

C1 403

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN



THIS THESIS SUBMITTED BY

Dr. Shuaibu Abdul-Rahman

.....
WAS ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE FACULTY OF ARTS
OF THIS UNIVERSITY

THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THE AWARD IS

22nd November, 1983

1/3/85

DATE

[Signature]
SECRETARY
POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

ISLAMIC LEARNING IN NUPELAND

(1750 - 1982)

BY:

SHUAIBU ABDULRAHMAN

B.ED. (HONS.), Exeter,

M.A. (Islamic Studies), Ibadan.

A Thesis in the Department of
Arabic and Islamic Studies

Submitted to the Faculty of Arts
in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

of the

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN

February, 1983.

ABSTRACT

Islamic learning in Nupeland started almost concurrently with the inception of Islam into the Nupe country, about the middle of the 18th Century. This followed the practice of Islam which made literacy and acquisition of knowledge incumbent on every muslim. This study has been undertaken primarily to examine the rate at which the traditional Islamic learning has developed in the area and, at the same time, to assess the impact of this traditional system of education upon the Nupe people and their culture.

The work is divided into six chapters. The first chapter discusses the Nupe traditional religious practices prior to Islam in order to provide a basis for comparison with Islamic religious practices. Chapter two discusses the establishment of Arabic Schools and the emergence of first Arabic writings. Chapter three examines Islamic education generally and assesses its impact upon the Nupe people. The role of the teacher in the traditional system of Islamic education is examined in chapter four, while chapter five discusses some of the characteristics of the traditional Islamic Schools versus those of some Western oriented Schools, which also give Islamic education. The concluding chapter

examines the sources of revenue for the two categories of educational institutions and discovers that the Western oriented schools are solely sponsored by the government of the area while the private Arabic Schools are left mainly in the hands of proprietors and private organisations. This implies that Western oriented schools have stronger sources of funds and are, generally, more equipped and more organised than the private Arabic Schools. The chapter closes with some suggestions for the improvement of the quality of Islamic education generally throughout the Nupe country.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

DEDICATION

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

... رَبِّ زِدْنِيْ عِلْمًا

...My Lord, increase me in
Knowledge.

Qur'ān 20:114

Acknowledgements

This study could not have been successfully undertaken without the assistance of individuals and organisations too numerous to mention individually. I would, first of all, like to express my sincere gratitude to the Niger State Government for sponsoring me, and to the University of Ibadan for admitting me on full-time basis to undertake the study. I am equally grateful to all the Chief Education Officers for the five local government areas covered by the study, for allowing me to see a number of Arabic schools in their areas. I am particularly grateful to Alhaji Shafi'i, Imām of the Bida Second Juma'at Mosque, for taking me round the private Arabic Schools in Bida. Special thanks go to Alhaji Sheikh Ahmad Lemu, Grand Qādi of Niger State and his wife, Mrs. Aishatu B. Lemu, for giving me an insight into the workings of their organisation, the Islamic Education Trust, (I.E.T.). I also want to mention by name, Alhaji Musa Wakili, Secretary to Lapai Local Government (Niger State), and Alhaji Salmān Olayinka, Vice Principal, Lafiagi Secondary School (Kwara State), for their assistance in the course of my study tours. To all the proprietors of private Arabic Schools and principals of post-primary schools

whom I interviewed, I am also very grateful.

Finally, I must express my profound gratitude to Dr. M.O.A. Abdul, Acting Head, Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Ibadan, for his constant fatherly advice and extreme kindness, which have been my source of inspiration throughout the study. To my Supervisor, Dr. W.O.A. Nasiru, I also express my sincere gratitude for his constant encouragement. He patiently read through my drafts and guided me through the entire work. Special thanks go to Messrs. L.A. Oladeji and Adeola Tanigbola for typing the work, and Mrs. Othman of the Geography Department, for preparing the Map of the area under study. I am also grateful to my Colleague, Mr. A.F. Ahmad, my teachers Dr. I.A. Ogunbiyi and Alhaji D.O.S. Noibi, for their constant encouragement. To all of them, I am most grateful; without their cooperation, this work could not have been successfully completed.

CERTIFICATION BY SUPERVISOR

I certify that this work was carried out by
Mr. Shuaibu Abdulrahman in the Department of
Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Ibadan.

S u p e r v i s o r

W. O. A. Nasiru,
B.A., Ph.D. (Ibadan),
Lecturer,
Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies,
University of Ibadan, Ibadan.

February, 1983.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Title page	i
Abstract	ii - iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgements	v - vi
Certification	vii
Table of Contents	viii - xii
List of Plates	xiii
List of figures and Tables	xiii
Preface	xiv - xvi
CHAPTER ONE:	
Emergence of Islam	
I Nupeland: Geographical and Historical Notes	1 - 3
II Religion before Islam	4 - 10
III Emergence of Islam	11 - 12
(1) Efforts of Fulani Jihādists	12 - 17
(2) The Fulani struggles for religious and political domination	17 - 28

IV	Relative Peace and Stability - Umaru Majigi's Reign	29 - 31
V	The Rapid Growth of Islam and Factors Responsible for it .. upon	32 - 54
VI	Islamic Influences / some Traditional religious practices among the Nupe people	
(1)	The Position of Women	55 - 58
(2)	Naming and Funeral Ceremonies	58 - 68
(3)	Installation of Kings	68 - 71
(4)	Inheritance	72 - 74
(5)	Learning	74 - 78
	Notes and References to Chapter one ..	79 - 86
CHAPTER TWO:		
	Emergence of Arabic Schools	87 - 88
(1)	The <u>Maghribi</u> Style of Handwriting (<u>Khaff Maghribi</u>)	88 - 92
(2)	The New Style <u>Maghribi</u> Handwriting	92 - 97
(3)	The ordinary Cursive Arabic Writing (<u>Khaff al-Nuskha</u>)	97
(4)	The Latest Ordinary Cursive Arabic Writing	98
I	Development of Arabic Learning: Teacher-Centredness and regimentation of learners	99 - 100
II	Arabic Learning Versus Western Oriented Education - An Experiment. ..	101 - 103

III	Sample study of Selected Arabic Schools	104 - 109
(1)	A special study of Alkali Yahya b. Jibril	110 - 111
(2)	<u>al-Şidq Murrūn</u> in Manuscript ..	111 - 121
IV	The Islamic Education Trust	
(1)	Sheikh Ahmad Lemu	122 - 125
(2)	The Islamic Education Trust (I.E.T.)	125 - 127
	Notes and References to Chapter Two ..	128 - 129
CHAPTER THREE		
	Islamic Education and its impact ..	130.
I	Sociology of Muslim Education ..	131 - 133
II	Aims and Objectives	134 - 136
III	Islamic Principles and their impact on the indigenous values	137 - 138
(1)	<u>Īmān</u> (Faith)	138 - 140
(2)	<u>Salāt</u> (Prayer)	140 - 147
(3)	<u>Sawm</u> (Fasting)	148
(4)	<u>Zakāt</u> (poor tax)	149 - 150
(5)	<u>Hāj</u> j (Pilgrimage)	150 - 151

IV	Influence of muslim education on some other aspects of Nupe life		
(1)	Marital life	152 - 159
(2)	Inheritance	159 - 162
(3)	Enhanced position of Women	..	162 - 165
	Notes and References to chapter three	..	166 - 167

CHAPTER FOUR

The Role of the Mu'allim in the Islamic Learning System

I	The Arabic School System		
(1)	His educational duties	..	168 - 171
(2)	His methods and authority	..	171 - 178
(3)	His position in Max Weber's three types of authority	..	178 - 184
II	His position in the larger muslim Community	
(1)	As a representative of adult muslim society	185 - 186
(2)	His socio-religious duties	..	186 - 195
III	His other suggested roles	..	196 - 198
	Notes and References to Chapter Four	..	199 - 200

CHAPTER FIVE

The Traditional Islamic Schools versus Western Oriented Schools which give Islamic education

I Characteristics of Islamic educational Institutions:

- (1) Stages of the Schools 201 - 205
- (2) Teaching in early Islam in Nupeland .. 205 - 209

II Characteristics of Western Oriented Schools where Islamic education is given:

- Stages of Western type of Schools and their nature 210 - 224

III Some suggestions for improving the Traditional Arabic Schools 225 - 228

Notes and References to chapter Five 229

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion 230

- I Sources of Funds
- (1) Private Sector of Islamic education .. 231 - 253
- (2) Public sector of Islamic education .. 253 - 269

II Islamic education as a Social Service 270 - 275

III Some Functional values of Islamic education 276 - 280

Notes and References to chapter six 281 - 283

Bibliography 284 - 289

Appendices 290 - 309

List of Plates.

	Page
Plate 1: The old Bida Central Mosque	39
Plate 2: Alhaji Adama Banwuya in front of his Islamiyyah School	116
Plate 3: Sheikh Yūsuf Alfa, <u>Imām</u> of the third Bida Juma'at mosque	117
Plate 4: An I.E.T. Certificate issued for the completion of Women's Basic Islamic Education Course	248

List of Figures

Fig. 1: Niger and Kwara States of Nigeria showing the areas under study	3
Fig. 2: <u>Khatt Maghribi</u> , part of the first Arabic writing to appear in Nupeland	90
Fig. 3: New <u>Khatt Maghribi</u> which appeared in Nupeland about the mid-nineteenth Century	93

List of Tables

Table 1: Total number of private Arabic Schools studied	105 - 109
Table 2: Number of <u>officially</u> recognised private Arabic Schools throughout the area under study	240
Table 3: Number of Government post-primary schools in Nupeland which give Islamic education	255
Table 4: Number of primary schools sponsored by the local governments of Nupeland. They all give Islamic education	258

PREFACE

The Nupe people are, today, predominantly muslims. Their traditional homes are parts of Kwara and Niger States of Nigeria. In Kwara State, a large concentration of them is found in Edu Local Government area, especially in the major towns of Lafiagi, Pategi, Charagi and Chonga. They are also found scattered all over the State, particularly in the State Capital, Ilorin. In Niger State, the Nupes constitute the largest ethnic group. According to the 1963 population census, they make up over 40% of the entire population of the State. They occupy four of the nine local government areas of the state and their major towns are Bida, Raba, Mokwa, Kutigi, Agaie, Doko, Lemu, Katcha and Lapai. Minna, the State Capital, is also predominantly inhabited by the Nupe people.

That Islam has been gaining adherents in both Kwara and Niger States, particularly throughout the Nupe areas of the two states, appears to be a continuing development.

Bida, the Nupe traditional Capital, has formed a natural setting for this study, because of its cultural and historic importance to the people. An ancient walled city founded about the middle of the 15th Century, it is rich in history and culture, and has grown over the years,

both socially and economically. Its culture is both traditional and Islamic. Marriage customs and traditions, birth and death rituals, though largely influenced by Islam, still retain elements of practices peculiar to Nupe alone. It is, however, true to refer to Nupe culture today as synonymous with Islamic culture, because Islam has assimilated all the important aspects of the traditional culture. It is in the light of these circumstances that one feels the need to undertake a special study of the traditional Islamic learning among the Nupe people.

This is a fresh ground because there has never been a study of this nature by any scholar in the past. Reference works for the major part of the study was, therefore, difficult. Thus, it became necessary to travel up and down the Nupe country to see some private Arabic and Qur'anic Schools, interview renowned local and historians and teachers in the Arabic schools. I also had to see some Western oriented schools, interview some Arabic and Islamic Religious Knowledge teachers and study the organisation and development of Islamic studies generally in both private and public schools throughout the area under study.

In scope, the study is fairly extensive. It covers the five local government areas of Nupeland shared by Kwara and Niger States. The period covered is between 1750 and 1982, but I could not operate strictly within these two points of time. I have had to go beyond 1982 because many of the findings discussed in the body of the thesis could be applicable for many years to come. Similarly, I have had to go a little deeper into the past by prefacing the thesis with a brief discussion of the traditional religion prior to Islam. The Nupe traditional religion focusses, among other things, on the figure of Tsoede, the cultural hero and founder of Nupe kingdom, born about 1463 A.D. I have, however, chosen the year 1750 as a starting point, because the first recognised pre-jihād Nupe muslim ruler is believed, by the Nupes, to have reigned in that year.

CHAPTER ONE

EMERGENCE OF ISLAM

I NUPELAND: GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

The geographical position of Nupeland is shared between Kwara and Niger States of Nigeria. The Nupe¹ people live traditionally in five of the twenty one local government areas which make up the two States. In Kwara State, they occupy one of the twelve local government areas of the State - the Edu Local Government, with its headquarters at Lafiagi. Other major Nupe towns in the State are Pategi, Charagi and Chonga; but the Nupes are found scattered all over the State, particularly in the State Capital Ilorin. Nevertheless, they are in the minority there.

In Niger State, the Nupes constitute the largest ethnic group, making up over 40% of the entire population of the State.² They occupy four of the nine local government areas of the State which are Lavan, Gbako, Agaie and Lapai Local Government Areas. Their major towns are Bida, Raba, Mokwa, Kutigi, Agaie, Doko, Lemu, Katcha and Lapai. Minna, the State Capital, is also predominantly inhabited by the Nupes because of their larger population.³

Bida, the traditional Capital for the Nupe people, is of cultural and historic importance. An ancient walled city, founded about the turn of the 15th century,⁴ Bida is rich in history and culture, and has grown over the years, both

socially and economically. Its population (according to the 1963 population census) is 132,000. It is situated about 150 kilometres south-west of Minna, the Niger State Capital. It is about 160 kilometres south of Abuja, the new Federal Capital and about 270 kilometres east of Ilorin, the Kwara State Capital. As the celebrated Nupe Cultural centre, its culture is both traditional and Islamic. Marriage customs and traditions, birth and death rituals, though largely influenced by Islam, still retain elements of practices peculiar to the Nupe alone. It is, however, true to refer to Nupe culture today as synonymous with Islamic culture because, Islam has assimilated all the important aspects of the traditional culture.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

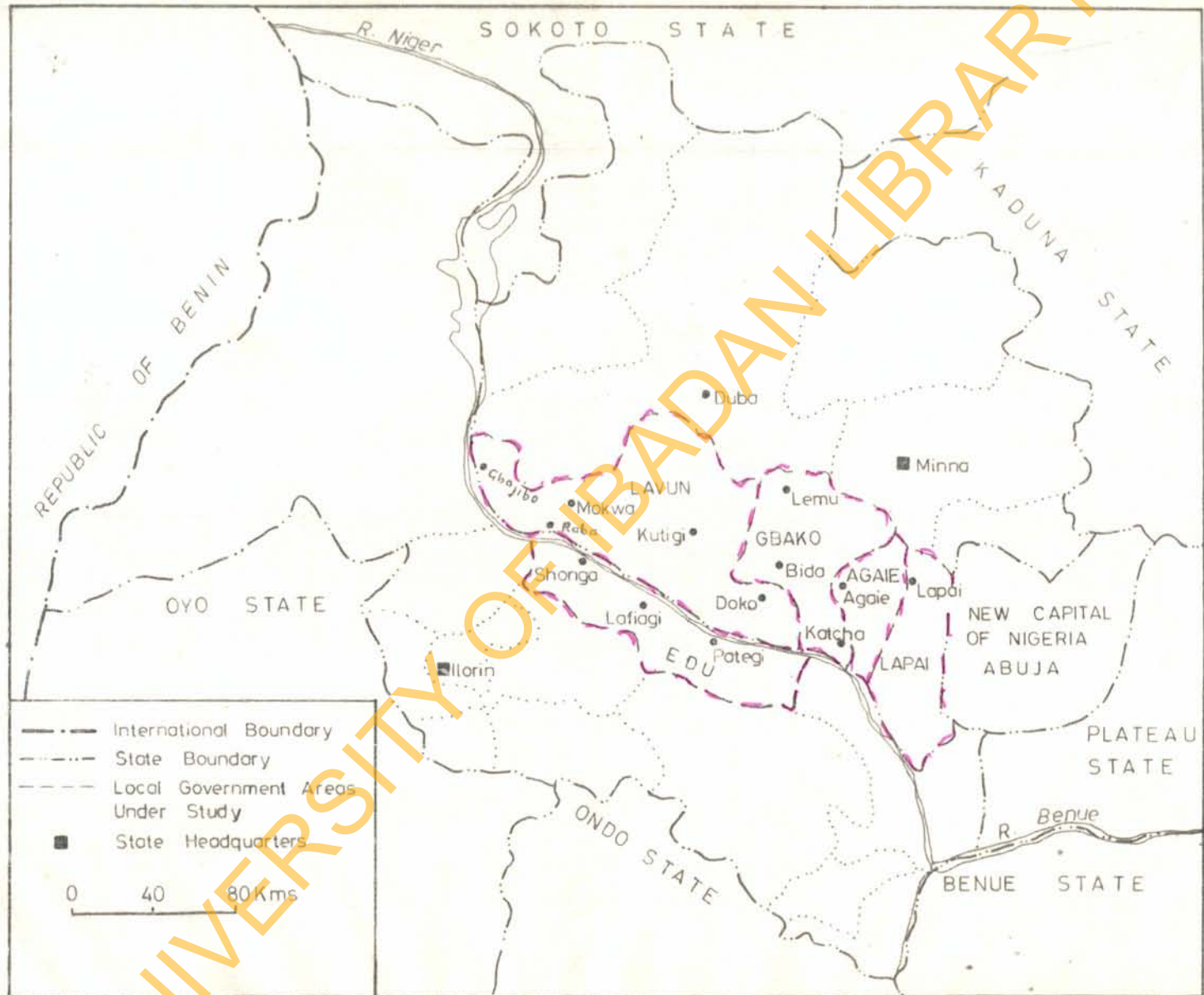


Fig. 1 Niger and Kwara states of Nigeria showing the areas under study.

