arabic but was not willing to fund such provision. In the school, the instruction in secular Arabic was still at an elementary level, because the idea was in its infancy and the need for it peripheral.¹⁸⁴

The British understood the teaching of the Qur'an as that "which the children are taught uncomprehendingly to write and uncomprehendingly to recite. They are taught neither grammar nor even the meaning of words and it is at this stage that majority of the pupils at a Koran school complete their learning." Those who go further attach themselves to a mallam; " Here again the teaching is more or less parrot like- the pupil reads only one book with each mallam of which he learns by heart the translation phrase by phrase, only a few could use a dictionary or read an

¹⁸³ NAK 'Provincial School Annual report' Iloprof file No.163/1917.

¹⁸⁴ NAK 'Annual Report of Ilorin Provincial Schools' Iloprof file No. 285/1918.

unknown book.”¹⁸⁵ The NA is considered incapable of providing improved Arabic studies along enlightened Arabic lines.

While the British observation was correct in some respect, it failed to go deeper. For the Muslims, understanding the meaning of the Qur’an is desirable but not necessary, and this does not diminish its utility for the observance of religious rituals.¹⁸⁶ To the British, however, this was not education, but something short of gibberish. By equating it with secular education where meaning is important, it failed to grasp this aspect of Muslim education. Even this supposed weakness of the Qur’anic education is largely to be found at the elementary stage of Qur’an recitation study. During this period, some of the scholars in Ilorin, like Tajul Adab were already advanced in their scholarship but the colonial authority was not aware and if it was aware, mistrust between the two educational systems prevented any cooperation towards improved Islamic and Arabic studies.

The official policy of the British also impeded some officials who showed some interest in the problem. The official policy stated that “the teacher of religion is nominated by the emir and the subject and method of teaching are at his discretion alone. There should be no interference with him at all in his teaching, save that the superintendent of education arranges the hours of instructions to suit the daily timetable of the classes and insists that the classes are conducted in an orderly manner. The emir, or his representative, not ourselves, sees that proper instruction is given and due progress made.” This ambivalent posture of non-interference and a desire for improved system made intervention difficult for enthusiasts among the colonial officials.¹⁸⁷

By the end of 1929, it was decided that two new schools should be established in Alanamu and Ajikobi wards, with the hope that situated close to the people, it will help reduce the people’s resistance to colonial education.¹⁸⁸ The first school had been situated out of town and there had been attempts to burn it down.¹⁸⁹ The fortunes of Qur’anic education in the government school continued to regress and by 1936 it was considered impractical to continue to pay a man ‘to teach nothing but the Qur’an’. It was believed that the trained mallams (who were also Muslims) could as well give the instruction and it recommended for the Qur’an instructors to

¹⁸⁵ NAK ‘Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools’ Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

¹⁸⁶ Ozi, *Education in Northern*, 7. In personal discussions with European scholars, they have compared this rote learning to the position of Latin in European curriculum even to the first half of the twentieth century.

¹⁸⁷ NAK ‘Kaduna College Accommodation for Pupils’, Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936

¹⁸⁸ NAK ‘Ilorin School Committee Minutes’, Iloprof file No.3604 Vol.1/1928.

¹⁸⁹ Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 255.

be dismissed. They were restored back the same year because the secular subject teachers were not sufficiently qualified to teach the subject. Moreover, the economy of the dismissal was minimal. The emir had agreed to the dismissal believing the Muslim teachers could do the job, but like others in the school committee, found that his judgment was wrong. The British ideas were determined by economic consideration but the emir and his chiefs were more concerned about the social implications of policies. This reflected in their deliberations on education in the province, over quality or expansion of education. The British favoured limited but quality education while the Africans favoured expansion of opportunity.¹⁹⁰

The plan of spreading mass literacy through the Qur'an mallams of the 3 Rs was discontinued in Ilorin province, the thinking being that adult classes would be a better line of action. There was widespread desire of the people to learn in Ilorin and some have done so privately through clerks, ex school boys and southern traders who traded with Ilorin. There was hope in official quarters that the Qur'anic schools could still be an avenue for the spread of the 3Rs as some of the Qur'anic teachers were expected to attend the adult classes to be conducted by the elementary school teachers after school hours for which the teachers (of the elementary schools), it was suggested should be paid. The emir expressed support for the program, the Provincial Superintendent of Education, however, felt the elementary school teachers should take the job as social service without extra pay and the pupils should be able to give something in cash or kind like in the traditional system. The emir, however, favoured a small cash fee. In the end the teachers were not paid any fee.¹⁹¹

By the mid-1930s, the colonial authority had decided that 'Qur'anic school teachers' should no longer be treated separately but as a part of the general adult education program. There were three types of adult education in the northern provinces: one, a class of Qur'anic teachers who were given some stipends; two, a class for NA workers, Qur'anic mallams attend these in some provinces and three, two mallams were selected at a time and trained at nearby elementary school.¹⁹² The second type of adult education was adopted for Ilorin with some success. The plan was started in 1930 of holding a year's classes for the Qur'anic mallams or their assistants, that they might learn the 3Rs in vernacular with the hope they will impart these to their pupils back in their schools and thus serve as a bridge for some of the pupils to enter the elementary schools and generally increase literacy. Subsistence allowance of 6/6d to one pound a month was paid to the mallams in the

¹⁹⁰ NAK 'Ilorin School Committee Minutes', Iloprof file No.3604 Vol.1/1928.

¹⁹¹ NAK 'Proposed Classes of Koranic Teachers', Iloprof file No. 2276.

¹⁹² NAK 'Proposed Classes of Koranic Teachers', Iloprof file No. 2276.

course of training by the NA during 1930/31 period but thereafter discontinued because the mallams thought the payment should continue after the training, which was not the official stand.

The scheme was not very successful in most of the Northern Provinces. This, the British officials believed was due to, first, the conservative attitude of the people, secondly, the mallams losing touch with their pupils who have gone elsewhere for the Qur'anic education. (The British thought this was because no arrangement was made for a substitute mallam, but it is more probable people withdrew their children from such schools at the instigation of other scholars who still loathe the colonial authority and its rivaling education system) and thirdly because of the issue of allowance. In trying out these schemes, it was only in Bida that some success was achieved, but in the other provinces it did not work out as planned, many of the mallams hoping they would be employed by the Native Authority and when this did not materialize, they lost interest.

In Katsina Province for example, when this did not happen, the mallams did nothing to impart their new knowledge in their schools. No doubt the possibility of employment with the NA was the motive behind the attendance by these Qur'anic teachers, for they all know the near impossibility of teaching the 3Rs in their schools.¹⁹³ Salaried work was an innovation that most appealed to the people who had no such practice in their culture. They could see the power and prestige of the NA workers, some of whom had come from among the scholar class. The new economic order had disempowered them while at the same time putting new monetary responsibility on them in the form of taxes. Salaried work then would have been a relief.

The British officials were still unable to understand Muslim aversion to western education. This dilemma could be summed up thus: the British thought was that western education was the best thing they had brought to the Africans, the opportunity of which should be grabbed with both hands. The Muslims on the other hand were not fully satisfied with or trust the aims of the British, the unsavoury experience of the colonial encounter very much in their mind. A people who had conquered them by force cannot be trusted to do any good. When the Resident of Kano wrote to the Secretary of the Northern Provinces, he noted that 'The schools were not viewed with respect and appreciation and was called "kafirchi" (unbelief).¹⁹⁴ The British officials were wondering the cause of this. Was it insufficient attention to religious instructions or teaching religious instructions in

¹⁹³ NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools', Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

¹⁹⁴ NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools', Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

the same venue as European subjects or objection to children being taught any European subject at all or the people just being abusive? Enquiry showed the absence of religious teaching as the root of the discontent. The British noted that African NA workers were anxious that religious instructions be taught in these schools but took no practical step in this direction.

However, not all of the NA workers were indifferent to the situation and more so the African NA workers realized the limit of their power. Bello Kagara, one of officials at the regional headquarters in Kaduna, for example examined the problems associated with the study of religion in government schools and wrote a report to his British superior in this regard. He noted that; 'little attention is given to religious education in these provincial schools and that secular education is likely to make demand for Arabic most insignificant. Most of the pupils in the secular elementary and middle schools were not taking religious instruction seriously with most having mastered only the first, second or third of the sixty divisions of the Qur'an, even though there were Qur'anic teachers in all these schools. Pupils go through school without much Islamic education and go on to work for the NA.'

This, he observed, was the cause of the discomfort of the mallams. Since it was part of the curriculum, it should be supervised and examined too, he argued. The need to increase the time allocated to it was also important. Most students also did not complete the Arabic syllabus. A mallam should be attached to the boarding establishment to help interested students. He advised that the teachers of Arabic should draw a schedule and methods of teaching to be harmonized. The teachers should also keep a record of work done and individual report of each student be kept. He also advocated for corporal punishment to keep the students disciplined. He then made suggestions of how a new syllabus should be drawn and actually drew one in this respect. The British officials did not agree with everything suggested by Kagara, especially the increase in time or extra lessons and the idea of a whip to keep the boys disciplined.¹⁹⁵ Kagara's superiors only accepted what they considered important from his recommendations; even though it is discernible he had been objective and had written his report with insights of a northerner familiar with traditional thinking and western methods.

Some of the British officials made interesting observations. Mr Baldwin's (Principal Superintendent of Education) view was perhaps the most Qur'an education friendly view of the British officials. In his opinion, stagnation in Islam is due to lack of contact (with the rest of the Muslim world) rather than inherent sterility. He felt that most colonial officials and missionaries had wrong views that

¹⁹⁵ NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools', Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

that Islam is static. He saw the problem as lack of contact; that Islam in northern Nigeria was a veneer i.e nominal and that Islam is unlike Christianity which is concerned with faith and morals. A comparison with the Arab Muslims is discernible in his statement.¹⁹⁶ He saw Islam as more like a polity, more like Judaism. He posited three possible attitudes toward Islam: one, hostility, two, outward respect but actual neglect with the hope it will eventually die and three, frank partnership. No one, he believed, would advocate the first and the second was unwise. His previous analysis was to urge the third option.¹⁹⁷

He observed that Muslims did not accept the British at their own valuations and thought themselves higher than the British. Northern officials were envious of the progress of education in the south but he pointed out gloomy events in the south, no doubt referring to nationalism raging there and which was undesirable to the colonial order. Real partnership, he advocated or else, it would lead to a dichotomy of educated Muslims against the masses. His solution to the dilemma was to train people who will be grounded in both systems of education such as the Sudanese Sheikhs at the Kano Law School, open to western ideas yet carrying on their traditions.¹⁹⁸ He then suggested having the Sudanese Sheikhs to draw a syllabus for Arabic for the elementary and Middle Schools with texts to be used. These, he argued, should be well taught and the Europeans were to show real interest and not see it as a side show and it should be given attention like all other subjects.¹⁹⁹ He acknowledged the difficulty of Arabic not being a vernacular in Nigeria except in a part of Borno but this should not deter efforts to develop the subject, he argued. All these, he felt are in line with the declared policy of making the best of native cultures.²⁰⁰

Superintendent of Education P.G.S.Baylis, a British official of the Education Department agreed with Baldwin's views. His take on the problem summarized what the problem was. He noted that harmonization was thought of at the beginning of efforts in northern Nigeria to intervene in Islamic education but increased

¹⁹⁶ Despite his positive views, he as well erred in some of his assumptions. There were contacts with the Arab Muslim world and Islam is also very much concerned with morals. Ware III, *The Walking Qur'an*, 19. Faulted such European assumption of 'correct' Islam as synonymous with Arab

¹⁹⁷ NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools', Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

¹⁹⁸ His ideas here were similar to Vischer's earlier ideas.

¹⁹⁹ The Resident of Kano in letter to the Secretary of the Northern Provinces had made similar suggestion. NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools', Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936. This attitude toward religious education would continue along this trend even to the post-colonial trend. In the new curriculum of education proposed begin in 2015; religious education is going to be replaced by Civic education.

²⁰⁰ NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools' Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

acceleration and higher standard in later times in government secular schools had led to the believe that Arabic was a waste of time to which lip service is to be paid, or neglected to the point it will fizzle out. His statement confirmed the situation as it existed unlike Baldwin who was thinking in terms of possibilities. Increased secularization of schools had led to the production of alienated Nigerians who could not reconcile their new status with their background, just as Bello Kagara had lamented in his report.²⁰¹

Another British official, Nicholson added his voice to the debate. He opined that Arabic should be regarded as part of religious instruction. He did not see much responsibility for the Principal Superintendent of Education with regard to the subject except with regard to discipline, indicating much non interest. He also cited the need for increased lesson periods. Furthermore, serious Arabic studies should be pursued in Kano at the School of Arabic Studies. The Superintendent of Education for Ilorin Province in correspondence with the Principal Superintendent of Education holds that lack of attention to Arabic education is due to the official policy of non-interference rather than neglect with the hope that it will die. He advocated that the Qur'an should be translated and the students be made to know the meaning. The students should also be made to observe the ritual prayers as part of their lessons.²⁰²

In 1937, at the Residents Conference, the issue of colonial government interest in religious education was on the front burner. The ambivalent nature of the noninterference policy was mentioned as a key problem for the officers. The idea of 'suitable contact' that Baldwin touted was discussed and it was mentioned that the Sudanese Sheikhs at Kano had been told to prepare a very simple text book on the ethics of Islam which the Waziri of Kano insisted should be in Arabic against the Ma'aji's wish for it to be in Hausa. There were questions as to the propriety of government taking an active part in religious teaching. A participant said the business of the government was the moral and material progress of the people. This would be achieved with the teaching of Arabic which would strengthen Islam, the moral guide of the people. This view was not generally supported, betraying a general non interest but tolerable approach to the idea of Arabic or Islamic education in the government schools by the colonial authority.

Among the arguments put forward in favor of government intervention was that the promise of noninterference does not mean neglecting religious studies or not seeking to improve its method of teaching. On the issue of increasing the time

²⁰¹ NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools' Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

²⁰² NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools' Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

allocated for lessons, no extra time was in the drawn up syllabus for elementary school, only in Middle School was a little extra time provided. The problems of syllabus and 'contacts' were among the issues that the Residents agreed upon at the conference.²⁰³ These were the areas the British felt Muslims could be helped with and were willing to facilitate.

The (Sudanese) Gordon College Graduate teachers in School for Arabic Studies in Kano were given these responsibilities. They were used to change people's negative ideas about the British such as speaking in English or wearing English dress. These acts had been the peoples' strategies of resisting colonialism. The Sudanese scholars used verses of the Qur'an to back up their arguments. As part of the policies, Nigerian students were to be discouraged from going to Al Azhar University in Egypt, whose teachings the British considered Archaic and subversive to their interest.²⁰⁴ The first set of Nigerians to go outside for further studies in Islamic and Arabic studies were sent to Sudan before some were later sent to the United Kingdom where such people as Abdul Kadir Orire later studied.²⁰⁵ It was only after independence that Nigerians were able to freely pursue their studies in places like Libya, Egypt, Iraq and Syria and their scholars were allowed to come to teach in Nigeria.

On its own, the colonial Education Department continued to work toward improving Arabic knowledge, without recourse to the traditional scholars. As part of this effort, a two week Arabic course was organized for the Qur'an instructors in elementary schools in Ilorin, in July 1938. The course was drawn up in Kano and was conducted by hajji Hamid of Ilorin Middle School.²⁰⁶ The emir had expressed misgivings that the government religious instructors were not well qualified either in the religious subject or in Arabic and were hardly any better than the students they were teaching. This question of quality mostly must have been due to the inability to get the qualified teachers from the class of traditional scholars, to work for the government. The Education Department was also considered not to have shown sufficient interest in the subject. Because students were not examined on the subject, they tended not to be serious with it as with the secular subjects, especially as they knew that not passing it would not prevent them from passing out of the school. This was what Bello Kagara had noted in his report.²⁰⁷

²⁰³ NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools' Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

²⁰⁴ Reichmuth, 'Sheikh Adam'; Mustapha, 'Sabotage in Patronage'

²⁰⁵ In Post-independence Nigeria he became the Grand Khadi of Kwara State from 1975 to 2000.

²⁰⁶ NAK 'Mohammedan Native Schools', Iloprof file No. 3177.SCH 75.

²⁰⁷ NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools', Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

Emir Abdulkadir (1919-1959) was also trying to help within what he considered was his power. He informed the authority of availability of books written in Yoruba (roman character) that teaches religion and he promised to recommend others and have them translated. He recommended for the teachers to be sent for further training in Kano. Earlier in 1943, the Education Officer for Ilorin Province had considered the total number of period allocated for Qur'an study as not enough to warrant employing a full time Qur'an teacher. This was not considered economic, complaining that the cost of training an Arabic teacher would be up by 400 percent and that the Law School in Kano was not good in training teachers. It was considered a waste of time and fund to send the old men teaching the Qur'an to Kano, since they would continue to teach parrot-like as they had learnt themselves when they return.²⁰⁸



Fig.6. Emir Abdulkadir (1919-1959). Picture courtesy of Sheikh Salman AbdulKadir (Daudu Ballah)

²⁰⁸ NAK 'Mohammedan Native Schools', Iloprof file No.3177/SCH 75.

Through the 1940s and 1950s the colonial authority continued to work toward improving Arabic studies, which saw the emergence of Nigerians trained as Arabists, many of whom would form the elites of the independence era and many would operate separately from the ulama by virtue of being in formal government employment. The colonial mindset is understandable; that developing Arabic should be helpful to Muslims but colonial attitude is more academic and economic considerations were more important rather than any social value of the subject, unlike Muslims' attitude toward it. The Muslims see the language as sacred and all previous dealings with it had been largely in religious context, and not something to be studied for its own value. The contradictions in the views and aims of the colonial authority and the Muslims would continue to affect the fortune of Islamic and Arabic education till the British left the country. The emir who bestrode the world of his Muslim subjects and that of the colonial authority appears unable to act as a bridge.²⁰⁹

Emir Abdulkadir on the one hand was very supportive of the innovative development being carried out by Sheikh Kamalud-deen, outside of the colonial purview. He not only supported the Adabiyya movement financially from his salary but he also gave two of his sons out to be trained by Sheikh Kamalud-deen.²¹⁰ Yet the emir did not make any move to connect the two reforms (colonial and Adabiyya) which he was in a position to do. This betrays a wariness of the colonial authority and their reforms. Though the emirs were often accused of being tools in the hands of the colonial authority, their actions shows that they were not particularly comfortable in their positions but seems to be maneuvering their ways around the colonial power, to which they were subject and their own people who held them in high esteem. By not linking Sheikh Kamalud-deen to colonial attempts at reforms, he might have thought of protecting the scholar from colonial interference. Often the emirs had to balance between what they considered as good for themselves, their people and the colonial authority, with the possibility of the

²⁰⁹ The emir, like some of his colleagues in the north simply compartmentalized his relations with the colonial authority and those of his subjects; each dealt with in its own context. The fact that the reforms of Ulama (such as that of Sheikh Kamalud-deen) were also at their infancy is also to be considered.

²¹⁰ Discussions with Sheikh Ahmad Adisa-Onikoko. 21-6-2012; Prince Salman Abdulkadir. December, 2012; Alhaji Labaika Bello. 29-10-2012. The emir was giving 2 pounds ten every month from his salary to the Adabiyya/Ansarul Islam cause. The scribe of the group Alhaji Labaiko Bello was responsible for collecting this sum.

three aligning on any issue almost impossible. He may have seen the colonial attempt at reform as half-hearted unlike that of Sheikh Kamalud-deen.²¹¹

Some of the colonial officials had pro-Muslim ideas concerning religious education but they were in minority and their views did not make much impact. J. B. Scott, the Acting Assistant Director of Education for the Northern Provinces issued a circular in June 1944 to all the Provincial Education Officers in which he tried to press home the importance of religious education in the life of pupils. While religious instruction may not help secure lucrative employment, he advised against its neglect. The effect of the neglect would be unfortunate on the society. He cited what he considered moral decadence in England then as an example of what the neglect of religion could lead to. His views give the impression he was of religious bent or at least had some soft spot for religion.

Religious instruction, he believed has a certain foundation upon which modern attempts at character building could be based. He wanted the Native Authority, the emirs and others whose religion and culture it is in the first place to be active and be responsible for the success of the venture. He advised the Provincial Education Officers to articulate interest in the subject (of the over a hundred Education Officers in the Northern Region, only one could speak Arabic). He suggested that the Native Authority demand a certain proficiency in the religious subjects for those seeking clerical posts with the native authority.²¹²

Enthusiasm without much power and responsibility of officials like Scott and Baldwin was criticized by others because Arabic was not vernacular, though used in court for records and was understood only by a few. As a language connected with religion, more than any other language, it is not surprising that a secular system such as the colonial rule would only develop or promote it only in so far as it suits its agenda. In 1945, Scott issued a circular making Arabic an examinable subject in Middle School IV examination. He reiterated the inseparability of Arabic as a language from religious instruction.²¹³

Colonial criticism of the interest in promoting religious education include the complain that many of the older type Arabists were not accustomed to modern pedagogical styles, relatively large class, short intensive period, rigid timetable and the use of apparatus, unlike the indefinite conditions of the Qur'an class under a

²¹¹ The emir's attitude is somewhat similar to Emir Muhammadu Dikko of Katsina (1904-1944) who compartmentalized Islam and the colonial affairs into different domains. See Umar, *Islam and Colonialism*, 143-149.

²¹² NAK 'Mohammedan Native Schools', Iloprof file No.3177/SCH 75.

²¹³ NAK 'Mohammedan Native Schools', Iloprof file No.3177/SCH 75.

tree. This problem is discernible more in the elementary school (Arabic) teachers than the teachers in the Middle School. Refresher courses were therefore advocated for the elementary school teachers (a two weeks course had been organized earlier in 1938). The western approach to education was seen as valuable in addition to the traditional one. This view is similar to what Vischer had advocated earlier in his educational project in Kano. There were arguments for the subject to be taught in the same way other secular subjects were being taught, not the custom of relegating the teaching of religious instruction to some dark remote corner of the school. Use of exercise books was also advocated and a reading textbook for each student provided, so that silent reading (against the chanting in the Qur'anic schools) should be targeted at the appropriate stage.²¹⁴

These suggestions coming from the colonial officials betrayed some disconnect between the colonial ideas on the development of Arabic and Islamic education and that of the local Muslim community where, as will be seen in the next chapter. Sheikh Kamalud-deen had already introduced these reforms in his school but the colonial authority appears unaware of this, though the Native Authority headed by the emir and its native staff were fully aware and the emir supported his reforms. The colonial authority also felt the Native Authority had its share of the blame in the lack of much progress in the development of Arabic education. The Secretary of the Northern Provinces in July 1949 wrote to the Resident of Ilorin complaining that the Native Authority was employing the graduates of the Arabic School from Kano, instead of utilizing them for the specialist training they have received, so they can pass on the knowledge of Arabic to others. He expressed surprise at this attitude when all along the complaint had been that the Education Department was not doing enough or taking sufficient interest in Arabic and religious education.²¹⁵

In 1953, another course was organized for twenty-six Arabic teachers in Ilorin province, twenty of them from Ilorin town, the rest coming from Lafiagi, Patigi and Kaiama. This was conducted by mallam Abdulkadir Okekere²¹⁶ and he was assisted by mallam Ahmadu Ori Okoh and mallam Abdulkadir Ori Oke. Subjects taught included Arabic reading and Qur'an, each having two periods. Writing, dictation, composition and religious instruction were also given two periods. Two periods were allocated to tests and general talks. A period each was allocated for the correction of dictation, composition and tests. The participants were graded A,B,C,

²¹⁴ NAK 'Mohammedan Native Schools', Iloprof file No.3177/SCH 75.

²¹⁵ NAK 'Mohammedan Native Schools', Iloprof file No.3177/SCH 75.

²¹⁶ He later became a Nigerian Ambassador to the Republic of Egypt. Weekly Trust Newspaper. Interview with Sheikh Ahmad Lemu (retired Grand Khadi of Niger State). 5 May, 2013.

according to their performance. This would determine the salary to be paid and the levels they would be assigned to teach in the schools.²¹⁷

As Nigeria's independence was approaching, it appears the British were more concerned with a safe passage out of the country and would do no more than it had already done in the field. The success achieved with western education surpassed expectation of the colonial authority and they were satisfied in that respect.²¹⁸ Self-government was achieved by the Northern Regional Government in 1959 on the eve of the country's independence. As part of the Northern Region, these policies of the British affected Ilorin. Though Sheikh Kamalud-deen had begun his reforms along some of the lines advocated above by the British officials, either the British were not aware of it or deliberately ignored it.²¹⁹ His reforms could have been latched on to but it appears the British were uninformed of his efforts or thought it insignificant or could not imagine their subjects capable of such reforms. When he applied for registration of his school in 1946, the British officials relied on the information the emir passed on to them that he was a reliable person, in processing his application, suggesting they were oblivious of his reforms.²²⁰

The NA workers as well were not supportive of some his initiatives such as his western education primary school that he established in 1946 and derisively referred to his school as '*ile iwe abe petesi*'²²¹ (school under the storey building). He had started his school under his one storey building apartment. This is somewhat surprising since the head of the Native Authority, the emir, was very supportive of his reforms. Graduates of his school were discriminated against in the grant of scholarship, leading some of them to study in the Western Region against the norm

²¹⁷ NAK 'Mohammedan Native Schools', Iloprof file No.3177/SCH 75.

²¹⁸ There were several British initiatives to integrate Islamic Institutions into the colonial system which had its effects both in the judiciary and in education in the Northern Region, such as the Shahuci Judicial School in Kano (1928), the Khadi School in Sokoto (1932) and the Northern Provinces Law School in Kano (1934), where the Sudanese scholars were brought in. They and their Nigerian counterparts initiated training courses for teachers and new curricula for Arabic and Islamic instruction at both elementary and middle schools. SAS gained wide acceptance and a number of Ilorin scholars already well acquiesced to western education attended the school. The 1950s were important for the development of modernized Islamic institutions both at the private and state levels.

²¹⁹ Moreover, his reforms were still nascent at this period.

²²⁰ See comments on the reverse side of his application form, NAK 'Adabiyya Moslem School', Iloprof file No. 4659. The fact that he was mostly alone in this reform (not just in Ilorin but the whole of the Northern Region) at this period may also have contributed to the colonial authority not taking his reforms seriously.

²²¹ Discussions with Sheikh Ahmad Adisa-Onikoko. 21-6-2012.

in Ilorin to look towards the north for higher education at the time.²²² It took a decade after the establishment of his school before its certificate became accepted by the government.²²³ His students had to take school leaving certificate examinations in the government approved schools to move to higher levels of education.²²⁴

This legacy of lip service to Islamic education would continue when Nigeria got independence, though more efforts were made to bridge the dichotomy.²²⁵ At one end the dichotomy widened as western education received more attention and at the other it narrowed with greater accommodation of Islamic education in western institution, even if the form of accommodation was not satisfactory to many Muslim scholars. A uniform approach has not yet been achieved in bridging the gap between the two systems of education. Rather different methods have been tried with varying results.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined how the British conquered Ilorin in 1897, one of the first emirates of the Sokoto caliphate to be brought under colonial rule. This would affect not only its political and economic life but also the intellectual activities of the Islamic educational system. The scholars had provided the intellectual discourse against having any relationship with the foreigners and when Ilorin was conquered militarily, many of them withdrew their support for the emirs, seeing them as tools in the hands of unbelieving usurpers of Muslim territory. When the indirect rule was instituted, the emir would need the Muslim scholars whom the colonial authority had asked the emir to approach to offer clerical services for the new administrative structure put in place, being the only section of the local population equipped to render such service. Some accepted but many rejected. This rejection was extended to the new system of education introduced by the colonial authority.

The traditional method of instructing Qur'an reading, starting with the knowledge of Arabic alphabet especially the tri-lingual means of teaching the Arabic alphabet and syllable formation, harking to the different ethnic background of the foundational scholars of Ilorin, was explored as well.

²²² Discussions with Alfa Ibrahim, 5-6-2012 and Sheikh Ahmad Adisa-Onikoko. 21-6-2012.

²²³ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in' 88.

²²⁴ Discussion with Sheikh Salman Olarongbe Abdulkadir (Daudu Ballah). November 2012.

²²⁵ Such as the efforts of the Premier of Northern Region, Sir Ahmadu Bello's effort to integrate Islamic schools into the mainstream education sector.

In the course of the colonial rule, the authority sought to accommodate Islamic education in its own secular education program, partly to draw unwilling Muslims to the system needed to provide the colonial clerical needs. Attempts were made to improve the method of teaching in the Islamic education system, which the British considered archaic and not suited to modern living. However, the reforms were done without much recourse to Muslim views. The result was that Muslims were making reforms in their sphere at the same time the colonial authority were also making what appeared as halfhearted efforts in the same direction within its western system. Colonial success with western education further eroded the somewhat weak interest it had in improving the indigenous system. Some success was made especially in the promotion of Arabic and but the dichotomy between the two systems was not completely bridged and this continued in the era of self-government in the 1950s into the independence and post-independence era.

Chapter Three

Muslim Missionaries and Educationists and Reforms in the Colonial Period

Introduction

During the nineteenth century while the political and military exploits of Ilorin took the centre stage, her intellectual history was evolving underneath, protected and enabled by the political, military and economic strength of the town. The end of the nineteenth century saw the flowering of intellectual endeavors of the scholars of Ilorin. Scholars born and bred in Ilorin began to emerge, increasing the number of scholars and schools where the knowledge of Islam could be acquired. The hierarchical nature of Muslim learning, missionary instincts of the scholars and the ensuing peace after colonial conquest made some of these new scholars to venture out of Ilorin in search of fertile grounds where their intellectual and missionary competence could be put to practice. This was to have a profound influence on the development of Islamic learning in Ilorin in the subsequent decades. Contacts with westernization and the outside world, especially the Arab Muslim world, greatly influenced the reforms made around Islamic education by Ilorin scholars, mostly initiated from outside Ilorin in the course of missionary endeavors, before they were introduced and entrenched in Ilorin.¹

The advent of colonialism was a disruption of every facet of life of the African directly and indirectly. The social, economic and political world view and praxes were remodeled into new forms, adapting some here, reforming others there and others completely changed. In Muslim societies, where colonialism met some of its fiercest resistance; this resistance was based on the intellectual foundation of the Muslims in their educational system and championed by the guardians of this institution.² With the failure of military resistance, Muslims continued their resistance in the intellectual field. But the Muslims not only resisted colonialism and its adjunct, western education; the scholars of Islam in Ilorin and the Yoruba region where Ilorin scholars were the leading scholars, also adapted and appropriated aspects of the colonial educational legacy into their own system as a means of not only protecting their vocation, threatened by the new regime, but they

¹ As noted by Brenner in his work on Mali, during the course of the twentieth century, Muslims have encountered and struggled through in various ways with the question of how to deal with the question of how to reinterpret the tenets of the religion, as they have understood them, to conform with the rapidly changing conditions that they have experienced: subjugation by imperial powers, economic effects of world capitalism, the political transformation to putative states and the many social dislocations associated with these processes. Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge*, 3.

² See Umar, *Islam and Colonialism*.

also used these means to promote Islamic learning.³ This led to reforms in the Islamic educational system in Ilorin. The encounter of the Islamic educational system with the colonial education system led to a divergence of responses. The new system led to the emergence of three main pedagogical schools of thought in championing Islamic education in Ilorin.

In this chapter, we would also be looking at the careers of some prominent Islamic scholars and their modernization reforms and contribution to the development of Islamic education in the colonial period, both as missionaries and educationists. These were the foundations that Islamic education in Ilorin would be built upon in the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries.

Modernization Praxes: Missionaries, Educationalists and Response to the Colonial Encounter

The encounter of Muslim society of Ilorin with western civilization through the twin phenomena of colonialism and western education had a most profound influence on the developments in the Islamic education system in Ilorin. As Islam and its educational system was taking a bold and effective step into the Yoruba region through the missionary endeavors of Ilorin scholars, the imperial power of the British colonial enterprise was also taking decisive and far reaching encroachment, starting from coast, in the Yoruba region and eventually into the whole of Nigeria. The forces of Islam from the north and that of colonialism from the coast were to have a profound effect on the history of Ilorin people. Thus, Ilorin emerged into the twentieth century as a strong Muslim city thrust into the powerful conquering western civilization. Her scholars had to negotiate their way between a strong Islamic tradition and a powerful western dominion once conquered by the British in 1897.

The period of effective British rule in Ilorin engendered greater peace and stability than had been allowed for in most of the nineteenth century.⁴ This new peaceful ambience had some positive effects on Muslim scholarship while at the same time posing new challenges and problems. With the inter-Yoruba wars over, there was greater freedom of movement of persons and goods.⁵ New roads were built and the railway was also under construction. This relative peace had the

³ Nasiru, 'Islamic Learning among the Yoruba,' 176.

⁴ As Gbadamosi noted, despite the inter-Yoruba wars, which Ilorin was actively involved, Ilorin scholars were making inroads into the Yoruba region consolidating Islam in these territories. Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam*, 49.

⁵ Though the nineteenth century was turbulent, the scholars of Ilorin nevertheless were active among the Yoruba spreading religion and knowledge. See Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 146 and Reichmuth, 'A Regional Centre,' 239.

unintended effect of helping the spread of Islam from a major centre of Islam like Ilorin to surrounding areas such as Igbomina land and other areas under the domain of Ilorin as well as other areas in south western Nigeria among the Yoruba and around the confluence of Niger and Benue rivers.⁶ By the first decade of the twentieth century, decades of promotion of Islam through the encouragement of settlement of scholars from Hausa, Borno and Yoruba regions had resulted in a generation of home grown scholars in Ilorin.⁷ Apart from the Okesuna scholars who had been around before the advent of Fulani rule, most of the first and second generation scholars in Ilorin had migrated into the town from Hausa region or Borno and other parts of Yoruba region through the encouragement of the emirs.⁸ Through the patronage of the emirs many scholars were settled into the different parts of the city.⁹

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the status of Ilorin as a Muslim city had been well entrenched. The period of late nineteenth to early twentieth century saw the final major settlement of scholars from outside Ilorin.¹⁰ By this period, home grown scholars had come of age and the inception of colonialism also saw the emirs working for colonial interests which many of the scholars were against. While the emirs continued to patronize the scholars, the need for encouragement of scholars to settle in the town was no longer as necessary as in the preceding century. The bulwark of the colonial regime freed the emirs from the constraints of wars and the pervasive influence of the military aristocracy who more or less had the emir under their control. The peace and stability enforced by the colonial regime enabled the scholars to move into other towns without the constraints of war and they were able

⁶ For the impact of Ilorin scholars on the development of Islam in Yoruba region, see Gbadamosi, *The Growth of* and in Ebiraland, see Ahmed Rufai Mohammed, 'History of the Spread of Islam in the Niger Benue Confluence Area, Igalaland, Ebiraland and Lokoja 1900-1960' (Ph.D Thesis: Department of History, Bayero University, Kano, 1986). See also Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 194-203.

⁷ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*, 46; Reichmuth, 'A Regional Centre,' 237-245.

⁸ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*, 14.

⁹ Examples include, the first scholar of Ile Gbagba who came from Borno during the time of emir Shitta in the 1860s and Sheikh Abdullahi Badende during the reign of Emir Zubair. Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*, 47; Discussions with Alhaji Muhammad Shafii, 17-5-2012; Imam Muhammad Lawal, 6-5-2012 and Imam Ahmad Yahaya Maisolati.16-6-2012.

¹⁰ Up till the present the settlement of scholars from outside Ilorin continues but not as pronounced as in the nineteenth century when the emirs needed the scholars to strengthen the Islamic identity of the town. Today some scholars still settle down after studying and are practicing in Ilorin. The most important requirement in settling down and becoming an Ilorin man is being a Muslim and secondly adopting the ways of Ilorin. With these two criteria a Muslim can claim to be an Ilorin man. This way many who came as students have indigenized into Ilorin society.

to carry out missionary works.¹¹ This would later have direct and indirect impacts in the development of Islamic education in Ilorin as well as in south western Nigeria and parts of the river Niger-Benue confluence.

The opening of Ilorin to the wider world under colonial regime was to have a lasting impact on Islamic education. The greatest challenge to Islamic education was and remains western education and the westernization it engenders. Its challenge to Islamic education was not only its secular (or even religious ethos in the early days) but also the social, economic and political power it came with and imbued in those who imbibed it. At the early stage, Muslims detested western education because its early vanguards were Christians whose aim at conversion was not hidden.¹² Even when the colonial masters introduced secular education in the northern region to allay the fears of Muslims, many were still distrustful of the system.¹³ A number of people from Ilorin who travelled to western Nigeria and became Christians were taken as evidence that western education and its affiliates would only lead the Muslims astray. As a result some of the Ilorins who became Christians lost their property and their identity as Ilorins became so weak as to be almost unrecognizable.¹⁴

Not only were the colonial officers foreigners in pursuit of imperial secular quests, but they were also Christians, many of whom believed that Christianity would civilize the Africans¹⁵ and were all part of the colonial force that had subjugated all Muslim authorities under its wing and largely determined what Muslims may or may not do. Therefore, Muslims resisted the system of education that relegated the Islamic education system to the background, as an extension of the general disagreement with colonialism. Because of the new order, western education suddenly became the most important route to access power; social, economic and political power. Muslims would not readily accept the system even as it continued to put them into disadvantaged positions.

Leading the Muslims in rising to the challenges that the new dispensation had brought upon Muslims were the ulama and traders to the south (some of whom were also of ulama class). Through their missionary endeavors they were able to

¹¹ Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 169.

¹² See article By K, Education as a Mission Agency –in- Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record, January, 1884. Vol. IX No.97. The author explicitly bears out the missionaries' intention of using education, even of a secular nature to win over people into the religion.

¹³ Sonia F. Graham, *Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria 1900-1919* (Ibadan: Ibadan University press, 1966), 80.

¹⁴ Discussions with Alhaji Safi Jimba. (Shamaki of Ilorin). 11-7-2012.

¹⁵ Lugard, *The Dual Mandate*, 4-5.

garner experience and contacts with the rest of the world.¹⁶ These were utilized in the reformations that they laid the foundation during the colonial period. Muslim missionaries have always played a very important role in the spread of the religion and for the most part had been responsible for the spread of Islam especially in Yoruba areas.¹⁷ These missionaries were sometimes traders who combined trading with scholarship, either learning or passing on the knowledge wherever their trade took them. Some were purely on missionary endeavor; preaching and teaching, surviving as spiritual consultants to the people. Accelerated communication with the rest of the world opened up by the colonial regime helped in venting out the scholarship of Ilorin scholars.¹⁸ By the turn of the century and early twentieth century, Ilorin had been saturated with scholars who needed avenues to express scholarship developed for close to a century when the scholars had lesser need or opportunities to move out of the town. The nineteenth century was the period of inpouring of scholars needed to bolster the new Muslim city; the twentieth century opened the gate for the outpouring of the scholarship garnered over the decades.

This does not mean that the scholars remained exclusively concerned with Ilorin and had no relationship with the outside world in the nineteenth century. Despite the turbulence of the nineteenth century, when Ilorin was at war with many Yoruba towns,¹⁹ her scholars were also carrying out their missions in those places when the Christian missions were also making inroads from the coast.²⁰ The concern and attempt of the Lagos Muslims to mediate between the government of Lagos and Ilorin before it was eventually colonized indicates that the Muslims of Lagos were well aware of the deep preoccupations of the Ilorins with religion and were seen as mentors.²¹ They tried to mediate between the British at the coast and Ilorin over disagreement on boundary, peace and trading issues. The Ilorins were the models for the Yoruba Muslims and were highly cherished when such missionaries choose

¹⁶ Colonial economy while posing a danger for Muslim identity also provided new contexts for opportunities for new religious movements with influences from beyond the local contexts. Rüdiger Seesemann, *The Divine Flood Ibrahim Niasse and the Roots of a Twentieth-Century Sufi Revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 23-24.

¹⁷ The following works have dealt extensively on the role of Ilorin scholars in the spread of Islam among the Yoruba- Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam*; Nasiru, 'Islamic Learning' ; Reichmuth, 'A Regional Centre.'

¹⁸ Brenner alluded to this in his study of Islamic knowledge system in Mali. Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge*, 7.

¹⁹ The following works have treated Ilorin war and diplomacy in the nineteenth century. H. O. Danmole, 'Crises, Warfare and Diplomacy in nineteenth century Ilorin' in Toyin Falola and Robin Law (eds.), *Warfare, and Diplomacy in Pre-colonial Nigeria* (Madison: University of Wisconsin); Safi Jimba, *Iwe Itan Ilorin*; Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*.

²⁰ Reichmuth, 'A Regional Centre,' 239.

²¹ Danmole, 'The Abortive Peace.'

their town or city for missionary stations. Some of the scholars had also travelled north to Hausa region to acquire knowledge.²²

The missionary educationists of Ilorin could be classified into two main categories. In the first category were those whose missionary activities were itinerant in nature. They resided permanently in Ilorin but often traveled to other towns on preaching tours. Some were also engaged in the prayer economy,²³ serving as spiritual consultants to people. They may have personal houses where they stayed when they visited particular towns (especially after long association with the town), while some stayed with friends or the people who had invited them. This class of missionaries was always shuttling between Ilorin and other towns. In this category we can class Sheikh Abubakr Ikokoro and Sheikh Kamalud-deen al Adabiyy and many others like them.

In the second category are those who left Ilorin to live permanently and established their schools in the other towns, returning to Ilorin only occasionally. However, they kept contact with Ilorin and occasionally returned to Ilorin on visits. In this category are scholars like Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri who began his reformist educational career in Abeokuta, before making Agege in Lagos his base, Sheikh Khidr Apaokagi²⁴ based in Owo, and Sheikh Yahaya Adafila²⁵ based at Okene

²² Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*, 33.

²³ Benjamin F. Soares, *Islam and the Prayer Economy –History and authority in a Malian town* (Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 153-180. He used this term to qualify income derived from religious praxis of the Sufi clerics of Senegal. Lagos (Eko), then the capital of Nigeria and the major commercial city of the country, and up to the present forms an important city in the life of Ilorin scholars who are highly revered and honored there. Sheikh Kamalud-deen and Sheikh Adam both found support in this city for their reform movements. It is a major center for the prayer economy where scholars exercise their intercessory role for the people. Unlike Ilorin where almost every household has its own scholars and financial reward for such activity is limited, Lagos is more profitable for the use of intercessory prayers as a means of income for the scholars.

²⁴ A student of Sheikh Muhammad Kamalud-deen al Adabiyy: after years of tutelage and experience in missionary activities under guidance of his teacher, he eventually made Owo in the then Ondo province his base in 1945. This came about as a result of the request of the Owo people to Sheikh Kamalud-deen to send them a reliable teacher. In 1955 Sheikh Apaokagi established Mahad Adabiyya in Owo. Like his teacher, he too would send many of his students as missionaries to many part of the country as far as old Bendel State and Port Harcourt in the Niger delta area of Nigeria. He was appointed as the Mufti of Ilorin towards the end of his life when he retired to Ilorin. His teacher had been the mufti before him. He passed away on 22 February, 2013. See the following works for mention of his career. Bamigboye, 'The Contribution of Sheikh,' 39; Adisa-Onikoko, *The Legacy of*, 93; Sheikh Khidru Salahudeen Apaokagi, *The Development of Islam In Rivers State* (Ilorin: Alabi Printing Production, 2001), 1; Discussions with Alfa Mumeen Ayara. 10-9-2012; and Imam Shehu Ahmad Warah. 4-9-2012.

²⁵ For his activities, see Mohammed, 'History of the Spread.'

where he won many converts in the first half of the twentieth century and helped to spread Islam among the Ebira.²⁶

Sheikh Yahaya (Tajudeen) was a student of Sheikh Tajul Adab who worked for the Native Authority as a treasurer, an example of the scholars employed by the colonial authority on account of their literacy in Arabic.²⁷ He had followed on the heels of other Ilorin scholars who carried out missionary work among the Ebira, such as alfa Abdulsalam credited with establishing the first Qur'anic School among the Ebira in 1903. When Sheikh Yahaya left colonial service, he was encouraged to settle in Okene by alfa Abdulsalam as a missionary among the Ebira. He was close to the court and was appointed the Chief Imam of Okene.²⁸ When he first arrived in Okene, he had written to his teacher in Ilorin on the status of Islam among the Ebira, which he noted was weak.²⁹

When these scholars moved out of Ilorin, their encounter with modern western mode of doing things influenced their thinking as they tried to adjust their Islamic education system to the new phenomenon of colonial regime. Lagos in particular but also some other Yoruba towns were influential on the reforms in the pedagogy of Islamic education that took place in the colonial period. In response to the challenge of colonial regime and western education, there emerged one after the other a trifurcate response from the scholars of Ilorin. All of the three streams of educational reform in Ilorin began outside of Ilorin, when the reformist scholars were outside Ilorin on missionary endeavors. These reforms they later introduced into Ilorin.

Lagos as the commercial and administrative capital of the country was particularly attractive to Ilorin scholars. It has been mentioned earlier the influence of commercial activities in the spread of Islam and its education. Most citizens of

²⁶ Abdul-Lateef Adekilekun, *Atharul-Shaikh Al-Labeeb Sheikh Tajul- Adab Sh'iran Wanathran*, (Ilorin, Ibrahim Kewulere Press, 2007), 9. He is reputed as always praying for masquerades thus; 'May Allah guide you,' anytime he meets them on the way. The children of these masquerades later became Muslims. This is seen as the answer to his prayers.

²⁷ Muhammad, 'History of the Spread,' 228; Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur fi*, 16., has mentioned how the colonial authority little had choice but to recourse to these scholars until western literate scholars were trained and these replaced them.

²⁸ Aremu Abdulganiy, 'The Contribution of Ilorin Scholars to the Development of Islam in Kabba 1915-2000' (B.A. Long Essay: Islamic Studies-Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 2007), 13.

²⁹ See his letter in the Appendix I, for the Arabic and English translation in -Muhammad, 'History of the Spread,' 416-417. See also Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 231. He addressed his teacher as Shaikh al Islam and Mahdi. This represents the widespread of expectation of the Mahdi among West African Muslims at this period. See Seesemann, *The Divine Flood*, 24.

Lagos by then had become Muslims. Ilorin scholars thus found opportunities to serve as clerics and teachers of religion among them. They in turn respected the Ilorins as the leading light of Islam among the Yoruba speaking people. Unlike Ilorin, which had just come under the influence of colonialism, Lagos has had decades of experience under colonial rule and had been exposed to western ways for long. Even though Lagos Muslims had problems with western education at the initial stage, they had acquiesced early enough and had begun to run their own schools for Muslims in conjunction with the colonial authority.³⁰

Religion was not a state religion in Lagos and thus religion was more of a private affair for Muslims unlike in Ilorin where religion is infused to every facet of life. Muslims and Christians were also living harmoniously together. Lagos Muslims had made contact with the wider Muslim world as shown with the opening of Shitta Bey Mosque in Lagos with a representative of the Sultan of Turkey in attendance.³¹ Syrian traders were also at the coast, exposing Muslims to Arab Muslims like never before. This cosmopolitan ambience influenced two of the three pedagogical schools that later emerged in Ilorin.

While in the late twentieth century, western educated Muslims, especially the intellectuals in western institutions of higher learning articulated the Islamization of knowledge theory, drawing on the experience of the wider Muslim world,³² some of the reformist scholars of Ilorin active in the colonial period could be said to have engaged in modernization praxes without much theorization as the later western institution based scholars would do. The advocates of Islamization of knowledge aim at bringing all knowledge, especially those dominated by the West, into an Islamic episteme.³³ They also legitimized its form and content to a large extent and can be seen as part of the globalization of the western school pattern of frontal classroom teaching, organized in different classes of ascending age, which is adapted in the *madaris*.

The traditional Islamic scholars, on their own, not grounded in western epistemology, simply responded to changing times, realigning Islamic education to contemporary situations as a safeguard against the domineering western education

³⁰ Gbadamosi, *The Growth of*, 176.

³¹ Gbadamosi, *The Growth of*, 168.

³² See Rafiu Ibrahim Adebayo, *Islamization of Knowledge, global developments, individual efforts and institutional contributions* (Kaduna: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2008) for Islamization efforts in Nigeria.

³³ See the following works for the discourse on Islamization of knowledge, Al Attas, *Aims and Objective*; Galadanci (ed.), *Islamisation of Knowledge*; Al Attas Muhammad Naquib, *Islam and Secularism* (kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1993); Siddiqi, 'Islamization of Knowledge.'

system. These praxes were pragmatic and proactive strategies these scholars deployed without much theorization (at least in the western academic sense of it)³⁴ except by rooting their actions in the Qur'an and the Sunnah according to their understanding. Through these strategies, they defended their vocation; at the same time promoting it through some of the modern western methods as well as models from the Arab world.

As Ilorin scholars moved out of Ilorin on missionary activities, their exposure to external influences had some effects on the reformations they were to introduce to Islamic education with far reaching impacts. These influences include modern western ways of living, including its educational and religious system in private and public spheres. Greater communication with the wider world, including parts of the hitherto farther Muslim world, was also an influence. Starting with Sheikh Tajul Adab, his innovative ways began after he had sojourned around the coast and later returned to Ilorin. It was here that he probably came across illustrated Arabic textbooks that he introduced to his students in Ilorin.³⁵ He foresaw the impacts the new phenomena of modernism would have on Muslims. Even though he was wary of some of the new phenomena like the colonial inspired alkali courts, he informed his students of the benefits that would come with the new realities, though only Sheikh Kamalud-deen seemed to have been fully aware of the import of this teaching.³⁶

Adabiyya

The first stream in the educational reforms that emerged in Ilorin was that of the Adabiyya School of pedagogy, rooted in the career of Sheikh Muhammad Jamiu Labib known as Sheikh Tajul Adab,³⁷ as espoused by his illustrious student, Sheikh Muhammad Kamalud-Deen Al Adaby. One of the most illustrious scholars to emerge at that definitive junction of colonial encounter in Ilorin: Sheikh Sheikh Tajul Adab was born in 1877 into a scholarly family of Malian ancestry, the earliest

³⁴ Sheikh Adam engaged with these in his writings. See for example, Al Iluri, *Al Islam fi Nijeriya*, 152-154.

³⁵ Reichmuth, 'Literary Culture and Arabic,'; Shafii, 'Thaqafatul Arabiya fi,' 68.

³⁶ Discussions with Alhaji Waliy Aliy-Kamal. June 2012.

³⁷ For more on the career of this scholar see, Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 228-250; Abubakre and Reichmuth, 'Ilorin and Nupe,' 466 and Yusuf Adebola Bamigboye, 'The Contribution of Sheikh Sheikh Tajul Adab to Arabic and Islamic Learning in Yorubaland' (B.A. Arabic and Islamic Studies Department, University of Ibadan, 1987).

missionaries of Islam among the Yoruba. The father was the fifth Imam Imale³⁸ (1900-1918) Abdulqadir.³⁹ He was a most remarkable missionary and is highly referred and honoured among the scholars of Ilorin of the twentieth century. A number of myths and anecdotes were connected to him.⁴⁰

As a teacher he taught many students who later became prominent scholars not only in Ilorin but also in other parts of Yoruba region and beyond. He graduated his first set of students in 1910 and a second set ten years later in 1920 in Ilorin.⁴¹ He is credited with a number of innovative practices such as the use of illustrated Arabic texts, which was controversial then⁴² and conferment of titles on his students upon graduation.⁴³ Among his prominent students is Imam Muhammad-Lawal Basil Augusto, one of the Brazilian returnee Muslims in Lagos. He was the first Muslim lawyer in Nigeria and actively promoted the acquisition of western education among Muslims. Bamigboye holds that Sheikh Tajul Adab might have learnt some English from him.⁴⁴ This might be the earliest influence of western education among the Adabiyya scholars.

His pedagogy: Before the innovation for which he is much known and which his student Sheikh Kamalud-deen popularized, he was teaching in the old traditional way. He never had a purpose-built school nor taught using blackboard and his students sat on the ground. These aspects of him are what the followers of Sheikh

³⁸ Sheikh Adisa-Onikoko, *The Legacy of Sheikh Muhammad Kamalud-deen al Adaby* (Ilorin: Sat Adis Press, 2008), 21. Imam Imale is the second ranked imam in Ilorin and deputizes for the Chief Imam.

³⁹ Bamigboye, 'The Contribution of Sheikh,' 48; Musa Ali Ajetunmobi, 'Contribution of Ilorin Scholars to the Development of Islam and Islamic Scholarship in Yorubaland' –in- S.A. Jimoh, *Ilorin: Centre of Learning* (Ilorin: Jimson Publishers, 2006), 80.

⁴⁰ Such as his having no teacher, collapsing time and space, praying on levitated mat, having an ability to understand any book and his unknown whereabouts for a decade. There were eschatological expectations regarding him as depicted in the letter written by Shaikh Yahaya Adafila mentioned earlier. See Abubakre and Reichmuth, 'Ilorin and Nupe,' 466; Al Iluri, *Lamahat Al Ballur fi*, 55-58; Bamigboye, 'The Contribution of Sheikh,' 8.

⁴¹ Adisa-Onikoko, *The Legacy of Sheikh*, 21.

⁴² Such as Durus Arabiyya and Al Tamrin Abbasi. He got these from Lagos. Hitherto the only forms of illustrated works found among scholars were the geometric illustrations on Qur'an and religious texts. Shafii, 'Thaqafatul Arabiya fi,' 68. For samples of such geometric illustrations, see Reichmuth, 'Literary Culture and Arabic'.

⁴³ Among his conferees were Sheikh Zakariya Bakini d.1935 (Alfa Omoda) with the title of Tajul Mumeen (Crown of believers); Sheikh Yahaya Adafila d.1956 (Alfa Okene) as Tajudeen (Crown of religion) and Sheikh Muhammad Habeebullah, the youngest of the lot as Kamalud-deen d.2005 (Perfector of religion) among others. Adisa-Onikoko, *The Legacy*, 22

⁴⁴ Lawal Augusto was among the Muslim youths who formed the Literary Society of Nigeria in Lagos, to encourage Muslims to embrace western education in 1915. In 1924, he founded the society, Jamaatul Islamiya of Nigeria. Bamigboye, 'The Contribution of Sheikh,' 67.

Yusuf Agbaji ⁴⁵ hold onto; that the teacher of their teacher (Tajul Mu'meen) said this was how Sheikh Tajul Adab taught. ⁴⁶ It is possible that some of his methods changed in the last one and half decade of his life, corresponding with the time Sheikh Kamalud-Deen spent with him and when he had returned from the unaccounted-for journey, if we take into account the difference in the two pedagogical schools connected to him, namely Zumratul Adabiyya and Zumratul Mu'meen. Most probably, his travels were along the coast where he might have come across new ideas from around the Muslim world. It is possible he had plans along lines Sheikh Kamalud-deen later adopted but he did not live long enough to actualize his plan.

He is said to have taught from memory and duration of study was introduced for his students. He made use of Arabic dictionary, taught Arabic literature and science of Arabic grammar to his students to simplify comprehension of Arabic to his students. ⁴⁷ His travels on the coast may have thus influenced his innovative ways, as it later did in the career of his student, Sheikh Kamalud-deen al Adabiy. Though Bamigboye said he had no set of standard examination for selection and graduation of his students, one presumes he meant written test (like Sheikh Kamalud-deen would later introduce), for he is said to have conferred the title Kamalud-deen ⁴⁸ on Sheikh Kamalud-deen on his passing the test of the study of *Risala*. ⁴⁹

This innovative teaching was no doubt some of the reasons some scholars rejected him. ⁵⁰ His illustrious protégé Sheikh Muhammad Kamalud-deen al Adaby would later experience even stiffer opposition in his own career. He was able to attract and train young people who later became prominent scholars and pioneers of pedagogical schools of thought in their own right. He simplified the teaching of Arabic language so as to make it easier for his student to be able to understand any religious text. Hitherto for the most part, students learn the meaning of works as

⁴⁵ To him is credited the founding of one of the three main pedagogical school in Ilorin, the Zumratul Mu'meenina (makondoro). Their approach to Islamic education would be discussed later in this chapter.

⁴⁶ Discussions with Sheikh Abdulkareem Adaara. 21-7-2012.

⁴⁷ Bamigboye, 'The Contribution of Sheikh,' 19. We can assume this is the root of the simplification of learning and promotion of Arabic as a spoken language that Sheikh Kamalud-deen was later known for.

⁴⁸ This name is often misconstrued as Qamar-deen (moon of religion) and he is popularly called 'Kamaru' in Ilorin. This is due to phonetic similarity of K and Q (not in available Yoruba phonetics) and Yoruba tendency of changing of L for R in speech.

⁴⁹ Bamigboye, 'The Contribution,' 30. *Risala* is a popular Maliki book on jurisprudence.

⁵⁰ Among accusations leveled against him was that no one knew his teacher, so his authority is questionable.

dictated by their teachers in a rote manner⁵¹ and less attention is given to Arabic as a language on its own merit. Studies could last as long as twenty years or more. He was innovative by introducing some form of curriculum and specific texts for his students.

One characteristic of his teaching method was his emphasis on the correct pronunciation of the Arabic words that devolved down to the Adabiyya group to the present time through Sheikh Kamalud-deen al Adabiy. Hence, often Sheikh Kamalud-deen al Adaby would tell his *ajanasi*⁵² (repeater) ‘*a-i’-di-l qiraa,*’ meaning ‘repeat the reading’. To him is also credited the Adabiyya motto *al-adab fawqal ilmi* (etiquette is superior to knowledge).⁵³ Among his innovations is the organizing of a special *wolimat* (feast) for his graduating students where he would bless them and guide the students in choosing places where they might anchor their missionary and scholastic career.⁵⁴ Though this practice could not have started with him, the uniqueness of his style was that since he had a number of young students with him, their *wolimat* would not correspond with their wedding feast as was common practice in Ilorin at that time.

He spent his last years travelling; the route of his missionary endeavor include Offa, Ikirun, Oshogbo, Ede, Iwo, Ibadan, Abeokuta, Ilaro, Otta, Lagos and Badary and as far as Cotonou, mostly on foot. Motor transport was not yet well developed in Nigeria at that time.⁵⁵ In his movements, he did not focus on preaching at the palaces of the kings alone but often engaged in open air preaching, choosing different spots in any town he visited. This method was later adopted by his illustrious pupil Sheikh Kamalud-deen Al Adaby, especially in Ilorin.

In the repertoire of Sheikh Tajul Adab were also his writings. In addition to his career as a teacher, he also authored a number of treatises bothering on grammar, elements of mathematics and poetry. These works includes *Sublah Najah*, *Ala ya*

⁵¹ This was the assumption of the colonial officials for all higher Islamic learning. NAK ‘Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools’ Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

⁵² *Ajanasi* is derived from two words; *ja* from Hausa meaning ‘to draw out long’ and ‘*nassi*’ from Arabic meaning text. ‘A’ prefixed the two words to indicate the subject. *Ajanasi* thus means ‘the one who draws out the text long’. The *Ajanasi* reads out the verses of the Qur’an in a long and drawn out tone preparatory to a scholar exegetical explanation in a sermon of the read verses.

⁵³ He is not known to be hot tempered and took his students’ welfare with utmost concern. His slaughtering two goats on an occasion to feed his students is often cited as an example of his generosity. Bamigboye, ‘The Contribution,’ 65.

⁵⁴ Bamigboye, ‘The Contribution,’ 32; Al Iluri, *Lamahat Al Ballur*, 72.

⁵⁵ Bamigboye, ‘The Contribution,’ 48; Ajetunmobi, ‘Contribution of Ilorin,’ 86.

Murida,⁵⁶ and *'aadid* etc. Sheikh Tajul Adab⁵⁷ came at that important period of Ilorin's encounter with colonialism, westernization and the many changes they brought on the people's consciousness and ways of life. He was eclectic in his approach to these phenomena; hence we can see variety in the approaches of his students and grand students to these phenomena. He is said to have foretold of the power and influence that western education is going to have on the people, to his student Kamalud-deen.⁵⁸ This must have been a major factor in the toleration of western education that Kamalud-deen would later adopt in his career. Despite this realization, Sheikh Tajul Adab had misgivings about the colonial order and was wary of it. This ambiguity is further attested by the fact that his student Sheikh Yahaya Adafila accepted to work with the NA and he does not appear to have objected or dissuaded him from doing so.⁵⁹

Much of what is known of Sheikh Tajul Adab came down through his pupils especially through the educational activities of his remarkable pupil, Sheikh Muhammad Kamalud-deen al Adabiyy, who sojourned with him in his last years. Sheikh Tajul Adab passed away in 1923 at the remarkably young age of thirty-eight in Abeokuta, where he had gone to stay and Sheikh Kamalud-deen was with him when he passed away.⁶⁰ It is noteworthy that this renowned scholar is the precursor of the innovative scholars of the twentieth century in Ilorin. The leaders of the three major schools of thought in Islamic education in Ilorin were connected to him,

⁵⁶ Sheikh Ahmad Tijani Adisa-Onikoko, *The Legacy*, 26. This book was edited and commented upon by Sheikh Khidru Salahudeen Apaokagi and was published as *Al-Manzumatur Nahwiyyatul Adabiyyah*, dated 1993.

⁵⁷ He comes across as a very confident scholar in the manner of Sufi scholars (of which he was one) as can be seen in the eschatological position attributed to him by his students or as discernible in his poems such as "Sun of religion" or in *'aadid*'. See Al Iluri, *Lamahat Al Ballur*, 116; Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 233 and Bamigboye, 'The Contribution,' 60.

⁵⁸ Discussions with Alhaji A.K.W. Aliy-Kamal, June 2012.

⁵⁹ He appears to have avoided the colonial authority in all his endeavors. An example was when his brother was appointed a qadi in the new colonial sharia court. He was averse to it, saying it would draw anyone into worldly things and corruption. He changed his living quarters to avoid meeting his brother. His fears were not unfounded as the colonial authority itself had to disband the initial courts on allegation of prevalent corruption. This attitude we can assume was the aspect of his character that flowed down to Zumratul Mu'meenina through his khalifa, Sheikh Zakariya Bakini (alfa Omoda). The scholars would all be aware of the circumstances in which Sheikh Abubakar Ikororo was relieved of his appointment in 1911 by the colonial authority. This would have further alienated the scholar class from colonial institution as a corrupt or corrupting institution. Rhodes House, Dwyer's Report 958 'Extract from Letter to the Private Secretary, To His Excellency, The High Commissioner, Jebba. Dated 24th April 1902'; Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 179; Abubakre and Reichmuth, 'Ilorin and Nupe,' 445-446; Discussions with Alhaji Aliyu Bayo Sallah. November, 2012.

⁶⁰ Bamigboye, 'The Contribution,' 1.

directly or indirectly. When Sheikh Tajul Adab passed away, Sheikh Muhammad Kamalud-deen carried on his educational legacy.

Sheikh Muhammad Kamalud-deen al Adabiy was born in 1907,⁶¹ and had his Qur'anic education at Babaita Qur'anic School under Alfa Salahudeen Ahmad Tijjani. He studied Qur'an also with his father and also learned weaving under him.⁶² His next teacher, Sheikh Tajul Adab, took note of him and requested for him to be released to him from his parents. The father was initially reluctant but Sheikh Tajul Adab persisted and young Kamalud-deen was released to him. He is said to have finished his Qur'an studies in 1919 at twelve years of age and began his studies the same year with Sheikh Tajul Adab. He followed his teacher around Yoruba towns that he visited and was with him in Abeokuta when Sheikh Tajul Adab passed away in 1923.⁶³ Thereafter he moved to Lagos where two years later he established a school named *Az-Zumratu Adabiyah li Taalim lughatul Arabiyya wa Thaqafiya* and was also conducting open air preaching.⁶⁴ When he started out, he was teaching sitting on the ground in the traditional way, both in his school in Lagos and that of Ilorin that he started later around 1928/1930, just like his teacher.⁶⁵ Not much is known of this early period.⁶⁶

When he began his innovation in 1938 we began to have some more information about his activities.⁶⁷ The school was located at No.15, Ojo Giwa Street, in Lagos Island. It was here that he began his reformations that would have a lasting impact on Islamic education throughout southwestern Nigerian and beyond. The use of benches and table for his student and the use of black board for instructing his students began here as well. A year earlier, he had gone on the pilgrimage to Mecca,

⁶¹ Abubakre and Reichmuth, 'Ilorin and Nupe,' 469.

⁶² Muhammad Yakubu Aliagan, (Arabic) *Shaykh Muhammad Kamalud-deen Al Adabiyy* (Ilorin: NNI Publishers, 2001), 21.

⁶³ Sheikh Ahmad Tijani Adisa-Onikoko, *The Cradle Rocker* (Ilorin: Sat Adis Press, 1997), 15; Aliagan, *Shaykh Muhammad Kamalud-deen*, 27. For Sheikh Tajul Adab's stay in Abeokuta see Bamigboye, 'The Contribution,' 52-58.

⁶⁴ Sheikh Kamalud-deen like his teacher Sheikh Tajul Adab began his career as a preacher. He first had the experience as a public preacher at Ohunbo, a town between Nigeria and Porto Novo in 1920 on the prompting of his teacher Sheikh Sheikh Tajul Adab. He was still a teenager at this time. Adisa-Onikoko, *The Cradle Rocker*, 15-16; Aliagan, *Shaykh Muhammad Kamalud-deen*, 26.

⁶⁵ Aliagan, *Shaykh Muhammad Kamalud-deen*, 26.

⁶⁶ Apparently it took him over ten years from the time he started his career in Lagos to begin with his reform experiments, during which time he must have observed the Ansar-ud-deen Society and their schools as well as government schools.

⁶⁷ He had begun his school in Lagos as early as 1926 but the use of benches and blackboard which signaled the adoption of elements of western school model began in 1938. Discussion with Khalifa Adabiyya, Sheikh Sofiyullah al Adabiyy. 1-9-2012; Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 237.

taking along with him one of his students, Aliyu Olukade. He spent six months on the journey, though at the time, it could take people as much as a year for the journey. This journey, among other experiences influenced his new methods.⁶⁸

The people of Lagos, mostly Muslims, already well exposed to the modern phenomena accepted his innovations without apprehension. He started with twenty two pupils in Lagos and with six benches. When the school started, he had his students march from the school in Ojo Giwa Street to Onala, through Idumagbo and Jankara and then returned to Ojo Giwa Street where they had started out. This parade resulted in increased enrolment in the school which rose to over seventy pupils by the end of the month and the venue and furniture could no longer be enough for the population. Many prominent Muslim families in Lagos Island brought their children to the school.⁶⁹ The early Christian missionaries had similarly used parades round towns to attract people to their mission.⁷⁰ Sheikh Kamaluddeen would have seen this in Lagos in the twenties and the effect it was having on Muslim youths who were attracted by such parades, especially from such organizations as the Boys Scout and Boys Brigade (in smart uniforms) to be found in public schools and churches. From Ojo Giwa Street the school moved to several places to accommodate the students' growing population.

In Lagos, the school lessons were taking place in the evenings from Mondays through to Fridays to allow for the students to attend public schools but on Saturdays and Sundays, the lessons were held in the morning. When the school had grown, wearing of uniform dress was introduced.

⁶⁸ Abubakre and Reichmuth, 'Ilorin and Nupe,' 469.

⁶⁹ Discussion with Khalifa Adabiyya, Sheikh Sofiyullah al Adabiyy. 1-9-2012.

⁷⁰ Nasiru, 'Islamic Learning Among,' 92.



Fig. 7. Sheikh Tajul Adab. Picture from the cover of his hagiography by Sheikh Ahmed Abdullahi Onikijipa.



Fig. 8. Sheikh Muhammad Habibullah Kamalud-deen Al-Adaby. Source: Brochure commemorating the opening of the New Ilorin Central Mosque in 1981.

Thereafter, he returned to Ilorin where he reformed the Ilorin school and named it Ma'had al-ulum al-'arabiyya li-l-Jama'a al-Adabiyya and had his first set of student for the reformed school in 1943.⁷¹ When he started the experiment in Ilorin, the students began with wearing a uniform of white dress, taking after the Lagos school. Unlike Lagos, his innovation of using chairs and tables, blackboard and uniform was not wholly welcome in Ilorin.⁷² He was accused of introducing unwholesome innovations. His teaching was labeled '*kewu shaitan*' (devil's learning).⁷³ The method was strange to the scholars and he was stoutly opposed. While some openly opposed him, some supported him even if they did not follow his example. More than the facilities of learning that he introduced, his methods were opposed as contradicting the tradition of learning. For example, he reduced the number of years it took then to finish the study of the Qur'an. What in the old traditional system could take between a few years and up to ten years or even more

⁷¹ Adisa-Onikoko, *The Cradle Rocker*, 16. See also Adisa-Onikoko, *The Legacy*, 34; Discussion with Khalifah Adabiyya, Sheikh Sofiyullah Kamalud-deen al Adabiyy. 1-9-2012.

⁷² Western education itself was still struggling for acceptance in Ilorin at this period.

⁷³ Discussion with Alhaji Saadu Kuranga. 3-9-12 and Discussions with Alfa Ibrahim Alfa.5-6-2012.

was reduced to between six months to less than two years in his school through structured teaching.⁷⁴

This had economic and social status implications for scholars using the traditional system. For the scholars against his reforms, depending largely on the stipends and gifts they get from parents; reduction in the number of years of study is tantamount to reducing the availability of such gifts. Taken together with the new monetized economic order (they also had to pay tax), the position of the scholars was vulnerable. Moreover, most of these scholars had learned in the old hard way and were reluctant or unwilling to suddenly make such knowledge available easily. To do so, they believed it would reduce the value of the knowledge and the prestige that goes with it.⁷⁵

Students in his school had study duration and were examined at the end of a course of study. The para-military parade he had used successfully in Lagos was also introduced to the school in Ilorin. Arabic words were used for marching commands such as *yasar* (left) and *yamin* (right).⁷⁶ Other schools later took after the use of the parade especially during celebrations such as the annual *maulud nabi* (the Prophet's birthday).⁷⁷ The students would march round the streets before rounding up in front of the emir's palace, during public celebrations of the *maulud nabi*. The open air celebrations of the *maulud nabi* had been pioneered by Sheikh Kamaluddeen as well.⁷⁸ It became a communal celebration in front of the emir's palace with various scholars and their students participating.

He was using the book, *Muftahu Lughatul Arabiya* to teach his pupils to read in Arabic and had them memorize it. The students were taught in such a way they

⁷⁴ Aliagan, *Shaykh Muhammad Kamalud-deen*, 27; Discussions with Alfa Mumeen Ayara. 11-9-2012.

⁷⁵ These reforms were met with stiff resistance as something alien to the people and their religion by other scholars. The reformer faced many obstacles such as stoning, cursing and being chased away from preaching grounds around the city. He and his students would then retreat to the front of the emir's palace. In the last forty years of his life, he became the most revered scholar and was made the *mufti* of Ilorin. The ideals for which he was vilified had since become the norm in the city. Interviews with Sheikh Ahmad Adisa-Onikoko, 21 June 2012 and Prince Salman Abdulkadir, December, 2012.

⁷⁶ Discussions with Alhaji Saadu Kuranga 3-9-12 and Alfa M umeen Ayara 6-4-2013.

⁷⁷ The Gbagba Qur'anic School, for example, took after this practice even though the school did not integrate western and Islamic education. Discussions with Imam Ahmad Yahaya Maisolati, 16-6-2012 and Imam Ajia, Muhammad Bello. 9-6-12.

⁷⁸ Discussions with Khalifa Adabiyah- Sheikh Sofiyullah Kamalud-deen AlAdabiyi. 1-9-2012.

could read any Arabic text ⁷⁹ and the book also contained some lessons on *adab*. The meanings of the shorter verses of the Qur'an were taught to his students, especially the last 1/30th of the Qur'an. Memorization of the passages from the Qur'an was included in the training of his students. These were new methods: in the old traditional method, it took a longer time before students were exposed to the meaning of words, usually after the recitational study of the Qur'an. A love of Arabic language and literature was cultivated in his students. They could therefore communicate in Arabic in spoken and written forms. *Nahw* (syntax) was taught using the four volumes *Durusul Awwaliya*.⁸⁰

The reforms of Sheikh Kamalud-deen included the grouping of his students into classes of students on the same educational level as in the government schools. He had a syllabus drawn up and there was continuous assessment and a final examination. Students were promoted based on their performance. He introduced the use of registers for record purpose. Specific textbooks were being used for specific levels of the students. Subjects like geography, history, logic and arithmetic that are only ancillary to the religious subjects were introduced. Elementary English was also included. Certificates were awarded to his students at the end of their studies.⁸¹ His students were paying tuition fees from which he paid his teachers.⁸² He dispensed with the traditional one teacher school.⁸³ When the population of this school increased, he rented a building not far from the school until he was able to complete another building in 1969.⁸⁴ He also latched onto Yoruba penchant for drama; he used this to dramatize the roles of Muslim heroes and to display Arabic speaking skills of his students. These were usually performed during Muslim festivals such as the celebration of the Prophet's birthday, during graduations of his students and in public places like Glover Hall in Lagos.⁸⁵

He mentored his students by employing them to work for him and also sending them on missionary works to other areas.⁸⁶ In this way, he kept his graduates

⁷⁹ One of the criticism of the colonial officials of the Islamic education system is that lessons are 'parrot wise' even for the advanced studies. Sheikh Kamalud-deen was already working away from this system but it does not appear that his effort was known to the colonial authority.

⁸⁰ Discussions with Imam Shehu Ahmad Warah. 4-9-2012.

⁸¹ Lukman Hassan Muhammad, 'The Life and Works of Sheikh Muhammad Kamalud-deen al Adaby and his Contribution to the Development of Islamic Education' (Faculty of Education, Ekiti State University (2012), 28-29.

⁸² NAK 'Al Adabiyya Moslem School' Iloprof file No. 4659. See Appendix VI.

⁸³ Nasiru, 'Islamic Learning,' 153.

⁸⁴ Nasiru, 'Islamic Learning,' 153.

⁸⁵ Discussion with Sheikh Salman Olarongbe Abdulkadir. November 2012.

⁸⁶ Muhammad, 'The Life and Works,' 29

employed and curtailed unemployment that a surplus of scholars that his shortened duration of study would have caused and would have given his detractors further opportunity to criticize him. An example would suffice here. The Igbomina⁸⁷ people in Lagos complained to him that their children at home in Ijomu Oro were being exposed to Christianity and wanted him to start a combined school like the one in Ilorin at Ijomu Oro. He therefore sent one of his students, Shehu Ahmad Warah to go and start a Qur'anic school in Ijomu Oro. He told the parents to exercise patient; that the Qur'anic School would be established first and later western education would be introduced into the Qur'anic School.⁸⁸ His experience of running the school in Ilorin and perhaps financial constraints would have informed this gradualist approach.

By the mid-forties, western education had become popular among the people in Ilorin. People could see that the graduates of western education were becoming new elites in the society and this was affecting Islamic education, even for a reformed school as Sheikh Kamalud-Deen's school. As one of the colonial officials noted of that period, learning to read and write in English was becoming popular in town and many had acquired these skills on their own from traders and clerks from the south. Some of these found their way into his reformed school, especially after he established the western primary school in 1946 and they could blend with his innovations.⁸⁹ The physical layout of the western schools, availability of sports, voluntary organizations such as Boy Scouts and Boys Brigade⁹⁰ and the economic implications of having western education were attracting students away from Qur'anic schools. Some of his students were leaving for the western schools and he began to think of a way to arrest this drift.