II

RELIGION BEFORE ISLAM

The traditional religion of the Nupe people is polytheism. It focuses mainly on the figure of Tsoede, the cultural hero and mythical founder of the Nupe Kingdom. His name is derived from the Nupe form 'Etsu-Ede' or Tsoede (King-Ede),⁵ while the Hausa chroniclers generally refer to him as Edegi. Inevitably, there are several versions of the Tsoede legend and the one quoted here is that given by the last living descendant of the Tsoede dynasty, Etsu Umaru of Pategi, as given by Nadel.⁶

At about 1463 A.D. when Tsoede was born, the Binj⁷ chieftainships were united in a loose confederacy under the chief of Nku, a village near the confluence of the Niger and Kaduna rivers. There was no kingdom of Nupe then and the people were under the Atta of Igala at Idah. The tribute was a harsh and pagan one in which every family head had to give one male member of his house. One day, the son of Atta Gara was hunting in Nupe country when he met the widowed daughter of the Chief of Nku who lived at Tafien near the modern city of Bida. He fell in love with her and they lived together until the prince was recalled to Idah on the death of his father. He left his pregnant mistress a charm and a ring to give to their unborn child. When the

child was born, he was given the name Tsoede. When Tsoede was about thirty, he was sent to Idah as a slave. The Atta, recognising his son by the ring he had given him, kept him near his person and treated him as if he were his legitimate son. Tsoede spent nearly thirty years at his father's court. One day, the Atta fell seriously ill and no-one could cure him. The court diviner prophesied that only a fruit from a very tall palm tree outside the town, plucked by a man, could cure him. All the Atta's legitimate sons tried in vain to obtain the precious fruit. Finally, Tsoede made an attempt and succeeded. But in his attempt, he cut his lip so badly that he looked almost like a man born with a split lip.⁸

Naturally, the Atta's love for Tsoede incited the jealousy of his half-brothers. Therefore, on his death-bed, the Atta advised him to flee and return to his own country of Nupe, the rule of which he bequeathed to him. Among the parting presents he gave to Tsoede were various royal insignia, including a bronze canoe manned by twelve Nupe slaves, Kakaki (the long royal trumpets), state drums and the heavy iron chains, later worshipped by the Nupes. These chains were kept in a number of villages along the Niger Valley entrusted with the special task of acting as lelu the king's hangmen.⁹

The nearest 'Lelu' town to Bida is Giragi. At Tada near Chonga and Jebba, there are also to be found sacred bronze figures linked with the myth of Tsoede. These include the beautiful Gara figure, male and female, cast from the ancient carving methods. These were also worshipped as idols.

On his flight up the Niger river, vigorously pursued by his half-brothers, Tsoede was helped by two men whom he later rewarded by giving them the riverain area of Kede to rule with the title of Kuta. Turning into the creek called Ega at the mouth of Kaduna river, he hid there until his pursuers grew tired and returned to Idah. Tsoede sank his canoe here. Nupe tradition tells us how his bright bronze glitters in the water when they perform their annual pagan sacrifice at the spot where the hero kept his sacred canoe. Tsoede now attacked the nearby village of Nupeko and killed the chief. From there, he conquered his uncle's town of Nku in 1531 and made himself ruler of all the country assuming the title of Etsu Nupe.¹⁰ The twelve men who had paddled his canoe on his flight from Idah he appointed chiefs of the twelve confederate Bini towns of Tafien, Bida, Esa, Towagi, Egbe, Gaba, Nupeko, Eda, Panjuru, Ewu, Yesa and Todaya. Their successors still treasure the chains and bangles, not only as insignia of chieftaincy but also as objects of worship by the pagan Nupes.

The local cults and forms of worship vary from region to region, even from village to village. Furthermore, the main acts of worship and sacrifices to the gods, concern only a single village community and not the entire Nupe tribe. By way of description, the Nupes are divided into various groups as a result of ethnic descent, tribal segmentation and political allegiance. Those who dwell in urban areas are different from those in rural areas, but the majority live in the kingdom named after them - the Nupe kingdom. The different groups have different traditional religious beliefs.¹¹ Despite these differences all the people believe rather vaguely in the existence of one God.


This is the basic concept of Nupe theology. In a sense, it stands for the whole sphere of religion, serving to separate all religious matters from non-religious ones. In order to express this distinction, the Nupes say of an object or phenomenon or action, that it is ^{yan} soko' (belonging to God).¹² According to the Nupe, the world (Yizhe) is identical with the earth (Kin); while the creator is identical with the sky. God is also addressed or referred to as Tsochi (Lord), but His proper name is soko which is best translated as God - the - sky. He is therefore said to be living in the sky, for if He

were on the earth, many people would have seen Him. They also believe that God is extremely far (Soko Lokpa). He cannot be heard or seen or contacted. They therefore appoint an intermediary between Him and man. This intermediary they name 'Kuti' (idol).

Each Nupe ethnic group, each tribal segmentation and, indeed, each village, has its own 'Kuti' different from all the others. Therefore, there are as many kuti as there are numerous Nupe sub-groups throughout the Nupe kingdom. Nevertheless, every idol worship is accompanied by some invocations to God, although there are no prayers specifically addressed to Him capable of being employed independently of the appointed ceremony. Hence, if it is accepted that the first article of Nupe's traditional creed is belief in one God, acceptance of 'kuti' as intermediary is the second.

The nature of 'Kuti' is not exhausted by saying that it is a means of communicating with the deity. There are many 'Kuti', each with an identity and power of its own; each has its name, some are even more powerful than the others. There is the 'Kuti' which brings rains - it is called 'Ndaduma'. There is the 'Kuti' which gives children to barren house wives - its name is 'soqba'. Similarly, there are 'Kuti' which are

supposed to satisfy all human needs: these are worshipped and offered sacrifices whenever the need arises. One Kuti is also called eya (a thing or representation); it is also something that you 'make' or 'do'; at the same time, it is accepted as an intelligent being who knows its priests and members of a congregation.

Most of the Kuti have their customary groves which are not on all occasions sacred. Even the uninitiated do go there. Sometimes, the groves are changed quite easily, especially when a village grows in physical size and encroaches upon the grounds hitherto reserved for the Kuti. The cult objects, where they exist, are usually not sacred. They are pieces of wood, boughs, pots and dishes used for cooking. In a few places some of the Kuti are associated with ordinary rocks in the ground, or round stone balls supported on carved posts.¹³ Sometimes, the stones are named according to their locations or shapes. Fintakun is given in the shape of a man to the stone that appears  drinking water. This is common among the people of Doko and Pichi where there are ceremonies of drinks. Takun Zhiko is given to the stone that is black, such as can be seen in Katcha.

Other cult objects seem to have alien origin. The masks of elo idol in Mokwa indicates Yoruba influence by the type of attire they use, and the thunderbolts used in fertility cult to ensure good yields of farm crops, are known to have come from the Gwaris.¹⁴

There are two schools of thought among the Nupes about the abstract conception of Kuti. The first is that Kuti of whatever description represents a part of Soko (God) or is a Soko-tetengi (a small God). The second is that God is up-above while Kuti is down on earth. It is buried in the ground, at the particular spot where it is worshipped. Despite these two views, the Nupe tradition is unequivocal about the fact that the Kuti is an agent meant to help man in a universe which is governed by a far away God. Therefore, they worship Kuti by making sacrifices to it with the belief that it is capable of satisfying their material and spiritual needs. With the advent of Islam however, the Nupe traditional religion is relegated to the background. It survives only in the very remote corners of the kingdom.

III EMERGENCE OF ISLAM

The historical background of Islam in Nupeland is fairly clear. According to Nupe tradition, the 15th Etsu Nupe¹⁵ was Etsu Jibril. He reigned in about 1750 A.D. and was the first Nupe ruler to adopt Islam. Though names of certain earlier rulers such as Abdu Waliyi (1679-1700), Ibrahim (1713-1717) and Abubakar Kolo (1742-1746) seem to suggest that they had also been influenced by Islam,¹⁶ one cannot say with certainty that they were muslims, because there are people bearing muslim names today although they are not actually muslims.

History says that Nupe kingdom was often subjected to conquests by the Hausas from the North, particularly from Katsina, a town that had been influenced by Islam since about the 14th century A.D.¹⁷ The reason for the numerous conquests was to search for slaves. Furthermore, the Nupes had commercial relations with people from the north most of whom were muslims. This being so, there is the possibility that Islam was introduced to people of Nupe at the grass root level before it reached the Etsu's palace. One is not certain, therefore, about the exact time when Islam ^{is} was introduced into Nupeland, but it is on record that towards the

end of the 18th Century, under Etsu Muazu, Islam gained wide grounds in Nupeland owing to several factors among which were the efforts of Fulani Jihadists.

(I) Efforts of Fulani Jihadists

Prior to the 18th Century, Fulani cattle rearers had been arriving in Nupeland in search of fresh pasture. In their train were a group of Mallams and Muslim missionaries, some of whom came at the invitation of traditional chiefs. Among such Mallams was Mallam Dendo who came to Nupeland, probably as a cattle rearer as well as an emissary of the Fulani Emir of Gwandu. He was also entrusted with the double task of spreading Islam thus paving the way for the Fulani Jihad which followed later on. The arrival of Dendo took place during the reign of Etsu Muazu, who had already got a number of religious Mallams in his court. He therefore could not give an official position to Dendo. During the life time of Etsu Muazu, Mallam Dendo, who had no place at the court, gained the friendship of one Majiya, an aspirant to the seat of the Etsu. When Majiya came to the throne after the death of Muazu, Dendo effortlessly got a place at the court. Gradually, Dendo became so influential at the court that he constituted himself a real threat to the Etsu, Majiya. He wanted to become Etsu.

When Majiya became aware of Dendo's growing ambition, he resolved to exterminate him. So he expelled him and his other Fulani supporters from Raba, drove them across the Niger river to Ilorin. He also banished another ambitious man called Jimada to Edun. There, he was allegedly murdered by the messengers of Etsu. But his son, Idrisu, continued to stay there. In the meantime, Mallam Dendo and the others exiled with him had reached Ilorin where they received a warm welcome by fellow Fulani Mallams.

Learning a lesson from Dendo, Etsu Majiya determined to wipe out the remaining Fulani Mallams in Nupeland, because he saw no reason why the aliens should interfere with Nupe traditional administration under the pretext that they were spreading Islam. He felt further that their continued existence at Ilorin might give them the opportunity to infiltrate again into Nupeland. For this reason Etsu Majiya organised an army of 4,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry to attack Ilorin.¹⁹

At that time, there were five Fulani Mallams at Ilorin. They were: Mallam Baba who had been together with Dendo in Raba and had fled with him when they were driven out by Majiya; Mallam Dendo himself; Mallam Musa, another fugitive from Raba; Mallam Maliki who had lived in Lafiagi and had been

driven away from there on orders of the same Majiya; and Mallam Alimi, the Emir of Ilorin. Dendo was the youngest of the five, but his keen intelligence earned him leadership. In his preparation for war against Majiya, Dendo advised each of the four Fulani leaders to recruit his soldiers. Then he enlisted the active support of Idrisu, the surviving son of the allegedly murdered Jimada.

20

After that, Dendo prepared his most powerful asiri or chigbe. Accordingly, two brave men were sent out in the night to steal into the enemy's camp (i.e. Majiya's camp outside Ilorin) and bring back some sand (to be used in preparing the Magic). He dug a large pit and covered its entrance with grass. On Friday morning, he entered the pit, taking with him, fourteen dates. He stayed there till the hour of evening prayer; but what he did in the pit, no one knew. When he eventually reappeared, he called again the two men who had brought the sand the previous night and ordered them to scatter it by night round the town wall. Before Etsu Majiya attacked the next morning, a thick mist had covered the land. Then a sand storm sprang up, blinding Majiya's army and horses. The Nupe cavalry placed, according to traditional military principles, behind the infantry, trampled down their own men.

By the time the small army of Ilorin marched forth from the town gates, the enemy had been rendered weak. Majiya was beaten and he fled across the Niger river, back to the protected Raba. But this was not the end. Idrisu and his forces joined hands with Mallam Dendo. Together, they pursued Majiya's troops up the Niger to Gbajibo, a town of about fifty kilometres north of Raba. Here, Mallam Dendo was reported to have used a clever trick. For a week, he collected horse-dung and scattered it into the river. This drifted down to Raba; and the Nupes who had hardly recovered from their defeat at Ilorin, thought that an enormous army of horsemen was approaching and had already crossed the river. Majiya fled into the interior of Nupe Country, to Zuguma leaving Raba unprotected. It fell easily to the Fulani army.²¹ Mallam Dendo then occupied Raba as the real ruler.

The Nupe popular belief was that Majiya was defeated at Ilorin because of the traditional magic performed by Mallam Dendo. One should remember that Dendo had four other Fulani leaders who, with their supporters, joined forces with him to attack Majiya. Idrisu also helped in the attack. Moreover, Dendo and his men strongly believed that they were fighting a holy war, so that the zeal to defend

their religion at all costs could not be ruled out. One is naturally inclined to take the stand that Majiya's defeat was as a result of the strength of Dendo's army and not as a result of his traditional magic. Dendo's cleverness was, however, shown in the way he chased Majiya out of Raba without shedding blood.

The defeat of Etsu Majiya marked the end of indigenous citizens of Nupe as Etsu and the beginning of Fulani rule over the Nupe kingdom. Dendo now established himself at Raba and generously rewarded those who supported him against Majiya. He sent Mallam Baba as the Emir to Agaie, Mallam Maliki as the Emir of Lafiagi, Mallam Musa as leader of Muslims to Bida. He left Idrisu at Edun, his new capital, and allowed him the empty title of Etsu Nupe. From this time onwards, Islam became the official religion, not only of the royalty, but also of the entire Nupe State, spreading through all the channels of bureaucracy to the craft guilds and merchants, and along the main trade routes of the country. Although its firmest grip was still upon the Nupe capital of Raba, it also reached the peasantry in the districts and some of the riverain population. Islam had spread rapidly throughout the Nupe country owing to certain factors which will be examined later in this study. Meanwhile, Nupe was in the hands of Fulani Jihadists who began to struggle amongst themselves for both

religious and political domination of the conquered kingdom. We shall now analyse this struggle and the impact it had upon the spread of the religion.

(2) The Fulani struggles for religious and political domination

(a) Usman Zaki versus Masaba:-

The death of Mallam Dendo inevitably ushered in a long period of struggles amongst his sons and grandsons for the religious and political leadership of the Nupe Muslim community. Before his death in 1832, Dendo was said to have urged his children to eschew official secular power and to remain, what he himself had been - an emissary of Islam and the uncrowned king of the Nupe people. Nupe tradition tells us that one of his four surviving sons paid heed to their dying father's counsel. This was his eldest son, Abdu Gboya, who took the scholarly profession of Alkali.²² The leadership of the Nupe community, therefore, fell to the next son, Usman Zaki, who became the first Fulani Etsu Nupe. He now used his exalted political position to impose himself on the people as their Imam with no special qualification other than the fact that he was a Fulani, son of Mallam Dendo, the first Fulani Jihadist and conqueror of Nupe Kingdom.²³ From this time onwards, every Nupe ruler came to be regarded both as

political and religious leader of the community. Usman Zaki acted in this capacity between 1832 and 1859, despite the very bitter opposition of his younger brother, Mamman Saba, who was more popular and more ambitious.

Apparently, Mamman Saba (or Masaba as he later became popularly called by the people) had a sound political reason, which made him become more popular than his elder brother. He was born of a Nupe mother while his brother was born of a Fulani mother. On the other hand, Usman Zaki was claiming superiority not only on account of his older age, but also because both his parents were Fulanis who came to Nupe country to civilize the people and introduce Islam to them. This reason was both political and religious and was, probably, his strongest justification for imposing himself as the Imām of the Nupe Muslim community. Unfortunately for him, the more he advanced this reason, the more unpopular he became with the Nupes who still regarded the Fulanis as aliens and usurpers of the Nupe throne. Masaba, therefore, asserted that, born of a Nupe mother, he was a real Nupe, not the son of a Fulani woman. Hence he claimed that the rank of Shaba (heir apparent or second in command) should be his, if not the very throne itself. In this manner, Masaba became a threat to Etsu Nupe, Usman Zaki. The Etsu eventually found it necessary to banish

Masaba from Raba in 1833. With this banishment, Usman Zaki rid himself of the opposition to his administration by his younger brother, Masaba.

But Masaba did not go far from Raba to take refuge. He crossed the Niger river into Lafiaji, about seventy kilometres from Raba and settled there among the Nupe who were still bitterly opposed to the Fulani occupation of their land. At Lafiaji, Masaba spent most of his time, spreading religious and political propaganda against Usman Zaki. Eventually, he was able to enlist the pan-Nupe support against the Fulani Strangers. Tsado in Zuguma and Idrisu in Eggan both of whom felt cheated by the Fulani usurpation of their traditional authority over their land, supported him. They were encouraged to raise a combined army which attacked Usman Zaki at Takuma in about 1835; but they were not successful.²⁴

The result of this battle proved that the Fulani spiritual leadership was unbreakable by the Nupe secular power, a situation which gave Usman Zaki more confidence to stick to the title of Etsu Nupe. He then declared Raba to be the official capital of the kingdom. From this time, the legitimate dynasty of Nupe people abandoned all legal claims to its royal heritage. The new Fulani rulers assumed full powers although there

remained a succession of grave internal intrigues and rebellions caused by pockets of general dissatisfaction which still prevailed in some corners of the country.

Masaba's forces against his elder brother having been defeated, Masaba fled across the Niger to Lade near Pategi, where he thought he could still obtain the support of the indigenous Nupe people. He remained there, watching closely the developments at the capital. He waited for an opportunity to launch another attack on the Etsu. The opportunity presented itself when Tsado instigated another rebellion on the intelligence report that the Etsu was not prepared for any war. The opportunist, Masaba joined him from Lade. Unfortunately for Usman Zaki this time, he was unable to contain the combined army because of their size and strength. Moreover, he was not prepared for war as the intelligence report had earlier indicated. Raba, therefore, fell quite easily and the Etsu fled to Agaie, about thirty kilometres east of Bida. There, he obtained the protection of his Fulani brother, Abdullahi Mallam Baba, who was then the Emir.

It will be remembered that after the abortive attempt by Majiya to over-run Ilorin, the five Fulani emissaries of Islam there, scattered all over Nupeland, in order

to intensify their missionary work. Mallam Dendo himself remained in Raba as the spiritual head of the Nupe Kingdom. Mallam Baba who had fled with Dendo from Raba, was sent to Agaie to carry out missionary work there. Mallam Musa was sent to Bida while Mallam Maliki was sent back to Lafiagi.

By the time Raba fell under Usman Zaki, Islam had gained a strong foothold in these various localities, although their first Fulani rulers had died. The influence of Islam had spread from Lafiagi to Chonga and from Agaie to Lapai with the result that these towns now had Muslim rulers. In Chonga, Aliyu had been made ruler with the title of Etsu Chonga, while Daudu Maza had been made Etsu Lapai. Daudu Maza had previously been Mallam Baba's general but, by the time trouble broke out in the Nupe capital of Raba, Daudu Maza had died and his son, Baji succeeded as Etsu Lapai.²⁵

Hearing of this crisis at Raba, which led to the fall of the capital and the flight of Usman Zaki to Agaie, the Emir of Gwandu, Halilu, came to Raba in 1841, with the intention of settling the quarrels between the Nupes and the Fulanis in the spirit of Islamic brotherhood. He, therefore, sent for the following chiefs to meet and discuss the situation. Usman Zaki from Agaie; Shita Alimi from Ilorin; Masaba, the rival Etsu Nupe from Lade; Tsado and Isah, the two shadow Etsus of Nupe;

Aliyu, Etsu Chonga and Baji Daudu Maza, from Lapai. Halilu impressed upon the chiefs the importance of brotherhood of believers and urged them to view the turbulent situation in Nupeland with sincerity and objectivity, especially for the fact that peaceful co-existence amongst the muslims was essential for the survival of the faith and consequent growth of muslim education in the Kingdom. As a result of discussions and negotiations that followed, it was unanimously agreed that Usman Zaki should be removed and Masaba put in his place as Etsu Nupe.

This was done and Usman Zaki was taken to Gwandu . Nupe kingdom was part of the Western half of Sokoto Caliphate, the administration of which was entrusted to Abdullah Ibn Fodio, brother of the celebrated Jihad leader, Usman Dan Fodio.²⁶ Moreover, Usman Zaki's parents had earlier come from Gwandu. Usman was, therefore, taken back to Gwandu to give the new Etsu a chance to reorganise the affairs of the Nupe Kingdom.

It could be seen, therefore, that right from the beginning of the Fulani activities in Nupeland, Islamization of the Nupe people was bound with political interests of the Fulani Jihadists. During the long drawn internal wars which accompanied the Fulani rise to power, acceptance of Islam meant

identifying oneself with new regime. Even today, Islam stands for such an identification, with the powers that be, with the social elite and, implicitly with the culture that grew up in the capital where that power is centred and the elite resides.

Islam thus added to the unification of the conquered state, extending the area of a common Islamic culture over a population otherwise unified only by political means. More precisely, Islam transformed a mere holding together, the conscious sense of belonging that goes with a shared creed. But this double machinery of unification, political and religious, was not entirely a new thing. When the Fulanis established their rule over the Nupe people, they did so over a society itself held together essentially by political means. But, amongst the jihād leaders themselves, there was no unity. They kept struggling for both political and religious powers, as was seen in the case of Usman Zaki and his half-brother, Masaba, which led to the removal of Usman Zaki and the installation of Masaba as Etsu Nupe. Warrior-king that he was, Masaba proceeded to extend the Nupe kingdom by firmly entrenching himself on the Yoruba side of the river Niger. He also conquered the Kamuku in the north, the Gwari in the east and the Kakanda in the south. Since Raba was in ruins,

he operated from Lade, south of the Niger. Within a short period of time, he was able to acquire extensive territory to which he carried the message of Islam.

For a time Etsu Masaba ^{was secure} though only by exercising considerable care in the way he played off Etsu Jia against Etsu Isa, both of them shadow Etsus of Nupe residing in Bida. Before long, another Civil War²⁷ broke out in 1843 and, once again, Halilu had to come from Gwandu to settle matters.²⁸ As a result of this Civil War, Etsu Isa lost his shadow throne and was succeeded by his Uncle Maza, as Etsu Nupe. With Maza around, Masaba did not feel free; therefore in 1847, he ordered his general Umar Bahaushe, to make war on Etsu Maza. A one-eyed Hausa mercenary adventurer, Umar Bahaushe had been in Usman Zaki's service for sometime. He, therefore, knew much about the politics of the time. Ironically, instead of carrying out Masaba's orders, he simply turned a traitor for his own selfish reasons and joined Etsu Maza to fight against Masaba. Masaba had to flee for his dear life. He was eventually held a prisoner at Ilorin.²⁹ Meanwhile, Umar Bahaushe's ambition to become Etsu Nupe became apparent. He looked for a pretext to oust Etsu Maza and to declare himself Etsu Nupe. He succeeded eventually but later had to face the strong army of Umaru Majigi.

(b) Umar Bahaushe versus Umaru Majigi

Nupe tradition tells us that in 1848 Umar Bahaushe quarrelled with Maza over a gift of Horses from Gwandu and, in the ensuing battle, Maza was killed and Umar proclaimed himself Etsu Nupe. Thus, the Nupe throne was lost by the Fulanis to a \sphericalangle Hausa man; but this was to be temporary, for the Fulanis would not \sphericalangle tolerate this. The Hausas were not known to be strict muslims. So, their control over the Nupes would adversely affect the quality of Islam in Nupeland.

Therefore, the Fulanis resolved to appoint the strongest man among them as Etsu Nupe so that he might be able to fight the usurper and recapture the Nupe throne from him. The man appointed by the Fulanis was Umaru Majidi, son of Mamman Majigi, the eldest son of Mallam Dendo, founder of the Nupe Fulani dynasty. Umaru Majigi, however, refused to take the title of Etsu Nupe but agreed to lead the Fulanis against the usurper. Umaru Majigi was defeated twice but regained the control of Nupeland, when he finally defeated Umar Bahaushe in 1856. Majigi then sent to Gwandu to request the return of Usman Zaki as Etsu Nupe. He also sent to Ilorin for the return of Masaba.

For nine years, from 1847 to 1856 there was no peace in Nupeland as a result of the civil war to remove the usurper. Islamic missionary activities were, therefore, temporarily suspended, because the people who carried out these activities were the same people involved in the civil war. In the process of the Fulani struggles to remove the source of instability in Nupeland, the three branches of the ruling family emerged united as they had never been before. In the true spirit of Islamic brotherhood,³⁰ the Fulanis united with the Nupes and removed the usurper which was a real triumph for Islam in the area, since the faith spreads naturally in a peaceful atmosphere. This civil war was purely political in nature while those amongst the Fulanis themselves were both political and religious. They were fought mainly in the name of Jihad, especially those between the Fulanis and indigenous people.

It will be recalled that the Fulanis were sent to Nupeland as emissaries of Islam and that their purpose was to purify Islam in Nupeland - at least this was what Dan Fodio's mission stood for as was exemplified by the great Mallam Dendo himself when, on his death-bed, he advised his children to eschew political power and to remain the emissaries of Islam. It was seen, and will be seen again, that this did not happen.

After the overthrow of Umar Bahaushe, the Fulani leaders met in their form of consultative council to discuss the political realignment of Nupe traditional titles. As a result of their discussions, Usman Zaki was reinstated as Etsu Nupe in 1856, with Bida as the new capital.³¹ Masaba, his junior brother was made Sarkin Fulani (Chief of the Fulanis), while Umaru Majigi became Yarima.

Usman Zaki reigned for another three years before he died in 1859. He was succeeded by Masaba whose second reign lasted until 1873. Under him, Bida was transformed from an over-grown war camp into a capital worthy of one of the most powerful kingdoms of Northern Nigeria. Many of Bida's architectural features dated from this time. Islam became more firmly rooted. Many mosques were built and the acceptance of Islam continued to stand for identifying oneself with the new Fulani regime. Nevertheless, Islam was still not freely accepted by a number of Nupe people because they preferred to continue with their traditional religion to which they had been used for so long. They were not forced to embrace Islam.³²

The expansionist policy of Masaba administration was undertaken mainly for political reasons. No attempt was generally made to convert the conquered people to Islam since

back home, the Islamization of the people had not been completed. The raid on Agaie and Lapai districts by a Bida raiding party initiated a serious quarrel between the Fulanis of Bida and those of Agaie/Lapai. It will be remembered that the original Fulanis of these districts were friends and had a common mission, namely, the orderly spread of Islam amongst the Nupe people. It is surprising, therefore, that the Bida raiding party which had been purposely set up against the pagan tribe of Kakanda, should decide to attack their own Kinsmen, having been repulsed by the Kakandas. On the other hand, Masaba tried to justify such a gross breach of the peace in Nupeland by claiming sovereign rights over Agaie and Lapai. If it had not been for the good sense of Umaru Majigi, the conqueror of Umar Bahaushe, a disastrous intra-Fulani Civil War would have occurred. Once again, the Emir of Gwandu, Abdul Kadir, set out for Nupe in 1868 to settle this dispute. He, however, died ^{enroute} at a place called Besse.³³ His successor, Al-Mustafa, visited Nupe in 1871 and, at a meeting of all the Chiefs of Nupe-land, advised them to pull together for the sake of their race and, above all, for the sake of Islam. He was said to have received many valuable gifts of guns from Bida.³⁴ Shortly after his departure, Masaba died in Bida in the year 1873. His death marked the end of an era in the early history of Islam in Nupeland. He was succeeded by Umaru Majigi

(IV) RELATIVE PEACE AND STABILITY -

UMARU MAJIGI'S REIGN

The early history of Islam in Nupeland has always been so confused that it is difficult to separate religion from politics. The Fulani leaders of Nupeland were usually pre-occupied with wars aimed at acquiring more territories and enslaving the people. They sometimes ^{mixed} _L up political and religious issues so much that they set aside their primary task of spreading Islam.

By virtue of their being both political and religious leaders, all the muslim Etsus of Nupe helped the spread of Islam in one way or the other. If their initial primary task had been constantly kept in view in the execution of their expansion programmes, their success in the dissemination of the Islamic faith would have been tremendous. One of the Etsus who achieved a measure of success in this respect was Umaru Majigi. This was because his reign coincided with a period of relative peace and stability throughout the Nupe Kingdom. Son of Mamma Majigi and grandson of Mallam Dendo, Umaru Majigi succeeded Masaba as Etsu Nupe in 1873. He had lived in Gwandu during the nine years of political and religious instability in Nupeland. At the end of this

period of stagnation, he returned to Nupeland and was offered the title of Etsu Nupe by the Fulanis. Considering this an insult, he refused but vowed instead to rid Nupeland of the dangers of usurpers, once and for all. He believed that the usurper constituted a big threat to the orderly spread of Islam amongst the Nupe people.

He then gathered men from amongst the Fulanis and the Binis,³⁵ and formed a strong army which finally exterminated Umar Bahaushe. Majigi then reorganised the affairs of the Nupe Kingdom in accordance with Islam: he realigned the successorship to the leadership of the Nupe Muslim community, in which case Usman Zaki, the eldest surviving son of Mallam Dendo came first. He was followed by his junior brother, Masaba while Umaru Majigi himself came third.

As the new Etsu Nupe, Umaru Majigi did not lose sight of his ultimate goal. He was to re-establish the Islamic principles after some years of religious stagnation and moral laxity amongst the people. He knew that this could not be achieved without, first of all re-directing the affairs of the kingdom, by urging the Fulanis to forget their traditional family quarrels.

of
 Through this act/magnanimity, he laid down examples in this direction. His main interest was in the peaceful co-existence of all the Nupe sub-tribes, since he had realised that without this, it would be impossible for him to create a secure foundation for harmony, thereby facilitating the systematic spread of Islam in the Nupe country. He had already done some groundwork in this direction when he was the Yarima of Nupe. When he came to the throne in 1873, he spent the first two years of his reign travelling round the Kingdom, soliciting people's support for his administration. At the same time he invited them to Islam.

As a traditional ruler, Etsu Umaru Majigi possessed the most outstanding qualities. He was an exemplary religious leader, a man of strong will-power and, according to Nupe tradition, whatever he did was always successful. He was a man of peace who fought only when it was absolutely necessary. In this circumstance, he could be described as a statesman. He contributed a great deal towards the peaceful spread of Islam amongst the of Nupeland. His reign was generally regarded pagan people/by Nupe traditional historians as the first landmark in the history of Islamisation of the Nupe people, because of the great advances made by the religion. When he died in 1884, Islam had gained a strong foothold in the Nupe Kingdom. The peace and stability which his reign had generated continued to prevail throughout the Nupe Kingdom, and this peace, among other factors, contributed to the growth of Islam.

(V) THE RAPID GROWTH OF ISLAM AND FACTORS
RESPONSIBLE FOR IT

We have mentioned earlier that the reign of Etsu Umaru Majigi was generally regarded by the Nupe traditional historians as the first landmark in the history of Islamisation of the Nupe people. The second landmark began during the reign of Muhammadu Ndayako, who succeeded to the Nupe throne in 1935. Like his grandfather Umaru Majigi, Etsu Ndayako is most remembered today for his noble contribution to the cause of Islam in Nupeland. He was a traditional Quranic School pupil. He was versed in the Quran and Islamic Law. He served his people as a political and a spiritual leader. He had appointed a permanent Imam for the Bida Central Mosque,³⁶ nevertheless, he often led the Prayers himself despite the fact that his other roles as the Etsu Nupe demanded much more of his time and energy. He was an able leader who led by personal examples in religious functions such as Maulud al-Nabiyyi and 'Id celebrations. His personal examples served his subjects as sources of inspiration. He became the first Etsu Nupe to perform the annual pilgrimage to Makkah. Many rich Nupe merchants followed this noble example of the Etsu. Of all the

Etsus of Nupe, he had the longest reign from 1935-1962. His reign of twenty seven years was distinguished by great advances in the propagation of Islam because, it was during this period that Nupe country was, for the first time, opened up by muslim religious preachers.³⁷ His reign also marked the beginning of the appearance of modern Mosques in strategic locations throughout the Nupe Kingdom. These mosques were often constructed by rich and devoted muslims in their attempt to aid the propagation of Islam. The Etsu died in 1962 at the age of 76, but he remained energetic and enthusiastic in Islamic religious affairs until the very end of his life.

He was never a nominal, spiritual head, but an active, pious leader who taught his followers by his own examples. As a learned Mallam, he spearheaded the establishment of Arabic and Quranic Schools throughout his kingdom. His presence at funeral services helped a great deal to indicate to the Nupe Muslim Community the importance that Islam attaches to such a service. His Friday sermons³⁸ were usually based on the prevailing circumstances in community for the Nupes to learn lessons from. He always ended his sermons with:

God commands justice, the doing of good, and liberality to kith and kin. He forbids all shameful deeds, injustice and rebellion. Thus does He instruct you, that you may receive admonition.³⁹

Judging from his behaviour and actions, the Etsu appeared to have been guided by the above Quranic admonition throughout

his reign. He was the most beloved⁴⁰ of all the Nupe spiritual leaders and through his personal example, the number of people performing the annual pilgrimage to Makkah increased considerably.

Etsu Muhammadu Ndayako came from the third ruling house, the Mamma Majigi house.⁴¹ Nupe tradition tells us that Mamma Majigi himself, although one of the eldest sons of Mallam Dendo, could not become the Etsu because he preferred to heed his father's counsel. It will be remembered that before his death, Mallam Dendo was said to have urged his children to eschew official secular power and to remain what he, himself had been - a muslim scholar and an emissary of Islam. Mamma Majigi thus became the second son⁴² of Mallam Dendo to heed his advice by remaining a scholar throughout his life.