Though some clerics blamed him for introducing western education into the Islamic education system in Ilorin, it is discernible he was reluctant to introduce it and had to do so when students began to drift away. He saw that Muslims would lose their children to western education completely if nothing was done to arrest the drift. His argument was that if Muslims were trained in western education, it is these Muslims that would later replace the Christian teachers that were giving the Muslims concern. During one of his graduation ceremonies, one of his guests, after seeing the display of Arabic speaking skills of his students advised him concerning his

⁸⁷ The Igbominas are neighbours to the Ilorins to the south and many of them were based in Lagos as businessmen, sending their children home to study away from the corrupting influence of Lagos and for the children to be familiar with their roots.

⁸⁸ Discussions with Imam Shehu Ahmad Warah. 4-9-2012.

⁸⁹ NAK 'Proposed Classes for Koran Teachers' Iloprof file No. 2276; Discussions with Alfa Ibrahim Alfa. 5-6-2012 and Mr Emmanuel Afolabi. 8-9-2012.

⁹⁰ Nasiru, 'Islamic Learning,' 143.

school. While commending his efforts and noble intention: his students could speak Arabic, but that all these alone would hardly get them anywhere in the modern system unless they have some western education with it.⁹¹ It means the social mobility of his students would be limited despite all their efforts and knowledge.

This observation, the foresight of his teacher, his own experience of what obtained in Lagos and the drifting away of his students must have finally convinced him of the need to introduce western education subjects into his school. His experience in Lagos convinced him of the benefit in Muslims having some western learning. The influence of Ansar-ud-deen Society on his reform is instructive here, as can also be seen in the name of the organization he would later establish, the Ansarul Islam Society.⁹² Ansarud-deen Society have made remarkable progress among the Yoruba in the south and this greatly influenced his own decisions.

The opposition he had experienced reforming his Qur'anic and Arabic School was likely to have held him down from introducing the western education into his school before then. In 1946, he made the important decision to have a western primary school of his own. He applied to the colonial authority to start his school as the manager of the school. He named it Al Adabiyya Moslem School, Ilorin. In the application dated 11-7-1946, the school would be managed by a committee of four people, Alhaji Kamalud-deen, Alfa Salmanu, Alhaji Jamiu Arowolo and Alhadj Salmanu. It was proposed to be an elementary school, taking mixed students and no boarder. Funding of the school will come from school fees, contributions and subscriptions from members of Adabiyya and Ansarul Islam Society.⁹³ The medium of instruction would be in vernacular at first, and then English would be introduced later.⁹⁴

Sheikh Kamalud-Deen requested the land of the new school from the owners who gave it to him and the emir was a witness to this transfer and recommended the school for approval, describing him as 'a good man.'⁹⁵ He thus became the first individual to formally start a formal private school in Ilorin both in the Islamic and

⁹¹ Discussions with Sheikh Abdulkareem Adaara. 21-7-2012.

⁹² The two organizations collaborated with Ansarul Islam supplying Arabic teachers to Ansar-ud-deen and Ansar-ud-deen supplying teachers of western schools to Ansarul Islam. . Discussions with Sheikh Ahmad Tijjani Adisa-Onikoko. 21-6-2012.and Muqadam Yahaya Adabata. 21-7-2014.

⁹³ Like the Ansar-ud-deen Society, Sheikh Kamalud-deen had established Ansarul Islam Society as a missionary organization in 1943.

⁹⁴ NAK 'Adabiyya Moslem School.' Iloprof file No. 4659. See Appendix V.

⁹⁵ NAK 'Adabiyya Moslem School.' Iloprof file No. 4659; Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 240 and Discussions with Khalifa Adabiyyah Sheikh Sofiyullah Kamalud-deen Al Adabiy.1-9-2012.

western sense of it. Three years earlier, a group of Ilorin indigenes and some Christian breakaway group from a church had started the first community western school in Ilorin.⁹⁶ Now adding the much impugned western education, his new project further angered the people who were against his earlier reforms. The school was derisively referred to as 'ile-iwe *abe petesi*'⁹⁷ ('under the storey building' school). He had started his school under his one-storey building. A year later Ansarul Islam Society built a block of three classrooms roofed with thatch for the school.⁹⁸

When he started the elementary school, not many parents of his students were aware of the new development and thought the school was still the reformed Qur'anic School.⁹⁹ He employed three teachers headed by Mr Kazeem Oyekole. He was assisted by Mr Omishade who is a Christian and another English language teacher. He balanced these with three Islamic/Arabic teachers, who had been his students. He employed Christian teachers and admitted Christian students.¹⁰⁰ His school unlike the conventional government and Christian mission schools had a different study regime. Its focus was to get Muslims to be learned in the western subjects but with a strong background in Islamic education. He structured the lessons such that in the morning between 7:00 o'clock and 8:00 o'clock, religious education in Arabic and vernacular is given to the students. Then the morning assembly is held. On the assembly ground the school band would play and the students would sing in Arabic such songs as '*halan wa saalan wa marhaba bikum.*'¹⁰¹ At the beginning of each day the students were made to recite the ninety-nine names of Allah in a

⁹⁶ Established by Ilorin United School Society, it was Named United School. Elias Yahaya, 'The Establishment and Development of Western Education in Ilorin Township 1900-1960' (MA History Dissertation, University of Ilorin,1998), 51-53; Adisa-Onikoko, *Cradle Rocker*, 92; Jimoh, *Ilorin the Journey*, 261.

⁹⁷ The NA workers under whom all western education school had been until then mocked his effort. Discussions with Sheikh Ahmad Tijjani Adisa-Onikoko. 21-6-2012.

⁹⁸ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in,' 84.

⁹⁹ His fear was that many parents would be scared into taking their children away. So that at the initial stage the school operated covertly by not announcing its new status. Discussions with Imam Shehu Ahmad Warah. 4-9-2012.

¹⁰⁰ Mr Emmanuel Afolabi was one of the few Christian students who joined his school. His parents were also apprehensive that he may convert to Islam and warned him against it or he would forfeit his education. He was considered too old to go school in the first place but his personal efforts at learning and through the encouragement of one of the teachers in the school led him to enroll in the school. Discussions. 8-9-2012.

¹⁰¹ It means 'You are most welcome.' Discussions with Mr Emmanuel Afolabi. Ogbomosh. 8-9-2012.

merry-go-round, each student pronouncing just a name. This way all students were able to memorize the ninety-nine names of Allah.¹⁰²

From 8:00 am till 1:00 pm, the lessons in western education are held. Between 1:00 p.m and 2:00 p.m, the *mualimuna* (sing. *mualim* (teachers) took the students again in religious subjects. The school thus began and closed with religious study every day. Subjects in the western section included English language, arithmetic, reading and writing, geography, history, hygiene and nature studies. In the Arabic/Islamic section, the subjects included Al-Qur'an (Qur'an recitation) *tajwid* (the science of Qur'an recitation), *tafsir* (Qur'an exegesis), *al-Diyanah* (Islamic doctrines), *fiqh* (jurisprudence) *al-Arabiyya* (Arabic literature), *nahw* (syntax), *sarf* (morphology), *sirah* (biography of the prophet and the early companions) and hadith (traditions of the prophet).¹⁰³ The students were trained to memorize 1/30th of the Qur'an and some special chapters such as Suratul Yasin.¹⁰⁴

This system lasted between 1947 when the school opened and 1976, by which time the Federal Government of Nigeria had introduced the Universal Primary Education and the State Government took over the school, a period of about twenty-nine years. This school had its own band, Boy Scouts and sports and games,¹⁰⁵ the very facilities attracting Muslim youths away from Qur'anic schools in the colonial period.¹⁰⁶ This integrated school produced many Muslims who were well grounded in Islamic education and western education in Ilorin.

The students were taught to be able to communicate in Arabic through writing (*khatt*) and dictation (*imla'*) lessons. While the western section was elementary, many aspects of the Arabic and Islamic section were not elementary as would be revealed in the next chapter. For example, jurisprudence can hardly be called elementary, though there are elementary aspects of it. The graduates of the school would form the nucleus of western educated Ilorin people in post- independence Nigeria and who held key positions in both government and in the private sectors within Ilorin as a state capital and at the national level. Despite these laudable efforts of the school, the certificate of the school was not recognized by the

¹⁰² Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education,' 93; Discussions with Engr. Kola Ibrahim. 5-10-2012; Discussions with Mr Emmanuel Afolabi. 8-9-2012.

¹⁰³ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education,' 86.

¹⁰⁴ Qur'an. Chapter 36. Discussions with Engr. Kola Ibrahim. 5-10-2012.

¹⁰⁵ One of the *mualims*, Sheikh Abdulraheem Aminullah was the game master for the students. Popularly known as Oniwasi Agabaye (worldwide preacher). He would become a prominent scholar establishing his own school in the early 1970s. He passed away in 2012.

¹⁰⁶ Discussions with Engr. Kola Ibrahim. 5-10-2012 and Alfa Ibrahim Alfa. 5-6-2012.

authority until 1957.¹⁰⁷ For the graduates of the school to proceed to higher levels of western education they had to sit for the School Leaving Certificate examination in government schools.¹⁰⁸ This Adabiyya system would continue into the early years of independence when additional progress was made. This would be treated in the next chapter.

Zumratul Mu'meenina (Makondoro)

One of the consequences Sheikh Tajul Adab's mentoring of scholars as well as the general missionary endeavors of Ilorin scholars was the emergence of the Zumratul Mu'meenina as a distinct group of Muslim scholars. They formed a second stream of pedagogical school that emerged in Ilorin in the colonial period. Like the Adabiyya School, it is also connected to the work of Sheikh Tajul Adab, although indirectly, and had resulted from missionary endeavor to outside of Ilorin. In all, the origin of the group has been linked to four individuals but in a non-controversial way. Kankawi in his thesis explicates on these four views. The first view tagged the origin to Sheikh Sheikh Tajul Adab, because he was the grand teacher of the Zumratul Mu'meenina and at the initial stage, the group had been referring to themselves as Zumratul Sheikh Tajul Adab.¹⁰⁹

The second view, linked to Adekilekun,¹¹⁰ stated that the origin of the group lies with Sheikh Zakariya Bakini (Tajul Mumeen).¹¹¹ The argument being that Sheikh Tajul Mumeen was the teacher of Sheikh Yusuf and it was his name the group

¹⁰⁷ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education,' 88. It is situations like this that some Muslim political activists have in mind when they argued that political authority should precede Islamization of knowledge. We see political authority not favorable to an Islamization project in this instance. Galadanci (ed.), *Islamisation of Knowledge*, 15.

¹⁰⁸ Adisa-Onikoko, *The Cradle Rocker*, 55-58; Adisa-Onikoko, *The Legacy of*, especially Chapter five; Discussions with Sheikh Salman Olarongbe Abdulkadir (Daudu Ballah). November 2012.

¹⁰⁹ Uthman Idrees Kankawi, 'Intajat l Arabiyyah Ladiy Zumratul Muminu fi Nijeriyya: Dirastu Tahliliyyah' (An Analytical Study of Arabic Literary Products of the Zumratul-Mu'minin of Nigeria (Makondoro), (PhD Thesis: Department of Arabic, University of Ilorin, 2012), 69-72.

¹¹⁰ Adekilekun, *Atharul-Shaikh Al-labeeb*, 10.

¹¹¹ Sheikh Zakariya Bakini Tajul Mu'meen (Crown of Believers) (d.1935) also referred to as Alfa Omoda was one of the leading students of Sheikh Sheikh Tajul Adab as well as his friend. When the later died, he took on some of his students. Alfa Omoda would go on to train and inspire many of the notable scholars of Ilorin. Like his teacher and other scholars, he too went on missionary endeavor to Abeokuta. While in Abeokuta, the people of Ibadan requested of him to send them a teacher. Alfa Omoda then sent a telegraph to two of his students, Alhaji Yahaya of Ile Okoh in Lagos and Sheikh Yusuf Agbaji al Hamdaniyu in Ilorin to answer the call of Ibadan people. Sheikh Yusuf Agbaji got to Ibadan before Alhaji Yahaya and took on the role. This was in the 1930s. Discussions with Sheikh Abdulkareem Adaara, Agbaji, 22-7-2012.

finally adopted for their organization. The third view linked the origin of the group to Sheikh Yusuf Al Hamdaniyu bn Adaara Agbaji.¹¹² This is the view of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri¹¹³ and the group also pinned their origin to him, though they acknowledged his teacher, Sheikh Zakariya Bakini as well as Sheikh Tajul Adab. The fourth view credited the founding of the group to Alfa Bamidele, who it is widely acknowledged as having galvanized the group and popularized their activities and characteristics.¹¹⁴

The first two views based their argument on the *silsila* (chain of authority) of the group- Sheikh Tajul Adab- Sheikh Zakariya Tajul Mumeen- Yusuf Al Hamdani- Alfa Bamidele. The last two based their argument on the active involvement of the scholars Sheikh Yusuf Al Hamdani and Alfa Bamidele in the group formation and activities. The non-controversial nature of the classification is based on the validity of their various arguments. The hierarchical nature of Muslim learning presupposes a deep respect for one's teachers, hence the validity of the first two views. While Sheikh Yusuf may not have intended to form any group let alone give it any name, his missionary and intellectual activity inspired his disciples to form the group, considering themselves distinct from others. While Alfa Bamidele never laid claim to having founded the group, his vigorous propagation of the group's doctrine greatly contributed to the spread of the group all over Yoruba region.¹¹⁵

The group members are generally referred to as *makondoro* by the people.¹¹⁶ Although members of the group do not refer to themselves as *makondoro* but they also never took offence being called so. They see it as society's way of identifying them which is also a signifier of their uniqueness. Many interpretations have been given to the meaning of this word. Yoruba, being a tonal language gives room for

¹¹² While in Ibadan Sheikh Yusuf (student to Sheikh Tajul Mu'meen) trained many scholars from all over Yoruba region. These students then suggested that their group ought to have a name like the other Muslim groups such as Nawairud-deen, Ansarud-deen that had been in existence for some time by then. The name and organization of the group came through the promptings of the students. They suggested naming their group Zumratul Yusuf Al Hamdaniyu. However, Sheikh Yusuf told the group to name it after his teacher, Sheikh Zakariya Bakini-Sheikh Tajul Mu'meen- hence the name of the group Zumratul Mu'meenina. Sheikh Yusuf never intended starting a group and from development of the group, it is discernible he was merely the inspiration as the teacher of the group. Sheikh Yusuf later returned to Ilorin where he continued to teach till he passed away in 1979.

¹¹³ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur fi*, 65.

¹¹⁴ Kankawi, 'Intajat l Arabiyyah Ladiy,' 69-72.

¹¹⁵ Rasheed A. Raji, 'The Makondoro Muslims of Nigeria: Continuity Through Learning Strategies,' *Journal of Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Volume 11:1 (1990).

¹¹⁶ On the group, see also Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 242-250.

the various interpretations. Some say it a derivative of ‘*imo kodoro*’¹¹⁷ (pure knowledge), others say it is from ‘*mo kodoro*’ (clean shaven)¹¹⁸ because the scholars tend to keep their head clean shaven. However, the name *makondoro*, according to one of their leaders, was derived from an innocuous act by one of the disciples of Sheikh Yusuf during the wedding ceremony in 1960 (he had retired to live Ilorin in 1957) of his daughter.¹¹⁹



Fig. 9. Members of the Zumratul Mu'meenina (*Makondoro*) in their typical dressing at an occasion. Picture courtesy Alfa AbdulSalam Alalukurani, 2013.

¹¹⁷ Daud Olayinka Abubakr, ‘Zumratul Mu'minina (makondoro)’ (B.A. Long Essay: Islamic Studies-Department of Religion, University of Ilorin, 1986), 13; A popular singer, Alhaji Labaika popularized this through one of his songs.

¹¹⁸ Raji, ‘The Makondoro Muslims,’ 153.

¹¹⁹ To add colour to his humble gift of a carved wooden calabash called *makongoro*, the disciple chanted ‘*makongoro, makongoro, makongoro...*’ *Makondoro* was thereafter derived from this and as the meanings of the new derivative word ‘pure knowledge’ and ‘clean shaven’ aptly fits the characteristics of the group, the name stuck and people have little or no doubt as to the authenticity of the meaning though they do not know the origin of the name. The indifference of the group to the name also contributed to perpetuation of the connotation. They are well known for the use of *waka* or song in their teaching and preaching. Kankawi, ‘Intajat I Arabiyyah,’ 88; Aliy-Kamal, ‘Islamic Education,’ 62; Discussions with Sheikh Abdulkareem Adaara, Agbaji, 22-7-2012. See M.M. Jimba, *Ilorin-Waka A Literary, Islamic and Popular Art* (Ilorin: Taofiqullahi Publishing Houses, 1997), 15-16, for samples of their *waka* (songs).

While in Ibadan Sheikh Yusuf had many students come to him from Ilorin but also from all over Yoruba region. These students, when they returned back to their places established their own schools and spread the doctrine of the group among their disciples. These disciples were to spread the groups' teaching all over Yoruba region.¹²⁰ In Ilorin, though they can be found in most locations, Agbaji quarters where Sheikh Yusuf lived and Pakata are locations where they can be found with some concentration.

The missionary activities of the *Zumratul mu'meenina* centered essentially in knowledge reproduction. Their educational philosophy can be traced to three main sources. Like everything Islamic, the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the prophet forms the core. This, as expounded by their teachers; from Sheikh Tajul Adab, through Sheikh Zakariya to Sheikh Yusuf Agbaji, form the second source of their philosophy. A third corroborating source is the educational philosophy of Al-Zarnuji as expounded in his book.¹²¹ Basically their philosophy of education is rooted in the religion like every other Muslims; it is an extension of the religious praxis and is aimed at positive hereafter. In this they are no different from other Muslims.

It is in their methods that they differ from other Muslims in Ilorin. Coming into prominence at the height of colonial rule, the reality of the time influenced their attitude toward education. Their method formed a second stream of response to colonial inspired western education. Knowing fully well that colonialism came at the expense of Muslim rule, now subject to its authority and the agents of this new order (Christian colonial officers); the group rejected western education. Western education, in their view, is only about deception. According to them, it is concerned with the multiplication of material values; 'how to turn ten to a hundred, a hundred to a thousand.'¹²² In their view, the disciple of western education learns how to deceive and is not concerned with the hereafter. It is in essence a *nasara* (Christian)

¹²⁰ This resulted in a variety of names for the group according to the locality in which they are based. In Ibadan where the formation of the group began, they are referred to as *Bandele* (after their leader Alfa Bamidele) or *Sangiliti* (purely or solely), a splinter group. In Offa they are known as *Ambee* or *Aiyegbami*, at Ado Ekiti, they became known as *Dandawi*. In Ikirun, they are known as *faya* ('tear it' - derived from their constant fights against traditional religionists). Raji, 'The Makondoro Muslims' 154; Abubakr, 'Zumratul Mu'mininina (makondoro),' 4.

¹²¹ Burhan al Din Al-Zarnuji 602AH/1223CE, is the author of the celebrated pedagogical treatise *Ta'līm al-Muta'allim-Tarīq at-Ta'allum (Instruction of the Student: The Method of Learning)*. Especially his sartorial recommendations. See Kankawi, 'Intajat l Arabiyyah Ladiy,' 79.

¹²² Discussions with Sheikh Muhammad Hashimiyu Alfaanla Okutagidi. 14-7-2012, and Sheikh Abdulkareem Adaara. Agbaji, 22-7-2012.

and *yehudi* (Jewish) doctrine and as such could only mislead the Muslims. The propagation of the religious education is therefore paramount to the group. Hence, all their praxes revolve around religious education.

They not only rejected western education, especially in the early period, but also rejected appropriating aspects of the organization of the system which other Muslim groups such as Ansarud-deen and Ansarul Islam Societies had appropriated.¹²³ The Prophet, they argue, never taught using the chair, table, blackboard or exercise book; therefore, to do so is to deviate from the Sunnah. They also argued that their teacher informed them, that Sheikh Tajul Adab never taught using table, chair or chalk but rather through the traditional siting *halqa* (circle) around the teacher. Following these precedents therefore, they rejected any reform of Islamic educational method. Those who have done so have only deviated from the right path, they argued.

Their method and lifestyle is Spartan, in which the teacher takes responsibility for his students, most of whom would be living with him, the teacher taking no payment for the training except what may be willingly given. Payment is only to be expected in the hereafter as a reward for their efforts. They also placed little emphasis on the mastery of Arabic as a language as the modernist reformers have done. Their argument is that piety is more important than mastery of Arabic.¹²⁴ They imbibe in their students a great reverence for their teachers that remains with them beyond their student days. This discipline and respect for one's teachers, the group argues is not in the western system. This is akin to what Al Attas referred to as a leveling of authority in the western system.¹²⁵

Their students are trained to live without luxury and the teachers themselves serve as frugal examples. The students can sometimes be seen begging for assistance to meet up the short comings in the provisions from their master which more often than not were not adequate, since they rely on charity and proceeds from their social religious services such as officiating in naming, wedding ceremonies and magical-therapeutic services. This austere living among the *makondoro*, however, has never degenerated into street begging as can be found among *almajirai*¹²⁶ of Hausa region especially in the post-independence period.

¹²³ Abubakr, 'Zumratul Mu'minina (makondoro),' 4.

¹²⁴ This does not mean they do not use or have some mastery of Arabic, piety is only privileged over mastery of Arabic. Some of them have also authored books in Arabic.

¹²⁵ Al Attas, *Aims and Objectives*, 3. See Ware, *The Walking Qur'an*, 42-45, for similar practice in Mali.

¹²⁶ (Sing. *Almajiri*) - are boarding students of Qur'anic schools who usually have come from rural areas. They survive by begging for food and money. For more on this phenomenon see

From their educational theory also emerged three distinguishing praxes that stand out the group in any gathering. These are the wearing of large turbans, the keeping of beard and the practice of purdah for their females.¹²⁷ Taking to the advice of Al-Zarnuji who advised scholars to always dress in recognizable gowns as to distinguish them from non-scholars and the use of turban;¹²⁸ the Zumratu Mu'meenina are easily recognized by their flowing *agbada* (gown), large turban and beard.¹²⁹ This, they believe gives honour and recognition to the wearer wherever he may be.¹³⁰ In addition to this, their women are kept in purdah, hence their name, *eleha* (one who is in purdah (veiled)). Black cloth is the norm for the *jalbab* which covers the women from head to toes (in black socks) with a net over the face covering for seeing. This practice of purdah is often inculcated in the girls as soon as they have menstruated at least three times.¹³¹

Although the Zumratul Mu'meenina are a minority, they are nevertheless well respected, sometimes dreaded, because of a belief that they have powerful magical powers with which they can harm whoever offends them. They are also known not to be politically active or partisan and have an attitude of 'live and let live' toward not only the political class but also the society generally. In the early days of the group in Ibadan, they had anathema-ized other Muslims not subscribing to their ideologies. In Ilorin as well, they had argued against the reforms of Qur'anic schools into *madaris* like Sheikh Kamalud-deen and others had done.¹³² They also clashed with practitioners of traditional religion in Alore, Oloje, Abemi and Banni communities in Ilorin. The clash led to court actions in which they were fined in

Aliyu S. Alabi, 'Food Crisis and the Problem of Itinerant Islamic Pupils in Northern Nigeria' *African Note*, Vol. 35 No.1 & 2 (2011).

¹²⁷ This practice is said to have been influenced by the visit of an Arab Sheikh in 1945, whose wife dressed in the black *jalbab*. Sheikh Yusuf inquired about the practice and when told it is practiced so in Saudi Arabia, the group adopted this mode of dressing for their females. Abubakr, 'Zumratul Mu'minina (makondoro),' 27.

¹²⁸ Az Zarnuji, *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*.

¹²⁹ Abubakr, 'Zumratul Mu'minina (makondoro),' 5.

¹³⁰ In post- independence Nigeria where the cases of unlawful police raids and arrest of innocent persons were rampant, the *makondoro* claimed their members were safe from such injustice in so far as they kept to the dressing code of the group. They have preference for lace materials which is a vogue material among the Yoruba. Discussions with Sheikh Muhammad Hashimiyu Alfanla Okutagidi. 14-7-2012; In Mamluk Egypt this sartorial concern is noted as well. See Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo-A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 182-184.

¹³¹ Abubakr, 'Zumratul Mu'minina (makondoro),' 27; Discussions with Sheikh Muhammad Hashimiyu Alfanla Okutagidi. 14-7-2012.

¹³² Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 248.

three of the cases, with one ruled in their favor.¹³³ Their reverence for their teachers as well as dedication to purely religious studies has earned them respect among other scholars. Al Iluri referred to them as *jundul Islam*¹³⁴ (the soldiers of Islam), especially for their zeal in fighting the followers of traditional religions among the Yoruba.¹³⁵ However, in the post-independence years, as the movement grew in experience, their rigidity began to yield, especially in those of the second and third generations.¹³⁶

Markaziyya

The third pedagogical school that would impact on Islamic education in Ilorin, is the Markazi School founded by Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri. Unlike the Adabiyya and the Zumratul mu'meenina Schools that were in existence in Ilorin during the colonial period, the Markazi stream would not come to Ilorin until after independence.¹³⁷ Even then, it would come as an extension of the original Markazi School in Lagos. Although the earlier two pedagogical schools had their beginning outside Ilorin like the Markazi stream too, they were able to have a firm footing in Ilorin because their founders established schools in Ilorin. While Sheikh Kamaluddeen shuttled between Ilorin and Lagos where he both had schools and Sheikh Yusuf eventually returned and settled in Ilorin, on the one hand, Sheikh Adam never returned to live in Ilorin on the other hand. However, he kept in touch with developments in Ilorin and was often involved in communal development initiatives as it pertained to Islam and its educational activities in Ilorin.

Born into a scholarly family (1917), he studied under his father and a number of other scholars, in Ilorin but mostly outside of Ilorin. His scholarly career was

¹³³ They have been known to clash with pagans and Christians especially in the early days of the group. See Abubakr, 'Zumratul Mu'minina (makondoro),' 4, 37.

¹³⁴ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*, 66.

¹³⁵ Alhaji Abdulkareem Saka narrated how their scholars would encourage their students whose parents still practiced the traditional African religion to bring their parents' idols and the scholars would set them ablaze in public to demonstrate the superiority of their faith. Discussions. 31-10- 2012.

¹³⁶ They began to tolerate western education on condition of the person been steeped in Islamic education before embarking on western education. Abubakr, 'Zumratul Mu'minina (makondoro),' 33; Adekilekun, *Atharul-Shaikh Al-Labeeb*, 36; Discussions with Sheikh Abdulkareem Adaara. Agbaji, 22-7-2012.

¹³⁷ Adabiyya from the late 1920s, Zumratul Mu'mineenina from 1955 when sheikh Yusuf returned to Ilorin. Markaziyya came into Ilorin in 1963 through Darul Ulum. All of the movements started from without Ilorin, with Adabiyya having longer head start than the remaining two in Ilorin.

cosmopolitan in experience. He spent his teenage years in Ilorin¹³⁸ and was influenced by the careers of scholars such as Wazir Bida¹³⁹ and Sheikh Kamalud-deen. He had the intention of studying under Sheikh Zakariya Bakini but the latter died before the tutelage could begin.¹⁴⁰ He thereafter relocated to Lagos and studied under Sheikh Umar Agbaji.¹⁴¹ He studied also under a relative in Ibadan, a student of Sheikh Yusuf Agbaji, Sheikh Salih Esiniobiwa. Here, his scholarship remotely linked to the Adabiyya of Sheikh Sheikh Tajul Adab.¹⁴² In Lagos, he met Shaykh Adamu Nama'aji, a Kano scholar. Nama'aji introduced him to rhetoric, logic, *usul al fiqh* (science of jurisprudence), philosophy, astronomy and history. This influence would resonate in the career of Shaykh Adam as an educationist, missionary and as an author. It was also through this scholar that he became connected to the Qadiriyya Sufi brotherhood.¹⁴³

Greater contact between the Muslim world and West Africa also pulled him into travelling in pursuit of knowledge to the Arab world, which he undertook in 1946 and 1951 respectively.¹⁴⁴ The British were against young Muslim scholars connecting to Arab world for fear of the consequences such exposure would have for resistance to the colonial order and nationalism already gathering momentum in the country and discouraged this as much as possible.¹⁴⁵ Against such policy he struggled against to get into Egypt.¹⁴⁶

In Sudan, Egypt and Hejaz, his experience and contacts with prominent Muslim scholars laid the foundation in his mind of the reforms and activities he would carry out later in life as an educationalist and as a pan-Islamic activist. In Egypt, he presented himself for examination to the scholars of Al Azhar University, which was unusual and considered to be the first to do so from his part of the world. He

¹³⁸ For more on him, see Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 251—256; 'Exploring the Achievements of Sheikh Adam Abdullah al Ilory', accessed from <http://marcazsalaam-ojokoro-Lagos.blogspot.com/exploring-achievement.17-3-2013>.

¹³⁹ Abubakre and Reichmuth, 'Ilorin and Nupe,' 488-489.

¹⁴⁰ Reichmuth, 'Sheikh Adam.'

¹⁴¹ Rafiu Ibrahim Adebayo and Ahmad Tijani Sirajudeen, 'An Appraisal of Sheikh Adam Abdullah al Ilory's Educational Philosophy: A Way of Reclaiming the Islamic Identity in Nigeria,' *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization*, 2 (3) (2012), 188-195.

¹⁴² Reichmuth, 'Sheikh Adam.'

¹⁴³ Reichmuth, 'Sheikh Adam.'; Adebayo and Sirajudeen, 'An Appraisal of Sheikh Adam.'

¹⁴⁴ See his travelogue in verse in- Hamzat I. Abdulraheem, 'Ilorin Travel Literature in Arabic: a study of travelogue by Sheikh Adam Abdullahi al Ilory' *FAIS Journal of Humanities*, (2014), 105-120.

¹⁴⁵ Mustapha, 'Sabotage in Patronage'; Reichmuth, 'Sheikh Adam.'

¹⁴⁶ Abdulraheem, 'Ilorin Travel Literature.'; for the colonial policy around this See Alexander Thurston, 'The Era of Overseas Scholarships: Islam, Modernization, and Decolonization in Northern Nigeria, c. 1954-1966' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 44 (2014),62-91.

passed the seventeen subjects for which he was examined and was awarded the *Thanawiyya* certificate.¹⁴⁷ He remained in Egypt for six months understudying their system.¹⁴⁸ He met Hassan al Banna,¹⁴⁹ the leader of the Muslim brotherhood in Egypt during one of his visits. This had a great influence on his pedagogy¹⁵⁰ as well as his pan-Islamic missionary efforts both in Nigeria and the Muslim world.

When he returned from his first journey, he worked for the Ansarud-deen Society in Lagos and began to publish some of his writings at this period. In 1948 he published the treatise *Addinu al Nasiha*, outlining his visions for reforms of religious education as well as administration of welfare of the Muslim ummah.¹⁵¹ However, he felt that the kind of reforms he wished for cannot be achieved within the ambience of Ansarud-deen School which was heavily tilted towards western education. He left the work and established his own school called Markaz al-Ta'alim al-'Arabi al-Islami, at Abeokuta in 1952.¹⁵²

Some members of Ansarud-deen Society came to his assistance and helped with the payment of salaries of his teachers for the first six months.¹⁵³ Despite this good start and the wish of his father for him to stay in Ibadan, Sheikh Adam had his eyes on Lagos as the appropriate place to locate his reforms and eventually relocated his school to Lagos. His target was to tap into the opportunities that the Arab embassies would offer upon Nigeria's approaching independence. Events later proved his vision correct, seen in the synergy he was able to work out between the Arab traders and embassy officials in Lagos and his Markaz.¹⁵⁴

Another reason for not staying in Ibadan was that he was wary of the controversies and petty jealousies his reforms might generate in the city already full with many

¹⁴⁷ This is the equivalent of senior secondary of the western educational system.

¹⁴⁸ Abdulsalam, 'Shaykh Adam: A Public,' 129.

¹⁴⁹ His mission, it would appear, was more of learning the praxis of religious education in Egypt than just knowledge seeking. The ten point counsel of Hassan al Banna to Muslims could be found on the walls of Markazi institutions wherever they are sited. See Appendix X.

¹⁵⁰ Adebayo, *Islamization of Knowledge*, 44. Al Banna argued for religious education at all levels but was against attachment to old canonical views. This he held as holding Muslims from interacting and utilizing modern scientific knowledge. In addition to religious education, he advocated for Muslims to have representatives in all the scientific fields. His organization Iqwan ul-Muslimun (Muslim Brotherhood) put into practice its ideal by establishing many schools in Egypt. Sheikh Adam shared with al Banna a strong emphasis on religious education. He differs only in tolerating western education outside the precinct of Islamic education.

¹⁵¹ Reichmuth, 'Shaykh Adam as.'

¹⁵² Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 255.

¹⁵³ Explanations given by Dr Y. A. Jumuah at the International Conference on the Life and Times of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi al Ilory, University of Ilorin, August, 2012.

¹⁵⁴ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 255-256; Reichmuth, 'Shaykh Adam as.'

established scholars. He envisaged his reforms would bring him into collision with the scholars because many of their young students would come to him. The hierarchical nature of Muslim learning earlier mentioned and the knowledge of the opposition reformist scholars such as Sheikh Tajul Adab and Sheikh Kamalud-deen had faced may have informed his decision and he was wise to avoid that. Even in Lagos, he still moved away from the center where the scholars were well established and opted for relatively remote Agege, hoping to tap into the large population of the Hausa Muslims (this did not materialize to his disappointment). This reason probably explains his not choosing Ilorin as well for his reforms, with even a higher concentration of scholars.¹⁵⁵ In 1955, he moved his Markaz from Abeokuta to Agege in Lagos, taking his students along with him.¹⁵⁶

What distinguished the Markazi reform from the Adabiyya and Zumratul Mu'meenina is the privileging of Arabic as the language of the school and non-tolerance of English language as medium of instruction within his school. As in the Adabiyya reform, he had purpose-built school, curriculum and organization of the western schools but his inspiration was more of the Arab model he had seen in Egypt and Sudan. Although Sheikh Adam would not tolerate a mixture of western and Islamic education within his school, he nevertheless believed in the importance of having of western education.¹⁵⁷ He privately acquired western learning and encouraged students coming to his Markaz to have acquired the first Primary School Leaving Certificate. Then, the students would be well grounded in Islamic and Arabic education at Markaz, from where they could proceed to higher education either in the Arab world or the western higher education system in Nigeria, specializing in Arabic or Islamics but some also moved on to non-religious fields like in the humanities and sciences.

Sheikh Adam saw the power inherent in the western system and how it had disfavored Islam and was therefore wary of it being taught alongside Islamic

¹⁵⁵ Explanations given by Sheikh Habeebullah Adam Abdullah (son of Sheikh Adam and Proprietor of Markaz Taalim li Araby, Agege) at the International Conference on the Life and Times of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al Ilori, University of Ilorin, August, 2012.

¹⁵⁶ In 1956, he graduated the first set of his students. He got some support of the Syrian traders in Lagos Arab to supervise the examination. This breakthrough and his emphasis on Arabic as the only language of learning in the school earned him reputation especially among Muslim scholars throughout Yoruba region who began to send their children to the school. Reichmuth, 'Shaykh Adam as.'

¹⁵⁷ Al Iluri, *Al Islam fi Nijeriya*, 170. He argues that the standard bearers of both systems of education undervalue the significance of each other. Here, comes out as concerned over the weakened state of the Islamic education system, hence his privileging of the Arabic medium of instruction. He bears out the importance of both systems of education and for Muslims to strive to attain both.

education at the same location. Seeing the Islamic system as the weaker of the two systems, he envisaged a destruction of the Muslim heritage if the two were left to compete on the same ground.¹⁵⁸ The countermeasure is to strengthen the weakened system and acquire the strength of the other from without the Islamic education system.¹⁵⁹ This idea can be seen in the sermon he delivered on the occasion of the annual *Maulud* celebration in front of the emir's palace around 1962, warning of the danger facing Muslims if their educational system is allowed to be overrun by the western system, especially with the old scholars passing away. It was this sermon that triggered the establishment of Darul Ulum, the first Markazi madrasah in Ilorin in 1963.¹⁶⁰ The establishment of this communal school would be discussed in the next chapter.

Unlike the Zumratul mu'meenina (*makondoro*) who in their early days totally rejected western education, Sheikh Adam differed in a cautious acceptance of the necessity of western education. His midway position between the rejectionist Zumratul mu'meenina and Adabiyya modes of learning earned him the respect of many Muslim scholars throughout the Yoruba region. They felt safe sending their children to his school without the fear of a corrupting influence of the western system. His approach to Islamization is similar to Jamal-ad-Din Afghani (1838-1897) who was against foreign domination and blind imitation of the west. Like al Banna, he was also against pure traditionalism for its uncritical defense of inherited Islam.¹⁶¹ Although his reforms took place outside Ilorin, scholars in Ilorin were fully aware of his reforms, many went to study with him or sent their sons to his school and after independence the Markazi pedagogical stream would come into Ilorin through his efforts in collaboration with the emir and later through his students who returned home to establish their own schools.

These three main pedagogical schools of thought set the foundation upon which all future reforms of Islamic education system in Ilorin would be built upon. In all the three systems, we can tease out modernization of Islamic education in their praxes. Challenged by the dominance of the western education system, they sought in their different approaches to privilege Islamic education. In the Adabiyya system, adaptability and modernization is discernible in their tolerance of western education

¹⁵⁸ Al Iluri, *Al Islam fi Nijeriya*, 154; Badmus Olanrewaju Yusuf, 'The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullah Al Ilori on the Interaction Between Religion and Culture' (M.A Thesis: Islamic Studies-Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1985), 11-12.

¹⁵⁹ Razaq 'Deremi Abubakre, 'Marcaz at 60, the Challenge of Modern Islamic Education' Paper Presented at the 60th Anniversary of Arabic and Islamic Training Centre-Agege. 31, August 2012.

¹⁶⁰ Jawondo, 'The Place of Mosque,' 114.

¹⁶¹ Adebayo, *Islamization of Knowledge*, 30-32.

for the purpose of empowering Muslims through the adaptation of some of the means and methods of the rival western educational system. The Adabiyya stream first appropriated aspects of organization of the western system into the Islamic system in imitation of Ansar-ud-deen in Iagos. This, we see in the classification of students by their level of learning, setting specific duration of learning and purpose-built school among other things we can see in the western system. When this was not enough as protection of the Islamic education system, the Adabiyya group went further by establishing their own western school, modifying it to suit their modernization agenda.

While in the colonial period and well into the post-independence, they worked with an integrated system, having both systems of education in one school, later in the post-independence period, they changed into operating the two systems separately, tolerating some western subjects in the Islamic arms of their schools. Many of such schools were established not only in Ilorin but all over the Yoruba region.¹⁶² The *Zumratul mu'meenina*, while having nothing to do with western education, their emergence is not unconnected to the privileging of the western education system by the government and increasing westernization of the society starting from the colonial period into the post-independence period. Islamization with them was the erection of a wall of defiance against the western education system and its values, by stricter entrenchment of what they considered as original Islamic educational praxes. However, their rigidity would loosen in the post-colonial period to a critical engagement with western education.¹⁶³

Modernization praxes in the Markazi stream follow almost the same pattern with the Adabiyya, the difference being the Markazi stream privileging of Arabic and Islamic education in its system to the exclusion of English language, the language of the western system. Some 'secular' subjects of the western system such as history, geography and arithmetic were also in the curriculum of these reforming schools, taught in Arabic. Islamic sciences and Arabic language and its sciences were given prominent attention in these schools. What they could not do during the colonial period was to include the pure science subjects in their curriculum. In the

¹⁶² See <http://www.mukeyf.org.ng>. Accessed 2-3-2014.

¹⁶³ In their philosophy we see some similarity with the views of Maulana Abul A'la Mawdudi (1903-1979) who faults the absence of the recognition of Allah as the source of all true knowledge. He therefore favors Islamization of education in all ramifications before it can be useful to the Muslim, similar to the later critical toleration of western education exhibited by the *makondoro*. See Mahmoud Hamid al Migdad, 'Issues in Islamization of knowledge, Man and Education', *Revue Academique des Sciences et Sociales*, No.7, 2011; Adebayo, *Islamization of Knowledge*, 41.

post-colonial period they would be able to do this with varying degrees of success as would be shown in the next chapter.

The scholars examined in terms of numbers represent a very small number of Ilorin scholars; rather their choice for examination was informed by the tremendous achievements and impacts they have had on Islamic education during the colonial period and beyond. Too numerous a number of these scholars carry out their educational activities all over Yoruba regions, not as popular as these scholars. Every scholarly family has members who have moved out of the town into other regions of the country in pursuit of their vocation. Some concentrated on the provision of therapeutic spiritual services, though virtually all of them were engaged in this to a greater or lesser extent. By the nature of their vocation they combine many things; they teach, lead prayers, act as counselors to the ruler and the ruled, officiate religious rituals such as naming, wedding and funeral rites as well as engaged in commercial ventures.

The first half of the twentieth century can be referred to as the period of the Adabiyya revolution, both of the Zumratul Adabiyya of Sheikh Kamalud-deen and that Zumratul Mu'meenina strands, being the dominant reform streams in Ilorin. In the post-independence Nigeria, the Markazi stream would join them and together they would expand the horizon of Islamic education. These responses were about the only possible ways to respond to the challenge that western system of education posed to the scholars.¹⁶⁴

Conclusion

In this chapter we have examined the missionary endeavors of the scholars which took them all over the Yoruba region and around the river Niger/Benue confluence as merchants or civil servants, teaching, preaching and serving as counselors to both rulers and the ruled were examined. Through this, they contributed immensely to the spread of the religion and its educational system to new places among the Yoruba and the Epira and strengthening the religion where it had been nominal. We see how adaptation and appropriation of aspects of organization of the western system of education were used by these scholars to reform Islamic education. Communication and contacts with the wider Muslim world also inspired some on the reforms that we see in Islamic education during this period. The impact of their travels left a strong influence on the reforms that they introduced to Islamic learning within and outside Ilorin.

¹⁶⁴ It is either for or against western education, the third alternative being varying degrees of synthesis of the 'for or against' western education approaches.

Also examined are the careers of prominent Islamic scholars, missionaries and educationists; how they responded to the challenge of western hegemony, especially in the educational field. Three main schools of pedagogy emerged in response to the challenge of western education and ideas on Islamic education, namely: the Adabiyya school having root in the works of Sheikh Tajul Adab but mostly undertaken by his pupil Sheikh Muhammad Kamalud-deen al Adabiyy. It started out with formalization of Islamic education and later accommodation of western education within its system. The second group Zumratul Mu'meenina, also having root in Sheikh Tajul Adab, was non-conformist with regard to western education. They championed learning in the traditional form only and became important voice of traditional system and contributed to the spread of Islam among the Yoruba.

The third group, Markazi; starts out in Abeokuta and later Lagos, the remarkable work of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri, reformed Islamic education along Arabic model. However, its non-tolerance of western education was only within its school where Arabic is privileged. Students are encouraged to seek western education outside the system. Through the prosopography of some key scholars of the period, developments in the Islamic education were teased out. More than resisting the new system these scholars also, adapted and appropriated aspects of the new system for their own system as both a defense against the powerful western system and as a means of promoting and developing their own system in response to the modern world. Significantly they also contributed to the development of western education in their own ways through critical toleration and accommodation as well as promotion of western education.

Chapter four a

Islamic Education in Ilorin since Nigeria's Independence 1960-2012

Introduction

Although Muslims as a distinct or religious group were not in the forefront of the formal struggle for independence, they nevertheless played important roles as members of the nationalist groups that fought for Nigeria's independence.¹ Their subtle and intellectual resistance to colonial rule formed one of the many strands that fused into the struggle and thus Muslim scholars had great expectations for the coming independence. Attainment of independence for Nigeria made possible the realization of some hopes of the people of Nigeria. Muslims who felt suppressed under colonial rule were looking forward to the independence to put into expression some of their hopes, for a better life where their religious aspirations could be achieved.²

During the colonial period, the Adabiyya and the Zumratul Mu'meenina movements were the major vanguards of Islamic education as distinct groups of Muslim educationists in Ilorin. After the attainment of Independence, more movements were added to the progress of Islamic education, having their build up in the colonial period. Notably the Markazi movement, starting out in Abeokuta, then Lagos, from where it fanned up into Ilorin as an important wave in the invigoration of Islamic education, added its strength to the streams already established in the colonial period. Together with the other strands of reform movements such as the Muhyideen School and Society and Shamsud-deen School and Society, they galvanized the reforms of Islamic education in the decade of independence.

The earlier movements also grew stronger in this period. The traditional system in its very informal nature continued alongside these new movements which by the 1970s and 1980s had multiplied as offshoots of the earlier movements. Though these modernizing movements increasingly dominated Islamic education, the informal traditional system remained as the root and bulwark of Islamic education.

¹ Yakubu A.M., *Saadu Zungur: An Anthology of the Social and Political Writings of a Nigerian Nationalist* (Kaduna: Nigerian Defence Academy Press, 1999) explores the career of one of such Muslims.

² The career of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri is a remarkable example of such aspirations. The cooperation between the emirates and Northern Regional Government in this period of Self-Government was also propitious to the scholars. These two served as an interface between the departing colonial authority and the people. The people and the scholars no less could see that independence is a matter of time and that ensured cooperation in developing Islamic education both in the private and the public sector education system, seeing fellow Muslims at the helm of political power.

By the 1990s and the opening decade of the twenty-first century, Islamic education in the more formal western system had also made important contributions to development in Islamic education, especially at the higher education levels, though the traditional and reformed Islamic system has remained the main strong point of Islamic education.

This chapter will examine the developments in Islamic education in this period of independence and increased globalization with varying implications for Islamic education. We will look at how the new developments in Islamic education, built on pioneering Islamic educational reforms and how these differ from the developments of the colonial period. The careers of some prominent scholars who contributed to the development in this period will also be examined as the reconstruction of the history of Islamic education is tied to understanding the activities of these scholars. Some of them bestraddled both halves of the twentieth century, but new enterprising scholars also added their own contributions to these developments. Islamic education in the western school system also made progress; this would be examined as part of the progress of Islamic education in the post-independence period. The new *tahfiz* (memorization) schools that emerged toward the end of the twentieth century would be examined as well. The chapter will also examine the female context in Islamic education in Ilorin.

Developments from the Decade of Independence

Traditional Islamic education from its elementary Qur'anic schools to the advanced studies as the system that reproduces the Muslim society remained central to the Islamic educational heritage against colonial neglect. It continued in this role in the postcolonial period under successive governments, providing the bulk of Islamic education. The traditional system remained the most important source of Islamic education for the masses and held its own alongside the modernized Islamic schools which were still few compared to the traditional schools in the first two decades of the independence.

In general, Muslims in Ilorin hold the view that western and Islamic education are two distinct streams of education that serve different purposes and that both should be pursued simultaneously or in varying degrees of intensity. Negation of western education had ebbed with generations of Muslims who have had western education and held important positions in the society. The reforms in Islamic education as visible in the works of Sheikh Muhammad Kamalud-deen Al-Adaby and that of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al-Iluri and the few scholars who joined them as reformers, complementing their efforts, played important roles in the further development of Islamic education especially in the decade of independence and beyond.

In the decade of independence, the Adabiyya movement made additional progress with the affiliation of the school of Sheikh Kamalud-deen to the al Al-Azhar University of Cairo.³ In the same year, 1963, the third stream, Markaziyya of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al-Iluri came into Ilorin.⁴ Two Markaziyya schools joined the existing streams; one was a communal effort while the second was established by a student of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al-Iluri.⁵ Muhyideen Society and School also had its origin in this decade as well Shamsudeen Society and School, both of which would become integrationist/bifurcate like the Adabiyya movement in the course of their developments from the 1970s.

Meanwhile, Emir Abdulkadir passed away in 1959 on the eve of Nigeria's independence. This emir had been most supportive of the reforms of Sheikh Kamalud-deen; his palace often the refuge of the Sheikh anytime he and his students were hounded from parts of the town that they had visited on preaching tours. Part of the emir's support to the Sheikh included a donation of two pounds ten shillings every month from his salary.⁶ The emir also sent two of his children to live and study under the Sheikh. He made it a duty to visit the school before the students went on their annual vacation by way of encouragement.⁷

The new emir, Muhammad Sulu-Gambari (1959-1992) would continue in his predecessors' role of patron of the scholars. In the colonial period, the practice had begun of celebrating the annual *Maulud* (birthday) of the Prophet Muhammad communally in front of the palace of the emir. Leading scholars of the town were allotted time to deliver a sermon before the emir and the populace. The new emir Sulu-Gambari, perhaps seeking to have a protégé of his own, but more importantly seeing the achievements of Markaz, where he had visited in Lagos in 1962, invited Sheikh Adam to come and replicate his success of Lagos in Ilorin. The occasion that afforded this synergy was the 1962 annual *maulud* celebration that took place in front of the palace and which had many scholars come to deliver sermons.⁸

³ Abubakr O. Nasir, 'The Role of Ma'had '1-Azhar Ilorin in Manpower Development in Nigeria' (B.A Long Essay, Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1991), 34.

⁴ Alaaya Olarenwaju Ally, 'Darul Ulum Arabic School Ilorin' (B.A Long Essay, Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1986), 6; Jawondo, 'The Place of Mosque,' 116-117.

⁵ Sheikh Yahya Murtala, the founder of Markaz Taalim Arabi, Oke Agodi.

⁶ Discussions with Alhaji Labaika Bello. 29-10-2012. Alhaji Labaika Bello as the Secretary of Ansarul Islam Society was responsible for collecting the money from the palace.

⁷ Discussions with Prince Salman Olarongbe Abdulkadir (Daudu Ballah). November 2012.

⁸ Jawondo, 'The Place of Mosque,' 114.

Sheikh Adam had in his sermon of that year warned of the danger of receding Islamic knowledge which needs urgent action to reverse the trend, alluding to the dying generation of old scholars, and a need for training the young ones that would replace them. The reforming zeal of Sheikh Adam could be discerned in the sermon. For the past decade he had been carrying out his reforms in Lagos and had recorded some success. He probably felt alone in his crusade and seeing that the scholars of Ilorin were as yet to catch on his ideal which is different from the Adabiyya and the Zumratul Mu'meenina ideals that had already taken root in Ilorin, he made a case for more efforts. His ideal and method stand somewhat in between that of the integrationist Adabiyya and rejectionist Zumratul Mu'meenina.

The call of Sheikh Adam made the emir and the principal imams to meet and they decided to act in response to the call of Sheikh Adam. They met with scholars in Ilorin to deliberate on keeping alive the flame of Islamic knowledge in line with the call of Sheikh Adam. A committee was created to work out the modalities to establish a school along the line of Sheikh Adam's ideal. The new emir appeared to favour Sheikh Adam taking a leading and active role in this new school.⁹ The Sheikh, however, was not able to abandon his work in Lagos. He was barely a decade into his reforms and had begun to see some results. It would be unwise for him to abandon his succeeding work in Lagos for a fresh one in Ilorin. He was no doubt also wary of petty jealousies that would arise should he decide to relocate to Ilorin. He was satisfied that his call had been taken and he felt there were scholars who were capable of doing the job in Ilorin as well. The school that was created was first named *Madrasatu Taalim Lughatul Arabiya*.¹⁰

Finding it difficult to refuse the request of the emir and not able to abandon his work in Lagos, he found a midway that fulfilled both interests. He suggested the need for an umbrella organization for the imams and scholars like the League of Imams and Alfa (*Rabitah al Aimmah wal Ulama fi Bilad Yuruba*)¹¹ that he had initiated in the southwest among the Yoruba. His aim was to have the new school come under the communal umbrella of this organization. The result was the renaming of the school, at the instance of Sheikh Adam in 1964 as Darul Uloom Li

⁹ Jawondo, 'The Place of Mosque,' 114.

¹⁰ Ibrahim Lukman Erubu, 'The Contribution of Darul Uloom li Jabhat wal Aimmah, Isale Koto, Ilorin, to Islamic Scholarship 1963-2005' (B.A Long Essay, Department of History, University of Ilorin, 2006), 38.

¹¹ See Kamaldeen A. Balogun, 'An Exposition of Shaykh Adam al Ilory's *Ta'rif Wajiz bi Rabitah al Aimmah wal Ulama fi Bilad Yuruba*' in Razaq D. Abubakre (ed), *Shaykh Adam Abdullah Al Ilory in the Tableau of Immortality, Vol. II*. (Riyadh: Nigerian Centre for Arabic Studies, 2013), 90-100.

Jabhat Ulama Wal Aamma,¹² after *Darul Uloom* of Egypt. It thus became the first Markazi institution in Ilorin. As the name indicated, it is to be an institution under the guardianship of the ulama and the (principal) imams,¹³ thus having no individual ownership. In this, he was also trying to dissociate the school from his person. He had not used 'Markaz' as would be noted in the names of the schools his students would later establish in Ilorin as well as elsewhere in Yoruba region.

A board of trustee was created; the principal imams had representatives in them due to their tight schedules.¹⁴ Sheikh Adam served as the chief consultant and the school was affiliated to Markaz Taalim Al Arabi Al Islami, Agege, of Sheikh Adam.¹⁵

Students were taken from the houses of scholars who had all agreed to provide students from among their children. The teachers of the school were also chosen from among the scholars with the resolution that the school would be a fee paying one and the teachers would also receive some paid allowance. When the school began in 1963, two centres were created for teaching. One was established at the old Ilorin central mosque at Idi-Ape and another at Isale Koto Mosque.¹⁶ The first centre at the old central mosque was designated for adult students who had acquired their knowledge through the cumbersome traditional system, with the aim to align their knowledge to the modern method of the Markazi mode. The scholars could easily relate with the Markazi system because unlike the Adabiyya system already well-established in Ilorin, the Markazi system did not integrate western education into its system, therefore seen as more of a reform of the old system than a deviation that the Adabiyya system was held to represent.

The first set of teachers included Sheikh Ghali Alaya of Pakata, Sheikh Abubakar Sakama and Sheikh Ibrahim Maimasa of Ojagboro.¹⁷ They were persuaded to forfeit their individual schools for that of the community, so they could pay fuller attention to the school. The advanced students were taught some Islamic and Arabic knowledge under the three scholars mentioned above. They were put through the

¹² Erubu, 'The Contribution of,' 36.

¹³ The three principal imams in Ilorin are Imam Fulani- the Chief Imam, Imam Imale and Imam Gambari in that order. This was one of the innovations of the ruling Fulani dynasty to harmonize the different communities that formed Ilorin.

¹⁴ Imam Fulani (the Chief Imam) had Alfa Ghazali Mukhtar, Alfa Ibrahim Omo Oba Ori Oke; Imam Imale had Alfa Abdulkareem Agaka and Salihu Alabira Oloyin; Imam Gambari had Alfa Adam Gambari Idiadan and Alfa Issa Gambari. Other members include Alhaji Kuranga Agaka, a philanthropist and Alhaji Zakariya who had gone through the western education system.

¹⁵ Jawondo, 'The Place of Mosque,' 115; Erubu, 'The Contribution of,' 39.

¹⁶ Jawondo, 'The Place of Mosque' 115.

¹⁷ Ally, 'Darul Ulum Arabic School,' 7.

old method: teaching seated in a circle without the use of chalk and blackboard. The school hours were between 8:00 a.m -12:00 p.m excepting Thursdays and Fridays.¹⁸

The decision to collect fees stalled the development and eventual extinction of the central mosque arm of the school. Many of the students could not graduate because of the fees of 2 ½ shillings, being self-sponsored and some of them were married. This affected payment of allowance to the teachers. Inability to pay the old teachers reduced their interest in teaching in the school. Thus the adult or *ilm* class at the central mosque died out, not able to blend into the organized modern system the school was established for.¹⁹ The scholars were used to the non-structured system of payment through patronage and could not adapt to the fee paying system (which had not worked well in this instance) nor was it known in the system for a teacher to refuse teaching for nonpayment of money. This created a dilemma for the teachers who would have benefitted if the financial arrangements had been successful. The new system demanded a new approach and dedication from them with a promise of remuneration.



Fig. 10. Emir Sulu-Gambari Muhammad (1959-1992).



Fig. 11. Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri (1917-1992) Founder of Markazi School.

¹⁸ Pioneer students include Abubakar Umar Erubu, Aduagba Awwal Abubakar Sakama, Ahmad Shuaib Agaka, Murtala Alaya, Saheed Agaka, Ambali, Imam Shuaib Agaka, Alfa Salihu, Shehu Sanni, Musa Ahmed (Imam Fulani 1980-83.) Hassan Ambali Pakata, Alfa Baba Magaji Mafolaku Oke Aluko etc. Jawondo, 'The Place of Mosque,' 116.

¹⁹ Jawondo, 'The Place of Mosque,' 116-117.

The inability of the new system to live up to its financial obligation was one of the reasons why the class of the older scholars did not last long. Islamic knowledge has always been available to anyone who has the desire to learn with or without payment. Since the teachers would not demand or make payment a necessity, they often had to do without payment for educational services they render. Thus, they were not always financially buoyant. This is what Berkey called voluntary poverty of the scholar.²⁰ The scholars in Ilorin were as yet ready for the reform introduced by Sheikh Adam and that section of the school could not continue.

The second younger group of students was taken to Isale Koto under the tutelage of three young teachers, some of whom had gone through the reformed and formal Islamic school. They were Abubakar Abdul Malik, Alfa Abdul Ganiyu Gidado of Ita-Ogunbo and later Alfa Yahaya Murtala of Oke-Agodi. The younger ones were believed to be capable of being tested with the modern system of using chalk and blackboard for instruction through scholars that have gone through similar method. Sheikh Yahya had been a student of Sheikh Adam in Lagos and would later establish his own school in Ilorin. The first set of students had a common final examination in 1966.²¹ Some of the notable first graduates of the school would later work as academics in universities both in Nigeria and abroad.²² They were all able to cross over into the mainstream western system of higher education after the foundational Islamic education of the Markazi mode.²³

The curriculum of the school includes Islamic sciences, Arabic language, tafsir, hadith among others, for a four year *I'dadiyya* certificate course. For the next twenty four years it would run only the *I'dadiyya* course. Until 1988 the graduates of the school would proceed to Markaz in Agege for the next stage of *Tawjihiyya*, the equivalent of senior secondary school of the western system. Like the earlier reforming school of the Adabiyah, some of what was learned in the school was expressed through drama and poem presentations at the annual *maulud* celebrations at the emir's palace.²⁴ Markas at Agege supported the school by sending its graduates to teach at Darul Ulum.²⁵ Up till the period of this research, no western

²⁰ Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 44.

²¹ Jawondo, 'The Place of Mosque,' 117.

²² They include Shuaib Abdulbaki (Professor of Arabic at Usmanu Dan Fodiyo University, Sokoto), Dr Ahmad Ghazali (Arabic Department, College of Education, Sokoto), Dr Hamzat Abdulraheem (Kwara State University, Maleté) Professor Ahmad AbdulSalam (International Islamic University, Medina), Dr Shuaib Abdul Hamid Agaka- Chief Imam of Agaka (formerly of Arabic Department, Bayero University, Kano) and Justice Ahmad Belgore of the High Court in Lagos.

²³ Jawondo, 'The Place of Mosque,' 118; Erubu, 'The Contribution of,' 40.

²⁴ Jawondo, 'The Place of Mosque,' 118.

²⁵ Ally, 'Darul Ulum Arabic,' 12.

subject in English medium was in its curriculum. However, they study those written in Arabic like history and geography especially those written by Sheikh Adam. In 1988, Darul Uloom established its own *Tawjihiyya* level, making it unnecessary for its students to proceed to Markaz in Lagos. The school has been operating more or less in this format since then.

Muhyideen College: In a less dramatic mode than the establishment of Darul Ulum, a new school emerged in 1962, the Muhyideen Society and School. It began humbly enough with the establishment of a Qur'anic school at Idi-igba home of the founder. The figure behind this movement is Sheikh Abdullahi Jubril Imam Sahban. Born to a missionary scholar; one of the innumerable Ilorin scholars to be found all over the Yoruba region, in Yaro, a town in Ifelodun Local Government Area of Kwara State 1944. He began his education under his father before returning to Ilorin for further studies with his uncle in 1952, upon the death of his father. He joined Kubat Islam School where he got the *I'dadiyya* certificate in 1962 and *thanawiyya* certificate in 1967.²⁶

For a while he was busy with missionary works and teaching which prevented him from further search for knowledge. His school had been established while he was still a student, an example of how a student gradually metamorphosed into a teacher, the two stages interwoven into each other. For his advanced studies, he studied under Alfa Raji, more known as Alfa Ita-Egba.²⁷ He stayed with this teacher for thirteen years, the last five as an assistant to him. He also studied under Alfa Omo-Iya of Gambari quarters for seven years, within the same period.²⁸

As Sheikh Kamalud-deen had done in the colonial period, Sheikh Sahban introduced reforms into his own Qur'anic School. He also favored acquisition of western education along Islamic education. He pursued this ideal in a gradualist form, starting with Qur'anic education before introducing western education. Financial constraints mostly informed this gradualist approach to reforms among the scholars. These scholars relied largely on their personal resources, which were always meager to build their schools; hence only a little progress could be achieved

²⁶ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 280; Ibrahim Ishaq, 'Hayat Samhat Sheikh Abdullahi Jibril Al Imam Sahban Mudiru Kulliyat Muhyideen l Dirasat Arabiyya was Islamiyya wa Masahamatuha fi Thaqafatul Talabatul Muslimeena' (Department of Arabic, College of Education, Ilorin, 1990), 1; Hambali Abdulsalam, 'Al Islam dini wa duniya,' Interview with Sheikh Sahban Jubril -in- 'Al *Ihya*', The Annual Magazine of Muhyideen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Ilorin Kwara State, Vol.1.no.1. (2003) 5-7. His Thanawiyya education was likely informal since formal thanawiyya did not come to Ilorin until the late 1970s.

²⁷ Abdul-Lateef Ayo Sheikh Fasasi, 'Muhyid Din al- Islamiyah Society of Nigeria' (B.A Long Essay, Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1983), 3.

²⁸ Hambali Abdulsalam, 'Al Islam dini wa duniya,' 5-7.

at a time. Two reasons inspired Sheikh Sahban to reform Islamic education. One, seeing the difficulties in the old method of imparting knowledge even as most of the students had to study at a relatively older age; he therefore sought to simplify the process of acquisition of the knowledge. Secondly he wanted to draw young people into Islamic education without them running away from western education.²⁹

He saw benefits to be derived from both systems and wished to harness these for Muslim youths. His integrationist approach is based on the belief that Islam is concerned with both worldly affairs and faith.³⁰ The resistance of scholars to western education in the early colonial period stemmed from the hostile encounter with colonialism, relegation of Muslim scholars to the background and conversion of Muslims to Christianity through mission education. By the generation of the independence era, fears of conversion had largely dissipated; hence scholars like Sheikh Sahban, who had no formal western education promoted its learning. Some scholars had by then come to the understanding that western education can be had by circumventing what they deemed as antithetical to Islam in it.³¹ Resistance was therefore less vehement than in the early colonial period.

To buttress this view, the Sheikh harkened back to the prophetic injunction that anyone who understands another's language cannot be cheated of that language and the injunction of the Prophet to his companions to go and study the language of *ahl al kitab*, (the people of the book i.e Christians and Jews) as well as the several prophetic injunctions to search for knowledge.³² The low social mobility of scholars of Islam, compared to those who have had western education, was also a concern for this scholar. The Muslim scholars were not well recognized, even when they work in western institutions as teachers of religious lessons. This comes from their lacking in certain skills, such as ability to communicate fluently in the official English language.³³ They were thus marginalized from the scheme of things.

²⁹ Abdulsalam, 'Al Islam dini wa duniya,' 5-7. A concern of the theorists of Islamization of knowledge.

³⁰ Abdulsalam, 'Al Islam dini wa duniya,' 5-7.

³¹ This resonates with the *tawhidi* episteme scholars of Islamization of knowledge were championing. Connection to the Middle East played a role in these reforms.

³² See Frantz, *Knowledge Triumphant*, for a general history of Muslim scholars' preoccupation with knowledge.

³³ This much was cited/adduced to by Professor S.A.S. Galadanci in his Keynote Address and Professor Ishaq Oloyede at the National Sensitization Workshop on Qur'anic Education Organized by the Centre for Qur'anic Studies, Bayero University, Kano. 25-26 October, 2014.

Some of the attitudes towards the Muslim scholars dated from the colonial period and the post-colonial state did little to change the system.³⁴ These among other things inspired the Sheikh to adopt the integrationist approach like the earlier Adabiyya movement. His take on the subject of integration was that the Muslim must seek the other world from what he has been given in this world but must not forget the other world as the ultimate target.³⁵ This resonated with theories of Islamisation of knowledge as put forward by al Attas and other scholars of Islamisation of knowledge.³⁶

Although Sheikh Sahban did not train through the Adabiyya system, the influence of Adabiyya as pioneer pedagogical reforming school of thought could not be lost on other subsequent reformers. Sheikh Jubril started the Muhyideen Society in 1962 as a Muslim organization for propagation of Islam. At this period there were only a few Islamic organizations and he felt the need to create one that would protect Muslim youths from being misled and who needed such an organization to guide them on religion. The hadith of the prophet that some of the Muslim ummah should dedicate themselves to calling others to the way of Lord serves as the theory for this step.³⁷ While the Muhyideen Society serves his missionary aims he also continued with his educational ideas in his schools.³⁸

Muhyideen Qur'anic School started out at the Sheikh's home in Idi-Orombo, in 1962 as night classes in a small room. After two years it became an evening class. The school was then known as Madrasatul Rahmatul Islamiyya. The name Muhyideen had been the name of his teacher's school, Alfa Raji Ita-Egba, and he adopted it. Alfa Raji then changed the name of his own school to Madrasatu Bahrul Uloom.³⁹ In 1968, the space of the school became too small for the population and it was moved to nearby Popo Giwa Street in an open space. In the

³⁴ See Superintendent of Education P.G.S.Baylis' remarks dated 6-12-1935. 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools.' NAK file Iloprof 3196/3/1936.

³⁵ Ishaq, 'Hayat Samhat Sheikh,' 22; A'ishah Ahmad Sabki and Glenn Hardaker, 'The Madrasah Concept of Islamic Pedagogy,' *Educational Review* (2012)

³⁶ Al Attas, *Aims and Objectives*, 10-21.

³⁷ He established a women wing of the society in 1969 at Idi-Orombo where he lives, and by 1971 had many branches in such places as Kisi in neighboring Oyo State and Ikporin, one of the towns under Ilorin emirate. A Lagos branch came into being in 1979 as well as in Oshogbo. The members meet weekly at each branch and monthly at the headquarters in Ilorin.

³⁸ Ishaq, 'Hayat Samhat Sheikh,' 13.

³⁹ Discussions with Khalifa Alfa Ita-Egba. August 2012.

same year the school curriculum became that of an *I'dadiyya* (junior secondary) Madrasah. By 1970, the school had secured scholarship from Kuwait and Libya.⁴⁰

In 1973, a proper building for the school began at Idi-Orombo. The building consisted of four classrooms and two offices. The integrated school did not begin until April 8, 1974. The previous year the school got approval from the government to run the school, so that the students could sit for government examinations.⁴¹ In 1975, two additional classrooms were added making a total of six classrooms. Around this period Sheikh Jubril was active in the activities of the Joint Association of Arabic and Islamic Schools (JAAIS). He travelled to Saudi Arabia around this period and was able to secure the donation of books and syllabus for schools under JAAIS. Through this effort he was also able to get his school affiliated to the University of Medina in Saudi Arabia. The affiliation terms allow for students of Muhyideen with *Ibtidaiyya* (primary) certificate to get admission to the *I'dadiyya* (junior secondary) and that of *I'dadiyya* certificate holder can enter for *Thanawiyya* (senior secondary) level at the University of Medina, Saudi Arabia.⁴²

In 1978, a nursery school was established where both Qur'an and western education (*kewukewe* in the local parlance) were taught to pupils. By 1980, Muhyideen Secondary School had been established at Kulende towards the outskirts of Ilorin. It had emerged from the Idi-Orombo School. It started with three classrooms. The school began with *I'dadiyya* and years later *Thanawiyya* level was added to the school.⁴³ By the 1980s, the school had developed into three sections: *ibtidaiyya* (3 years of school), *I'dadiyya* (3 years of school), *Thanawiyya* (3 years of school) of the Arabic section.⁴⁴ Like the Markazi system, the school encouraged applicants especially into the *I'dadiyya* level to have had a primary school certificate and testimonial from a western system school.⁴⁵

While working on the schools in Ilorin, Sheikh Sahban was also working around the community where he was born, Yaro, in Ifelodun Local Government Area of Kwara

⁴⁰ Two students, Hamzat Abdulrahim and Yahaya Abdul Hamid Ishola were sent to Libya for further studies. Hamzat Abdulrahim had studied at Markaz Agege but got the scholarship through Muhyideen College. His father had been a teacher to Sheikh Sahban. He thus benefitted from the lifelong connection students usually enjoy with their teachers. Discussions with Dr Hamzah Abdulraheem. 4-1-2014. Ishaq, 'Hayat Samhat Sheikh,' 16.

⁴¹ *Al Ihya*, The Annual Magazine.

⁴² See Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 280; Ishaq, 'Hayat Samhat Sheikh,' 15. Before this he had contacts with Iraq.

⁴³ The Sheikh was assisted by some philanthropists who donated land, cement blocks and money for the building of the school.

⁴⁴ Ishaq, 'Hayat Samhat Sheikh,' 17.

⁴⁵ The school also insists on good moral behaviour and that the pupil should be religious. Ishaq, 'Hayat Samhat Sheikh,' 18.

State. A school was begun in 1976 in the central mosque of Yaro with thirteen students. He sent two teachers to the community to teach in the school. When the school was visited by the state's Grand Khadi Sheikh Abdulkadir Orire, who was also active in the activities of JAAIS, he advocated relocating the school to a new place outside of the mosque.⁴⁶

This led to agitation between the two towns of Kunmi and Yaro, each town wanting the school to be situated on its land. The Grand Khadi then advised that the two communities should form a committee to decide on the location to avoid future altercations.⁴⁷ However, the rivalries of the two communities continued to threaten the survival of the school. The school was then moved into the compound of Muhyideen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Kulende in Ilorin where it has remained since then as a government run secondary school.⁴⁸ In the early 1980s, the College was also running Grade II Teacher Certificate courses for the training of primary school teachers of the western system.⁴⁹

Through the 1980s and 1990s the school continued to develop, operating the two educational systems within the same premises. There is the western section offering a secondary education, controlled and funded by the government and the Arabic and Islamic education (College) section running a combination of Arabic and some western subjects taught in English, offering the three levels of *ibtidaiyya*, *I'dadiyya* and *thanawiyya* under the control of the Sheikh. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the school upgraded to offering a National Certificate of Education (NCE), a tertiary certificate in the school. At the end of 2012, the school had also gotten approval to run degree programs, affiliated to Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ This advice may have been informed by the need to make allowance for future expansion and development of the school which would have been difficult to do inside a mosque. His advice was taken and a new site at Kunmi was found close to Yaro.

⁴⁷ After two weeks of deliberations, it was decided in favor of Kunmi. Kunmi was chosen because it is the less developed of the two communities. Yaro already had a government primary and a secondary school while Kunmi had none. It was decided that citing the school in Kunmi then would help bring development to the town. The school was then moved from Yaro to kunmi. A fundraising was done in 1979 and the fund raised was used to build a block of classrooms. The community in 1983 agitated for the school to be taken over by the government and it has since been under the control of the government. Ishaq, 'Hayat Samhat Sheikh,' 19-20.

⁴⁸ Known as Muhyideen Arabic Secondary School, thus having two schools in the same premises. Discussions with Alhaji Ibrahim Ishaq Shege, Principal, Muhyideen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies. 3-12-2013.

⁴⁹ Fasasi, 'Muhyid Din al- Islamiyah,' 32; Discussions with Alhaji Ibrahim Ishaq Shege, Principal, Muhyideen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies. 3-12-2013.

⁵⁰Discussions with Alhaji Ibrahim Ishaq Shege, Principal, Muhyideen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies. 3-12-2013. See also its website <http://mcoed.edu.ng/>.

Markaz Taalim al Arabi al Islami: A second Markazi institution was established in 1965 by Sheikh Yahaya Murtala of Oke Agodi. He was a disciple of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al-Iluri and had been one of the teachers selected to start Darul Uloom two years earlier. The failure of the adult class of Darul Uloom and his desire to follow in the footsteps of Sheikh Adam, may have led to his establishing his own school. Like all the other scholars, he began his school at home. Then he moved to a rented place at Pakata.⁵¹ Here, he named the school Markaz Masaiyyat (Evening Center). He changed the name to Markaz Ri'ayatu Shabab, then Markaz Ulum al Arabiyya wa Islamiyyat before moving to the permanent site in 1973 and adopting the name Markaz Taalim al Arabi al Islami. He began with four classrooms.⁵² In 1976, he travelled to Al-Azhar University, Cairo, in the manner of his teacher, Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri and by 1977 two Arab scholars were seconded to his school from Al-Azhar University. The two Al-Azhar scholars helped him organize his school into *I'dadiyya* and *Tawjihyya* sections. Through these some of his students were able to go and study at Al-Azhar University.⁵³

Shamsudeen College: In the eastern part of the town, the Girgisu family pioneered the reform of Islamic education along the line of the aforementioned scholars. Shamsudeen Society and School,⁵⁴ is rooted in the works of Sheikh Girgisu Akalambi. He had been on missionary endeavor to the French colony of Abidjan where he met some Arab scholars who introduced him to some modern methods of teaching. When he returned to Ilorin in 1943, he tried to put these into practice. Sheikh Girgisu tried to introduce reforms such as Sheikh Kamalud-deen had done but he was stoutly opposed by the elders of the Gambari community and he shelved the plan.⁵⁵ His efforts led to problems with other scholars of Gambari who reported him to the emir as introducing innovations, things of the *bakatabi* (people of the book i.e Jews and Christians) into Islamic education.⁵⁶

When the emir summoned him, he told the emir that his teaching method is good and a progress for the religion and the people. His explanation apparently satisfied the emir whom he showed the *Qaidat Baghdadi* primer he was using to teach his students. This is not surprising since we know the emir had been very supportive of

⁵¹ Sadiq Jimoh, 'The Life and Activities of Shaykh Yahaya Muritadha of Oke agodi Ilorin' (B.A. Long Essay: Islamic Studies-Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1992) 8.

⁵² Giwa Isiaka, 'Markaz Ta'lim-'l-'Arabi-l-Islami, Oke Agodi Ilorin, The Journey So Far' (B.A. Long Essay: Islamic Studies-Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 2006), 22

⁵³ Discussions with Alhaji Abdulsalam Imam Olayiwola. 6-2-2014

⁵⁴ See Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 279.

⁵⁵ Discussions with Alhaji Ahmad Said (The Imam of Gambari Ward (2002-). 8-7-2013.

⁵⁶ Shamsudeen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies, 2011/2012 Year book.

Sheikh Kamalud-deen and he had faced even stiffer opposition in his reforms.⁵⁷ This part of the town had resisted reforms in Islamic education till after the nation got independence in 1960.⁵⁸ The emir gave his blessing and although Sheikh Girgisu could not establish a formal school like Sheikh Kamalud-deen, he continued his teaching at home using chair, table and chalkboard, without a purpose built school.⁵⁹

Like all the scholars, Sheikh Girgisu's school started from the mosque in his home and later he acquired a piece of land for a purpose-built school. He passed away in 1956 and Sheikh Musa, his younger brother was recalled to Ilorin from Lagos. It took a while before he returned to Ilorin in the early 1960s and it was Sheikh Musa who shifted the school to the Site acquired by Sheikh Girgisu.⁶⁰ While the school had its origin in the educational and missionary endeavors of the elder Girgisu, opposition to his reforms had stalled progress until Sheikh Musa came unto the scene. When he returned to Ilorin, Sheikh Musa raised the issue again of reforming the school along the modern trend and as it happened with the elder Girgisu, there was resistance.