Today, although Majigi's house is the third in the numerical order, it is the most honoured and enlightened of the three ruling houses. Both Umaru Majigi and his grandson, Muhammad Ndayako, have so ably combined the two roles of secular rulership and spiritual headship of the Nupes, that neither suffered at the expense of the other.

We know that in the early history of Islam, Prophet Muhammad himself superbly combined the spiritual with temporal headship of the Ummah.⁴³ After him, the same pattern of leadership was continued, by the four orthodox caliphs, especially 'Alī Ibn Abī Talib, after whom the Caliphate became a mere headship of the

community under Muawiyah. The Caliphate, once again, regained its lost glory under Umar Ibn Abd al-Azīz.⁴⁴ This is not suggesting that the same thing happened in Nupe Kingdom after the reign of Etsu Ndayako. Something that became obvious, however, was the fact that Nupe people have not yet been blessed with a pious and devoted leadership since the death of Muhammadu Ndayako.

There are many common features in the muslim leadership provided by Mamman Majigi, Umaru Majigi and Muhammadu Ndayako. Some of these features are that the three were learned in the Qur'ān, ḥadīth⁴⁵ and fiqh.⁴⁶ They were all leaders of their people and two of them, Umaru Majigi and Muhammadu Ndayako, became rulers of the entire Nupe community. They all spearheaded the propagation of Islam amongst the Nupe people, leading them with exemplary conduct. As such, they were all revered and loved by the people. The reigning Etsu Nupe, Umaru Sanda Ndayako, is in the direct descending line. He ascended the throne in January 1975, after the death of Etsu Musa Bello. It is rather premature now to assess his contributions to the development of Islam and Islamic learning, in Nupeland, but it seems that he too is following the footsteps of his predecessors. Early in 1978, barely two years on the throne, he mustered financial support for the erection of a

second 'purpose-built' Juma'at Mosque in Bida. Though building of a mosque does not, by itself amount to spreading of Islam, yet it is an indication that the builder has interest in the practice of the Islamic faith. Moreover, the Nupe community considers building of a mosque as a great religious deed and a very important step towards the establishment of Islamic mode of worship in any given locality.

The Etsu's proposal to build a new Juma'at Mosque had, however, met with some problems. The first problem was about the location of the new mosque while the second was about financing the project. Since the Etsu comes from the third ruling house, his intention was to establish the new mosque near his family palace inside Bida town. By doing so, he hoped to achieve the pleasure of his immediate family. But people from the second ruling family claimed that by siting the proposed mosque near the third house instead of the second, the traditional hierarchy of the ruling houses would be violated. They insisted, therefore, that the new mosque should be built near the second ruling house and not near the third. Whichever of the two places the new mosque is sited, there are no disadvantages. The two houses are merely vying for social supremacy over each other.

The appeal fund was, however, launched for the proposed mosque. Some donations were collected, both in cash and kind but it was not sufficient. The problem of location is one of the main reasons preventing the building of the mosque to take place. The Etsu himself, in an announcement after the Friday prayer on September 24, 1981 admitted that his proposal had encountered problems so that it was not immediately possible to embark on the project. He attributed part of the problems to what he called 'non-cooperation' from some disgruntled elements amongst the royal family indicating that the issue, which is purely religious, has been politicised. He also attributed part of the reasons to inadequacy of funds, citing the example of Ilorin, which he said, embarked upon the building of an ultra-modern mosque like the one he had envisaged, after collecting donations for eleven years. He, however, assured the muslim community that the proposed mosque would be built, if Allah willed it.

It was after this announcement that the Etsu gave orders for the renovation and utilisation of the two existing mosques of Masaba and Umaru Majigi as Juma'at Mosques. Masaba's Mosque is situated near Masaba traditional palace, West of Bida, while Umaru Majigi's Mosque is situated near Umaru Majigi traditional palace, South-east of Bida. This decision of

the Etsu was enthusiastically welcomed by the muslim population of the area, since it brought to three the number of Juma'at mosques within the city walls. This was in addition to numerous Juma'at mosques in all villages, no matter how remote, in Nupe country.

To the layman, the proliferation of Juma'at mosques and smaller mosques throughout the land is an indication that the Nupe muslim community is becoming more aware of its responsibilities as a muslim community, at least, as far as ritual prayers are concerned. The village Juma'at mosques have helped in no small way to reduce the congestion in the old Bida central mosque, built over a hundred years ago at Bida.

One of the most spectacular religious features throughout the Nupe country today, is the proliferation of ultra-modern mosques, built on the pattern of mosques in muslim Arab countries. They have tall minarets and powerful loud speakers. Within the Bida city walls, there are not less than fifty of such mosques. This has come about as a result of the increase in wealth of the muslim population and, above all, of the renewed awareness of the importance of Islam as a religion. Another current feature is the opening up of the whole of Nupe country for religious propagation by muslim preachers,⁴⁷ who undertake the double task of spreading the faith and educating the muslim masses through Arabic and Qur'anic Schools.



Plate 1: The Old Bida Central Mosque
Built in 1832.

The worshippers are arriving
for Friday Congregational prayer.
Notice the Minaret on the right
hand side

Today, Islam has superseded all religious beliefs and practices among the Nupe people. It makes a brotherhood of converts, not scattered cult members; it involves complete identification, not merely acceptance of tokens of identity. These contrasts reflect both the different potentialities of Islam and the Nupe traditional religions which were practised before the emergence of Islam. Obviously, the indigenous Nupe State and the Fulani Conquerors had employed religion in radically different ways. But this particular employment of religion in support of the alien conquest accorded with the potentialities of the religion professed by the conquerors. In other words, the alien ruling class happened to carry with it a creed which, being proselytizing and non-tribal, seems to have offered precisely the support their regime demanded. This being so, it would be interesting to speculate on the kind of situation that would have arisen had the conquerors not professed such a suitable religion. Indeed, without the impetus of Islam the whole conquest would probably not have taken place or taken the form it took.

Despite all efforts by early Jihadists and subsequent muslim. preachers, the Islamisation of Nupe country is far from thorough. This is because the religion is not practised as it should be because many adherents are nominal muslims. Only a very small minority of the muslim population throughout the Nupe country had the knowledge of how to observe the daily ritual prayers correctly. Yet, the people prefer to call themselves muslims. One is, therefore, compelled to look for the motives which have induced individuals and whole communities in Nupeland to embrace Islam.

It will be remembered that during the long-drawn wars which accompanied the Fulani rise to power in Nupeland, the acceptance of Islam meant identifying oneself with the new regime. Without doubt, this acted as a powerful incentive for the natives to accept the new faith. It is on record⁴⁸ that the Fulanis did not resort to mass conversion imposed by force of arms, but that the prestige value implicit in Islam (the creed of the ruling class) was one of its powerful inducements. Besides, Islam offered two more specific material advantages. First, conversion to Islam promised safety from slavery which, in the 18th and 19th centuries Nupe history, was the order of the day. Secondly,

the patronage of the nobility which peasants and craftsmen would seek for economic reasons involved accepting the religion of the ruler. In order to secure legal protection, it was also necessary to embrace Islam.⁴⁹ The rough and ready conversions which were the result could not have given any convert enough time for thorough spiritual orientation. Indeed, during the early Fulani regime, there was no serious guiding rules although there was set procedure. A man would simply declare to his chosen patron, his wish to become a muslim; then a gift of turban and sword by the would-be-patron in return, immediately sealed the conversion and the grant of patronage. The turban was to be used by the converts in dressing like the Fulanis who brought Islam to the majority of the Nupes, while the sword was to be used in fighting the holy war against the remaining Nupe traditional religionists who might seek to prevent them from practising Islam.⁵⁰

Today, the procedure is more elaborate and less wordly since conversion is now regarded as being done in the way of Allah and to please Allah alone rather than please

a human being. The would-be convert merely turns to a Mallam for necessary guidance which consists of memorisation of the 'Kalimat al-Shahādah'.⁵¹ Immediately, he begins to acquire from the Mallam, tuition in the basic readings and performances of the daily ritual prayers. Quite a number of people in Nupeland have undergone this kind of procedure before becoming muslims.

Nowadays, most adults as it were, embrace Islam by deciding to attend the mosque however irregularly and to perform the prescribed prayers, however perfunctorily. The majority of young people professing Islam mostly grew up in the faith. Many received tuition in Quranic schools in their youth while others had parents who, in spite of their own traditional beliefs, arrange for their children a birth or naming ceremony according to Islamic rites.⁵² Precisely, this is the reason behind some muslims having parents belonging to traditional religion. On the other hand, as a result of secular education obtained from Western-type institutions, we find, among the Nupes, some christianised people, while their parents remain adherents of traditional religion. The fact remains that a great multitude of the Nupes are, today, muslims although the religion continues to be practised superficially.

The five basic duties of the faith - bearing witness to the Oneness of Allah, praying five times daily, paying the Zakāt, observing the fast in the month of Ramadan and making pilgrimage to Makkah - have generally been reduced to two, namely saying the daily prayers and fasting in the month of Ramadan. The declaration of faith in One Allah has slipped into the background of things taken for granted. This seems natural because, the Nupe traditional belief knows only one deity, as abstract and remote as the Allah of Islam. The testimony to His greatness and uniqueness does not, therefore strike anyone as a point of importance. Similarly, the paying of Zakat or poor tax, which is embodied in numerous institutional occasions, is generally mistaken for the giving of alms (or Sadaqah). It is regarded, therefore, as merely a desirable thing, not an obligation in its own right, deserving to be listed among the foundations of Islam. The pilgrimage to Makkah which, in the past, did not even fall under the heading of desirables, seems to many of them desirable **only** in a very abstract and remote sense. Because of the distance one had to travel to Makkah, the whole idea of pilgrimage was **generally** unrealistic and impracticable to the majority of the Nupes. Today, the

holy pilgrimage has been fully recognised for two main reasons: first, because of the removal of the ancient travelling barriers by the modern technological know how and, secondly, because of the economic emancipation of the masses, coupled with more economic advantages provided by the journey to the holy land. It is evident these days that the religious significance of the pilgrimage has been scornfully replaced with its economic importance in view of the large numbers of Nupe muslim businessmen travelling to Makkah every pilgrimage season to buy merchandise. These businessmen probably thought that they could combine religious services with economic activities, without a knowledge of the Prophet's saying:

Action is judged by intentions and each man will be rewarded only according to what he intends... 53

It is not clear then, what intention such people take before leaving their homes for Makkah.

In addition to Islam being a religion, it is also a way of life. It therefore, bears ~~an~~ kinship **rules**, the position of women, ethics and law, art and forms of recreation, as well as on special attitudes

towards other religions. For the purpose of this study, there is the need to examine some ways by which Islam has influenced some traditional Nupe religious practices. But there are certain identical features in the traditional religious practices as well as in Islam. These acted as incentives for making Islam easily acceptable to the Nupe people. We want to examine some of these practices before assessing the Islamic influences upon some traditional religious practices.

Even the minimum basic duties of Islam, representing the Islamic mode of worship, is new to the Nupe people. Take, for example, prayer in Arabic, a foreign language which must be recited and repeated in word-perfect fashion. It had nothing in common with the variable and informal addresses of the idols, typical of Nupe traditional worships. This is equally true of the whole notion of daily prayers, that is, a routine of ritual worship pervading a muslim's workaday life, and not restricted to rare festive **occasions** or times of need and anxiety. Similarly, the worship inside buildings is unprecedented in the history of Nupe traditional worship. The idea of

individual worship in the place of group or community ceremony is also unheard of. Even the gatherings on Fridays or 'Id days represent only the group worships of individuals, not a collective act, based on collaboration and a division of tasks such as is the case in the traditional worship.

After the acceptance of Islam as the Nupe official religion over two centuries ago, daily as well as Friday congregational services have become a part of Nupe life. The big religious feasts of Islam which, at least in their annual recurrence, are identical with the fixed pagan ceremonies of the ancient Nupe people are as follow:

- (1) The muslim new Year, beginning with Muharram.
- (2) The feast of 'Idul Fitr and
- (3) The feast of 'Idul Kabir.

'Idul Fitr concludes the fast in the month of Ramadan while 'Idul Kabir falls in the month of pilgrimage at the end of the muslim year.⁵⁴

The muslim New Year's festival is called Enavun (or Torches) and the first month of the year is named after it. The month of Ramadan is called Etswa Azun (or month of fast), and the festival which comes at the end of it is called Sallagi (or little festival). The 'Idul Kabir,

also known to muslims as 'Idul Adha, is called Sallako (or great festival). The months in which these two festivals fall, the 10th and 12th respectively, are known in Nupe by their names, that is Etswa Sallagi (month of small festival) and Etswa Sallako (month of great festival).

We may note here, that in embracing three of the festivals of Islam, the Nupes have replaced traditional religious festivals with Islamic festivals. In the three festivals, the purely festive aspects of the 'Id tend to outshine the religious ones. The religious aspects are only represented in a religious service held in the open air, attended by vast crowds and led by the Imam (or Liman).⁵⁵ They are also represented in the generous alms-giving and, on the 'Idul Kabir day, in the sacrifice of a healthy ram. This sacrificial aspect of the religious ceremony is similar to the traditional sacrifices to the idols, typical of Nupe traditional worships. This does not mean, however, that Islam is being mixed with traditional religious practices. Only a few Nupe people know anything about the meaning of the sacrifice except that it was recommended by the Prophet of Islam as a sacred occasion.⁵⁶

Much more important is the holiday atmosphere which pervades the five days of the festival. Everybody dresses

in his or her best clothes, visits friends and relatives or pays his or her respect to a noble patron. In the capital of Bida the people throng the streets and gather in public places to watch the Etsu and important personalities of the Kingdom ride in procession from the praying ground to the royal palace. There, outside the palace, a vast crowd is entertained on the Etsu's orders and at his expense. There are equestrian displays and the performances of professional dancers and musicians, clowns and jesters.⁵⁷ The occasion has a great impact upon non-muslims and serves as an impetus for them to embrace Islam.

In comparison with 'Id festivals, similar traditional Nupe ceremonies have esoteric and sacred activities preceding the public merry-making. These are absent in the muslim Salla⁵⁸ ceremonies. There is nothing esoteric about the Salla religious service; merry-making pervades the whole festival and, one of the sacred activities, the sacrifice of the ram, does not open but concludes the ritual proceeding. The Salla is, indeed, a spectacle rather than a ritual; all the stages are open to all-men and women, townsfolk and strangers and to people of every age. Its main significance lies in that it brings together, nearly

the whole muslim community, not only symbolically through being a common observance or token of identity, but concretely and physically.

Although on a smaller scale, the Salla is also performed outside Bida. All the big villages have their own celebrations when the local District Head, that is, the Etsu's representative, plays the part which, in the capital, falls to the sovereign. But, the Bida Salla remains the centre and always attracts visitors from the country-side. This means that one time or the other, every Nupe muslim will have attended the celebrations in the capital.

To some extent, the 'Enayun' is a smaller replica of the Salla, including again, the State procession to the mosque with all its display of royal splendour. It evokes similar festive mood of a large city bent on enjoyment. But this time, the royal display occupies only a brief period in the morning of the New Year's day. All these festivals overshadow the traditional religion of the Nupe people and they attract a great number of non-muslims into Islam.

Although these ceremonies do not have the thrill of secret preparations, they provide others - the thrill of a splendid spectacle, and, above all, that of being brought close to the power that be. The emphasis of 'Īdul Kabīr' is, therefore, as much political as it is religious. It serves as a display

of kingship and hence, as a buttress of sovereignty, no less than a sacred occasion. In mobilising the religious community, it also mobilises the population of the muslim state, so that the religious appeal blends with the confirmation of political allegiance. It is in this fashion then, that one could say that the **broad-based** unity of Islam is narrowed down to the scope of a state religion.

A number of features in the muslim way of life fit remarkably into the pattern of Nupe culture. The attitude to representative art, for instance, which is discouraged by Islam, is also **absent** in Nupe tradition. Naturally, this accounts for the reasons why the ancient Nupe people could not worship images carved out of wood or stone. Instead, they worshipped stones and wood themselves, and other natural objects. The Nupes have no knowledge of carving, but they are famous for their Brass and Glass works, as well as Blacksmithing. Certain general rules of marriage in Islam coincide with the Nupe traditional practices concerning marriage. The payment of Nupe bride-price (awo-yawo) is equivalent to Mahr or dower or Sadāq of Islamic law.⁵⁹ The Nupe preference for marriage within the kindred is also equivalent to similar practices in Islam. It is equally true of the custom of

circumcision and of the dietary rules of Islam, especially, the prohibition of pigs.⁶⁰ There are a few exemptions, however, regarding marriages within the kindred.

The Nupe preference for yawo dangi refers only to cross-cousin marriage which Islam also allows. On the other hand, the tradition of marriage between a man and his maternal uncle's widow is unknown in Islam. In all the marriage practices throughout the Nupeland, the result has always been an odd compromise. In Bida, the muslim type of marriage is now more frequent than the traditional type; this is largely due to the cosmopolitan nature of the township. Among the muslims outside, the traditional type of marriage is still in full force.