A meeting was called by the elders of Gambari ward and mention was made of the efforts of the elder Girgisu which had been opposed in the mid- 1940s when he first raised the idea of reform. Therefore the new efforts should not be tolerated, they argued. The imam of Gambari, Ahmad (d.1962), had sympathy with the ideas of Sheikh Musa. At the meeting, he allowed everyone to speak without betraying his sympathy. When he stood up to speak, he argued that the school could be beneficial to the people and he advised that when the school eventually starts, everyone should send their children to the school. This stance surprised many who were opposed to the reformation and had hoped the imam would be on their side. By giving support to the reform without directly saying so, the imam encouraged Sheikh Musa to start the school. When the school eventually began, the imam had over a dozen children

⁵⁷ Among other places, Sheikh Kamalud-deen had been stoned in Gambari ward during one of his preaching tours in the town in the early days of his reforms and propagation. Discussions with Alhaji Abdulkareem Saka, 31-10- 2012 and Sheikh Ahmad Tijjani Adisa-Onikoko. 21-6-2012.

⁵⁸ A subtle reason might be the ancestral ethnic background of the inhabitants of Gambari, most of who had come from the Hausa and Borno regions where the resistance to western education had been strongest.

⁵⁹ Shamsudeen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies, 2011/2012 Year book; Discussions with Alhaji Olawale Mustapha Idiagbede. 6-12-2013.

⁶⁰ Akanbi Ajarat Abiola, 'The Contributions of Shamu-su-Deen Society of Nigeria to the Development of Arabic and Islamic Studies in Ilorin' (B.A. Long Essay: Islamic Studies- Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1994), 6. Discussions with Alhaji Olawale Mustapha Idiagbede. 6-12-2013.

from his household sent to the school. Others seeing the action of the imam took their wards to the school as well.⁶¹

A number of factors had been fortuitous to this second attempt at reform in Gambari. Nigeria had just gained its independence and people were full of hope for a prosperous country. At about this time as well, the new emir, Muhammad Sulu-Gambari was making the moves to have Darul Uloom established, so that the option of a reformed Islamic school was not only the integrationist Adabiyya school that had been much vilified by some of the scholars but also the unitary Markazi mode beginning to take root in Ilorin. People were beginning to realize that western education and the reformed Islamic schools were beneficial to the community. The tacit support of the imam as the spiritual leader of the ward also had a remarkable influence in the success of the second attempt in Gambari.

At the beginning, the school had a nursery section based inside the mosque of Sheikh Girgisu. The intermediate class was located in an uncompleted building located not far from the school, from where the pupils graduated into the main school. The main school started with two blocks of three and four classrooms each, running *ibtidaiyya* and *I'dadiyya* levels for four years each.⁶² Some of the first set of students spent up to nine years in the school until the school stabilized.⁶³

The school sourced many of its teachers from Markaz in Lagos, with which it had close relations. Some of the students from the first set were also retained to teach in the school. The students were paying a monthly fee of one shilling at this period in the late 1960s. The school was also being maintained from monies gotten from sermons.⁶⁴ In addition, Shamsudeen College was able to source book donations from Saudi Arabia and Lebanon for the use of its students.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Discussions with Alhaji Ahmad Said, the Imam of Gambari Ward, 8-7-2013; Dr Abubakar Ita Ajia 28-7-2013 and Dr Ibrahim Mustapha. 5-7-2013.

⁶² Discussions with Dr Ibrahim Mustapha. 5-7-2013.

⁶³ Among their early teachers were ustadh Abdulhafiz Ahmad who had a certificate in Arabic from University of Ibadan and Mualim Salihu Oko-Iya who had studied under Sheikh Kamalud-deen in his integrationist Adabiyya School. Discussions with Mualim Salihu Oko-iya, 27-7-2013 and Dr Ibrahim Mustapha. 5-7-2013.

⁶⁴ This sort of money formed an important source of funding for virtually all the schools. Moneys realized during weekly or annual Ramadan public sermons were channeled towards the establishment of schools. These moneys were given at the end of sermons by the audience when prayers were to be offered.

⁶⁵ The school also had an Arab teacher, Hilal Ahmad, seconded to the school from Saudi Arabia in the 1970s as part of efforts to improve the quality of its teaching. Discussions with Alhaji Ahmad Said (The Imam of Gambari Ward). 8-7-2013.

Shamsudeen Society, the missionary outfit, which had been established at about the same time as the reformed school was also being run alongside the school and both complimented each other. This trend of having an organizational arm of a school could be seen in the Adabiyya School and Muhyideen School as well. The organizational arms were established for the purpose of propagation and missionary activities. Only the Markazi School did not establish an organization arm. It focused mainly on the provision of education and all missionary activities were carried out within the ambit of the school environment. Perhaps in place of an organization, Sheikh Adam devoted his energy into writing, of which he was prolific and even had a printing press.⁶⁶ He was also a pan-Islamic activist, not only within Nigeria but across the Muslim World.⁶⁷ His disciples mostly followed in his footsteps; hence Markazi schools in Ilorin mostly do not have missionary organizations complementing the educational institutions as found with some other schools.

Al Mahad Al Deen Al-Azhar: After Nigeria got its independence the Adabiyya stream had another landmark achievement in its propagation of Islamic education. In 1962, Sheikh Kamalud-deen visited Al-Azhar University in Egypt and reached an agreement with the authorities of the school to have a branch of Al-Azhar in Nigeria. Named Al Mahad Al Deen Al-Azhar, it was the first of such affiliation in sub-Saharan Africa.⁶⁸ In 1963, the school opened with Al-Azhar University sending two teachers, Sheikh Muhammad Shadhili and Sheikh Muhammad Kamalud-Deen Ad-Danasuri. The responsibility of the school fell on the Ansarul Islam Society, the missionary arm of the Adabiyya School.⁶⁹ It was responsible for the accommodation and transportation of the Al-Azhar scholars in Nigeria while Al-Azhar University was responsible for the salary and personal expenses of the scholars.⁷⁰

The school started with a rented building along Kamalud-deen Street with thirty students. It would remain on this site and another building nearby for sixteen years before moving to its permanent site at Ogidi in 1978 when it also began its *thanawiyya* level. The school offers the *I'dadiyya* and *thanawiyya* levels of

⁶⁶ Hashir Abdusalam Adekanmi, 'The Da'awah Theme in the Works of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi al-Ilori' (MA Dissertation, Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1985), 21.

⁶⁷ Reichmuth, 'Sheikh Adam.'

⁶⁸ See Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 262-272.

⁶⁹ Although it was not an easy relationship in the beginning with the students of Sheikh Kamalud-deen being the Adabiyya while Ansarul Islam consists of mainly non-students.

⁷⁰ Nasir, 'The Role of Mahad,' 32-37; M.M. Jimba, 'The Role of Azhar University in Educating the Nigerian youth: Ilorin Azhar Institute as a Case study.' Paper presented at the Workshop on Islamic Institutions of Higher Learning in Africa: Their History, Mission and Role in Regional Development, Duke, USA, October, 2013.

education after which some of the best students are given scholarship to study for a degree program at Al-Azhar University in Egypt. English language ⁷¹ and science subjects in Arabic form part of its curriculum.⁷² This would enable some of its students to pursue disciplines in the pure sciences such as medicine, geology and agricultural science in Egypt and Saudi Arabia.⁷³

Further Developments in Islamic Education from the 1970s

The decade of the 1970s saw further expansion of the formal Arabic schools. Graduates of the earliest schools began to establish their own schools and others began their own as well. Two of Sheikh Kamalud-deen students, Sheikh Abdulrahim Aminullah Oniwasi-agbaye (d. March 2012) and Imam Yakub Aliagan established their own schools around this period. However, they continued a lifelong assistance and collaborations with their teacher such that their school may as well be regarded as extensions of their teacher's school. For example, it was not until 1983 when Imam Yakubu Aliagan was made imam of his quarter that he was finally released of most obligations to Sheikh Kamalud-deen.⁷⁴ Oniwasi-agbaye established his school on a land he called Madinat Tajul Adab after the teacher of his teacher. He was able to connect to Saudi Arabia philanthropic agencies that assisted his school with teachers and funds. He continued to assist and represent his teacher throughout his lifetime.

This period coincided with the oil boom and economic prosperity in the country. The Federal Government began the ambitious Universal Primary Education (UPE) program in 1976, increasing access to public schools which also meant demand for religious teachers in schools. This favored the graduates of the *madaris*. The Adabiyya with its integrationist system benefitted from this opportunity of providing religious subject teachers in primary schools run by the government. The government took over many faith based schools especially the Christian Mission Schools but Muslim schools were also involved. For some of the Muslim organizations like Ansarul Islam Society⁷⁵ and Ansarud-deen Society, the

⁷¹ A former student of Sheikh Kamalud-deen, Sheikh Ahmad Adisa-Onikoko was teaching the English Language course of the school. Zumratul Adabiyya was feeding Al-Ma'had al-Dini Al-Azhari with its graduates.

⁷² Nasir, 'The Role of Mahad,' 32-37.

⁷³ Discussions with Dr Bukhari Busayry Sulaiman (ophthalmologist), 1-1-2014 and Alhaji Mahmud Hanafi (geologist), 2-1-2014. Both were alumnae of the school.

⁷⁴ Discussions with Imam Yakubu Aliagan. 12-9-2012.

⁷⁵ Ansarul Islam Primary School (erstwhile Adabiyya Muslim School) had been taken over by the government of the Northern Region as early as 1967, before the UPE of the mid-1970s. Kwara State inherited this burden when it was created from the northern region in the same year. Thereafter Sheikh Kamalud-deen concentrated on his Arabic and Islamic School, which he held as an intellectual legacy and trust from his teacher and which is separate from

government takeover was a relief. The financial burden of maintaining the schools were enormous on these organizations with weak financial base.⁷⁶

These two organizations had been at the forefront of providing western education for Muslim children with scarce resources. In handing over the schools to the government, two reasons may have informed this action. By this time, resistance to western education among Muslims of Ilorin was minimal, the point of possibilities and benefits to be derived from the integration of both systems, which Sheikh Kamalud-deen's school was based on was already beyond much doubt, so that he could afford to let go the western section. Secondly, the financial relief of government takeover was a welcome development, given the scarce resources at the disposals of scholars generally.⁷⁷ Despite handing over to the government, the organizations still have some influence over the school such as who becomes the head of the school, so that Muslim interests are protected.⁷⁸

However, for another school at Ita-Egba, Isobat Isfaq (No.16), the story was a little different. The Sheikh of the school had been given a portion of a waterlogged area belonging to the Magaji-Nda⁷⁹ family (a title holding family) to build his madrasah. Like most starting up madrasah, a shed was erected to serve as the school. In the expansion of schools under the UPE program in the mid-1970s, some residents of the area wanted the government to site a primary school in the area. They pressured the Magaji-Nda family to sell the land on which the Madrasah was located to the government. The family then offered the scholar the opportunity to buy the land so he could continue his school on the said land.⁸⁰

Unable to afford the price, the proprietor sought for help but no one could help and unable to raise the money, he gave up the land to the government, which paid the family for the land. The Magaji-Nda by way of compensation then gave the Sheikh the frontage of his house to relocate the Madrasah to. This was used for a while before the Sheikh returned his school into his living quarters. This event made many scholars to see the government's action as a systematic scheme of taking over

the integrated primary school and continued at a nearby location. Discussions with Sheikh Ahmad Adisa-Onikoko.12-2-2014.

⁷⁶ Ansarud-deen Society also continued to operate its Qur'anic School within its mosque premises. Discussions with Alhaji Shafii Muhammad (Chief Imam of Ansarud-Deen Society Ilorin). 17-5-2012.

⁷⁷ Fellar Lamar, Discourses in Islamic Education Theories in the Light of Texts and contexts', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*,(2011)32:4, 479-495. A similar attitude was observed with state funded Islamic Schools in Britain.

⁷⁸ Discussions with Alhaji Ahmad O. Kamalud-deen. 24-9-2012.

⁷⁹ One of the traditional title holders.

⁸⁰ Discussions with Ustadh Abdulkareem Idris. 9-12-2013.

Qur'anic schools.⁸¹ At Shamsudeen College, a somewhat similar scenario occurred.⁸²

This concern that government would eventually take over all Islamic schools decided some Muslim scholars to form an association to defend the interest of the Islamic schools and prevent such take-over in the future. Although the government had not actually taken over the school and people of the area had been part of the scheme that ousted the madrasah from its borrowed location, the impression had been strong in the minds of the scholars that government had interest in taking over Islamic schools.⁸³

The association, formed in 1976 as a result of the incident of the Ita-Egba Madrasah was named Joint Association of Arabic and Islamic Schools (JAAIS). This organization worked for the best part of a decade till the mid-1980s when it gradually fizzled out. The organization sought to prevent government takeover of *madaris* and to coordinate the activities of *madaris* in Ilorin and bridging it with the state government education sector.⁸⁴ The organization also worked towards getting the government to be giving some grants-in-aid to the *madaris*. As part of this effort the organization went on fact finding mission to Lokoja and Agege in Lagos to see the system of the *Madaris* operating in those places and how these could be replicated in Ilorin.⁸⁵ The result of the fact finding mission enabled some of the

⁸¹ Discussions with Retired Grand Khadi of Kwara State, Sheikh Abdulkadir Orire. 25-12-2012 and Ustadh Abdulkareem Idris. 9-12-2013.

⁸² In 1976, when the Universal Primary Education (UPE) program began, the government requested from the madrasah to allow the government to use the classes of the madrasah in the morning for its lessons of western education and for the madrasah lessons to be taking place in the evening. Alhaji Mustapha Idiagbede (an in-law of the Girgisu family and Secretary of the Shamsudeen School and Society) in consultation with the family objected and then offered the government a part of the land of the school to build their classrooms. After the government built and began operating the school, the government run primary school then overshadowed the madrasah. Alhaja Mustapha Idiagbede (daughter to Sheikh Girgisu Akalambi (d.1956) would later feel uncomfortable with the situation and she asked the government in the late 1980s to relocate the school from the land of the madrasah. She even offered the government a piece of land to facilitate the movement but she was not able to get the government to relocate the school until 2012. Discussions with Alhaji Olawale Mustapha Idiagbede. 6-12-2013.

⁸³ Discussions with Retired Grand Khadi of Kwara State, Sheikh Abdulkadir Orire. 25-12-2012. This skepticism of government's intention is similar to what was observed in Mali. See Louis Brenner, 'Muslim Schooling, The State and The Ideology of Development in Mali' -in-Thomas Salter & Kenneth King, *Africa, Islam and development: Islam and development in Africa - African Islam, African development* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2000), 243-245.

⁸⁴ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 10.

⁸⁵ Discussions with Retired Grand Khadi of Kwara State, Alhaji Abdulkadir Orire. 25-12-2012.

schools to affiliate to Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, like the Madrasah visited in Lokoja. Justice Abdulkadir Orire, The Grand Khadi of the state played a prominent role in this organization, though he was not running any madrasah.⁸⁶

Among the major achievements of the association was getting the government to recognize the Islamic schools and giving grant-in-aid to the schools, though only some of the schools benefitted from these grants. The dwindling economic fortunes of the country and government shifting interest on the private Arabic education sector among other issues contributed to the association going comatose. The absence of a system for younger scholars to succeed the leaders also contributed to the association going into limbo. Like its predecessor, the National Association of Arabic and Islamic Schools Proprietors (NAISP) which replaced JAAIS at the beginning of the twenty-first century, was not patronized by every school. JAAIS seemed to have withered away, with government declined interest in assisting the organization. The new NAISP emerged of its own accord and under different circumstances at the beginning of the twenty-first century without any direct connection to the defunct JAAIS.

It would appear that the Adabiyya network of schools were not prominent in this organization (JAAIS). This might have been due subtle rivalry between the different networks of scholars. The Adabiyya *madaris* might have been seen as a strong and self-reliant group, given their earlier head start.⁸⁷ The Adabiyya on their own might have viewed the impact of the organization on Islamic schools as minimal, hence the little interest in the organization. In its active life span of just over a decade it was able to achieve some goals for the schools. The Ministry of Education recognized its existence and the establishment of a unit for Islamic education in the ministry was related to establishment of the organization.

The Ministry of Education also developed a joint examination called Junior Islamic School Certificate (JISC) and Senior Islamic School Certificate (SISC) for students of the *madaris*.⁸⁸ The ministry endorsed the certificate of the aforementioned examinations for admission into higher institutions and for those travelling to the Middle-East for further studies. The organization was also able to liaise with Saudi Arabia Embassy in Lagos. Though based in Ilorin, it worked for the interest of

⁸⁶ Others include Alhaji Ahmad Said (later Imam Gambari), Alhaji Ahmad Imam Fazazi (Markas al Khairi), Sheikh Abdullahi Jubril Sahban (Muhyideen College) Sheikh Yahaya Murtala (Markaz Taalim li Arabi), Alhaji Abdulwahab Sakariya (Madrasatu Tahsib I Khairiyyah), Alhaji Abdullahi Ghali (Jawairul Islamiyya), Alhaji Baba Olomigbona (Al Adabiyya Saadiya) among others. Discussions with Retired Grand Khadi of Kwara State, Alhaji Abdulkadir Orire. 25-12-2012.

⁸⁷ The old antagonism of its tolerance of western education might have been a subtle reason.

⁸⁸ Correspondence with the Kwara State Ministry of Education. 2013.

Islamic schools in Kwara State in general.⁸⁹ The organization itself operated in a semi-informal way. There seemed to have been no change in its leadership throughout its active existence. Government weak support to the private Arabic education sector coincided with divergence of interests of its members. Members grew old and with no formal mechanism of leadership succession, the organization from the mid-1980s went into inactivity and has remained comatose since then.

⁸⁹ One of the embassy staff, Sheikh Abdulrahman Ibn Abdul Rasheed Uwainy used to visit the organization in Ilorin. Discussions with Imam Ahmad Fazazi.17-12-2012; Ishaq, 'Hayat Samhat Sheikh,' 10.

Chapter four b

Survey and Profile of forty Madaris ¹

The semi-informal nature of the *madaris* makes it difficult to have very accurate data and knowledge about them. Three works stand out in their detailed study of the *madaris*: they include the “Religious Education Committee of Arabic and Islamic knowledge of 1980” ² of the early 1980s, Reichmuth’s *Islamische Bildung* ³ and the work of S.O Muhammed ⁴ carried out in the late 1980s. In Muhammed’s work twenty *madaris* were surveyed, most of which were not located in Ilorin. Only nine of the *madaris* surveyed were located in Ilorin town, the area of the present study. In the absence of detailed records in most of the *madaris*, it is difficult to reconstruct the stages these schools have passed through since establishment. Despite attempts at formality, the informal nature of Islamic education still prevails. To have some understanding of the organization and running of the *madaris*, a survey of forty *madaris* was carried out.⁵ Forty was chosen with the view that despite the absence of accurate data and records, forty *madaris* form between a quarter to half of the whole *madaris* in Ilorin. The oldest and most organized have been included as well as smaller and newer ones. As such the schools in this survey fairly represent the spectrum of the *madaris* to be found in Ilorin.

A madrasah in the context of this research is a school that has either one or all of the *ibtidaiyya*,⁶ *I’dadiyya* or *thanawiyya* levels of Islamic education. They follow a curriculum to impart the knowledge on various religious subjects, roughly grouped

into Islamic sciences, Arabic language/literature and general subjects. They also have a purpose built school for this. In one instance (No.36) the school uses a rented place. Another makes use of a shop and its verandah (No.29). The curriculum and purpose built premises are the two key indices that distinguish them from the Qur’anic schools where mainly Qur’an reading are taught to the students,

¹ For a similar survey in northern Nigeria see Muhammad S. Umar, ‘Profiles of New Islamic Schools in Northern Nigeria’ http://www.international.ucla.edu/media/files/Profiles_of_Islamic_Schools.pdf accessed on 3-3-2013.

² All efforts to get this document were futile, as neither the Ministry of Education in Ilorin nor the principal authors have a copy. I have relied on secondary reference to it in other works.

³ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 340-351. 230 schools were listed.

⁴ Muhammad, ‘A Study of Selected,’ 81-82.

⁵ See Appendix XV and XVI for the sample questionnaire and selected answers from the forty schools.

⁶ See Appendix VII for comparison of levels of both the western and Islamic system levels of education.

sometimes with hadith and a few other introductory texts of theology or jurisprudence.⁷

The *madaris* are not uniform in terms of curriculum; as a result we can classify them into different categories based on their curriculum. There are those that tolerate English language, in addition to the remainder of Arabic and Islamic subjects. Zumratul Adabiyya and its sister Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Al-Azhari, where also science subjects in Arabic are taught and the Adabiyya network of schools fit into this category. There are those that do not allow for English language in the school such as Darul Uloom and most Markazi *madaris*. However, Markaz Taalim Arabi, Oke Agodi, tolerated English in its curriculum.

There is yet the category of those who are integrationist in approach having a number of western subjects in addition to Arabic and Islamic subjects such as Muhyideen College and Shamsudeen College. In addition, these also had a separate western primary and or secondary school, run and managed on its behalf by the government within the same premises.⁸ They use the National Board for Arabic and Islamic Education Studies (NBAIS) curriculum. Then there are those who are bifurcate, running a western nursery/primary school in the morning and running its Madrasah in the evening. Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah and Muhyideen College of Education offer tertiary education as well.

It is difficult to arrive at a specific number of the Qur'anic schools. All that is needed for their establishment is a teacher and a student. Any place could serve as the school; mosques, living quarters, verandah, under a tree or in open spaces. As such at least over a thousand of Qur'anic schools exist throughout Ilorin. Based on the definition of a Madrasah given above, we can safely conclude that there were around a hundred *madaris* in Ilorin when this research was conducted. Not included in this category are the new and emerging *Tahfiz* (memorization) schools. These will be discussed later in this chapter.

In previous research on Islamic education in Ilorin, various numbers of Islamic schools were given. In those studies; the different categories of schools such as the traditional Qur'anic schools and the Madrasah had been grouped together. Various figures had been given and none of the figures was conclusive for obvious reasons.

⁷ For classical definition of madrasah see George Makdisi, 'Muslim Institutions of Learning in Eleventh Century Baghdad' *Bulletin of the School of oriental and African Studies*, Vol.21. Issue 1 (1961) 12.

⁸ Shamsudeen College's government run western primary school has been moved out of its premises in 2012.



Fig.15. Pupils grouped into classes. Note the blue (Markazi) uniform on some of the pupils and the mosque. Fiwa-Kesin Qur'anic School, Oko-Erin. Picture taken by the researcher in 2013.



Fig.16. A pupil devolving his knowledge to junior pupils. Fiwa-Kesin Qur'anic School, Oko-Erin. Picture taken by the researcher in 2013.

It is almost impossible to arrive at a certain or specific figure because of the nature of the Qur'anic schools. Some change locations or name, others may no longer exist. Colonial records of Qur'anic schools in Ilorin varied over the years they were taken as to be inconclusive.⁹ Some Qur'anic schools also consider their selves as madrasah.

Aliy-Kamal gave a figure of eighty-nine Islamic schools¹⁰ and Reichmuth¹¹ surveyed two hundred and thirty schools. Both researches were carried out in the decade of the 1980s, one at the beginning of the decade, the other in last half of the decade. The figure of three hundred and fifty-one private Arabic schools given in the Religious Education Committee report of 1980,¹² covers the whole of Kwara state, parts of which have been excised to Kogi State and others merged with Niger State in the 1991 state creation by the Federal Government. The more popular and enduring *madaris* got mentioned in all the reports. In between the researches mentioned above new *madaris* have emerged from the 1990s through to the twenty-first century.

The popular slate Qur'anic School (*ile kewu wala*) had by the beginning of the twenty-first century mostly faded away except in some places. Children with slates (*wala*) sitting on ground around a teacher was a rare scene. Where pupils were seen with slates, they now sit on benches instead of mat on the floor.¹³ New generation Qur'anic schools; those established from the late 1980s by graduates of *madaris* basically use the *Qaidat Baghdadi* primer for teaching reading skills, from the *huruf hijaiyah* (alphabet) to syllable formation and it also contained the *juzu amma*, the last 1/30th of the Qur'an which also contained the shortest and easily memorized chapters.

These young teachers having passed through the more organized Madrasah system introduced some organization to their open air Qur'anic schools as well. Though often operating inside a compound with open spaces where they arrange benches, they group their students into different classes according to their levels. The youngest children are taught to read from the blackboard or simply to chant after a teacher in rote. Those who have advanced to using the *Qaidat Baghdadi* and those

⁹ See Appendix XI.

¹⁰ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in,' 130-137.

¹¹ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 340-351. 230 schools listed.

¹² Abdullahi Abdulganiyy, 'The Kwara State College of Arabic and Islamic Legal Studies, Ilorin: the journey so far' (MA dissertation, Islamic Studies, Department of Religion, University of Ilorin, 2003), 28.

¹³ One of such was found at the entrance to Darul Uloom, in the course of this research. It was being run by a scholar living opposite the school. See fig. 7 and 8.

who have advanced into reading the remainder of the whole Qur'an are kept in separate classes.



Fig.17. Pupils of Fiwa-Kesin Qur'anic School, Oko-Erin during their wolimat (graduation) ceremony. Picture taken by researcher in 2013.

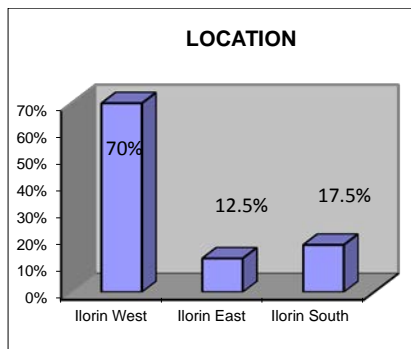


Chart 1. Location of the surveyed the *madaris*

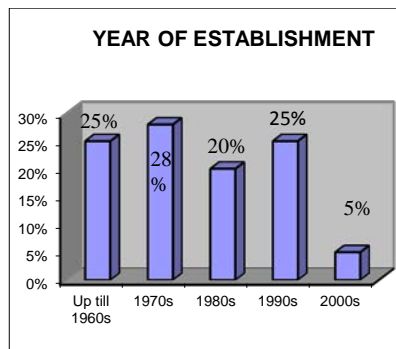


Chart 2. Period of establishment of surveyed *madaris*

Hadith and poems were also taught, especially those recited to open and close the school. Some of these schools introduced wearing of uniforms and they have badges even though the schools have no purpose built classes nor some of the administrative paraphernalia of the *madaris*. Unlike the slate Qur'an schools with

mainly one teacher, these new generation Qur'an schools tended to have more teachers. Some of them would be mates from some of the *madaris*. Sometimes the teachers were also pursuing further studies in one of the higher institutions of learning in the city. Like the traditional slate schools, token amounts are collected monthly from the pupils but these are not enforced and many default in paying. Some of these teachers augment the little income by providing home tutorship to children of the Muslim elites or professionals at their homes, especially those living in Government Reserved Area (GRA) or in localities where open Qur'anic schools were not many or nearby. Provision of prayer services and officiating in socio-religious ceremonies such as naming and weddings also served as a most important source of income for the scholars.

In one of such schools the teacher introduced a two page reading primer to replace the *Qaidat Baghdadi*. This was as a result of the young pupils constantly tearing the *Qaidat Baghdadi*. The words of the Qur'an are considered too sacred for it to be torn and littered around in pieces.¹⁴ His pupils start by rote learning if less than five years old. From that class they would graduate to the two page primer.¹⁵ If the pupil is between eight to ten years old, the pupil could start directly with the primer.¹⁶

Establishment: The *madaris* were virtually all founded from the home of the founders. None of the schools was completely built before learning began. The closest to having a school built before learning began was Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah (No.31) but even that was for its lower levels and unusually, it was the only school

¹⁴ Discussions with Alfa Salihu Hambali Kewulere.6-11-2012. He named the school *Mahadul Fityatul Salihina*. He also teaches in a government primary school. He had attended technical school and proceeded to have a diploma and an NCE certificates.

¹⁵ He had devised this on his own and had it laminated. It lacks the standardization of the *Qaidat Baghdad* but it serves the purpose of teaching reading in Arabic. A printer-entrepreneur also produced an abridged two page primer derived from the *Qaidat Baghdad* being sold in the open market. However their uses are still limited.

¹⁶ Through this primer he taught his pupils alphabet and syllable formation that is the foundation of learning to read the Qur'an. Though the standard of this primer is not up to that of the *Qaidat Baghdadi*, it was able to serve the purpose it was meant for. Since Yoruba language does not have some of the sounds of Arabic, similar sounds may be used in their stead. The new primer is typed and laminated. This eliminated the concern of it being torn or scattered about. The whole lesson of alphabet and syllable learning is thus limited to a sheet of paper.

that began with provision of higher education before that of the lower levels. The school began with its diploma program inside a mosque in 1995 before the buildings for classes were eventually put up.¹⁷ Only in few instances do we have the *madaris* using a rented place. Markaz Taalim Oke-Agodi (No.4)¹⁸ at a point rented a place before moving to its permanent site. Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Al-Azhari (No.6)¹⁹ also used a rented place for a while. Limited financial resources played a key role in the schools hardly using a rented place. Most would not have been able to afford the rent. The very weak financial base of the *madaris* made it difficult for the schools to complete the building of their *madaris* even for those that have been in existence for decades.

While schools like Zumratul Adabiyya (No.1) and Isobat Isfaq (No.16) that have their buildings within or close to living quarters of the founders, some of the schools had to site their buildings on the outskirts of the town and sometimes in difficult terrains subject to erosion or flooding. Some built their schools in waterlogged areas because these were the locations where they could afford to buy the land at the time of establishing the schools. The sites were often bush in the beginning. Only later would settlements come to surround the schools as the town was expanding. The least expensive lands were often the choice for the siting of the schools, in the absence of funds to finance the project of building the schools.

Location: Ilorin West Local Government Area had the largest concentration of these schools followed by Ilorin East Local Government Area and Ilorin South Local Government Area respectively. Ilorin west has the largest concentration of the scholars, comprising Alanamu and Ajikobi wards. These two are the biggest wards of the four wards that make up Ilorin. This explains the concentration of the schools in Ilorin West Local Government Area.

The motto of the schools naturally reflects some religious ethics or belief. Adabiyya schools generally use '*adab fawqan ilm*' (etiquette is superior to knowledge). Maashar Soliheenah Kuntu (No.12) uses *Nuru wa taqwa* (light and piety). Common symbols to be found in their logos include book (Qur'an), crescent, pen, minaret and mosque.

Founders: Most of the schools were first generation schools with the founders still alive and in control of the school. Some are under second generation managers, usually children of the founders, such as Markaz Taalim Oke Agodi, Zumratul

¹⁷ Discussions with Dr Abdulkadir Oba Solagberu, founder of *Darul Kitab wa Sunnah*.19-12-2012.

¹⁸ Jimoh, 'The Life and Activities,' 8.

¹⁹ Discussions with Alhaji Waliy Aliy-Kamal. June 2012.

Adabiyya, Bahr-I-Ulum and Jawairu Islamiyya. All of the first generation founders never had a formal madrasah education nor western schooling but some like Sheikh Kamalud-deen and Sheikh Sahban had acquired some western learning privately.

In responding to question number two, reasons given for the establishment of the schools included 'continuing a tradition in the family, promotion of Islamic and Arabic education, protecting Islamic education against the domineering western education, responding to modern trends in education, all of which are subsumed in the primary goal of *daawah* (propagation) of religion.' Religion is seen as threatened by modern secular world and western secular education. Despite its beneficial side it is perceived as the handmaiden of the secular world against religion. These schools emerged in response to this threat to religion and the custodians of its heritage. While not completely against western education, they were wary of its ability to subsume Islamic education under its wing or obliterate it altogether.

Administration: Though most of the schools have an administrative structure of the Founder-Governing Board- Principal-Staff hierarchy, most have these structures only in name. Despite their attempts at formalities like the western schools, most of these formalities remain informal. Sometimes this is attitudinal, most of the times financial constraints is the major factor. Unable to meet the financial implications of most of the formal structures, they exist mostly in name and were minimally used in running the school.

Record keeping was not very strong in the *madaris*. Those who have combined western education with Islamic education tended to have more record keeping culture than those who did not. Even in such schools, the record keeping of the western section tended to be stronger than in the Islamic section. The informal root of Islamic education is partly responsible for this. Formalities were means to sustain the informalities of religious education and in the absence of means to maintain the formalities, the informalities predominated the operations.

Only Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah had specific boarding system. Even this is semi-formal since only lodging is provided; the students were responsible for their own food. Most of the rest organized boarding in an informal way. Students lived with the teacher who allocated a part of his building to the students. Some would be students given to him from within and outside the city to train;²⁰ from the Yoruba towns of the southwest who still revere Ilorin as the center of Islamic learning among the Yoruba. The schools were too financially weak to operate a full formal

²⁰ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung* , 104

boarding system as in the western system. Some of the schools employed nonacademic staff, usually drivers and security guards while others use voluntary helpers, sometimes neighbors seeking to serve God through such voluntary service, such as keeping the school environment clean.²¹

Equipment: Most schools have audio equipment especially microphone and loud speakers that serves for call to prayer as well as public preaching. Because these schools are extensions of the religion, you tend to see more funds expended on the mosques of the schools than the school facilities. The building of the mosque in many instances dominated the landscape of the school as the most imposing building. One can discern religious motive in this. The founders felt the religion is more important than the school which is just an extension of the religion. Religious knowledge does not necessarily require the paraphernalia of modern school facilities but religion cannot be practiced without the mosque. The mosque also attracts financial support from the community more than the school.

As such the mosque is more financially robust than the school even though both were built by the same person within the same compound. The mosque is seen as a communal building for the sake of Allah (*fisebilillah*) while the school is the personal property of the founder. The community has a connection to the mosque more than to the school. Everyone attends the mosque at one point or the other but only limited number of students will attend the madrasah. The Madrasah is thus farther away from the consciousness of the people than the mosque. Many people not connected to the Madrasah education system are less likely to be aware of the challenges facing these schools. The scholars bore the difficulties as test of faith and hardly complain. The independent spirit of the scholars also distanced people from the affairs of the schools.

Computers are becoming popular among the owners of the schools due to their portability and affordability and can serve for personal use outside of the school as well. Some schools have computer studies on its subject list (Nos. 1, 3, 4, &5). In the era of typewriters and cyclostyling machines, such facilities were hard to come by as indicated from research carried out in the late eighties.²² Only a few had

²¹ Discussions with Alhaji Fatihu Yahaya Murtala, *Mudir* (Proprietor), Markaz Taalim li Arabi Oke Agodi. 8-10-2012.

²² Muhammad, 'A Study of Selected,' 101.

photocopying machines. Two of the *madaris* have a website ²³each while another three have plans to have one. ²⁴ This shows a trend of moving with the time.

Female teachers were rare and mostly were to be found in schools having a western section, where the women teach. One school had the wife of the proprietor helping in the Islamic section at some point (No. 29). Generally only few women have had the kind of educational qualification needed to teach and the social role of women as wives and mothers serves as further constraints. Islam also places women under the guardianship of men, thus less likely to play the mentoring role a male scholar adopts toward his students. Only one woman from Ilorin studied in Egypt in the



Fig.18. The mosque in contrast with the classrooms of Markaz Shabab Suadai (No.38).

²³ Schools No.3 and 31. <http://www.mcoed.edu.ng/> and <http://dks.com.ng/>. Apparently the websites mainly serve the tertiary education sections of the two schools.

²⁴ Schools No.5; 6; 15.

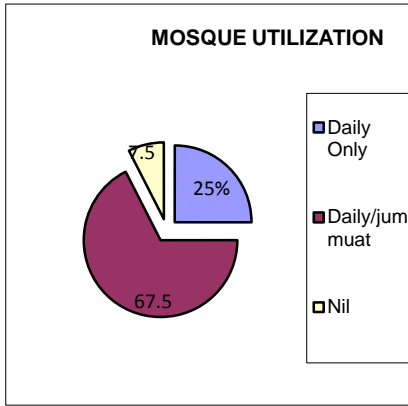


Chart 3. Mosque usage in the surveyed *madaris*

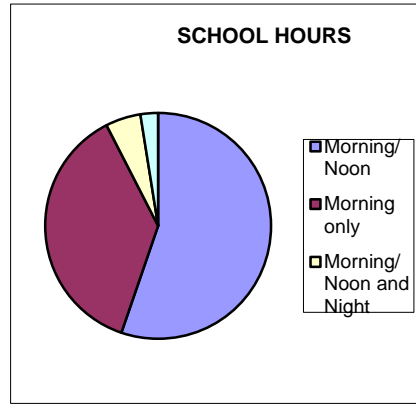


Chart 4. School hours in the surveyed *madaris*



Fig. 19. Morning Assembly at Darul Uloom.

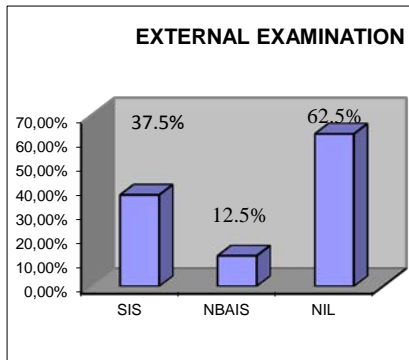


Chart 5. External Examinations in the surveyed *madaris*

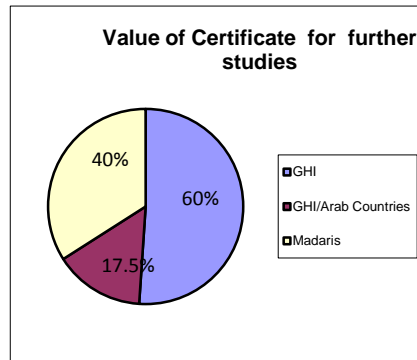


Chart 6. Use of certificates for further studies

mid-1980s, but even this opportunity came outside Ilorin.²⁵ By the twenty-first century, female graduates of Darul Kitab was-Sunnah received scholarship for further studies in Qatar.²⁶ Other women who have had Middle Eastern education only acquired it as wives accompanying their husbands to the Middle East for studies.²⁷ Women educated along the Islamic lines have always remained in the background and were especially influential in promoting informal education among the womenfolk.

Learning and Teaching: Many of the *madaris* developed their own curriculum, especially those of the first generation schools, established up till the decade of the 1960s. Subsequent schools have either followed on their lead by using their curriculum or a combination of their own and that of one of the early schools. The Adabiyya network of schools tended to follow the Adabiyya curriculum while the Markazi network also followed the curriculum of Markaz. From the 1960s when Al-Ma’had al-Dini al-AI-Azhari was established, the curriculum of Al-Azhar also became popular among the schools who either adopted it whole or in combination with their own.

²⁵ Discussions with Hajiya Khadijat Abdussalam.9-12-2013. She left Ilorin for Lagos to avoid an early marriage tradition in the family. She enrolled in an integrationist school in Lagos run by a friend of her mother. From this school she got scholarship to study in Egypt. She is a presenter of the Islamic programme ‘Al-Hidayah’ on Radio Kwara.

²⁶ Discussions with the Provost of Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah , Dr Ahmad Faozy Fazazy.23-9-2013.

²⁷ Discussions with Alhaja Habeebah Abimbola Otuyo, a female Arabic teacher. She also presents a programme on television during the annual Ramadan fast. 11-12-13



Fig. 20. A class in session at Darul Uloom Pictures taken by the researcher in 2014.

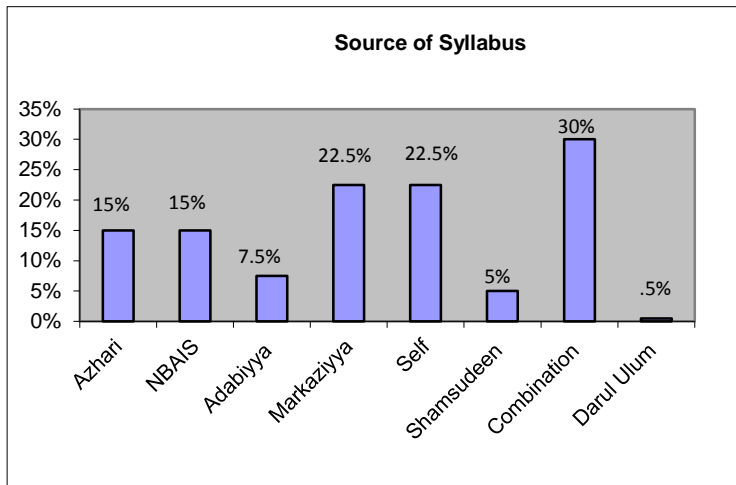


Chart 7. Source of syllabus in the surveyed *madaris*

The Al-Azhari curriculum cuts across the Markazi and Adabiyya networks since both networks are connected to it. Connection with Saudi Arabia from the 1970s also added the curriculum of Saudi Arabia institutions like that of the University of Medina to the options available. There is also the curriculum of the National Board for Arabic and Islamic Education Studies (NBAIS)²⁸ under the auspices of the

²⁸ The Board, though having antecedents from the 1960s only became a government approved agency with legislative backing in 2011. See R.D Abubakre, 'The National Board

Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. This came into the picture in the twenty-first century. This is being used in the bifurcate/integrationist schools such as Muhyideen and Shamsudeen Colleges which enables the students to sit for a central examination conducted by NBAIS based in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

Levels to be found in the schools ranged from *raodat atfal* (nursery), *ibtidaiyya* (primary), *I'dadiyya* (intermediate), *thanawiyya* or *Tawjihiiyya* (secondary) to diploma and National Certificate of Education (NCE) levels. Only Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah offers a diploma²⁹ course and Muhyideen College of Education offers NCE, of two and three years respectively. The provision of tertiary education began in the last decade of the twentieth century. These were affiliated to Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah began as a diploma awarding institute in 1995 while Muhyideen College of Arabic and Islamic studies began its NCE program in the year 2005. Muhyideen had also been given approval to begin its affiliated degree program which it had begun by 2013. In the absence of a coordinating central authority, each school operates each of the levels of education differently. The two colleges offering affiliated higher education courses use the curriculum of the institution they were affiliated to. None is yet to independently offer a tertiary course.

Raodat al atfal (the kindergarten/nursery level) entrance age ranges between one to two years old. Not all schools offer this. It is a fairly recent development partly due to the younger age children get to start learning and partly in competition with private nursery schools that began to dominate the provision of western education from the end of the twentieth century. Only nine of the forty schools surveyed have this section. All the schools operating the *ibtidaiyya* level were established between the 1970s and the first decade of the twenty-first century, three of them operating the bifurcate system.

The duration of the *Ibtidaiyya* level ranges between two and four years depending on the school. This is rated the equivalent of the primary of the western system. Before *Raodat al atfal* became popular, the *ibtidaiyya* is sometimes considered to be the nursery school equivalent. The range of subjects taught at this level ranges

for Arabic and Islamic Studies: a legacy of Sir Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the Saradauna of Sokoto.' Paper delivered at the Golden Jubilee of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. November, 2012.

²⁹ This used to be a three year course before it was reduced to two years. In recent years Arabists have advocated for a return to the three year duration to bolster what they consider dwindling fortunes of Arabic Studies, see Abdulganiy Abdus Salaam Oladosu, *Fluctuations in the Fortunes of Arabic Education in Nigeria*, 115th Inaugural Lecture, University of Ilorin (Ilorin: University of Ilorin Press, 2012.) and Oloyede, *Islamics: The Conflux*.

between six and eleven subjects. One school had 16 subjects (no.33) on its list of subjects. The duration of *I'dadiyya* for Adabiyya network of schools is three years and four years for the Markaziyya network respectively. Three of the schools have *I'dadiyya* as their lowest level.³⁰ The *I'dadiyya* level is the most common of the levels to all the schools. While all the schools have the *I'dadiyya* level, not all of them have the other levels. Some have only two or three of the levels. Only Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah and Muhyideen College have all the levels in their respective schools. Eleven of the schools do not have *thanawiyya/Tawjihiiyya level*.

The duration of *thanawiyya/Tawjihiiyya* is three years across the different networks. *I'dadiyya* level had been in existence for decades before the *thanawiyya* level began in 1978 with Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Al-Azhari. The *thanawiyya* level gained popularity from the 1980s when many of the schools developed that level of education, the result of improvement on the system. When the Religious Education Review Committee in 1981 proposed a diploma awarding college, among their recommended qualifications for a direct admission into the diploma course was the *I'dadiyya* certificate.³¹ However, by the time the objective was realized over a decade later in 1992, it was only the *thanawiyya* certificate that was to be accepted since many of the schools had upgraded to that level, thus making the *I'dadiyya* substandard as the entry requirement for a higher certificate.

The average age of students in the *raodat atfal* (kindergarten/nursery) level which is a fairly recent development, is between two to three years. With every generation the age of entrance into school drops by a few years. It is not uncommon in recent times to have children under the age of ten who have finished the recitational study of the Qur'an. In the previous decades, most pupils would have been in their teens. Perhaps taking a cue from the explosion of private nursery schools, some of the *madaris* too began to have kindergarten equivalents in the *raodat atfal*. At the *ibtidaiyya* level the average age of pupils is six to eleven years.

At the *I'dadiyya* level, age of pupils ranged between twelve to eighteen years, many of whom would have attended some primary or even secondary education of the western system. At the *thanawiyya* level, the age of students on the average ranged between fifteen years and early twenties, though in some rare cases you find older students and in an instance a retired civil servant who wanted to pursue the knowledge out of interest. The Islamic schools have flexibility for the age of entrance into the various levels. Sometimes there were students of higher institutions of the western system in the *I'dadiyya* or *thanawiyya* levels of the

³⁰ Nos.3;4;and 6. They were all established in the 1960s.

³¹ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in,' 117. *Thanawiyya* level was still in its infancy at this period.

Madrasah system. Some students in secondary of the western system were also attending the *I'dadiyya* or *thanawiyya* at the same time, especially in *madaris* with afternoon sessions. This creates a problem of low attendance for the *madaris* during school sessions. Attendance is fuller at weekends when the western schools are on break and the *madaris* open or when the western schools are on holiday. Attendance is fullest when the *madaris* are having their examinations.³²

The *ibtidaiyya* level is usually equated with the western primary school, though pupils only spend two to four years at this level. *I'dadiyya* is equated with junior secondary while *thanawiyya* is equated with senior secondary school. There is as yet a purely Islamic sciences based institution of higher learning, not connected with the western system. Institutions run by the government offer diploma, NCE, degree and post graduate studies as departments of either Islamic Studies in English or Arabic language or combination of both. Only two of the *madaris* mentioned above run a higher education as an affiliate of a government run University, the same institution responsible for the JISCE and SISCE examinations that serves to bridge the graduates of the *madaris* into western higher institutions. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Islamic studies with education course in Arabic medium began to be offered as an alternative for those who have had their education through the *madaris* and were not particularly strong with English language.³³ The College of Education, Ilorin, was the only institution offering the Arabic medium course in Ilorin during the period of this research.

This classification of the schools serves mainly for academic or distinction purpose. In social relations, a Muslim scholar is not judged essentially by the certificates he holds but by the piety he is perceived to possess. A holder of *I'dadiyya* certificate may command more respect from the community than a degree or Ph.D holder if he is perceived to have greater *istijaba* (intercessory power of prayer) resulting from *taqwa* (piety). Many of the older generation scholars who never attended any Madrasah system are in the highest hierarchy of the scholars of religion. Increasingly however, the younger generations of scholars are getting certified; hence you have master and Ph.D holders teaching in some of the *madaris*. Unemployment and the prestige of having a postgraduate certificate have led to an increase in the number of graduates of Arabic and Islamic education pursuing post-graduate degrees.

³² Discussions with Khalifa Abdulrafiu Abubakar Agbarigidoma. 28-7-2013. Even if the western schools were on, such students would skip school to have the examination of the *madaris*.

³³ See Nasir Mohammed Baba, 'Islamic Schools, Ulama, and the State in the Development of Education in Northern Nigeria' *Bulletin D'LAPAD* 33 (2011), 7.

For most of the schools, the school calendar runs from Shawwal (the tenth month of the lunar Muslim calendar) to Shaaban (the eighth month). Ramadan (the ninth month of the lunar Muslim calendar) is the common holiday corresponding to the annual fasting month for Muslims. Some, however, used a different calendar, although all made Ramadan the vacation period. The traditional Saturday to Wednesday was still the school week but some run Saturday to Thursday. Most operated in the morning but because of the prevalence of western education, as well as those operating bifurcate system, some have shifted to afternoon, to allow students attend western schooling in the morning. Some ran morning, afternoon and night sessions.³⁴ In the bifurcate schools morning was used for nursery/primary level of western education and the afternoon for the Arabic and Islamic education.

In the forty *madaris* surveyed, there were a total of 16,954 students of which 3,837 were females. There were a total of 502 teachers, 60 of which were females, in only eleven of the schools.³⁵ Those running the bifurcate schools accounted for most of the female teachers, which means most if not all of the female teachers would be found in the western nursery/primary school sections.³⁶ There were on the average of 33.7 students to a teacher. The most populous schools were Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah (3000 students) followed by Darul Uloom (2100 students). Only three other schools have populations over one thousand. They include Zumratul Adabiyya, Shamsudeen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies and Zumratul Adabiyya Kamaliyya.

Most of the rest are above a hundred in population with Mahad Thaqafatul Adabiyya (no.13) having only thirty students. The figures are not absolute figures. Most do not keep very specific records and fluctuating populations of students according to the time of the year made this difficult. Figures for the teachers were equally not very specific. Some of the teachers were voluntary helpers to their own teachers and their availability depended on their other schedules. The figures given above give approximate figures of students and teachers in these schools.

Curriculum: As noted earlier, most of the *madaris* have no single or unified curriculum. In the absence of an overarching agency, each school worked out its own curriculum. A bill was signed into law in 2011 by the Kwara State House of Assembly, for the establishment of Arabic Education Board, a state equivalent of

³⁴ Sixteen schools in the survey run two or three of these sections.

³⁵ For comparison for a survey carried out in the mid-1980s see, Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 283-287.

³⁶ There were anecdotes of female teachers in a few of the non-bifurcate schools. They were nevertheless rare occurrences.

National Board for Arabic and Islamic Schools.³⁷ The Ministry of Education has relations with some of the schools especially those using the NBAIS curriculum but those mainly based on Arabic medium have little or no connection with the ministry.³⁸

Madaris of the Adabiyya network tended to be similar to each other.³⁹ The same applies to those in the Markazi network. The integrationists such as Shamsudeen College and Muhyideen College also have similar curriculum. As a result, different subjects were being offered in different *Madaris* and different texts sometimes were being used for the same subject. The nomenclatures of some of the subjects were also different in the *madaris*. For the *raodat atfal*, between six and eleven subjects were offered and at *ibtidaiyya* levels; students were taking an average of eleven subjects, up to sixteen in a school. Depending on the school, *I'dadiyya* level subjects on the average were sixteen and could be up to twenty. *Thanawiyya/Tawjihyya* subjects averaged twenty-two to twenty-four subjects.

In the *madaris* surveyed, there were a total of twenty-nine different subjects at the *I'dadiyya* level. At the *Thanawiyya/Tawjihyya level*, the total subjects available for all the schools were forty-three in number.⁴⁰ Some subjects are thus unique to some schools but there are also others that cut across the schools. The large number of subjects to be offered thus limits the number of periods a subject is taught in a school.⁴¹ The differences in the subjects being offered are due to preferences of the owners of the *madaris*.

Organizing the *Madaris*: A major problem of the *madaris* is organizing themselves into a formidable association; that speaks for all of the *madaris* with one voice. This is one of the problems of trying to formalize an informal system. Traditional scholars have always operated independently and there is the absence of the church in Islam as compared to Christianity where the church is responsible for the training

³⁷ In September 2014, the State Government announced the appointment of Dr Abdulkadir Oba Solagberu as its pioneer chairman and named others as members of the board. The board is expected to, among other things; streamline the activities of Arabic and Islamic schools across the state. It is too early for this research to make any appraisal of the board. See 'Group Commends Kwara govt on Arabic education board.' www.tribune.com.ng/islamicnews. Accessed 22-12-2014.

³⁸ Most of the respondents see the government as indifferent to the Arabic and Islamic education system.

³⁹ See Appendix X for a sample of Timetable for the *idadiyya* and *thanawiyya* of Zumratul Adabiyya Kamaliyya.

⁴⁰ See Appendix XIV for subjects available in the schools surveyed. The use of different nomenclatures for the same subject in some instances is partly responsible for this large number of subjects.

⁴¹ See Appendix X for sample time-tables of a madrasah.

of its clergy. In Islam scholars develop independently; this independence is thus carried over into their career. Until the reformation of the Qur'anic schools into *madaris* in the twentieth century, there was no need to have an association for proprietors of school. School is conceived around the teacher and wherever he was located.

JAAIS which had been established in 1976 to defend the interests of the *madaris* had fizzled out by the mid-1980s. The new association serving to coordinate the *madaris*, National Association of Arabic and Islamic Schools Proprietors (NAISP) had only some of the schools as active members, none of whom are in the top hierarchy of the schools. The organization was yet to receive any major assistance from the government and in the absence of a major benefit to be derived from membership; most of the *madaris* do not pay attention to it. Many were not even aware of its existence.⁴² Twenty-five of the schools surveyed were not members and of this number, fifteen were unaware of the existence of the association. The association itself came into being through the indirect prompting of the government Adult Education Agency. An official of the agency wanted to see how learning materials could be given to the Qur'anic schools after seeing the efforts of a woman proprietor of a Qur'anic school, Alhaja Raihanat Temim.⁴³

The official brought some learning materials: books, pencil, chalks and mats to be distributed to about twelve Qur'anic schools through Alhaja Raihanat Temim. Sixty schools turned out for the materials when it was to be distributed.⁴⁴ The official then advised that there should be an organization for the schools to coordinate their activities. This way they can tap into such opportunities in the future. Already JAAIS had been comatose for years and younger scholars emerging were not conversant with it. She became the coordinator of the new group.

After the organization had been established, she stepped aside for the men to hold the rein of the association while she became the secretary of the association. This is in line with Muslim tradition of having men as leaders and she was the only woman

⁴² The Adabiyya appeared not well represented in the association like the defunct one.

⁴³ A retired nurse, she had started her school by accident. According her: One day, her toddler son was crying, wanting to follow his elders to a Qur'anic school and she had decided to play teacher with the son to calm him down. Other children joined them and from that day onward the school began as they gathered again in subsequent days. The school had since become a regular Qur'anic school. She is the head teacher and is supported by other teachers. She named the school Markaz Ahmad Rufai after her son. Her efforts also led to the formation of NAISP of which she is Secretary. Though she had come from a scholarly family, she herself had only completed her studies of the Qur'an in her 40s. Discussions with Alhaja Raihanat Abidayo Temim. 26-12-2012.

⁴⁴ Many if not all would have been Qur'anic schools rather than the *madaris*.

among the men. The new association was established on March 6, 2002 and in 2012 it registered with the Corporate Affairs Commission based on the advice given by the emir of Ilorin when the group paid a courtesy call on him. The emir also funded the registration of the association with the agency.⁴⁵

In just over a decade of its existence, its influence was still weak with the most prominent of the *madaris* hardly aware of its existence. Most of its members were young scholars still struggling to build their schools. Unless it can strengthen its structure and facilitate some assistance for the *madaris*, many would continue to ignore its existence.

Examination: Most of the *madaris* conducted their own examinations and it was only at the junior or intermediate (*I'dadiyya*) and senior levels (*thanawiyya*) was it possible to have a joint examination set by an external body and this body is located and run in a western higher institution, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The body responsible for this examination is the National Board for Arabic and Islamic schools (NBAIS). This body has its history in the Sardauna's⁴⁶ effort to see that the Muslim education system get some support and development such as the grant-in-aid being given to mission schools in Northern Nigeria under colonial rule. The board was not officially recognized by the government of Nigeria until February 2011.⁴⁷

All the while the Institute of Education of Ahmadu Bello University hosted the Board. This system essentially serves as a bridge into higher education in the western educational institutions. Not all the *madaris* have subscribed to this system of external central examination. It is suffused with much western formalities such as the financial requirements which most of the madrasah students could not afford. At the time of this research, the highest fee in all of the *madaris* surveyed was four thousand naira per annum, as school fees. NBAIS examination fee was seven thousand naira per student, with the cost running up to twelve thousand naira, including administrative charges in some schools. School registration with NBAIS to be eligible as an examination center was one hundred and fifty thousand naira.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Discussions with Sheikh Murtala Yakub Alaboto (Chairman NAISP), 6-10-2012 and Alhaja Abidayo Temim and uztadh Ahmad Abdul Wahab Saura. 26-12-2012.

⁴⁶ The late Premier of Northern Nigeria, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, assassinated in the January 1966 coup.

⁴⁷ Abubakre, 'The National Board for Arabic and Islamic Studies.'

⁴⁸ The few schools interested often had to merge to have a centre. Discussions with Alhaji Abdullateef Adekilekun, Zonal Coordinator (Zone 4) of NBAIS, 7-1-2013 and Alhaji Is-haq Shege, Principal Muhyideen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies. 3-12-2013.

With most schools running tuition free, the school registration fee and the student examination fee of the NBAIS examination were on the high side. The Board however, does not appear to see the fees as high. Most of the schools could not afford the fees and some of the schools had to merge their students to reduce the cost. The weak financial base of the *madaris* makes them vulnerable and unable to fully harness this opportunity. Many of the *madaris* would not be able to employ teachers to teach western subjects which are required as parts of the subjects to be taken in the examination.⁴⁹

Those of the proprietors of *madaris* who were afraid of domineering western system were also wary of NBAIS as attempts to subdue Islamic education under the western system.⁵⁰ Most of the *madaris* of the Markazi network, for example, see the system as too loaded with western subjects. Most of the *madaris* feel independent enough and, without the NBAIS, many students of the *madaris* have crossed into the higher education levels of the western system by self-learning or enrolling in a western school for the school leaving certificate examination. This gave them qualification needed for entrance into the higher institutions. This makes NBAIS unnecessary and uneconomic even if desirable as a bridge into higher western education system for many of the *madaris*. The registration fees needed for *madaris* to get their students to sit for the examination was beyond what most of them can afford and as such were discouraged. They saw it as additional burden when what the system needed was some relief. For the whole of Kwara state in 2012, only ten *madaris* registered with the board, five of them in Ilorin.⁵¹

Teaching of science subjects in the *madaris* is almost nonexistent. Only Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-AI-Azhari has successfully taught the key science subjects of mathematics, biology, chemistry and physics for its products to have gone ahead to study disciplines such as medicine, geology and agricultural science through Arabic medium in the Middle East. Some of the *madaris* made attempts to teach subjects like mathematics, geography and one school (No. 29) attempted the teaching of chemistry through Arabic medium but the school did not have the required facilities for it to be thoroughly and sustainably taught. Teachers who can teach the subjects in Arabic were difficult to come by, neither were there funds to sustain such venture. Mathematics is more common and has some resonance within Islamic

⁴⁹ The new Arabic Board in Kwara State announced on the radio that it has begun payments of fees for the NBAIS examination in 2015 for students of the *madaris*. However, this meant only schools which have subscribed to the examination may benefit from the scheme.

⁵⁰ See Appendix XII for the NBAIS Examinable subjects list.

⁵¹ *Madaris* nos.3, 5, 15, 31, Omo Iyah Arabic school being the fifth and not in the survey. Discussions with Alhaji Abdullateef Adekilekun. 7-1-2013.

knowledge system. For the most part what is taught is elementary mathematics compared to what is as taught in western schools.⁵²

The libraries in the *madaris* were almost non-existent. For the most part they operate as informal collections of the founders. The nature of Islamic learning where silent reading and personal reading of texts is limited makes the provision of a library not a strong priority. Personal reading of texts is more attuned to the higher level of Islamic knowledge than the intermediate level the *madaris* are more known for. Most importantly, the funds for running a library were almost non-existent in the *madaris*.

Relations of some of these *madaris* with the government was strong in the mid-seventies to mid-eighties and some received grant-in-aid from the Ministry of Education but this system seemed to have faded in the mid-eighties corresponding with the era of Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) of the Federal Government of Nigeria. However, while it lasted, not all the *madaris* benefitted from this aid. This seemed to have contributed to the ease with which it was dispensed with; there were not many *madaris* as stakeholders that would have fought for its maintenance. The ministry relations with the *madaris* consisted of organizing a joint examination for the *madaris* which was later replaced with NBAIS examination.⁵³

The ministry visits the schools to see their syllabus and see how it is uniform with others.⁵⁴ However, most of the schools said the government is not doing anything for them. A few acknowledged visits from ministry officials. Some of the *madaris* that registered with NBAIS for the examinations of its candidates meet regularly at Muhyideen College, to discuss their relations with NBAIS. Those *madaris* that have instituted NBAIS examinations are affiliated to Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, but the relationship is mainly the provision of syllabus and conduct of examination. This does not include any financial incentives to the schools, training for either their teachers or administrators except workshops.

⁵² Discussions with Dr Muhammad Mahmood Jimba 27-12-2012 and Dr Busayri Sulaiman 1-1-2014. See Appendix XIII for a copy of the report sheet of Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Al-Azhari.

⁵³ Correspondence with the Kwara State Ministry of Education. 2013.

⁵⁴ Correspondence with the Kwara State Ministry of Education. 2013.

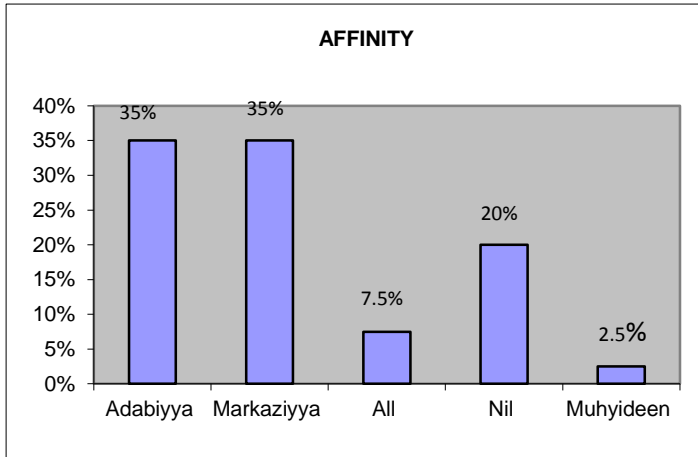


Chart 8. Affinity among the surveyed the *madaris*

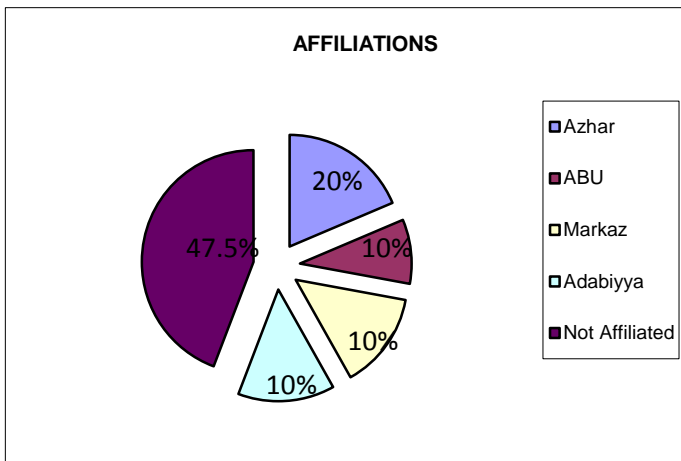


Chart 9. Affiliations in the surveyed *madaris*

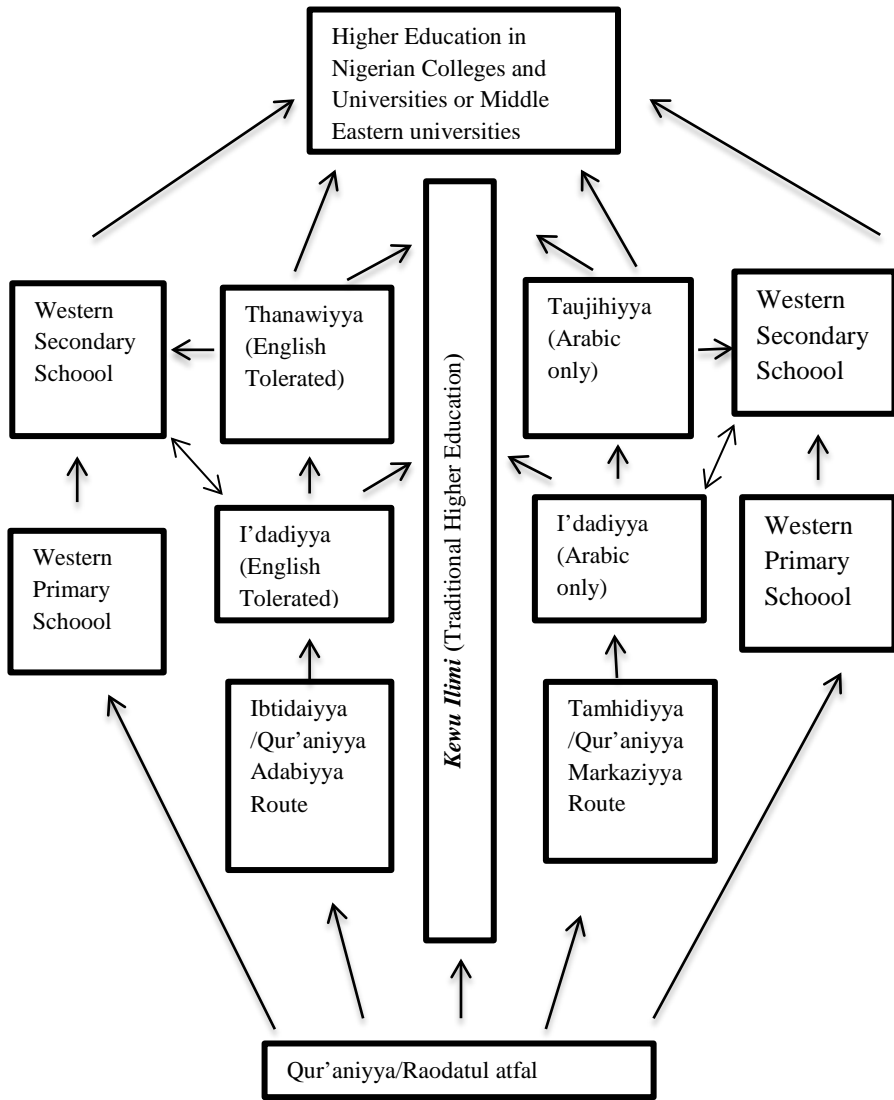


Chart 10. The varied routes a scholar can follow to acquire Islamic Education in Ilorin

Teaching: In the eighties, many of the *madaris* relied on their former students, mostly with *thanawiyya* certificates to teach but from the 1990s when many products of the schools have acquired higher degrees from both Nigerian universities and from Arab countries, the schools began to have teachers with diploma and degrees. Some of the *madaris* now have Ph.D holders or Ph.D candidates among the proprietors and teachers.⁵⁵ There has generally been an improved quality in those available to teach but the remuneration has not been commensurate with their certificates and when compared with colleagues with equivalent certificates in government establishments, it is grossly inadequate.

We can infer that more graduates of Arabic and Islamic studies seem to have been produced than the society can cater for and be employed with remuneration that is commensurate with their level of academic achievement. With high unemployment rate for the graduates of the western system, it was even more acute for the graduates who have specialized in Arabic and Islamic studies, disciplines that are not primarily in the class of financially rewarding courses or disciplines. The ability of the scholars for self-employment as clerics, officiating religious ceremonies or offering spiritual services helped in reducing dependency on paid employment. For those not inclined toward the prayer economy, employment can be very difficult to get in the formal sector.⁵⁶

The use of Parents Teachers Association (PTA) and Old Boys association were lukewarm imitations of poorly practiced traditions in the western school system in Nigeria. The *madaris* generally do not have Parents Teachers Association, though a few indicated they have. This was partly due to the reverence parents have for the scholars who are to be obeyed without much questioning as religious and community leaders. The decision of the scholars, concerning the schools and the students would be accepted by the parents and thus make any interaction with the school authority less appealing to the parents. Many of the parents were poor and low income earners and would not have been of much help to the schools. The *madaris* have also not made much move in the direction of involving parents in the affairs of the schools, being generally independent in inclination.

¹ *Madaris* Nos.1, 8, 13, 10 and 31 fall into this category.

⁵⁶ Going through the *madaris* tended to reduce the inclination of scholars towards a career in spiritual consultancy, especially if the student had not come from a scholarly family where such skills could be partly inherited. This is especially true for those who have passed through integrationist schools.

The Old Boys Associations function better than the PTAs and this could be expected. It is usually from among their ranks that the *madaris* recruited some of their teachers, often generally on voluntary basis as a mark of respect for their teachers and contribution to their alma mater. Because of the close connection that usually develops between a teacher and his students, the students sometimes remain close to their teacher for life and they operate within the same network. The proprietor could always call on his former students to assist the school in whatever form they are needed. This also works in an informal nature, largely based on personal relations.

Funding: Perhaps the greatest challenge to Islamic education in the period under our study is the problem of funding. Whereas in the period before twentieth century, funding was not primarily a problem, from the colonial period this changed due to the general socio-economic changes wrought by colonialism such as western education and monetized economy. In pre-colonial times the needs of the system were simple and easily met. The system operated informally and there was no competing system to contend with. The society from the aristocrats to the commoners patronized the scholars. The scholars were also few and were well sought after. In addition to patronage as source of incomes, many of the scholars were merchants, moving from place to place and spreading knowledge along the way. A few were also warriors and derived some income from booty resulting from wars or raids. The economy of the society was simple and scholars enjoyed some immunity from taxes that were imposed on peasants. However, the coming of colonialism, western education and a new economic order changed the status of the scholars and put the system into a defensive posture it has not much recovered from. The system, however, has survived due to the utmost value it has in the mind of the scholars and the people around whose lives this institution revolves.

Under colonial rule, the status of the scholars vis-à-vis the rulers was first affected. The subjugation of the authority of the emirs and the aristocrats alienated most of the scholars who were opposed to foreign rule of Christian Europeans. The emirs were seen as having forsaken their role as *amirul Mu'meen* (leader of Muslims) and many scholars distanced themselves from the court even as some remained close to and supported the emirs in their dealings with the colonial authority.⁵⁷ Their status as voice of conscience or herald of the people's wishes diminished under colonial rule with the colonial officers having the final say on the emirs.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Al Iluri, *Lamahat Al Ballur fi*, 16.

⁵⁸ Nevertheless the emirs continued to patronize the scholars and they also have supporters from the ulama class such as exemplified by the very good relationship Emir Abdulkadir had

The imposition of taxes by the colonial authority affected the scholars too. Hence they were leaders and part of the 1913 tax riot in Ilorin.⁵⁹ Like everyone else they had to source for money to pay the taxes which were anathemas to them. Colonialism introduced new economic mode of production and consumption far more complex than was hitherto in the precolonial economy. The economy was tied to currency introduced by the new regime and many would have to struggle to have the currency to pay the taxes, hence the desire of some of the scholars to work for the colonial authority to earn salaries to be able to pay the taxes.⁶⁰

More than the monetization of the economy and political control of the emirs, the introduction of western system of education posed the greatest threat to the survival of Islamic scholars as a group. The new system first relegated the traditional intellectual to the background. Steeped in religious knowledge production, their knowledge was not of much use to the new system and was only tolerably used until the new authorities were able to train some people according to the western system.⁶¹ Already the two systems have at their cores different aims and objectives and any form of cooperation between the two systems was further straitened by negative encounter between the colonizer and the colonized.

The new system was not only very formal but was also well funded and all through colonial period and beyond, western education received more attention and funding from both the government and the people than the Islamic education system. Western education is secular and tailored to be financially profitable unlike the Islamic education that was more into religious and social profits. The new system of government and economy favored those with western education much more than those with Islamic education. Even as the scholars of Islamic education rose to the challenge of the rival system and began to formalize their system, the system could not boast of a financial base as strong as the western education system. The result was that individual scholars built their new schools from meagre financial resources and the schools survived only because it is tied to the religion despite the odds against it.

All the schools were founded from the personal funds of the founders. However, some would get some assistance from Arab countries as their schools progressed. Despite this, one would find the physical structures in the *madaris* mostly

with the Adabiyya group from the time of Tajul Adab, particularly so with Sheikh Kamaluddeen.

⁵⁹ See Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 79

⁶⁰ Ekundare R.O., *An Economic History of Nigeria 1860-1960* (New York. African Publishing Company, 1973), 191.

⁶¹ Al Illuri, *Lamahat al-Ballu*, 15. See also Kirk-Greene, *Gazetteers*, 123.

uncompleted even for those that have been in existence for decades.⁶² School fees generally were little compared to the needs of administration of schools and were not strictly enforced because of the religious origin of the schools. Some of the scholars felt they had gotten the knowledge free, they therefore see no reason to collect money to pass on the same knowledge.⁶³

Despite the low cost of fees, many students did not pay the fees either because they could not afford it and or relied on the fact that it was not strictly enforced. Seventeen of the schools surveyed were not charging any fees. Moneys realized from public sermons and public festivals were some of the ways the schools were founded. Most of the schools have never appealed to the government for assistance. A few who had tried complained of no response from the government. In the absence of a uniform system through which they can channel their needs, their interface with government remained very weak.

None of the *madaris* could affiliate to foreign Arab schools for higher education according to the Nigerian law. When Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Al-Azhari, as a branch of Al-Azhar University in Nigeria tried to affiliate to Al-Azhar for diploma courses, the school was informed that it was not possible under the law to affiliate any tertiary course to a foreign university. This legal impediment led the Adabiyya group to begin the process of establishing their own university to be named after its founder as Muhammad Kamalud-deen University.⁶⁴

Foreign aids were limited to some schools and in some of the schools it only lasted a while. This came in the form of supply of teaching personnel, books and cash donation as well as scholarship for the best students in some of the schools to study in the Middle-East. This sort of aid is formal and consistent with Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Al-Azhari because its affiliation to Al-Al-Azhar University is formal. Assistance from the Arab countries is a closely guarded open secret. It is mostly schools whose proprietors have some connections with philanthropist organizations in the Middle East, that benefitted from such aids. A few have kept a consistent contact with Arab donor agencies facilitating such assistance.⁶⁵

⁶² Only schools Nos. 1,3,4,5 and 31 could be said to have completed their buildings with possibility of expansion in No.3, 4 and 5.

⁶³ Discussions with Ustadh Idris Abdulkareem. 8-12-2013.

⁶⁴ Discussions with Alhaji Ahmad O. Kamal. 24-9-2012. See <http://www.mukeyf.org.ng>.

⁶⁵ Those getting some assistance would not reveal their source or amount of assistance nor is there a record of most of such foreign aids. It is facilitated mostly through efforts of individual scholars and these are not shared with others for fear of betrayal and petty jealousies. Discussions with Alhaji Fatihu Yahaya Murtala (Mudir, Markaz Taalim Arabi, Oke Agodi).5-10-2013.

Some got linked to the Saudi Arabia's Ministry of Endowments through their students who have gone to study in Saudi Arabia and who facilitated financial assistance to some of the *madaris*.⁶⁶ Doctrinal belief of owners of a school may also have an impact on this. Saudi authorities or organizations do not favor schools with Sufi connections.⁶⁷ Such *madaris* would not be assisted. A number of *madaris* were founded by Sufi scholars.