Islam permits marriage with a brother's widow (provided one ^{does} not murder the brother) whether the brother is junior or senior to the deceased. In Nupe tradition, marriage with an elder brother's widow is forbidden, while marriage with a younger brother's widow is greatly encouraged. These rules still obtain in villages while in the capital both types of marriages are practised although not very frequently. The position then is that the hold on the type of marriage not permitted by Islam but allowed by the tradition is still sufficiently strong in the rural

areas to prevent any widespread adoption of Islamic practice. This is due, largely to the fact that there is a general lack of knowledge about the Islamic marriage regulations in the country-side.

The strongest hold of the indigenous marriage practice is finally shown in a type of marriage as definitely forbidden by Islam as it was encouraged by the custom. This is the nominal marriage of a young boy with his paternal grandfather's widow. This is called yawo sunna (marriage in name), a typically traditional practice, practised both in Muslim Bida and in the rural areas. This practice is not recommended by Islam since it is bound up with the traditional idea of incarnation. The corresponding practice is the naming of a grandson after his paternal grandfather, a practice which is also encouraged by Islam.⁶¹

These traditional practices, which coincided with corresponding Islamic practices, have also played a very important role in making Islam acceptable to the masses of Nupe people. In accepting Islam, the Nupes did not have to abandon all their traditional practices but only those that were repugnant to the religion. Even then not all of them

were abandoned. Those that were clearly not repugnant to Islam were retained but modified, thus creating an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence between Islam and some Nupe traditional beliefs. The Islamic influences on some of the traditional practices will be presently examined.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

VI ISLAMIC INFLUENCES UPON SOME
TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS PRACTICES
AMONG THE NUPE PEOPLE

(1) The Position of Women

We may begin by a consideration of the position of women in the pre-Islamic Nupe society and comparing it with their position in Nupe muslim society. The Nupe ~~women~~ of pre-Islamic times could be described in very simple terms: they were regarded as sub-human beings; they could not inherit but were, themselves, inherited like any other property. A wealthy man could collect as many women as possible in his house and use them as wives and domestic servants; they were discarded at will, especially when he became fed-up with them. With the advent of Islam, the women's situation in Nupeland changed for the better.

According to Islam, men are still the maintainers of women.⁶² In human terms, men are superior since they are family leaders. Although women may be as true believers as men, they are not permitted any share in the religious leadership. They cannot lead prayers, for instance, however learned they may be. They are, however, given the chance for religious tuition. Legally and socially, they are subjected to various

disabilities. They must veil themselves in the presence of strangers and must not display their ornaments.

Men are also responsible for women's spiritual welfare; therefore, muslims marrying infidel women must not allow them to go back to the infidels or practise their traditional religion.⁶³ These are strict Islamic tenets some of which are not observed by Nupe muslims because the hold of tradition on such practices are very strong.

Among Nupe muslims, women are generally as free as men and legally, as qualified. The veiling of women is generally unknown in Nupe muslim community and, although the Nupes do not admit women to the mosque or other religious observances, except Friday or 'Īd Congregational prayers, daughters of well-to-do parents and, nowadays even from common families, are often taught the Qur'ān. One wonders then, whether this is an adjustment of orthodox Islam to traditional Nupe culture. My investigations have revealed that this is not the case, because the contrast is true only in comparison with muslim practices in Saudi Arabia, the cradle of Islam. These

contrasts disappear when we compare Islam as practised by the Nupes with that of the nomadic muslim tribes of the Sudan, or of the muslim emirates of Northern Nigeria, from where Islam found its way into the Nupe Country.

The Fulani jihadists who started the wave of Islamization in Nupeland were, probably, as liberal or unorthodox in their attitude to women so that in this respect, the Nupes might have received their new religion already remodelled by the jihadists. In this circumstance, the true contrast would be between true Islam and the one practised in Africa, and not between the former and Islam as practised by the Nupes. Perhaps, the greatest influence of Islam upon the traditional attitudes to women has been the regulation of marriage rules and the general kind treatment of women enjoined by Islam. The wealthy muslims among the Nupes can no longer collect many women as wives. The maximum they can now take is four and even this the condition is that they are able to dispense equal justice among the four; otherwise, they must take only one.⁶⁴

As a means of strengthening the marriage institution, Islam has also restricted divorce to very special

circumstances. It is no longer the exclusive right of the husband to divorce his wife at will, but the wife also has the right to ask for divorce. In the years before Islam, only the husband in Nupe society could divorce his wife and he could do this with or without notice to the wife. Islam has changed this completely. Sufficient notice must be given by either side, after which the divorced wife must stay in the husband's house for three complete months at his expense - thus providing chances for reconciliation and making very remote, the chances for complete separation. This new Islamic regulation on divorce has supplanted the traditional practice among the muslims throughout the Nupe Country. The traditional naming and funeral ceremonies also have identical features with similar practices in Islam.

(2) Naming and Funeral Ceremonies

Birth and death ritual ceremonies vary from area to area throughout the Nupe Kingdom. In all the localities, birth ritual begins with the pregnancy of the mother. When a woman informs her husband or mother that

she is pregnant, there is rejoicing. Precautionary measures are taken immediately to secure normal delivery. These measures include both medical and spiritual attention. By muslims, animals are sacrificed to give thanks to the Supreme Allah. The traditional religionists give thanks of sacrifice to their family gods or ancestors, who are believed to be naturally interested in their family production. Prayers are offered for the health of the mother and her baby. At the same time, taboos are placed upon the expectant mother to protect her from harmful influence. Her body may be smeared with white or other coloured powder, and she may wear protective amulets called Laya in Nupe.⁶⁵ These amulets are supposed to have the virtue of helping safe delivery. She must avoid **certain** food since some food, according to Nupe tradition, can affect the health and the physical shape of the child in the womb. Such food are like raw cassava and some snake-like fish called the eel.

In some areas of Nupeland, the husband and wife must discontinue sexual intercourse until after the delivery. The wife must also avoid places presumed to ^{be} inhabited by spirits. In many places it is forbidden for the pregnant

mother to have knots in her clothing since it is believed that these would tie the birth. Both husband and wife must continue to avoid co-habitation for a long period even after the birth. The general belief is that intercourse, between the two may result in a new pregnancy that is capable of disturbing the growth of the infant.

Immediately the child is born, its name is whispered into its ear by the father or the paternal grandfather. The naming ceremony comes up on the eighth day of birth. It is preceded by the offering of wine to the ancestor thought to be reborn in the child. For several generations, this has been the traditional practice. The wine-offering ceremony is brief and takes place privately, usually in the hut where the incarnated ancestor lies buried. It is attended only by the child's father and his nearest male relations. The father kneels down

with a wine-gourd in his hand and says the following prayer:

Me ba soko aduwa, Egi na be
da na, Etsu Soko, Landu yo.
Wun ga zhio. Kuchi a eye daun.
Ga lugwa utan eyan ma. Lygwa
un de rayi Kpalo. Un lau kuku.

Meaning:

I am praying to 'Soko',⁶⁵
The child that has entered
Lord god, it is 'Landu',⁶⁷ that
returned. 'Kuchi'⁶⁸ hold him securely;
do not permit that he falls sick.
May he live long, Help him to grow
old. ⁶⁹

The ceremony ends with wine poured on the ground and the rest drunk by the men present. The eighth day of the birth is the day for naming ceremony proper. The parents and everybody in the family must have distributed kolanuts to friends and distant relations inviting them to the ceremony. A short ceremony is performed in the morning before the invitees begin to arrive. During this short ceremony, the baby's name is whispered into the ear of the priest who will perform the prayer on the baby. This time, instead of holding the wine-gourd, the baby is held by the priest who says the prayer in exactly the same way as earlier said by the father. Later in the morning, when the invitees arrive the baby is brought out of the mother's room,

not necessarily being carried by anybody specifically, but by any one who is so fortunate. The hair on its head is shaved off for the first time. At the same time, some tribal marks are inscribed on its face if the parents so desire. This tradition of tribal marks inscription is gradually dying away. The ceremony is the same, whether the baby is a girl or a boy. The hair is equally shaved off regardless of whether the baby is a boy or a girl.

There is not much difference between the traditional Nupe practices of naming ceremony and the Islamic practices. One can note the differences only in the mode of prayers. The muslims conduct their prayers through the local Imāms who conform strictly to muslim fashion. The prayer usually takes place in the early hours of the morning. The remaining ceremony day is spent feasting, drumming and merry-making. The degree of eating and drinking depends on the financial strength of the family. But the Sunna day does not come all of a sudden; it is the day for which both parents have prepared for nine months - since the inception of pregnancy. Therefore, there is always a lot of money spent on food and drink. Guests keep coming throughout the day, some bringing

gifts of clothes and food for the family. In their turn, they expect to be properly fed during their stay for the ceremony.

The ancient Nupe people generally believed that of all the three critical stages in life, that is, birth, puberty and death, death is the most heavily weighed with ceremony. This idea is no longer true. Ceremonies still exist surrounding death, no doubt, but they are no longer exaggerated due to the influence of Islam. The comparison nowadays is generally between the urban and rural areas, representing Islamic and traditional practices respectively.

The full funeral ceremony in the Country-Side includes a series of rituals. It begins with the actual burial and extends over three funeral rites performed after an interval of eight, forty and one hundred days. The significance of the ritual in these days is the belief that the dead is not welcomed by his ancestors until the eighth day of his death; the traditional belief is that a similar ritual ceremony is arranged for him by his ancestors. The same type of ceremony used to be celebrated throughout the Nupeland until the advent of Islam. In the urban centres today, the traditional ceremony has been replaced with a corresponding muslim ceremony. This is called Sadaka in Nupe, which means alms giving and prayers for the dead.

On the fortieth day, the belief is that the ancestors arrange another ceremony to mark the first stage of his initiation into their fold. For this reason, his surviving parents and relatives also perform some rituals to coincide with that of the ancestors. In this case, the corresponding muslim practice is what the Nupes call Foshiba, which also means alms giving and prayers for the dead on the fortieth day.

On the hundredth day, the process ^{of} initiation is supposed to be complete. The occasion is marked with another ritual ceremony believed to be performed by the ancestors in the grave. The living relatives also perform theirs on earth. There is no corresponding muslim practice for this third ritual ceremony, but muslims continue to pray for their dead for as long as they can.

Funeral rituals are also performed in respect of people who die as babies, infants, youths, adults and very aged people. In the case of babies and infants, the rituals are not as elaborate as in the case of grown ups and aged people. At each of the three stages, the performances consist mainly of gathering and feasting and drinking of wine in the rural

areas where traditional religions prevail. The full series is performed for married men and women. For the old men not survived by widow, the performance after one hundred days is omitted. Children, bachelors and spinsters are accorded the eighth-day ritual only.

As a result of the influence of Islam, the only important death ritual performed in urban areas comes after five days. This performance is called Fiddā'u⁷⁰ by the muslims. It consists of gathering together of all male muslim members of the local community, and reading special prayers for the dead. The fortieth day ceremony is applicable to all categories of deaths and to both traditional and muslim practices.

Traditionally, aged people, family heads and title holders are buried in their sleeping huts and everyone else is buried in the traditional burying ground situated outside the town. The funeral ceremonies of old people in pagan areas involves drumming, dancing and singing during the eighth and fortieth day ceremonies. When young people die, this festive aspect of the ceremony is not organised because their deaths make the heart ache, while old people are thought to have seen the world. For them, there is no cause for grief, hence people rejoice.

At the death of chiefs or Priests, the performance of particular ritual of the idol they owned usually replaces

the funeral rites of the eighth and fortieth days.

Similarly, Nupe hunters also perform their own rituals on their dead. When the death has been of the abnormal type - the death of a lepper, for instance - the general rules are modified. Leppers are buried in the bush. People who die of small pox are buried in the normal way though their dead bodies are wrapped in dirty rags instead of new pieces of cloth. There is neither ceremony, nor mourning. The Lepper is traditionally regarded not as a normal human being and so is the man infected by small pox, hence the variation in their burial.

The burial of all types of death is marked by extraordinary haste. The dead is buried, if possible, within two or three hours, at all times of the day, even at dusk or dawn, provided there is enough light by which to see. Before the burial, the dead body is washed by male or female relative, depending on the sex of the dead. The male wash the male and the female wash the female. The body is washed with water and soap, rubbed with some perfume and wrapped in a new white cloth. If the dead is a man, a cap is put over his head, but if a woman, a scarf is worn on her. The grave is dug, the body placed in it and covered with loose

earth without ceremony. The muslims kneel around the covered grave and pray for the dead. The traditional religionists pour wine over the covered grave and pray also for the dead in their own way. There is no difference between the burials of the dead as a result of fall from the palm tree or as a result of drowning. The chiefs were traditionally buried with ceremonies but Islam did away with all these. The humpbacked are also buried in similar ways as any ordinary dead. Only the hunters still bury their dead with ceremonies despite the influence of Islam. Hunters who are traditional religionists do drink wine and pour it on the grave after the burial, but muslim hunters do not offer the wine although they still retain the merry-making after the burial of their dead. The practice is, however, diminishing gradually.

In all the ceremonies, especially naming and burial, the procedures have always been a mixture of Islam with Un-Islamic teachings. In the urban centres of the kingdom where Islam has been more firmly rooted, clear demarcations have been established between Islamic, un-Islamic and traditional religious practices. Certain traditional practices are not necessarily un-Islamic and these have been assimilated by Islam. Such practices are like praying for the dead. Before Islam there had been the tradition of praying for the dead in

the traditional way. Islam assimilated this and modified it in such a way that it is now done strictly in Islamic way.

The mixing of Islam with un-Islamic practices occurs mainly in rural areas where there is no sufficient knowledge of Islamic teachings. Moreover, a number of people, both young and old, residents of the country-side, are yet to embrace Islam, despite the efforts of the muslim preachers. This goes to confirm my earlier assertion that the Islamization of the Nupe people is not yet complete.⁷¹

(3) Installation of Kings

Islam has great influence on the traditional ways of installing kings. The Nupes of pre-Islamic times had no set-procedure for installing their kings other than following the 'jungle law' which stipulated that 'might was right.' This meant that the man who was physically the strongest in the community was, automatically, the king of that community. He virtually imposed himself on the people as their king because, nobody as it were, was strong enough to challenge him. Precisely, this was how Tsoede, the cultural hero and mythical founder of the Nupe Kingdom imposed himself as the first Etsu Nupe⁷²

towards the turn of the 15th Century A.D. This practice continued throughout the ages, until the arrival of the Fulani Jihādists in the first half of the 19th Century. Their arrival was a blessing in disguise.

Since they claimed to have come to Nupe with the sole purpose of regenerating Islam among the people, they experimented the principle of Shūrā⁷³ or Consultative Council for the first time in choosing their king. This method was arrived at after a long struggle amongst themselves for political and religious leadership, which culminated in the defeat of the usurper, Umar Bahaushe in 1856.⁷⁴ The Islamic solution to the problem of succession to Nupe throne appeared to work very well because, it did not only put an end to the use of the jungle law regarding the leadership of the Nupe community, it also succeeded in establishing the accession through the three ruling houses, according to their seniority. In this circumstance, Usman Zaki's house came first, followed by that of Masaba, while Umaru Majigi's came third.

Thus, from 1856 until 1962, the succession to the Nupe throne has been in rotation among the three ruling houses. After Etsu Ndayako's death in October 1962,

this regularity was broken by Usman Sarki, who thought he was more qualified than anyone at that time, to become the next Etsu Nupe, although he knew that it was not his turn. Since the dead Etsu was from the third house, it was the turn of the first house to produce the next Etsu, but Usman Sarki from the second house showed his ambition. He succeeded in one way or the other in capturing the throne, but he did not enjoy it. He was eventually chased out of the town and deposed in 1969. The throne then went to the rightful owner, Musa Bello of Usman Zaki's⁷⁵ house, who reigned for six years and died in 1974. Since the rotation had been interrupted, the succession this time went to the third house instead of the second, which had earlier had its turn prematurely. Probably from now on, the succession to Nupe throne might not return to Fulani Jihadists' arrangement of 1856. If it had not been for the personal ambition of one man, the succession to the Nupe throne, today, might have been different. It is interesting to note that the deposed Etsu Nupe, Usman Sarki is from the same house as that which

fought against Usman Zaki over the succession to the first Nupe throne to be occupied by a Fulani jihadist.

Usman Sarki is still alive, living in exile in Sokoto.

The Islamic principle of shūra is still working today in choosing the new Etsu Nupe. The membership of the Council keeps changing over the years. Today, it includes the Waziri, Madaki, Makama, Galadima, Ndaiji and Maiyaki. The Council has been renamed the Traditional Council of King-makers, members of which have no need for special qualifications other than that they must be traditional title holders in the categories enumerated above. The decision of the Council is always sent to the State Government for final approval but, at times, this decision can be overridden. This is precisely what happened before Usman Sarki was enthroned. The Council, however, continues to be the last hope of the Nupe people in their struggle against the imposition of an unpopular king. By its name and nature, the council is an imitation of the Islamic Shūrā as enjoined by the Prophet, and a good example of the mixture of traditional with Islamic practices.

(4) Inheritance

One other important aspect of traditional culture upon which Islam has the greatest influence is inheritance. The most serious divergence between the indigenous custom and Islamic ideas occurs here. The Islamic law of inheritance implies briefly the division of the property of the deceased among all his offspring, both male and female, as well as his wives, with their respective shares varying in amount. On the contrary, Nupe custom makes a younger brother of the deceased, or in the absence of surviving brothers, the eldest brother's son, the main heir, excluding wives and daughters.

We need to remember at this point, that the main property in rural Nupe is land. On it all the male members of the extended family work co-operatively. The traditional rules of inheritance thus prevent the fragmentation of land and keep intact, the large labour team bound to it. This is because the land descends, together with the leadership of the family. The acceptance of Islam and of Islamic rules of inheritance would automatically change all these. Land would be progressively fragmented, the labour team broken up and the headship of large families would disappear. For this reason, there are isolated cases

of some Nupes, especially in the rural areas, being reluctant in turning to the new system of inheritance, although they have accepted Islam. They still exclude wives and daughters from inheritance of the land and largely keep intact, the succession to the titular headship of the house. Nevertheless, the most crucial innovation brought by Islam, the division of landed property among sons and daughters, has steadily been gaining ground, not only as a result of pressure of Islam, but also as economic and political expediency.

The political and economic changes which began with the Fulani conquests and continues to the present day, encouraged individual, as against family, enterprise. Therefore, it deprived the productive organisation of the large family of its former economic advantages. It could now be seen that the individualistic style of inheritance exemplified in Islam was the type that the new economic order demanded; so that the new outlook, which coincided with the influence of Islam, provided additional incentives for its acceptance or, for the acceptance of the way of life it represents.

In a wider sense, the mere presence of the new religion in such circumstances answered the demand of the situation. The political and economic events which disrupted family - Co-operation, also, attacked the whole authority of family heads and their grip over the younger generation. Consequently, the sons or younger brothers of men still pagan, began to turn away from the traditional cults, not for any particular benefits they were expecting of Islam, but simply because there was logic in turning away - for this meant abandoning cultural practices which openly stood for the status quo, for parental authority and, for an outmoded family structure, all of which have acted as impediments in the way of modern political and economic advancements for which Islam stands. This is yet another instance of Islam appealing to the masses of the people and in this manner, it assimilated all the important aspects of Nupe traditional culture, which includes learning.

(5) Learning

The pre-Islamic Nupes had been accustomed to their own ways of traditional learning which they had to acquire for their survival. They had to learn about the best ways of farming to ensure sufficient yields of

foodcrops, the fishermen had to learn about the best ways of fishing and similarly, the hunters about hunting. This is in addition to other various professional skills such as black and brass smithing and glass works. There were also mat and basket weavers as well as cloth-weavers. All these had to be acquired through learning, so that when Islam later came with its form of learning, the Nupes were not taken unawares. They had been practising their form of learning for centuries; nevertheless, they embraced the Islamic type of learning, in addition to their own and, today it is possible to illustrate an aspect of the Nupe muslim way of life, as portrayed by the high value Islam places on Scholarship.

Even the most humble follower of Islam among the Nupes is aware of the values of Knowledge. To him, tuition in the Islamic creed and jin katon (book learning generally) are one and the same thing. Moreover greater religious perfection implies wider learning. The title of Mallam or Scholar which is freely accorded to the pious, indicates the trend of thought. The greatness of learning (cinwan Katun) makes many muslim scholars in Nupe society equal to the other great ones⁷⁶ in the society, It is not

correct to think of Mallam as necessarily being poor or a commoner. Many Mallams are wealthy and many members of titled aristocracy pride themselves on being scholars as well. On the other hand, the professional scholar does not require a badge or rank, nor the backing of wealth to be granted the privileges of high status. His learning makes him the companion of the great ones, his activities at naming ceremonies, wedding or burials open him honour; and even a poor Mallam can marry into rich or noble families if his scholarly reputation is high; in such a case, the bride's father would pay the costs of the bride-price and count the expenditure as a pious gift of alms.

Islam had existed in Nupe kingdom for at least a century before the arrival of the Fulani revivalists. The early activities of the revivalists did not keep in view, the constant and systematic propagation of Islam amongst the inhabitants of the kingdom. Rather, they strove for religious and political leadership of the country. As a result, the advances made in the last fifty years or so, by both the religious leaders and muslim preachers, compare favourably with the sporadic efforts of the earlier centuries. Nevertheless, the Islamization of the entire Nupe country is yet to be complete.

If, in accepting Islam, the Nupes have aimed at eventually achieving complete conversion, it is evident that they could not immediately assess all the implications of acceptance. This has been seen in the contradictions and conflicts between the Islamic ideals and the indigenous cultural norms as exemplified in the latter part of this chapter. The Nupes could understand, for instance, that the worship of Allah and the observance of the idol are mutually exclusive, so that accepting the former must mean rejection of the latter. They could not anticipate, however, that certain remote consequences were entailed, for example, in emphasis on religious services, in special rules of marriages and inheritance, in the acquisition of learning and, in many other issues of religious and social significance which, to the Nupe people, may appear unnecessary. Yet, these consequences were eventually felt as problems requiring solution. The solution was usually achieved by further changes through acceptance of Islam.

Thus, Nupe Islam is gradually drifting away from being a mixture of Nupe tradition with orthodox Islam. It is something fundamentally new, unprecedented and integrated among the Nupe people. This could hardly be achieved without the intensified efforts of muslim missionaries and teachers

through the organisation and development of the traditional institutions for Arabic and Islamic studies, Their efforts changed the political, economic and social outlook of the Nupe people. How this was achieved is the subject for the next chapter.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

NOTES AND REFERENCES

TO CHAPTER ONE

1. This is the name with which the people call themselves. The Yorubas call them Tapa, while they call the Yorubas Eyagi which means "little friend." What the word "Tapa" means is not yet known.
2. This percentage is according to the 1963 population census.
Also See Niger State: A Survey of Resources for Development, NISER, Ibadan, 1980, pp. 52 f
3. See Page 3 for Map showing the location of Nupeland (the areas under study).
4. S.F. Nadel, A Black Byzantium, (London: O.U.P. 1942), pp. 67 f.
5. Etsu is the Nupe word which means 'King.'
6. S.F. Nadel, Op. Cit., pp. 198-215
7. This is an ancient name for the Nupe.
8. S.F. Nadel, op. cit., p. 73
9. The pre-jihād rulers of Nupeland insisted that their criminals should be executed as far away as possible from their Capital, particularly in the villages where these chains were kept.
10. Hogben and Kirk-Green, The Emirates of Northern Nigeria; (London, O.U.P., 1966), p. 562.
11. S.F. Nadel, Nupe Religion, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954), pp. 1-231.

12. In Nupe, yan means for; Soko means God. Therefore yan Soko means for God or belonging to God. Ultimately, if anything is said to be not yan Soko, it means immoral. In the final analysis, one tends to disagree with the Nupes that an object or action or phenomeon does not belong to God since in Islamic Theology everything is believed to have been created by God.
13. S.F. Nadel, Op. Cit., p. 16
14. Ibid., pp. 16 ff.
15. The first Etsu is Tsoede, the Cultural founder of the Nupe kingdom.
16. S.F. Nadel, Op. cit., p. 232
17. Hogben and Kirk-Green, Op. Cit., p. 256
18. S.F. Nadel, Op. Cit., p. 232
19. I must express my indebtedness to the Late Ubandaki Kolo Giwa, a well-known Nupe Oral Historian, for giving me an insight into Nupe History. He died in January, 1982 at the age of 72.
20. This is a corrupt form of the Arabic word al-Sirr which means innmost, secrecy or mystery. It is used by the Nupes to denote Traditional magic.
21. S.F. Nadel, op. cit., pp. 78f
22. Alkali is a derived word from Arabic which means a judge in a muslim sharia Court,
23. Although the Nupes do not call the Etsu as Imām, he is regarded as such because of his leadership of the muslim community.
24. Ubandaki Kolo Giwa, op. cit., p. 13

25. There was no special qualification for a man to be appointed a muslim ruler other than that he must be of Fulani blood. The practice was that once a town was captured in the Jihad, a prominent Fulani amongst the Jihadists was appointed over it as its muslim ruler. These rulers were not necessarily dedicated muslim rulers, especially when traditional religionists were still in great majority.
26. Murray Last, The Sokoto Caliphate, (Ibadan: Longmans, 1967), pp. 87 ff.
27. The Civil war was caused by Etsu Isa who still insisted that the Fulani influence in Nupeland must be exterminated.
28. Hogben and Kirk-Green, Op. Cit., p. 270 f.
29. Ibid., p. 270
30. The believers are but a single brotherhood (Quran, 49:9)
31. When new States were created in Nigeria in 1976, Minna became the new State Capital of Niger State. It was the popular choice of the people of the area to be the new State Capital.
32. Ubandaki Kolo Giwa, Op. Cit., p. 13
33. Hogben and Kirk-Green, Op. Cit., p. 276
34. S.F. Nadel, Op. Cit., p. 82
35. This is an ancient name for the Nupe people.
36. The man appointed by the Etsu as the Imām was Mallam Muhammadu, a learned Qur'ānic Mallam appointed in March, 1938. His other religious duties were leading of funeral prayers and officiating in naming ceremonies.

37. These were the learned Mallams in Islamic religious knowledge, who travelled from place to place disseminating the message of Islam. In open air, they discussed the five fundamental principles of Islam, explaining to the muslim audience how to pray, fast, pay the poor tax and perform the pilgrimage. Many people attended these preachings and, through individual oral questions to the preachers, the audience learnt a great deal about Islam.
38. See Appendix I for one of the Arabic texts of the Khutbah.
39. Qur'ān, 16: 90 which reads

إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ وَإِيتَاءِ ذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ
وَيَنْهَىٰ عَنِ الْفَحْشَاءِ وَالْمُنْكَرِ وَالْبَغْيِ يَعِظُكُمْ
لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ .

40. From what we learn in Nupe history about earlier Etsus (from Usman Zaki, 1832- Etsu Saidu, 1935) and from what I witnessed of Etsu Ndayako's reign and of the three Etsus after him (Usman Sarki (1962-69), Musa Bello (1969-1974) and Umaru Sanda who came to the throne in 1975, one can conclude that Etsu Muhammadu Ndayako was the most beloved of them all.
41. The three ruling houses of the Fulani Etsus of Nupe are:
- (i) Usman Zaki House
 - (ii) Masaba House and
 - (iii) Umaru Majigi House.
42. The first son to heed Dando's Counsel was Abdu Gboya, who took the scholarly profession of Alkali. See Note 22 above.

43. This was the name of the early muslim community led by Prophet Muhammad.
44. Shaban, M.A., Islamic History, (London: O.U.P., 1971), pp. 127-135.
45. Sayings and practices of Prophet Muhammad
46. Islamic Jurisprudence.
47. See Note 37 above.
48. S.F. Nadel, Op. Cit., p. 234
49. Ibid., pp. 142 - 3.
50. This was in imitation of their idea of the patronage granted to converts by the Prophet in the early days of Islam.
51. The wording is:
- أشهد أن لا اله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له
وأشهد أن محمدا عبده ورسوله
- meaning:
- I witness that there is no deity worthy of worship but Allah; He is alone without a partner; and I witness that Muhammad in His servant and His messenger.'
- The solemn utterance of this formula by a non-believer ushers him into the fold of Islam.
52. S.F. Nadel, Op. Cit., p. 235
53. al-Nawawi, al-Arba'ūn al-Nawawiyah (Cairo: al-Maṭba'at al-Salafiyyah, 1959), p. 13.
54. The 4th Nupe muslim Ceremony, celebrated more or less individually, is the Birth of Prophet Muhammad. This has been identified by the Nupes with the Gani, which is a traditional ceremony. See Nupe Religion, pp. 217 ff.

55. This is the Corrupt form of the Arabic word Imām, which means spiritual leader.
56. It will be remembered that Islam took over some pagan practices of Arabia and adopted them in the Islamic religious services. An example of such practices is the circumambulation of the Ka'ba, which has now formed an integral part of pilgrimage to Makkah.
57. For a fuller description of Great Sallah in Bida, See A Black Byzantium, pp. 143 f.
58. Salla is a Nupe word used for the two 'Id festivals and ritual prayers. It is derived from the Arabic word Salāt which means prayer.
59. Qur'an, 4: 4, 24.
60. Traditionally, Nupe Culture does not taboo the eating of pigs although there exists a general idiosyncrasy of this nature, since the Nupes do not keep pigs. On the other hand, the prohibition of intoxicants by Islam clashes with the great interest the Nupes have for palm wine, which plays a prominent role in all their traditional sacrifices.
61. We know from the early history of Islam that Prophet Muhammad named one of his sons after his ancestor, Prophet Ibrahim. (See Haykal, M.H., The Life of Muhammad, New York: North American Trust Publications, 1976, p. 268).
62. Qur'an, 4:34
63. Ibid., 60:10
64. Ibid., 4:3, which reads:
 "...فأنكحوا ما طاب لكم من النساء مثنى و ثلاث
 و رباع فلن خفتم إلا تمدلوا فواحدة...."
 meaning:
 '...Marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four; but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only one...'

65. The substance of Laya can be leaves, roots and barks of trees, sand or anything believed to have medicinal values. Such a substance is wrapped in a piece of paper, carefully tied with leather. It is generally rectangular in shape and varies in sizes. The muslims make Laya by writing out portions of the Qur'an on pieces of papers, folding them in rectangular form and making them into Laya. The Laya is used for various purposes such as for protection, for making profits in trade and for causing children to be brilliant at school. It is usually worn round the neck or waist, kept in the pocket or in the house.
66. See Note 11 above
67. Ancestor's name.
68. Man of the next world.
69. See Nupe Religion, pp. 116 f.
70. Fidā'u is an Arabic word which means redemption or ransoming.
See Hans Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, edited by J.M. Cowan, (London: Macdonald and Evans Ltd, 1974), p. 701. The Nupes use the word Fidā'u to mean prayer for the dead, probably because they think that prayer can redeem the dead. Otherwise, it is a wrong word to use in this circumstance.
71. Qur'an, 42:46
72. See A Black Byzantium, pp. 198-215

73. Before his death, Caliph Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb appointed a Shūrā on November 4, 644 A.D. to select his successor to the Caliphate. See Bernard Lewis, The Arabs in History, (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1950), p. 59.
74. Supra; pp. 25-8.
75. Usman Zaki should not be confused with Usman Sarki: Usman Zaki was the first Fulani Etsu Nupe while Usman Sarki was the tenth. He came from the second ruling house, the Masaba house. Usman Zaki was the founder of the first ruling house, Usman Zaki house. (See Note 41 above).
76. The traditional great ones in Nupe Society are rankholders, noblemen and wealthy landlords.

CHAPTER TWO

EMERGENCE OF ARABIC SCHOOLS

The early history of Islam in Nupeland has shown that the first Arabic Schools in the area were established in the early 15th century A.D., when Islam was introduced. The exact forms of these schools are not yet known because of the absence of documentary evidence of their existence.

However, the fact that a number of Nupe people of the time had embraced Islam makes it possible to suggest that the traditional form of Arabic schools existed, some of which can be seen today in many parts of Nupe kingdom. By the same token, one could suggest that these Arabic schools taught some rudimentary readings of the Qur'ān orally to the limited number of muslims, so as to facilitate the compulsory daily prayers, which had to be offered in Arabic, the language of the Qur'ān.

The first Qur'ānic schools known in Nupeland were said to have been established by Etsu Jibril around 1750 A.D. The Etsu himself has been referred to as having played a great role in the propagation of Islam in his area.¹

He reigned between 1740 and 1760, and was the 15th Etsu Nupe after the ancestral Tsoede. He was recognised by his Nupe subjects as the first Nupe muslim ruler. Copies of the Qur'ān of his time were written mainly in the Kufan style of handwriting.

Maghribi

- (1) The / Style of Hand Writing
(Khatt Maghribi)

Nupe tradition has told us that for about a century earlier, bits and pieces of Qur'ānic texts had appeared in Nupeland through the same agencies as had brought Islam into the area. The first official copy of the Qur'ān did not, however, make its appearance in Nupeland until about the middle of the 18th century A.D. This copy of the Holy Book was gradually rendered into several copies by copyists, mainly from among the Hausa donors, because the Nupes of the time had not learnt the art of writing. The first copy of the Qur'ān was a hand-written one, said to have originated from Maghrib. This is why it was called Khatt Maghribi or Maghribi Handwriting. The Qur'ān was said to have found its way from Tunisia to Morocco in North Africa. From Morocco it came to Niger Republic, then

to Northern Nigeria² from where it found its way into Nupe Kingdom together with Islam. Coming as it did before the arrival of the Fulani Jihadists, it was definitely brought by the Hausa muslim traders about the year 1750 A.D. It will be remembered that these traders, through their trade relations with the Nupe people, brought the religion of Islam into Nupe country even before the Fulanis ever thought of coming to regenerate the faith amongst the Nupes. Since the Holy Qur'ān is the true embodiment of Islam, it follows that wherever you find one, there must be the other. The very few Nupe scholars of the mid-eighteenth century, therefore, had to set themselves the task of copying the first copy of the Qur'ān in order to make available several copies of the Book for use in the few Qur'ānic ^{schools} / of the time.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي أَسْأَلُكَ الْإِلَهَ الْعَلِيمَ الَّذِي عَلَّمَ قَلْبِي وَوَجَّهَ
 وَالَّذِي فَدَّرَ فِيهِ وَيُؤْتِيهِ الْوَالِدَةَ الْخَيْرَ الْمَرْغُوبَ
 بِقَوْلِهِ شَيْئًا آخَرَ وَيَسْتَفْرِكُ وَلَا تَسْبُوهُ
 إِلَّا مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ إِنَّهُ يَعْلَمُ الْجَهَنَّمَ وَمَا تُجْزَى
 فِيهَا وَيُكَلِّمُ الَّذِينَ فِيهَا كَرِيمًا فَذَكَرَ إِنْ رَغَبْتَ إِلَىٰ كَرِيمٍ
 فَاسْتَعِذْ بِرَبِّكَ وَيَسْتَفِيهِمْ الْإِسْفُوفُ
 وَالَّذِي يَسْمَعُ الْكَلِمَ الْكَبِيرَ ثُمَّ لَا يُعْزِئُهَا
 وَلَا يَجْزِيهَا فَذَكَرَ الْإِسْمَ تَزَكِيَةً وَذَكَرَ اسْمَ
 رَبِّهِ فَصَلُّوا وَبِالْوَجْهِ الْكَرِيمِ وَلَا
 تَمْرُؤًا خَيْرٌ وَأَسْفُوفُ مِنْ هَذَا الْجَبِّ الضَّحْفِ
 الْأَوَّلِ وَضَحْفُ بَيْتِ هَيْمٍ وَمَوْلَانِ
 هَذَا الْبَيْتِ الْغَلْبِيَّةُ وَجَعَلَتْهُنَّ خَلْفَةَ
 عَامَاتٍ تَأْتِيهَا النَّارُ أَرَاخَامِيَّةً تَلْسِفُ

Fig. 2: Khatt Maghribi part of the first Arabic writing ever to appear in Nupeland. The date of its appearance was about 1750 A.D.