Of the *madaris* surveyed, many operated a tuition free system. Nearly half of the *madaris* (17 schools) surveyed were operating a tuition free system. The *madaris* that were collecting some fees charged only a minimal amount of money. The fees were never strictly enforced and many default because they could not afford it or simply latched on to the widely held notion that religious education need not be paid for and the fact that the scholars never made the payment a prerequisite to pass on their knowledge. The average fee paid by students for all the forty *madaris* surveyed was nine hundred and fifty naira per annum. A few collect their fees monthly, ranging between one hundred to five hundred naira. Most collect their fees on annual basis, ranging between one thousand naira and four thousand naira. As earlier mentioned, even for this low amount, many defaulted in payment.

Definitely fees were not the main source of funding for the *madaris*.⁶⁸ As a result the proprietors could not afford to pay their teachers very well. Often they depended on their former students, many of whom would teach without earning a salary. This affected the dedication of teachers, since they sometimes have to absent themselves from schools to earn some income through the prayer economy⁶⁹ or if they are pursuing higher education as well. Even for those on fixed salary, the amount is often too small to be a living wage. Additional income comes through their skills as prayer specialists or spiritual consultants to augment whatever is being paid to them. Basically teaching alone is not economically viable. It survives as an important vocation because it is believed that it is a service to Allah first and foremost, pecuniary gains a secondary consideration.

Any interested individual can gain virtually all the knowledge he needs to become a scholar of Islam without having to pay much to gain the knowledge, provided he is ready to undergo the rigor and dedication needed for acquiring the knowledge. A considerable amount of knowledge is thus acquired without money being paid. For

⁶⁶ Discussions with Dr Abubakar Ita-Ajia. 29-7-2013.

⁶⁷ Ustadh Murtala Muhammad Raji (Markaz Nujuml Hudah). 19-9-2013. The Saudi Arabians favored a strict literal reading of the Qur'an.

⁶⁸ The highest annual fee recorded in the survey (N4000:00) is about the equivalent of fee for a term in some the lowest fee paying private western primary schools.

⁶⁹ Discussions with Khalifa AbdulRafiu Abubakar Agbarigidoma. 28-7-2013.

the most part, it is from among the low income earning members of the society that the students come from, making imposition of fees difficult.⁷⁰ Often the proprietors had to support their schools with incomes earned from other services they were providing to the society. Only Darul Uloom indicated full compliance in payment of fees. It is easy to see why it was so. Darul Uloom is the only communally owned madrasah of all the *madaris*, having no one individual responsible for it. The head (*'Amid*) of the school reports to the leading imams of the city (three of them) and the school council responsible for the school on behalf of the emir. This way no personal sentiments or relationship could be used to default on payment of the fees.

An important source of income for the schools was the graduation of the students at each level of studies. However, on a closer scrutiny this in itself is not much, given the number of people that would share in it and expenses the school would incur for organizing the event.⁷¹ At the graduation, usually each of the students in gown and turban would be called out individually for the presentation of his certificate. At this juncture the parents and relatives are then called out to give donations for the blessing of their child.⁷² The ceremony also serves to advertise a school and encourage parents to send their children to the school. This method of earning extra money from the parents has been copied by the private western schools especially those that charge low fees in the town, an instance of interaction and influence between the two systems.⁷³

Bifurcate Schools

In the early 1980s after the oil boom of the 1970s, the Federal Government introduced austerity measures but the waves of the oil boom of the 1970s still swept into the mid-1980s when the regime of General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida introduced the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). The people began to feel the economic crunch as government gradually began to implement liberal economic policies and withdrawing from provision of social and public services. The

⁷⁰ Yahaya Uthman Kolawole, 'The Development of Islamic Learning in Ilorin' (B.A. Long Essay: Islamic Studies-Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1997), 58.

⁷¹ Part of the money gotten goes as gifts to invited scholars, the master of ceremony and renting of chairs and tents for the occasion.

⁷² Sometimes humor is added to the event such as the master of ceremony saying the airplane bringing the certificate is being held and money is needed to bail it out. The graduating student's family then comes out en masse to give their tokens. Several imaginary obstacles could be used in this way to get money from the families of the graduating students.

⁷³ It is now common in the private western schools to organize graduation ceremonies for every level of the school from kindergarten to nursery and then into primary stage. Pupils are called out individually, parents and well-wishers doling out money that would go to the school. Some even have fixed charges to be paid before the public ceremony where more money is spent.

education sector would feel the government withdrawal of subsidy from the sector, with gradual ascendancy of private schools. JAAIS, which had been able to get government to give some grant-in-aid to some schools, began to fizzle out and it appears the grant was last given in the mid-1980s.⁷⁴

From the 1990s there began an increase in the number of private schools as standards in the public schools began to plummet. The primary school sector was the first to start experiencing this increase. The early private schools were run by Christians who have always had an edge over the Muslims in terms of western education. By the late 1990s to the early years of the twenty-first century, private schools had replaced public schools as the essential provider of education for the majority of the people. The Christian owned schools began to give Muslims concern as the owners were using the schools to subtly proselytize with Christian songs, poems and prayers. This began to irk western educated Muslims. This led some of them to begin to establish private schools to serve the Muslim population.⁷⁵ Muslim cultural practice was emphasized in the Muslim run schools as a counter to the Christian run schools. Some adopted Arabic names as part of the school identity.

In this period also, some owners of *madaris* began to venture into this edupreneurship of providing especially western primary education in their schools. These bifurcate schools operate nursery/primary schools in the morning and the Madrasah in the afternoon. A number of reasons led to this development. As would be noted, thirteen of the *madaris* surveyed adopted this system. Only Muhyideen College and Shamsudeen College operated a western primary and secondary school respectively long before the 1990s as attempts at integration of western and Islamic education. Some of the *madaris* began as a result of demands from the Muslim population around the *madaris* who wanted the owners of the *madaris* to start a nursery school so that their children would not have to go far to attend western schooling.⁷⁶ Schools number 19 and 26 began this way. Confidence in the public

⁷⁴ In the reply of the state Ministry of Education dated 5-3-1987 to JAAIS over the reminder about grants to schools, the government's reply was in the negative, promising to consider the request when the state's economy improves. See Muhammed, 'A Study of Selected,' Appendix XXI, 242.

⁷⁵ This tendency for Muslims to want their religious values tolerated in mainstream educational system can found in places Muslims are minorities. See Shaheen Azmi, 'Muslim Educational Institutions in Toronto, Canada,' *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* (2001) 21:2, 259-272; Saeda Shah, 'Muslim Schools in Secular Societies: Persistence or Resistance,' *British Journal of Religious Education* (2012) Vol. 34 No.1, 51-65.

⁷⁶ Discussions with Alhaji Abdullahi Toyin Ghali, Mudir of Jawairul Islam Arabic School. 16-10-2012.



Fig. 21. Bilingual illustrations on the wall of a bifurcate school, Darul Uthmaniyya, Gaa-Akanbi (No.40).

sector primary education having gone down, most people would rather have their children attend private schools if they can afford it. As in the 1940s with Sheikh Kamalud-deen, some scholars bought into this trend as more pupils were being lost to the western schools.⁷⁷

Others were challenged by the overt proselytization in Christian run private schools to start their own western nursery and primary schools. One school began in order to keep the site of the Madrasah from being redundant and being run over by bushes.⁷⁸ Some school were also inspired into existence by the manner some radical western educated Muslims were running their private nursery and primary school. These Muslims are believed to be indoctrinating the pupils with their own ideas and beliefs contrary to orthodox praxis.⁷⁹ This led some owners of *madaris* to start their own western nursery/primary section. The radical Muslims were held by traditional scholars as having little knowledge of Islam, most of which had come through

⁷⁷ See Appendix VIII for the corresponding levels of the Islamic and western education systems.

⁷⁸ Discussions with Alfa Murtala Muhammad Raji (Nujumul Hudah Arabic School). 23-9-2013.

⁷⁹ Discussions with Ustadh Mansur Alaye. 27-9-2013. See Ware, *The Walking Qur'an*, 207-210.

reading of works translated into English. Some though, have had sound Arabic education too.⁸⁰

Some scholars were critical of this new development, warning that western school is a *tijarah* (trade or profitable venture) and that Qur'anic education is in danger of being run over by the schools being established. There were even claims that some scholars had completely converted their *madaris* into nursery/primary schools.⁸¹ It is noted that most of the owners of *madaris* who have adopted the bifurcate method have all been through western institutions of higher learning for diploma or degree in Arabic and Islamic studies and some are also religious teachers in government primary schools and one had even risen to the post of a head teacher in one of such schools. These owners do not have the fears the critical or wary scholars have, seeing in the system a way to help preserve Muslim identity and culture which Christian owned private schools were eroding.⁸² Apart from inculcating Muslim culture in the pupils, the schools also have the added advantage of providing some source of income that was being used to maintain their afternoon madrasah. Many Madrasah run tuition free, since most students do not pay even where there are specified fees to be paid. The old belief that religious education is to be gotten free still very much entrenched in the mind of the people.

The system as well helped increased the number of students in the madrasah. Some parents let their children stay behind after the closing of the nursery/primary section to attend the Madrasah as well in the afternoon, benefitting from both systems.⁸³ Of the thirteen bifurcate schools in the survey, only three charge fees for its Madrasah section. The private western schools generally have increased the closing hours of schools from 1:00 clock to between 3:00 and 4:00 clock in the afternoon. This made it difficult for Muslim students attending these schools to attend the neighborhood

⁸⁰ They hold an independent view of knowledge and have little regard for the hierarchical and service mode of the traditional scholars, having acquired their knowledge largely through the modern rationalist mode. They hold that the Supreme Being is accessible by dedicated individual efforts without the mediating role of a sheikh. Not in majority, they tend to band together under one of them that is more vocal in denouncing esotericism of the old ways.

⁸¹ However, this appears to be an exaggeration. What makes it appear so to the people is that once a madrasah introduces a western section, its appearance and paraphernalia dominates the ambience of the school. They are registered with the Ministry of Education which monitors and regulate their activities. The western school system naturally overshadows the madrasah as to make it appear as if the madrasah had been abandoned. The madrasah would operate in the evening and the population is usually less than that of the western section.

⁸² Discussions with Dr Abdulsalam Uthman Thaqafi. 24-9-2013.

⁸³ Discussions with Uztadh Uthman Daud Abubakar.23-9-2013; Alhaji Abdullahi Toyin Ghali, Mudir of Jawairul Islam Arabic School. 16-10-2012; Uztadh Aduagba Abubakar Sakama. 3-12-2012. and Alfa Murtala Muhammad Raji (Nujumul Hudah Arabic School). 23-9-2013.

Qur'anic schools operating in the evenings.⁸⁴ The coming of western education and its popular acceptance had led to virtually all traditional Qur'anic schools shifting their school hours from morning till evening. The new wave of private schools also began to threaten this arrangement, with most students returning home late afternoon and too tired to attend further schooling in the evening.

Thus the Muslims began to establish their own private schools. Some of these schools were established by Muslim professionals hoping to latch onto the increasing need of the Muslim population for Muslim run schools where their children could be acculturated with Muslim ideas from early learning. Schools run by Muslim professionals or edupreneurs tended to be better run and organized than those run by erstwhile owners of *madaris*. Those run by the ulama have a major challenge of the Muslim population transferring attitudes toward the nursery/primary school, the belief that money may not be paid to get Islamic education and seeing the western section as an extension of the Madrasah.

Though these schools charged very low fees, they are beset with many instances of fee defaulting. Because many of the pupils were usually the children of low income earners and were either neighbors or families, they tended to appeal to the religious and social sentiments of the proprietors to default.⁸⁵ Those who can afford it took their children to the more expensive Muslim or Christian run schools. Used to nonpayment in the Madrasah system and their position as men of God, expected to be merciful and lenient, the ulama/owners tended to be lenient to appeals for postponement of payment or outright default of payment. They had to accept this in the belief that it will keep the low population of pupils from dwindling. Any attempt to be strict, they believe, will reduce the population of the school; some would likely withdraw their wards to other schools. These bifurcate schools are still emerging and evolving and the direction or form they would eventually take cannot be certain for now. However, they are positive in their outlook despite the challenges they are facing.

Evolution of Tahfiz (memorization) Schools

In 1986, the Centre for Islamic Studies of the Usmanu Dan Fodiyo University (then University of Sokoto) began the National Qur'anic Recitation Competition. The aims among others are: to encourage the proper reading of the Qur'an as was it revealed to the prophet and as he read it out to his disciples and the promotion of unity especially among young Muslims. This competition has led to an increase in

⁸⁴ In recent times extra mural lessons have also become common extending school hours till evening. Discussions with Dr Abdulsalam Uthman Thaqafi. 24-9-2013.

⁸⁵ Discussions with Uztadh Uthman Daud Abubakar.23-9-2013 and Zainul Abidina. 23-10-2012.

the awareness of the science of Qur'an recitation (*tajweed*) among Muslims all over the country.⁸⁶

Kwara State, of which Ilorin is the capital city, began participation in the competition from inception culminating in the state representative winning the overall grand prize in 1999.⁸⁷ Until the establishment of the National Qur'anic Recitation Competition, Qur'an recitation is usually done in the reciter's tone or that of his teacher, the local dialect reflected in the pronunciation. Learning to read in the proper tone of *tajweed* requires having a *hafiz* (one who has memorized the Qur'an) as a teacher. There have always been scholars who had memorized the Qur'an but not necessarily with the rules of *tajweed*. The competition thus led to the emergence of young scholars with special interest in this form of Qur'an recitation. Many of them had represented the state in several of the National Qur'an Recitation Competitions. The competition is meant for young men of twenty-five years and below. However, there is no age limit in the female category. This is probably to encourage the females whose participation in Islamic education is generally secondary to those of the males.

When some of the young scholars finished the memorization of the Qur'an and were beyond the competing age, they began to train others and to establish *Tahfiz* (memorizing) schools. Most of the schools were established in the first decade of the twenty-first century, with Al Katibi Tahfiz School established as early as 1999.⁸⁸ The competitions at the national level were largely dominated by northern states, especially Borno and Kano states with a longer tradition of Qur'anic education and memorization. Borno scholars were particularly well known for learning to recite and write the whole Qur'an from memory.⁸⁹

The early learners of *hifz al Qur'an* (Qur'an memorization) in Ilorin had to face the challenge of absence of qualified teachers, syllabus and an organization responsible for the reciters. Hence many had to spend long years of between eight to ten years before completing the memorization of the Qur'an.⁹⁰ Then in the mid-1990s, two

⁸⁶ Program of the 21st National Qur'anic Recitation Competition, 19 -27 Shawwal 1427AH (10-18 November, 2006).

⁸⁷ See Appendix IX for the six categories in the competition. Discussions with Hafiz Ahmad Katibi.14 -11-2013.

⁸⁸ The founder of the school was still competing while running the school. Discussions with Hafiz Ahmad Katibi.14 -11-2013.

⁸⁹ Gazali, *The Kanuri in Diaspora*.

⁹⁰ Recently, with scientific methods and depending on resources available and mnemonic aptitude of the student, memorization of the Qur'an is possible within a year or a few years. Discussions with Hafiz Ahmad Katibi.14 -11-2013 and Hafiz Abdurashheed al Warai, (Secretary of the League of Memorizers). 5-10-2013.

trainers were brought in from Borno, Uztadh Alwali and Gwoni Bishara to train interested reciters, by the Kwara State Committee on Qur'an Recitation.⁹¹ The coming of the Bornoan scholars gave impetus to many young reciters who for the first time had access to qualified and experienced trainers. This played a crucial role in Ilorin emerging as the national winner in the most senior category in 1999. Regular attendance of the national competition also encouraged the reciters in furthering their knowledge of the technical science of Qur'an recitation.

As of the time of this research there had emerged over a dozen *Tahfiz* schools seeking to promote and develop the science of Qur'an recitation in Ilorin. Unlike the *madaris* earlier discussed, the new schools are different in concentrating mainly in the science of Qur'an recitation. The discipline has subdivisions such as *Qiraa* (recitation), *tahfiz* (memorization), *hija'a* (spelling rules) and *tajwid* (techniques and rules of recitation). Other subjects were also included in their curriculum such as hadith and *adab Islamiyya*. Not all the *huffaz*⁹² (hafiz sing.) are Arabists. As can be seen from the categories available in the national competition⁹³ only the first category requires a mastery of Arabic language for the purpose of exegesis. The other categories only required the correct pronunciation, intonation and the rules of pauses and elongation in the recitation of the Qur'an.

In 2012, the *huffaz* in Kwara State, most of whom were based in Ilorin, formed an organization called The League of Qur'anic Memorizers of Nigeria⁹⁴ (*Rabita Hamalat 'l Qur'an 'l Kareem Nijeriyya*) to among other things provide a forum to promote the affairs of Qur'an reciters and to complement the work of the State Committee on the National Qur'an Recitation Competition. The organization also seeks to promote unity and development of the science among the Yoruba speaking states. The organization differs from the State Committee in that all its members are *huffaz* unlike the State Committee members who had no training in the science of recitation but had been responsible for the administration and organization of the state reciters at local, state and national level for competitions since the inception of the program. Although the organization is meant only for *huffaz*, allowance was

⁹¹ Usman Kayode Alli, 'An Analytical Survey of the Activities of the National Qur'anic Recitation Competition in Kwara State' (B.A. Long Essay: Islamic Studies-Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1999), 24.

⁹² Memorizers of the Qur'an.

⁹³ See Appendix VIII.

⁹⁴ Though the name suggests it is a national body, it operates mainly in Kwara State and works with similar organizations with other Yoruba speaking states of the southwest of Nigeria.

made for accepting a non-*hafiz* with a strong interest in promoting the aims and objectives of the organization.⁹⁵

Most of the members of the new organization were young men in their thirties and early forties having spent their teens and early twenties as contestants and learners. Their number at the time of this research would be in the range of a few dozens in Ilorin. Like the more popular *madaris*, funding remains a major challenge to development of the discipline. Their preoccupation with the technical reading of the Qur'an made some of the orthodox scholars to be cautious of new discipline. More knowledgeable than most of the *huffaz* in the other traditional sciences of the Qur'an, they regard scientific reading of the Qur'an as secondary, even as it is desirable.

Some of the new *Tahfiz* schools tried to grapple with the challenge of western education by making their *Tahfiz* schools to operate as an integrated formal system. English, mathematics and general science would be taught alongside the science of the Qur'an recitation under a fixed number of years program.⁹⁶ This system was still in its nascency during the course of this research, as such, it is too early to evaluate the trajectory the system would eventually follow.⁹⁷

Until the emergence of the *rabita*, the Kwara State Committee on Qur'an Recitation had been the sole organ for organizing and promoting the science of Qur'an recitation in Ilorin. The committee emerged after the first letter of invitation to the maiden edition of the competition was sent to the state Ministry of Education. The ministry then liaised with other government agencies to form a committee to oversee the participation of the state in the competition.⁹⁸ From then, the committee became a quasi-permanent organ responsible for organizing state competitions from

⁹⁵ See the leaflet of the organization. Within its short period of establishment, the organization had achieved some success. They successfully established a state competition which takes place annually during the month of Ramadan. They were also able to get a slot on the radio for a weekly program promoting and enlightening the society about the activities of the group. One of their members also got appointed as a judge of the national competition. Discussions with Hafiz Abdulrasheed al Warai. 5-10-2013.

⁹⁶ Equivalent of the six years primary school level.

⁹⁷ For example, one of the *Tahfiz* integrated school visited during fieldwork had only three students while another had fifteen students. They also offer evening classes which enabled those attending western schools to attend *Tahfiz* lessons. Discussions with Hafiz Murtada Yahaya. 9-10-2013; Hafiz Ali Migdad.12-10-2013 and Hafiz Abdul Hamid Uthman Abu Royan (a judge of the National Competition).19-12-2013.

⁹⁸ Correspondence with the Kwara State Ministry of Education. 2013;Other institutions represented in the committee included Nigerian Television Authority, Radio Kwara, the Herald Newspaper, College of Education Ilorin, University of Ilorin and Ilorin Local Government Authority.

which the state representatives to the national competition are chosen. The committee is also responsible for sourcing for funding for camping and participation of the contestants in the competition. The Ministry of Education usually assists with some funding and has a tradition of providing allowances and bus for the transportation of the participants to the venue of the competitions.⁹⁹

Despite its recent emergence, funding became a problem for this new strand of Islamic education as well. Government assistance to the state committee was suspended under a military governor.¹⁰⁰ Unlike in the other northern states, where similar committees have been institutionalized under the auspices of some government agency, in Kwara State, the committee was only recognized.¹⁰¹

As a new trend in Islamic education, it is one of the indices of religious revivalism brought about by globalization beginning from the mid-1980s. Its development is also linked to the large number of western educated Muslims who are also well grounded in the Islamic sciences, who are the major promoters of this renaissance. While the national competition may have been the harbinger, it is increasingly becoming a popular mode of Islamic learning not necessarily geared towards the competition but as a way of enriching one's religious experience. The new Muslim run private western schools are increasingly including it in their curriculum by way of encouraging Muslims to register their children in such schools. Electronic media through which this mode of recitation could be heard has also contributed to the

⁹⁹ Correspondence with the Kwara State Ministry of Education. 2013; Discussions with Alhaji A.K.W. Aliy-Kamal (Chairman Kwara State of the Qur'anic Recitation Committee).21-11-2013.

¹⁰⁰ Colonel Baba Nyiam insisted that the government has no business funding a religious program. He challenged the committee to seek assistance from Muslims and gave a personal donation of ten thousand naira and made his Muslim commissioners to donate one thousand naira each by way of example. The governor, a Muslim himself, felt that well-to-do Muslims should be assisting the committee rather the committee begging government for assistance. As a result Muslim leaders, the emir, top civil servants and business men came to the assistance of the committee. The committee also began to raise fund from the community. Discussions with Alhaji A.K.W. Aliy-Kamal. 21-11-2013.

¹⁰¹ This resulted partly from a fear that other Muslim organizations would want government to institutionalize their own needs as well. There is also Christian/Muslim equation in the state to be considered. When civilian rule returned in 1999, the committee was able to reconnect with government to assist the committee. After the state won the overall national prize in 1999, the opportunity was given to the state to host the next edition. Foremost politician in the state, late Dr. Olusola Saraki supported the committee financially in hosting the competition in year 2000. The civilian Governor Muhammad Lawal (1999-2003) gave the committee five hundred thousand naira. Fund left over from hosting the national competition in 2000 was used by the committee to buy a bus for its operations. Discussions with Alhaji A.K.W. Aliy-Kamal. 21-11-2013.

popularity of *hifz al Qur'an*.¹⁰² This trend can be seen as parts of the effects of globalization on the Islamic education sector.

The Female in Islamic Education

It has been noted in the first chapter the special value that Muslim societies give to knowledge, its acquisition and transmission. The theoretical incumbency to search for knowledge does not exclude the female. Despite the restricted status of women, they nevertheless are encouraged to seek and treasure religious knowledge. However, the status of women in Islam naturally would affect the role of women in Islamic education, both in acquisition and imparting the same. In the Qur'an and the traditions specifying the need for Muslims to acquire knowledge, both male and female are implied.¹⁰³ The implication of this is that religious education as a socializing agent in Muslim society makes it important for the woman to be educated as she becomes the first contact and teacher of children in the socializing process. This foundational role thus makes knowledge acquisition and transmission an important virtue for a Muslim woman.

Islam subordinates women to men, granting her some privileges and rights for this subordination. The Qur'an has set the position of the female as subordinate to the man.¹⁰⁴ This is unequivocal. However, how subordinate a woman should be is rather controversial, with cultural and social realities as well ideological inclinations in different climes and times often prevailing.¹⁰⁵ The man is given the position of leader and protector of women. A woman thus cannot assume certain kinds of leadership where men are concerned. A woman is commanded to keep her voice low in public, to dress decently and comport herself in a way that dignifies her position.¹⁰⁶ This subordinate position, however, gives her rights and privileges such as being protected and provided for by the man. Rather than suppression of women in popular imagination, it is a hierarchy of reciprocal responsibilities between men

¹⁰² Bill Gent, 'The world of British Hifz Student: Observations, Findings and Implications for Education and Further Research' *British Journal of Religious Education*, (2011) 33:1, 3-15.

¹⁰³ See 'Islam and Girl Child Education' www.fomwan.org. Accessed on 17-7-2014.

¹⁰⁴ Q 4:34 "Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because God has given the one more (strength) than the other, and because they support them from their means. Therefore the righteous women are devoutly obedient, and guard in (husband's) absence what God would have them guard..."

¹⁰⁵ For example, women among the Yoruba are active in economic activities and even participation in religious activities more than the women of the Hausas of northern Nigeria. They form the backbone of many of the Muslim organizations in terms of membership and financial support.

¹⁰⁶ This view must have been impressed on Leith Ross when making her enquiries about the possibilities of starting a female education program in Ilorin. Leith Ross, 'Female Education in Ilorin Province' NAK file 89/1928/Vol.1.

and women, equal before Allah but having different stations in life. However, social and cultural realities determine how these are realized.

Since knowledge is power and ultimately prepares the scholar for leadership position, a woman's involvement in acts that lead to this is thus limited by social and cultural practice though in theory she has equal rights to knowledge possession as the man. Although we have a number of cases where women have been religious authorities, such as Aisha, the wife of the prophet and closer home in Nigeria, the daughters of Sheikh Uthman Dan Fodiyo, rarely do women achieve scholarship to that level. However deep her knowledge, a woman cannot be the official in a religious ceremony such as praying except in an all women congregation. She cannot serve as a judge or become a political leader as well. A woman's role as home maker also limits her foray into scholarship. Once a woman is married, maternal and family responsibilities hinder her participation in scholarship.

Despite this, Muslim women have participated in knowledge possession and transmission as far as their responsibilities accorded them. From the time of the prophet to contemporary times women have been active in acquisition and dissemination of knowledge. The prophet's wife Aishah, for example, is well known as a transmitter of hadith. Many women of the Mamluk period were also known as transmitters. Women have been more renowned in this field than the in other fields of jurisprudence and allied sciences that would make a man to be referred to as an *alim*.¹⁰⁷ This was easier for women since memory is the most important requirement in transmission of hadith unlike the other fields where personal opinions and disputations may take place, with possibility of a woman scholar pitching argument again a male scholar, especially in the oral form.¹⁰⁸

When Islam came to West Africa, Islamic and traditional practices combined to affect the role of women in education. Not much is known of female scholars until the time of Uthman Dan Fodiyo who admonished scholars of his time for allowing their women to revel in ignorance.¹⁰⁹ The subordinate position of women in Islam and local traditional practices also presupposes a limitation of women participation in Islamic education. Uthman Dan Fodiyo, however, set examples by allowing women to attend his lectures and his daughters were well educated as shown in the

¹⁰⁷ Berkey, *The Transmission of*, 175.

¹⁰⁸ Modern Muslim women are breaking down this barrier with more women attaining the level of scholarship that enable them to argue for their rights. As would be shown in chapter six, their argument have largely been for recognition of more rights for women suppressed through social and cultural context, not of equality of power with men but as supportive of the men's role with their enhanced role.

¹⁰⁹ Abdullah Hakim Quick, 'Aspects of Islamic Social Intellectual History in Hausaland: Uthman Ibn Fudi 1774-1804 CE' (Ph.D thesis, University of Toronto, 1995), 195-197.

works of Nana Asmau.¹¹⁰ Naturally the women in the households of scholars tended to be more active in learning than women of other households.

In the pre-emirate settlement of Okesuna in Ilorin, mentioned is often made of Asiya, the wife of one of the scholars, Sheikh Munabau.¹¹¹ Generally the girls attend Qur'anic schools like their male counterparts and daughters of scholars have little choice but to partake in this knowledge acquisition. Before the twentieth century as well as the early part of it, a woman's education would be limited by two factors in Ilorin. The longer number of years that is needed to acquire the higher education presupposes that even a woman in a scholarly household would be ready for marriage before she could delve much into the higher type of education and once she is married her roles at home limits further acquisition of knowledge even if she married into a scholarly family. Because of limited roles of women in Islamic education and clerical roles, unlike men, females are not sent to scholars to live informally as a boarding student.¹¹² All knowledge is acquired from home.

The opening up of Ilorin to outside influence and the reform of Islamic education early in the twentieth century increased the opportunity for women to participate in learning just as it did for the male scholars. When Sheikh Kamalud-deen began his reform of Arabic education in the first half of the twentieth century, girls were among of his students. These include his daughters and those of other scholars. They studied the same texts as their male counterparts such al-Akhdari and Ashmawi.¹¹³ Later as married women they would lead the evolution of women *asalatu*¹¹⁴ groups. For most women in Ilorin in the first half of the twentieth century, the completion of the recitational study of the Qur'an often coincided or came close to the time of wedding; hence the ceremony (*wolimat*) of completing the Qur'an went together as part of the wedding ceremony. This wedding *wolimat* has since become a cultural aspect of the wedding ceremony in Ilorin.¹¹⁵

Colonial attempt at educating the female began tentatively in 1928 when Mrs Leith Ross was appointed Lady Superintendent of Education, to study the needs for girls'

¹¹⁰See Beverly B. Mack and Jean Boyd, *One Woman's Jihad Nana Asmau, Scholar and Scribe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

¹¹¹ This woman is believed to have been the only woman who fasted with scholars whom Alimi had charged to fast with 41 dates for forty days as part of the prayer asking Allah to make Ilorin an Islamic town. Discussions with Ustadh Isa Abdulsalam Gbagba Sirrullah. 27-11-2013; Al Iluri, *Lamahat Al Ballur*, 20.

¹¹² Abubakar Funmilayo Hassanat, 'Asbabu Takhlif Nisai an Dirasatu Lughatu Arabiyya fi Bilad Yuruba (Factors hindering Women from Learning Arabic in Yoruba land)' (B.A. Long Essay, Department of Arabic, University of Ilorin, 2002), 82.

¹¹³ Discussions with Alhaja Fatima Batuli Salah. 15-11-2013.

¹¹⁴ *Asalatu* derives from Arabic '*salatu ala nabiyy*,' the saying of benediction on the Prophet.

¹¹⁵ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 61.

education. Ilorin was chosen as the testing ground in this experiment for the Northern Region. Ilorin's affinity and closeness to the south west was a reason the experiment began in Ilorin. Women in Ilorin were also less exclusive than in the Hausa region and age of marriage a little higher than obtained in Hausa region. Conscious of religious and cultural sensitivity of Muslim society, her main duties was to spend months talking with the women trying to understand what sort of education they needed and wanted. The emir was happy about the idea and the colonial authority made it clear she was not a missionary but a colonial Education Officer.¹¹⁶

She came to the conclusion that the society was not ripe for formal school. She advocated for the education of women to begin around welfare and home needs of women and in an informal way before attempts could be made to introduce them to formal classrooms, with a proposal for the all-male Provincial School to be opened to females when the time comes. The Sewing School already opened in the town and the hospital were places she hoped to use to familiarize herself with the women. Her suggestion was to start female education around a proposed 'Children's Home' where young mothers would be encouraged to visit and get introduced to hygiene and a gradual introduction of the children to formal instruction using the Montessori Method.¹¹⁷

Although there were 1229 out of a possible 8152 girls attending Qur'anic schools in 1928,¹¹⁸ she did not consider them as possible candidates for the education she was proposing. A general colonial caution about interfering in the religion of the people was a reason for this attitude. Her conclusion was that while the emir and his chiefs were not against a school for the girls, they were not proactive or enthusiastic about the idea. They would take no step of their own but would accept government's decision on it. This passive expectation she considered as not a reason for starting a female education. Education for girls generally would not be in earnest until the last decade of colonial rule.¹¹⁹

In the second half of the century, especially the post-colonial period, with more formal Arabic schools in operations, more females got to be educated in the formalized Arabic schools. Improvement in the methods of imparting knowledge

¹¹⁶ Leith Ross, 'Female Education in Ilorin Province' NAK file 89/1928/Vol.1.

¹¹⁷ Ross, 'Female Education in Ilorin Province' NAK file 89/1928/Vol.1.

¹¹⁸ See Appendix XI, for figures of girls in Qur'anic schools in Ilorin in the period 1935-1951.

¹¹⁹ Ross, 'Female Education in Ilorin Province' NAK file 89/1928/Vol.1. Queen Elizabeth School was established in 1956, to coincide with the visit of the Queen to Nigeria in that year. The school played an important role in the education of Muslim girls from all over the Northern Region.

also meant graduation for recitational studies of the Qur'an took place earlier. Students now finish the recitation studies in their early teens or before, no longer coinciding with the time of marriage. The ceremony (*wolimat*) of finishing the Qur'an recitation is then postponed till the wedding time. From the 1990s this *wolimat* is often done twice. One is done on completion of the recitational study of the Qur'an as a kid or teen and the second one during the wedding ceremony; this having become a cultural part of wedding.

Women studying Arabic in higher institutions were rare. Unlike the males who get to study in the Middle East, the females were not groomed to follow this trend. Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Al-Azhari, responsible for giving many scholarship to study in the Middle East from Ilorin is an only male school, thus females were denied this opportunity. However, one of the newer *madaris*, Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah had by the twenty-first century began to send some of its female graduates to Qatar for higher education.¹²⁰ The only known woman from Ilorin to have studied in Egypt did not go through any of the *madaris* in Ilorin but through a bifurcate school in Lagos.¹²¹ A graduate of Muhyideen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies also studied Arabic for non-native speakers at the University of Qatar and returned to Nigeria for her degree program.¹²²

Zumratul Adabiyya had been running its *I'dadiyya* as a feeder into the *thanawiyya* of Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Al-Azhari and in 1990 Sheikh Kamalud-deen decided to start its own independent *thanawiyya* especially to allow the girls who could not proceed to Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Al-Azhari for the *thanawiyya* level, to have that level of madrasah education at Zumratul Adabiyya. He was able to convince six of the sixteen girls, of the graduates from *I'dadiyya* level to stay behind and have the *thanawiyya* in Zumratul Adabiyya. Some boys also stayed behind as a result. *Thanawiyya* level of Zumratul Adabiyya thus began as an effort to allow girls have access to higher education which had not been available before then.¹²³

¹²⁰ Discussions with the Provost of the school, Dr Ahmad Fazazi.23-9-2013.

¹²¹ Discussions with Alhaja Khadijah Abdulsalam. 9-12-2013. She studied for her *thanawiyya* at Al Azhar University in Cairo.

¹²² Her name is Fatima Ishaq Alawuyan. See Mubarak Olohunoyin, 'An Examination of Da'wah Activities of Muslim Women Scholars in Ilorin West Local Government Area of Kwara State' (M.A Dissertation: Islamic Studies-Department of Religion, University of Ilorin, 2013), 102. This work examines the career of some women scholars of Ilorin.

¹²³ Discussions with Alhaja Khadijah Kubra Aboto. 22-12-2013.

While women have made great advancement in Islamic education, they still lag behind their male counterparts.¹²⁴ Hassanat noted in her work that 95.5% of the graduates of Darul Uloom since inception were males.¹²⁵ She listed a number of obstacles against the female in acquiring Islamic education. These include little or no clerical roles for women, fathers and husbands not encouraging women to actively participate in scholarly pursuit, inability to travel in pursuit of further knowledge, preoccupation of women with economic activities, arguments of male scholars that the women's role is in the home and amorous distractions by male teachers in the *madaris* discouraging the few girls interested in studying.¹²⁶ The traditional limitations of social and cultural roles and limited clerical roles would continue to be challenges for women in Islamic education. In chapter six, their roles as propagators of religion would be examined.

Islamic Education in Western Schools

Although they were not included in the survey, it is also necessary to describe how western schools offer Islamic education. This had its origin in the colonial period. From the onset, colonial authority tried to allay Muslim fears and antipathy to western education by allowing some Islamic learning to be included in the curriculum. For the colonial officers, it was primarily a means to get Muslims to attend the western schools. It was obvious that without any form of Islamic learning, even the few who agreed to attend the schools would be discouraged. A mallam was therefore attached to the Provincial School in Ilorin. Qur'an and Arabic were being taught, though the standard was considered low. It was also being taught in a *zaur* (veranda) like in the traditional setting, different from the other subjects being taught in classrooms.¹²⁷

The subject of religion was treated as a tolerable appendage to western education and as the years went by efforts were made to improve Islamic learning in western schools along what the colonial officers called 'enlightened lines.' Early colonial views of Islamic learning considered it to be entirely rote and uninteresting. Later the colonial education authority would favor Arabic training as an academic discipline, not necessarily as a religious training.¹²⁸ The British were wary of Muslim accusation of interference in their religion. One of the conditions that the

¹²⁴ Stefan Reichmuth, 'Islamic Education and scholarship in sub-Saharan Africa' -in- Nehemiah Levtzion and Randall L. Powels, *The History of Islam in Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000), 420.

¹²⁵ Hassanat, 'Asbabu Takhlif Nisai,' 52.

¹²⁶ Hassanat, 'Asbabu Takhlif Nisai,' 81-82; discussions with Dr Sherifat Hussain Abubakar.12-12-2013.

¹²⁷ 'Annual Report Education' NAK file Iloprof 0433/1928.

¹²⁸ Thurston, 'The Era of Overseas Scholarships.'

British had promised the emirs when they surrendered after defeat was noninterference in the religion of the people. Hence the policy was one that stated that “the teacher of religion is nominated by the emir, the subject and method at his discretion alone. No interference except superintendent of education allocating time of lessons and supervision basically in the hand of the emir.”¹²⁹

The first set of students to attend western education at Ilorin Provincial School were adults and were taught *Ar-risala* and other theological works such as *Zakkaki*, *Hukami*, *Shriniya* and *Zuhudu*.¹³⁰ As just one of the many subjects available for the students, the time allocated to religious study was generally felt to be insufficient. Order and method were considered lacking in Qur’an instruction and this had retarded progress in its instruction. Only fourteen out of one hundred pupils in the Provincial School completed the instruction course in the Qur’an within the first two years of its existence.¹³¹ At the initial stage, it was not examined nor supervised,¹³² making many of the students to be indifferent to it. This further increased the distrust of the traditional scholars of western education as having any benefit for religious study.

The British favored Arabic training such that the students should be able to know the meaning of what they were being taught rather than the rote method of the traditional Islamic education. Sudanese Gordon College scholars were considered to be used as example of Muslims who are grounded in both systems. Colonial officers were divided into those who wished to see improved Arabic training and those who thought doing so would be strengthening Islam which was not the aim of the colonial government.¹³³ As parts of efforts to strengthen Arabic knowledge, the colonial authority organized a number of workshops for the Arabic teachers in Ilorin in the 1940s and 1950s. As independence was approaching, there was not much that could be done, what progress was achieved would be carried over into the post-independence years. Mentioned have already been made in chapter three of efforts of Sheikh Kamalud-deen to integrate western and Islamic education in 1947. It was the only private effort in that regard and there was no synergy with the government efforts until the last years when Self-Government gave a boost to the Islamic education sector especially in government institutions such as SAS.

¹²⁹ NAK ‘Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools’ Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

¹³⁰ This indicates they must have already finished the recitational study of the Qur’an and were adults. NAK ‘Provincial School Annual Report’ Iloprof 163/1917.

¹³¹ NAK ‘Annual Report of Ilorin Provincial Schools’ Iloprof file No. 285/1918.

¹³² It did not become examinable till 1945.

¹³³ NAK ‘Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools’ Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

It was based on the development of Arabic in government schools that the administrators of education in Nigeria would build on from the period of independence. From 1953 efforts were made to include Arabic and Islamic Studies as examinable subjects in the West African School Certificate Examination. By 1968 Islamic Studies had become examinable under West African School Certificate Examination.¹³⁴ Earlier, the University of Ibadan had in 1962 opened a department of Arabic and Islamic Studies.

The same year Abdullahi Bayero College (successor to the colonial School of Arabic Studies) opened a faculty of Arabic and Islamic Studies.¹³⁵ By the 1970s Islamic Religious Knowledge had become part of the subjects to be taken in primary and secondary schools with Yoruba and English languages as the medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools respectively. In the mid-1970s when the Federal Government began the Universal Primary Education program, teachers of religious studies were recruited especially from among the graduates of the reformed Islamic schools such as those of the Adabiyya and Markaziyya networks.¹³⁶

In 1986, the Federal Government introduced a new 6-3-3-4 system of education, six years of primary, three years of junior secondary, three years of senior secondary and four years of university education. From primary through secondary school, Islamic Religious Knowledge (IRK) is offered and at university level it is offered as Islamic Studies. Unlike the traditional and reformed *madaris*, religious knowledge in western schools is taught through the medium of English and or with the local language in primary schools and in English in post primary institutions.¹³⁷ Largely it gives the student the opportunity to know the meaning of some of the shorter chapters of the Qur'an and about articles of faith. Arabic writings form a smaller part of the teaching. As such any Muslim who had not attended the neighborhood Qur'anic schools cannot base his knowledge of religion on what is learnt in school. However, it serves as a good complement to the knowledge acquired in the traditional Islamic system.

¹³⁴ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 310.

¹³⁵ Imam A.M.B. Solagberu, 'Teaching of Islamic Studies in Nigeria in up to the 21st Century', *Nigerian Journal of Educational Services*, Vol.1, No.3 (2002), 149.

¹³⁶ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 311.

¹³⁷ A new national curriculum of education was instituted in 2014, styled 9-3-4. Under the new scheme, religious education is not a standalone subject. It will now be called 'Religion and National Values' (Civic Education, Social Studies, Security Education, Christian Religious Studies and Islamic Education). See <http://nerdc.ng/academic-centres/curriculum-development-centre>. Accessed 14-12-2014.

While in the colonial period, more efforts were put in development of Arabic education, in the post-colonial period, teaching of religion was given emphasis in English medium. Arabic and Islamic Religious Knowledge became two distinct subjects examinable at secondary school levels. Not all secondary schools offer Arabic as a subject. Islamic Religious Knowledge is the only subject of the two to be found in all the schools, especially in Muslim regions. In primary schools, only Islamic Religious Knowledge alone, no separate Arabic subject was taught. It thus became possible for Muslims who have not attended the traditional Qur'anic school where Arabic is the writing script, to learn more about their religion even if they could not read or write any Arabic. Religious knowledge taught this way, however, is rather superficial. Not only was it one of the many subjects for the students to learn, it was also a minor subject and was not often compulsory. The orientalist approach to the subject inherited from colonial time has little changed over the years.¹³⁸

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the developments in Islamic education from the period Nigeria gained independence in 1960 to the time of this research. The independence period ushered new hope of progress for the new nation and the scholars of Islam shared in this notion. In the decade of independence there emerged new *madaris* to expand the opportunity in Islamic education. Notably the third stream of Islamic education in Ilorin, the Markazi emerged, first as a community effort led by the emir. This led to the establishment of *Darul Uloom li Jabhat wal Aamma*. A second Markazi Madrasah also emerged, established by a student of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al-Iluri. In this period as well, the Adabiyya stream had an affiliate of Al-Azhar University of Cairo established in Ilorin. Shamsudeen College and Society and Muhyideen College and Society, both of which would become integrationist in approach also emerged in this decade of independence. Until independence in 1960, only the Adabiyya stream had successfully ran the reformed Arabic school model. Independence and the success of the Adabiyya School based in Ilorin and Markaz based in Lagos played an important role in the development of the decade of independence.

Subsequent developments from the 1970s was also examined when new *madaris* emerged, established by the students of the earlier ones. The economic prosperity of the oil boom of this decade also rubbed off on the *madaris* with government

¹³⁸ Although there has been improvement in terms of content, the argument has been that the subject is more or less an academic subject that imbibes little of faith in the students. That religious knowledge outside the western school system is still more relevant for faith learning.

takeover of some of the *madaris*. Increased spending on public education led to the need of employing more religious teachers in public schools.¹³⁹ This provided employment opportunity for many graduates of the Arabic schools, especially those operating integrationist or bifurcate schools. The *madaris* were also able to organize themselves into an association that facilitated interaction with the state government through the Ministry of Education. This gave some of the *madaris* recognition from the government and facilitated grant-in-aids to some of them. The economic crises of the 1980s and the semi informal nature of the organization would lead to a fizzling out of this relation and the organization itself. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, a new organization emerged in a different circumstance. Like the earlier one it is not known to all the *madaris*, thus marginal to their existence.

A survey of forty of the *madaris*, covering the broad spectrum of the categories of the *madaris*, brought to the fore the organization of the *madaris* and key problems militating against their development. Funding is highlighted as a key problem of the *madaris*. Founded with personal funds of the scholars, running mostly tuition free or taking low and largely unpaid fees, financing the system is thus very weak. Society's attitude had not been helpful either. People continued to think the system should operate tuition free despite the necessity of funds to run the system. The *madaris* also lacked a united front and operated largely on individual basis. This had militated against the system having a strong connection to the government through a united front.

Government declined dominance of provision of education from the mid-1980s led to the rise in private schools. This posed further challenges to Muslims as the early private schools were run by Christians who like the colonial mission schools used the opportunity to proselytize. This led to the emergence of Muslim run western private schools to cater to the Muslim needs. Some of the *madaris* found opportunity in this and began to use their schools for the provision of western education in the morning and Arabic and Islamic education in the evening. Though some expressed fear of domination of the western system, those who bought into the trend found it as a way to also preserve their Arabic schools, using some of the profits of the western system to maintain the Arabic schools and giving opportunity for the pupils of the western school section to acquire Islamic education as well.

In addition the chapter examined the new trend of *Tahfiz* schools, one of the strands of religious revivalism beginning in the mid-1980s. Its main preoccupation is the scientific recitation and memorization of the Qur'an. Stemming from the National Qur'anic Recitation Competition, the past competitors from the 1990s; by the

¹³⁹ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 311.

twenty-first century began to establish schools focused on this aspect of Islamic education. This is one of the indices of progress in the Islamic education system in the post-independence period.

The participation of the female in Islamic education was also examined. Limitation of the female role in the exercise of knowledge production and cultural factors played a prominent role in limiting the participation of the female in Islamic education. However, the expansion of opportunities in the system in the period under study also provided for the increased participation of the female even as it still lagged far behind that of the males. Islamic education in the rival western education system was also examined. Having its root in the colonial attempt to accommodate Muslim feelings by allowing for some Arabic and Islamic education within the ambit of colonial education system, it would develop into Islamic Religious Knowledge and Arabic as subjects within the broad spectrum of western education, taught in English and vernacular. These would be found in both primary and secondary education as well at tertiary levels. Its curriculum, however, would not be as deep as those found in the private Arabic schools.

In general, Islamic education progressed as it continued to struggle against the western system that is well funded and supported by the state. Greater connection with the rest of the Muslim world and greater participation of Muslims in western education all rubbed off on the development in Islamic education sector. Islamic education in western schools developed more in this period and products of the *madaris* had more opportunity to bridge into the western system especially for higher education not only in the Arabic and Islamic sciences but into the non-religious disciplines as well.

Chapter Five Higher Islamic Education

Introduction

Until the reforms of the twentieth century, higher Islamic education basically begins with studies that come after the completion of the recitational study of the Qur'an.¹ A small population of students continued their education after the recitational study of the Qur'an. In the traditional system of Islamic education, this stage is called the *kewu ilimi*² stage from the Arabic word *ilm*, meaning knowledge. After the completion of the recitational study of the Qur'an, those not pursuing a scholarly career would learn a trade either from within the family or outside the family. Sometimes apprenticeship in a craft goes hand in hand with learning.³

In the period under study, this level of Islamic learning underwent changes as did every other aspect of Islamic learning in Ilorin. The changes brought about by colonialism and reforms in Islamic education early in the twentieth century and the post-independence developments added new modes of acquiring higher education, both in the reformed Islamic education system and the government and private owned institutions of higher learning. From the middle of the twentieth century, there is also the connection to the Middle East countries for the pursuit of higher Islamic and Arabic education for the graduates of the *madaris*.

In this chapter we will examine these modes of higher Islamic education; the level of Islamic education that eventually determines who becomes a scholar of Islam. It is here that all scholarly learning is refined. As the crown of Islamic learning, we will explore the challenges and opportunities encountered at this level of learning and how the system responded to these. The impact of this mode of learning on the scholarly community and the society in general would also be examined. This level of learning determines the quality of scholarly learning and knowledge production and reproduction in any Muslim society. It is from this level that changes and progress of Islamic education flow down and permeate all levels of learning

¹ The modernization and advancement in knowledge achieved in the twentieth century by the Islamic education system has however changed this signpost. The Madrasah mode more or less now serves as a sort of intermediary stage in the acquisition of Islamic knowledge.

² *Kewu* is the general designation of Islamic education among the Yoruba speakers. The higher Islamic education was probably designated *kewu ilimi* as it marks the beginning of knowledge for would-be scholar where meaning of what is learned is important compared to learning to read the Qur'an that requires no understanding of the meaning.

³ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in,' 45.

***Kewu ilimi* (Higher Islamic Education in the Traditional System)**

In the informal traditional Islamic learning system, only Qur'an is studied at the first stage.⁴ This stage could take several years until the reforms of the twentieth century shortened the number of years needed for this stage to as low as within a year, depending on the age and aptitude of the student. The stages of learning to read the Qur'an have been described in chapter three. Towards the end of this stage the student too would have been involved in the devolvement of knowledge to junior pupils, assisting the teacher to teach the younger ones the knowledge he had earlier acquired through the same method. A career as a future scholar tentatively begins at this stage.

After the completion of the Qur'an, usually those who would pursue a career in Islamic education would be introduced to introductory texts of theology. Rote learning is still essential at this stage.⁵ The pupil recites a portion of the text being studied to his teacher and the teacher translates the meaning to him and he is expected to know it verbatim. Usually a few sentences or at most a page is studied at a time, depending on the intellectual capacity of the student. This is what a colonial official referred to as 'learning parrot wise.'⁶ Knowledge of Arabic at this early stage is still rudimentary, hence the verbatim method. The same words and phrases are used from generation to generation and different teachers teaching the same text would be found to be using virtually the same words for the translation of the text. This is akin to the immutable nature of the Qur'an, from which all Islamic knowledge is derived.⁷

A student may be living with his teacher or staying at home. Most of those coming from home would be those who are engaged with some other occupations. Those living with the teacher have the advantage of having greater access to the teacher and his store of knowledge, not necessarily limited to texts. The skills of officiating religious events and the use of prayer formulas in the prayer economy are acquired

⁴ Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 113; Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in Ilorin,' 53.

⁵ Arabic as a language is never taught at the Qur'an recitation level, so that introduction to meaning of texts also begins with rote. Some of the semi-formal Qur'anic Schools now teach some introductory Arabic to their pupils.

⁶ NAK Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

⁷ For example the *basmallah* (In the name of Allah, the most gracious, the most merciful) that begins all but one chapters of the Qur'an is translated into Yoruba virtually everywhere as '*ni oruko olohun, oba ajoke aye, oba asake orun,*' an exegetical translation rather than literal translation. *Oba ajoke aye* roughly translates as 'The king who is gracious to humans collectively in this world.' '*Oba asake orun*' translates as 'The king who is selectively merciful in the hereafter.' See Isaac A. Ogunbiyi, 'Arabic- Yoruba Translation of the Qur'an: A Socio-Linguistic perspective' *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 3 (1) (2001) 21-45, for a socio-Linguistic perspective on the various translated Volumes of the Qur'an in Yoruba.

alongside text based learning. The skill of a repeater (*ajanasi*)⁸ is also acquired at this stage if the teacher is into preaching. Unlike Qur'an studies slated for morning and noon, *ilmi* classes tended to be very early in the morning after the morning devotions or late in the night after the last prayer of the day, although they could take place at any time of the day.⁹ This allows the teacher to concentrate on the few students without the distraction of the chanting of the Qur'anic class. Some of the students may also be engaged in some trade or craft, making early morning or the night the most suitable time for lessons.

Movement from scholar to scholar in search of knowledge begins at this stage and would feature throughout the period of higher education.¹⁰ In the informal traditional system, there is no terminal point for this stage. A scholar only stops learning when there is no other work that another scholar can teach the student.¹¹ Because the texts to be studied at this stage are largely fixed texts that have been canonized since medieval times, their learning is mostly by rote. This explains why some of the scholars can teach these texts but may not be able to converse in Arabic.¹² The registers to be encountered in these works are largely related to religious rituals, theology and eschatology. These have been passed down from generation to generation verbatim and are all concerned with largely fixed ideas and rituals of religion.

However, this does not mean there were no scholars who could read any Arabic text without having studied it under a scholar or compose writing in Arabic. For example the letter written in the reign of the first emir Abdulsalami to Gwandu emirate seeking answers to some legal questions and putting the new emirate under the guardianship of Gwandu could not have been written except by someone versed in Arabic.¹³ The second emir, Shitta was also acknowledged by a European traveler as being conversant with Arabic.¹⁴ In the pre-colonial period, there were not many who had advanced enough to read any text without having studied it under another

⁸ He plays an important role as an assistant to preachers in their public sermons.

⁹ Yahaya Uthman Kolawole, 'The Development of Islamic Learning in Ilorin' (B. A. Long Essay, Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1997), 42.

¹⁰ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in Ilorin,' 54.

¹¹ Discussion with Sheikh Sulaiman Dan Borno (Mukadam Agba of Ilorin). 28-12-2012.

¹² Discussions with Alhaji Abdulkadir Jumuah Maimasa (Mufassir (exegete) of Gambari ward). 5-12-2013. There is an anecdote of how the then future Chief Imam of Ilorin, Sheikh Muhammad Bashir, enrolled at Al-Mahad al-dini al-Azhari to overcome this challenge at a time he had many students studying various *ilmi* texts under him.

¹³ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 49; Danmole, 'The Growth of ,', 19.

¹⁴ W.H. Clarke, *Travels and Exploration in Yorubaland 1854-1858*, edited by J.A. Atanda (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1972), 84.

scholar and even well into the twentieth century. Arabic literacy became widespread in the twentieth century due to the reforms, in comparison to the previous century.

A reason many scholars were not versed in Arabic as a language on its own is to be found in its primary functions as a spiritual and religious language. The primary purpose of Islamic learning is piety, which could be attained with or without a mastery of the Arabic language. It is because of this reason that the members of *Zumratul Mu'meenina (makondoro)* are less concerned about mastery of Arabic of its own merit. The texts are largely fixed and have not been subjected to revisions except commentaries (*sharhu*). Lexicons outside of these texts may therefore not be known to the scholars teaching them but the language around the renowned texts are well understood, most of it taught by rote. Many would thus understand some spoken Arabic but may not be able to converse in it.¹⁵ The purpose had never been to be able to converse as such, except to explicate on religious knowledge.

One must also take into cognizance that Ilorin as a Muslim city was less than a hundred years old at the beginning of the twentieth century. The nineteenth century served as the century of incubation of scholarship in Ilorin. The town encountered colonialism and modernity at the time of the blooming of her intellectual endeavors. While many scholars in the nineteenth century were immigrants into the town, at the end of the century the town had produced home grown scholars, increasing the number of scholars who could provide higher education to scholars within the town.¹⁶ The population of the town in the nineteenth century was also limited compared to the twentieth century.

In the early twentieth century, higher Islamic education began to progress at a faster pace than the previous century. A number of factors contributed to this growth of learning. First, there had emerged a considerable number of home grown scholars who could pass the knowledge to others. This meant there were now a variety of choices of scholars to students who could learn different texts under different teachers.

Secondly, Ilorin had come under colonial rule. Colonial rule not only enforced peace that had been near absent in the past century but also introduced new ways of life that would affect everyone and that cut across the social, economic and political

¹⁵ Discussions with Imam Yakubu Aliagan, 12-9-2012 and Alhaji Abdulkadir Jumah Maimasa, Mufasssir (Exegete) of Gambari ward. 5-12-2013. Imam Yakubu Aliagan recalled as a young student studying with another scholar, of being drawn into the Adabiyya network upon hearing their scholars conversing in Arabic in public. He was impressed because he could understand the conversation but could not converse himself.

¹⁶ Danmole, 'The Growth of Islamic Learning,' 26; Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Al Ballur*, has given us some biographies of some of these scholars in his work.

spheres. Contact with the rest of the world was also facilitated through the sea. Previously contact with the rest of the world was largely through the trans-Saharan trade. Unlike the trans-Saharan trade, the sea trade was faster and the volume of goods for exchange was tremendous. So also was the exchange of ideas. It gradually displaced the trans-Saharan trade; Ilorin lost its middle man role in trans-Saharan trade between the north and the south.¹⁷ It is most likely that some of the new Islamic texts came through Arab traders and scholars on the coast.¹⁸

The new experience of modernity and colonialism as we have noted in the previous chapters enabled the scholars of Ilorin to move in many directions as missionaries. The new home grown scholars especially moved into many of the urban towns of the Yoruba region but were not limited to this region alone. They also moved around the Niger-Benue rivers confluence and into the neighboring West African countries.¹⁹ These areas provided fertile grounds for the scholars to put their intellectual prowess to use. These experiences as well as the challenge of colonialism and its attendant western education and Christianity played a prominent role in developing new strategies for the development of higher education in Ilorin.

Reformers emerged in response to the challenge of the new contenders for the attention of Muslims. The reformers of the early colonial period served as the foundation upon which all future developments would be based. The beginning of higher education is known but it really has no end as such.²⁰ This is especially true of the traditional system. Beginning after the completion of the recitational study of the Qur'an, it continues as a lifelong pursuit of learning. The introduction of reformed Arabic and Islamic schools, structured in some ways like its western counterpart also meant earlier access to higher education for Muslims. The reforms of Sheikh Kamalud-deen and that of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi al Iluri and others that would follow, not only reduced the number of years a scholar needed to access higher education but it also reduced the difficulties in accessing the education and made a mass oriented kind of education possible, through the promotion of Arabic language and literature.²¹

¹⁷ Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 120.

¹⁸ Reichmuth, 'Sheikh Adam.'

¹⁹ For the impact of Ilorin scholars on the development of Islam around the Niger-Benue confluence, see Mohammed, 'History of the Spread'; see also Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 167.

²⁰ Higher education in the formal tertiary institutions has helped put some structure to this. But this also has its limits since the knowledge involved esoteric learning that goes beyond textual understanding and cannot be pinned down to particular space or time.

²¹ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 260-262

This brings out the question of classification of higher Islamic education and equating with the western system, which has remained a pervasive challenge to the Islamic education system. The reformed Islamic schools have the *Ibtidaiyya* as the equivalent of the primary school, *I'dadiyya* equivalent of the junior secondary and the *thanawiyya* as the equivalent of the senior secondary of the western system.²² This classification has been the result of the works of various religious education committees of the 1980s and early 1990s, who had to classify the system in comparison with Arabic model and partly in competition with the western education system.²³

For formal and academic classification, this classification somehow fits. But the differing purpose as well as curriculum and eventual utilization of Islamic education makes this classification somehow incongruous. '*Taqwa*' (piety) is a main aim of Islamic education, since it is *taqwa* that will lead the scholar to achieve the ultimate aim of a positive hereafter. Some scholars never went beyond the *I'dadiyya* or *thanawiyya* level and still rose to become great scholars based on the perceived piety and charisma they were able to attain. It is also to be noted that most of the founders of the *madaris* never had a *madrasah* education but had established the schools in response to modern challenges, especially that of western education. The academic exercise of the *madrasah* education is a means to an end, piety, the key to the cherished positive hereafter.

In the traditional system, there is the absence of formal division into levels and classes as found in the *madrasah* system. Again, at most, only a few students may be learning the same text at the same time with a teacher. A lot of rote is involved in the traditional system while the knowledge of Arabic in the *madrasah* reduces the dependency on rote. In the *madrasah*, the whole text may not be treated while the traditional system treats the whole book unless the student refuses to complete the study. Constraint of time and programming makes completing a text difficult in the *madaris*. Hence many students would still have to learn more about a text in a personal learning with scholars outside of the *madrasah*.²⁴

One advantage in the traditional system is the personal touch to the teaching. In the *madrasah* system, the personal touch is a little bit lost since the teacher teaches a

²² Muhammad, 'A Study of Selected,' 26.

²³ Until then it forms part of the broad higher Islamic education, the progress made since independence made the classification into secondary school equivalent possible with the development of the *thanawiyya* level from the late 1970s and the production of many university graduates of Arabic and Islamic studies.

²⁴ Discussions with Alhaji Abdulkadir Jumuah Maimasa (Mufasssir (exegete) of Gambari ward). 5-12-2013. See Ware, *The Walking Qur'an*, 167.

whole class instead of the one on one of the traditional system.²⁵ A comparison of the texts and curriculum of the traditional *ilimi* system and those of the *madaris* showed some slight differences. The common texts in the traditional system favored many of the classical and canonical texts while the *madaris* were open to newer texts especially with their special interest in Arabic language and literature, including works of contemporary Nigerian scholars such as Sheikh Adam Abdullahi al Iluri and scholars from the Arab world.²⁶

One of the early texts a student would be introduced to in the traditional *ilimi* system is *Aqidat al-Salihin*, by Ibn Tumart (d.534/1130) popularly called *I'lamu* from the opening words in the text '*I'lam, arshadanallahu wa iyyaka...*' (Know, may Allah guide us, and you (the learner)...). It is mainly a text of *taohid* (theology) with some *fiqh* (jurisprudence). The *Matn al Risala* of Ibn Abi Zayd Al Qairawani is a popular text written in 386 A.H. It explicates on the rituals of worship such as ablutions and various purifications required in the practice of Islam. The text expatiates on the rituals of the five pillars of Islam and their sub branches such as the various obligatory, supererogatory prayers as well as prayers on special occasions such as when in need of rain, during an eclipse and in period of anxiety. It delves into social relations- wedding, divorce, business transaction, wills and judgment of offenders, booties, food and drinks and greetings as espoused in Islamic law. Also in the text are subjects such as the treatment of psychic attacks, divination and dream. The varied topics treated in the work makes it a classic, hence it is a *sine qua non* for a scholar to study.²⁷

Some of the other popular texts include *Matn al-Ashmawiyya* of Abdul Bari Al Ashmawi Ar Rufai, *Hidayat al-Mutaabbid Assalik* of Abdulrahman Al Akhdari (locally called *lalari*), *Muqaddimmatul Izziiyya* of Abi Hasan Aliy al Maliki al Shadhili: subjects in them include rituals of prayers and ablutions and similar topics treated in the *Risala*. *Al-Sab'u al-Mathani* of Muhammad abi Darayn is especially cherished for those aspiring to be *aimmah* (sing. Imam- prayer leader). The book is concerned with the technicalities of the ritual of prayers.²⁸ Others include *Al-Durusul al-Awwaliyya* treating *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and *taohid* (theology), *Ta'lim*

²⁵ Discussions with Alhaji Abdulkadir Jumuah Maimasa (Mufassir (exegete) of Gambari ward). 5-12-2013. Ware, *The Walking Qur'an*, 70.

²⁶ As noted by Brenner, given the structured curricula in the *madaris*, this necessarily affects the pedagogy of religious instruction. Presentation, transmission and reception of knowledge is thus affected. Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge*, 12.

²⁷ Discussions with Alfa Zakariya Yahaya, Fiwa-Kesin Qur'anic School. 11-3-2014.

²⁸ Discussions with Imam of Ita Ajia Mosque, Alhaji Muhammad Bello.13-12-2013.

al-Mutaalim (concerned with teaching methodology), *Zuhud*, *Ashriy'a*, *Zabura*, *Makarim al-Akhlaq* among others.²⁹

Each of the branches of knowledge such as *fiqh*, *hadith*, *tafsir*, *adab*, *taohid* and *lugha* among others has dozens of texts specific to it. The choice of what to study depends on what the student wants to study or the teacher advises and is also able to teach. Usually these texts are studied preparatory to the study of the exegesis of the Qur'an. They serve as foundations that will deepen the understanding of the Qur'anic exegesis when eventually the scholar comes to it.³⁰ *Tafsir Al-jalalain*³¹ is the preeminent exegetical work among the scholars of Ilorin. However, with greater connection with the rest of the Muslim world, other exegetical texts have also found their way into the collections of the scholars in Ilorin.

Since the attainment of independence for Nigeria in 1960 and the subsequent establishment of many *madaris*, the *madrasah* route to higher education has become well entrenched such that it is increasingly becoming difficult to find scholars who would not have gone through the *madrasah* system. Most of the scholars of the post-independence period have acquired some form of *madrasah* education in the course of their learning. Only the *Zumratul Mu'meenina* still hold onto the traditional method of attaining the higher Islamic education and they remained a minority among the scholars. Increasingly scholars are attaining higher education available in the western institutions in Nigeria and in universities in the Arab countries. The traditional system of higher education is no longer the only route to attain a higher Islamic education, though it still retains its pride of place in the scheme of Islamic education, especially the ritual and non-textual knowledge essential for the attainment of piety and charisma, enabled through personal mentoring.

The traditional system or route to higher education is fizzling out gradually with *madrasah* education now generally accepted as a route to higher education, the textual canon of the *madrasah* a blend of the old and modern texts. However, the informal nature of Islamic learning (the mode of the traditional higher education) would continue to be relevant to the acquisition of higher Islamic education. With time, the *madrasah* route would displace the traditional system but not the informal

²⁹ Some of these texts were included curriculum of the first colonial school established in Ilorin in 1916. See 'Provincial School Annual Report' NAK file Iloprof 163/1917.

³⁰ The scholars were unanimous on these preparatory studies before exegetical study which is considered the crown of knowledge. See also Seesemann, *The Divine Flood*, 33.

³¹ This is one of the renowned books on Qur'anic exegesis. It was authored by two namesakes Jalal al Din al Mahalli (d.664 A.H) Jalal Abd al Rahman b. Jalal al Suyuti. Both were Shafii scholars based in Cairo. See Abdulkadir, 'The Development of Tafsir,' for more on the importance of this book in Ilorin.

nature of learning. The graduates of *madrasah* rather than the traditional scholars would continue to relay the informal learning outside of the *madrasah*. The oral nature of textual learning and the importance of personal relation in passing on religious knowledge presuppose that informal learning of higher education would continue to be relevant to the acquisition of higher Islamic learning.

Even as more students pass through the *madrasah* system, they still have to seek more knowledge through the informal personal learning from scholars outside of their school, whether such scholars have passed through the *madrasah* system or not.³² More so, moral and spiritual lessons on which religious education is based cannot be realized through the *madrasah* system alone. *Baraka* (blessing) and *hurmah* (Charisma) are considered important in learning. This is believed to be inherent and better attained in such informal setting. This also functions in building networks with other scholars that often last a lifetime. Students attending the *madaris* will always have to seek this informal learning, more or less to augment their knowledge, skills and charisma. Though the traditional mode of higher education may fizzle out with time, informal learning will remain essential to the attainment of higher Islamic education.

Higher Islamic Education: The Middle East Connection

Until the twentieth century when international travel and communication became easier and faster, travel between West Africa and the Middle East was facilitated mainly through the trans-Saharan trade and the pilgrimage. Islam had reached sub-Saharan Africa through the trade routes and the merchants.³³ Thereafter the pilgrimage as a religious duty was limited to a few people who could take the hazardous journey. This was mostly done in conjunction with the trans-Saharan mercantilism. Although scholars of Hausa region and especially Borno sought knowledge as far as Al-Azhar in Egypt where the Mais of Borno built a hostel for their students in the 14th century,³⁴ nevertheless, most scholars of West Africa sought their knowledge within the region.

Ilorin as an emerging city was still nascent to have had large numbers of scholars participated in the search for knowledge to the Middle East prior to the colonial

³² Sometimes students of Islamic Studies in western institutions of higher learning sometimes have to resort to this informal mode of learning to get a better understanding of texts they are studying, say in the university, under the tutelage of traditional scholars. Limited time allocated to such studies in the western system makes this alternative an important mode of learning for the students. Discussions with Dr Sherifat Hussain Abubakar. 12-12-2013.

³³ Nehemiah Levtzion, 'Islam in Bilad al Sudan to 1800' -in- Nehemia Levtzion & Randall L. Pouwels (eds), *The History of Islam in Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000), 68.

³⁴ Ali Abubakar, *Al-Thaqafat Al-'Arabiyyah fi Nijeriya min 1750 ila 1960 'am al'istiqlal* (Beirut: Muassasat 'Abd alhafiz Al-Bassat, 1972), 59. Quoted in Jimba, 'The Role of Azhar,'

period.³⁵ Islam had been well established in West Africa before the emergence of Ilorin as an Islamic city in the nineteenth century. It has been noted that the scholars of Ilorin rarely ventured northward. Rather it was from the north that scholars emigrated and settled in Ilorin to spread Islamic learning.

The new economic order brought by colonialism gradually saw to the demise of the Trans-Saharan trade. Faster travel, first by sea and later by air played a key role in this. More people could now easily travel to the Middle East. As noted in chapter three, this travel to the Middle East in search of knowledge or pilgrimage was a key influence in the reforms of Islamic education that took place from the fourth decade of the twentieth century. Sheikh Kamalud-deen traveled for the hajj in 1937 and Sheikh Adam Abdullahi al Iluri traveled to Egypt in the 1940s and 1950s in search of knowledge.³⁶ It was after these travels that the two scholars pioneered reforms that revolutionized Islamic education in Ilorin and in the Yoruba region. Prior to these two scholars, in the early colonial period, around 1900, we read of al Hajj Abdullahi Muhammad Atturkumami (Waziri Bida).³⁷ He was also instrumental in promoting pan-Arabic and pan-Islamic trends gaining ground around this period.³⁸ Sheikh Adam Abdullahi al Iluri was inspired by the career of this remarkable scholar.

Sheikh Kamalud-deen had visited Saudi Arabia for hajj in 1937, taking with him one of his students and was influenced by that experience. Hence, the following year he began his reforms of Islamic education, first in Lagos, then later in Ilorin.³⁹ However, the Middle East connection to acquiring higher education would not be fully harnessed till after Nigeria got independence in 1960. In 1962, Sheikh Kamalud-deen visited Al Azhar University in Cairo and reached an agreement with the authority of the university, for the establishment of a college of al Azhar in Ilorin, named Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Azhari. The school formally began its activities

³⁵ A few have done so as suggested by Jimba. Nevertheless it was not the norm. See Jimba, 'The Role of Azhar University.'

³⁶ Stefan Reichmuth, 'Sheikh Adam.'

³⁷ He had followed his father on hajj to the Middle East and stayed behind in Egypt to earn a certificate, one of the earliest from West Africa to have that experience in modern times. He taught in Lagos and Ibadan before settling in Ilorin. He was recalled home to Bida, where the emir, his former student, later made him the Waziri (Prime Minister) of Bida. He was later exiled to Ilorin where he taught and helped to promote the study of Arabic rhetoric, logic and *usul al-fiqh* (foundation of jurisprudence). Reichmuth and Abubakre, 'Ilorin and Nupe,' 488.

³⁸ Reichmuth and Abubakre 'Ilorin and Nupe,' 489.

³⁹ Reichmuth and Abubakre, 'Ilorin and Nupe,' 469; Onikoko, *The Cradle Rocker*, 19; Discussions with Khalifa Adabiyya, Shaykh Sofiyullah al Adabiy. 1-9-2012.

in 1963.⁴⁰ After this period, graduates of Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Azhari began to get scholarship to do their *thanawiyya* and degree programs in Azhar University in Egypt. Markaz graduates in Lagos were also going to Egypt for their degree program under scholarship from the Egyptian government from about this time.⁴¹

Sheikh Adam Abdullahi al Iluri had as early as 1946 travelled to Azhar University, subjected himself to an examination which he passed. He stayed back to understudy the education system in both Egypt and in Sudan through which he went to Egypt. Travelling to the Middle East was not yet a popular tradition then. The British were wary of Muslims travelling to the Middle-East, then brimming with nationalism.⁴² They were afraid of revolutionary influence on their subjects and discouraged this as much as possible. Sheikh Adam had to follow an irregular route due to official obstacles to travelling to Egypt, hence his stay in Sudan for a while.⁴³ In 1956, Sheikh Adam travelled again to Egypt. In his earlier visit he had met Hasan al Banna, the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood and was influenced by the later. The Sheikh's pan-Islamic ideal and revolutionary reform of Islamic education was greatly influenced by this journey and his earlier contact with Hasan al Banna.⁴⁴

By the 1970s, other *madaris* that have emerged were also beginning to access scholarship from Arab countries, notably Egypt and Saudi Arabia but also Iraq, Sudan, United Arab Emirate, Libya and Pakistan. Opportunities to study in the Arab countries usually come through either the schools or their organizational arms which were able to source scholarship from the Arab countries that were then given to their brightest students. In the 1970s through to the early 1980s, the *I'dadiyya* certificates were the qualifications the students were using as entry qualification since *thanawiyya* was yet to begin in Ilorin.⁴⁵

A few examples would suffice here. Sheikh Abdullahi Jubril Sahban, founder of Muhyideen College was able to secure some scholarships for his students in 1972 to study in Libya.⁴⁶ The Sheikh also had connections with Iraq and Saudi Arabia

⁴⁰ Abubakr O. Nasir, *The Role of Ma'had 'I-Azhar Ilorin in Manpower Development in Nigeria*, (B.A. long Essay, Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1991), 32.

⁴¹ Abubakre, 'The National Board.'

⁴² John N. Paden, *Faith and Politics in Nigeria –Nigeria as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World* (Washington: United States institute of Peace, 2008), 40; Thurston, 'The Era of Overseas Scholarships.'

⁴³ Abdulraheem, 'Ilorin travel literature.'

⁴⁴ Reichmuth, 'Sheikh Adam.'

⁴⁵ Discussions with Dr Abdulhamid Olohunoyin. 20-12-2013; Alhaji Abubakar Ita Ajia 28-7-2013 and Dr Ibrahim Mustapha. 5-7-2013.

⁴⁶ Hamzat Abdulraheem and Yahaya Abdulhamid Ishola were given this opportunity for further study. Hamzat Abdulraheem studied at Markaz in Lagos, but was nominated being

institutions that assisted with textbooks and funds for his school. Ansarul Islam, the organizational arm of the Adabiyya was also able to get some scholarship for some students of Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Azhari in 1972 to study in in Libya.⁴⁷ In the absence of a certifying body for the certificates of the Islamic schools, the certificates from Nigerian Arabic schools were not always accepted as standard; hence the students were subjected to tests to determine their level of knowledge and competence before placing them at the appropriate level.⁴⁸ This enabled some of the students to start in the second year *thanawiyya* class in such countries.⁴⁹

One other important factor that helped the cause of students studying in the Arab countries was government at the center in Nigeria's first republic. The Northern Progressive Congress (NPC) as the majority party allied with National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) of Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe to form the government at the center. The NPC, led by the Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello, established relations with many Arab Muslim countries and these offered scholarship to Nigerian students. The Sardauna was involved in pan-Islamic movement especially the World Muslim League of which he was a co-founder. There were hopes for Muslims from Nigeria to benefit from scholarships the member states would offer to Muslims to study in their countries.⁵⁰

However, the participation of Muslims in the scholarship scheme is believed to have been limited due to Christians of south eastern Nigeria (mainly Igbos) being at the helms of administration at the Ministry of Education at the federal level then and since the Igbo led and dominated NCNC was part of the coalition government at the center, Christian Igbos were able to access this opportunity more than the Muslims.⁵¹ The Arabic schools had no representation; as such, many non-Muslim Nigerians got the opportunity to study in the Arab countries in non-religious subjects such as medicine.

the son of a teacher of Sheikh Sahban, an example of the benefits of lifelong connection between a teacher and his student. Both would later work in the public service as many in that category would do. Discussions with Dr Hamzat Abduraheem. 4-1-2014.

⁴⁷ Among the first set of students of Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Azhari to go to Libya was Abdulhamid Olohunoyin. Discussions with Dr Abdulhamid Olohunoyin. 20-12-2013.