See page 97 for some of the characteristics of Khatt Maghribi

At the turn of the 18th century, during the reign of Etsu Muazu, the power of the muslim Nupe had reached its limit. With the arrival of Mallam Dendo and his subsequent occupation of the position of honour in the Etsu's Court, the Nupes became much more aware of the values of Islamic learning. The Qur'ān itself, apart from its purely religious contents, insists on the importance of learning. It even associates it with wisdom. This created a great **impetus for** the muslims of the time to learn the Qur'ān. At the Etsu's Court, Mallam Dendo taught the Qur'ān to the royal children and to other children of the nobles. Since Dendo's purpose was to regenerate the teachings of Islam through the Holy Book, he ordered for the establishment of Qur'ānic schools here and there throughout the Nupe country of the time. He sent his colleagues Mallam Musa and Mallam Baba to Bida and Agaie respectively and encouraged them to establish Arabic and Quranic schools there. These schools were not as organised as they are today, but were merely assemblies of adult males in central places and mosques. Small boys

and girls were initially excluded because they were considered too young to learn. As time went on, these schools increased in number, because of the increasing demand by the muslim population. As more information about Islam became available, boys and girls of ten years and above began to be admitted into early Arabic schools in addition to adult males. They were taught by private Arabic and Quranic teachers, whose numbers also increased steadily.³ Copies of the Qur'ān also began to appear in a better style of writing.

Maghribi

(2) The New Style of / Handwriting

In the meantime, different copies of the Holy Quran, in addition to the ^{Maghribi} / Style of handwriting began to find their way into Nupeland. The writings in these new types of Quran were much bigger and clearer than those in Maghribi handwriting, although the patterns and authographic signs seem to be the same. Apparently, those newer types of ^{not} writings were ~~done~~ by hand, but by a special device. This seems to be so, because of the regularity of similar letters and vowel signs. Had the writings been done by hand, some irregularities and inconsistencies in the style would have been noticed. This latter type of Quranic writing was called New Khatt Maghribi It was definitely an improvement over the older Khatt Maghribi

قَبْرِي بِرَفْعِ رُؤُوسِ الْغَيْبَةِ الْمَرْبُوبَةِ وَالْآخِرَةِ خَيْرٌ
 وَأَجْرٌ لِي فِي سَائِرِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَالرُّسُلِ وَكَذَلِكَ
 يُرِيدُ بِمُوسَى وَالشُّرُوحِ الْغَيْبِيَّةِ وَفِي
 لَيْلَةِ عَشْرٍ مِنْ أَيَّامِ نِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 هَذَا نَبَأُكَ حَرِيذُ الْغَيْبِيَّةِ وَتُجْرَةُ يَوْمِي خَلْقِهِ
 عَامِلَةٌ تَارِكَةٌ وَنَظْرُ الْفَارِغِيَّةِ وَنَبْقُ
 مِنْ عَيْرِ أَيَّةٍ لَيْسَ لَكُمْ كَلِمَةٌ إِلَّا مِنْ فَرْجِ الْبَيْتِ
 وَلَا يَفِي مِنْ فَرْجِ الْبَيْتِ وَتُجْرَةُ يَوْمِي خَلْقِهِ
 رَاضِيَةٌ لِي بِبَيْتِ الْبَيْتِ لَا تَسْمَعُ دِيَارُ الْبَيْتِ

Fig. 3: New Khatt Maghribi which
 appeared in Nupeland around the
 Middle of the 19th Century A.D.
 This piece was photocopied from
 the collections of Alhaji Shahu
 Makanta Wawagi, Proprietor of
 School 9, the oldest Quranic
 School in Bida.

In Dendo's time, the two styles of writing were used side by side, since copies of the Qur'ān written in both styles were used in Qur'ānic schools of the time. Owing to the scarcity of copies of the Qur'ān at this period of development of Qur'ānic schools in Nupeland, the Mallams resorted to a device whereby written chapters or verses of the Qur'ān could be made available to the learners. (The scarcity at this formative period was as a result of short-supply by the Hausa traders from the North). With the assistance of local carpenters, however, some forms of slates were prepared out of wood for use in Qur'ānic schools. The first wooden slates were necessarily rough and of very poor quality, but they proved very invaluable because they provided a means of easy dissemination of Qur'ānic message. On them, chapters and verses of the Qur'ān were written and erased at will. But once a chapter or part thereof was written down for a pupil, it was not washed away until after the pupil had mastered its reading.

In this manner, the pupils took pride in frequent washings of their wooden slates since this indicated the speed with which they could master the reading of the Qur'ān. This practice generated a lot of healthy competition

amongst the learners of the Qur'ān. It succeeded so well that the Qur'ānic Mallams also became active patrons of local carpenters. This is the origin of learning the Qur'ān by wooden slates in Nupeland. The practice is actively in use in some Quranic schools even today.

At that early time, there was no attempt by any constituted authority to organise or control the traditional Quranic Schools or their methods of imparting knowledge. The majority of teachers, therefore, taught in their own ways, in their homes, where individual pupils or groups sought their services. The Curriculum remained simply the Qur'ān, because this was what the Mallams themselves knew. As time went on, both the demand and the Mallam's need to earn a living formalised the teaching service, at least, as far as pupil's parents were concerned. The parents had to submit a formal application, albeit verbally, to the Mallam, who would charge some nominal amount of fees on the approval of the application. He also charged some unfixed fees as the pupils reached Surah al-A'lā and some certain stages in their reading of the Holy Book.⁴ Such stages were usually determined by the Mallam himself, as he thought appropriate. This was a device, by the Mallams to indicate to their pupils' parents the importance of the Divine Revelation.

Apart from Mallam Dendo, the only noteworthy Nupe traditional ruler who contributed a great deal towards the establishment of Quranic Schools throughout Nupeland, was Etsu Saidu, a grandson of Masaba. His contributions were, however, under-estimated because, unlike his predecessors, he could not execute any expansionist policies. The popular Nupe opinion, therefore, was that he did not play any significant role in propagating Islam amongst his people. It should be remembered that Etsu Saidu's reign coincided with the period of excessive control of Nupe kingdom by colonial masters and, therefore, he was unable to wage wars against any neighbouring territories with a view to spreading Islam. Instead, he directed his attention to the consolidation of the faith in his area of jurisdiction. He did this by encouraging the acquisition of Islamic learning through Quranic schools. Himself a learned man, he participated actively in the teaching of the Qur'ān in every Quranic school he established. He also encouraged his followers to teach the Qur'ān and to establish schools for this purpose in their areas. When he died in 1935, his enthusiasm in this direction was taken over by his successor, Muhammadu Ndayako, who was also a Quranic school Mallam. More Quranic schools were established under Etsu Ndayako, who reigned between 1935 and 1962. In each of them reading and writing of Qur'ānic verses were, among other subjects, emphasised. Meanwhile,

ordinary cursive Arabic writing began to be noticed in some copies of the Qur'ān.

(3) The Ordinary Cursive Arabic Writing (Khatt al-Muskha)

About the beginning of the present century, yet another development in the art of Quranic writing appeared in Nupe-land. This type of writing was called Khatt al-Muskha or ordinary cursive Arabic writing, which is much more refined than the earlier Kufan styles of handwriting. It is characterised by beautiful decorations of each page, especially each chapter heading. It is clear by the beauty of the writing and the neatness of the pages that the whole exercise was done by a type-writing machine. One striking difference between this style of writing and the previous ones is that the fa has just one dot on top of it instead of at the bottom (ف) as is the case with the first two styles of writing. Similarly, the gaf of the present writing has two dots on top of it (ق) and not just one as is the case with the ^{Maghribi} / style. These differences, minor though they may seem, are capable of confusing the learner unless he receives initial explanations about points of differences. Quite a number of Quranic learners I have interviewed told me that they knew only one type of fa or gaf and that they were not familiar with any other. Some Mallams explained the fa and gaf of the ^{Maghribi} / style, not as a difference of style, but as an old style of writing the Qur'ān, and that the ordinary cursive Arabic writing was an improvement over it.

(4) The Latest Ordinary Cursive
Arabic Writing

Today, the first two types of Quranic writings, that is the Maghribi styles, are being gradually phased out from Nupe Quranic and Arabic Schools. The reasons for the disappearance are clear: first of all, in view of the modern technological development, type-writing machines have been invented and widely in use. It is no longer necessary to sit down and write the whole of the Qur'ān by hand. Even if one wants to write, it is no longer economical to do so because, it is possible nowadays to purchase a copy of the Holy Book at the cheapest rate. Secondly, those who have the urge to hand-write the whole Qur'ān because of their conviction that such is a pious act, find that it takes them years to complete the writing of one copy of the Book.

Despite the invention of Arabic type-writers, there are some Mallams whose interest in writing the Qur'ān by hand is never diminished. This, precisely, is the reason why hand-written copies of the Qur'ān are still circulating in some Quranic schools in the area. On the other hand, the most common and up-to-date copies of the Qur'ān, those written in ordinary cursive type of Arabic writing continue to find their way into Quranic schools throughout the Nupe country.

I DEVELOPMENT OF ARABIC LEARNING

Gradually, there arose an improvement in the physical form of Arabic Qur'ānic Schools and general methods of imparting Arabic learning. The early stages were characterised by high regimentation of learners and mechanical memorisation of large portions of the Qur'ān, both factors being dictated by the way people understood the religion of Islam. In addition to the Qur'ān and general Arabic learning, the learners were also trained in the correct methods of ritual purity and worship as well as in the primary laws of social behaviour. The Schools were attended daily except Thursdays and Fridays which were reserved as holidays. Lessons were attended only for an hour or two in the mornings of the two days. The whole course of instruction might extend to nine or ten years. Meanwhile, let us discuss the methods of teaching.

Teacher-centredness and regimentation of learners

The early Arabic Schools throughout the Nupe country were characterised by the fact that methodology was heavily teacher-centred, not learner-centered. Both the knowledge-content and behaviour content of the Curriculum were often exaggerated to the disadvantage of the learner. Except

that it was regarded a pious act, the recitation of portions of the Qur'ān did not have practical meaning to the learners because, they did not often understand the significance of what they recited. In training the learners' behaviour, teachers often over-emphasised the notion of obedience and impressed it upon the learners so much that some eventually followed the teacher slavishly. This kind of rote learning was not found in the contemporary Western oriented Schools, because teachers there were trained.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

II ARABIC LEARNING VERSUS WESTERN

ORIENTED EDUCATION - AN EXPERIMENT

According to the general understanding of Islam among the Nupe people of the early 20th century, an illiterate orthodox muslim father⁵ would prefer sending his children to Arabic schools, where they would be brought up in the traditional muslim ways of life, instead of sending them to Western oriented Schools where it was believed they could become indifferent to the Islamic religion as a result of gaining a sophisticated type of education therein. Moreover, such secular institutions were very few in comparison with the numerous Arabic Schools all over the Nupe kingdom. Since this period was characterised by intensive colonial control, muslim parents generally considered Western type of education Christian education. There were mission Schools, no doubt, and these emphasised christian studies; but government and Native Authority Schools did not teach Christian studies at all. Nevertheless, they were all regarded Christian Schools by the generality of the people, because they were all western oriented. This underlies the reason why the Nupe muslim parent saw the European style of education, not as an agent of social change, or a force directed towards the implementa-

tion of ideals of society, but as a direct conflict between European Christian Culture and Nupe Islamic Culture.

He was not prepared, therefore, to accept a foreign Culture which, he believed, was all out to undermine his own Islamic Culture. This argument helps to explain the reason why response of parents to Arabic Schools at the beginning of the present century was more encouraging than it is today. In modern time, it is discovered that Islamic education taught in traditional Arabic Schools does not provide equal economic opportunities to the people as does the education from Western Secular Schools. So, the educational pendulum swings more to the side of Western type of education than education in Arabic Schools.

The pendulum did not, however, begin to swing all of a sudden on its own. Concerted efforts were made by the Native Authorities of the time to incorporate a more up-to-date type of education within the context of Arabic education system. For this reason, a secular Native Authority School was built in Bida in 1912. In it, Arabic and Islamic religious studies were made important features

of the Curriculum.⁶ In addition, the three R's⁷ were taught, not in English but in Hausa, although Hausa is not the language of Bida people. This venture succeeded in encouraging the muslim parents to send their children to the secular primary School for the first time. It was also the first time that the study of Arabic was introduced into the Curriculum of such primary Schools. Owing to the impact of Western education, methodology in Arabic Schools changed.

Influence of Western Secular Schools

Today, as the general approach to the study of Arabic improves in Arabic and Qur'anic Schools, all the secular primary Schools throughout the Nupe country do offer Arabic on their time-tables. In Arabic Schools, the learners' regimentation is gradually becoming relaxed as the teachers' methods become less teacher-centred and more learner-centred. This is as a result of Contact between the two systems of education. My recent experiences in a number of Arabic Schools throughout the area under study have supported this assertion.

III. SAMPLE STUDY OF SELECTED

ARABIC SCHOOLS

A special study was undertaken of a cross-section of Arabic schools in each of the four local government areas of Edu (Kwara State); Lavun, Agaie and Lapai (Niger State). The fifth, Bida in Gbako local government area, being the largest and the traditional centre for Nupe culture, presented the incentive for investigation into more Arabic Schools. Here, Seven different Arabic schools were studied, which brings to eighteen the total number of schools studied as shown in the following chart:

Table 1: Total number of private Arabic Schools Studied.