⁴⁸ Discussions with Alhaji Abdulsalam Imam Olayiwola. 6-2-2014.

⁴⁹ A graduate of Shamsud-deen College who went to United Arab Emirate in 1978 with a diploma certificate from Ahmadu Bello University had to go through the *thanawiyyah* in level UAE since the diploma was not recognized, even though it is a tertiary certificate in Nigeria. However, he found the repeat education rewarding. Discussions with Dr Ibrahim Mustapha. 5-7-2013 and Discussions with Dr Abdulhamid Olohunoyin. 20-12-2013.

⁵⁰ Discussions with Dr Hamzah Abduraheem. 4-1-2014 and Alhaji Abdullateef Adekilekun. 15-5-2012.

⁵¹ Muslim presence in the western education and public service sector was still minimal at this time compared to the Christians.

The Arab countries found out that there were not many Muslims among the beneficiaries of their scholarships, whom they had intended to benefit from the scholarships. The Arab officials were then advised by some concerned Nigerian Muslims that the only way to get Muslims to benefit from the scholarship scheme is to let their embassies in Nigeria liaise with the private Arabic schools and give the scholarship directly from their home country schools rather than through the bilateral agreements with the federal government.⁵² Though some Muslims benefitted through the bilateral agreements,⁵³ the direct school to school route will be the most utilized means to studying in the Arab countries by the graduates of the *madaris*. The coup of 1966 in which the Sardauna of Sokoto was killed put paid to his efforts in this regard.⁵⁴

From the late 1970s, the students themselves were also making individual efforts through teaching personnel from the Arab countries, writing directly to the schools or through their embassies in Nigeria,⁵⁵ given the limited number of scholarships available. For example, in 1979, some students got the opportunity to study in Pakistan. The opportunity came through one of the numerous teaching personnel sent from the Saudi Arabia to Al-Markaz al-Khairi based in the old central mosque. The Pakistani teacher, Hilal, connected some of the students to a Pakistani proprietor of a *madrasah*, Jamiat Arabiyya, located in Chiniot district of Punjab, Sheikh Ahmad Mansour, back home in Pakistan. The missionary scholar offered to train fellow Muslims and three students Al-Markaz al-Khairi were connected to the scholar. They were the first set of students that went to Pakistan from Ilorin.⁵⁶

The students went to Pakistan with *I'dadiyya* certificate; the thanawiyya level had just begun in Ilorin then in Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Azhari and a few others. In Pakistan, the Sheikh of Jamiat Arabiyya in Chiniot provided clothes and board for the students. The Nigerian embassy in Pakistan was able to give the students some bursary allowance to ease their living conditions as well. The Sheikh also provided an English teacher on request by the Nigerian students to help improve their English. Like their *madrasah* back home in Nigerian, the Pakistani *madrasah* used

⁵² Discussions with Dr Hamzah Abduraheem. 4-1-2014 and Alhaji Abdulateef Adekilekun. 15-5-2012.

⁵³ Alhaji Ahmad O. Kamal, a former Commissioner of Education in Kwara State, studied in Egypt through the Federal Government Scholarship. Discussions with Alhaji Abdulateef Adekilekun. 15-5-2012.

⁵⁴ Thurston, 'The Era of Overseas Scholarships.'

⁵⁵ They got such addresses through magazines from the Arab world that found their way to Nigeria through those who had travelled to the Arab countries.

⁵⁶ They were Alhaji Abdallah Akanbi Makkah, Imam Pataki-Alhaji Salihu Bube Abubakar and Alfa Shakir. Discussions with Alhaji Abdallah Akanbi Makkah. 22-12-2012.

no chair or table, though they were later provided.⁵⁷ Through the news of the first set of students who went to Pakistan other students followed in their footsteps.⁵⁸

The students had to pay their air fare ticket to Pakistan.⁵⁹ Students in Ilorin had found opportunity in writing letters to some of these institutions in Arabic, by virtue of the training in Arabic that they had received in their *madrasah*.⁶⁰ Sometimes they got positive response leading to some of them travelling outside the country to study. Usually they only had to source their transport fare to the place they were offered admission; afterwards their welfare was taken care of by their hosts.

By the 1980s it had become common for outstanding graduates of the *madaris* to get scholarships to study in many Muslim countries. Other countries students had opportunities to travel to, for studies, include Chad, Sudan, Libya, Mauritania, Iraq, Lebanon, United Arab Emirate and Kuwait. Saudi Arabia and Egypt, however, were the favorites since most of the scholarship came from these two countries. Some students who could afford it paid for their own way to Egypt to acquire the knowledge.⁶¹ Most, however, had to rely on scholarship from the institutions in those countries.

Connections to the Middle East countries for studies helped in producing a large number of graduates of Arabic and Islamic studies.⁶² Some returned to find employment in the civil service, the Foreign Service, academia while others remained within the private Arabic and Islamic school establishment. In some instances, some of the students went on to study in non-religious disciplines such as medicine, geology, engineering, agricultural science, business administration, law

⁵⁷ This was not based on any doctrine but a pragmatic decision. Al-Markaz al- Khairi is based inside the old central mosque at Idi Ape: as such chairs and table could not be used in the school even if the school had wanted to.

⁵⁸ Sheikh Abdulkadir Oba-Solagberu went in 1980, on the heels of the first set, to Jamiat Arabiyya Chiniot before joining Jamiat Abubakr Siddiq in Karachi. He eventually left Pakistan to Saudi Arabia to complete his studies. Discussions with Dr Abdulkadir Oba-Solagberu. 19-12-2012. He is the founder of Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah.

⁵⁹ Discussions with Dr Abdulkadir Oba-Solagberu. 19-12-2012. Travelling to Pakistan then also required no visa, thus making their travel easier.

⁶⁰ Discussions with Dr Abdulkadir Oba-Solagberu. 19-12-2012. The skill of writing in Arabic imparted in the *madaris* thus contributed to the opportunities to acquire higher Arabic and Islamic education in the Arab countries.

⁶¹ Discussions with Dr M.M. Jimba. 27-12-2012. Those who could afford to pay their way are able to get some support once they arrive in the host country. Given that most of the students come from less privileged background, only a few could follow this option.

⁶² Reichmuth, 'Islamic Learning and "Western Education"'

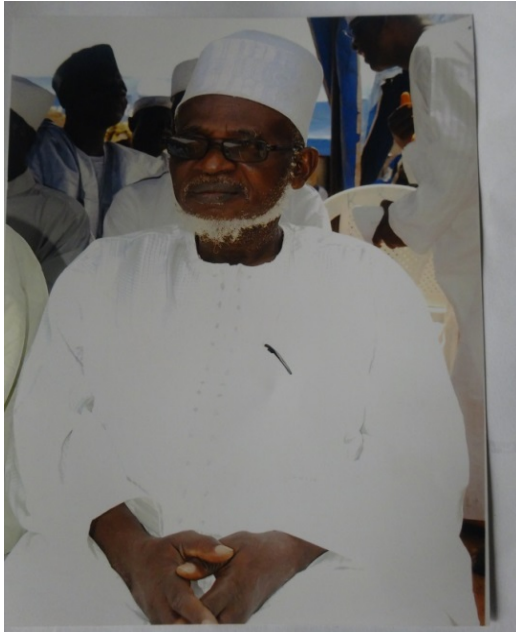


Fig.22. Sheikh Jubril Abdullahi Sahban, Founder of Muhyideen College and Society. Picture Courtesy Sheikh Jubril Sahban.



Fig.23. Dr Abdulkadir Oba-Solagberu, founder of Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah. Picture courtesy of his students.

and mass communication.⁶³ Al Azhar University in Egypt especially provided the ground for broadening of opportunity to venture into non-religious disciplines. Its branch in Ilorin, Al-Ma'had al-Dini al-Azhari also provided preparatory experience into the non- religious disciplines through the teaching of science subjects in Arabic.⁶⁴

By the 1990s to the twenty-first century, it is believed that thousands of scholars had benefitted from the opportunities to study in Muslim countries outside Nigeria, especially in the Middle East. Those who were able to get into the more formal sector as government employees either as administrators, diplomat or academics have been more visible. In all these pursuit of higher education, females have been excluded until very recently, with Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah sending some of its female graduates to Qatar on scholarship.⁶⁵ The only woman from Ilorin to have studied at Al-Azhar went through a school in Lagos.⁶⁶ Socio- cultural limitations against females in acquiring Islamic education had been most important in denying the women the opportunity to study in Arab countries for higher Islamic education.

Unlike the traditional scholars who could always be identified by their dress, especially their turban, the Middle East trained scholars are not so easily identified as such, no doubt influenced by their experience of the Middle East that not all scholars had to use the turban as identity. As some of them found employment with the formal sector of paid employment, they were also less inclined to dress as the traditional scholars.⁶⁷ Those who found their ways back to the private Arabic schools with their counterparts who have had higher certificates from Nigerian institutions of higher learning contributed to improve the quality of teaching in the *madaris* as well as in the government owned institutions of higher learning.

⁶³ Mostly these opportunities were discovered when they got to Egypt. Jimba, 'The Role of Azhar.'

⁶⁴ One of their students on scholarship would go on to study medicine and specialized in ophthalmology when he returned to Nigeria. Another would cross into Saudi Arabia from Egypt and study geology. One of the respondents said that after some students had begun venturing into non-religious disciplines, the Egyptian authorities in Al Azhar University subtly began to restrict the access of the Nigerian students into these fields afraid of competition they may pose to Egyptians for admission slots. Egyptian and Saudi authorities appeared to favor students to focus on the religious sciences rather than in other non-religious disciplines. Alhaji Mahmud Hanafi (geologist) 2-1-2014.

⁶⁵ Discussions with the Provost of the School, Dr Ahmad Faozy Fazazy. 23-9-2013.

⁶⁶ Discussions with Hajija Khadijat Abdussalam. 9-12-2013. She left Ilorin for Lagos where she enrolled in an integrationist school in Lagos run by a friend of her mother. From this school she got scholarship to study in Egypt. She presents the religious program *Al Hidayah* (The Guidance) on Fridays on Radio Kwara, focusing on family issues.

⁶⁷ Partly as a strategy against the stereotype of Islamic scholars as not modern or refined compared to those who have had western education.

Although studying in the Middle East is still held in high esteem, higher Islamic education is now readily available in Nigerian higher institutions of learning than it was in the middle of the twentieth century.

Higher Islamic Education in the *Madaris*

Although higher Islamic education begins after the recitational study of the Qur'an, developments and advancement in Islamic education of the twentieth century has divided this higher education into roughly two phases. The competition with western education beginning in the early colonial period engendered reforms leading to the development of the *madrasah* type of Islamic education. Availability of higher Islamic studies, first through colonial education policy of promoting studies of Arabic in places such as the School of Arabic Studies, Kano;⁶⁸ studies in Arab universities and later Nigerian institutions of higher learning, divided the hitherto monolithic higher Islamic education into two phases corresponding roughly into western system of secondary and post-secondary education.

As noted previously, piety is the ultimate aim of the Islamic education, yet the *I'dadiyya* and *thanawiyya* levels of the *madaris* constituted all the higher education some scholars have had. This has in no way affected their charisma and status built through religious praxis over the years.⁶⁹ They in fact ranked higher in the hierarchy of religious scholars than many with higher degree certificates. As a pointer to this, the *I'dadiyya* level was the main level available in Ilorin from the 1930s when the reforms began through to the late 1970s when the *thanawiyya* level began in Ilorin. It satisfied the needs of higher education, continued beyond the *madrasah* through self-learning and acts considered pious.

In the early 1980s, Muhyideen College, an integrationist school began what we can refer to as the beginning of provision of the post-secondary equivalent of higher education in the *madaris* system. Through its integrationist school it began to offer the Grade II Teacher Certificate courses, then accepted as the minimum requirement for primary school teachers.⁷⁰ But by the mid-1980s, a new educational policy of 6-

⁶⁸ Reichmuth, 'Islamic Learning and "Western Education."'

⁶⁹ It is important to note 'traditional' and 'charisma' are two terms that cannot be easily pinned down. Traditions change and what is traditional in one instance becomes modern in another and vice versa. It will be equally misleading to think charismatic learning belongs only in the traditional setting. Many who have had the more modern of the two systems of education still subscribe to this charismatic learning. The reforms that have transformed Islamic education into 'modern' have been led by 'traditional' scholars!

⁷⁰ Discussions with Alhaji Ibrahim Ishaq Shege, Principal Muhyideen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies. 3-12-2013.

3-3-4⁷¹ system made the Grade II Teacher Certificate obsolete. Although the Grade II teachers program was aimed to fit into the western system, it was facilitated by a *madrasah*. With the change of educational policy, the *madrasah* would continue its provision of both western (secondary) and Islamic education in within its premises, in place of the outdated Grade II teacher program.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, in 2001, Muhyideen College introduced the two year Diploma and in 2005, three year NCE programs for the training of teachers for the primary school level that would serve the western education system in line with current government policy on teacher education. It is to be noted that all this effort at provision of higher education had been in the western education section of the *madrasah*, with allowance for Islamic and Arabic studies, coming as single subjects like the other subjects. As such, students from conventional secondary schools as well as graduates of the *madaris* get admitted into the college for any of the post-secondary school programs available at the college. To do this effectively, the school affiliated the program to Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. By 2012, the school had also gotten approval from the University to run degree programs affiliated to the University.⁷²

The second *madrasah* to venture into the provision of higher education is Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah. Unlike the other *madaris* starting with lower level *madrasah* education, Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah began with the higher education level with its diploma program in Arabic and Islamic Studies in 1995.⁷³ The school affiliated the program to the Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria. By affiliating to an existing government university, it saves the *madaris* the financial burden of running the courses independently while at the same time they are able to provide the education they seek to provide. While Muhyideen College has provisions for non-religious subjects in its curriculum, Darul Kitab concentrates on Islamic and Arabic studies⁷⁴ in its diploma programs.

Unlike the *I'dadiyya* and *thanawiyya* levels that most of the surveyed *madaris* run tuition free, the higher education courses are paid for and are well run. Darul Kitab for example, runs its *I'dadiyya* and *thanawiyya* tuition free but the diploma courses are paid for. The affiliation of the *madaris* to a conventional university is

⁷¹ Named after the number of years to be spent in primary (6), Junior Secondary (3), Senior Secondary (3) and University respectively (4).

⁷² The school had since begun running the degree programs. Discussions with the Principal (Arabic section) of Muhydeen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Alhaji Ishaq Shege. 3-12-2013.

⁷³ Discussions with Dr Abdulkadir Oba-Solagberu, founder of Darul Kitab Was- Sunnah.19-12-2012. See also its website <http://dks.com.ng/>. Accessed 14-12-2014.

⁷⁴ The two courses are taught in an admixture of English and Arabic languages.

responsible for the way the courses were well organized since the schools have to meet some minimal conditions for physical facilities and qualifications of the academic staff that cannot be based on personal relations or charisma such as is common at the lower levels of *I'dadiyya* and *thanawiyya*. Some of the other *madaris* indicated a desire to run higher education program in the future. Financial constraints and lack of requisite organizational and physical structure have restrained them from making the attempt. The two *madaris* running the programs are among the most well-funded and organized of the *madaris* in Ilorin.⁷⁵

Higher Islamic Education in Western Institutions

In the last chapter we wrote about the beginning of Islamic education in western institutions, the primary and secondary school levels introduced in the colonial period. Higher Arabic education of the formal type also had its beginning in the colonial period. As we have noted, the colonial authority favoured the development of Arabic language.⁷⁶ It saw the higher Islamic education of translational studies of texts as rote like the recitational studies of the Qur'an. While the observation was partly true, it was not the whole picture. For this reason, it was believed that development of Arabic language would be helpful to the Muslims who were passionate about their religious studies. This would also be useful to the administration of sharia law that the colonial authority had formalized. Hence, the first formal institution of higher learning for Muslims in northern Nigeria was the Northern Provinces Law School, Kano, established in 1934.⁷⁷

This came about at the instance of the emir of Kano after he had visited Saudi Arabia in 1934 for the annual pilgrimage. The significance of travel as harbinger of reform and development of Muslim learning resonates in this instance as could be seen in the career of Sheikh Muhammad Kamalud-deen and Sheikh Adam Abdullahi al Iluri. The school was meant to train judicial officials and judges of the *alkali* courts operating in all the Muslim provinces of Northern Nigeria. From its inception, Ilorin scholars attended the school.⁷⁸ This school later metamorphosed into the School of Arabic Studies (SAS) in 1947. In the post-colonial period it would become Abdullahi Bayero College of Ahmadu Bello University established in 1962 and eventually became Bayero University, Kano in 1977.

⁷⁵ Muhyideen has been running fee paying western education for decades and Darul Kitab receives some financial assistance from Kuwait.

⁷⁶ Paden, *Faith and Politics in Nigeria*, 40.

⁷⁷ Muhammad Sani Umar, *Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria* (Leiden: Koninklijke BV, 2006), 101; Danmole, 'The Frontier emirate,' 184.

⁷⁸ Danmole, 'The Frontier emirate,' 184.

Further development on this preliminary government run higher education system would be built on in the post-colonial period. Until Nigeria got independence in 1960, there was no fully autonomous university in the country.⁷⁹ The School of Arabic Studies in Kano provided an opportunity for many scholars in Ilorin to acquire modern Arabic knowledge in a government run institution. The entrance examination consisted of Arabic, English and Islamic studies. Standard Seven Primary School Certificate was a requirement and some of the Adabiyya Moslem School students went to study in Kano. Because the certificate of the Adabiyya School was not certified by the government until 1957, the students wishing to go to Kano had to sit for school leaving certificate examination in one of the Native Administration run schools such as the Native Authority School in Baboko.⁸⁰

The creation of states out of the Northern Region in 1967 by the Federal Military Government created the problem of access to colleges offering higher Arabic and Islamic studies for students not from the states that inherited the schools, located in Kano, Sokoto and Gombe. Admission for students from other states was given on quotas, thus limiting admission for students from other states. Working knowledge of Hausa language and sponsorship from state governments were now parts of the criteria for admission. Not all the candidates from Kwara State (with Ilorin as the state capital) had working knowledge of Hausa nor was the Kwara State Government giving sponsorship to the students from the state.⁸¹ Despite these difficulties, many students still found their way northward to acquire higher Islamic education. The earlier acquiescence to western education together with *madrrasah* education in Ilorin also enabled many of its scholars to secure appointments into the government run Arabic schools across northern Nigeria as teachers of Arabic and Islamic studies, both at secondary and tertiary levels.

The government drive for mass education through the Universal Primary Education (UPE) from the mid -1970s requires having many teachers to teach in government schools, including those who will teach religious subjects at the primary and secondary school levels. However, there was the problem of having sufficient qualified teachers of Arabic and Islamic religious knowledge since many who attended *madrrasah* lacked the requisite working knowledge of English language. The requirement was a grade II teacher certificate, which many who had attended the *madrrasah* lacked. The government's drive for mass education helped fueled

⁷⁹ The University College of Ibadan was a college of the University College of London.

⁸⁰ Discussions with Prince Salban Olarongbe Abdulkadir, November 2012. Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in Ilorin,' 88.

⁸¹ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in Ilorin,' 112. The considerable population of Christians in the state may have been partly responsible for this government attitude, trying to avoid blame of favoring one religious group over the other.

Muslims appetite for western education and proved helpful to the *madaris* on the one hand and also exacerbated the competition between the *madaris* and the western school system on the other hand.⁸²

As a result, in Ilorin, most schools had one or two teachers for Islamic Religious Knowledge taking the whole school, with each class having two or three periods allocated to religious education during the week.⁸³ The Christians had more Christian Religious Knowledge (CRK) teachers, though the Muslims were the majority in population. There were thirty nine Islamic Religious Knowledge (IRK) teachers against one hundred and eight Christian Religious Knowledge teachers.⁸⁴ This led Muslims to begin agitating for the establishment of an institution that will serve to train middle level manpower to curb the dearth of Muslims trained with the requisite knowledge to teach in schools and work in the civil service, especially the judiciary and Foreign Service (as diplomats to the Arab countries). This would also reduce the dependency of students from the Kwara State on the schools under the control of other northern states for admission.

Members of Joint Association of Arabic and Islamic Schools (JAAIS), led by Justice Abdulkadir Orire⁸⁵ played an active role in the advocacy for a government owned higher institution for graduates of the private Arabic schools in Kwara State. The advocacy would only bear fruition upon the return to civil rule in 1979. In 1980, the civilian government under Governor Adamu Attah⁸⁶ set up a Religious Education Committee of five members, headed by the state Grand Khadi Justice Abdulkadir Orire:⁸⁷ to among other issues; examine the set-up of all institutions offering religious education, Arabic, Islamic religious knowledge in Kwara state with respect to:

⁸² Muhammad S. Umar, 'Mass Islamic Education and Emergence of Female Ulama in Northern Nigeria: Background Trends and Consequences' - in- Scott S. Reese, *The Transmission of Learning in Islamic Africa* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2004), 102-103; Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 260.

⁸³ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in Ilorin,' 93. From colonial period the Muslims have always complained about the inadequacy of the time allocated to religious education in schools. See Bello Kagara's Minute in -NAK 'Arabic and Religious Instructions in Schools' Iloprof file No.3196/3/1936.

⁸⁴ Abdullahi Abdulganiyy, 'The Kwara State College of Arabic and Islamic Legal Studies, Ilorin: The Journey So far' (M.A. Dissertation: Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 2003), 25.

⁸⁵ He was the Grand Khadi of Kwara State Shariah Court of Appeal from 1975 to 2000.

⁸⁶ He was the first Executive Governor of the state. To balance this Muslim agitation, the government also approved the established a Christian seminary in Omu-Aran. Discussions with Justice Abdulkadir Orire. 26-12-2012.

⁸⁷ Members of the committee include Justices Yonous Abdallah, I.A. Haroun, Professor I.A.B. Balogun and Alhaji Ahmad O. Kamal. Some of them would feature in subsequent committees relating to Islamic education. See Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 312.

1. Organization
2. Staffing and qualification
3. Curriculum
4. Medium of instruction and
5. More significantly to recommend how these institutions can be improved so as to be able to award nationally accepted certificates, diploma etc.

The committee wrote to all the private Arabic schools in the state to highlight their problems and suggest panacea. The schools recommended that the government should establish Colleges of Arabic and Islamic Studies. Letters and memo were submitted for the consideration of the committee.⁸⁸ After the committee finished its work, among the recommendations of the committee was for the state government to have a grading system for the graduates of the private Arabic schools and to recognize their certificates and provide avenue for them to pursue further studies. The committee also recommended the establishment of Arabic Teachers Training Colleges and for the government to facilitate increase in the intakes of Arabic and Islamic Studies students into Colleges of Education, College of Technology and the University of Ilorin, all located within the state.⁸⁹

In 1981, another committee was set up, headed by a judge of the Shariah Court of Appeal, Justice Yonus Abdullah, to review the work of the previous committee and advise the government on the takeoff of the Colleges of Arabic and Islamic Studies as recommended by the previous committee. The committee recommended the establishment of three new Arabic Teachers Colleges like the existing Arabic Teachers College in Jebba. These would serve as feeder schools to the proposed diploma awarding college. They were to serve as bridge into the formal western system for the graduates of the private Arabic and Islamic school. The committee further recommended the combination of courses to be run by the proposed diploma awarding college for the purpose of preparing the students for admission into universities and provide avenue for further studies for students of Arabic Teachers Colleges. These would in turn contribute to the provision of mid-level manpower for the civil service such as the judiciary and the Foreign Service that will need them.⁹⁰

Courses recommended include:

⁸⁸ Abdulganiyy, 'The Kwara State College of Arabic,' 25.

⁸⁹ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in Ilorin,' 116; Abdulganiyy, 'The Kwara State College of Arabic,' 26.

⁹⁰ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in Ilorin,' 116

1. Diploma in Arabic and Islamic Studies having the following subjects in its curriculum
 - (a) Arabic (b) Islamic Studies (c) Hausa/Yoruba (d) English and (e) Education
2. Diploma in Shariah having the following subjects in its curriculum
 - a) Arabic (b) Islamic Studies (c) Shariah -Islamic law (d) Hausa/Yoruba (e) Court practice
3. Certificate course in Arabic and Islamic Studies
4. A five years Grade II Teacher Certificate course ⁹¹

Entry requirement for the diploma course would be either of these three: Grade II teacher certificate with either merit in Arabic or Islamic studies, General Certificate of Education ordinary level (GCE O/level) with credits in Arabic and Islamic studies, *I'dadiyya* certificate of the private Arabic schools (knowledge of English an advantage).⁹² Based on the recommendations of the committee after the submission of its report, the government established three Arabic Teachers Colleges (ATC) in different parts of the state, at Ilorin, Okene and Babana ⁹³ in 1981, all of them starting out on temporary sites.

These schools would be run like conventional western system colleges except that Arabic language is given special attention. They do not appear to have been popular with graduates of the private Arabic schools, many of their candidates coming from conventional western schools. The incompatibility of the aims of both the private Arabic schools and the government run schools is probably responsible for this lukewarm attitude from the private Arabic schools towards the government owned Arabic schools. Western school subjects dominated the curriculum unlike like the private Arabic and Islamic schools where religious subjects predominated. The diploma awarding college that would be established a decade later would fare better in bridging with the *madaris*.

In 1991, a decade after the establishment of the Arabic Teachers Colleges (ATCs) another committee ⁹⁴ was set up to look into the financial implications and other

⁹¹ The course contents were sourced from the syllabi of universities of Ibadan, Zaria, Ilorin, Kano and Maiduguri already running similar courses. It also included the recommendations of the 1980 Religious Education Committee.

⁹² Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in Ilorin,' 117. Note that *thanawiyyah* had only just begun in Ilorin at this time.

⁹³ Okene and Babana have since become part of Kogi and Niger state respectively after the creation of Kogi state and merger of parts of Kwara state to Niger state in 1991.

⁹⁴ The state Commissioner of Education during this period was Alhaji Ahmad O. Kamal who had been the Secretary of the 1980 Religious Education Committee. The Diploma awarding

issues relating to the takeoff of the diploma awarding college that had been recommended a decade earlier.⁹⁵ The vision for the school is to become a center of academic excellence comparing favorably with the best of similar institutions in sub-Saharan Africa in the study of Arabic and Islamic legal education. The committee⁹⁶ visited states already having such a system as they were planning to establish in Kwara State. These include Kano, Sokoto, Niger, Bauchi and Ogun states. They also visited the Arabic Teachers College in Ilorin being proposed for conversion into the diploma awarding college. Within five weeks the committee submitted its report, pleading for speedy implementation of the report. The report and recommendation gave birth to the College Arabic and Islamic Legal Studies in 1992, located in Ilorin, the state capital.

The committee recommended the immediate take off of the school to offer the following diploma courses:

1. Arabic and Islamic Studies and Hausa
2. Arabic and Islamic Studies and Yoruba
3. Shariah and Civil Law.

The school began using the premises of the Kwara State Shariah Court of Appeal as temporary office for the first three months of its existence. In December 1992, the school moved from its temporary location to its new location.⁹⁷ The College began with certificate, pre-Diploma and Diploma programs. This made it possible for students to study in Ilorin instead of going further north to Gombe, Sokoto or Kano as was the case before the establishment of the college. Academic activities began in January 1993, the college accepting Higher Islamic Studies (HIS), Senior Islamic Studies (SIS),⁹⁸ *thanawiyya* or *tawjihyya* certificates (with working knowledge of

college became a reality under his tenure. He is a son to Sheikh Kamalud-deen al Adaby and had studied in Egypt under the Federal Government Scholarship in the 1960s. Discussions with Alhaji Ahmad O. Kamal. 24-9-2012.

⁹⁵ The Official Report of the Committee on the Establishment of the Kwara State College of Arabic and Islamic Legal Studies, Ilorin. September 1991. See Appendix XVII for the Terms of Reference and Objectives of the school.

⁹⁶ The members include Justice Yoonus Abdullah of Kwara State Sharia Court of Appeal, Alhaji A.K.W. Aliy-Kamal, Dr H.I. AbdulRaheem, (all of College of Education, Ilorin). Others are Alhaji S.A. Yakub, (of College of Education, Oro) and Dr A. A. Lawal representing the Ministry of Education, Ilorin.

⁹⁷ Abdulganiyy, 'The Kwara State College of Arabic,' 41.

⁹⁸ This was the examination that the State Ministry of Education had introduced to help students of *madaris*, especially from the integrationist schools to help them bridge into higher institutions for further studies. It has since been replaced by the National Board for Arabic and Islamic Studies (NBAIS) examinations when the later became backed by legislation of the National Assembly.

English) from the *madaris*. The West African School Certificate was also accepted. The school would later run remedial and Sandwich/affiliated degree programs.⁹⁹

By the turn of the century the school had expanded its program from the original three courses. It now has four Schools¹⁰⁰ and numerous departments:

School of Arts and Islamic Studies

1. History
2. Islamic studies
3. Mass communication

School of Languages

1. Department of Arabic
2. Department of English
3. Department of Nigerian languages

School of Law

1. Department of Common Law
2. Department of Shariah Law

School of Library Science and Sub Diploma

1. Department of Library Science
2. Department of General Studies

Centre for Continuing Education

1. Degree Program Unit
2. Affiliate School Unit
3. Diploma Unit

Unlike Arabic Teachers Colleges¹⁰¹ established in the early 1980s, the diploma awarding college proved more valuable to the graduates of the *madaris*. Many,

⁹⁹ Abdulganiyy, 'The Kwara State College of Arabic,' 45-47.

¹⁰⁰ Abdulganiyy, 'The Kwara State College of Arabic,' 51.

¹⁰¹ They had converted to secondary schools by the mid-1980s when a new Nation Education Policy of 6-3-3-4 was introduced. Grade II Teachers College Certificate was no longer the minimum teacher requirement but National Certificate of Education (NCE), offered only in the Colleges of Education.

especially those who have had at least primary education of the western system were able to pursue higher education in the western system through this college. They could pursue diploma courses in either Arabic, Islamic Studies or Law. This also helped many to branch into non-religious disciplines if they choose to do so at the university level, after the diploma course. The target beneficiaries of the proponents of government intervention in Islamic education as espoused in the various committees finally were able to adequately benefit from the government supported western system.

As would be noted from the above history of the curriculum development of the school, the fear usually expressed by the traditional scholars of Islam, of the domination by western education over the Islamic system, wherever the two systems try to integrate had manifested by the end of the first decade of its establishment. Of the four schools with about a dozen departments, only three of the departments have direct bearing on Islamic education. Thus, while fulfilling the needs of the graduates of *madaris*, it also had to accommodate other disciplines. This development was inevitable. It is a government owned institution and the government has interests in other disciplines as well, and it cannot be seen to be biased towards one religion or the other.

Apart from CAILS which had at the core of the aims of its establishment, the interest of the graduates of the *madaris*, other government institutions of higher learning also had provisions for the pursuit of higher education in both Islamic and Arabic studies within their broader aims of provision of higher education. The two other government-owned institutions of higher learning within Ilorin offering courses in these disciplines are the College of Education owned by the State Government and the University of Ilorin owned by the Federal Government. The College of Education was established as a teacher training institution for would-be primary school teachers, offering NCE courses as well as affiliated degree programs of universities. The university on the other hand offers degree and postgraduate courses in various disciplines. The Polytechnic established for the provision of technical and vocational education was also running a diploma in Sharia Law and Common Law before it was discontinued.¹⁰²

¹⁰² One of the Religious Education Committees had appealed to the government to see how the students of *madaris* could fit into the Polytechnic as well. The polytechnic was then running a Legal Education Department and Islamic Religious Knowledge was also one of its 'A' Level IJMB subjects. These were phased out by the early years of twenty-first century. The establishment of the Kwara State College of Arabic and Islamic Legal Studies, most probably informed the decision to phase out the legal and religious courses from the Polytechnic. I am grateful to Dr M.M. Jimba and Mrs Habiba Adam for bringing this to my notice.

The College of Education offers Islamic Studies and or Arabic in combination with education and other courses such as History/Social Studies, English, Yoruba or Hausa languages leading to the award of NCE certificates. The NCE has duration of three years and has been the minimum qualification required for employment as primary school teachers since the introduction of 6-3-3-4 system in 1985. Until NBAIS examination became a statutory examination, the Ministry of Education administered SIS was accepted for entrance into the college. Thus, graduates of the *madaris* who wished to bridge into the mainstream western education system for higher education could achieve this through SIS result. This is especially true for those who have had a primary school certificate in addition to the *tawjihyya* or *thanawiyya* certificate. After the NCE a candidate can gain Direct Entry into the university.¹⁰³

The University of Ilorin offers opportunities for the graduates of the *madaris* for the pursuit of a degree in either Arabic or Islamic studies either as single honor degree or in combination with Education course for those aspiring into the teaching profession.¹⁰⁴ Except for Arabic, the medium of instruction at both higher institutions is English, the official language of the country. The College of Education has in recent times introduced Islamic Studies and education courses taught in Arabic medium, which suits the aspirations of the graduates of the *madaris* more than the English medium.¹⁰⁵ It is especially favorable to the graduates of the *madaris* whose command of the English language is minimal and have little or no formal western education. A recent development, only a few institutions in the country have this mode of Islamic education. This mode has its origin at Ahmadu Bello University which has been at the forefront of integration of Islamic education with western education.

The university also offers masters and doctoral degrees in these fields. As noted in the last chapter, many of the Islamic scholars are increasingly pursuing these higher degrees after their first degree program from either Nigerian universities or those of the Arab world such as Al Azhar University in Cairo. This has helped increased the quality of teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies both in the private *madaris* and in government run schools. Despite these avenues, the traditional Islamic system and

¹⁰³ Direct Entry students start in the second year of the Nigerian university system. Such students must have sat for and passed one of West Africa Examination Council (WAEC) or National Examination Council (NECO) School Leaving Certificate examinations or GCE either privately or through a conventional secondary school.

¹⁰⁴ Such candidates must have sat for and passed WAEC or NECO School Leaving Certificate examinations either privately or under a conventional secondary school. Such candidates must obtain at least a credit in English language in combination with other subjects required for the program.

¹⁰⁵ Baba, 'Islamic Schools, Ulama,' 7.

the *madaris* still retain the pride of honor as the core and bulwark of Islamic education system.

Islamic Studies in the English could be pursued by those who have not had a madrasah education, since the main medium of instruction is English. Knowledge of Arabic is less important than English. Rooted in the western education system inherited from the colonial period, Islamic Studies at the higher institutions is more or less orientalist in approach.¹⁰⁶ In the main it serves to allow the owner of such higher certificate to blend into the mainstream formal employment sector of the economy either as teacher or administrator or as a stepping stone into related fields such as law, especially Shariah law. It does not confer the charisma that the traditional system endues the scholar with.

Two factors can be adduced to the interest in the higher degrees by those based in the madrasah system. One, the high unemployment rates in the country has been forcing many graduates into pursuing a higher degree with the hope to increase their employability. It is a general phenomenon for most non-professional disciplines and the limited employment opportunity (especially in the formal sector) for the graduates of Islamic and Arabic studies makes this more acute for them. The remunerations of those in the formal employment is much better than those in the private *madaris*, thus the competition to have these degrees is keen for those hoping to get into the formal employment.

A second subtle reason is pride. The cognizance that society is enamored with these degrees, especially the terminal degree that confers the highly valued 'Dr' title on the owners of such degree; has led the younger generation of scholars to be pursuing these degrees to confer respectability on their person and calling. It is also useful for social mobility. Seeing how their revered elders in the traditional system, despite their charisma and knowledge are less regarded in the formal society, they seek to prove that these degrees are not beyond their ability. They thus seek to increase their knowledge while also promoting their class of scholars in the domineering formal society. This does not in any way mean that such degrees are being not pursued for their own merit but these two factors have also played some role in the quest for higher degrees.

Until the beginning of the twenty-first century, most formal higher Islamic education is only achievable in Nigeria at government owned institutions of higher learning that are secular at their core. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, university education was liberalized, allowing for private sector participation and

¹⁰⁶ Mustapha, 'Sabotage in Patronage.'

one of the early Muslim owned private universities in the country is sited in Ilorin. Al Hikmah University was established in 2005 by Abdur-Raheem Oladimeji¹⁰⁷ Islamic Foundation (AROIF) as a private Muslim university to cater for the educational needs of Muslims who had always been disadvantaged in this regard since colonial times. The Mission Statement of the university reads “To be an educational institution where sound academic knowledge blends with moral and spiritual excellence.”¹⁰⁸ Though its admission policy does not discriminate based on religious affiliation, there is no doubt as to the fact that its main target is the Muslim population.

Al Hikmah University was established with financial support of World Assembly of Muslim Youths (WAMY). It offers courses like conventional universities, with students of Islamic and Arabic Studies highly subsidized. Muslim culture is promoted in the school such as Islamically compliant dressing, most noticeable with female students. One of the few Muslim owned and run universities in Nigeria;¹⁰⁹ it essentially provides western higher education targeting Muslims. It is neither a theological university nor connected with any particular sect or doctrine. Arabic and Islamic Studies only form one of the many disciplines being taught in the school.

Essentially the university is an indication of the advancement that Muslims have made with regard to western education. With decreasing government dominance of provision of education, the private sectors in the last twenty years have been dominating the provision of education (edupreneurship) from the kindergarten through to the university level. Muslims have also latched on to the new trend as indicated by the establishment of Al Hikmah University. The Ansarul Islam Society is also building its own university to be named after the founder of the organization as Muhammad Kamalud-deen University.¹¹⁰

There is as not yet a formal purely theological institute of higher learning, where only religious sciences and ancillary Arabic language sciences are taught. Nor are there any known future plans in that regard in Ilorin or even Nigeria as a whole.¹¹¹ Up till the period of this research, all formal higher Islamic education is gotten through either the government owned or private institutions of higher learning. For

¹⁰⁷ He is a businessman and philanthropist from Igbaja, an Igbomina town near Ilorin.

¹⁰⁸ See its website www.alhikmah.edu.ng. Accessed 23-10-2013.

¹⁰⁹ Others include Foundation University, Oshogbo, Katsina State University, Katsina and Crescent University, Abeokuta.

¹¹⁰ See www.mukeyf.org.ng.

¹¹¹ Informal nature of religion and doctrinal differences make this option less likely. Hierarchy in religious knowledge is highly subjective and cannot be restricted to strict classifications as possible in the western educational tradition.

the most part Arabic and Islamic Studies form single disciplines among other disciplines of the conventional institutions of higher learning. Only one of the *madaris* offering higher education concentrated only on Arabic and Islamic Studies.¹¹² All these institutions have emerged as a result of the influence of western system of education. While they have become important route to higher Islamic education, sometimes bridging into non-religious fields, those wishing to explore the knowledge within religious circle still have to connect to the informal traditional and charisma based mode of acquiring higher education to complement what has been learned in the formal system.

Higher Islamic Education, Scholarship and Impact on Society

The scholarship of any society reflects its higher education. As such, the impact of any educational system on the society is a reflection of the higher education within the system. In a religious education system, piety often precedes intense scholarship. The need to keep up piety and revitalize it through knowledge develops into scholarship that continues to expand in an unending dynamic. The history of Islamic scholarship in the Muslim world showed a gradual development from the oral discourse of the religion from the time of the Prophet through the various epochs of the Umayyad, Abbasid, Andalusian, and Ottoman to the modern time. At its medieval peak, this preoccupation with scholarship enabled scholars of Islam to foray into non-religious subjects.¹¹³

As with general development of scholarship in the Muslim world, in Ilorin, the development was also a gradual one from its humble beginning at Okesuna to its widely expanded status in the twenty-first century. An important index of the level of scholarship in a society is to be found in the original writings from the scholarly community. What is written could only have come from interaction of the scholars with texts. Scholarly Muslim communities usually begin with interaction with copied texts and recopying of the texts. This will then spin off into original writings. We have no record of original writings from Okesuna. They may have been lost in the destruction of the settlement or taken away by some of the scholars who ran away to other places in the course of the destruction of the Okesuna.¹¹⁴ What we have are original texts brought into the community by scholars from

¹¹² This is partly due to its limited capacity in this regard and partly due to a desire to concentrate on religious studies.

¹¹³ Some of the works which classical Muslim scholars such as Ibn Sina, Al Biruni and Al Khawarizmi are well known for works in the pure sciences, outside of the religious canon. Then knowledge was not sharply bifurcated into the 'religious' and 'secular' as we have it in the modern time. See Lyons, *House of Wisdom*.

¹¹⁴ According to Hodge, *Gazetteer of Ilorin Province*, 67, many ran to Ogbomosho.

elsewhere, such as Borno.¹¹⁵ The settlement did not last long enough for its scholarship to fully boom. The new emirate led by the Fulani emirs inherited most of its scholars. The scholars of Okesuna and the scholars that settled in Ilorin from elsewhere, incubated the scholarship that came to maturity in the twentieth century.

Alimi, unlike the jihad leaders of Sokoto, left few writings. We have a poem in Fulfude¹¹⁶ but outside of this, there is little else except maybe religious texts that may be found with his descendants. Perhaps the earliest original writing from the new emirate of Ilorin was the letter written to Gwandu under the first emir, Abdulsalami, putting the new emirate under its guardianship and seeking clarifications on some jurisprudence issues.¹¹⁷ Though the letter is no longer extant, the reply from Gwandu has given us insights into what was written. The author or authors definitely would not have received their training in the new emirate but would be some scholars who had studied somewhere in the north or elsewhere.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, original scholarship began to emerge from home grown scholars, first in the form of poems and short treatises, a genre considered to be an integral part of Islamic scholarship. These were few and far in between. For example, the ode *Qasidat waq'at ofa*, written to commemorate the siege of Offa.¹¹⁸ Sheikh Badamasi Agbaji (d.1895) around this time also composed a poem in *ajemi*,¹¹⁹ using rhyming scheme.¹²⁰ He was the first to compose poems in Yoruba using Arabic script. He has three collections of such poetical works. This scholar had led other scholars in protesting against a decree of emir Aliyu (1868-91) that scholars should take permission from him before making sermons. The scholars decided that rather than take permission from him, they would rather stop their sermons. Then Sheikh Badamasi took it upon himself to break the silence of the scholars. He started out alone chanting around the town challenging his fellow scholars:

*Walitakun minkumu*¹²¹ *t'Olohun wi da?*

¹¹⁵ Reichmuth, 'Literary Culture and Arabic,' 216-219.

¹¹⁶ For a copy of the poem see Jimba, *Ilorin-Waka*, 9.

¹¹⁷ Quoted in Abdullahi Smith, *A Little New Light-Selected Historical Writings of Abdullahi Smith*, Vol III, (Zaria: Estate of Abdullahi Smith, 1987), 148.

¹¹⁸ For this siege see Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 72 and Jimoh, *Ilorin the Journey*, 119-120. For the poem see Danmole, 'The Growth of,' 24.

¹¹⁹ From *ajami* in Hausa, this is writing of local language with Arabic letters. See Appendix XVIII for the opening page of one of his poems.

¹²⁰ Moshood Mahmood Jimba, *Ilorin-Waka*, 11.

¹²¹ This phrase is derived from the Qur'an 3: 104; "Let there arise out of you a band of people inviting to all that is good, enjoining what is right, and forbidding what is wrong: They are the ones to attain felicity."

Kopare n be doni ewo'nu Tira

Kadake jeje nilu'mole kama se nasiha nibe

Kar'eni tinnulo kalohun lo mo

Kabiyin lere bi be dara?

Meaning:

What becomes of (the phrase) “let there be amongst you...” mentioned by God?

It has not been erased (till date), check in the Book (Qur'an)

Keeping mute without giving sermon in a Muslim town

Seeing someone who is going astray and telling him he is the most knowledgeable

Let us ask you if this is the right thing to do.¹²²

Other scholars joined him chanting and they went en masse to the palace. The emir listened to them but was not influenced to rescind his decision nor did any scholar thereafter sought permission from the palace to preach publicly.¹²³ It appears the issue was not resolved either way till the emir passed away. This event shows the power of the scholars if they chose to speak with one voice. This is reminiscent of Imam Hambali's battle for the independence of scholars during Al Ma'mun's reign in the classical Abbasid caliphate.¹²⁴ The critical power of the scholars against the authority of the emir is discernible in this anecdote.

Other scholars at the turn of century known with poetical works include Muhammad Bello (d.1919) Ajongolo and Alfa Saadu Kokewukobere (d.1935).¹²⁵ Their poems were composed in Yoruba, the lingua franca of the town. They used these devices in their preaching tours around the town in Ilorin and in missionary

¹²² I am grateful to Dr M.M. Jimba for this version of the poem. For the Arabic translation see, Al Iluri, *Lamahat Al Ballur*, 37. He rendered the poem into Arabic. See Appendix XVIII for a copy of the first page of one of his compositions in ajami. See also Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 147. The wordings and arrangement are slightly different from the above.

¹²³ Al Iluri *Lamahat Al Ballur fi*, 37.

¹²⁴ Ira M. Lapidus, 'State and Religion in Islamic Societies' *Past and Present* (1996) 151 (1) 3-27. While Imam Hambali was defending a dogmatic position, Sheikh Badamasi was defending the rights of scholar to preach publicly and serve as a check on the rulers.

¹²⁵ Jimba, *Ilorin-Waka*, 12.

tours to various parts of Yoruba region. Ilorin scholars were particularly active in the spread of Islam among the Yoruba around this period.¹²⁶

Naturally, these early works were in verse. This has the influence of religious literature, many of which were in verse. Poetical devices help memorization of texts which is a key characteristic of Islamic learning. The song-like poetry also has mass appeal as it could easily be memorized by the audience during public preaching, from where it spreads to others who were not present at the recitation of the works. Thus, illiterates could also partake in this knowledge sharing.¹²⁷ Mostly their themes revolve around theology, knowledge, criticism and praise for leaders. An example of a popular poetical work is that of Alfa Saadu Kokewukobere from where he got his appellation

Kokewu kobere yio ti se la?

Oonirun oolawẹ ootise la?

Meaning:

How would he succeed, he who did not learn and make no enquiries (to learn)?

You observe not the prayers, you observe not the fast, how would you succeed?¹²⁸

By the beginning of the twentieth century, there began to emerge more writings. Longer poems and prose began to come into the picture. Sheikh Tajul adab, the precursor of the reformers of the twentieth century, wrote a number of works covering a wide range of subjects, ranging from Grammar, Rhetoric, Sufism to Arithmetic. Bamigboye has compiled some of these works in his work. Among his works are *Kitabu fi Nasihatil Ikhwan*, '*addid*, *Subul Najah*, *Ala Ya Murida*, *Tas'hil al-Hisab*.¹²⁹

His critical work '*addid* was composed in reaction to the disagreement he had with scholars in Ibadan which made him to relocate to Abeokuta where he spent his last days. Full of allegorical references, a line in the work challenged the reader to loosen the chain in the work:

¹²⁶ Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam*, 49, 84; F.O. Jamiu, 'Contributions of Ilorin scholars to the Development of Arabic and Islamic Studies in Yorubaland: Focus of Shaykh Adam Abdullah Al Iluri' *African Journal of History and Culture* Vol. 6 (8) (2014) 112-118.

¹²⁷ Quick, 'Aspects of Islamic Social.' Part of this work explores the use of similar literary device in enlightening the public by Uthman Ibn Fudi, especially before the declaration of the jihad.

¹²⁸ Al Iluri, *Al Islam fi Naijiriya*, 142.

¹²⁹ Bamigboye, 'The Contribution of Sheikh,' 72.

'Can you (scholar) find for me a person who can loosen the chains in this book' (line 48).¹³⁰

His *Subul al-Najah* (Path to Religious Salvation) is a treatise on morality and responsibility a Muslim has over his body, as a trust of his Creator, which he must avoid using to disobey the commands of his Creator. In it, he commends a Muslim to live an ascetic life.¹³¹ In *Tas'hil al- Hisab* (Simplifying Calculation), he used versification to teach simple multiplication which scholars use in alpha-numerical divination of the *abjadiyya* system.¹³² *Ya Murida* is a treatise on Arabic grammar in verse. In it, he encouraged the reader to memorize the work so as to come handy in the study of grammar.¹³³ Through these works, one could get some glimpses into the depth of his knowledge as a scholar.

Around this time in 1913, Ahmad Abubakar Ikororo wrote what would pass as the first written history of Ilorin *Ta'lif Akhbar Alqurun Min Umara' Bilad Ilurin*.¹³⁴ This would be roughly the beginning of prose writing in the twentieth century. He authored another treatise in prose, *Iltiqat al Mutun min Khamsat Funun*. An introduction to the various sciences of language; it was written for a scholar in Lagos.¹³⁵ In 1948, after his sojourn in the Middle East, Sheikh Adam also wrote his *Addin al-Nasiha*, in which he spelt out his vision for a pan-Nigerian Muslim unity, organization and reforms of Muslim educational and social system. These agenda he would pursue throughout his life.¹³⁶

The reforms of Islamic educational system from the middle colonial period, led by Sheikh Muhammad Kamalud-deen and Sheikh Adam Abdullah, which promoted Arabic language and literature, would bear fruits in post-independence Nigeria. The graduates from these reformed Arabic and Islamic Schools who had studied for degrees in the Arab World and some even in Europe would author a number of works both in prose and in verse. Some of these scholars would find themselves as

¹³⁰ He essentially showed his disappointment with scholars who spurned him. This he sees as a lack of knowledge which is the most important value any being should seek. He called for unity among scholars. His experience is a typical occurrence in the career of scholars, whose knowledge threatened the privileged position of established scholars. Bamigboye, 'The Contribution of Sheikh Tajul Adab,' 82.

¹³¹ Bamigboye, 'The Contribution of Sheikh Tajul Adab,' 93.

¹³² Bamigboye, 'The Contribution of Sheikh Tajul Adab,' 102. In the *Abjadiyya* Arabic alphabet system, the letters of the alphabet are given a numerical value. These values are then computed to determine their esoteric values or powers of the written words.

¹³³ Bamigboye, 'The Contribution of Sheikh Tajul Adab,' 116.

¹³⁴ Ikororo, *Ta'lif Akhbar Alqurun*.

¹³⁵ Thaqafi, *Tarikh al-Adab li Arabiy*, 45; Al Iluri, *Lamahat Al Ballur*, 39; Reichmuth and Abubakre, 'Ilorin and Nupe,' 446.

¹³⁶ Reichmuth, 'Sheikh Adam.'

academics in the universities in Nigeria and abroad. The establishment of departments of Arabic and Islamic Studies in these institutions of higher learning promoted the writing of articles, long essays, theses and books.¹³⁷ Unlike their precursors, they would also venture to areas that are not purely religious. They wrote both in English and Arabic. Prose writing became more prominent from this period onward. The quality and quantity of scholarly writings rose to new heights.

At-Thaqafi has listed some of these scholars, both academic and nonacademic authors and their publications. Some of these scholars were from outside Ilorin, some of whom studied in Ilorin as well.¹³⁸ Some of the works have also been textbooks for use in secondary and post-secondary institutions of learning.¹³⁹ Through these writings, some lesser known works of the traditional scholars have been brought to wider audience. Scholars not based in the western institutions of learning have tended to write on religious subjects while those in the formal institutions of higher learning do not limit their writings to religion alone, though religion would always resonate in their writings.

For example, at the University of Ilorin, in both the departments of Arabic and Religions, hundreds of research works have been written at both the undergraduate and postgraduate levels in both English and Arabic languages. The doctoral theses have tended to focus on the scholars of the Yoruba region, dominated by scholars of Ilorin.¹⁴⁰ By using the scientific method, they deepen our knowledge of the technicalities of sacred texts such as the Qur'an and the canons of the religion. The lives and works of scholars are analytically and critically explored, focusing on specific aspects of their writings for the purpose of deepening our understanding of such works. They narrow their focus on specifics like morphological, semantic, exegetical, phonetic, phonological and rhetorical devices in such texts, thereby expanding the knowledge on these specific aspects.

The availability of higher education in Arabic and Islamic Studies in the formal mode has been most influential in improving the quality of teaching in the private *madaris* where the bulk of intermediate knowledge could be accessed. The large number of graduates of higher education produced from the period of independence

¹³⁷ Thaqafi, *Tarikh li Adab li Arabiy*, 71.

¹³⁸ Thaqafi, *Tarikh li Adab li Arabiy*, 81.

¹³⁹ For more on the works of these scholars see R.D. Abubakre and Stefan Reichmuth, 'Arabic Writing between Local and Globak Culture: Scholars and Poets in Yorubaland' *Research in African Literatures*, 28,3, (1997)

¹⁴⁰ Oseni Zakariyau Idrees –Oboh, 'An Annotated Bibliography of Doctoral Theses in Arabic Language and Literature of the University of Ilorin, Nigeria (1987-2012)' –in- A.G.A.S. Oladosu, Z.I. Oseni, M.A. Adedimeji, A.L. Azeez, *Ilorin, History and Culture: A Lesson in Peaceful Co-Existence* (Ilorin: Centre for Ilorin Studies, 2013), 259-269.

and the trend has continued, has been influential to this improvement in the quality of teaching in the *madaris*. As noted in the previous chapter, up till the mid-1980s the number of degree holders teaching in the *madaris* were few. *I'dadiyya* and *thanawiyya* holders were more common.¹⁴¹ However, by the turn of the millennium, the large numbers of diploma, NCE and degree holders have reduced the number of *thanawiyya* holders teaching in the *madaris*. Master degrees as well as Ph.D holders have also become visible in the *madaris*.

Western education has also made it possible for more women to pursue higher Islamic education in tertiary institutions. More women study Islamic studies because it requires little knowledge of Arabic and English is the medium of instruction. It has the additional advantage of conferring employability on the holders of such certificates as any of the arts discipline especially with regard to government employment. Arabic on the other hand has been dominated by the men. At the time of this research Ilorin has produced only a negligible number of female teachers of Arabic at the tertiary level.¹⁴² A number of others have studied Islamic Studies in English mode and teach at tertiary institutions.¹⁴³ A few teach Arabic at secondary school level. Women attainment of higher Islamic education has the effect of greater presence of Muslim women in public discourse of religion and promotion of women issues within the ambit of religion.

Among the impacts of the development of the formal higher Islamic education is the possibility of diversification from Arabic and Islamic education into other disciplines and the bridging of the Islamic scholars into the mainstream western formal system of education and service. While the informal higher education of the traditional system continues to be relevant and sustains itself on interpersonal relationship and charisma and have remained within the religious circle, the formal system, rooted in the western system has provided opportunities for employment into the formal sector as teachers of religious subjects and as civil servants. It has also provided opportunity to diversify into other disciplines such as law, business management and administration, journalism and professions in the sciences such as medicine, geology etc.

¹⁴¹ Muhammad, 'A Study of Selected,' 81-82.

¹⁴² Two examples would suffice here. Hasanat Funmilayo Abubakar attended Muhyideen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies. She then studied Arabic for first (2002) and second degree at the University of Ilorin. At the period of this research she lectures at the University of Ilorin, where she is also pursuing her terminal degree. Alhaja Rahmata Shehu studied Arabic at Benghazi University in Libya. She had a master degree from the University of Ilorin. She teaches at the Kaduna Polytechnic. I am grateful to Dr M.M. Jimba for part of this information.

¹⁴³ An example is Dr Sherifat Hussein Abubakar, teaching at the Kwara State University.

This has the positive effect of producing Muslims well-grounded in the religious sciences and who are also professionals in other disciplines. As such, scholars of religions are no longer limited to the traditional circle of religious clerics cum traders or craftsmen. They are also to be found in formal and modern professions and have combined these roles successfully. Non formal means of education through the various media has also increased the opportunity for Muslims to improve on their understanding of the religion and its various sciences, beyond a recitational knowledge of the Qur'an; where most Muslims would terminate religious study.

The proliferation of books and pamphlets in English and vernacular has meant greater access to knowledge accessible to only a few until about the second half of the twentieth century. The availability of translated Qur'an and many of the canons of the religion into English and vernacular has meant the western educated Muslims have greater access to traditional texts of the religion in the languages they understand best. This has created some tension and disaffection between the traditional scholars and the new age scholars, most of whom had 'read' the knowledge of Islam especially in the English language. The traditional scholars see such individuals as pseudo-scholars, not having studied the Arabic texts in detail through the traditional system. They in turn often condemn the reverence for the scholars in the traditional system as tantamount to *shirk* or hero worshipping.

By the twenty-first century, the internet has become an important addition to resources for accessing knowledge on Islam. These resources not based in the traditional informal system, however, have been blamed for lacking in teaching piety (central in the Islamic knowledge system) and producing half-baked and radicalized Muslims who have little regard for the traditional scholars. Knowledge through the mass media is sourced personally, lacks the interactive essence and the intermediary guidance of clerics, without which knowledge lacks much merit in the traditional system.

The challenges facing the development of higher education in the *madaris* and even in the conventional institutions include lack of financial and other resources hampering the objectives of these institutions. Not limiting themselves to the religious and Arabic courses alone has helped some of these institutions like Al Hikmah University and Muhyideen College overcome parts of this challenge. Part of this financial challenge resulted in the reliance on some form of external funding, such as we see to some extent in Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah and Al Hikmah University. Muhyideen College does not appear to be relying on external funding especially for its tertiary programs, perhaps because more or less it is like any other conventional western institution and has had experience in this at the secondary

school level for decades. Al Hikmah University on the other hand relies on external support for parts of its funding (because of its connection to the religious course) despite being run like the conventional western institution. Thus each institution operates in a way peculiar to it.

The possible trajectories in the development of formal higher Islamic education would mostly follow the lines already being pursued by the institutions discussed above. It would be through affiliations to conventional universities for the *madaris* whether they focused on Arabic and Islamic education alone or include non-religious subjects in their curriculum. Financial capacity will also play a key role in how many of the *madaris* could latch on to this trend given the general very weak financial base of the *madaris*.

Conclusion

Traditionally higher Islamic education begins after the recitational study of the Qur'an, often embarked upon by a few who generally aimed at a clerical career. Within the period of this study, higher Islamic education underwent important changes starting with the reforms that led to the establishment of the *madaris*. This accelerated the process of acquiring higher education with the promotion of Arabic language and literature in the *madaris*. The *madaris* thus became an intermediary higher education system. Western education beginning from the colonial era would also lead in the development of formal higher Islamic education through the Northern Provinces Law School which later became the school of Arabic studies. This resulted from colonial interest in developing Arabic language to serve the Muslim judicial service, formalized under the British.

Connection to the Middle East Arab countries from the middle of the twentieth century and especially after independence opened new opportunities for accessing higher education in the Arab world. From the period of independence, other modes of acquiring higher education began to emerge first in the universities being established by the government and later through Colleges of Education and Colleges of Islamic Legal Studies, building on the earlier colonial foundation. These would form important modes of acquiring higher Islamic education that would help bridge the Islamic education into the mainstream western system of education and formal employment. At the turn of the millennium a couple of the *madaris* would also be providing higher education through affiliation to universities.

A private Muslim run conventional university emerged in the twenty-first century that privileged Islamic and Arabic Studies through support from Saudi Arabia religious endowment even as it provides education more in the conventional university curriculum. More women have also had access to higher education

especially Islamic Studies in the English medium, giving them greater presence and voice in public affairs. They have also begun to access higher education in the Middle East.

While these forms of higher Islamic education have become important in the training of Islamic scholars, nonetheless they have not replaced the informal traditional route to higher education where charisma and personal relation between the teacher and the students have remained essential. Rather they have been complimentary and intertwined. The formal system of higher education has also been helpful in bridging the scholars into other disciplines not essentially based in the religious sciences. Some have been able to combine roles in both religious and non-religious sphere. Higher Islamic education under the period of study experienced expansion of curriculum. It also became mass oriented and deepened opportunities not hitherto possible in the traditional system. Thus, it has largely been a history of consolidation and expansion of opportunities through seeking religious knowledge. The expansion is still ongoing as exemplified by the new trend of Muslim run universities privileging Arabic and Islamic Studies while still providing education in other non-religious disciplines like in the conventional universities.

Chapter Six

Islamic Education and Society 1940 -2012

Introduction: The previous chapters have examined the history and processes of knowledge production in the Islamic education system across time and in different modes in the Muslim city of Ilorin. This background leads us to the present chapter which examines the matrix of this institution in the life of the Muslim society of Ilorin. The dynamics of this institution as it connects and revolves around the life of the people will be explored as well as the socio-economics of the system. Here, the utilization of the knowledge produced through the institution comes to the fore. In consonance with the Muslim dictum ‘seek knowledge from cradle to grave,’¹ the ulama, as the guardian of this institution are influential in virtually all aspects of the life of the people of the city. Whether it is the social, economic or political milieu, their influence resonates. The agencies of the mass media and Muslim organizations in the dissemination of education to Muslims form part of this exploration. These modern phenomena played crucial roles not only in the secondary production and dissemination of knowledge, but also served as a means to put into the service of the community, the practical use of the knowledge acquired by the scholars, opportunities not available in the pre-modern period.

The role of women as propagators of the religion is also examined. Mostly working in the background, but increasingly having greater voice in the public, women have been very influential in the propagation of religion, especially among their fellow womenfolk, as teachers and women leaders. From early in the history of the town through the colonial period to the present we can see the roles and influence of women in the production and utilization of Islamic knowledge. Through these histories we are able to see the pivotal role and linkages of the institution of knowledge production with the various aspects of the life of individual Muslims as well as the Muslim society of Ilorin in general.

Dynamics of Islamic Education in the Muslim Society of Ilorin

The Unitarian ideology of Islam presupposes a non- bifurcation of the world into the dual of the secular and the spiritual. The two interwove in Islam and theoretically one should not interfere with the other despite the challenges that both

¹ A common saying among Muslims; some attributed this saying to the prophet but others have refuted it, saying it is only a truism; a common adage that can be corroborated with evidences from the Qur’an as well as the Sunnah of the prophet but not a hadith itself. See www.islamtoday.net for comments on this. Accessed 24-3-2014.

opposites pose to each other.² This Unitarian ideology comes into force with regard to Islamic education and poses many challenges especially in the modern world. The contact of most of the Muslim world with western ideas through colonialism and imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth century brought a real division of knowledge for Muslims into the dual strands of western and Islamic education. This encounter had set the tone of development of Islamic education in Muslim countries; always having to consider western education in all educational strategies since the encounter with colonialism and modernity. Ilorin's engagement with western education thus comes in various responses from outright rejection of the challenging western *weltanschauung*, the friendly and tolerant approach, to critical and cautious engagement.

The nature of Islam and its immutable and sacred book, the Qur'an, has made learning a necessary adjunct to the religion. Starting out as a memorized book among the Arabs in whose language it was revealed; as the religion spread to non-Arab speaking of the world, it was committed to writing after the death of many of the early memorizers.³ Gradually the Muslims develop scholarship of the Qur'an and hadith (the acts and sayings of the Prophet). Further development of canons rooted in these two most significant sources developed Islamic scholarship into many branches of knowledge. At the height of Muslim epochs of the medieval era, this knowledge production among Muslims reached heights that enabled production in other spheres such as science and technical innovations not directly connected with religion.⁴ As Muslim caliphates declined, knowledge production also receded back into mainly the religious sphere. The Muslim world would encounter western imperialism in this state from the late eighteenth to early twentieth century.

As an act of worship, knowledge seeking remains an essential obligation of all Muslims. This lifelong learning is not limited to textual knowledge alone but encompasses other sources of knowledge as well such as sermons and observed acts of pious scholars as exemplars. Sermons in particular form an important source of knowledge for Muslims, not located within a school. In mosques, open air and other public fora, knowledge is passed to the public and since the advent of the mass

² As explained elsewhere, this does not simply imply that Islam or Muslims form a monolithic whole as far as social realities, ideology or beliefs are concerned. The modern world in fact has only added to the disparities within the ideal whole that Islam represents. Neither the ideal or realities could be dispensed with, both have to be considered.

³ Hitti, *History of the*, 123.

⁴ See works such as Hitti, *History of the*; Masood Ehsan, *Science in Medieval Islam*, (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2009); Masood Ehsan, *Science and Islam: A History* (London: Icon Books Ltd, 2010) and Hobson John M. *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilisation* (Cambridge: 2004).

media; it has also become an important medium of education, reaching far wider audience than the limits of space and time of the traditional oral sermon.

The history of Ilorin as a city is essentially a history of the entrenchment and development of Islam. The emergence of the city as a Muslim citadel is rooted in the activities of the scholars of Islam. The leaders were Muslim clerics and their followers as well; as such the legitimacy of the city and those of its leaders is rooted in Islam.⁵ The identity of the town as well, is synonymous with Islam. From Okesuna through the establishment of the Fulani-led emirate to the present time, Islam is the pivot of the identity of the people. An Ilorin indigene identifies him or herself first as a Muslim before any other indices of identity.⁶ An Ilorin indigene who converts to another faith will gradually lose the identity of Ilorin, since his participation in communal activities would reduce. He would be socially ostracized and such a person cannot identify him/herself in isolation. Such identity cannot be sanctioned or supported by the community, thus having little value. The convert naturally withdraws from the society of his own volition into his new social setting and his/her identity with Ilorin further recedes.

Those who have converted into Christianity have lost their identity this way and in the early colonial period even lost their properties. They cannot live in physical proximity with the people and would gradually gravitate towards a new identity.⁷ Social mobility through the city's social network would be near impossible and in a country where ethnic identity matters in social and political advancement, such a person would find it most difficult to move up the social ladder. For this reason very few could be identified as non-Muslim indigenes of Ilorin. No other religion outside of Islam can serve as identity marker for an Ilorin indigene. Religion, together with history and ancestry forms a tripod of identity markers in Ilorin.⁸

The emirs of Ilorin have all been descendants of Sheikh Salih bn Janta (Alfa Alimi). The missionary and educational activity of this Fulani cleric was crucial in the history of the emergence of Ilorin as a Muslim city. While Alimi did not assume political leadership, his children established the emirate with support from the followers of their father. Their legitimacy is thus rooted in the protection and promotion of the legacy of Islam as promoted by Alimi.⁹ Alimi is the saint patron of

⁵ Reichmuth, 'A Sacred Community,' 35-54.

⁶ Alabi, 'Indices of Ethnic,' 1-29.

⁷ Discussions with Alhaji Safi Jimba, (Shamaki of Ilorin).11-7-2012.

⁸ Alabi, 'Indices of Ethnic,' 1-29.

⁹ As the emir himself explains, his trumpeter intones '*Ummati rahmati*,' meaning 'My community, my grace' as a reminder to the emir of his connection to the Muslim ummah of Ilorin. See the video 'wolimat ceremony of Maryam faruq Onikijipa #2' on www.youtube.com. Accessed 7-2-2014.

the Islamic identity Ilorin identifies itself with. His name and *barakah* continues to be invoked for blessings in mosques throughout Ilorin, especially in the traditional settlements of Ilorin.¹⁰

A common saying in Ilorin signifying the clerical importance in the identity and legitimacy of the emir is '*Alfa ni Baba Oba*' meaning 'the cleric/scholar is the father of the king (emir)'. This saying confirms the clerical identity of Alimi as opposed to the more political identity of the first emir Abdulsalami and the subsequent emirs. By this, the society reinforces the religious root of kingship. In a subtle form, this is also a way the ulama reminds the emirs of their own importance as the custodian of the source of the legitimacy of emirs' leadership of the town. In another word the saying is also a reminder that the emirs were first and foremost scholars and a part of the ulama before becoming an emir. The symbiotic relationship between the two is thus reaffirmed in the saying.¹¹

Composed of many ethnic groups, Islam is the city's most important rallying idea. The supra-ethnic ethos of Islam is the anchor of the legitimacy and identity of the individual members of the Ilorin community as well as the city as a whole. In the course of the development of the city in the nineteenth century, it had to defend itself against irredentist survivors of the old Oyo Empire.¹² The city was able to survive these pressures relying on the rallying call of Islam. A strange entity among the Yoruba speaking people, composed of different ethnic groups, having a different kingship system and adopting a universal religion as a state policy; the strength of this identity enabled Ilorin to emerge, first, as a defensive city in the early nineteenth century and a conquering one in the later half of the century. Ilorin's offensive on town after town was only put on hold by the equally new city of Ibadan.¹³

The emir is thus the primary patron of the scholars. The emirs reinforced their legitimacy in Islam by encouraging scholars to settle in Ilorin in the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century as well. The Chief Imam of the city is appointed by the emir from a Fulani family. He is a primary councilor to the emir and one the kingmakers. Together with his deputies, the Imam Imale and Imam Gambari, they serve as religious counsellors to the emir and serve as communication channels between the emir and the ulama. The religious roles of the emir are many and he is assisted in these by the scholars. In the month of Ramadan,

¹⁰ Reichmuth, 'A Sacred Community.'

¹¹ Reichmuth, 'A Sacred Community.'

¹² Alabi, 'Indices of Ethnic Identity.'

¹³ Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 71-72.

this communal relation between the emir, the scholars and the town people is expressed through the daily *tafsir* at the emir's palace.¹⁴

This practice had its origin from the early days of the emirate as part of the religio-political strategy of binding the alliances that had just formed the emirate.¹⁵ Throughout the Ramadan, the *tafsir* is held at the emir's palace, led by the Chief Imam and his deputies and with the emir present. The emir's acts may be subtly criticized during these sermons; he takes no offence but accepts it as guidance from the ulama.¹⁶ Interested members of the community could also attend. The communal exercise of this religious rite serves as an important bond for the community. The announcement of the beginning of the Ramadan itself is the responsibility of the emir. In the era of mass media, when the moon has been sighted and announced by the Sultan of Sokoto, the emir's band then goes round the city beating drums and sounding the trumpets of the emir, in addition to the announcement on radio and television.

The same way the emir announces the end of Ramadan and *eid* prayer for the following morning. The Ramadan is a special month observed communally for the annual fasting. It is the main break from learning. Minimum teaching takes place during this month, especially for adults.¹⁷ The scholars dedicate the whole month to worship services and open air sermon and *tafsir* takes precedence in the life of scholars. These are observed morning, evening, and night throughout the month according to the preference of the scholars.

The ulama as a class serve to curtail what they may perceive as the excesses of an emir, should the occasion arise. Mentioned have been made in chapter five of the role of Sheikh Badamasi in this regard in the time of emir Aliyu (1868-1891) when he sought to control the public preaching of the scholars.¹⁸ Emir Momo who succeeded him also clashed with the ulama when he began his pacific moves. His taunting statements to the ulama over the visits of the Europeans to Ilorin contributed to his alienation when the warriors besieged him in his palace and he committed suicide.¹⁹ The ulama were beneficiaries of the spoils of war directly and indirectly. Some of them were participants in the wars and they also provided prayer services and amulets to the warriors. The ulama's opposition to the coming

¹⁴ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 32.

¹⁵ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 32,50.

¹⁶ Discussions with Alhaji Safi Jimba, Shamaki of Ilorin. 11-7-2012.

¹⁷ The new Qur'aniyya and Tahfiz Schools, however, are increasingly organizing specialized classes for children during the Ramadan.

¹⁸ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Al Ballur*, 37. For a major conflict with emir Suberu see Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 51.

¹⁹ See Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*, 628.

British colonialists and their pacific dealings with the emir was based on economic and religious motives. End of wars meant end of booties and the interference of the British was loathed on account of their not being Muslims.

Resistance to British conquest was also based on religious belief and the ulama also participated in the physical resistance and after the conquest, were at the forefront of the intellectual resistance to colonialism. The tax riot of 1913²⁰ was led by the ulama still smarting from the conquest of the town by a non-Muslim force. As moulders of public opinion, their views in no small measure influenced the people's resistance to western education and ideas. Hence the attempt to burn down the first school built by the colonial authority in Ilorin.²¹ While some loathed western ideas and education, we also have, even though a minority at the time, those who saw something positive in the *zamani* of the white men. It was from the class of the ulama that we also found promoters of western education for Muslims as exemplified by the career of Sheikh Kamalud-deen Al Adabiy.

The ulama often had to play the role of conscience of the society.²² Though they shun partisan politics, political affairs of the town are always within their consciousness. If political affairs began to threaten the peace, identity or legitimacy of the town, their voices would be heard through some of the more vocal members of the class. For example, in the experimental democratization of politics leading up to the independence when the identity and legitimacy of Ilorin became an issue of partisan politics, the ulama intervened through support of the opposing political opinions. Some allied with the populist Ilorin Talaka Parapo (ITP) while others supported the pro-establishment Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC).²³

The Action Group (AG) political party, led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, based in the Southwest among the Yoruba began pushing for 'Ilorin-west' merger as prerequisite to independence, with the hope of gaining some territorial advantage against the much bigger Northern Region.²⁴ The AG found a willing partner in a

²⁰ Hodge, *Gazetteer of Ilorin Province*, 79.

²¹ Hodge, *Gazetteer of Ilorin*, 255.

²² Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 112.

²³ See especially chapter three of C.S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Tradition, Continuity and Change in northern Nigeria 1946-1966* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970); Chapter Seven of O'Hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria*, where the politics of this period was extensively discussed; Fatayi, 'Politics of Protest'; Arifalo, 'Egbe Omo Oduduwa'; see also Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 85.

²⁴ The Ilorin-West merger agitation by the Action Group sought to have Ilorin province merged with the western region on the argument of ethnic, historical and linguistic affinity of the Province with the rest of the Yoruba region. The British established the Willink Minority Commission in 1957 to look into the agitation. See 'Minority' PRO /CO 957/11 for exhibits submitted to the commission by the alliance seeking for merger with the Western Region.

grassroots political movement, Ilorin Talaka Parapo (ITP-Commoners Party), with which it formed an alliance. ITP was a grassroots movement that won election in the first experiment at elective representation at the local level in 1957.²⁵ The Ilorin West-merger agitation was to be its Achilles heels. Power was eventually wrestled back from ITP and its members persecuted.²⁶ Though ITP had made some progress in local government administration, the west-merger issue alienated it from the majority of the people, aristocrats and commoners alike.

The threat this merger posed to the Islamic identity of Ilorin was the main reason the attempt failed. Though the ITP had performed admirably in discharging their political/administrative mandate, the identity of Ilorin was too important to be sacrificed on this altar.²⁷ In another way, this southwestern attempt at acquiring Ilorin into its territory was the ethno-political continuation of the irredentist wars of the nineteenth century.

Since Ilorin had always been with the north politically, merger with the west was seen as a threat not only to its Islamic identity but also its political relevance. The people of Ilorin do not consider themselves as simply Yoruba, even though Yoruba is the lingua franca.²⁸ Religion and ancestry overweigh language as indices of ethnic identity. The west-merger issue split members of ITP, some of whom thought the west-merger politics is one issue too many.²⁹ Though some of ulama supported the ITP on account of their success with local administration, majority were against them due to the 'West-merger' issue. It is commonly believed that the dissolution of the party and eventual oblivion of the leaders was the result of prayers of scholars who placed a curse on them.³⁰

²⁵ Whitaker, *The Politics of Tradition*, 132.

²⁶ Onikoko, *A History of Ilorin Emirate*, 85-86.

²⁷ See 'Future of Ilorin is at Stake' *Nigerian Citizen*, 6, April 1957. Emir Abdulkadir called a meeting of NPC and ITP-AG alliance to resolve the agitation. Within the alliance many prominent members felt their identity had been swallowed up by AG and all authority taken from their hand. They argued that they formed the party not to quit the North but to manage Ilorin domestic affairs.

²⁸ While for most ethnic groups, language is the primary index of identity, in Ilorin, it is not so simple because of its history. In political relations with the Yoruba of the southwest, this sometimes brings tension but hardly matters in social relations. See Alabi, 'Indices of Ethnic Identity.'

²⁹ Those members of ITP against the merger appreciated the social development that the party was promoting but were against the threat to traditional authority and Ilorin's identity that the west-merger entailed, especially as it was obvious that the instigation was largely from the Action Group, the financially buoyant and more organized partner in the alliance.

³⁰ Ayinla Saadu Alanamu, 'Islam and Politics in Ilorin 1979-2005' (M.A. Dissertation: Arabic and Islamic Studies University of Ibadan, 2005), 17; Aliyu S. Alabi & Salihu O. Ismail, 'The Fizzling Out of a 'Minority' Movement\Party: The Ilorin Talaka Parapo, 1954-

From the Second Republic, Dr Olusola Saraki ³¹ became the preeminent political figure in Kwara state, controlling the levers of power. His political success is often attributed to the prayers he had secured from the scholars through his acts of generosity.³² When a rift occurred between him and Governor Muhammad Lawal that he brought to power in 1999, at the return to democratic rule, both sides resorted to winning members of the ulama to their side. Sheikh Kamalud-deen tried to get the two politicians to agree to a truce but the two were unable to reconcile.³³ It is generally believed that a prayer war ensued between the camps of ulama employed by both sides, leading to the death of some of the ulama. Dr. Saraki eventually won the battle when his son ousted the governor from power in the 2003 gubernatorial election.

At the expiration of the son's tenure in 2011, Dr. Saraki apparently wanted his senator daughter to succeed her brother but this was opposed by most of the scholars who openly preached against her candidacy, arguing that women do not hold leadership position in Islam.³⁴ Though some other scholars argued that women can hold leadership positions, she lost the election to the preferred candidate of the outgoing governor. No doubt, the negative stance of the ulama was effective against the female candidature. In all these, the ulama were actively involved in marshalling religious arguments in favor of their preferred candidates. Politicians constantly seek the ulama for blessings and prayers believed to be crucial to attaining political gains. The politicians always try to associate themselves with the leading scholars. This can swing a lot of the populace into supporting such a candidate. The greater the charisma and *Baraka* such a scholar is perceived to possess the greater the political relevance of such a scholar to the politicians.

The ulama serve as a censor to the social life and development in the city, curtailing what they perceive as antithetical to the Islamic identity of the town.³⁵ They do this through their sermons and through the mass media. A number of examples would

1965' - in - Victor Egwemi, Terhema Wuam & Chris Orngu (Eds.) *Federalism, Politics and Minorities in Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Professor G.N.Hembe*. (Lagos: Bahiti & Dalila Publishers, 2014).

³¹ A medical doctor turned politician, his first attempt at politics during the First Republic end in failure. From the Second Republic he dominated the political landscape of Kwara state till he passed away in 2012. He made his fortune providing medical care services to the Nigerian army during the civil war. He was honored with the title of Turaki, later Waziri of Ilorin. see also Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 85.

³² Such as his financial contribution to the building of Ilorin Central Mosque and numerous community development efforts. Alanamu, 'Islam and Politics,' 21.

³³ Alanamu, 'Islam and Politics,' 48.

³⁴ See 'Kwara Guber Race: Ripple and Puzzles of Gbemi's bid' at www.transparencynig.com. Accessed 24-4-2014.

³⁵ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 112.

suffice here. In the late 1980s, through their public sermons, they brought to the notice of the emir and authorities the new trend of selling and consumption of alcohol within the traditional settlement of Ilorin³⁶ and the rising prevalence of night parties. The ulama met with Sheikh Kamalud-deen who had by then become the leading scholar in town and they were unanimous and vociferous in their position through sermons against this practice and the emir had to summon them to inquire what their agitations was all about, wary that action should be taken without his consent.³⁷

Although the emir was not happy that such an important decision was being taken without his consent, the ulama led by Sheikh Kamalud-deen assured him they were fighting his battle. They reminded the emir that '*alfa ni baba oba*,' as well as the role of Sheikh of Alimi in the Islamisation of Ilorin and how the scholars were therefore his students, defending his domain from un-Islamic acts creeping into the town. Meanwhile the alcohol sellers had instituted a case in court and the ulama had asked some lawyers to represent them. The emir summoned one of the town's lawyers³⁸ and sought his opinion. The emir was advised to include his name and that of his principal counsellors among the defendants.³⁹ The emirate eventually won the case.⁴⁰

This censorship is also directed at the ulama class itself. For example, in recent times, there has been criticism of young scholars, especially those involved in the prayer economy (*jalabi*), as being enamored with materiality and abandoning the clerical frugality and asceticism. They were accused of not being ready to toe the line of older scholars who spent years in ascetic devotional sacrifice to achieve the *Baraka* that sometimes brings material wealth. Rather, some of the scholars were

³⁶ A researcher from the University of Ilorin had as early as 1982 observed this trend, especially involving Muslims, who openly consume alcohol. One of the early attempts of the clerics to curb this trend was to encourage scholars not to officiate in socio-religious ceremonies of any Muslim known to consume alcohol. It worked only for a short while. The economic implications of this on some of the ulama forced them to be lax over the injunction. Incomes from such officiating form an important part of their earnings. See Y.A. Quadri, 'Muslims and Alcohol in Ilorin: A Case Study' *Religions* - Journal of the Department of Religions- University of Ilorin No. 6 & 7 (1982), 100-113.

³⁷ Discussions with Barrister Shafi Jimba (*Shamaki* of Ilorin). 11-7-2012.

³⁸ Barrister Shafi Jimba. He is a son of a scholar from the family of the warrior Jimba, who led Ilorin army to sack the capital of the old Oyo kingdom in the early stage of the establishment of the emirate.

³⁹ In the event of a victory in court, it would bring honor to the emir but should the scholars lose, the emir would be in the bad book of the scholars as having abandoned them when they needed him most as the first citizen of a Muslim citadel. Discussions with Barrister Shafi Jimba (*Shamaki* of Ilorin). 11-7-2012.

⁴⁰ The emir rewarded Barrister Shafi Jimba with the warrior title of *Shamaki* of Ilorin for his role in that legal victory.

alleged to be into syncretism, including use of human body parts in sacrifices as a shortcut to wealth.⁴¹ Criticism has also been leveled against the new radical scholars who take a literal reading of the religious texts, as misleading young ones against established religious traditions, believing much in textual authority against the human agency of such authority.⁴²

The function of the ulama as a key agent of social integration has been treated in details by Reichmuth in his work.⁴³ Suffice to say, their position as the vanguard of religion, the common denominator of virtually all the people of Ilorin, placed them strategically to play this role. Their various roles in society see to their presence in almost all spheres of the lived experience of the people. They serve as guarantor of the social order even as other agencies also key-in into this role. They are in the forefront of pan-Islamic movement in the city such as the attempts to organize the *madaris* to lobby the government to key in to the development of the sector, from in the 1970s through the activities of Joint Association of Arabic and Islamic Schools (JAAIS) led by Sheikh Abdulkadir Orire. He played key roles in the entrenchment of public celebrations of Muslim festivals such as the Hijrah day, marking the beginning of the Muslim year and Malud Nabi.⁴⁴ The Council of Muslim organizations (CMO) also resulted from this effort to have an organized platform for the promotion and protection the interests of the Muslims in the state.

In such function of social integration we find the ulama playing a prominent role in the construction of the ultra-modern mosque in Ilorin. Although the idea of constructing the mosque had been mooted since the 1960s, its activation and realization became accelerated when Sheikh Kamalud-deen was appointed the Chairman of the Mosque Committee by Emir Muhammad Sulukarnaini Gambari. Between 1978 and 1981 when the mosque was built, he mobilized the people of Ilorin into supporting the Mosque project.⁴⁵ The opening of the mosque was widely

⁴¹ See the news report, 'Confusion as Residents Find Baby's Placenta with Alfa.' *The Punch Newspaper*, 1, August 2014. See also the sermon of Sheikh Buhari Musa Ajikobi 'Ese Pele' (Be Careful) on www.youtube.com. Accessed 4-11-2014.

⁴² Some of these had studied in the Middle East while some had acquired most of their learning through western education and self-learning. They are accused of disregarding the reverence for elderly scholars as entrenched in the traditional system. Such individuals are usually called 'tabligh,' 'Ahlu sunnah' and even 'salamalaykum' as way of distinguishing them from the mainstream Muslim community. See Francesco Zappa, 'Between Standardization and Pluralism - Islamic Printing Presses and its Social Spaces in Bamako, Mali' -in- Hackett and Soares eds., *New Media*, 53.

⁴³ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*.

⁴⁴ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 261-262. The *madaris* and some of the western schools usually gather for a march-past parade in the township stadium. Speeches are given and the new Hijrah calendar is launched at this occasion.

⁴⁵ Jimoh, *Ilorin, The Journey so Far*, 456.

celebrated with the President of the country, Alhaji Shehu Shagari and dignitaries from the Arab world in attendance. The architectural masterpiece became a symbol of the Islamic identity, pride and reverence for the city.⁴⁶

The pivotal role of the scholars as agents of social mobilization saw the two iconic leaders of Islamic education of Ilorin, Sheikh Adam Abdullahi Al Iluri and Sheikh Muhammad Kamalud-deen Al Adaby being coopted into the editorial work of translation of the Qur'an into Yoruba language, funded by the World Muslim League (WML). The publication came out in 1972.⁴⁷ Although there had been earlier translations of the Qur'an in parts, this would be the first pan-Yoruba effort to translate the whole Qur'an into Yoruba. Other translations would follow this and the WML translation itself was reviewed at the end of the twentieth century.⁴⁸

The story of the dynamism of the scholars would be incomplete without a mention of their role in the development of Sufism in Ilorin. This esoteric science of the Muslims is largely an experiential and ritual based learning. While there are texts on *tasawwuf* (esotericism), text is secondary to the practice of Sufism. Sufis aim at an inner and personal awareness of the Supreme Being, to be achieved through the rituals of (*zuhud*) asceticism and (*wird*) litanies. Generally, Sufis follow the path (*tariqa* pl.*turuq*) of a Sufi master. The two main Sufi rites in Ilorin are the Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya. Qadiriyya has an older history while the Tijaniyya is largely a twentieth century arrival.⁴⁹ Other *turuq* have also found their ways into Ilorin in the wake globalization of the twentieth century. Some of the reformers of the twentieth century are known for their connection to Sufism.

For example, Tajul Adab was initiated into the Qadiriyya sect and was said to have initiated his own *tariqa* with its own set of litanies.⁵⁰ However, this *tariqa* did not outlive him, perhaps because his illustrious pupil Sheikh Kamalud-deen did not take after this particular legacy of his teacher, at least openly. Sheikh Adam Abdullahi al

⁴⁶ In 2012, the mosque was rehabilitated after a fundraising in which hundreds of millions of naira was realized. The Governor, Dr Bukola Saraki, like his father did in the early 1980s, mobilized his friends in the Nigerian political and business community into donating funds for the project.

⁴⁷ Ogunbiyi, 'Arabic-Yoruba Translation,' 21-45.

⁴⁸ This led to some controversy over the propriety of editing the first translation between the son of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi al Iluri, Sheikh Habib Adam Abdullahi and one of the editors of the new edition Dr AbdulMajid Alaro. Recordings of arguments of both scholars can be seen at www.youtube.com as 'The Truth about the Translation of the Qur'an to Yoruba' and 'Mudir'ul Marcz Esi oro.' Accessed 10-12-2014.

⁴⁹ For general history of the *turuq* in Ilorin, see Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 229-234; and Yasir Anjola Quadri, 'The Tijaniyyah in Nigeria' (PhD Thesis: University of Ibadan, 1981).

⁵⁰ Bamigboye, 'The Contribution of Sheikh,' 15-16.

Ilorin was also initiated into the Qadiriyya order and continued to defend Sufis in his writings against the literalists' condemnation of Sufism as a practice not associated with the prophet.⁵¹ The inner dimension Sufi worship means that the narratives around these scholars' involvement with Sufism are often not in the public unlike the narratives around their educational career which is often tangible unlike the largely intangible tropes of Sufism.⁵²

The dynamism of the institution of Islamic education cannot be overemphasized in a Muslim city such as Ilorin. Anchored in the ulama, it radiates through them to other layers and spheres of the lived experience of the people. At almost every point this influence can be discerned even as it is more prominent in certain instances than others. Though the institution operates within defined contexts, its influences and impacts goes beyond these defined contexts.

Socio-Economics of Islamic Education (Careers in and around Islamic Learning)

Muslim scholars have tended to combine scholarship with some commercial occupation. This, however, may change as a scholar increases in his knowledge and charisma to such a point where he fully concerns himself with knowledge acquisition and dissemination. This scholar-businessman career is particularly true of the early stages of Islam in a community. It has been well noted how merchant-scholars had been responsible for the spread of Islam in West Africa along its trade routes.⁵³ Once Islam had been entrenched in a place, there may begin a gradual separation of the merchant class from the ulama class even though this not a clear cut line. Some scholars will continue with commercial activities while others would concentrate fully as religious scholars.

In Ilorin for instance, Okesuna was a trade settlement⁵⁴ and Solagberu was a merchant scholar and Alimi is also known to be a rope maker.⁵⁵ Coming closer to contemporary times, Sheikh Kamalud-deen in his youth had been involved in the hand weaving cloth industry that Ilorin is renowned for, although he did not stay long in the family business. Generally younger scholars tended to have some additional occupation. In the absence of a church in Islam through which the clergy

⁵¹ Reichmuth, 'Sheikh Adam,' Brian Larkin, 'Binary Islam: Media and Religious Movements in Nigeria' -in- Hackett and Soares eds., *New Media*, 63-81.

⁵² Many in the Adabiyya and Markaziyya networks are members of Tijaniyya and Qadiriyya Sufi orders.

⁵³ Hiskett, *The Development of Islam*, 45; Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 26.

⁵⁴ Saad Kamal Abduganiy, 'The Concept of Sacred Places in Islam a Case Study of Okesuna in Ilorin' (BA Long Essay: Islamic Studies-Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 2006), 10.

⁵⁵ Jimba, *Iwe Itan Ilorin*, 25.

is trained and assigned by the church to a particular congregation, the ulama class is more democratic in Islam and entrance into the class is open to any who can face the rigor. Islamic scholars are generally self-made and thus have a greater degree of independence and choice of career.

A number of career routes are opened to scholars upon attainment of a certain level of knowledge and skills. Often the scholars combine more than one role. Traditional career choices include the ubiquitous teacher, imam, qadi, preacher and spiritual consultant. These are traditionally lines that are directly connected to religion, its rituals and practices. Usually more than one of these choices are pursued simultaneously, sometimes in addition to occupations bearing little or no relation directly to the religion such as any of the crafts or commercial activities. In contemporary times, career choices for scholars have widened to the extent you can find competent scholars of Islam in most fields.

By far the more widely pursued career for the scholars of Islam is that of a teacher. Depending on the level of his knowledge, a teacher may be a teacher of Qur'an alone, teaching the reading of the Qur'an to children in the neighborhood. Since teaching often begins during a scholar's learning period, as he advances in his knowledge, he would begin to train others in the theological and jurisprudence texts that he has acquired knowledge on. Given the wide sub-fields in Islamic learning, a scholar will eventually specialize in some particular fields. Some would be better known as teachers of hadith, jurisprudence, exegesis or in the language sciences. Though all scholars would have studied in all these fields, interest and aptitude would determine a scholar's area of interest or specialization.

The Qur'anic teachers are by far the most numerous and noticeable and in terms of remuneration are the least rewarded.⁵⁶ Traditionally such a teacher would have other works such as farming to complement his earning. Some of his students would help in lieu of payment.⁵⁷ Every Wednesday the children would bring a little amount of money, *owo alaruba* (Wednesday's money) as fees. This payment is not enforced; as such parents who are constant with this payment do so in the belief in the blessings this brings on their wards. Others can withhold payment on the excuse of not having the means or not bothering since there is little or no pressure on those unable to pay. Others may rely on their relationship or affinity with the teacher; most of the students would be related to him in one or more ways. With many of the scholars ready to give this service free of charge, only a little amount could be realized. During Ramadan and Muslim festivals, gifts of money and materials are

⁵⁶ Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 124.

⁵⁷ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 110. However this practice has dwindled since many scholars are no longer connected to farming.

also given to the teacher. The modern Qur'anic schools that have largely replaced the traditional ones usually collect fees on a monthly basis but this is also not enforced and usually it is a token.

Hence, the teachers of the Qur'anic schools tended to be poor, especially those who have not combined it with any commercial venture. Ideally, money or gifts given are not regarded as payment for the teaching but as a means to earn *alubarika* (blessing). The respect and honor the teachers receive from the community is considered more important than the payment; above all the reward from Allah, hence the voluntary nature. Because it is a religious act, material profit is of secondary importance and some may even decline payment.



Fig.24. Ceremonial handmade wedding *wolimat* slate used by the researcher's grandmother in the 1940s. Picture taken by the researcher in 2014.



Fig. 25. A bride with her contemporary ornamental wedding *wolimat* slate. Picture taken in 2014.

When the teacher of the Qur'anic School combines teaching with say the work of a spiritual consultant and is financially buoyant, he tends to delegate teachings to others. In classical Islamic history in the Middle East, the teacher of the *maktab* is subject to ridicule and considered a lowly job.⁵⁸ However, in Ilorin, they are not

⁵⁸ Antonella Ghersetti, 'Like the Wick of the Lamp, Like the Silkworm they are': Stupid Schoolteachers in Classical Arabic Literary Sources,' *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, 10-4 (2010) 78.

subject of ridicule as such but respected members of the community, even though they may not be materially well off. The more knowledgeable and charismatic a teacher is, the more respect he earns. When a teacher has reached a level he cannot personally teach the Qur'an class due to other commitments, his senior students take the responsibility, tentatively beginning their career as well.

In the madrasah system, there is the attempt to pay salaries like in the western schools. All the *madaris* aimed at doing so but only some of them could do this effectively. Financial constraint has remained a major drawback for the Islamic education system. Even in the *madaris* where salaries are paid, it is hardly a living wage as the teachers often had to have other sources of income, especially in the prayer economy.⁵⁹ With many of the *madaris* running tuition free, it is almost impossible to pay the teachers well, if at all; hence most of the schools relied on the network of old students who out of reverence for their teachers were ready to render the service free of charge, having received the knowledge same way. Only those working in private or government western institutions as teachers of Arabic or Islamic studies had some reliable income. However, they were few compared to those in the private *madaris* and Qur'anic schools establishment. Unless they connect to the clerical circle, they were not always perceived as part of the ulama proper.

The position of the imam is one of the other options of choice to a scholar. Their role is essentially the leading of fellow Muslims in the daily prayers, observed five times a day. Although any Muslim with minimal knowledge could lead a prayer, only a scholar with the requisite knowledge is usually appointed to be substantive imam of a mosque. The ritual of prayers is guided by many rules such that only knowledgeable persons are expected to be appointed into such position. The imam also becomes a community leader whose roles include settling disputes and counselling members of his community. It is generally an unpaid job,⁶⁰ but members of the community are expected to support the imam through gifts.

Like other members of the ulama, he can also officiate the naming of newly born babies, during which monies are offered for the blessings he will recite on the new baby. The same goes for officiating wedding ceremonies. Prayers often precede the beginning of many social engagements and imams are usually called for such occasions. It could be anything from dedication of a new house, opening of a new business or even purchase of an automobile. While not on a fixed payment, the

⁵⁹ Soares, *Islam and the Prayer Economy*, 153-180.

⁶⁰ The few exceptions are some well-to-do individuals who pay imams of their private mosques, often doubling as teachers of the children of such individuals. Ansarud-deen Society also has some welfare package for their Imam, including a residence.

imam gets rewards through these roles. Any scholar is essentially an imam too, although some assume the role more seriously than others, especially when specifically appointed to such roles. Although no one sets out to be an imam, knowledge and piety determines who is appointed as an imam.

In Ilorin, there are different categories of the imam; in descending order, we have the imams of mosques where only the five daily prayers are offered. These are called imam *ratibi*.⁶¹ They are followed by imam *jamiu* who leads the Friday congregational prayers in a community mosque. In the unique religio-political arrangement of Ilorin arising from the multi-ethnic composition of Ilorin, these two categories of imam are under the two deputy imams to the Chief Imam of Ilorin.⁶² In this arrangement, the Imam Imale and Imam of Gambari ward are responsible for imams under their respective wards. Imam Imale is responsible for the imams under Alanamu and Ajikobi wards while imam Gambari is responsible for the Gambari ward.⁶³ The arrangement is informal and most imams are relatively independent. Unless acceptable behavior is breached, most imams would have little or no recourse to the Imam Imale or Imam Gambari, or the Chief Imam.

The Chief Imam (also known as the Imam Fulani) is appointed by the emir from one of the Fulani families that held the title before.⁶⁴ The emir appoints the two deputy imams as well, after the respective families have nominated one of their own for the position. In some localities within the traditional Ilorin settlements, the position of the imam is usually hereditary even though it has no foundation in the jurisprudence of religion. It is rather a pragmatic tradition born of historical and cultural precedents. Sometimes these positions are hotly contested, leading to division in mosques and sometimes outright closure of mosques. Talismanic powers of contestants are tested in such disputes. It is in situations of disputes like these that the leading imams are brought in to resolve the disputes.⁶⁵

⁶¹ From the Arabic *muratib* (consecutive); an indication that the imam leads the five consecutive daily prayers.

⁶² Imam Imale is the second in rank to the Chief Imam and can deputize for him while Imam Gambari is the third in rank. Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 28. See fig.29.

⁶³ Discussions with Imam Imale, Alhaji Abdulhamid Abdullahi. 27-11-2013.

⁶⁴ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 150. The emir is responsible for the payment of the salary of the Chief Imam. Although the emir does not impose the imams, he sees to it that only responsible and loyal persons are appointed. The close relationship between the palace and the family ensures familiarity with members of the family.

⁶⁵ Discussions with Imam Imale, Alhaji Abdulhamid Abdullahi. 27-11-2013.



Fig. 26. The opening page of a handwritten Qur'an in the possession of Imam Ita-Ajia mosque. Picture taken by the researcher, 2012.

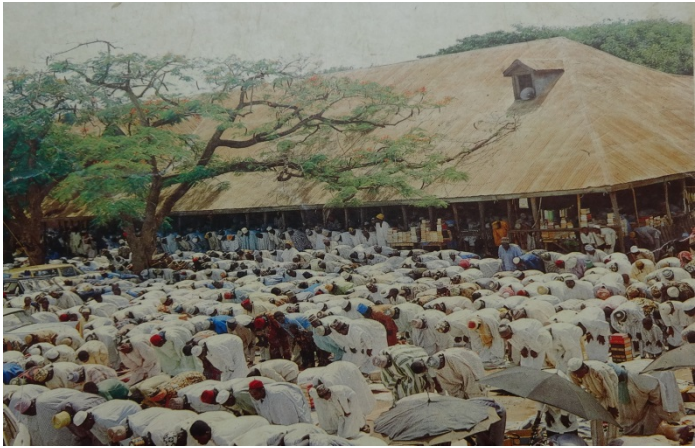


Fig. 27. A Friday congregational (*jumu'at*) prayer at the old Central Mosque at Idi-Ape in the early 1980s. Note the booksellers' stand under the awning of the mosque. Source: Brochure commemorating the opening of the New Central Mosque in 1981.



Fig. 28. Emir Ibrahim Sulu-Gambari with the three principal Imams sitting on his left in order of their ranks; Chief Imam, Imam Imale and Imam Gambari at the turbaning of the third mufti Sheikh Sofiyullah Kamalud-deen Al-Adaby, December 2013. Source: The Pilot Newspaper.



Fig. 29. Ilorin Central Mosque refurbished in 2012. Picture taken by the researcher, 2014.

As the Chief Imam, his main duties include leading the Friday congregational prayer⁶⁶ in the city's central mosque located opposite the emir's palace. He also leads the whole town in the two *eids* prayers at the *eid* praying ground. The first, to mark the end of the Ramadan fast and the second to commemorate the attempt of prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) to sacrifice his son, Ismail (Ishmael) for which a ram is sacrificed in lieu of. A member of the emir's council and part of the king makers,⁶⁷ he is the principal spiritual adviser to the emir. He also leads the annual *tafsir* sessions at the emir's palace. His position relates and connects with the political and social structure of the city even as he is primarily a religious leader.⁶⁸

The vocations of scholars flow seamlessly into each other since each vocation has its specific function, time and location and may not interfere with one another. For example, everybody is expected to pray at the same time, so that all other vocations are left for the prayers at the specific time allocated to it. While these career options often can be a stand-alone vocation, in many instances they are combined with more than one option. One individual can assume all these roles if there is no clash between the various lines. For instance, a qadi can be an imam, still teach and take on other roles at the same time. Some focus on a particular vocation, occasionally dabbling into others. Because these vocations are engaged in at different times and occasions, it is impossible for a scholar to be engaged with just only one of these vocations.

An important vocation for scholars is preaching. Preaching and sermons are conducted by scholars for a number of reasons such as proselytization and to remind faithfuls of their obligation to their religion and also to teach lessons on religion. One of the coming of age acts of scholars is the public sermon. While the scholars preach as a pious act, it helps the audience to gauge the knowledge and understanding of the scholar of the religious texts, leading to reverence for such scholars. Members of the audience also improve on their store of knowledge of the religion. Sheikh Kamalud-deen's first public sermon as a teenager is a popular anecdote in Ilorin.⁶⁹ Usually the young scholars begin by being a repeater (*ajanasi*)

⁶⁶ Until the latter half of the twentieth century, the central mosque is the only mosque for Fridays and serves as a symbolic unifying act. People would come even from the rural areas to attend the mosque and visit relations in town. With development and population increase, other Friday mosques sprang up, mostly outside the core settlement of Ilorin. Now Friday mosques could be accessed in every locality within the city.

⁶⁷ Jimoh, *Ilorin, The Journey so Far*, 376.

⁶⁸ Despite the socio-political nature of their positions, as scholars whose positions resulted from their being scholars of religion, they often engage in knowledge impartation directly to students of higher learning and or indirectly as proprietors of *madaris*. The Chief Imam, for example, runs a madrasah, School No.27. See Appendix XVI.

⁶⁹ Adisa-Onikoko, *The Cradle Rocker*, 15.

for preaching scholars. The *Ajanasi* recites a verse or line from the text the preacher is using and the preacher then explains the meaning to the audience.⁷⁰

In spreading Islam among the Yoruba in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the scholars of Ilorin used public preaching in converting many into the religion. Sheikh Saadu Kokewukobere readily comes to mind among such scholars.⁷¹ Sheikh Tajul Adab, his protégé Kamalud-deen and Sheikh Adam and numerous others were renowned for their preaching skills in their careers as promoters of Islam. The rhetorical skills of a scholar can win for him followership; that will always through the venue of such public lecture. The month of Ramadan forms an important period for this aspect of the life of a scholar.

Apart from informing the public about religion, these public lectures also serve as important source of funds for the scholars. These funds are then channeled into other vocations such as their schools or mosques. Sheikh Kamalud-deen, for example, had a policy of never using money realized in public preaching in Ilorin for personal use. Such money he channeled into his school. Money realized on visits to other towns is used for personal needs.⁷² In similar vein, the Sheikh of Gbagba Qur'anic School in the 1960s and 1970s usually spent the month of Ramadan in Lagos on preaching tours. From funds realized on such visits he was able to purchase a public address system for use in the mosque of Ode Wole-Wole, the frontage of which is also used for sermons. The equipment was not yet popular in Ilorin at the time and it was sometimes lent out to other scholars.⁷³

From the 1970s technology will come to the aid of this vocation. When turntable audio players had become popular, Sheikh Ahmad Alaye developed an instinct for the use of this medium for the dissemination of religious ideas through recorded disc.⁷⁴ Audio cassettes would be used for this purpose from the 1980s through the 1990s but even this was nowhere near the popularity of VCD and DVD of the twenty-first century. The proliferation of VCD and DVD technology making for cheap and mass production of large number of video in CD and DVD formats has enabled some young scholars to use these audiovisual media for reaching wider

⁷⁰ Abdulrasaq Imam Oniwapele, 'The Institution of Ajanasi of Ilorin' (BA Long Essay: Islamic Studies-Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 2006), 14.

⁷¹ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*, 46.

⁷² Discussions with Alhaji Abdulkareem Saka. 31-10-2012, and Sheikh Salman Olarongbe Abdulkadir. November 2012.

⁷³ Discussions with Imam Ahmad Yahaya Maisolati, 16-6-2012.

⁷⁴ Discussions with Sheikh Ahmad Adisa-Onikoko, 21-6-2012 and Uztadh Mansur Alaye. 27-9-2013.

audience. This would become a particularly profitable venture for the scholars who partly made it commercial.⁷⁵

They were able to tap into the CD and DVD revolution and the mass appeal to home videos among the Yoruba. In the era when filmmakers of the home video industry were using video cassettes in the late 1980s and 1990s, not much thought was given to this medium for the recording of sermons for commercial purpose. Few, if any scholar was using this medium to record his sermons for sale. Indeed there were video recordings of sermons for record purpose but it was not conceived as a commercial venture.

The availability of new technologies simplifying the processes of recording audio visual formats has increased the possibilities of reaching to wider audience. Smartphones, computers and the internet provided new means to record, transmit, access, and share information and knowledge pertaining to religion among the people. The new generation scholars have taken to these new forms of mass media to pass on information to the audience. The Qur'an can be read and listen to on these devices. Mobile phones are used to record both audio and video of sermons of scholar, some even predating the advent of these format; converted to the new media and shared with friends. Many of the sermons have been uploaded into the internet where they can be viewed and downloaded.⁷⁶ The physical barrier between the scholar and the audience has further been broken down.

Islam is very much based on jurisprudence; hence its scholars are referred to as *al-faqih* - a scholar of jurisprudence (fiqh). Asmau avers that *alfa*- the title the Yoruba ascribe to Muslim scholars is a derivative of *al-faqih*.⁷⁷ Every act of the Muslim is

⁷⁵ Sheikh Buhari Musa Ajikobi particularly revolutionized this means. He sells the rights of coverage of his preaching. His argument is that people do not mind spending lots of money for singers who add little or no benefit to their lives while scholars wallow in poverty. His use of humor has given him a wide followership among the Yoruba and as such recording companies pay him money to have rights to his sermons which are then mass produced and sold all over the country. Sometimes, some entrepreneurs of the home video market tried to make profits off the scholars by instigating a scholar to attack another, over a difference of opinion, with the hope of making money out of counter recordings of the controversy. Some these recordings can be seen on www.youtube.com.

⁷⁶ Hackett and Soares eds., (Introduction) *New Media*, 3.

⁷⁷ A scholar in Ilorin and among the Yoruba is called Alfa (also aafa or alufa –by Yoruba Christians). In northern Nigeria among the Hausa, mallam- derived from *mualim* is used. Alfa is a common name among Malians and also in Borno from among whom the earliest missionaries of Islam came to Ilorin and the rest of Yoruba region. The adoption of alfa instead of mallam is likely due to these influences. See the glossary in Asma'u G. Saeed, *The Literary Works of Alhaji Garba Said* (Kano: Adamu Joji Publishers, 2007); Stefan Reichmuth, 'Songhay-Lehnwörter im Yoruba und ihr historischer Kontext', *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 9(1988), 269-299; see also Farooq Kperooqi's article 'The Arabic

seen as guided by a set of rules, from the mundane to the spiritual. This has led to the development of this discipline among Muslim scholars. The shariah or the Muslim code of law is described as a law and open way; the right way ordained by Allah, for humanity, in order to prosper in this world and also achieve bliss in the hereafter. The scope includes *I'tiqadat* (beliefs), *Ibadat* (devotions), *Adab* (moralities), *Mu'amalat* (transaction) and *Uqubat* (punishment/penalties).⁷⁸

A legal career is one of the options a scholar may take as a jurist. In pre-colonial period, the shariah system operated differently from the way it was structure under colonial rule, with the emir as the final authority, guided by his jurist.⁷⁹ The Baloguns also held court in their domains.⁸⁰ In the absence of written records, we cannot have precise knowledge of how it worked. When Ilorin came under colonial rule, the British introduced reforms into the system and formalized many aspects of the judicial system.⁸¹

The British accommodated shariah (under its indirect rule policy) with proviso against especially those aspects of capital punishment that involve mutilation. The British hoped that with time, the shariah courts would follow the pattern of the British legal system. They used repugnancy clause to keep the shariah according to their idea of a legal system. The District Officers could cancel any decision of the court which did not suit their views. The *alkalis* were left to treat certain cases according to the shariah but it still has to go through the approval of the British colonial officers.⁸²

The application of the shariah was generally limited to civil cases. The British formalization of the shariah legal system helped the development of Arabic and even the spread of Islam to non-Muslim areas under the jurisdiction of the emir. Formal Higher Education in the Islamic sciences in western institution began as part of the efforts to streamline and systemize the Muslim legal code by the British. It is along these lines that the system developed in the post-independence period. The

Origins of Common Yoruba Words' 13 May, 2012. He relied on Sergio Baldi's thesis, that said the root is from Khalifa (successor) but who also agreed on the Songhai origin. Saeed postulation is more agreeable with this work, given that the Yoruba have another word 'alefa' used for Khalifa. www.nigerianmuse.com. Accessed 5-6-2014.

⁷⁸ Ajetunmobi Musa Ali, 'Shari'ah Legal Practice in Nigeria 1956-1983' (Ph.D Thesis: Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1988), 1-2.

⁷⁹ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 15.

⁸⁰ Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 73; Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 78.

⁸¹ Among the reforms was recording of cases, which the emir and his chiefs initially objected to, because it was a new practice. See Danmole, 'Colonial Reforms in,' for more on these reforms.

⁸² Ali, 'Shari'ah Legal Practice,' 54-57.

need to train law officials to man the shariah system under the colonial authority led, for example, to sending some scholars from Ilorin to train informally under the alkali of Bauchi.⁸³ The first formal institution of higher learning in the north, The Kano Provincial Law School, established in 1934, also resulted from this preoccupation with the Muslim legal system.⁸⁴ Thus among the careers open to a Muslim scholar is that of a legal expert of the shariah system. From among those who have had higher education in the Islamic sciences, Arabic or law, the qadis and administrative staff of the various shariah courts were recruited.

In the early colonial period, it is from the cadre of traditional scholars that the judges and clerical staff of the shariah courts were sought. As the system got more formalized, the traditional scholars were no longer needed.⁸⁵ Rather those trained in special schools such as the Kano Law School were now groomed to hold these positions. In the post-colonial period, graduates with diploma and university degrees in Arabic, law and Islamic studies became the source of jurists and judicial staff of the shariah system as allowed under the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Although piety is a key aim of Islamic education, education alone does not guarantee piety. Yet piety can hardly be achieved without knowledge. Devotional strategies that develop piety in the individual are learned through text and act based skills. A scholar who has developed piety is believed to have intercessory power to intervene in the life of those less endowed. This skill or talent achieved through knowledge and devotion becomes the calling of some scholar. Unlike the other career choices largely related to intellectual knowledge, the knowledge of the power of intercession cannot be learned through text alone and it is a secret discipline. It is these arcane secrets that are deployed in the prayer economy.⁸⁶

The charisma of a scholar is largely dependent on the perception of this quality in him by the people. For some scholars, the calling of a spiritual consultant is the line their knowledge would take them. This skill is usually learned through devotion to a teacher or number of teachers over the years.⁸⁷ This is one aspect where personal

⁸³ NAI 'Alkali and Members of Native Court N.P Training of' CSO 26/2 17746 Vol.III: Hodge, *Gazetteers of Ilorin*, 203.

⁸⁴ Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 184-185. This is also probably responsible for the popularity of the legal profession among western educated Ilorin indigenes.

⁸⁵ Al Iluri, *Lamahat Al Ballur*, 15.

⁸⁶ Soares, *Islam and the Prayer Economy*, 153-180. This work explores this subtle economy among the Malians and will be found in all traditional Muslim societies and it is also connected to esotericism.

⁸⁷ In his study of the Niassen strand of Sufism, Seesemann refers to this as 'cognizance'. Seesemann, *The Divine Flood*, 19, 72.

teaching in the informal Islamic learning system becomes very important. The words of the Qur'an are believed by Muslims to possess esoteric powers which can change and influence the fortunes of a believer. The use of these words in prayers, in specific ways is believed to have powers that can alter the fortunes in positive or negative ways.⁸⁸

These formulas are not to be found in texts of jurisprudence or language sciences as such. The personal relationship between a teacher and his students determines at what stage these secrets would be revealed to him and to what extent. The trust that brings this about comes through devotion, dedication and service to a teacher. Sometimes, these are inherited from parents in scholarly families. However, being a son of a scholar is not a guarantee of access to his store of esoteric knowledge. Some of these powers cannot be inherited. Scholars are known for paying more attention to their students more than their biological children; perhaps to avoid being seen as favoring their children. Often they would send their children away to study under another scholar whom they trust can impart knowledge to their children. This way the children will face the rigor of scholarship and be disciplined.

Jalabi (from Arabic *jalub*, meaning 'to bring along, to bring about, to cause') as it is called, is sometimes combined with knowledge of herbal medicine for healing. This vocation includes fortune telling through geomancy and dream interpretation and dream visions (*istikhara*). Offering prayers to resolve particular personal problems, advising on what actions are spiritually propitious or reversing unfortunate situations among others form a major preoccupation. Some scholars, especially those with salafist bend have argued against the vocation, especially the fortune telling aspect, calling it *shirk* (association of something with God). The practitioners countered this by saying that the prophet had prayed to heal sick people and that unless this is mixed with paganism, then it is not *shirk*. In recent times, there has been outcry from even among the scholars themselves of the love of material profits that young scholars have used to turn this vocation into a purely commercial and often fraudulent vocation.⁸⁹

The argument of the scholars critical of the literalists is that helping people resolving their spiritual problem is a pious act that should be done whether there is material profit with it or not. When such is done for material gain, then the *barakah*

⁸⁸ The founding of Ilorin emirate, like in some other African societies, is connected to the provision of this service by Alimi to Afonja. Levtzion, 'Islam in Bilad,' 65; Al Illuri, *Islam fi Nijeriya*, 140.

⁸⁹ In the course of my field work, a scholar took me to see fetish objects in a house formerly occupied by man involved in such spiritual consultancy. The fetish scholar was ejected and the apartment given to the respondent who wanted to use it for a *Tahfiz* school.

(blessing) is lost. The scholar is expected to have faith in Allah rewarding him and whatever material appreciation showered on him is acceptable. Exploiting their knowledge for strictly material profit is considered contrary to the tenets of piety.⁹⁰

A *jalabi* scholar is perhaps the most materially comfortable in his calling compared to all the other options open to a scholar.⁹¹ The greater the power of intercession a scholar possesses the greater the material benefits accruing from his work. Lagos, as the commercial capital of Nigeria, attracts a lot of scholars in this vocation. He is sought by people for all sorts of problems that are believed that they cannot be solved by man's effort alone except with some supernatural assistance. The young scholars are seen to be in a hurry to possess material wealth this option offers and therefore ready to go into syncretism as a short cut, rather than the long and arduous ascetic path the traditional scholars are believed to have passed through to attain such power.⁹²

Lagosians are mostly Muslims but unlike the Ilorins, they are more inclined to commercial activities, located as they are in the commercial capital of the country. Their spirito-religious needs are thus filled by the scholars of Ilorin who have the reputation as the custodian of Islamic knowledge among the Yoruba. There is greater financial reward for scholarly activities in Lagos than in Ilorin, given the greater economic prosperity of the city over Ilorin. When one takes into consideration the abundance of scholars in Ilorin, who often had to move out of the town to practice their vocation, it is less economically rewarding for many in Ilorin. This symbiotic relationship thus makes Lagos an attractive center for scholars.⁹³ Scholars also have greater autonomy to operate in Lagos unlike Ilorin, where the hierarchical structure of the scholars is very pronounced and the networks of scholars quite familial.

This does not mean that there were not very successful scholars in Ilorin nor does it imply that financial reward is the main reason scholars flock to Lagos. The missionary ideal is also an important factor. With increasing population in the country so also was the need for people to fill the different vocations open to Islamic scholars. Muslims all over Yoruba region constantly request from reputable scholars in Ilorin to send them their protégés to come and serve as teachers or

⁹⁰ Scholars with ascetic bend have always been wary of material benefits coming the way of scholars by virtue of the service they render. Berkey mentions in his work; of how a medieval scholar expressed his disgust at scholars exploiting their knowledge to acquire wealth. See Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 95

⁹¹ Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 24.

⁹² See 'Ese Pele' (Be Careful), a sermon by Sheikh Buhari Musa Ajikobi at www.youtube.com. Accessed 11-12-2014.

⁹³ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 195.

clerics in their towns. Many scholars thus began their career this way and remained in such community, sometimes for their lifetime. Merchants of Ilorin trading in Lagos and other such places also attracted scholars who provided them the spiritual services needed.⁹⁴

Outside of these vocations and closely tied to the rituals of the religion are also a number of vocations around Islamic learning. Education and scholarship revolves around the book; the trade in books is one such vocation that is on the edge of Islamic learning and scholarship. In pre-colonial times books were mostly copied. The copying itself was part of the training of a scholar. To learn a text, the scholar had to copy it from the teacher.⁹⁵ There was the absence of mass produced texts, making texts rare and highly valued. The copying of texts survived well into the twentieth century when printed materials began to displace the hand written texts. This in itself was resisted for a while.⁹⁶

By the beginning of the twentieth century, printed materials from the Arab world began to make appearances. With the displacement of the trans-Saharan trade with the trade on the coast, some of these materials began to appear on the coast through Arab traders. The Muslims in Lagos were already in contact with the wider Muslim world as far as London and Turkey.⁹⁷ It is likely that the illustrated texts that Tajul Adab was credited with having introduced to Ilorin came through this route.⁹⁸ The rarity of books and the rigors of producing them thus gave the books in people's collection a very sacred status and it took a while before people adapted to the printed Arabic texts. Derisive songs were composed to impugn them.⁹⁹

As a key article of their vocation, the scholars themselves were actively involved in the trade in books when printed texts were becoming popular. Sheikh Kamaluddeen at some point in his career became a dealer of Arabic books. Some of these he ordered from Egypt and resold to scholars. This was in the 1950s and 1960s when

⁹⁴ Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 22.

⁹⁵ Imam Yakubu Aliagan remembers copying the texts he studied in the first half of the twentieth century. Printed works were still not very common then. Discussions, 12-9-2012. Sheikh Sulaiman Dan Borno remembers earning some income in the first half of the twentieth century selling pieces of prayers written on papers at emir's market before printed books became popular. Discussions, 28-12-2012.

⁹⁶ Discussions with Imam Yakubu Aliagan. 12-9-2012 and Sheikh Suleiman Dan Borno. 28-12-2012; Last, 'The Book Trade, 184.'

⁹⁷ Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam*, 168.

⁹⁸ Reichmuth, 'Sheikh Adam.' He made mention of the career of one such Arab scholar, Mustapha Al Muradi involved in this book trade in Lagos.

⁹⁹ See Ibrahim Jawondo, 'The Role of Ajami Script in the Production of Knowledge in Ilorin Emirate since the Nineteenth Century,' *Ilorin Journal of History and International Studies*, Vol.2 No.1. (2001); Discussions with Sheikh Ahmad Adisa-Onikoko. 21-6-2012.

his efforts had begun to yield some fruits such as the connection to the Middle East academic world. He was helped in hawking the books by his students, who took the books to sell to scholars around Ilorin. They went beyond Ilorin as far as Jebba, Okene and many areas of the Yoruba region. At Okene his students were helped in their book trade by Sheikh Yahaya Tajudeen (d.1958), the friend and student of Sheikh Tajul Adab, who made his missionary career in Okene.¹⁰⁰

This became an additional source of income for him and it was helpful in taking care of his family in Ilorin some of the times he was away in Lagos. He opened a bookshop at Ita Ajia and Omoda where his students managed the shop on his behalf.¹⁰¹ In later years, perhaps due to much commitment on his part and easier access to books through more people in the trade, his involvement in the trade reduced to largely selling to his students. Sheikh Jubril Sahban was also into the book trade at some points his career, selling as far as Ibadan. The proceeds from this helped him to pay his teachers, especially in the early days of establishing his school when he faced financial difficulties.¹⁰² It appears some of these scholars had to take on the business of selling books since there were few people who were into it, especially in the early stage. Sheikh Adam's interest in books as an author led him to having a printing press at his base in Agege. Some of his writings were published through this medium.¹⁰³

Some students who would not pursue a scholarly or clerical career would go into the book trade as well. The early traders of the book who took it up as a business started through hawking around the city. After hawking around town, they often ended up by the old central mosque to rest. Later an Islamic books and materials selling shed would be erected in front of the old mosque at Idi-Ape in the 1960s or early 1970s with permission of Emir Sulu-Gambari Muhammad (1959-1992) and the Chief Imam. In the early 1980s, the shed was built of cement block and roofed with zinc. Located in the center of Ilorin, in the Emir's market, it is the main Islamic books selling point patronized by scholars and students of the *madaris*.¹⁰⁴

Qur'an and other books printed in the *maghrebi* script were the early popular books. The script is the type the people were used to in hand copied books and for writing on slates. It is called *Bugun Zaria* (Zaria typeset). Most of these were sourced from

¹⁰⁰ Discussions with Imam Shehu Ahmad Warah. 4-9-2012.

¹⁰¹ Discussions with Imam Shehu Ahmad Warah. 4-9-2012.

¹⁰² Ishaq, 'Hayat Samhat Sheikh,' 23.

¹⁰³ Hashir Abdusalam Adekanmi, 'The Da'awah Theme in the Works of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi al-Ilori' (MA Dissertation, Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1985), 21.

¹⁰⁴ Discussions with book traders at the old Central Mosque at Idi-ape. 2012.



Fig.30. Alhaja Maimunat Mustapha Idiagbade, Proprietor Shamsud-deen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies. Picture provided by Alhaji Olawale Mustapha Idiagbade.



Fig.31. Samples of printed works relating to scholars' vocation. Picture taken by the researcher, 2014.

Kurmi market in Kano, serving the West African region. The coming of Arab teachers to the *madaris* popularized the *thuluth*, *nashk* and other scripts.¹⁰⁵ The *madaris* were instrumental in popularizing the other scripts till the *maghrebi* script has become marginal in use. It could now be found mainly with old folks and in old prayer books. The increase in the number of *madaris* from the 1970s helped the growth of the book trade. From the central mosque book sellers' shed some of the traders moved out to open shops elsewhere around the city. As well as books, slates and ink, rosaries, perfumes, *zam zam* water, caps, ceremonial slates for Qur'an graduation, prophetic medicine and herbal products can also be bought at the centers. On Fridays, at the central mosque and some other mosques, would be found a bazaar after the congregational prayer where many of the above listed items could be sourced.

From the 1990s and especially in the new millennium, with the emergence of many western educated Muslims who have also come to a greater understanding and appreciation of their religion through western education, a new set of traders in Islamic materials emerged. Mostly western educated, they differ in their approach to the business and their products also differ to cater to the needs of western literate buyers, compared to the traders at the old central market.¹⁰⁶ Some scholars who had travelled and lived in the Middle East also latched onto the new trade. The middle income working class Muslims would patronize the new market of trade in Islamic items but also the general populace also bought into the trend. Items in this trade include prayer accessories and religious items such as prayer mats, *jalabia*, *hijab* and *abaya* wears, skull caps, prophetic medicinal products, various books on Islam written in English and vernacular, story books targeted at Muslim children, audio and video cassettes of Qur'an recitation and lectures of scholars, clocks, compass, *tesuba/tasbih* (prayer counters). Others include electronics tailored to religious needs, Arabic calligraphy, stickers for cars etc. Some of these materials are sourced from the Middle East while others are sourced locally.

Closely related to the trade in books is printing and publishing. It appears Arabic printing did not come to Ilorin till the late 1970s or early 1980s. Although there were printers in Ilorin, Arabic typesetting and printing were taken to Lagos where there were some Arabic printing presses. From the early 1980s, Ilorin printers began printing Arabic works without having to go outside the city. For example, Ibrahim Kewulere Printing Press¹⁰⁷ started out taking its works to Lagos; when the owner

¹⁰⁵ Discussions with Dr Abdulhamid Olohunoyin. 20-12-2013.

¹⁰⁶ The students of the *madaris* as well as the traditional scholars patronized mostly the traders at the old central market.

¹⁰⁷ Discussions with Alhaji Ibrahim Kewulere. 3-3-2014. One of the earliest Arabic printing press was established by Alhaji Ibrahim Kewulere. He had attended Al Mahad al Dinil

of the press went to Saudi Arabia for the hajj in 1981, he bought the Arabic typesets and upon return began to print his Arabic works without having to go Lagos again. The popularity of computers by the beginning of the twenty-first century simplified Arabic printing for the printers. Desk top publishing could be done by individuals and this has helped some of the *madaris* who now own computers to teach their students as well serve their administrative needs.

Certificates of the *madaris*, Hijrah calendars, wedding invitations, naming cards and prayer books are key products of Islamic printing presses serving the Muslim community. The mass oriented nature of *madaris* education means not all the graduates of the *madaris* will take to a clerical career. Some of these would find avenues in vocations supporting Islamic education and culture such as printers and sellers of Islamic materials. The printers support Islamic education and the Muslim society providing printing services related to Islamic education and Muslim needs.

Generally the career of a scholar would follow along the lines discussed above. Since scholars do not live and work in isolation, it follows that their preoccupation would also engender other vocations not directly connected with study but with items and services that guarantees their continuous engagement with studies. Although not trained specifically to make profits, rewards come along the line in varying degrees in the course of putting their knowledge to practice and engagement with the rest of the society. In the same way ancillary services such as the book trade, selling of Islamic material and printing and publishing benefit from scholars preoccupation with learning and scholarship.

The Mass Media and Education of Muslims in Ilorin

The Mass media is one of the legacies of colonialism and Africans have adapted it to their cultural milieu. The mass media serves varied purposes; among which are informing, communicating, educating and entertaining the audience. Religion and media seem to be ever more connected from the late twentieth into the twenty-first century. The mediating role of the mass media in religion has increased since the last half of the twentieth-century. It plays a prominent role in disseminating ideas about religion and icons of religion.¹⁰⁸

Azhari in the 1960s and subsequently trained in Lagos as a printer before returning to Ilorin to establish his printing press. His connection to Islamic education played a key role in the career he chose. He would serve the *madaris* printing their certificates and the women *asalatu* groups printing their prayer books. Muslim organizations also patronize him for calendars and sundry printing requirements.

¹⁰⁸ Stewart M. Hoover, *Religion in the Media Age* (Oxon: Francis and Taylor, 2006.)

Basically divided into the print and electronic media; in the twenty-first century the internet has subsumed all media under its wing, thus making access to information more universal than it had hitherto been the case. The mass media gave scholars a broader means of reaching out to the Muslim public than had been the traditional open air preaching, thus expanding the educative value of this vocation. The globalization of the world, beginning from the late nineteenth century and that had turned the world into a global village by the twenty-first century, through the mass media, provided Muslims, scholars and laity, the opportunity to connect in closer communion with each other and with the rest of the Muslim world, leading to exchange of ideas and broadening of awareness.

Though the print media came before the electronic media, the reach is limited to only to those literate either in Arabic or Latin script. In the colonial period, the availability of mass produced texts enabled the reforms introduced to Islamic education. As Muslims formed organizations, the publication of pamphlets either in the vernacular or in English was being used to spread the message of Islam. Sometimes these were done by individuals. In the post-independence period, religious ideas increased its presence in the print media, as more Muslims have control and access to this media. Kwara State, established its own print media, The Herald Newspaper in 1973. By the early 1980s, western educated Muslims began to write columns in it dedicated to enlightening readers about Islam. As the years progressed, most local and national newspapers have pages dedicated to the two main monotheistic religions in the country, Christianity and Islam.

The electronic media is privileged in Ilorin for extending the means of educating Muslims. The electronic media of radio and television dominates religious journalism. The popular nature of these media offered better opportunities than the print media, the circulation of which was limited to negligible percentage of western educated persons. Radio programs offering religious program began in the 1960s using relay services of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) based in Lagos, then the nation's capital.¹⁰⁹ There was always the problem of truncating services and the station was advised that there were scholars who could run the program locally in Ilorin instead of depending on the relay service.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Discussions with Sheikh Abdulkadir Orire. 25-12-2012.

¹¹⁰ Shehu Jimoh (Later Professor of Education at the University of Ilorin. D. 2014) and Muqadam Yahaya Adabata were among the first to start presenting Islamic programs on radio in English language. Muqadam had been an English Language teacher in one of the Ansarud-deen Schools, through the informal exchange of teachers between Ansarul Islam and Ansarud-deen Societies. He understudied a teacher-colleague who was also a broadcaster in Lagos and when he returned to Ilorin, the experience prepared him for radio program presentation when he started presenting in 1976. In 1983, he changed the language of

In 1978 the NBC stations were handed over to the states in which they were located.¹¹¹ In 1979 an Islamic Program Department was created in Radio Kwara, the broadcasting station owned by the Kwara state government. The manager of the radio station had been to hajj and was impressed with the assistance one of the scholars¹¹² was rendering to fellow pilgrims and invited him to come and work for the station to start an Islamic Program Department. However, the social status of the scholar was beyond the position that could be offered to him and he declined the offer.¹¹³

When the advert for the position was put out, two women were among those who applied. Although the one of the women performed well and was being considered but the position was given to a man. The management of the station felt though the woman qualified, the society would not be favorably disposed to a woman holding that position.¹¹⁴ Under Alhaji Aliyu Bayo Salah,¹¹⁵ the department grew and he mentored others who took over from him. Over the years the religious programs of the radio has expanded to over a dozen, spread throughout the week. There is the daily *waasi idaji* (early morning sermon) aired at the beginning of the station's opening hours. The Christians also have their equivalent program as well.

Some of the programs were station programs while the rest were sponsored. As Muslims awareness of their religion increased, some of these programs began to get sponsored by Muslims. Well-to-do Muslims would sponsor particular scholars to run a program on the radio. Christian sponsorship of many programs also played a part in nudging Muslims to do the same. The month of Ramadan particularly has a variety of sponsored programs throughout the day. From early in the morning when Muslims wake up for their early morning meal, the radio programs keep the Muslims company till the end of the day. The liberalization of the telecom industry

presentation to Yoruba after Christians complained that his presentations were always against them. Discussions with Muqadam Yahaya Adabata. 21-7-2014.

¹¹¹ Discussions with Sheikh Abdulkadir Orire. 26-5-2012; Moshood Abdulkareem, 'Radio Kwara and its Islamic Educative Programs: its Impacts on People of Ilorin West Local Government' (BA Islamic Studies, Ekiti State University- Ilorin Outreach:2012), 13.

¹¹² Sheikh Abdurraheem Aminullahi Oniwaasi Agbaye (d. March 2012) ran a madrasah and was a student of Sheikh Kamalud-deen with whom he remained very close to and collaborated with throughout his life.

¹¹³ Discussions with Sheikh Ahmad Adisa-Onikoko. 21-6-2012.

¹¹⁴ Discussions with Sheikh Abdulkadir Orire. 25-12-2012.

¹¹⁵ Alhaji Aliyu Bayo Salah, trained through the Adabiyyah system and had taken a course in broadcasting in Cairo and had been teaching Islamic Religious Knowledge at Queen Elizabeth College in Ilorin. Discussions with Sheikh Ahmad Adisa-Onikoko, 21-6-2012 and Alhaji Aliyu Bayo Salah. November, 2012.

made phone-in programs popular, with the audience participating in such programs.¹¹⁶

Like the radio, the television also provides a channel for the airing of religious program. On the state owned and the national television stations are programs targeting Muslim audience. The programs follow almost the same pattern as the radio stations. While some are station programs, others are sponsored programs with the month of Ramadan being the busiest for religious programs. The cost of television programs has limited the number of programs on television compared to the radio programs.

The Muslims running these programs see them as an extension of religious service and often their programs turn interventionist beyond the radio listening period. They tried to mold opinions of the society by calling on both the rulers and the ruled to reform their ways. Government attention is drawn to activities considered injurious to the society. They also defend Muslim rights where this is considered to have been neglected. For example, through his radio program Abubakar Imam Aliagan was able to mobilize Muslims to have their own cemetery. Female presenters on radio often had to do counselling outside of the studio.¹¹⁷ Islamic Orphanage Foundation, a non-profit charity was established out of a program on the radio in 2002. It has since then been engaged in assistance to orphans especially their educational needs.¹¹⁸

The proliferation of cable and satellite television channels run by private companies from the 1990s also meant Muslims now have access to Islamic programs from across the Muslim world.¹¹⁹ For example the annual Hajj could now be watched in real time, as pilgrims from all over the world converge in Mecca. Initially available only to the elites, it is increasingly becoming affordable to most working class people with many cable satellite companies offering the service. The Muslim society of Ilorin, like the rest of the world has also found in the telecommunication

¹¹⁶ Before then telephony was the preserve of only the elites. Discussions with Alhaji Abdulsalam Imam Olayiwola. 6-2-2014.

¹¹⁷ Discussions with Dr Abubakar Imam Aliagan.17-8-2014; Hajija Khadijat Abdussalam, 9-12-2013 and Asiya Abubakar (Omo-Eleha), 1-12-2013. Women in particular found an avenue to share their personal problems with the women presenters, something they were unabled to do until the emergence of the women presenters.

¹¹⁸ Abdulganiy Abimbola Abdussalam, 'Muslims of Kwara State: A Survey,' Nigeria Research Network-Background. Paper No.3, January 2012. <http://www3.qeh.ox.ac.uk/pdf/nrn/BP3Abdussalam.pdf>. Accessed 15-12-2014.

¹¹⁹ For the influence of world events on these channels and their responses see Ehab Galal, 'Conveying Islam: Arab Islamic Satellite Channels as New Players' -in-¹¹⁹ Rosalind I.J. Hackett and Benjamin F. Soares eds., *New Media and Religious Transformations in Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015), 171-189.

and internet revolution that has brought the world to our fingertips other means of sharing knowledge about their religion.

The telecom companies as well offer a range of services targeting the Muslims such as Daily Hadiths and Sunnah, Qur'an Quotes, ringtones and Call to prayers for different cities which could be subscribed to. These snippets of knowledge could be shared with friends and relatives, such as texts and MMS.¹²⁰ The internet offers an almost limitless opportunity for knowledge seekers and there abound many websites offering different opportunities for increasing one's knowledge. Although these by no means replaced the traditional school, they offer access to knowledge not limited by space and time. Although the scholars of Ilorin may not yet be significantly passing on knowledge through this means, they can access such knowledge from the rest of the Muslim world where such facilities are being used for this purpose. This is especially so for those who have had formal education of western or Arabic mode. A few of the *madaris* as well have websites to promote their schools.

As Hoover¹²¹ noted in his study of religion and the media in the United States, the media and religion inter-relate and mingle. This is particularly true of Ilorin, the media offers an alternative channel for the opinion molding role of the ulama. They challenge and reform the way the society thinks and perceives itself. In the increasingly socially and economically globalized world, the mass media is influenced by events in the local and international scenes, in how it shapes public opinion and how the public respond to its interventions. The mass media is increasingly organic to the lives of the people and has become aspects of the acts of religion itself.¹²²

Muslim Organizations and the Education of Muslims in Ilorin

Yoruba cultural nationalism has its root in activities of the educated Christians and who formed the earliest Yoruba elite in the early colonial period. They dominated the political and economic life at the coast.¹²³ Their connection to European missionaries had given them an earlier start and advantage against the Muslims who already have an education system and loathed European incursions on their lives and religion. Resistance to western education by Muslims, as everywhere else, was an extension of the resistance to colonial rule. The Muslims in Lagos were thus the

¹²⁰ Hackett and Soares eds., (Introduction) *New Media*, 4.

¹²¹ Hoover, *Religion in the Media Age*, 28.

¹²² Hackett and Soares eds., (Introduction) *New Media*, 5.

¹²³ Stefan Reichmuth, 'Education and the Growth of Religious Associations among Yoruba Muslims- The Ansar-Ud-Deen Society of Nigeria' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Africa Vol.26 Fasc.4 (1996).

first to rise in competition with the Christians for space in the social, economic and political life emerging under colonial rule. The relative disadvantage of the Muslims led them to form associations to give them western education which was obvious to them as the cause of their disadvantage compared to the Christians.

Yoruba tendency to form associations for mutual benefit found expression among Yoruba Muslims early in the colonial period that benefitted the religion. The Muslims at the coast, who have had decades of experience with the colonial authority, led in this movement in the early part of the twentieth century. Relationship between the Muslims and colonial authority on the coast in Lagos was essentially cordial and friendly; this had been part of the reasons for quick acquiescence of the Muslims at the coast to western education.¹²⁴ Islam had never been a state religion at the coast compared to Ilorin and the rest of the Muslim north of Nigeria. It was therefore not a new experience for the Muslims of Lagos to live under non-Muslim rule.¹²⁵

In 1923, some forty two young Muslims gathered together and formed the Ansarud-deen¹²⁶ Society of Nigeria. It was to be the first such organization among the Muslims in Nigeria. First named Young Ansarud-deen Society, by its young founders; it emerged out of the Muslim concern to provide education to Muslims without the danger of conversion to Christianity. Among its stated aims and objectives are:

- a. The society shall found, build and maintain educational institutions
- b. It shall encourage literacy and intellectual pursuits among its members
- c. It shall keep and maintain a library for use of members and
- d. It shall undertake generally other things that may tend to promote education.

It sought to promote moral and religious advancement among Muslims, revive Islam from corruptions stalling its progress and general propagation of the

¹²⁴ Gbadamosi, *The Growth of*, 55; Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 154.

¹²⁵ The Obas of Lagos are custodians of the traditional religion which plays an important role in the rituals of kingship, even when the kings have been followers of universal religions like Islam and Christianity. Their legitimacy has never been based on the followership of the universal religions.

¹²⁶ The name connotes 'the helpers of the cause of religion'. The term is derived from the name given to the citizens of Medina who took it upon themselves to help the Prophet and the emigrants (*muhajirun*) nascent Muslim community from Mecca.

religion.¹²⁷ By the end of that decade, it had begun the construction of its first primary school. By the time Nigeria got her independence in 1960, the organization had established over two hundred primary schools, eighteen secondary schools and some teacher training colleges all over the Yoruba region.¹²⁸

Ansarud-deen established a branch of its organization in Ilorin in 1954, through Muslim workers of multinational trading companies working in Ilorin. Most of the founders had come from the southwestern region and it took a while before the people of Ilorin adapted to the association, especially when Ilorin scholars became active members of the association.¹²⁹ The Ilorin branch built a primary school. The school began as unregistered school in 1956. The emir granted them a land in 1964 before the school moved to the present site in 1967. The school was later taken over by the government under the Universal Primary Education (UPE) program in the mid-1970s.¹³⁰ Qur'anic education is offered within the mosque premises of the association. It should be noted that this organization pays particular attention to western education: Sheikh Adam had worked with the organization when he was laying the foundation for his reforms in the late 1940s. One of the reasons he left was that he felt the organization pay more attention to western education to the detriment of Arabic and Islamic education.¹³¹

In 1943, Sheikh Kamalud-deen who began to visit Lagos as a missionary from the 1920s established a similar organization in Ilorin. Named at first as Adabiyya Muslim Society, its aim is similar to that of Ansarud-deen: that of promoting education of Muslims both the western and Islamic forms. Formed together with other scholar friends; no doubt they were inspired by the success of organizations such as Ansarud-deen Society, Ahmadiya Muslim Society and Ijebu Muslim Friendly Society who were providing education to Muslim children without the fear of conversion to Christianity.¹³²

¹²⁷ Abdul-Lateef Adekilekun, (Second edition) *Selected Islamic Organizations in Nigeria* (1896-1986) (Ede: Moyanjuola Publishers, 2012), 25. See also Reichmuth, 'Education and the Growth of associations.'

¹²⁸ Adekilekun, (second edition) *Selected Islamic Organizations*, 28.

¹²⁹ Ibrahim Yusuf, 'The Ansar-Ud-Deen Society of Nigeria, Kwara State' (Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1987) , 29.

¹³⁰ Yusuf, 'The Ansar-Ud-Deen Society,' 79. Discussions with Alhaji Muhammad Shafii (Chief Imam, Ansarud-deen Society Ilorin), 17-5-2012.

¹³¹ Remarks of discussants at the International Conference on the Life and Times of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi al Iluri, University of Ilorin, August, 2012.

¹³² Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education in Ilorin,' 84.

In 1946, Al Adabiyya Moslem School was opened in Ilorin.¹³³ In 1947, the name of the organization was changed to Ansarul Islam Society of Nigeria. Like Ansarud-deen, Ansarul Islam also established many western primary and secondary schools¹³⁴ for the education of Muslim children, most especially in the post-independence period. It established a symbiotic relationship with Ansarud-deen; through this, the Ansarud-deen which has teacher training colleges supplied teachers for the schools of Ansarul Islam while Ansarul Islam supplied the Arabic teachers for the schools of Ansarud-deen.¹³⁵ Through these schools many Muslim children were able to access western education and it had been so helpful that by the end of the twentieth century Yoruba Muslims have generally almost leveled up with their Christian counterpart in terms of western education.

By the early years of the twenty-first century, unable to affiliate to Al Azhar University to run a diploma program due to legal constraints,¹³⁶ the association decided on establishing its own university to be named Sheikh Kamalud-deen University after its founder.¹³⁷ A not-for-profit charitable organization, Muhammad Kamalud-deen Foundation (MUKEF) was established under the aegis of Ansarul Islam Society to see to the realization of this dream among other aims. Through its many branches all over Nigeria, Ansarul Islam promoted education for Muslims, building western schools and *madaris* for the acquisition of both forms of education. Regular sermons and open air lectures, celebrations of important Muslim festivals form key informal education channels for its members and the public at large.

In post-independence Nigeria, other Muslim organizations with similar aims of providing education for Muslim children emerged in Ilorin. The success of the early organizations in Ilorin and the rest of the Yoruba region and the new spirit of independent nationhood encouraged other scholars to form their own organizations for the promotion of the religion and the two systems of education that Muslims have to contend with. In the 1960s mainly two Muslim Organizations emerged in Ilorin; Muhyideen Society and Shamsudeen Society. Both promoted the two systems of education in the schools they established.

¹³³ NAK 'Adabiyya Moslem School.' Iloprof file No. 4659.

¹³⁴ Between 1970 and 2006, twenty one secondary schools were established in Kwara, Osun, Ondo, Kogi and Edo States. See <http://www.mukef.org.ng/schools.php> for the list of the schools.

¹³⁵ Adisa-Onikoko, *The Legacy of*, 102; Discussions with Muqadam Yahaya Adabata. 21-7-2014. Muqadam Yahaya had been a beneficiary of this program.

¹³⁶ Nigerian law does not permit affiliation to a foreign institution.

¹³⁷ Discussions with Alhaji Ahmad O. Kamal. 24-9-2012.

Apart from the formal schools established to educate Muslim children, these organizations also have other informal means of educating the general Muslim population. Regular public lectures form one of these.¹³⁸ They all have women wings where women gather together to recite litanies and educate one another on the precepts of the religion. Some adults who have missed out of Qur'anic education in childhood found opportunity for the lost education through the adult education programs of the organizations. The organizations have outreach programs to rural areas as well for the provision of religious education in those communities.

The reformist scholars have tended to establish organizations as missionary arm of their religious and educational endeavors. The *madaris* and such organization arms are fairly independent of each other but collaborate closely. Through the missionary organizations, the scholars were able to raise funds and attracted large members of the society to aid of the organizations and by extension their *madaris*. Thus, the *ummah* was brought into the religious reformation and revivalism championed by the scholars. Only Sheikh Adam among the earliest reformers did not establish a missionary organization connected to his school. In lieu of this, he focused on his pan-Islamic endeavors such as the League of Imam and Alfas (which he co-founded) and the World Muslim League (in collaboration with the Sardauna).¹³⁹ These and his preoccupation with writing and publishing may have been the reason he never had such an organization.

Exposure to western education had led to development of Muslim youth organizations from the 1950s. Many of these had their origins in the southwest among the Yoruba who were ahead of the Ilorin as well as the rest of the Muslim north in the acquisition of western education. These ideas easily found their ways to Ilorin from the 1970s through the 1980s. Students, for example, found outlets for the propagation of religious ideas through the Muslim Students Society of Nigeria (MSSN). It was founded by Muslim students of Methodist Boys High School in conjunction with other secondary school students in Isolo area of Lagos in 1954 to unite Muslim students and promote their interests.¹⁴⁰

It eventually became the umbrella of Muslim students associations both in secondary and tertiary institutions all over Nigeria. They regularly organize Islamic

¹³⁸ For example, the Ansarul Islam headquarters in Ilorin have regular lectures every Friday evening within premises of its primary school, inviting different scholars to speak on varied topics.

¹³⁹ Reichmuth, 'Sheikh Adam.'

¹⁴⁰ Lateef Adegbite (d.2012) was its first president. Trained as a lawyer; he later became the Secretary General of Supreme Council of Islamic affairs (SCIA), the most important Muslim organization representing the interests of Muslims in Nigeria, chaired by the Sultan of Sokoto. Adekilekun, (second edition) *Selected Islamic organizations*, 62.

Vacation Courses (IVC)¹⁴¹ for Muslim students. They publish newsletters and magazines as well. Scholarships were also given to indigent students. As early and founding members left school into the working class society, they formed new associations to carry on their activities beyond the school years, such as The Companion and The Criterion.¹⁴² The MSS in the tertiary institutions were particularly active; apart from promoting and guarding the interests of Muslim students on campus, they also have outreach programs such as Hospital Visitation Group.¹⁴³ Taking after the MSSN, other Muslim youth organizations emerged and these also found their way into Ilorin. Among them were the Young Muslim Brothers and Sisters (YOUMBAS)¹⁴⁴ and National Committee of Muslim Youth Organization (NACOMYO).¹⁴⁵

In the last decade of the twentieth century, Nasrul-Lahi-l-Fatih (NASFAT) and Al Fatih-UI- Quareeb (QUAREEB)¹⁴⁶ emerged in Lagos as prayer groups and soon became national organizations with international outreach. Both would find their way into Ilorin in the early years of the new millennium. Some features distinguished these two organizations from the earlier Muslim organizations. These features perhaps are also a response to the changed nature of the Muslim society especially of southwestern Nigeria, where they originated.

They are mostly renowned for the weekly prayer meetings on Sundays.¹⁴⁷ Here selected prayers are recited in unison. In Ilorin, both groups started out meeting inside the premises of schools to accommodate their large followers. Their

¹⁴¹ A five days residential program for Muslim students to learn more about their religion.

¹⁴² The Companion is a male organization while The Criterion is the female counterpart. See Taofiq Migdad Gidado, 'New Trends among Muslim Youths in Nigeria: The Muslim Student Society of Nigeria as a Case Study 1980-1996' (MA Dissertation: Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1997), 1-2.

¹⁴³ They render moral, spiritual and financial aid to the patients in hospitals. Shuaib Ganiyu Olarewaju, 'A Study of Activities of Hospital Visitation Jama'ah of the Muslim Students Society of Nigeria - University of Ilorin' (B.A Long Essay: Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 2011), 45.

¹⁴⁴ Founded in Ibadan in 1974 among young civil servants, it emerged in Ilorin in 1981 and carried out activities similar to the MSS. YOUMBAS were particularly noted for using music and drama as a means of propagating the religion. They recorded Islamic songs on cassettes as a way to keep Muslim youths from listening to songs considered un-Islamic. Salawu Adeyemi Ganiyu, 'The Contribution of Kwara State Young Muslim Brothers and Sisters (YOUMBAS) to the Propagation of Islam in Kwara State' (B.A Long Essay: Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1989), 5-16, 27-29.

¹⁴⁵ See Adekilekun, (second edition) *Selected Islamic organizations*, 13.

¹⁴⁶ Adekilekun, (second edition) *Selected Islamic Organizations*, 19-23.

¹⁴⁷ Their choice of Sunday as the prayer meeting day suggests a subtle response to Christian evangelism. Moreover, it is about the only free day for members, most of whom are middle income working class people in formal employment.

emergence was partly a response to vigorous Christian, especially Pentecostal evangelization that had become prominent in Nigeria from the 1980s.¹⁴⁸ The leveling up of the educational gap between the Muslim and Christians among the Yoruba also provided a fertile ground to their emergence. Their activities are well organized and attracted the youth. Prayer requests and assistance with employment opportunities became part of the group's mimetic acts after the Christian Pentecostalism prevalent in the country.¹⁴⁹ They were able to attract mostly western educated Muslims and youths who felt the traditional Muslim organizations were conservative and had not packaged their programs to meet modern trends. Within the short span of its existence, NASFAT had established its own secondary school as well as Fountain University¹⁵⁰ at Oshogbo.¹⁵¹

There are also a number of individuals and groups who have established organizations for Islamic causes in Ilorin. Some have come from the class of the ulama; others have come from senior or retired civil servants. Some have ventured into provision of formal Islamic education or integrated with western school while others have focused on the informal education of Muslims, sometimes not limited to religious education but have encompassed as diverse fields such as health, human and civil rights and economic empowerment.¹⁵²

A general Muslim advancement in western education from the 1970s through to the 1990s has generally resulted in Muslims' refined awareness of their religion. As some of them have come into position of power, they tried to empower fellow Muslims. The awareness that the backwardness Muslims have experienced is not so

¹⁴⁸ Benjamin Soares, 'An Islamic Social Movement in Contemporary West Africa: NASFAT of Nigeria' in- Stephen Ellis and Ineke Van Kessel (Eds.) *Movers and Shakers* (Leiden: E.J Brill, 2009), 179-196.

¹⁴⁹ Soares, 'An Islamic Social Movement,' 179-196.

¹⁵⁰ <http://www.fountainuniversity.edu.ng>

¹⁵¹ These are conventional western institutions, the difference being Muslim ownership and management. The organization also established a business outfit with different units such (Tafsan Beverages) producing malt drink and fruit juice, TAFSAN Travel and tours for umrah and hajj, a cooperative and thrift society and TAFSAN Investment, concerned with rentals and publications of the organization's work. NASFAT as well has hospital and prison visitation panels and is engaged in many charitable causes. These can be further explored on its website www.nasfat.org.

¹⁵² For example a madrasah (No. 34) was established by Alhaji Abubakar Kawu Baraje as a civil servant. In retirement he joined politics and rose to become the National Chairman of the ruling Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) 2011-2013. In 2012, he bought a private school where he transferred his madrasah, until then located close to his residence. Similarly, Retired President of Federal Court of Appeal and Pioneer Chairman of country's Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC-2001-2006) also established a private integrationist madrasah as well as a charitable organization (MaaSalam Foundation) for assistance to the needy.

much the result of the faith they profess as the weak position of Muslims in the modern science moderated knowledge, from which they are emerging, is seen as elevating to their religion. This consciousness has been influential in the emergence of many such organizations.¹⁵³

The globalization of the world facilitated not only the presence of national but also international Muslim organizations that have been playing important roles in the provision of formal and non-formal education for Muslims in Ilorin. Part of the gains of the connection to the Middle East for higher education is the facilitation of the presence of some of the Muslim international organizations in Ilorin. Notable among them are; International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO),¹⁵⁴ World Assembly of Muslim Youths (WAMY)¹⁵⁵ and International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT). Their presence is to be found in the *madaris*, universities and the civil society based in Ilorin.

In the 1990s, IIRO provided skills acquisition for young women in tailoring and domestic services at its center in Osere in addition to the distribution of food stuff to the indigent especially during Ramadan. The organization through its office in Kaduna is responsible for the payment of the salaries of teaching members of staff it facilitated for some of the *madaris* in Ilorin.¹⁵⁶ WAMY has given assistance to students of tertiary institutions. For example, it built a hostel for the students of Al Hikmah University in Ilorin, established in 2005; which it also played some roles in its establishment.

International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) has a library at the University of Ilorin where researchers can access their publications as well as academic research works from universities relating to their aims. Other organizations not having presence in Ilorin have also impacted especially the *madaris* through financial support. Individual scholars usually facilitated the connections to Islamic charities in the Middle East when they travel for studies or for the hajj. The Kuwaiti Zakat and Endowment, for example has been helpful to Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah whose

¹⁵³ Such as the Muslim Orphanage Foundation led by Architect Saefullahi Ahmad Alege and efforts of Sheikh AbdulKadir Orire towards a center for the education of young Deaf Muslims. See Abdussalam, 'Muslims of Kwara State.'

¹⁵⁴ For the activities of this organization see Ibrahim O. Kadri, 'Impact of the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) on Muslim Women in Ilorin Metropolis' (BA Long Essay: Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 2006).

¹⁵⁵ For some of its activities in Ilorin, see Salau 'Tunde Mufutau, The World Assembly of Muslim Youth, 1972 -1987: a Performance Evaluation' (BA Long Essay: Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1988).

¹⁵⁶ Kadri, 'Impact of the International Islamic Relief Organization,' 33. Shamsud-deen College is a beneficiary of such gesture.

proprietor represents its interest in Nigeria.¹⁵⁷ Many of the Arab countries offer financial assistance like this to the *madaris*. However, it is difficult to trace most of this assistance because the individual beneficiaries tend to keep this secret.¹⁵⁸

As Muslims get more organized, the organizations would continue to play important roles not only but especially in education, with declining government dominance of education in favor of the private sector. Increasingly, the provision of education is in the private sector and Muslims are organizing more to provide the educational needs of Muslims within the ambience of their faith. Muslim educational advancement has also meant Muslim organizations are venturing beyond purely religious domain into other areas such as health, civil rights, economic empowerment in the civil society.

Women Propagators of Islam in Ilorin

Muslim women form a small percentage of Muslim scholars and have always been in the background. Nevertheless they are important propagators of the religion. Although the connection of Muslim women to the world of formal learning is limited, their presence in the informal learning process as propagator of the religion, especially to their fellow womenfolk has been remarkable. As with other Muslim societies and across historical time, women have always had their strong influence in the propagation of religion. Aisha, the wife of the Prophet readily comes to mind as the precursor of women as propagators of the religion. She was responsible for a large number of hadiths, the second most important source of Muslim jurisprudence.¹⁵⁹

During the Sokoto jihad, led by Uthman Dan Fodiyo, his daughter Nana Asmau played a very important role in the intellectual life of the jihad period as teacher and recorder of events. She also mobilized the women into missionaries and social activists.¹⁶⁰ In Ilorin, anecdotes about a number of women who supported their husbands in the propagation of the religion abound. Mention is often made of Asiya, the wife of Sheikh Munabau, who joined the male scholars in the fasting and

¹⁵⁷ Such as digging of wells and building of mosques. Discussions with the Provost of the school, Dr Ahmad Faozy Fazazy. 23-9-2013.

¹⁵⁸ There is a fear of disclosure, which may engender petty jealousies.

¹⁵⁹ Aisha Geissingner, 'The Exegetical Traditions of A'isha: Notes on their Impact and Significance' *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* Vol.6. (2004)1-20; see also Aisha Bint al-Shati (Trans. By Matti Moosa) *The Wives of the Prophet* (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2006).

¹⁶⁰ See Beverly B.Mack and Jean Boyd, *One Woman's Jihad Nana Asmau, Scholar and Scribe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000) on this remarkable woman.

prayer that aimed at making Ilorin an Islamic city as requested Alimi when he met with the scholars of Okesuna, on his arrival in Ilorin.¹⁶¹

In the absence of record, we have no way of knowing if there were women groups dedicated to religious litanies in the pre-colonial period as would be found from the colonial period. None of the narratives suggest such organization among the womenfolk existed. What was most likely were individual female scholars, especially from scholarly families like Asiya mentioned above, given that the period was mostly incubatory to the development of learning and scholarship in Ilorin.

The colonial period enabled the formation associations for mutual benefits among the Yoruba, starting at the coast and spreading into the hinterland. Like the women mobilized by Nana Asmau, the women in Lagos had formed themselves into *asalatu* groups in the early colonial period. This found its way into Ilorin through one of the wives of Sheikh Kamalud-deen, Alhaja Munirat Alawiye.¹⁶² She had been active in the *asalatu* group in Lagos.¹⁶³ On one of her visits to Ilorin, she intimated her friend, Alhaja Gogo Alawo of the development in Lagos and advised that a similar group should begin in Ilorin.¹⁶⁴ This took place in the 1940s when her husband was establishing Ansarul Islam Society and reforming his school. Already, Sheikh Kamalud-deen had considerable number of women following his propagation both in Lagos and Ilorin. One of the earliest *asalatu* groups in Ilorin emerged around these women. Gogo Alawo¹⁶⁵ led the women in this charismatic prayer group.

Between the mid-1940s and mid-1960s different groups emerged from the first women *asalatu* group. The first group developed around Gogo Alawo and began

¹⁶¹ Discussions with Ustadh Isa Abdulsalam Sirrullah. 27-11-2013; Al Iluri, *Lamahat Al Ballur*, 20; Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 269.

¹⁶² Dare Halimat, 'The Impact of Women Wing of Ansarul Islam Society on Women in Ilorin' (B.A. Long Essay: Islamic Studies-Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 2005), 20; They were at the early stage referred to as the 'Seli' group from the Arabic word 'salli' derived from the first sentence of benediction on the Prophet (*Allahumma salli 'ala sayyidina Muhammad...*) Kamal, 'Islamic Education in.'

¹⁶³ Among the Yoruba, the forming of *egbe* (association) grew along with the consolidation of Islam in the 19th century. It is possible it existed in this form in Ilorin as well but so far there no reliable evidence for this. For the history of women *asalatu* groups among the Yoruba, see Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam*, 53-55.

¹⁶⁴ Atinsola Latifat Kehinde, 'Da'awah among Muslim Women in Ilorin: its Successes and Threat' (B.A. Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 2002), 32. Also Discussions with Alhaja Raihanat Arowolo. 25-11-2013.

¹⁶⁵ She was a successful business woman who used her wealth to support religious cause. She was given the title of 'Iya Adini' (Matriarch of Religion) of Ilorin by Emir Muhammad Sulu-Gambari for her role in propagation of religion.

meeting in her house.¹⁶⁶ Later the group moved to the old central mosque at Idi-Ape. Seeing her efforts in propagating and leading the women, Gogo Alawo was advised by Alhaja Raihanat Arowolo to either establish a Qur'anic school or the women section of the mosque. She was reluctant to take the women out of her house but eventually she agreed to the advice. She sought the permission of the authority of the old central mosque where she was allowed to build the women section. As a well to-do trader, she also supported the scholars in the annual celebrations of the *maulud nabi* celebrations.¹⁶⁷

The various *asalatu* groups that emerged have among other aims : to educate women on the general ideas and principles of Islam, engage women and involve women in Islamic programs and activities; to build Islamic centers where Muslim women would be opportune to receive knowledge from Islamic scholars; to propagate Islam through open air lectures; to develop understanding, cooperation and awareness in women; organize Islamic classes for both adults and children and to stress the importance of *asalatu* i.e eulogy and litanies of the prophet.¹⁶⁸

Ansarul Islam played a key role in supporting these women with male teachers to guide their litanies and advise them generally about religious affair. With time, more women keyed-in into the trend of forming new *asalatu* groups. One of the earliest *asalatu* groups under the auspices of Ansarul Islam Society began around the workers at the Domestic Welfare Centre, a primary healthcare services and domestic training center for the women in the center of the town. Some of these western educated women wanted to learn to read the Arabic scripts too like the men, not just rote learning of the traditional Qur'anic school. The group began their meeting in 1966.¹⁶⁹ They fixed their prayer meetings for Saturday evenings when they would be off duty at the center. Sheikh Kamalud-deen had two of his Saudi Arabia trained students, Alhaji Hassan Qadiriyya and Wahab Sanusi Alomimata seconded to serve as the teachers and guide to the women.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Emmanuel Nasir Olatunde, 'The Role of Muslim Women Associations in the Propagation of Islam in Ilorin City' (B.A. Long Essay: Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1984), 19.

¹⁶⁷ Discussions with Alhaja Raihanat Arowolo. 25-11-2013.

¹⁶⁸ Kehinde, 'Da'awah among Muslim Women,' 28.

¹⁶⁹ Umar Nimota Orilonise, The Impact of Alhaja Fatimoh Ayoka Omo-Oloka on Muslim Women in Ilorin, (B.A. Arabic and Islamic Studies Department, University of Ilorin, 1997) p.12. Among the founders of the group were Alhaja Salamat Madawaki, Binta Yusuf Idiario, Alhaja Baido Hassan Oriokoh, and Alhaja Mujibat Ayinla.

¹⁷⁰ Discussions with Alhaja Raihanat Arowolo. 25-11-2013.

The first *mualimat* (female teacher) of the group was Alhaja Fatima Omo-Oloka.¹⁷¹ She had been married to a missionary scholar based in Cotonou. When her husband died, she remarried another scholar in Ilorin, from where she began leading the women at the centre. The group began under the name, Nurudeen Islamiyyah Society, before coming under the auspices of the Ansarul Islam Society.¹⁷² Alhaja Raihanat Arowolo¹⁷³ joined the group in one of their earliest meetings. When she started reciting the litanies with the women, the women then noticed that she could read the prayer texts very well and could render the reading in good intonation like the male teachers, all of whom had trained under Sheikh Kamalud-deen. The women began to prefer her to lead them, rather than Alhaja Fatima Omo-Oloka.¹⁷⁴

This brought friction within group. This was resolved by Sheikh Kamalud-deen. This eventually led to Alhaja Omo-Oloka having another center at her home called Center B in 1978.¹⁷⁵ Apparently Alhaja Omo-Oloka was well versed in her knowledge of the various texts taught in the traditional higher Islamic education but her vocal rendition was not appealing to the western educated women who prefer Alhaja Arowolo who read like the male Adabiyya teachers.¹⁷⁶ The Adabiyya place emphasis on their students pronouncing the Arabic words with the correct phonetics.¹⁷⁷

Through the emir, the women were able to get the government to allocate a land for the women to build their prayer meeting center, not far from the Domestic Center they were initially using. At the fundraising for the building, the Emir, Sulukarnaini Gambari and Dr Olusola Saraki donated generously to the women and the money

¹⁷¹ Orilonise, 'The Impact of Alhaja Fatimoh Ayoka Omo-Oloka,' 12. She studied *fiqh* and *taohid* texts such *al Akhdari*, *Ashmawi*, *Quritabiyu*, *Risala*, *Burda* and *al Wasil al mutqabillah*. She began her teaching career in Cotonou.

¹⁷² Orilonise, 'The Impact of Alhaja,' 13-14.

¹⁷³ Daughter to Sheikh Jum'ah Jabaje (Zainudeen 1910-1965), first Missioner of Ansarul Islam Society in 1943. She grew up in Ghana and began her Qur'anic studies there. At some point her missionary father brought her home to study under Sheikh Kamalud-deen but she left for Ghana after a couple of years only to return to Ilorin at the point of marriage. Her co-wife introduced her to the prayer meeting.

¹⁷⁴ Discussions with Alhaja Raihanat Arowolo.25-11-2013.

¹⁷⁵ Orilonise, 'The Impact of Alhaja,' 20.

¹⁷⁶ Orilonise, 'The Impact of Alhaja,' 12; Discussions with Alhaja Raihanat Arowolo. 25-11-2013.

¹⁷⁷ This interest in phonetics had made the Adabiyya subject of ridicule by others not familiar with the phonetics of Arabic. Discussions with Alhaji A.K.W. Aliy-Kamal, June 2012. See also Bamigboye, 'The Contribution of Sheikh,' 65.

was used in building the ground floor of the one storey building. The women on their own completed the first floor through personal levies.¹⁷⁸

The women meet on week days, with Fridays as their special day. They read from prayer texts such as *Kanzul arsh*, *Dalail Hassan wa Hussein* and *Dalailu-l-khairat* and some chapters from the Qur'an. In the beginning, the prayer meeting began as early as 6:00 am. Over the years as most of the women get older, the time shifted to 8:00 am.¹⁷⁹ After the litanies, the leader of the group would give some sermons to the women. Lessons in reading the Qur'an are also given at the center to some of the women, who have missed out of the education in their youth.¹⁸⁰ During the month of Ramadan, the women read the whole Qur'an; reading two of the sixty divisions of the Qur'an (*hizb*) each day.¹⁸¹

Though the group had its origin among western educated women, with time, market women and house wives seemed to have dominated the group. The educated women of the 1980s and 1990s as well as young girls seemed to have found their way into other women organizations. Location of the center within the core Ilorin settlement also made it closer to the women within these areas.

The women in Center 'A' regularly print and sell their prayer books, not only to their members but also to others from outside the group. Sometimes entrepreneurs would ask the group permission to use the name of the group on their printed works, such as calendars related to religion, knowing the popularity of the group would boost sales.¹⁸² From time to time, the Ansarul Islam Society provides them with new male teachers to assist them in their activities. The state government sometimes gives the group hajj air fare tickets, which is then given by the leader to deserving members of the group.¹⁸³

Among the things to be learned in the women circles include *fiqh* which teaches the ritual baths and washings and the five pillars of the religion, women duties and

¹⁷⁸ Orilonise, 'The Impact of Alhaja,' 13. Also Discussions with Alhaja Raihanat Arowolo. 25-11-2013. Alhaja Raihanat also suggested the use of white clothes as uniform dress for the group and it became popular among other *asalatu* groups in Ilorin as well.

¹⁷⁹ Orilonise, 'The Impact of Alhaja,' 18; Discussions with Alhaja Raihanat Arowolo. 25-11-2013.

¹⁸⁰ Salah Kamal-Deen Bolakale, 'The Contributions of Some Selected Women to Islamic Education in Ilorin West Local Government Area' (B.A Long Essay: Islamic Studies- Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 2003), 21.

¹⁸¹ Discussions with Alhaja Raihanat Arowolo. 25-11-2013.

¹⁸² Bolakale, 'The Contributions of Some,' 27; Discussions with Alhaja Raihanat Arowolo. 25-11-2013.

¹⁸³ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 268. These are usually facilitated by politicians or top government officials with close links to the Adabiyya group.

responsibilities. The women are taught theology and prophetic histories and especially *madiu nabiyy* (prophet's eulogy). They also organize special prayers for themselves, seeking God's grace and interventions in issues, sometimes personal, at other times communal. They organize open air sermons from time to time, inviting scholars to deliver the sermon. They actively participate in annual celebrations such *maulud nabiyy* (Prophet's birthday), *lailatul qadr*¹⁸⁴ (Night of Majesty), *nisf Shaaban* (half of the month of Shaaban). They donate generally to the building of mosques, Islamic organizations and the physically challenged individuals.¹⁸⁵

Although the socio-cultural role of women limits the participation of women in knowledge production, yet within this limited role, the women of Ilorin have always contributed to the development of Islamic education. As the opportunities for learning generally improved, women participation increased and they have impacted considerably. The development of *asalatu* centers as avenue for women to propagate the religion in the first half of the twentieth century opened the ways for their semi-public participation in religious acts hitherto limited to men.

The reforms in the Islamic education system impacted on the women as the female graduates of the *madaris* would assume leadership of some of the key *asalatu* groups as exemplified by the career of Alhaja Fatima Omo-Oloka, Alhaja Raihanat Arowolo and Alhaja Fatima Batuli Salah.¹⁸⁶ It developed into a religious culture; most married women belong to one or more of these groups and it became a way of socializing into married life for the women. Women from scholarly families often had to take leadership roles on account of the knowledge they have garnered from their families.

Their role as propagators of religion goes beyond the *asalatu* circles. Some of them have, as individuals or groups, established both Qur'anic and western schools. In one instance, a woman inherited the proprietorship of a madrasah.¹⁸⁷ Under her guidance, the madrasah developed and expanded into an integrationist madrasah.

¹⁸⁴ It is believed to be one of the odd nights occurring in the last ten days of Ramadan. It is believed that angels descend on this night and prayers offered on this night would be fulfilled. It is marked with night long sermons.

¹⁸⁵ Kehinde, 'Da'awah among Muslim Women in Ilorin,' 29-30; Orilonise, 'The Impact of Alhaja,' 18.

¹⁸⁶ Among the younger generations we have others such as Alhaja Khadijat Abdussalam (Al Hidayah), Alhaja khadijat Aboto, Alhaja Habeebah Otuyo and Miss Asiya Abubakar (Omo-Eleha) among innumerable others.

¹⁸⁷ Alhaja Maimuna Mustapha Idiagbede- The Proprietor of Shamsudeen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies. Daughter to Sheikh Girgisu, she is a successful business woman. Her



Fig. 32. Center 'A' Asalatu circle of Ansarul Islam Society. Note the male assistant in the middle. Picture taken by the researcher, 2014.



Fig. 33. Asalatu circle of Ridwanullahi Islamic Society, Eruda. Picture taken by the researcher, 2014.

husband, Alhaji Mustapha Idiagbede was resourceful to the school and upon his death in 1979; she took control of the school. She also leads the women of the Shamsud-deen Society.

Before the education system became saturated with private schools, due to reduced dominance of the government in the education sector from the mid-1980s; in 1978, The Muslim Women Association of Nigeria was among the first organization to establish a private western school for Muslim children in Ilorin.¹⁸⁸ In the more recent proliferation of private schools, others have also established schools. For example, Alhaja Raihant Arowolo established a school and named it after her father and Alhaja Khadijat Abdussalam (Al Hidayah) established a school as well and named it after her mother.¹⁸⁹

The madrasah and western education systems both enabled women to become involved in teaching from primary school level of both systems of education and up to the university level. In the traditional system, women of the scholarly households have been known to be supportive of their husbands in teaching as well. One of the ways the scholarly community in Ilorin is integrated is through inter-marriage between scholarly families and between scholars and their students. This developed the culture of *iyawo sara*, although it has largely disappeared now.¹⁹⁰ Hence we have a number of women referred to as '*iya kewu*'¹⁹¹ (learned mother), in households of scholars known for their knowledge of the religious texts. They teach and serve as role models for other women.

When the madrasah system was developed, some of the scholars had their wives assisting them in teaching in the *madaris*.¹⁹² In the western school system, women have also found opportunity to teach religious subjects especially in the primary and secondary schools, which are taught in English and vernacular at the primary and in

¹⁸⁸ The Brochure of the Muslim Women Association of Nigeria Kwara State; see also Musa Risikat Omowumi, 'Taoheed Educational Institution the Journey So Far' (B.A. Long Essay: Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 2004), 27

¹⁸⁹ Zainul Abideen Nursery/Primary School and Batimoluwasi Nursery/Primary respectively.

¹⁹⁰ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*, 60; Ware, *The Walking Qur'an*, 83. *Iyawo sara* literally means 'dowry free wife'. To maintain scholarly traditions, females of the scholarly households are given in marriage to other scholars or students of teachers without having to pay the bride price or incur expensive wedding ceremonies as common in the community. This also helped the scholars who were often not materially comfortable to achieve the religious obligation of marriage. Advancement in knowledge, both western and Islamic and resistance to the culture by young ladies, who sometimes absconded before the consummation of the marriage, led to a decline of this practice.

¹⁹¹ For example, the household of Sheikh Abdurraheem Aminullah is referred to as *Ile Iya Kewu* (House of the Learned Mother) Based on the life of a woman of that house, Ruqayat, renowned for her teaching career. Discussions with Alhaji Abdurrazak Abdurraheem Al Adaby. 8-12-2013; Hasanat Funmilayo Abubakar, 'Asbabu tahkif Nisai an Dirasatu Lughatul Arabiyya fi Bilad Yuruba' (B.A. Department of Arabic, University of Ilorin, 2002), 47.

¹⁹² Sheikh Yahaya Oke Agodi, Sheikh Jubril Sahban, Sheikh Abdulganiyu (Nurul Hikmah)) and Sheikh AbdulGaniyu Aboto all have been assisted by their wives in teaching in their *madaris*.

English at the secondary level. More recently, the advance in education has also seen women teaching at the tertiary levels.¹⁹³

Women voices on religion in the public have always met with resistance. The traditional argument has always been that the whole of the female body is nudity. This is then marshalled as argument that she should neither be seen nor heard in public.¹⁹⁴ In the 1960s, one of the itinerant scholars of Ilorin (Alfa Sumaila) had returned from Ghana and had his young daughter (Wosila) served as his *ajanasi*. As it was novel for a female to take that role, it attracted both admiration and condemnation. Scholars who were not comfortable with the idea of a woman reading the Qur'an in public reported the case to the emir.¹⁹⁵

While the opposing scholars wanted an outright proscription of the action, the emir was cautious in his action and preferred an intellectual response to the problem. The scholar having come from Idi-Ape whose ancestors the Fulanis had overcome in the struggle for power, during the formative years of the emirate, it was a knotty issue for the emir. To proscribe the action outright would satisfy the antagonizing scholars but put the emir out as dictatorial against a clan whose relationship the ruling dynasty was often testy. The emir asked the scholars to bring an intellectual argument based in the Qur'an or hadith that a female cannot play that role. With no explicit rule in the religious texts to back the argument of the opposing scholars, the lady continued with her supporting role to her father and they even had to be protected by the police at some point when there was possibility of being physically attacked.¹⁹⁶

During the Ramadan *tafsir* session at the palace,¹⁹⁷ the issue was raised again and the emir forbade anyone to stop the scholar and his daughter until textual legal evidence can be used against them and warned them that the people of Idi-Ape

¹⁹³ University of Ilorin now has its first female Arabic lecturer in Abubakar Funmilayo Hassanat. She had studied at Muhyideen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies, before doing her degree program at the University of Ilorin. She joined the university teaching staff in 2009 where she is also pursuing her terminal degree. The Kwara State University at Malete also has female lecturer in Islamic studies, Dr Sherrifat Abubakar Hussain. There are still very few women studying Arabic. More women, however, are to be found in Islamic Studies especially with English as the medium of study.

¹⁹⁴ Abubakar, 'Asbabu tahkif Nisai,' 20; Muhammad S. Umar, 'Mass Islamic Education and Emergence of Female Ulama in Northern Nigeria: Background Trends and Consequences' - in- Scott S. Reese, *The Transmission of Learning in Islamic Africa* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2004), 117.

¹⁹⁵ Discussions with Alhaji Amosa Magaji Aare. 14-2-2014 and Alhaja Wosila. 13-2-2014.

¹⁹⁶ Discussions with Alhaji Amosa Magaji Aare. 14-2-2014 and Alhaja Wosila. 13-2-2014.

¹⁹⁷ This incidence most probably occurred during the Ramadan when open air sermons become a daily affair across different locations in the city.

would never accept for the scholar to be stopped. The Idi-Ape scholars met with the Chief Imam who told them that one of the reasons the scholars were opposed to a female *ajanasi* was that it was drawing crowd away from other sermons, as the people were thronging to Idi-Ape to see a young lady reciting the Qur'an publicly as an *ajanasi* (repeater) for the father. This obviously cannot be the only reason. The threat to the *status quo* was also a factor. The Idi-Ape scholars finally reached an agreement with the Chief Imam that if the Chief Imam would not raise the issue with the emir again as would be expected of him by the opposing scholars, the emir on his own would not raise the issue, since he had given a condition. The Chief Imam agreed to their proposal and the issue ended there.¹⁹⁸

The voice of the women in public religious acts have largely been in the background in *asalatu* and women organization circles, but more recently, the radio has given them an opportunity to be heard publicly on issues only men have been known to air views. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, women began to be heard on radio presenting religious programs like the men. This also met with some resistance but the resistance could not hold much ground. The woman whose radio presentation helped entrenched women presence on radio, Khadijah Abdussalam (often referred to by the title of her program- *Al Hidayah*¹⁹⁹ (The Guidance), had studied in Egypt and had the support of the husband and management of the state owned Radio Kwara.²⁰⁰ Arguments against a woman presenting a religious program are based on the Muslim belief that a woman's voice should not be raised in public.²⁰¹ While some opposed her, other scholars also supported her, seeing that she has working knowledge of Arabic and the religious texts.

¹⁹⁸ Discussions with Alhaji Amosa Magaji Aare. 14-2-2014. The young lady continued assisting the father till she got married to one of his students. She continued for a while supported by her husband but marital responsibilities made it difficult and she eventually stopped. She would continue teaching at home, people given her their wards to be tutored by her and she leads an *asalatu* group within the community (Ganmo) where she lives.

¹⁹⁹ She began presenting the program in 2006.

²⁰⁰ Her entrance into radio presentation had come through a relative who invited her to come and speak on a radio religious program *Shariyat Islamiyyah* in 2006. The program aired when the management of the station was meeting and they had listened to the program. Impressed with her performance on the program, they requested that she should come and start a program of her own with the Station, without realizing that her husband was a member of staff of the station. She constantly refers to her husband during her program; this seems a subtle defense of her vocation, an affirmation that she is a responsible Muslim woman.

²⁰¹ See Umar, 'Mass Islamic Education,' for the exploration of this argument through the career of two female ulama in northern Nigeria.



Fig. 34. Alhaja Khadijat Abdussalam (Al-Hidayah) at a public function outside of the studio. Picture courtesy of Al Hidayah.



Fig. 35. Asiya Abubakar (Omo-Eleha) presenting her program in the studio of Royal 95.1 FM. Picture taken by the researcher, 2014.

By 2010, a second female presenter had joined her. Asiya Abubakar's ²⁰² going into religious broadcasting also came through the radio station, which threw a challenge to the members of the public to come with proposals of programs for the station. Her entry for the call was successful.²⁰³ A common thread running through the experience of these women is their religious education background and both had come from scholarly families. Both also have *asalatu* groups where they lead other women in weekly religious recitations of litanies. Their work in the radio station further exposed them into social activism beyond the radio presentation.²⁰⁴

Women for the first time had some of their own gender presenting religious programs targeting them. Some would seek personal audience with them after the program to seek religious guidance on issues they could not be free to discuss with the men. This way, the radio programs provided opportunities to serve the audience beyond the context of the radio station. They get to be invited to speak publicly on occasions such as weddings, something quite uncommon until their emergence. Women have also showed presence on television, particularly during the Ramadan.²⁰⁵ There were dissenting voices in all these instances of women speaking publicly in fora only men have been doing so until recently but the women have also been supported by men especially their husbands who often are scholars as

²⁰² Daughter to Sheikh Abu Sherif, who had initially opposed the daughter speaking on radio but eventually acquiesced. The father had been a radical scholar early in his career and had founded The Sheriff Guards, a para-military organization modelled after the Boy Scouts and the First Aid Group. His radicalism, however, seemed to recede with age. For more on the life of this scholar see Oba Titilola Maryam, 'Abu Sharif and His Contributions to the Propagation of Islam in Ilorin Kwara State' (B.A. Long Essay; Islamic Studies-Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 1988)

²⁰³ At the time, she was in her teens as a student of Shamsudeen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies and an apprentice in video camera shooting. Her interest had been to propose a social program but her master advised her that as a student of a religious institution, to present a proposal on a religious program. She was successful and she started presenting with Radio Kwara, making two female presenters in the station. When a private FM radio station, Royal FM, was established in 2011, she was invited to become a religious program presenter at the new station. Currently she is pursuing her tertiary education in Arabic at the College of Education, Ilorin.

²⁰⁴ Discussions with Discussions with Hajiya Khadijat Abdussalam.9-12-2013 and Miss Asiya Abubakar (Omo-Eleha), 1-12-2013.

²⁰⁵ Alhaja Habeebah Otuyo and Alhaja Dimeji co-presents a phone-in program during the Ramadan during which gifts are given to members of the audience who could answer some questions. Alhaja Otuyo studied Arabic in Nigeria and Saudi Arabia while her husband was studying there. She also runs an *asalatu* and a business in Islamic books and materials and teaches Arabic at the University of Ilorin Secondary School. Discussions with Alhaja Habeebah Otuyo. 11-12-2013.

well. Several other women have taken after these women and women voices have become a norm over the mass media in Ilorin.²⁰⁶

Women have also established women-only organizations through which they propagate religion and education. The formal organizations have emerged from among the western educated women. They differ from the *asalatu* groups in having members mainly from working class women and they have made their organization formal. For example, the Muslim Women Association of Nigeria had its origin among the female teachers of Queen Elizabeth School in Ilorin in the late 1970s. Seeing the Muslim girls of the schools acting contrary to the dictates of the religion and seeking enlightenment for themselves, they began with religious classes during school lesson breaks, taught by one of the male staff.²⁰⁷

It became a weekend program outside the school²⁰⁸ and non-staff joined the group and it was eventually registered as a formal association. In their words ‘...the Muslim community of Kwara state is faced with the task to retain the culture of Islam and make it flourish in the face of aggressive western civilization.’²⁰⁹ The aims of the group include; to make members informed and practicing Muslims, cater for the moral, social and physical developments of Muslim youths in the state, to promote education and scholarship, to build up libraries of books on Islam where members could read and borrow books. The group aimed at organizing Qur’anic classes for adults and children and to build nursery, primary and secondary schools for the children, with emphasis on Islamic education. The organization sourced funds for its activities through membership levies and donations.²¹⁰

A most important contribution of this women’s group to the development of education was the establishment of a Muslim focused school, Taoheed Nursery/Primary School in 1978.²¹¹ The secondary school section was established in 1986.²¹² The government later took over the control of the school.²¹³ The

²⁰⁶ For analysis of the controversial position of women in religious debates see Schulz Dorothea, ‘Dis/Embodying Authority: Female Radio “Preachers” and the Ambivalences of Mass-mediated Speech in Mali’ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 44 (1) (2012) 23-43.

²⁰⁷ Olatunde, ‘The Role of Muslim Women,’ 26.

²⁰⁸ Prayer books of the group include *Addua al Musma* ‘The Mentioned Prayer’ *al Majmuat al Mubarakat* ‘The Blessed Collection.’ *Dalailu al Khairat* (Evidences of Goodness) *Dalailu Hasan wa Husein* (Evidences of Hasan and Husein)

²⁰⁹ The brochure of the Muslim Women Association of Nigeria Kwara State (nd)

²¹⁰ Olatunde, ‘The Role of Muslim Women,’ 27

²¹¹ Olatunde, ‘The Role of Muslim Women,’ 36; Discussions with Alhaja Zainab Oniyangi. 23-11-2013.

²¹² Musa Risikat Omowumi, ‘Taoheed Educational Institution the Journey So Far’ (B.A. Long Essay: Islamic Studies, Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, 2004), 27.

foresight of the women is remarkable; being one of the very first Muslim focused western schools, decades before it became a trend. The Adabiyya Moslem School established in 1946 is about the only such school that predated it.

As more Muslim women organizations emerged, an umbrella organization emerged in the Federation of Muslim Women Organization of Nigeria (FOMWAN). Established in 1985 in Kano, it developed gradually and has branches throughout the nation. Western educated women have been at the forefront of the organization but over the years they have also brought non-western educated women onto their fold through many of its non-formal programs. The mission of the organization among other numerous objectives is to propagate the religion of Islam in Nigeria through da'awah, establishment of educational institutions and other outreach activities.²¹⁴ It has inspired the creation of similar organizations across the West African sub-region and has working relationship with international organizations including the United Nations Organization. Its branch in Ilorin has its own Nursery/Primary School and has many programs through which its aims and objectives are being realized.

Women propagation of the religion of Islam and the two educational systems that Muslims in Ilorin have to contend with in the modern time has generally been progressive. Women irrespective of the social status have been active in this remarkable progress from less known and less active participation in the development of religion and education of the pre-colonial period to the knowledge driven and active participation in the development of education of Muslims in the twenty-first century. Like the general progress of Islamic education, western education has been a great challenge to this progress but it has also been an important positive force propelling the achievements that Muslims have been able to make in this regard.

Working largely in the background and with the support of the males, they have had some opposition to their rising status, as partners of the males in this, especially with regard to their voices being in the public. Even this has not met with a general disapproval of the males. Support could be said to be more in their favor. Education in both systems had given them a voice and presence beyond the traditional confines of the home into the public domain. Through this, they have impacted on the public good. Despite this, the Muslim women have not aimed nor lay claim to equal partnership with the men. Rather they have asserted their role as necessarily supportive of the men. They have focused on women and family issues, education,

²¹³ Discussions with Alhaja Zainab Oniyangi. 23-11-2013. This is similar to the experience of Ansarul Islam and Ansarud-deen Schools.

²¹⁴ See its website <http://www.fomwan.org>.

children and health within the ambit of their sanctioned authority in religion. Through the powers education conferred on them, they have sought to uplift the society through the uplifting of the womenfolk and the family generally. A popular dictum among female Muslim activists in Nigeria is the saying; 'educate a woman you educate a nation.'²¹⁵ The role of women as propagators of the religion has progressed from relative obscurity to a more apparent and active position and the future one can envisage for this is further consolidation and expansion as more women get exposed to education of both the western and Islamic systems. In the end, Islamic learning and scholarship allied to modern technology has allowed the partial breakdown of the traditional power relations between the genders.

Conclusion

This penultimate chapter examines the symbiotic relationship of Islamic education with the society. The nature of the institution as an arm of religion makes its connection to the society very significant. This is even more pronounced in a mono-religious society like Ilorin, where virtually all the citizens are Muslims. Being a Muslim becomes a key index of identity as an Ilorin person. The legitimacy of the city, its rulers and citizens are all intertwined with the religion, the pivot of which is the ulama. Essentially, it examines post learning utilization of knowledge by scholars as teachers, clerics, religious officials, spiritual advisors and consultant, opinion moulders. Through these vocations we see the scholars of Islamic education system at work. Beyond transmission of learning, the Islamic education institution has economic implications for the scholar and the society. This we have examined through the various vocations opened to scholars as a way of earning a living.

Around Islamic education also developed a number of economic activities such as selling of books, printing of books and other materials related to learning and religious practice. Others include articles related to religious praxes such as books, clothes and worship accessories. This opened opportunities for members of the society, not directly connected with learning, to be earning living as service providers for the institution.

The role of the mass media as agency of non-formal education of Muslims is part of this exploration of the engagement of scholars with the society. The utilization of this means has further expanded the oeuvres of the scholars of religion. The

²¹⁵ This saying does not appear to have any root in Islamic sources but finding it supportive of other Islamic sources encouraging the education of women, the modern female Muslim activists have appropriated the dictum for their cause. It is probably of Fanti origin in Ghana and popularized by Dr. James Kwegyir-Aggrey in his advocacy for female education in Ghana in the early twentieth century. See African proverb of the month September 1999 <http://www.afriprov.org>. Assessed 26/6/2014.

influence of formal Muslim organizations, beginning in the mid-colonial period and especially in the post-colonial period as promoters of education of Muslims both in the Islamic and western system was also examined as part of the general advancement Muslims have made towards the development of their community. These organizations have played important roles in helping Muslims to overcome the challenges that western education posed to their religion and its educational institution.

Finally, this chapter explored the role of women as propagators of religion. Traditionally less educated than the men and having little voice in the matter of religion and education, the advancement made in Islamic education rubbed off on these women and they began to organize themselves through charismatic *asalatu* (prayer) groups. As more women get improved Islamic and western education, their voices and presence in the public began to be more pronounced even though this met with some resistance. Their non-combative stance helped them to assert their voices and presence as supportive and complimentary of the men's role and importantly they also have many of the men supporting their knowledge based voice and presence in the public sphere.²¹⁶

²¹⁶ An important consideration is also the culturally strong economic position of Yoruba women. This had its impact on the female participation in religious function as important supporters of the menfolk.

Chapter Seven

Summary and Conclusion

Islamic education has always been an adjunct to the religion of Islam. The sacred and immutable nature of Qur'an as the constitution of the religion presupposes some learning will be taking place wherever the religion of Islam has taken a foothold. The rituals of the religion can only be conducted in Arabic language, in which the Qur'an was revealed. Hence from early in the history of Islam, education has been given priority by Muslims.

The original and cardinal purpose of Islamic education was to explicate on the divine revelation. It became necessary to understand Arabic language (even if only of a rudimentary nature) because the revelation was done in Arabic. Arabic became the lingua franca of the religion. The practice of the religion is not possible without the most rudimentary understanding of Arabic and one could not be a successful cleric, teacher of religion or government official (where Islam is a state religion) unless he is familiar with the language.¹ At the heart of the Islamic concept of education is the aim of producing good Muslims with an understanding of Islamic rules of behavior and a strong knowledge of and commitment to faith.²

The Islamic heritage and identity of Ilorin had an early root in the history of the city. This foundation began at Okesuna where the Muslims of diverse ethnic origins established an exclusive Muslim settlement. The coming of Alimi to Ilorin between late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, first en route to Old Oyo capital and later on the invitation of Afonja would spark a new dynamic in the history of the various settlements that eventually coalesced to form Ilorin.

Intrigues of power at old Oyo set Afonja against the sovereign to which Ilorin was a vassal. He sought the assistance of Alimi which gave Afonja victory against a punitive expedition from the capital. This helped the consolidation of the Muslim population in Ilorin; a community began to be built around the charisma of Alimi. Afonja had him bring his children to join him in Ilorin. After his death, his children, Abdulsalami and Shitta, in further intrigues of power, first between the Muslim community around their father and Afonja and later between the followers of Alimi and Solagberu the leader of Okesuna, emerged victorious over the rivals and established the emirate of Ilorin, no doubt influenced by the Fulani jihadist takeover of the Hausa kingdoms further north.³

With the legitimacy of their leadership anchored in the religion they pursued vigorous campaign of making the city an Islamic one.⁴ Scholars were encouraged to settle, teach and promote the religion of Islam in Ilorin. The city, its rulers, elites, scholars and ordinary citizens

¹ Dodge, *Muslim Education*, 31.

² Syed, *Aims and Objectives*.

³ See Johnson, *History of the Yoruba*; Jimba, *Iwe Itan*; Ikokoro, 'Taalif Akbar'; and Jimoh, *Ilorin the Journey*.

⁴ Reichmuth, *A Sacred Community*, 35-54; Na-Allah, *Africanity, Islamicity*.

thus have their legitimacy rooted in Islam. The whole of the nineteenth century was spent building and consolidating this Islamic identity of Ilorin. Ilorin became the citadel of Muslims among the Yoruba speaking people of southwestern Nigeria.

At the height of Ilorin's military power and the flowering of her intellectual endeavors towards the end of the nineteenth century, she encountered the colonial order.⁵ This changed the course of Ilorin's history, politically and economically, as well as in the social and intellectual life of the people, ruler and the ruled alike. The focus of this thesis begins around this period, examining the institution of Islamic education that is continuously recreating the Islamic identity of the people. From the period of colonial encounter, the history of the institution has remained one of continuous interaction with the western *weltanschauung*, most clearly represented in western education, introduced since the colonial era.

In chapter two, the encounter of the Muslim society of Ilorin with colonialism and the introduction of western education and implication for the Islamic system of education is explored. Needing personnel who would serve the colonial bureaucracy, the colonial authority introduced a secular western education. This met with some resistance by the people who considered the western education system an extension of the colonial order and Christianity, the religion of the colonizers. The new educational system posed a number of challenges to the Muslim scholars, who were now getting relegated to the background, their system having little relevance to the new political order. They in return resisted the new system and guided the people against embracing a system not rooted in their religion.⁶

The inequality of power between the two systems has been playing out from the early colonial period of stout resistance, then acquiescence and modernization into the twenty-first century. The problematic of Islamic education system in the period covered by this research is rooted in its lack of economic power that could harness the potentials of the system. It lacks state support; this had some root in the colonial period and once set in this groove, it has been largely intractable. But that alone does not fully explain the problem.

The social relevance of the scholars was also challenged by the new system as their influence over the emirs dwindled in favor of the new order, seen as an anathema in a Muslim polity. By subjugating the political and military authorities of the city, every other group under these two were implicated by the consequences of the conquest. As a group supportive of the political agenda of the emir and the military affairs of the aristocrats in the pre-colonial era, the subjugation of these two created a problem of loyalty for many of the clerics. The surrender of the emir and his warlords to the British was seen by many of the scholars as a betrayal of their trust and responsibility as protectors and guarantors of the Islamic identity of the town.⁷

⁵ NAK Iloprof 3575/1917 'Early Exploration and Administration and Military Expedition'.

⁶ Rhodes House, 'Dwyer's Report 958, Extracts from January 1904.'

⁷ Rhodes House, 'Dwyer's Report 958, Extracts from January 1904'.

The legitimizing role of the scholars was partly circumscribed under the indirect rule system since the emir, now greatly empowered by the colonial authority, had the colonial authority as the most important source of his power. The power of the military aristocrats and the scholars to check on the powers of the emirs was greatly reduced. This reduced power of the scholars and the military aristocrats led to a number of incidents in the colonial period between the emir and the aristocrats backed by the scholars such as the 1913 tax riots, used as an opportunity to protest their loss of relevance.⁸

While the new political order had no direct bearing on the transmission of learning, indirectly it had great implications for the scholars. The patronage of the emir and the aristocrats was affected since the source of that patronage had been reconfigured under the guidance of the colonial order. More importantly, the introduction of western education proved the most important challenge to Islamic education as a rival and more powerful educational system, since it had the formal backing of the government and fed into the system. The disparity in the power of the two systems of education would remain the challenge the Islamic education system would continue to respond to, adapt to and innovate around well into the twenty-first century.

The colonial authority on its part, realizing the importance of this institution in the life of the people, appropriated parts of the system into the western system it had introduced. The people, led by the scholars resisted the new system as part of the resistance to colonialism. For instance, to be educated in the early colonial period is to inevitably end up as a worker for the colonial authority. Western education and colonialism were seen by the people as two sides of the same coin. The colonial officials, seeing no value in the rote aspect of Islamic learning, promoted the learning of Arabic, which also served its judicial arm (the shariah courts) of the indirect rule system. This formed the foundation of higher Islamic education in the western system of education.⁹

In chapter three, the responses of the scholars of Ilorin to the trends of the colonial era are examined. In the failure of military resistance, Muslims continued their resistance in the intellectual field. But the Muslims not only resisted colonialism and its adjunct, western education; the scholars of Islam in Ilorin and the Yoruba region where Ilorin scholars were the leading scholars also adapted and appropriated aspects of the colonial legacy into their own system as a means of not only protecting their vocation, threatened by the new regime, they also used these means to promote Muslim learning. This led to reforms in Muslim educational system in Ilorin. The encounter of the Muslim educational system with the colonial education system led to a divergence of responses.

⁸ Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteers*, 79.

⁹ NAK 'Annual Report Education Department Ilorin Province', Iloprof file No. 3/1 0433/1928; NAK 'Proposed Classes of Koranic Teachers', Iloprof file No. 2276; NAK 'Mohammedan Native Schools', Iloprof file No. 3177.SCH 75.

The emergence and development of the three main schools of Islamic education pedagogy in Ilorin was examined. The first to emerge was the tolerant/integrationist Adabiyya School led by Sheikh Kamalud-deen Al-Adaby, a student of Sheikh Tajul Adab, an important precursor of the reformist scholars of the twentieth century. Appropriating aspects of the western system into the Islamic education system, such as the use of benches and table, classes for different categories of students and uniform dress for the students: it met with stiff resistance but it held out and eventually became a leading school of Islamic pedagogy in Ilorin.¹⁰

Following on the heels of the Adabiyya was the Zumratul Mu'meenina (*makondoro*) school of pedagogy, indirectly rooted in the teachings of Tajul Adab as well; a non-conformist school of pedagogy. Unlike the Adabiyya, it did not tolerate western education, which it called a Judeo-Christian education aimed at misleading Muslims. Distinguished by their Spartan living and teaching methods; wearing of big gowns and turbans and the keeping of beard for the men and keeping their women in purdah, over the years, however, their resistance thawed from an uncompromising resistance to western education and ideas to a more critical engagement. This showed in their belief that a Muslim should be steeped in Islamic knowledge if at all he or she must engage with western education.¹¹

The third stream of response, the Markazi stream, starting out in Abeokuta at the approach of independence, is rooted in the remarkable work of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi al-Iluri. His strand of reform favors reform of Arabic and Islamic education, however not in co-habitation with western education as the Adabiyyah School had done. Not averse to western education, however, he felt western education has been privileged and empowered over and above Islamic education by the colonial enterprise to the detriment of Islamic education. His response was to privilege Arabic education in a single stream while his students were encouraged to seek western education outside of the Markazi School, before and after coming into his school. This system birthed in Ilorin after independence at the prompting of the ninth emir, Muhammad Sulukarnaini Gambari.¹² All future developments in Islamic education would tilt in the direction of one or more of these foundational streams.

Chapter four examines the developments in Islamic education in the post-independence period. By the time Nigeria got her independence in 1960, resistance to western education had greatly yielded and new reformist scholars emerged. Building on the works of the early reformers, these scholars also contributed to the development of Islamic education. Independence and experience gave the scholars reasons to develop Islamic education system along the lines of the earlier reformers. By the 1970s more *madaris* had emerged and they benefitted from the mass

¹⁰ Discussion with Alhaji Saadu Kuranga. 3-9-12 and Discussions with Alfa Ibrahim Alfa.5-6-2012; Aliagan, *Shaykh Muhammad Kamalud-deen*, 27; Discussions with Alfa Mumeen Ayara. 11-9-2012.

¹¹ Kankawi, 'Intajat I Arabiyyah,' 69-72; Discussions with Sheikh Abdulkareem Adaara, Agbaji, 22-7-2012.

¹² Al Iluri, *Al Islam fi Nijeriyya*, 154; Reichmuth, Sheikh Adam; Adebayo and Sirajudeen, 'An Appraisal of Sheikh Adam.'

education program of the government even as it also threatened their survival. Major problems confronting these *madaris* include little or no attention by the government, forcing most *madaris* to be running their schools independently. Individual ownership and lack of financial wherewithal to make their schools compete with the western schools has remained a major challenge to the *madaris* as well.

Mostly the children of the economically less privileged Muslims were to be found in these schools. This has positively served to bridge the less privileged citizens into the middle and elite class of the society through higher education. Connection to the Middle East for higher education is one of the means for this social mobility and has been a corrective to the inequality of the two systems. Study in the Middle East has not only produced scholars of religion but also provided opportunities for some to branch into non-religious fields such as medicine, engineering, journalism and law.¹³ However, this emancipatory experience is limited only to some. Most of the scholars remained within the local Islamic education system that is financially constrained to achieve its potentials.

The emancipatory reforms of the traditional system of Islamic education into the more formal *madaris* have been hampered by the structural inequalities between the two systems of education. Economic input and output of the western system far outweighs that of the Islamic education system. As such the enormous efforts put into restructuring the system by the Islamic scholars have been overshadowed by the inadequacies of necessary economic buttress which it lacked. Its potential to correct the inequalities of the two systems is thus restrained.

The lack of direct state support predates the advent of colonialism but the system fared better then because it had no rival system to contend with and its reproductions fits in with the social, economic and political contexts it was operating in. It depended on patronage of the ruling class, some of whom were also part of the ulama class. This informal support for the system, largely ideological, never translated into structures upon which a colonial system could latch onto. Rooted in religion, a clash of ideology also made attempts to bridge the dichotomy between the two systems difficult, with mutual suspicion, based on the bitter encounter of colonialism with the Muslim society of Ilorin, making for integration difficult. The unequal economic dividends of the two systems further deepened the unequal structures between the two. Graduates of the western system have disproportionate advantage in employment especially in the formal sector against graduates of the Islamic system.

Although attempts were made from the 1970s for the *madaris* to have an organization that will represent their interest with the government, the efforts only succeeded for a while before socio-economic challenges of the country contributed to help fizzle out this effort. As government dominance of the provision of education began to decline in favor of private ownership of schools, Muslims were further challenged with Christian dominance of private schools' ownership; who used these to promote Christian values.

¹³ Alhaji Mahmud Hanafi (geologist) 2-1-2014.Jimba, 'The Role of Azhar.'

First, western educated Muslims rose to this challenge by establishing Muslim-focused western schools and later some of the proprietors of the *madaris*, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, partly encouraged by the community, began to establish western nursery/primary schools within their *madaris*. As a result, the mostly tuition free Arabic/Islamic education lessons were shifted to the evenings while the fee paying western nursery/primary lessons took place in the morning. While some scholars berated the new trend as commercializing Islamic education, the owners of the bifurcate schools saw it in a positive light. It not only provided funds helping to sustain the mostly tuition free Arabic/Islamic education but also helped in entrenching Arabic/Islamic education through some of the students of the western section staying back to attend the Arabic Islamic/ education section.

In this chapter also, a survey carried out among the *madaris* has provided some understanding into the workings and organization of these schools, highlighting some of the challenges before the schools such as lack of uniform curriculum, poor interface with government and most importantly, inadequate funding.¹⁴ The chapter as well examined the emergence of a new type of Islamic schools, the Tahfiz (Qur'an memorization) schools. An outcome of the interconnectivity of the Muslim world resulting from globalization, these new type of Islamic schools resulted from the institutionalization of the National Qur'anic Recitation Competition initiated by the Centre for Islamic Studies of Usmanu Dan Fodiyo University, Sokoto, in 1986. These schools established mostly by alumni of the competition, young scholars in their thirties and forties; differ from the other *madaris* in focusing on the scientific recitation and memorization of the Qur'an.

Unlike the *madaris*, they are few and still emerging. Their students are also few, given that learning is largely orally based and is more suitable in a one-on-one setting rather than a large class that is the norm in the *madaris*. Funding and people's attitude to the new system also constitute a challenge but the young proprietors, virtually all of whom have had some western schooling, appears to be controlling this challenge by charging fees in ways Qur'anic and *madaris* type schools have not been able to do.

The presence of the female was also examined in this male dominated system of education. Although the female has equal right to education like the male, socio-cultural and subordinate roles of the female has meant females had limited education compared to their male counterparts. However, they have benefitted from the general improvement on Islamic education that the reforms of the system had enjoyed and have enjoyed greater participation in learning under the period examined. Western education as well contributed to this increased presence.

Chapter five focuses on the history of higher Islamic education, that level where the scholars of Islam are made. Referred to as *kewu ilimi* in the traditional system, it witnessed developments and improvement as well. The reforms of the Qur'anic schools into the *madaris* formed part of

¹⁴ See also Muhammad, 'A Study of Selected.'

the development of this level. The colonial authority as well contributed to the development of this level in the western system through the promotion of Arabic as well as Islamic legal learning.¹⁵ This was built on in the post-independence period in the western higher education system inherited from the colonial period. Connection to the Middle East, mentioned earlier, resulting from the developments in the *madaris* added another strand to this mode of learning.

Chapter six is concerned with the post-learning connection and relationship of the Islamic education institution with the larger society. Here, the roles and impacts of the products of the institution on the larger Muslim society of Ilorin were examined. As a pivotal institution to the Islamic heritage and identity of Ilorin, its influence radiates into the socio-economic and political spheres of the society. Through the different occupational tracks open to the ulama as the guardian of the institution, we see the influence of the institution in the lives of the people, the ruler and the ruled. More than teachers, the ulama are also opinion moulders, religious leaders, spiritual consultants and legal experts. Reforms had also produced scholars not limited to the traditional clerical circle but who are also part of the formal sector of the society.

The roles of the agency of the mass media and Muslim organizations in the dissemination of education to Muslims formed part of this exploration. These modern phenomena play important roles not only in the secondary production and dissemination of knowledge, but they also served as a means to put into the service of the community, the practical use of the knowledge acquired by the scholars, opportunities not available in the pre-modern period. The adaptive nature of Islamic knowledge system thus played out in these experiences. The role of women as propagators of the religion was also examined. Mostly working in the background, but increasingly having greater voice and presence in the public, women have been very influential in the propagation of religion, especially among their fellow womenfolk, as teachers and women leaders.

Perceptible notions running through this work include the significance of the institution of Islamic education in the life of the people of Ilorin. It is not only the regenerative agency of the quintessence identity and heritage of the people but also the history of the people is synonymous with the developments in this institution. As Ware demonstrated in his thesis, against colonial argument that the Islamic education system is rote and stagnant, based on western rational logic, the system develops the whole of the being of the Muslim and the absence of meaning or comprehension at the early and more popular stage of Quranic learning does not preclude an absence of value for the Muslims.¹⁶ It is essentially a seeding stage whose import would later be realized in the subsequent lived experience of the Muslim. As Ware argued, the secondary value of meaning in Quranic education is not peculiar to Africans to whom Arabic is a secondary and often incomprehensible language at that stage of learning, but also for the Arab native speakers, the agency of a human interlocutor is no less significant when it comes to comprehending the knowledge embodied through memorization and mimetic

¹⁵ Alexander, 'The Era of Overseas Scholarships.'

¹⁶ Ware, *The Walking Qur'an*, 2-4.

praxes.¹⁷ Aimed at piety and despite the large number of Muslims literate in Arabic language and improvement in pedagogic techniques, the system is still relevant and a core element of Islamic education for the majority who no such command of Arabic.

This work has also demonstrated the adaptive nature of Islamic education system and vanguards of this institution, from the colonial period through to the twenty-first century. The work has shown the scholars as not averse to new and modern trends even though there were always some resistances to these new phenomena. It has shown the scholars as responsive and not necessarily reactionary to novel ideas or events in the society. This is most noticeable in the response to western education, from the colonial period to the present. As Ware noted, until the late nineteenth century, the embodied paradigm of learning was universal throughout the Muslim world.¹⁸ The encounter of Muslims with western imperialism in their different locations ruptured this universal approach, leading to a divergence of approaches. In Ilorin, the emergence of three pedagogical schools of thought testified to this. Although events then and now has given the impression of scholars as averse to western education, this thesis has shown that the scholars in Ilorin were more positive in their response to the phenomenon of western education than they were reactionary. The responses to the colonial encounter have shaped the directions of Islamic education since then.

Though western education relegated their system to the background and has remained a competitor with their system, these scholars have responded in a number of positive ways such as adopting some methods of the western system. They went as far as promoting western education through self-learning, taking on some of its subjects and establishment of western schools. In more recent time, the adaptive nature of the scholar is seen in the development of bifocal and *Tahfiz* schools. This dynamic relationship with western education is paradoxical; while it poses a challenge and competes with Islamic education, within it have also emerged opportunities being used to reform, improve and sustain the Islamic education system.

Closely related to this is the enhanced public presence and voice of women. Reforms in the Islamic education system and western education and norms have led to more women having access to Islamic education, both the Quranic and higher forms of it as well as in the western education system. Through women organizations and lately through the electronic media, women voices and presence are being felt in areas hitherto the reserve of the men. These have not come without their challenges but the support of the men and the women's assertion of their supportive roles, not necessarily as equals of the men, have been instrumental in their new status not being seen as intrusive or challenging leading role of the men.

Among the argument of this thesis is the weak financial structure of the Islamic education system, best illustrated in the *madaris*, the closest example to the western system. This is somehow also paradoxical. If the Islamic education system holds such high value in the minds

¹⁷ Ware, *The Walking Qur'an*, 213.

¹⁸ Ware, *The Walking Qur'an*, 10.

of Muslims, how is it then that the system's financial structure is weak? Why would Muslims argue for and defend the system but have not shown commensurate financial commitment? The answer can be found in the ultimate aim of Islamic education, the invaluable positive hereafter. Historically, payment for knowledge in the modern sense of fee was not known among Muslims, not only in Ilorin but throughout the Muslim world. It cannot be really paid for but it can be appreciated through gifts, service and honour to the clerical class. The capitalist mode of production introduced since the colonial time has contributed to the disruption of this informal and communal mode of remuneration.

Society's attitude toward the remuneration of the Islamic system has remained largely unchanged from the pre-colonial mindset regarding the institution as a charitable institution even as the structures of the system and the economic system of the society have changed. This restricted mindset against a complex need helped to reinforce the structural inequality between the western and Islamic education systems. While the former has the state financial backing and the people's patronage, the same cannot be said of the latter even as important as it is to the life of the people. This paradox complicates the challenge before the Islamic education system.

Although some *madaris* charge fees, taking a cue from the western system, it is not reliable nor is it enforced, in the tradition of providing education for all who seek it with or without payment. Some have devised alternative means, especially those who have been able to connect to the charities from the Arab world. But this is also limited to a few well connected scholars. A new emerging alternative is the operation of bifocal schools, whereby the western system supports the Islamic. The fear that money or wealth would corrupt faith and knowledge if given a free rein remains a constant contention in the minds of scholars.

As Brenner pointed out in his work on Mali,¹⁹ there has been a shift in the episteme of Islamic education since the encounter with colonialism as exemplified by the emergence of the madrasah mode against what Ware referred to as the universal paradigm of embodied episteme that have been largely relegated into a 'traditional' mode.²⁰ Although there is some difference in Africans' experience of British and French colonialism, there has been an emergence of different structures of thought on how Islamic education is transmitted among West African Muslims irrespective of their colonial experience. As demonstrated in this work, it is an ongoing process.

As the years progressed, the esoteric and hierarchical nature of Islamic learning gets into the more rational disembodied mode to be found in the madrasah system and has virtually become the new normal. However, Muslims are at the forefront of this development and is seen by them more as Modernization less as westernization, even if the structures have been modeled after the western system and is seen as empowering Muslims and their religion unlike in the

¹⁹ Brenner, *Controlling Knowledge*, 3-7.

²⁰ Ware III, *The Walking Qur'an*, 10.

colonial period when such was partly loathed as anti-Islam. Muslims in Ilorin have largely moved from a rejection of western education to a controlling accommodation and by the twenty-first century as government role in the provision of education to the masses recede following years of misgovernance and structural adjustment programs, leading to private sector dominance of the provision of education, private Islamic education providers have also keyed-in into this edupreneurship and it has empowered them enough to begin to reconnect to the political economic process and control of education, something they had a brief benefit of in the 1980s before the economic downturn in the country in the same period.

Ilorin's experience of the challenges of Islamic education has been unique, compared to the rest of the Muslim north, perhaps because of being geo-culturally positioned between the north and the southwest of Nigeria. Unlike in the Hausa/Fulani areas of the greater part of northern Nigeria, where poverty and the structural inequalities between the two systems has led to the development of a pervasive street begging by students (*almajirai* sing. *almajiri*) of Traditional Qur'anic Schools in most northern Nigerian cities; students of Qur'anic education system in Ilorin fared better. Ilorin scholars were also quicker to adapt to the western system of education than the rest of the Muslim north either through establishment of western schools as adjunct to their Islamic madrasah within the same premise; accommodation of some western subjects in their madrasah curriculum and encouragement of acquisition of western education outside of the madrasah system for the more wary of the scholars, not ready to risk the domination of their system by the western system.

Despite the bitter beginning of the encounter and unequal power relations between western education and Islamic education, both have interacted and influenced each other. Despite the challenge that western education poses to Islamic education as a better organized and funded system of education, constantly threatening to overshadow Islamic education: through the positive response of most of the ulama as well as participation of Muslims in western education, western education has remained an important agency of regeneration and development of Islamic education throughout the period of this study; through the ulama's appropriation and adaptation of aspects of the structures of the western system into the Islamic system, in part as a defense but also for the promotion of the Islamic education system.

Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift onderzoekt de geschiedenis van het islamitisch onderwijs in de stad Ilorin, van de Britse verovering van de stad in 1897 tot 2012. De geschiedenis van de stad en haar bewoners is verweven met de geschiedenis van dit onderwijs, vandaar dit onderwerp. Het biedt context aan de geschiedenis van een islamitische stad (met een multi-etnische achtergrond) te midden van de Yoruba-sprekende bevolking van Zuidwest-Nigeria. De islamitische oorsprong en identiteit van Ilorin heeft zijn wortels in de vroege geschiedenis van de stad. De vroegste voorloper van de stad werd gesticht bij Okesuna, waar moslims van diverse etnische achtergronden een exclusief islamitische nederzetting stichtten. De komst van Alimi naar Ilorin in de late achttiende en vroege negentiende eeuw, eerst op weg naar de oude hoofdstad van Oyo en later op uitnodiging van Afonja, leidde tot een nieuwe dynamiek in de geschiedenis van de verschillende nederzettingen die uiteindelijk zouden samensmelten tot Ilorin.

Na Alimi's dood wisten zijn kinderen, Abdulsalami en Shitta, de overwinning te behalen in de machtsstrijd die hierop uitbrak, eerst tussen enerzijds de islamitische gemeenschap rondom hun vader en anderzijds Afonja, en later tussen enerzijds de volgers van Alimi en anderzijds Solagberu, de leider van Okesuna. Zij stichtten het emiraat Ilorin, hierin ongetwijfeld beïnvloed door de overname van de noordelijker gelegen Hausa-koninkrijken door Fulani-jihadisten. De legitimiteit van hun leiderschap lag verankerd in religie, en ze streefden er krachtig naar van de stad een islamitisch bolwerk te maken. Geleerden werden aangemoedigd zich er te vestigen, en de Islam te onderwijzen en te verspreiden. De legitimiteit van de stad, haar bestuurders, elites, geleerden en het gewone volk wortelde zodoende in de Islam. Gedurende de gehele negentiende eeuw werd deze islamitische identiteit van Ilorin verder uitgebouwd en geconsolideerd.

Toen Ilorin aan het eind van de negentiende eeuw op de top van haar militaire macht was, en het intellectuele leven een bloeiperiode doormaakte, kwam ze in aanraking met de koloniale orde. Mijn onderzoek begint in deze periode, en richt zich op het islamitisch onderwijs, dat voortdurend de islamitische identiteit van de bevolking herschiep. Vanaf de periode van 'de koloniale ontmoeting' is de geschiedenis van dit onderwijs er één geweest van voortdurende interactie met het westerse wereldbeeld, met name vertegenwoordigd in het westerse onderwijs dat in de koloniale periode werd geïntroduceerd.

Hoofdstuk twee behandelt de ontmoeting tussen de islamitische samenleving van Ilorin en het kolonialisme. De introductie van westers onderwijs en de implicaties voor het islamitische onderwijssysteem worden onderzocht. De introductie van seculier westers onderwijs stuitte op verzet bij de bewoners. Het nieuwe onderwijssysteem stelde de islamitische geleerden voor een aantal problemen – hun rol verdween immers naar de achtergrond omdat hun onderwijssysteem in het nieuwe politieke bestel weinig relevant meer was. De koloniale autoriteiten namen voorts delen van het oorspronkelijke systeem over in het westerse systeem dat ze zelf hadden ingevoerd, met name de bevordering van de kennis van het Arabisch, wat ook de wetgevende tak (de shariah-rechtbanken) van hun indirecte bestuursstelsel ten goede

kwam. Dit vormde de basis voor islamitisch hoger onderwijs binnen het westerse onderwijssysteem.

In hoofdstuk drie wordt nader gekeken naar de reacties van de geleerden van Ilorin op de ontwikkelingen in het koloniale tijdperk. De moslims verzetten zich niet alleen tegen het kolonialisme en het daarmee gepaard gaande westerse onderwijs; ze incorporeerden tevens elementen van het koloniale onderwijssysteem, en pasten deze aan hun eigen systeem aan, niet alleen om hun beroep te beschermen en behouden, maar ook om de kennis van de Islam te bevorderen. Dit leidde tot hervormingen van het islamitische onderwijs in Ilorin. De ontmoeting tussen het islamitische en het koloniale onderwijssysteem had zeer uiteenlopende gevolgen.

In Ilorin kwamen drie belangrijke stromingen van islamitische onderwijspedagogiek op. Ten eerste was daar de tolerante en op integratie gerichte Adabiyya-school, geleid door Sheikh Kamalud-deen Al-Adaby. Deze stromingl incorporeerde verschillende elementen uit het westerse onderwijssysteem, zoals het gebruik van schoolbanken en tafels, verschillende klassen voor verschillende categorieën leerlingen en schooluniformen. Dit stuitte op fel verzet, maar de school hield vol en werd uiteindelijk een vooraanstaande school binnen de islamitische onderwijspedagogiek in Ilorin. De tweede pedagogische stroming die opkwam was de Zumratul Mu'meenina (*makondoro*). Deze dulde geen westers onderwijs, en omschreef het als Joods-Christelijk onderwijs dat erop gericht was moslims te misleiden. Volgers van deze school onderscheidden zich door hun Spartaanse levenswijze en onderwijsmethoden en de kenmerkende kleding waarmee ze zich tot deze school bekenden. In de loop der jaren verloor hun verzet tegen westers onderwijs echter zijn absolute karakter, en maakte het plaats voor een kritische benadering. De derde stroming in reactie op het westerse onderwijs, de Markazi-stroming, begon in Abeokuta. Ze vond haar oorsprong in het bijzondere werk van Sheikh Adam Abdullahi al-Iluri. Zijn hervormingsbeweging gaf de voorkeur aan de hervorming van Arabisch en islamitisch onderwijs, maar dit moest niet worden vermengd met westerse onderwijsmethoden zoals bij de Adabiyah-school. Hoewel hij niet tegen westers onderwijs was, vond hij dat westers onderwijs werd bevoorrecht door het koloniale regime, ten koste van islamitisch onderwijs. Al deze hervormingsbewegingen hebben gemeen dat ze het resultaat waren van de zendingsdrang van geleerden van buiten Ilorin. Aan alle verdere ontwikkelingen in het islamitisch onderwijs zouden één of meer van deze stromingen ten grondslag liggen.

Hoofdstuk vier onderzoekt de ontwikkelingen in het islamitisch onderwijs in de periode na de onafhankelijkheid. Toen Nigeria in 1960 onafhankelijk werd, was het verzet tegen westers onderwijs sterk afgenomen en nieuwe geleerden die hervormingen wilden hadden enorm voordeel van het programma voor algemeen onderwijs van de regering. Het gebrek aan aandacht door de overheid behoorde voor deze *madaris* tot de grootste problemen waarvoor ze zich gesteld zagen. Hun scholen waren hierdoor noodgedwongen onafhankelijk. Het individuele eigenaarschap, en het gebrek aan financiële middelen waardoor de scholen niet

effectief konden concurreren met westerse scholen, bleef dan ook een grote uitdaging voor de *madaris*.

De *madaris* slaagden er wel in minder geprivilegieerde bewoners door middel van hoger onderwijs een pad te bieden naar de midden- en bovenklasse van de samenleving. Banden met het Midden-Oosten voor het hoger onderwijs behoorden tot de middelen om de sociale mobiliteit te bevorderen. Hierdoor werd de ongelijkheid van de twee systemen deels gecompenseerd, bijvoorbeeld door sommige studenten kansen te bieden zich toe te leggen op niet-religieuze vakgebieden zoals geneeskunde, bouwkunde, journalistiek en rechten. Naarmate de dominante rol van de overheid in het aanbieden van onderwijs begon af te nemen ten bate van privéscholen, zagen moslims zich vervolgens geconfronteerd met het overwegend christelijke eigenaarschap van deze scholen. Dit leidde tot de stichting van islamitisch georiënteerde westerse scholen. Aan het begin van de eenentwintigste eeuw richtten sommige van de eigenaars van de *madaris* ook westerse kleuter- en basisscholen op binnen hun *madaris*. Dit hoofdstuk bevat ook de resultaten van een enquête, gehouden onder de *madaris*. Deze verschaffen inzicht in het functioneren en de organisatie van deze scholen. Ze leggen ook de moeilijkheden bloot waarmee de scholen kampen, zoals het ontbreken van een eenvormig curriculum, slechte afstemming met de overheid en, het belangrijkste, onvoldoende financiering. Ook werd de opkomst van een nieuw type islamitische school onderzocht, de *Tahfiz*-scholen, gericht op het leren van Koranteksten. Daarnaast werd gekeken naar de rol van de vrouw in dit door mannen gedomineerde onderwijssysteem. Hoewel vrouwen evenzeer recht op onderwijs hebben als mannen, hebben sociaal-culturele rolpatronen waarin de vrouw onderschikt is ertoe geleid dat vrouwen minder onderwijs genieten dan mannen.

Hoofdstuk vijf gaat in op de geschiedenis van het hoger islamitisch onderwijs, dat opleidt tot het niveau van Islam-geleerde. In dit onderwijs, traditioneel bekend als *kewu ilimi*, was eveneens sprake van ontwikkelingen en verbeteringen. Zowel de hervormingen van de Koranscholen tot *madaris* als de koloniale autoriteiten droegen bij aan de ontwikkeling van dit onderwijsniveau binnen het westerse systeem, door de studie van het Arabisch en de islamitische rechtsgeleerdheid te bevorderen. In de post-onafhankelijkheidsperiode werd hierop voortgebouwd in het westerse onderwijssysteem dat stamde uit de koloniale tijd.

Hoofdstuk zes behandelt de aansluiting op het leven na het onderwijs en de relatie tussen islamitisch onderwijs en de samenleving als geheel. Hier worden de rol van het onderwijs, en de impact die het uiteindelijk had op de islamitische samenleving van Ilorin, nader bekeken. Als een institutie van cruciale betekenis voor de islamitische erfenis en identiteit van Ilorin, straalt de invloed ervan uit naar de sociaal-economische en politieke domeinen binnen de samenleving. Door de verschillende carrièrepaden die voor de oelama, de bewaarder van dit instituut, openliggen, zien we de invloed ervan op de levens van mensen, zowel de bestuurders als de bestuurden. Ook de rol en de invloed van de massamedia en islamitische organisaties om moslims met het onderwijs te bereiken werden hierbij onderzocht.

Rode draden door dit onderzoek als geheel zijn onder andere het belang van het islamitisch onderwijs in het leven van de bewoners van Ilorin. We zien niet alleen de veerkracht van de islamitische erfenis en identiteit van Ilorin, maar ook de geschiedenis van de stad en haar bewoners weerspiegeld in de ontwikkelingen binnen dit instituut. Dit onderzoek heeft ook het aanpassingsvermogen van het islamitisch onderwijs en de voorvechters daarvan laten zien, van de koloniale tijd tot in de eenentwintigste eeuw. Het heeft laten zien dat de geleerden niet afwijzend stonden tegenover nieuwe ontwikkelingen en modernisering, ook al was er altijd enige weerstand tegen vernieuwing. Het heeft aangetoond dat de geleerden inspeelden op nieuwe ideeën of ontwikkelingen in de samenleving, en er niet per se reactionair tegenover stonden. Dit is het duidelijkst zichtbaar in de reactie op westers onderwijs, van de koloniale periode tot het heden.

De dynamische verhouding met westers onderwijs is paradoxaal: hoewel het enerzijds een bedreiging vormt voor islamitisch onderwijs en ermee concurreert, heeft het ook mogelijkheden geboden die werden gebruikt om het islamitische onderwijssysteem te hervormen, verbeteren en behouden. De toegenomen rol en stem van vrouwen in de publieke sfeer hangt hier nauw mee samen. Hervormingen in het islamitisch onderwijssysteem en westers onderwijs met de daarbij behorende normen hebben ertoe geleid dat meer vrouwen toegang kregen tot niet alleen westers onderwijs, maar ook islamitisch onderwijs, zowel Koranonderwijs als hogere opleidingen. Het doen gelden van hun ondersteunende rol ten overstaan van mannen is van groot belang geweest in het verwerven van hun nieuwe status.

Een terugkerend thema in dit proefschrift is de zwakke financiële structuur van islamitisch onderwijs, zoals met name goed is te zien aan de *madaris*, waarvan het onderwijs nog het meest lijkt op het westerse. Ook dit is enigszins paradoxaal. Als islamitisch onderwijs door moslims zo hoog wordt geacht, hoe is het dan mogelijk dat de financiële structuur van dit onderwijssysteem zo zwak is? Waarom zouden moslims dit onderwijs behartigen en verdedigen, terwijl ze hier niet de noodzakelijke financiële steun aan verbinden? Het antwoord is te vinden in het uiteindelijke doel van islamitisch onderwijs, namelijk de onschatbaar positieve in de hiernamaals. Historisch gesproken was het betalen van een vergoeding in de moderne zin in ruil voor kennis onbekend onder moslims, niet alleen in Ilorin maar overal in de islamitische wereld.

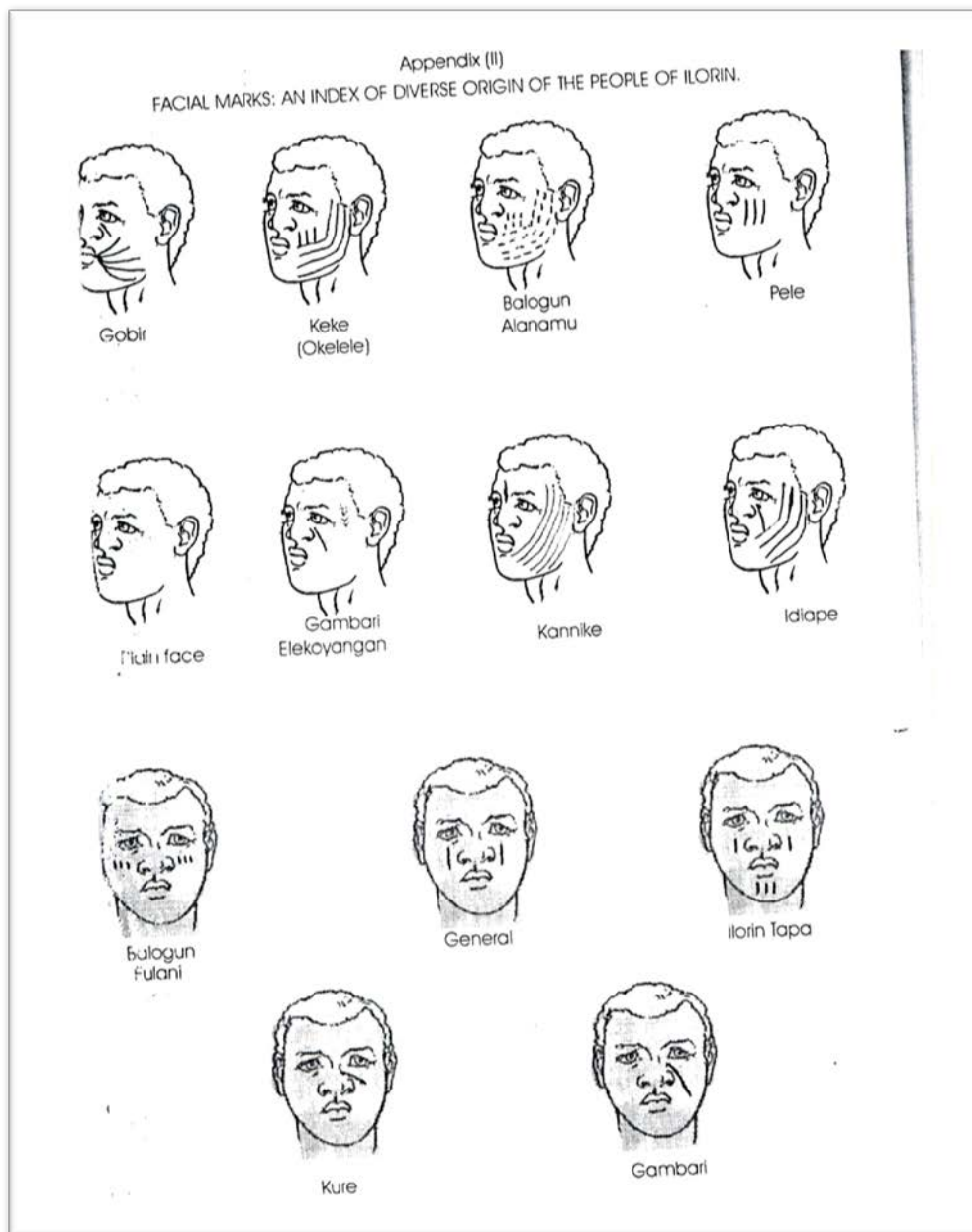
Zoals Brenner in zijn werk over Mali al opmerkte heeft er een verschuiving binnen het *episteme* van islamitisch onderwijs plaatsgevonden sinds de ‘koloniale ontmoeting’, zoals te zien aan de opkomst van de madrasah-vorm tegenover wat Ware omschreef als het universele paradigma van het belichaamde *episteme* dat vooral werd afgedaan als een ‘traditionele vorm’. Ilorin’s ervaringen op het gebied van de uitdagingen waaraan islamitisch onderwijs het hoofd moest bieden is vergeleken met de rest van de islamitische wereld uniek, wellicht door haar geografische en culturele positie tussen het noorden en het zuidwesten van Nigeria. Ondanks het bittere karakter dat deze ontmoeting aanvankelijk had, en de ongelijke machtsverhoudingen tussen westers en islamitisch onderwijs, hebben ze een wisselwerking op elkaar gehad, en elkaar beïnvloed. De komst van westers onderwijs vormde enerzijds een uitdaging voor het

islamitische onderwijs door de voortdurende bedreiging dat dit het islamitische onderwijs zou overschaduwen. Door de positieve reactie van de meeste oelama alsmede de deelname van moslims aan westers onderwijs is het gedurende de gehele hier onderzochte periode echter een belangrijke aanjager gebleven van vernieuwing en verdere ontwikkeling van islamitisch onderwijs, door elementen van de structuren van het westerse onderwijssysteem over te nemen en aan te passen aan het islamitische systeem, deels als een verdediging, maar ook ter bevordering van het islamitische onderwijssysteem.

Curriculum vitae

Aliyu Sakariyau Alabi was born 6 November, 1974 in Ilorin Nigeria. He studied history for his Bachelor's degree at Usmanu Dan Fodiyo University, Sokoto in 1998. He completed his Master degree in history from the University of Ilorin in in 2006. For his Master thesis he wrote on "The Fulani Factor in Ilorin History 1800-1960." Thesis was supported by the Program on Ethnic and Federal Studies (PEFS) University of Ibadan, Nigeria. He worked briefly as a Non-Governmental Individual advocating for Better Living Conditions for Almajirai in Sokoto metropolis 2002/2003, funded by PATH/Ford Foundation. He worked briefly as a civil servant before joining the Department of History, Bayero University, Kano as a lecturer in January 2008. His research interest is on Islamic Education (particularly Nigerian context) and Nigerian Intellectual History.

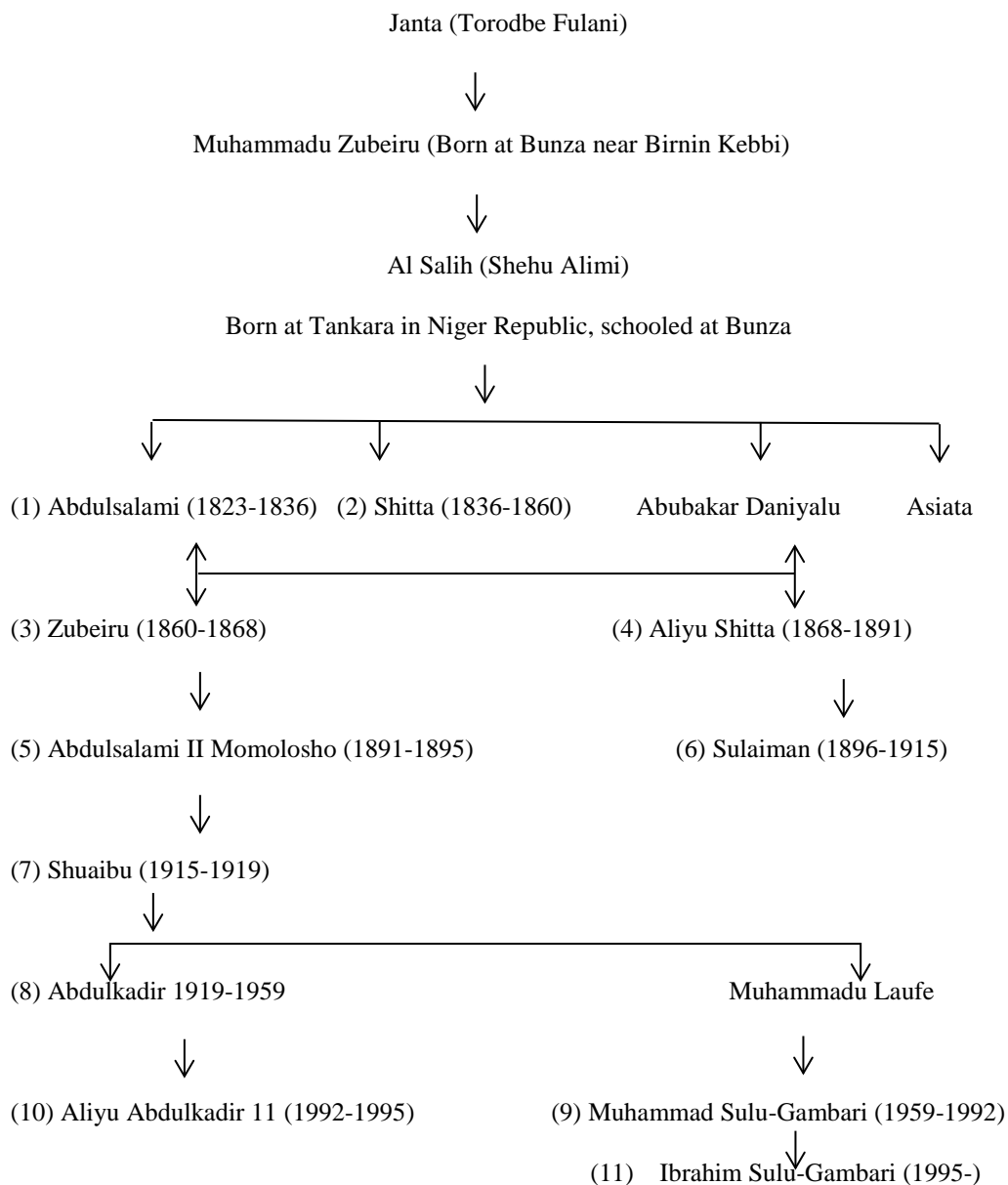
Appendix I.



Some major facial marks of Ilorin indicating the diverse ethnic origin of the people. Adapted from Appendix II in- Aliyu S. Alabi, 'The Fulani Factor in Ilorin History 1800-1960' (MA Dissertation, Department of History, University of Ilorin, 2006)

Appendix II

Genealogy of the Emirs of Ilorin



Source: NAK 'Genealogical Tree of the Emirs of Ilorin' AC 12/1918 and Sheikh Ahmad Adisa-Onikoko, *A History of Ilorin Emirate*, (Ilorin; Sat Adis Enterprises, 1992)

Appendix III

Songs sung at the close of slate Qur'anic Schools (*Ile kewu wala*)

Arabic	Translation
<i>Allahuma nasialuka</i>	O Allah I seek from you
<i>risika risika wasiha,</i>	provisions abundant
<i>ilima iliman nafian,</i>	knowledge propitious
<i>walada walada saliha,</i>	righteous children
<i>wafasina fi musibati fi kuli yaomi wa lailati</i>	save us from atrocities all days and nights.
The Yoruba translation of the Arabic follows:	
<i>Oluwa wa a'n be o, owo to po ni ko fun wa,</i>	
<i>Ima to wulo laye l'orun,</i>	
<i>Omo rere ti yio sinlohun,</i>	
<i>Fi iso re so sowa ni ile aye</i>	
<i>Nibi inira owo aye at inira t'odore,</i>	
<i>Lojumama at l'oru</i>	
<i>Nasiru Karimu</i>	(the) Victorious (the) Glorious
<i>Oba tin basiri mumminina</i>	(the) king that (subtly) provides the needs of all Muslims
<i>Ko basiri alfa wa l'aye</i>	provide the needs of our teacher in this world
<i>Ile njo, ole nja,</i>	fire outbreak, (thieves) stealing
<i>Olohun ma je 'ari 'kan be,</i>	O God, spare us any of these
<i>Akoba, adaba, atimo, oro oloro</i>	implications, intrigues, allegations, affairs (not our concern)
<i>T'amo owo t'a mo ese, olohun ma je 'ari 'kan be</i>	that we are innocent of, O God, spare us any of these
<i>Nitori wipe</i>	because
<i>B'osen kowani kewu to o be lon jawa loreto</i>	with his (much) teaching goes (much) caning
<i>B'osen jawa loreto, be lon kowa logbon to,</i>	with much caning so increases our sense

*Alijanna ni ile re, b'olorun fe ko ni wona, ya
Allah!*

Paradise is his abode, if God wills he will not
enter hellfire, O Allah!

A second song goes like this:

Ile kewu alfa wa ko ma ni baje o

The school of our teacher will not come to
desolation

Awa ti an benibe kiku ma pawa

(and) may we the pupils (therein) be spared
the clutch of death

Kiku mapawa, karun masewa.

be spared the clutch of death, (may) sickness
inflict us not

Awa ti an benibe kiku ma pawa

(and) may we the pupils (therein) be spared
the clutch of death

Appendix IV

Ilorin Provincial School Time Table 30-12-1916

Day	Class	1 st hour	2 nd hour	3 rd hour	4 th hour
Monday	1	Arithmetic	Geography	Arabic	Reading
	2	Reading	Writing	Arabic	Arithmetic
	3	Gen. Knowledge	Arabic	Reading	Arithmetic
	4	Arabic	Arithmetic	Writing	Reading
	5	Arabic	Gen. Knowledge	Reading	Arithmetic
	6	Arabic	Gen. Knowledge	Arith. & reading	Writing & hygiene
	7	Arithmetic	Arabic	reading	Writing
Tuesday	1	Gen. Knowledge	Writing	Arabic	Arithmetic
	2	Gen. Knowledge	Writing	Arabic	Drawing
	3	Hygiene	Arabic	Arithmetic	Gen. Knowledge
	4	Arithmetic	Arabic	Writing	Reading
	5	Arabic	Gen. Knowledge	Arithmetic	Writing
	6	Arabic	Reading	Writing	Hygiene
	7	Arabic	Gen. Knowledge	Arithmetic & objective	Drawing & reading
Wednesday	1	Writing	Arithmetic	Arabic	Hygiene
	2	Writing	Reading (Yoruba)	Arabic	Arithmetic
	3	Drawing	Arabic	Reading	Writing
	4	Gen. Knowledge	Arabic	Writing	Arithmetic
	5	Arabic	Arithmetic	Reading	Writing
	6	Arabic	Gen. Knowledge	Arithmetic	Writing
	7	Arabic	Gen. Knowledge	Arithmetic & games	Writing & drawing
Thursday	1	Writing	Reading	Arabic	Arithmetic
	2	Reading	Arithmetic	Arabic	Hygiene
	3	Writing	Arabic	Arithmetic	Geography
	4	Writing	Arabic	Drawing	Hygiene
	5	Arabic	Gen. Knowledge	Writing	Drawing
	6	Arabic	Arithmetic	Writing	Drawing
	7	Arabic	Gl. Knowledge	Arithmetic & writing	Reading & Hygiene
Saturday	1	Writing	Arithmetic	Arabic	Drawing
	2	Geography	Reading	Arabic	Writing
	3	Arithmetic	Arabic	Writing	Reading
	4	Writing	Arabic	Arithmetic	Reading
	5	Arabic	Arithmetic	Hygiene	Reading
	6	Arabic	Reading	Hygiene	Writing
	7	Arabic	Gen. Knowledge	Arithmetic & writing	Drawing & reading
Sun	1,2,3,4,5,6,7. Two hours Koran and Arabic instruction at the school compound.				

Source: NAK 'Provincial School Annual Report' Iloprof 163/1917.

Appendix V

1. INSTRUCTIONS AS TO PROCEDURE TO BE CARRIED OUT BY MISSIONARY SOCIETIES, AND OTHER, DESIROUS OF OPENING SCHOOLS IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCES.

1. Application should be made by the Head of the Mission or other Proprietor to the Provincial Education Officer.
2. The application should state that the conditions (see below) under which Government permits Mission schools to be opened in the Northern Provinces will be strictly adhered to.
3. Application should be made in the following form:—

FRONT.

Committee.

- (1) Name of Mission or Proprietor *Al Adabiyyah Moslem School. Ilorin Moslem*
- (2) Place and Tribe..... *Ilorin Town. Yoruba.*
- (3) District, Division and Province..... *Ilorin.*
- (4) Title:—
 - (a) Certificate of Occupancy granted or applied for *Granted.*
 - (b) Site allotted by Chief to the local adherents of *Committee of Al Adabiyyah*
- (5) Is it proposed to teach English or through the medium of English? *Vernacular at first, then English.*
- (6) Teachers:—
 - (a) Number..... *two*
 - (b) Qualifications if it is proposed that they should teach English or through the medium of English..... *First School leaving certificates.*
- (7) Name of Manager and Postal Address. *Alhaji. Kamalud deen Ilorin*
40 P.O. Box No 8. Ilorin.

- I.—I undertake on behalf of the Mission to adhere to the conditions, as printed below under which Government permits Mission schools to be open.
- II.—I agree that the Mission has no right or title in the land or buildings unless held under a Certificate of Occupancy (i (a) above).

Date..... *11. 7. 46.* R

Name <i>الحاج كمال الدين الابي</i> Kamalud deen. Name <i>انفاديمان الابي</i> Alhaji Salimatu. Name <i>جامع اورو اولاي</i> Jamia Arowolo. Name <i>الحاج سلمان</i> Alhaji Salimatu.	Name <i>الحاج كمال الدين الابي</i> Kamalud deen. Name <i>انفاديمان الابي</i> Alhaji Salimatu. Name <i>جامع اورو اولاي</i> Jamia Arowolo. Name <i>الحاج سلمان</i> Alhaji Salimatu.
--	--

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH MISSION SCHOOLS IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCES MAY BE OPENED

1. Before Muhammadan children are permitted to be admitted to a school, the Manager of the school shall satisfy himself that the parents of the children are of good character and that the school will be adhered to. It must be understood clearly that this condition is not observed.
2. The Manager of the school will be adhered to. It must be understood clearly that this condition is not observed.

Government Notice No. 91 in Gazette N

Notes.—(1) 4 (b), i.e. in cases where no Certificate of Occupancy is held.

(2) If a Power of Attorney is held, this should be stated under the signature of the applicant at the foot of the front page, and the date and registration particulars should be given.

[PTO]

Application for the establishment of Adabiyya Moslem School. Source: NAK 'Al Adabiyya Moslem School' Iloprof file No. 4659.

Appendix VI a

Arabic	Hausa ²¹	Hausa/Ilorin	Yoruba	Fulani ²²	Fulani/Ilorin ²³
Alif ا	Alefu	Alifi	Alefi	Alifu	Alef
Ba ب	Ba	Ba	Ba	Ba/Bajoore	Bajore
Ta ت	Ta	Ta/takuri	Ta	Tau/ Takabe	Ta/ Takabe
Thau ث	Cha	Sa	Sa	saa'u	Sa
Jim ج	Jim	Jimu	Jimu	Jimu	Jimu
Hau ح	Ha karami	Hankarimu	ankarimu	Hasingo hacingol	Hasingo
Khau خ	Ha mairuwa	Hameiruwa	Ameruwa	Khaatobbungol	hamango
Dal د	Dali	Dali	Dali	deli	deli
Dhal د	Zali	Sali	Sali	zaali	seli
Ra ر	Ra	Ra	Ra	Raa'u	ra
Zain ز	Zaira	Sinra	Sinra	zaayu	zaira
Sin س	Sin	Sin	Sin	Sinni/ siinara	sinni
Shin ش	Shin	Shin	Shin/sin	Siinun to buude	Sinni to bude
Sad ص	Sadi	Sodi	Sodi	sadira	Sadi
Dad ض	Radi	Lodi	Lodi	doodira/toluadi	Lodi/toluadi
To ط	Da mai hannu	Tamisonu	Tamisonu	Dadi	Dadi
Zo ظ	Za mai hannu	Samisonu	Samisonu	zodi	Sodi
Ain ع	An baki wofi	Ainbakiofin	Ainbakiofin	Ainu/ Ainakebel	Ainakebia
Ghain غ	Ga baki wofi	Agankakinofin	Agankakinofin	Ghainu/ghainukeebil	Aganakebia sujo
Faf ف	Fagunje	Fakunje	Fakunje	Faa'u/ fayarodi	Fa/fayarodi

²¹ This is excerpted from Nasiru, Islamic, 56.

²² For this Fulani rendition in the Sokoto area, I am grateful to Mallam Usman Muhammad Modibbo of Shehu Shagari College of Education Sokoto. Personal communication, 25-4-2013.

²³ For this Alhaji Toyin Aminullah Imam Jagun (Discussions 4-7-2012), Baba Imam Kuntu (Discussions 15-7-2012) are among the few remaining who had learned using the Fulani phonetic pronunciation in studying the Qur'an at Ile Oniguguru, Adifa area of Ilorin. They are not necessarily Fulanis but had studied in a Fulani school.

Arabic	Hausa ²⁴	Hausa/Ilorin	Yoruba	Fulani ²⁵	Fulani/Ilorin ²⁶
Ka ك	Kau lasan	Kamulasa	Kamulasa	Kafara	Kafara
Lam ل	Lam ara	lamuara	lamuara	Lamu/ laamura	Lamara
Mim م	Mi ara	mimu	Mimu	Mimuu /Mimara	Mimara
Nun ن	Nu ara	Nuara	Nuara	Nuunu/nuunara	Nunara
Waw و	Wau	Wo	Wo	Wawu	Wawu
Ha ه	Ha babba	Habuba	Habuba/hakuri	Hamangol/Hasakeri	Hasakeri
Lam alif لا	Lam alefi	Lam alefi	Lam alefi	Lamalefi	Lam alefi
Hamza ء	Aliansa	Aliansa	Aliansa	Hamuza	Hamusa
Ya ي	Ya ara	Yara	Yara	Yaau	Ya/yara

²⁴ This is excerpted from Nasiru, Islamic, 56.

²⁵ For this Fulani rendition in the Sokoto area, I am grateful to Mallam Usman Muhammad Modibbo of Shehu Shagari College of Education Sokoto. Personal communication, 25-4-2013.

²⁶ For this Alhaji Toyin Aminullah Imam Jagun (Discussions 4-7-2012), Baba Imam Kuntu (Discussions 15-7-2012) are among the few remaining who had learned using the Fulani phonetic pronunciation in studying the Qur'an at Ile Oniguguru, Adifa area of Ilorin. They are not necessarily Fulanis but had studied in a Fulani school.

b

To pronounce *الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ alhamdu lillahi* (Praise be to Allah)²⁷ in a school such as Gbagba Qur'anic school using Hausa²⁸ as the language of syllable formation to form words, it would read like this:

Hausa ²⁹	Number words used	Meaning	Modern Arabic	Number words used
Aliansa da wasali bisa si ³⁰ ne <i>a</i>	7	Aliansa with wasali on top is <i>a</i>	Hamza alif fatiha <i>a</i>	4
Ya damure lamu ya se ³¹ <i>ali</i> ,	6	It joins with lamu, it says <i>ali</i>	Lam sukun <i>al</i>	3
Ha karami da wasali bisa sin ne <i>ha</i>	8	Small ha with wasali on top is <i>ha</i>	Hau fatiha <i>ha</i>	3
Ya damure mimu ya se <i>hamu</i> ,	6	It joins with mimu, it says <i>hamu</i>	Mim sukun <i>ham</i>	3
Dali da rufua sin ne <i>du</i> ,	6	Dali with rufua is <i>du</i>	dal damma <i>du</i>	3
It is then pronounced a- <i>ali- ha- ha -mu- du, alihamudu.</i>				
Lamu da wasali kasa sin ne <i>li</i> ,	7	Lamu with wasali at the bottom is <i>li</i>	Lam kasra <i>li</i>	3
Lamu da sadda da wasali bisa sin ne <i>lla</i> ,	9	Lamu with sadda and wasali is <i>lla</i>	Lam shadda fatiah <i>lla</i>	4
Hakuri ³² da wasali kasa si ne <i>hi</i>	7	Hakuri with wasali at the bottom is <i>hi</i>	, Hau kasra <i>hi</i>	3
The word is then pronounced, <i>li-lla-hi.</i>				

²⁷ These are the first two words of the first verse of the first chapter of the Holy Qur'an. The full verse is *Alhamdu lillahi rabbi l aalamina*, meaning 'Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds.' Qur'an 1:1. Discussions with Imam Ajia Muhammad Bello. 9-6-12.

²⁸ This however does not mean only people of particular ethnic groups attends the schools. Sometimes a teacher uses a language not reflecting his ethnic origin but rather that of the school he had studied.

²⁹ I am grateful to Imam Ajia Muhammad Bello for the Hausa rendition. 9-6-12.

³⁰ Among native Hausa speakers, this would be *shi*.

³¹ Among native Hausa speakers, this would be *ce*, not available in Yoruba phonology.

³² 'Ha babba' becomes 'hakuri' when it is joined with other letters to form a word.

In a Fulani Qur'anic school³³ the same words would be spelt like this:

Fulani³⁴	number words used	meaning	Modern arabic	Average words
Alif masdo bie <i>a</i> ,	4	Alif with a mark on top says <i>a</i>	hamza alif fatiha <i>a</i>	4
To lam oi bie <i>al</i> ,	5	Lam with a circle says <i>al</i>	lam sukun <i>al</i>	3
Hasingo masdo bie <i>ha</i> ,	4	Hasingo with a mark on top says <i>ha</i>	Hau fatiha <i>ha</i>	3
To mim oi bie <i>ham</i> ,	5	Mim with a circle says <i>ham</i>	Mim sukun <i>ham</i>	3
To dal tur bie <i>du-</i> .	5	Dal with a curved mark says <i>du</i>	(dal damma <i>du</i>)	3
The word is then pronounced, <i>alhamudu</i>				
Lam masile bie <i>li</i> ,	4	Lam with a mark below says <i>li</i>	Lam kasra <i>li</i>	3
Lam lam sanda masdo bie <i>lla</i> ,	6	Lam lam with sanda says <i>lla</i>	(lam shadda fatiha <i>lla</i>)	4
Hasakeri masile bie <i>hi</i>	5	Hasakeri with a mark below says <i>hi</i>	Hau kasra <i>hi</i>	3
The word is then pronounced, <i>lillahi</i> .				

Alif maddah, the long 'a' vowel becomes *alif to budo* in Fulani language.

³³ Ile Oniguguru at Adifa area is one such example. Discussions with Alhaji Toyin Aminullah Imam Jagun, one of the few who could still recall the Fulani method. 4-7-2012.

³⁴ For the Fulani rendition I am grateful to Alhaji Toyin Aminullah Imam Jagun. 4-7-2012.

The Yoruba scholar would recite the same words this way:

Yoruba ³⁵	Average words	meaning	Modern arabic	Average words
Alifi to lomo loke nje <i>a</i> or shortened to alifi taloke nje <i>a</i>	6 or 4	Alifi with a sign on top is <i>a</i>	Hamza alif fatiha <i>a</i>	4
Badamure lam a je <i>ali</i> ³⁶	5	Badamure lam becomes <i>ali</i>	Lam sukun <i>al</i>	3
Hankuri to lomo loke nje <i>ha</i> or ta loke nje <i>ha</i>	6 or 4	Hankuri with a sign on top is <i>ha</i>	Hau fatiha <i>ha</i>	3
Badamure mimu a je hamu	5	Badamure mimu is <i>hamu</i>	Mim sukun <i>ham</i>	3
Dali to ni rufua loke nje <i>du</i> or to rufua nje <i>du</i> ,	7 or 4	Dali with rufua is <i>du</i>	Dal damma <i>du</i>	3
The word is then pronounced, <i>aliamudu</i>				
Lam to lomo nisale nje <i>li</i> or lam tosale nje <i>li</i>	6 or 4	Lam with a sign below is <i>li</i>	Lam kasra <i>li</i>	3
Lam lam to lomo loke nje <i>lla</i> or ta loke nje <i>lla</i>	6 or 4	Lam lam with a sign above is <i>lla</i>	Lam shadda fatiha <i>lla</i>	4
Hankuri to lomo ni sale nje <i>hi</i> or tosale nje <i>hi</i> ,	7 or 3	Hankuri with a sign below is <i>hi</i>	Hau kasra <i>hi</i>	3
The word is then pronounced, <i>lillah</i>				

³⁵ I am grateful to Alfa Saidu Oko Erin for this Yoruba rendition.

³⁶ Here we have a combination of Hausa and Yoruba. Badamure is transmitted from Hausa without Yoruba translation or adaptation while the last part explaining the sound is in Yoruba.

Appendix VII

Corresponding levels of formal Islamic and Western Education

Western education levels	Number of years		Islamic education levels	Number of years
Kindergarten/Nursery	2-4	↔	Raodatul atfal	2-4
Primary	6	↔	Ibtidaiyya/Tamhidiyya	3
Junior Secondary	3	↔	I'dadiyya	3-4
Senior Secondary	3	↔	Thanawiyya/Taujihyya	3
Diploma/NCE	2-3	↔	Diploma/NCE(affiliated)	2-3
Degree	4		Degree (affiliated)	4
Postgraduate	2-3			

Appendix VIII

Categories of the National Qur'an Recitation Competition

Six categories for male contestants

1. Memorizing the whole Holy Qur'an with *tajwid* and tafsir
2. Memorizing the whole Holy Qur'an with *tajwid* theoretically and practically
3. Memorizing 40 consecutive *hizbs* of the Holy Qur'an with *tajwid* theoretically and practically
4. Memorizing 20 consecutive *hizbs* of the Holy Qur'an with *tajwid* theoretically and practically

5. Memorizing 10 consecutive *hizbs* of the Holy Qur'an with *tajwid* theoretically and practically
6. Memorizing *juz amma* or any two consecutive *hizbs* with *tajwid* practically

The same categories apply to the female contestants except the first category where the tafsir is only *juzu'l thalith* (a third portion of the Qur'an) unlike the whole Qur'an for the male contestants.

Source : Program of the 21st National Qur'anic Recitation Competition, nineteenth-27th Shawwal 1427AH (10th-18th November, 2006)

Appendix IX

i. Hassan al Banna's *Al Wasaya al ashr* (Ten Injunctions) commonly found on the walls of Markazi *madaris*

Read, think, act

1. Stand up to pray when you hear the call, whatever the condition you may be in.
2. Recite the Qur'an and examine or listen or remember Allah. Do not waste any part of your time without doing something useful with it.
3. Strive to speak clear and classical Arabic because this is also an important part of Islam.
4. Do not argue for long on any issue whatever the condition because there is no benefit there in.
5. Do not laugh too much, because the minds that dwell on God are those that are calm.
6. Do not engage in jest, a struggling nation is not known for jest.
7. Do not raise your voice more than your listeners' need, it will hurt most people.
8. Avoid back biting (slander), if you have to, speak only the good.
9. Introduce and explain yourself even if the other person did not request for it.
10. The good and important things to do will always be much more than the time available. Help yourself with the little time and do well to yourself. If it is important, do something good with the time.

Source: Adam Abdullahi al Iluri, *Addinnu Nasiha* (Agege, 1978). The blurb of the book.

Appendix X

I'dadiyya Timetable, Zumratul Adabiyya Kamaliyya, (No.1)الاعدادية

1:00- 1:40	12:20-1:00	11:40 - 12:20	Break 11:10 – 11:40	10:30- 11:10	9:50-10:30	9:10-9:50	8:30- 9:10	الايام Days
انساء Composition	انجلسية English	كمبيوتر Computer		تفسير Exegesis	مطلعة (Excerpts reading)	حد يث Traditions	فقه Jurisprud ence	يوم السبت Saturday
توحيد Theology	ادب ethics	يث حد Traditions		نحو Grammar	قر ان Qur'an	نصوص Study of Literary verses	تاريخ History	يوم الاحد Sunday
مطلعة (Excerpts reading)	تجويد Science of Recitation	نحو Grammar		تفسير Exegesis	املاء Dictation	خط Writing	سيرة Propheti c history	يوم الاثنين Monday
جغرافية Geography	قران Qur'an	صرف Morphology		مطلعة (Excerpts reading)	حساب Arithmetic	انساء Compositi on	تاريخ History	يوم الثلاثاء Tuesday
ادب Ethics	نصوص Study of literary verses	نحو Grammar		املاء Dictation	كمبيوتر Computer	توحيد Theology	سيرة Propheti c History	يوم الاربعاء Wednesday

الثنوية Thanawiyya Timetable, Zumratul Adabiyya Kamaliyya (No.1)

1:00- 1:40	12:20-1:00	11:40 - 12:20	Break 11:10 - 11:40	10:30- 11:10	9:50- 10:30	9:10-9:50	8:30- 9:10	الايام Days
قران Qur'an	فقه Jurisprudenc e	ديث Traditions		انجليزية English	تفسير Exegesi s	نحو Grammar	مطلعة (Excerpts reading)	يوم السبت Saturday
فقه Jurisprudence	كمبيوتر Computer	حد يث Hadith		صرف Morphol ogy	مطلعة (Excerpt s reading)	ادب Ethics	قران Qur'an	يوم الاحد Sunday
كمبيوتر Computer	توحيد Theology	علم القران Science of the Qur'an		ادب Ethics	مجتمع ال سلمى Sociolo gy of Islam	نحو Grammar	عروض Prosody	يوم الاثنين Monday
انساء Composition	تاريخ History	توحيد Theology		نحو Grammar	تفسير Exegesi s	بلاغة Rhetoric	اصول الفقه Foundation of Jurisprudenc e	يو الثلاثاء Tuesday
منطق Logic	سيرة Prophetic History	بلاغة Rhetoric		صرف Morphol ogy	عروض Prosody	علوم الحديث Science of tradition	طرق التدريس Teaching Methods	يوم الاربعاء Wednesda y

Appendix XI

Return of Native Muhammedan Schools (Ilorin town) Ilorin Province

Year	No. of schools	No. of boys	No. of girls	Total no. of pupils
1935/36	264	4796	2517	7313
1936/37	265	4710	2643	7353
1937/38	266	4872	3078	7950
1938/39	215	3544	1651	5195
1941/42	126	2586	1349	3935
1942/43	142	2823	1396	4219
1943/44	164	3402	1847	5849
1944/45	163	3005	1912	4947
1945/46	166	3239	1452	4691
1948/49	158	3285	1250	4535
1949/50	158	3285	1250	4535
1950/51	162	2396	862	3258

Source: NAK Iloprof SCH/75

Appendix XII



**NATIONAL BOARD FOR ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES
INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY, ZARIA - NIGERIA**

Recent passport
Photograph
Here

1st Setting

Referred

**SENIOR ARABIC AND ISLAMIC SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
Registration Form**

20.....

1. Name: _____
2. Date of birth: _____ Place of Birth, _____
3. State of Origin: _____ Local Govt. _____
4. Nationality: _____ Tribe: _____ Sex: _____
5. SCHOOLS COLLEGES ATTENDED WITH DATE (S)

- (a) _____
- (b) _____
- (c) _____
- (d) _____

6. CERTIFICATES OBTAINED WITH DATES:

- (a) _____
- (b) _____
- (c) _____
- (d) _____

7. SUBJECT / PAPERS:-

		PAPERS		
A. CORE SUBJECT	1	Islamic Studies		
	2	Qur'anic Studies		
	3	Arabic Language		
	4	English Language		
	5	One Major Nigerian Language		
	6	Mathematics		
B. VOCATIONAL ELECTIVES	7	Social Studies & Citizenship Education		
	8	Computer Science		
	9	Agriculture		
	10	Islamic History		
C. NON VOCATIONAL ELECTIVES	11	Tahfeez / Tajweed		
	12	Home Management		
	13	French		
	14	Health Education		
	15	Government		

Source: National Board for Arabic and Islamic Studies, Registration Form for Senior Arabic and Islamic School Certificate Examination

Appendix XIII

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

المعهد الدينى الأزهرى لجماعة أنصار الإسلام الورن فيجيريا
Al Azhar Islamic Institute Ilorin

كشف نتائج الامتحان

No. **8850** _____

إسم الطالب _____

العام الدراسي _____

الفصل _____

SUBJECTS	Mark Obtainable	Pass Mark	Mark Obtained	الدرجة المكتسبة	الدرجة الصفري	الدرجة الكبرى	المراد
History							التاريخ
Quranic Reading							القرآن الكريم
Quran Interpretation							التفسير
Islamic Theology							التوحيد
Traditions of the prophet							الحدیث
Islamic Jurisprudence							الفقه
Rhetoric							الرياسة
Biography of the Prophet							السيرة
Logic							المنطق
Prosody							العروض
Social studies							الاجتماع
Arabic Grammar							النحو
Morphology							الصرف
Mathematics							الحساب
Geography							الجغرافيا
Biology							الاحياء
Literature							الأدب
Physics							الفيزياء
Chemistry							الكيمياء
Composition							الإنشاء
English Language							الانجليزية
Writing							الخط
Dictation							الأملاء
Reading							المطالعة
TOTAL							مجموع الدرجات

الملاحظات Notes

Fee _____ من رسوم المعهد _____

Beginning of Holidays _____ بداية العطلة _____

End of Holidays _____ نهاية العطلة _____

Principal's Sign _____ توقيع الناظر _____

Director's Sign _____ توقيع المدير _____

Result _____ النتيجة _____

Position _____ الترتيب _____

Grade _____ الدرجة _____

No. of Students _____ مجموع الطلبة _____

Attendance _____ من حضور _____

Conduct _____ المراقبة _____

ختم المعهد

A copy of the report sheet of Al-Mahad al-dini al-Azhari showing subjects on offer.

Appendix XIV

Subjects and texts

Muhyideen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies, *I'dadiyya* and *Thanawiyya* subject and text list

<i>I'dadiyya</i>			<i>Thanawiyya</i>		
No.	Subject	Textbook	No.	Subject	Textbook
1	Mathematics	Same as Government approved textbooks in public school subjects.	1	Mathematics	Same as Government approved textbooks in public school subjects.
2	English Language		2	English language	
3	Integrated Science		3	Economics	
4	Agricultural Science		4	Agricultural science	
5	Business Studies		5	Government	
6	Social Studies		6	Computer science	
7	Qur'an wa tajwid		Al Qur'an	7	
8	Hadith (Prophetic traditions)	Umudatul hakam	8	Qur'an wa tajweed	Al Qur'an
9	Tafsir (Exegesis)	Safwat tafasir	9	Ulum Al Qur'an	Tabsira fi ulum li Qur'an
10	Tajweed (Science of recitation)	Hidayatul mustafida	10	Hadith (Prophetic traditions)	Bulugh maram
11	Tariqh (History)	Juruzul fi tariqh l Islam	11	Mustaliha al Hadith	Hayatul al miniif
12	Inshau (composition)		12	Tafsir (Exegesis)	Ibn kathir/safwat tafasir
13	Nahw (Grammar)	Nahw l wadi	13	Fiqh (Jurisprudence)	Minhaj muslim
14	Sarfu (Morphology)	Matn binai	14	Faraid (Law of Inheritance)	mudhakirah
15	Mutala'a (Excerpts reading)	Mudhakirah	15	Inshau (composition)	
16	Khatt wa imla' (writing and dictation)	Qawaid li imla'	16	Tarjama (translation)	
17	Adab (Ethics)	Al mufazal fil adab	17	Adab (Ethics)	Harka
18	Mahfuzah	Taalim mutaalim	18	Naqid l adab (Criticism of Ethics)	mudhakirah
19	Fiqh (Jurisprudence)	Risala, Izziya	19	Balagah (Rhetoric)	Balaghatul wadia
20	Taohid (Theology)	Madatul qudah	20	Mantiq (Logic)	Almantiq l wadi

<i>P'dadiyya</i>			Thanawiyya		
			21	Usul l fiqh (Foundation of Jurisprudence)	Usul l fiqh
			22	Arud (prosody)	Mizan dhahab
			23	Taohid (Theology)	I'tiqad ahl sunnah
			24	Nahw (Syntax)	Nahw l wadi

Darul Uloom *P'dadiyya* class four subject list

<i>P'dadiyya</i>			Taujihiyya class three		
No.	Subject	Textbook	No.	Subject	Textbook
1	Jigrafiyya (Geography)	Tarikh wa Jugrafiyya	1	Daawah (Proselytization)	Tarikh l alawai
2	Tafsir (Exegesis)	Qur'an	2	Mantiq (Logic)	Assulamu liminauraq
3	Hadith (Traditions)	Hadith Nabawi	3	Faraid 'l dai(Obligations of calling)	No Specific Text
4	Taohid (Theology)	Hidayat mustafid	4	Tarbiyah ((Education))	Durul tarbiya
5	Nusus (Study of literary verses)	Burda	5	Falsafah (Philosophy)	Falsafah nubuwwah
6	Sarfu (Morphology)	Tasriful Midani	6	Al Adab (Ethics)	Lubab qismu l adab hiatab
7	Tarikh (History)	Tarikh Islami III	7	Fiqh(Jurisprudence)	Risala
8	Ilm al Hadith (Science of Hadith)		8	Balaghah (Rhetoric)	Balaghatul wadi
9	AL Inshau (Composition)	Nshau l wadi	9	Falak (Astrology)	Falak wa nujum
10	Al Adab (Ethics)	No specific text	10	Naqid (Criticism)	An naqid l adab
11	Rasm (Drawing)		11	Usul al fiqh (Foundation of Jurisprudence)	Al usul l fiqh fi ilmi usul

<i>I'dadiyya</i>			Taujihiyya class three		
12	Nahw (Syntax)	Ajurumiyya	12	Tarikh (History)	Islam fi Najeriyya
13	Hifzu Qur'an (Qur'an memorization)	Qur'an	13	Arud (Logic)	Minzanu li wafi
14	Thaqafa (Cultural studies)	Durusul Akhlaq	14	Hadith (Traditions)	Bulugh al marami
15	Fiqh (Jurisprudence)	Muqadimatu Izziyaa	15	Tafsir (Exegesis)	Tafsir hayatul hakam III
16	Hisab (Arithmetics)	Tagribu Hisab	16	Al Hisab (Arithmetic)	No Specific Text
			17	Al Jugrafiyyah (Geography)	Durusul tasasiya fi jugragiyya
			18	Nusus (Study of literary verses)	Majmuah
			19	Tawhid (Theology)	Jaharatu taohid
			20	Qawaid (Rules of the grammar)	Nahw l wadi
			21	Ilm nafs (Psychology)	Mubadiu ilm nafs
			22	Hifzu l Qur'an (Qur'an memorization)	Qur'an
			23	Taabir (Composition)	Taabir lughawi
			24	'Ulum al-Qur'an (Science of the Qur'an)	Tabiratul fi ulum l Qur'an

Subjects being offered by level across the Surveyed Schools

Raodat al atfal (nursery)

No.	Subject	Popular Textbook
1	Sirah (The Prophet and hisdra Companions' biographical studies)	Al-Muslim Al-Sagirah
2	Mutala'a (Excerpts reading)	Al-Mutala'a al- hadithah
3	Tasmiu (listening to Qur'an recitation)	Al Qur'an
4	Qira'ah (Qur'an recitation)	Qa'dat al-Baghdadi
5	Khatt wa imla' (Writing and Dictation)	
6	Arabiyya (Arabic language)	Al Jadid (1)
7	Hadith (Sayings of the prophet)	Varied texts
8	Hisab (Arithmetic)	Compilations
9	Mahfuzah (Poetry)	Al-Mahfuzat Al-Adabiyya
10	Hifzu 'l-Qur'an (Qur'an Memorization)	Al Qur'an
11	Taohid (Theology)	Qaidat al-Baghdadi

Ibtidaiyya or Tamhidiyya subjects

No	Subject
1	Al Qur'an
2	Al-'Arabiyyah (Arabic)
3	Fiqh (Jurisprudence)
4	Hadith (Prophetic sayings)
5	Al-khatt wal- imla' (Writing and Dictation)
6	Al-Mahfuzah (memorization of short literary pieces)
7	Mutala'a (Excerpts reading)
8	Al-Qira'ah (Reading)
9	Sirah (Prophetic history)
10	Tajwid (Science of recitation)
11	Taohid (Theology)
12	Tarikh (History)
13	Tasmi' (Listening Comprehension)

I'dadiyya Subjects

No	Subject	No	Subject
1	Al-Adab (Etiquette)	14	Al-Mutala'a (Excerpts reading)
2	Insha' (Composition)	15	Al-Nahw (Syntax)
3	Al-'Arabiyyah (Arabic)	16	Al-Nusus (Study of literary verses)
4	Fiqh (Jurisprudence)	17	Al-Qira'ah (Reading)
5	Hadith (Prophetic sayings)	18	Al-Qur'an (Qur'an)
6	Hifz 'al-Qur'an or Tahfiz (Qur'an memorization)	19	Al-Rasm (Drawing)
7	Hisab (Arithmetic)	20	Al-Sarfu (Morphology)
8	'Ilm Al-Hadith (Science of Hadith)	21	Al-Sirah (Biography of the Prophet)
9	Injiliziyya (English)	22	Al-Tafsir (Qur'anic Exegesis)
10	Jugrafiya (Geography)	23	Al-Tajwid (Science of Recitation)
11	Al-khatt wal- imla' (Writing and Dictation)	24	Al-Taohid (Theology)
12	Kumbutar (Computer)	25	Al-Tarikh (History)
13	Mahfuzah (Memorization of short literary pieces)	26	Thaqafa (Cultural studies/sciences)

Thanawiyya or *Tawjihiiyya* subjects

1	Al adab (etiquette)
2	Al hisab (arithmetic)
3	Al jugrafiyyah (geography)
4	Arud (prosody)
5	Balaghah (rhetorics)
6	Daawah *(Calling/ proselytizing)
7	Falak (astrology)
8	Falsafah (philosophy)
9	Al-Faraid (Law of Inheritance)
10	Faraid l dai (Obligations of calling)
11	Fiqh (jurisprudence)
12	Hadith (prophetic tradition)
13	Hifzu l Qur'an (Qur'an memorization)

No.	Subject
14	Ilm nafs* (psychology)
15	Injlishiyya (English)
16	Kumbutar (Computer)
17	Lughah** (Grammar/language)
18	Mahlumati ham* (General knowledge)
19	Mantiq (Logic)
20	Mirath (Inheritance)
21	Mujtama' a l Islami (Sociology of Islam)
22	Mustala' a l hadith
23	Mutala' a (Excerpts reading)
24	Nahw (syntax)
25	Naqid* (criticism)
26	Naqidu l adab* (criticism of etiquette)
27	Nshau (Composition)
28	Nusus (Study of
29	Qawaid *(Rules of the grammar)
30	Sarf (morphology)
31	Taabir *(Composition)
32	Tafsir (Exegesis)
33	Tarbiyah (Training)
34	Tarbiyah (Training)
35	Tarikh (History)
36	Tariq tadrīs (Teaching methodology)
37	Tarjama* (Translation)
38	Tawhid (Theology)
39	Thaqafah (Cultural studies)
40	Ulum al Qur'an (science of the Qur'an)
41	Ulum al hadith (Science of hadith)
42	Usul l fiqh (Foundation of jurisprudence)

*Peculiar to a school or a few schools. Sometimes it is nomenclatural difference.

Appendix XV

Questionnaire for the *Madaris* in Ilorin

Date.....

This is for the purpose of research only. Information will be treated with utmost confidence.

Establishment and Administration

Name of school.....;

.....

LocationL.G.A.....

Motto:.....logo.....

1. Who founded the school/ year of founding?.....
Educational bio/silsila of the founder.....
2. What prompted the establishment?.....
.....
3. In rented or own building.....
4. Administrative structure of the school.....
.....
.....
5. Physical structure at the beginning.....
.....
6. Physical structure presently i.e number of class rooms and halls
e.t.c.....
.....
7. Does the school have Day or boarding facility?.....
8. Do you have specific staff room Store.....
9. Any nonacademic staff? how manyand
duties.....
.....
10. Do you have any of the following facilities?
 - a. Audio-visual equipment.....
 - b. Computers.....
 - c. Photocopy machine.....
 - d. Website.....

- e. Post office box.....
11. Any student club in the school?.....Sport.....
12. Do you have a school band?.....School bus.....
13. Does the school have a mosque?..... Daily.....Jummuat.....
14. Pioneer number of staff Students.....
15. Uniform wear and colour.....
16. Present number of staff male.....female.....
17. If yes for female, for how long?
-
18. Present number of studentmale.....female.....

Learning and teaching

19. Levels of the school,tahdiri/ibtidai, idadi, thanawy/tawjihi etc
 levels.....duration.....
 levels.....duration.....
 levels.....duration.....
 levels.....duration.....
20. Average age of entrance into levels
 a) Tahdiri/Ibtidai.....Idadi..... Thanawiy/Tawjihi.....
 b) Age of youngest.....and oldest..... final year student of Ibtidai/Tahdiri
 c) Age of youngestand oldest.....final year student of Idadiyya
 d) Age of youngestand oldest.....final year student of
 Thanawiy/Tawjihi
21. School days run fromto.....
22. The school annual calendar runs from.....to.....

23. Study time: morning noon night.....
24. Does the school observes Morning Assembly before commencement of
 lessons?.....
25. Does your school observe government holidays eg independence or children's
 day?.....
26. Methods of evaluation, CA and examination.....or examination only.....
27. Do the students sit for externally set examinations?.....
28. Is any of the school certificates recognized by government either for admission
 or employment into government institution?

29. Source of syllabus and curriculum.....

30. Any science subjects taught in the school or vocational training?.....

 31. Does the school have its own library ?
 If no why?.....
 32. Was the school ever approached by government for any
 purpose?.....If yes , for what?.....

 33. Any relation with NBAIS and NATAIS?.....

 34. Any affinity with Adabiya, Markaziya, Zumratul Mumeen or Akharun?

Financing

35. Source Funding for starting the school.....

 36. Any school fees/ ranges of

 37. Is it adequate? for example, for payment of teachers/maintenance or upgrading
 of school..... not adequate..... fairgood.....very good.....

 38. Has the school ever appealed to the government for any assistance?

 39. If yes what was the response

 40. Affiliation to any institution? local.....foreign.....
 41. Does the school enjoy aid from foreign institution/countries?.....
 country.....personnel.....fund.....
 country.....personnel.....fund.....
 country.....personnel.....fund.....
 42. What is the most important donation cash or kind, ever received by the school
 from any source?.....
 43. Has the school ever received any Grant-in-aid from the state
 government?.....
 44. Do you have any relationship with the local government of where the school is
 situated?.....

 45. Any scholarship for students.....

Staff and School Development

46. How are the teachers sourced.....
.....
47. Qualification of teachers, any specific requirement?.....
48. Do you have any of your student serving as teacher to a junior class.....
49. Does your school make use of NYSC members e.g MCAN.....
50. If no, why?.....
.....
51. Any staff development program?.....
.....
52. Do you have PTAor old boys association.....
53. How have they being of help to the school.....
.....
54. Are you a member of NAAISP?.....
55. If No why?
.....
56. Major problems of the schools.....
.....
.....
56. Efforts at meeting these challenges.....
.....
.....
57. Prospects and future plans.
.....
.....
58. Any other remarks.
.....
.....

1. Subjects taught..... level.....recommended texts.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Department of History,
Bayero University, Kano.
1, October 2012.

Sir,

Letter of Introduction

This is to introduce Ismail Abdullahi Ahmad to you. He is assisting me with the administration of questionnaires and I would be glad if you would render him your fullest cooperation.

Thank you,

Aliyu S. Alabi

Researcher

Appendix XVI

Select Survey Answers

NO.	Name of Madrasah	Location	Y.O.F
1	Zumratal Adabiyatul Kamaliyya, Okekere	Ilorin West	1938
2	Darul Uloom li Jabhat al Ulama wal Aemma, Isale Koto	Ilorin West	1963
3	Muhyideen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Kulende ifurcate 1979	Ilorin East	1962
4	Markaz Taalim li Arabiy wa Islamiyya, Oke Agodi	Ilorin West	1963
5	Shamsudeen College of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Gambari Bifurcate 1976	Ilorin East	1962
6	Al Mahad al Dini al Azhari, Ogidi	Ilorin West	1963
7	Markaz Niimal Mawlah, Guniyan Abayawo	Ilorin West	1968
8	Markaz Zumratal Suadai Centre for Arabic and Islamic Civilisation, Isale Aluko	Ilorin West	1959
9	Mahad Zumratus Saliheena, Oloje	Ilorin West	1953
10	Madrasatul Jawairul Islamiyya, Ogodi Bifurcate 2007	Ilorin West	1962
11	Markaz Ihya l Islam Madinatul Faidat at-Tijaniyyah, Abayawo	Ilorin West	1976
12	Mahad Maashar Solihina, Kuntu, Bifurcate 2008	Ilorin West	1972
13	Mahadu Thaqafatul Adabiyya, Gaa Aremu, Bifurcate 2001	Ilorin West	1975
14	Al Adabiyya Saadiya, Ogidi	Ilorin south	1973
15	Mahadu Kamali al Adabiy, Foma Babalaje	Ilorin West	1970
16	Isobad Isfaq Islamiyya, Ita Kudimo/Eyenkorin Bifurcate 2008	Ilorin West	1970
17	Mahadul Uloomi al Arabiya, Anifowoshe, Bifurcate 1998	Ilorin West	1975
18	Markaz Faozu Najat, Popo Igbona,	Ilorin West	1974
19	Mahad Darus Salam, Oke Foma	Ilorin West	1977
20	Al Madrasatul Saadiyat al Solihiyah, Oke Apomu	Ilorin West	1973
21	Markaz Nujul Hudah, Gerewu, Bifurcate 2002	Ilorin West	1985
22	Madrasatu Bahrul Uloom, Ita Egba	Ilorin West	1987
23	Maashar l Adaby al Kamali, Oko Olowo Bifurcate 2005	Ilorin south	1982
24	Madrasatu Zainu Abidini , Gaa Akanbi Bifurcate 2000	Ilorin south	1983
25	Bahrul Uloom Jahas , Sakama Bifurcate 2004	Ilorin West	1982
26	Al Kabari Arabi , Pakata	Ilorin West	1989
27	Mahad Imam Salih,Egbejila	Ilorin West	1988
28	Raodatul Khairiyya, Gambari	Ilorin East	1989
29	Markaz Nurul Hikmah, Kudimo Street	Ilorin West	1994
30	Markaz Tarbiya Darus Salam, Anifowoshe Bifurcate 2006	Ilorin West	1991
31	Darul Kitab Was-Sunnah, Gaa Akanbi Bifurcate 1995	Ilorin south	1995
32	Mahadul Uloom li Arabiya wal Islamiyya, Anofowoshe	Ilorin West	1990
33	Markaz Raodat li Uloom, Gaa Imam	Ilorin south	1992
34	Markaz Taalim li Arabiy wa Islamiyya, Baraje	Ilorin West	1993
35	Kulliyat Sheik Temim li Dirasat Islamiya wa Ulum l Arabiyyah, Amilegbe	Ilorin West	1992

NO.	Name of Madrasah	Location	Y.O.F
36	Markaz Nurul Hidayah, Sabo line	Ilorin south	1990
37	Markaz l Birr wa Taqwa, Ojuekun	Ilorin West	1996
38	Markaz Shabab Suadai , Oke foma	Ilorin West	1999
39	Madrasatul Nurul Kareem, Elekoyangan	Ilorin East	2006
40	Zumratul Uloom Uthmaniyal Adabiyya, Gaa Akanbi	Bifurcate 2001	Ilorin south 2001

No.	Q.3	Q.6	Q.7	Q.8	Q.9	Q.10a	Q.10b	Q.10c	Q.10d	Q.11
1	Y	14	Informal	Y7	5	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
2	Y	9	N	Y2	1	Y	Y	Y	N	N
3	Y	8	Informal	Y	8	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
4	Y	11	Informal	Y	Voluntary 1	Y	Y	N	N	Y
5	Y	17	N	Y7	8	Y	Y	Y	Plan	Y
6	Y	6	Informal	Y4	3	Y	Y	N	Plan	Y
7	Y	8	N	Y1	4	N	N	N	N	N
8	Y	10	Informal	Y2	3	Y	N	N	N	Y
9	Y	10	Informal	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N
10	Y	10	N	Y	2	Y	Y	N	N	N
11	Y	8	Informal	Y1	5	N	Y	Y	N	N
12	Y	8	Informal	Y1	3	Y	Y	N	N	N
13	Y	6	N	Y1	2	N	Y	N	N	N
14	Y	5	Informal	Y1	N	Y	N	N	N	N
15	Y	12	Informal	Y	4	Y	Y	N	Plan	Y
16	Y	4	Informal	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
17	Y	8	Informal	Y	Voluntary 3	Y	Y	N	N	Y
18	Y		Informal	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N
19	Y	10	Informal	Y2	N	Y	N	N	N	N
20	Y		Informal	Y	6	N	Y	Y	N	N
21	Y	2	Informal	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
22	Y	6	Informal	Y	4	Y	Y	N	N	Y
23	Y	4	Informal	Y	1	Y	Y	N	N	N
24	Y	6	Informal	Y	2	Y	Y	N	N	N
25	Y	8	Informal	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
26	Y	5	Informal	N	2	Y	Y	Y	N	N
27	Y	9	Informal	Y	2	Y	N	N	N	N

No.	Q.3	Q.6	Q.7	Q.8	Q.9	Q.10a	Q.10b	Q.10c	Q.10d	Q.11
28	Y	8	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
29	Y	11	Informal	Y	1	Y	Y	N	N	N
30	Y	7	Informal	Y	3	Y	N	N	N	N
31	Y	16	Informal	Y	15	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
32	Y	4	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
33	Y	5	Informal	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N
34	Y	7	N	Y	5	Plan	Plan	N	N	N
35	Y	8	N	Y	5	Y	Y	Y	N	N
36	Rent	8	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
37	Y	4	Informal	Y	3	N	Y	N	N	N
38	Y	8	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
39	Y	6	Informal	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
40	Y	6	Informal	Y	4	Y	Y	N	N	N

No	Q.12	Q.13	Q.14	Q.16	Q.18	Q.19
1	N/ used to have	Daily	White	30	1000 /100	IB.3/ ID.3/ TH. 3
2	Y	Daily	Dark Blue/Brown	18	2000 /100	IB.2/ID.4/TH3
3	N/used to have	Daily/Jummat	White/Black	12m 2f	380 /80	ID.3 /TH.3
4	Y	Daily/Jummat	Dark Blue/Brown	12	500 /20	ID.4 /TH.3
5	Y	Daily/Jummat	Blue/White	27	900/400	N/P.6/JIS./SIS.3
6	N	Daily/Jummat	White	11	240	ID.3/ TH.3
7	N	Daily/Jummat	Green/Brown	8	60/25	IB.2/ID.4/TH.3
8	Y	Daily/Jummat	Green/white/redcap	12	100/25	IB.2, ID.4/TH.3
9	N	Daily/Jummat	White	6	250/50	IB.2.ID.4.TH.3
10	N	Daily/Jummat	White/green cap	15	60/30	IB.4.ID.4.3
11	N	Daily/Jummat	White/green	4	60/60	R.2 /ID.3/TH.3
12	Y	Daily/Jummat	Dark Blue/Brown	6	40/50	R.2/IB.2/ ID.4./TH.3
13	N	Daily/Jummat	White	4/2f	18/12	IB4./ID.3/TH.3
14	Y	Daily/Jummat	White/blue	4/2f	94/6	IB.2 /ID.3

No	Q.12	Q.13	Q.14	Q.16	Q.18	Q.19
15	N	Daily/Jummat	White	28	1500/6	IB.2./ID.3./TH.3
16	N	Daily/Jummat	White	7	67/18	IB.2ID.3
17	Y	Daily/Jummat	White/ navy blue	7	42/21	IB.2./ID.3./TH.3
18	N	Daily	Blue/White	7	190/10	IB.2/ID.4,T3
19	N	Daily/Jummat	White/brown	18	450/150	R.2/IB.3/ID./4TH 3
20	N	Daily	White	30	700/300	IB.3/ ID.4./ TH.3
21	N	Daily/Jummat	White/blue	5	50/10	IB.1/ID.4
22	Y	Daily/Jummat	Green and white	15	250/50	IB.3 ID.4. Th.3
23	Y	Daily/Jummat	White	9/1f	200/25	IB.2.ID.3.TH.3
24	Y	Daily/Jummat	Yellow	7/1f	150/180	IB2.ID3.Th.2
25	Y	Daily	Pink/Green	4	220/50	IB.3 ID.4. Th.3
26	Y	Daily/Jummat	White/green cap	15	200/-100	R2.IB.3.ID.4.T.3
27	N	Daily	White	8	400/200	R.1IB.2ID.3.T.3
28	N	Daily	Pink/white	5	50/45	IB.2ID.4TH3
29	Y	Daily/Jummat	Dark Blue/Brown		80/70	IB.4.ID.4.3
30	Y	Nil	Dark Blue/Brown	6	80/40	R2.IB.3.ID.3
31	Y	Daily/Jummat	Blue/white, red cap	60+	2200/80 0	R2IB.3.ID3T3d.2
32	N	Daily/Jummat	White/green	7	70/30	IB.2.ID4
33	N	Daily	Blue/brown	10	200	T.1ID.4.T3
34	N	Nil	Sky blue	19/1 f	211/189	IB.3ID.3TH3
35	N	Daily/Jummat	Green and black	16	50/-50	IB.3ID.3TH3
36	N	Daily	Blue/brown/whit ecap	10	140/60+	R.2IB.3ID.4
37	N	Daily	Light green	4/2f	65/50	IB.3 ID.4.
38	N	Daily/Jummat	Dark Blue/Brown	6	120/20	IB.3/ ID.4./ TH.3
39	N	Daily/Jummat	Blue/brown/whit e (F)	8/2f	60/40	IB.2ID.4
40	Y	Nil	White/cream/pur ple	4/10 f	60/25	R.2IB.3ID.3

No.	Q.20	Q.21	Q.22	Q.23	Q.24	Q.25	Q.26	Q.27
1	4/67+	Sat-Wed	Sept-July	Morning	y	N	Y	SIS
2	8/35+	Sat-Wed	Muh-dhul-hijja	Morning	Y	N	E	SIS
3	12/20+	Sun-Thu	Sept-June	Morn/Evening	Y	Y	Y	SIS
4	10/25+	Sat-Wed	Muh-Shawwal	Morning	Y	N	Y	N
5	3/22+	Sun-Thu	Sept-June	Morning	Y	Y	Y	J/SIS
6	12/35+	Sat-Wed	Sept-June	Morning	Y	N	Y	N
7	5/25+	Sun-Thu	Shawwal-Shaabab	Morning	Y	N	Y	J/SIS
8	10-20+	Sat-Wed	Shawwal-Shaabab	Morning	Y	N	Y	SIS
9	4/23+	Sat-Wed	Rajab break	Morning	y	N	Y	N
10	3/20+	sat-wed	Shawwal-Shaabab	Morning	Y	n	Y	Nil
11	8/20+	sat-wed	Muh-dhul-hijja	Morn/Noon	Y	N	Y	SIS
12	10/20+	Sat-Wed	Muh-dhul-hijja	Morning	Y	N	y	SIS
13	12/21+	Sat-Wed	Shawwal-Shaabab	Morning	Y	Y	Y	N
14	3/25+	Sat-Wed	Shawwal-Shaabab	Morning	Y	N	Y	N
15	6/20+	Sat-Wed	not specific	Morning	Y	N	Y	SIS
16	13/15+	sat-wed	Rajab break	Morn/Noon	Y	N	Y	N
17	5/27+	Sat-Wed	Shawwal-Shaabab	Morning	Y	Y	Y	SIS
18	12/25+	Sat-Wed	Shawwal-Shaabab	Morning	Y	N	Y	N
19	2/50+	sat-wed	Shawwal-Shaabab	Morn/Noon	Y	N	Y	N
20	4/21+	sat-wed	shawwal-shaabab	Morn/Noon	Y	N	Y	N
21	5/15+	Sat-Wed	Shawwal-Shaabab	Morning	Y	N/Y	Y	N
22	3/27+	Sat-Wed	March-February	Morn/Noon	Y	N	Y	N
23	5/17+	Sat-Wed	sept.-June	Morn/Evening	Y	Y/N	Y	NBAIS
24	5/20+	Sat-thur	Shawwal-Shaabab	Morn/Noon	Y	Y/N	Y	N
25	2/20+	Sat-Wed	Feb.-Dec.	Morn/Noon	Y	N/Y	Y	Y
26	3/20+	sat-wed	Muh-DhulQ	Morning	y	N	Y	Nil
27	5/21+	sat-wed	Rajab break	Morning	Y	N	Y	N
28	4/22+	sat-wed	Shawwal-Shaabab	Morning	Y	N	Y	SIS
29	12/20+	sat-wed	Shawwal-Shaabab	Morn/Noon/Night	Y	N	Y	Nil

No.	Q.20	Q.21	Q.22	Q.23	Q.24	Q.25	Q.26	Q.27
30	3/18+	sat-wed	Shawwal-Shaaban	Morn/Noon/Night	Y	N	Y	Nil
31	2/20+	sat-wed	Shawwal-Shaaban	Morn/Noon	Y	N	Y	NBAIS
32	5/15+	sat-wed	Shawwal-Shaaban	Morn/Noon	Y	N	Y	Nil
33	5/30+	sat-wed	J.ula-J.thani	Morn/Noon	Y	N	Y	Nil
34	4/22+	sat-wed	shawwal-shaaban	Morn/Noon	Y	N	Y	N
35	6/17+	sat-wed	Shawwal-Shaaban	Morning	Y	N	Y	SIS
36	2/25+	sat-wed	Shawwal-Shaaban	Night	Y	N	Y	N
37	3/20+	sat-wed	Shawwal-Shaaban	Morning	y	N		N
38	4/20+	Sat-Wed	Shawwal-Shaaban	Morning	Y	N	Y	N
39	1/25+	sat-wed	Maulud-r/awwal	Morning	Y	N	Y	N
40	2/18+	sat-thur	not specific	Morn/Noon	Y	Y/N	Y	N

No.	Q.28	Q.29	Q.30	Q.31	Q.33	Q.34
1	GHI*/Arab countries	Azhar/Self	Y	Y	Y	Adabiyya
2	GHI/Arab countries	Markaz	N	BS	Y	Markaziyya
3	GHI/Arab countries	NBAIS	Y	Y	Y	Nil
4	GHI/Arab countries	Mar/Azhar/Self	N	Y	N	Markaziyya
5	GHI/Arab countries	NBAIS/MOE	Y	Y	Y	All
6	GHI/Arab countries	Azhar	Y	N	N	Adabiyya
7	GHI	Self	N	Y	Y	Markaziyya
8	GHI	Markaz/NBAIS	N	Y	Y	Markaziyya
9	GHI	Self/Saudi	N	N	N	Nil
10	GHI	Self/COE/CAILS	N	N*	N	All
11	GHI	NBAIS	Y	Y	Y	Nil
12	GHI	Self/Markaz	N	N	Y	Markaziyya
13	GHI	Azhar	Y	Y	Y	Adabiyya
14	Adabiya	Adabiyya	N	N	N	Adabiyya
15	GHI/Arab countries	Saudi/Azhar	Y	Y	Y	Adabiyya

No.	Q.28	Q.29	Q.30	Q.31	Q.33	Q.34
16	<i>Madaris</i>	Self/Adabiyya	N	N	N	Adabiyya
17	GHI	Mixed	N	N	Y	Adabiyya
18	<i>Madaris</i>	Markaz	N	Y	N	Markaziyya
19	GIH	Azhari	N	N	N	Nil
20	<i>Madaris</i>	Markaz	N	Y	Y	Markaziyya
21	<i>Madaris</i>	NBAIS/Lokoja	N	N	Y	Nil
22	GHI	Self	N	infml	N	Muhyideen
23	Adabiya	Adabiyya	N	N	Y	Adabiyya
24	GHI	Self	N	N	N	Adabiyya
25	<i>Madaris</i>	NBAIS	N	Y	Y	Nil
26	<i>Madaris</i>	Self	N	Y	N	Markaziyya
27	GIH	Self	N	N	N	Adabiyya
28	GHI	Shamsudeen	N	Y	Y	Markaziyya
29	GHI	Azhari	N	N	N	Markaziyya
30	<i>Madaris</i>	Self	N	N	N	Adabiyya
31	GHI/Arab countries	NBAIS	N	Y	Y	Nil
32	<i>Madaris</i>	Self	N	N	N	Adabiyya
33	Markaz	Markaz	N	Y	N	Markaziyya
34	<i>Madaris</i>	Markaz,Shamshdeen	N	N	N	Markaziyya
35	GIH	Shamsudeen	N	Y	N	Adabiyya
36	<i>Madaris</i>	Darul ulum	N	Y	N	Markaziyya
37	<i>Madaris</i>	Markazi	N	Y	N	Markaziyya
38	GHI	Mixed	N	N	N	All
39	<i>Madaris</i>	self	N	N	N	Nil
40	<i>Madaris</i>	self, mixed	N	N	N	Adabiyya

No.	Q.36	Q40	Q.41	Q.43	Q.45	Q47
1	1450-2550 PA	Azhar	pers./Scholarship	N	2P/A*	Up to Ph.D
2	2200-2500 PA	Markaz	N	N	N	Thanawiy-Masters
3	2500-3000 PA	ABU/ F.U	Books	N	N	NCE- Degree
4	Free	Nil	Nil	N	N	Up to degree
5	2800-3400 PA	ABU/ F.U	pers.	N	Waivers	Up to degree
6	3500 PA	Azhar	pers./Scholarship	N	best 10	Up to degree
7	500	Markaz	N	N	N	NCE/Diploma
8	2000-3000 PA	Markaz	N	N	N	Up to Ph.D
9	500	Umm Qurra	Scholarship	N	N	Thanawiy
10	Free	Nil	N	N	N	Up to Master
11	100 M	ABU	N	N	N	Up to degree
12	Free	Nil	books/personnel	N	waivers	Up to degree
13	Free/1500 PA	Nil	N	N	N	dipl/NCE
14	1500/3000 PA	Adabiyya	N	N	N	dipl/NCE
15	2500/3500 PA	Adabiyya/F.U	books/personnel	N	N	Up to degree
16	1000 PA	Nil	N	N	N	Thanawiy/degree
17	Free	Adabiyya	N	N	N	Thanawiy
18	1000/1500 PA	Nil	Nil	N	N	Thanawiy
19	1000 PA	Azhar	N	N	N	Diploma
20	Free	Nil	N	N	N	Diploma
21	250	Lokoja	N	N	N	Up to degree
22	Free	Nil	N	N	N	Up to degree
23	Free	Adabiyya	N	N	N	Up to degree
24	Free	Nil	N	N	N	Up to Masters
25	Free	Nil	N	N	N	Up to degree
26	550-1500 PA	Nil	N	N	N	Up to degree
27	Free	Azhar	N	N	N	Diploma
28	Free	Nil	N	N	N	NCE/Diploma
29	200-300 M	Nil	N	N	N	Thanawiy
30	1000 PA	Markaz	N	N	N	Thanawiy-NCE
31	Free	Nil	Scholarship	N	Y	Up to Ph.D
32	1000 PA	Nil	N	N	N	Thanawiy-NCE
33	1000 PA	Markaz	N	N	N	Diploma
34	Free	Nil	N	N	N	NCE +
35	500	Nil	N	N	N	NCE/Diploma
36	100M	Nil	N	N	N	Up to degree
37	Free	Nil	N	N	N	NCE
38	Free	Markaz	N	N	N	NCE/Diploma
39	4000-8000 PA	Nil	N	N	N	Thanawiy
40	Free	Nil	N	N	N	Thanawiy/diploma

No.	Q.52	Q.54	Q.56
1	YY	NA	No support from Government
2	NY	NA	Space, funding
3	YY	NA	No support from Government, funding
4	YY	NA	No support from Government, funding
5	YY	Y	Funding
6	NY	N	Funding
7	YY	Y	Western schools
8	YY	NA	Funding, western education
9	NY	NA	Funding
10	YY	Y	Funding
11	YY	NA	Funding
12	NY	NA	Funding
13	YY	Y	Funding
14	NY	NA	Funding, teachers, infrastructure
15	YY	NA	Funding, erosion
16	NY	N	Funding
17	YY	Partial	Funding/teachers
18	YY	NA	Funding/No support from Government
19	NY	N	Funding/attitude
20	NY	Y	No support from Government
21	NN	NA	No support from Government, funding
22	YY	Y	Funding, infrastructure
23	YY	NA	Funding
24	YY	NA	Funding
25	NY	Y	Funding
26	YY	N	Funding
27	NY	N	Funding, infrastructure
28	YY	Y	No support from Government, funding
29	YY	Y	Funding
30	YY	Y	Funding
31	YY	N	Mathematics and English teachers

No.	Q.52	Q.54	Q.56
32	YY	N	Funding
33	YY	Y	Funding
34	YN	N	Student's interest
35	YY	Y	Funding
36	YY	N	Accommodation /electricity
37	YY	Y	No support from Government, funding
38	NN	N	Funding
39	YY	N	Funding/equipment,library.
40	YN	NA	Funding

Index

Y= Yes

N=No/nil

NA= Not Aware

JIS= Junior Islamic Studies

SIS= Senior Islamic Studies

R= Raodatul atfal

IB= Ibtidaiyya

ID= *I'dadiyya*

TH= Thanawiyya/*Tawjihiiyya*

M= Monthly

PA= Per Annum

MOE= Ministry of Education

FU= Foreign Universities

CAILS= College of Arabic and Islamic Legal Studies

GHI= Government Higher Institutions

NBAIS= National Board for Arabic and Islamic Studies

NCE= National Certificate of Education

* Consistent scholarship

Appendix XVII

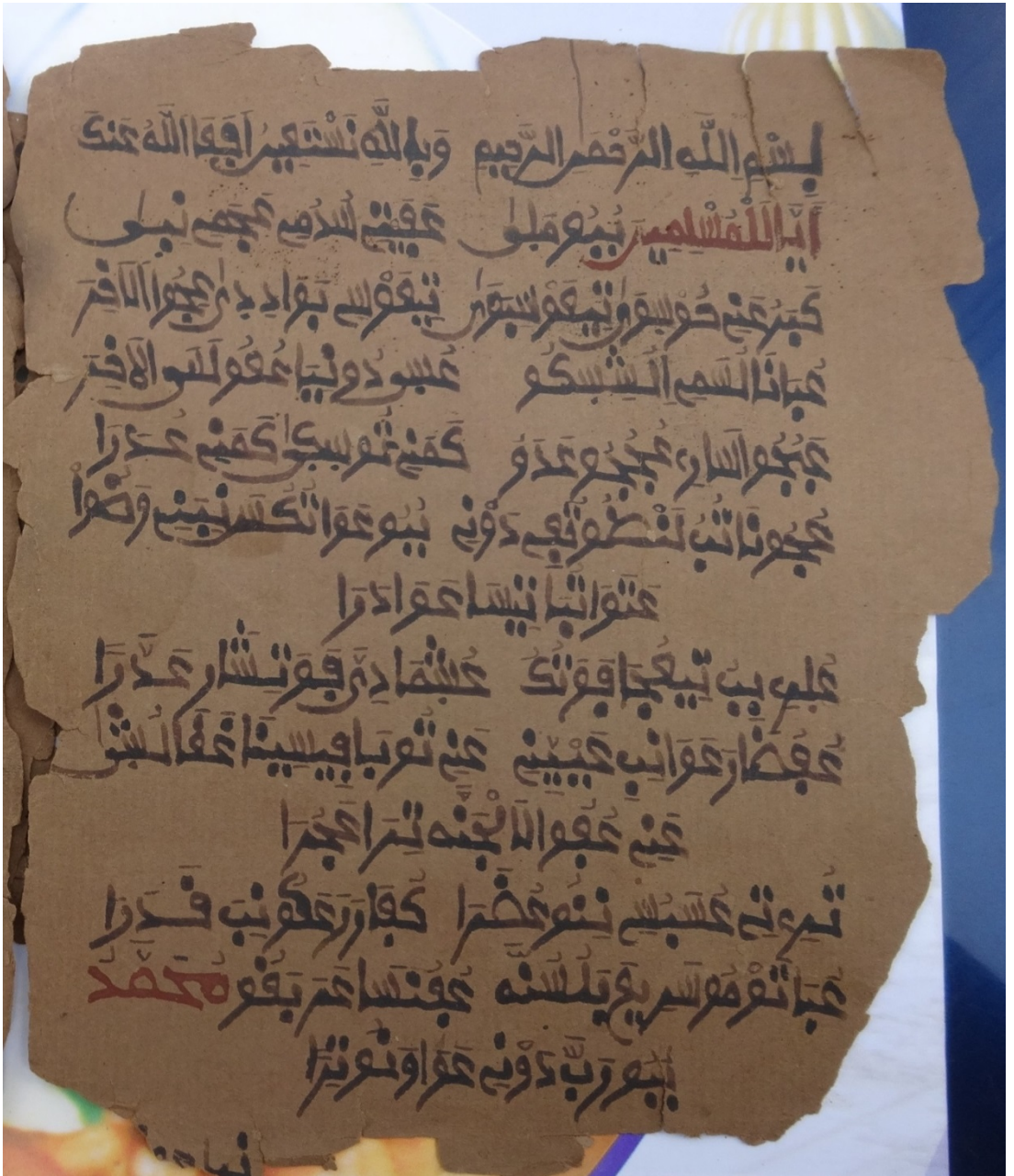
Terms of Reference for the Committee include:

1. Selection of one of the Colleges of Arabic and Islamic Studies which can be converted into a befitting higher institution and bearing in mind the essential take off facilities;
2. Formation of the philosophy and objectives of the institution, proposal of its motto and academic robes, and design of the logo;
3. Design the program of academic instruction and the structure of certificates to be awarded by the institution, and recommend affiliations;
4. Proposal of organogram for the academic and administrative structure of the institution bearing in mind the number and status of academic and nonacademic staff crucial to the successful take off of the College;
5. Prepare the provisional recurrent and capital budget for effective operation of the institution in its first three years, bearing in mind four above as well as envisaged student enrollment during the period;
6. Suggest strategies and work out logistics for the successful take off of the institution.

Objectives and Mission of the College include:

1. Supply the much needed middle level manpower in the field of Arabic, Islamic studies, Shariah and Common law.
2. Satisfy the yearning and aspirations of parents and products of various institutions of Arabic and Islamic Studies to further their education in an institution of higher learning.
3. Provide for candidates who possess Senior Islamic Studies Certificate (SIS), Grade II Arabic Certificate, Senior Secondary Certificate Examination (SSCE) and *Tawjihyya* or *Thanawiyya* certificates (of the *madaris*).
4. To preserve and promote the quality, standard of Arabic which, in addition to its importance for Muslims, is also an international language for diplomacy, economy and education.
5. To prepare students to acquire the prerequisite qualifications for admission into universities in Nigeria and abroad, in classical and modern Arabic, Islamic Studies, shariah and civil law and any one of the major Nigerian languages as contained in the National Policy on Education.
6. Provide the much needed manpower to teach Arabic, Islamic Studies and major Nigerian languages at both primary and post primary levels of education.
7. Produce highly competent legal men and women for the ever expanding judicial institution in the state.

Source: Report of the Committee on the Establishment of the College of Arabic and Islamic Legal Studies, Ilorin. September, 1991.



The opening page of a nineteenth century poem in *Ajemi* by Sheikh Badamasi Agbaji. Copy provided by Dr M.M. Jimba, 2014.

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