S/N.	Name of School	Proprietor	Date established	No. of Teachers	Qualifications	Curriculum Organisation	Building and other facilities
1.	Ansarul Islam School	Alhaji Abdullahi Faki, Lafiagi Edu L.G.A.	October, 1950	Five (5)	All products of traditional Arabic Schools	Qur'an Fiqh and Hadith	Purpose-built classrooms in temporary structures, Blackboard, desks and benches for pupils
2.	Arabic and Islamic School	Alhaji Muhammad Haroun	December, 1967	Four (4) 2 permanent 2 Youth Corpers	Teachers Grade Two Certificate in Arabic, one graduate and one N.C.E.	Arabic Language Qur'an Fiqh Hadith	Purpose-built classrooms in permanent structures, Black boards, desks and benches for pupils
3.	Masrul Islam School	Alhaji Muhammadu Sani	January 1960	Four (4)	All product of tradi-	All product traditional Quranic Schools	Only one purpose built classroom in temporary structure. No facilities at all - bare floor

S/N	Name of School	Proprietor	Date established	No. of Teachers	Qualification	Curriculum Organisation	Building and other facilities
4.	Quranic School	Alhaji Isa Gigbadi	February 1941	Two (2)	Products of traditional Quranic School	Qur'an and allied subject of Fiqh and Hadith	Zaure or Traditional Hall. No other facilities
5.	Quranic School	Alhaji Pata Lavun	June, 1972	One (1)	Product of Traditional Quranic School	Only the Qur'an	Zaure or Traditional Hall. No other facilities
6.	Arabic School	Naibi Enagi Lavun L.G.A.	December 1920	Five (5)	All products of traditional Quranic Schools	Qur'an, Fiqh and Hadith	Purpose-built in 1976. No other facilities
7.	Islamiyya School	Alhaji Uban Lavun L.G.A.	January 1976	Three (3)	All products of Quranic Schools	Qur'an and Arabic	Purpose-built with two classrooms
8.	Quranic School	Alhaji Maishera Gbako L.G.A.	August 1940	Two (2)	Both products of Quranic Schools	Only the Qur'an	Zaure or Traditional Hall. No other facilities

S/N	Name of School	Proprietor	Date established	No. of Teachers	Qualification	Curriculum Organisation	Building and other facilities
9.	Quranic School	Alhaji Shehu Makanta Wawagi Gbako L.G.A.	1860 (the oldest school in the locality)	Three (3)	Graduates of Traditional Quranic school	Qur'an and Arabic	Zaure or Traditional Hall. No other facilities
10.	Islamiyyah School	Alhaji Adama Gbako L.G.A.	September, 1960	Five (5)	All have basic primary education in addition to a knowledge of the Quran	Qur'an religious plus secular studies	Purpose-built classrooms on the pattern of secular primary schools. Basic facilities available
11.	Traditional Islamiyyah School	Alhaji Zakari Siehu Gbako L.G.A.	1935	Six (6)	Middle school Class four;	Qur'an, Arabic and exegesis	Zaure or Traditional Hall. No other facilities
12.	'Illmiyyah School	Jama'at Nasrul Islam Youth Wing Gbako L.G.A.	July, 1972	Four (4)	Two graduates, two products of Quranic Schools	Arabic Language, Islamic Studies	Purpose-built class rooms with up-to-date facilities for teaching and learning

S/N	Name of School	Proprietor	Date established	No. of Teachers	Qualification	Curriculum Organisation	Building and other facilities
13.	Ilmiyyah School	Alhaji Yusuf Alfa Gbako L.G.A.	March, 1950	One (1)	Product of of Quranic School. Versed in Tafsir, Hadith and Fiqh	Tafsir, Hadith and Fiqh	Zaure or Traditional Hall. No other facilities
14.	Quranic and Ilmiyyah School	Alkali Yahya Ibn Jibril Gbako L.G.A.	May, 1936	Twelve (12)	All products of Quranic	Qur'an, Tafsir, Hadith and	Zaure or Traditional Hall. No other facilities
15.	Quranic School	Alhaji Makanta Agaie L.G.A.	April, 1962	Nine (9)	All products of Quranic Schools	Only Qur'an Y	Zaure or Traditional Hall. No other facilities
16.	Islami-miyyah School	Alhaji Abu Katako Agaie L.G.A.	March, 1956	Two (2)	Both products of traditional Arabic Schools	Qur'an and Islamic Studies	Purpose-built in temporary structure. No other facilities

S/N	Name of School	Proprietor	Date established	No. of Teachers	Qualification	Curriculum Organisation	Building and other facilities
17.	Quranic Cum Islamiyyah School	Abdul Kadir Batachi Lapai L.G.A.	June, 1978	Three (3)	Higher Muslim Studies Kano. Two are products of traditional Arabic Schools	Qurān, Hadith and Fiqh	Purpose-built in temporary structure. No other facilities
18.	Arabic/ Quranic School	Hassan Nasarawa Lapai L.G.A.	November, 1969	Seven (7)	All, apart from proprietor, have basic primary school education in addition to a knowledge of the Quran	Arabic and Qurān with more emphasis on Arabic	Purpose-built with basic facilities

(1) A special study of Alkali Yahya b. Jibril

Alkali Yahya b. Jibril was the first proprietor⁸ and founder of school No. 14. The Curriculum of the school centres around the Qur'ān, typical of any Quranic school in the area. The Islamiyya section also functions on similar pattern of Curriculum in sister schools throughout the area, and there is no need to go into details of their workings here. However, because of his wide knowledge, powerful foresight and great contributions to the cause of Islamic learning throughout the Nupe country, the proprietor is worthy of study. He died in 1968.

The late Alkali Yahya was born in Bida on July 10, 1909 to a family of Quranic Mallam, Sheikh Jibril Ibn Muhammad. As a child, he studied the Qur'ān in his father's Quranic school and acquired proficiency in reading the Qur'ān. He also studied Fiqh, Hadith and Quranic exegesis under his father. As a product of the traditional Arabic school, he was appointed a judge in 1950 by the late Etsu Nupe, Muhammadu Nda yako. By gradually widening his horizon of Islamic learning, he became one of the learned Arabists that the Nupes have produced. For many years he taught his pupils to read Arabic and the Qur'ān.

He retired from the service of Bida Native Authority in 1960 and became a preacher. In this capacity, he contributed immensely to the dissemination of Islamic ideals. Although he was not appointed a mufti, he used to give Fatwa on religious questions brought to him from the Northern parts of the country and his treatment of such questions won him respect amongst fellow learned Mallams. He was a prolific Arabic writer who wrote several unpublished works on politics, history of Islam and Islamic theology. Some of his writings are Sirah of the Prophet; al-ṣiḍq Murrūn; Hujjat al-Khasim and Ḍiya' al-Qabil. Unfortunately, all his writings exist in manuscripts¹⁰, one of which will be discussed here.

(2) al-Ṣiḍq Murrūn¹¹ in Manuscript

The title of this work, al-Ṣiḍq Murrūn means truth is bitter. The work is contained in twenty-eight folios, written in the Kufan style of hand-writing with writings on both sides of the paper. The folios are 16cm x 20cm in size. There are, on the average, nine lines per page, with about five words per line. The pages are not numbered and there is no indication of the date of compilation anywhere in the manuscript. From the look of the

paper used, however, it is estimated that the work was probably compiled between twenty five and thirty years ago. The handwriting is bold and clear and the title page contains the following in translation:

This book, Truth is bitter (is composed) by Mallam Yahya, popularly known as judge of Kutigi, a native of Bida, a Nupe by tribe, a member of the Tijjaniyya order and a Nigerian of Northern origin.

al-Sidq Murrun opens with a brief introduction of the purpose for its compilation, which the author describes as the outcome of three questions thrown to him by his brother muslims. The first question sought for an explanation about the denial of some Quranic verses (by some people), the second, about the choice of places for worshipping Allah and, the third sought for clarification of the question of smoking. The author then went on to treat these questions one by one in accordance with the Qur'an and the Hadith, having warned that the answers to these issues might not be what the public, or the questioners in particular, expected. His answers

were compiled into forty six difficult pages of poetic classical language. His Arabic language is of the / type which defies most of the current grammatical rules. The style of writing in the manuscript has added so much to the difficulties of the language that the only authoritative exponent of the manuscript would be the author himself. Nevertheless, a contemporary of the author, Mallam Abd al-Qadir from Zaria has managed to decipher the manuscript with some success. He was so impressed that he composed a Qasidah¹² praising the author and his work.¹³

Mallam 'Abd al-Qadir is not a Nupe man. He is a Hausa from Zaria. He is one of the non-Nupe Mallams impressed by the learning of Alkali Yahya and his contributions to the propagation of Islamic ideals throughout the Northern States. His writings, though nowhere near literary master pieces, are an attempt to put on paper, his discourses of various Islamic questions. This is commendable in that it is capable of providing some basic reference sources for students of Islamic studies in Nupe area. It proves also that the Islamisation of Nupe people is not taking place in an atmosphere completely devoid of written records.

The Alkali is one of the very few Nupe people who wrote down what they taught about Islam and its ways of life. He also wrote several works on various Islamic topics ranging through the five fundamental principles of the faith. He is thus a representative of the first generation of learned Arabists and Islamists of Nupe origin. Members of this group of Mallams are not many in Nupeland. They could be likened to a pyramid, at the base of which, we find plenty of Arabic Mallams, Quranic Mallams and Muslim preachers, who never write down what they teach or preach. They form the solid base of this imaginary pyramid. Half-way through the pyramid, we have progressive learned Mallams who constantly widen their own academic base through research at their own level. Such Mallams have not received western type of secular education but nevertheless, try to put on paper their teachings and discourses. To this group belongs Alkali Yahya, author of the manuscripts discussed above. Such Mallams are not many but if they could be discovered, it will be possible to assist them develop their talents. Their writings could be published and thousands of muslims could benefit by them. At the top of our analogical

pyramid are the elite, who belong to the present generation or what we might call the second generation of learned Arabists in Nupeland. Representing this highly educated group is Sheikh Ahmad Lemu, an educationist, an Islamist, a judge and an author of several works on Islam. His publications include The Young Muslim¹⁴, Tafsir Juz' 'amma¹⁵, and How to perform Hajj.¹⁶ Sheikh Lemu is, himself, a product of one of the traditional Quranic schools in Bida and it would be incomplete to study the development of Arabic schools and Islamic learning throughout the Nupeland without discussing his key contributions.¹⁷ Meanwhile, it would suffice to state that his contributions in bridging the gap between the traditional Arabic schools and the so-called modern type of Western secular schools throughout the area are great.

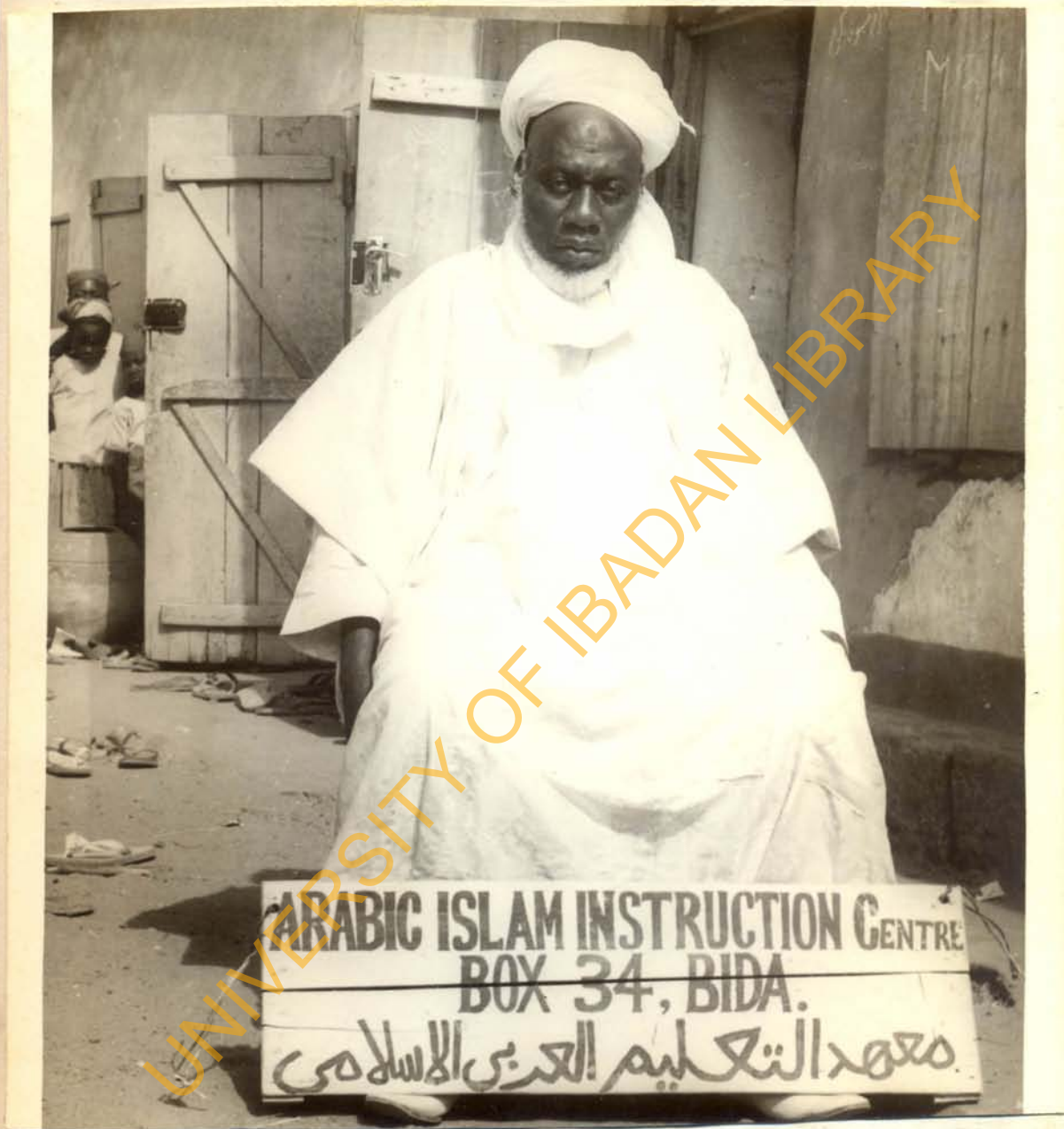


Plate 2: Alhaji Adama Banwuya, sitting in front of his Islamiyyah School - School No, 10. Notice some of the pupils at the background.

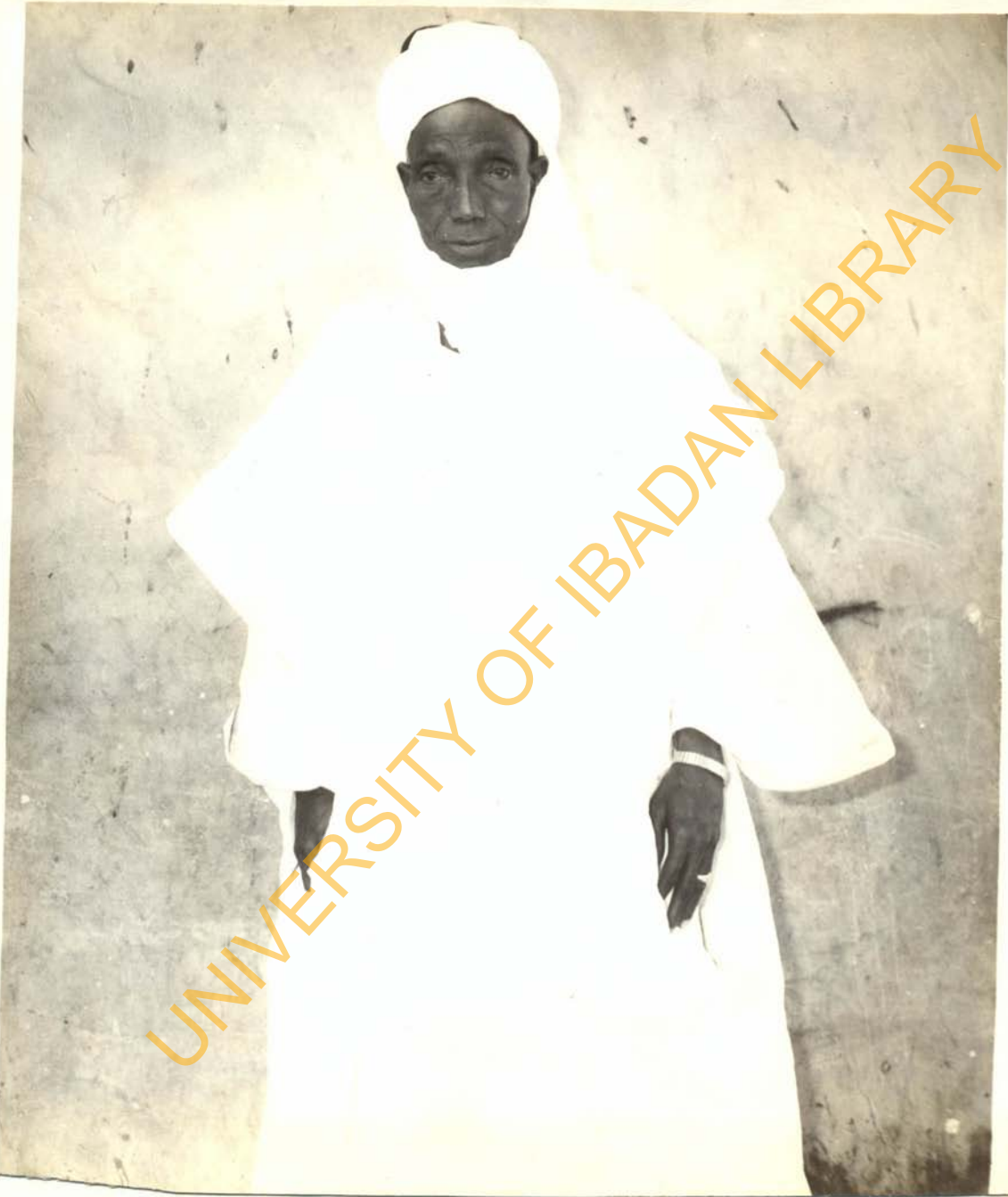


Plate 3: Sheikh Yusuf Alfa, Proprietor of School 13, the 'Ilmiyyah school. He is also the Imam of the Bida third Juma'at Mosque.

Some efforts and time have been expended in undertaking sample studies of traditional Arabic schools throughout the area under-study. The efforts have, however, proved worthwhile because they enabled me see real situations in their natural setting. The studies were undertaken with a view to determining the stages of development as reflected in the schools. Three types of Arabic schools were discernible throughout the area, from Edu Local government area of Kwara State, that is, the southern extremity of Nupeland, to the Eastern extremity of Lapai Local government area. Although the three types of schools were not much different from each other, each was sufficiently represented in the study. My experience in the schools has shown that various stages of development were also represented.

A number of schools were still operating on stages not very far from where they had set off because, both the teachers and the pupils continued to be highly regimented in their approach to study and learning. Schools 5 and 7 in Lavun Local Government area, for instance, were still on the early medieval stages. So also were school 8, 9, 13 and 14 in Gboko Local Government Area. On the other hand, visible signs of development were observed in some schools, especially schools 6 in Lavun Local government area,

16 in Agai and 18 in Lapai Local Government Areas.

These schools have achieved a more up-to-date organisation of Curriculum content and methods of imparting knowledge.

However, there was still some room for improvement.

The schools were also aware of the values of extra-Curricular activities because they attempted to introduce them.

The schools which have made the most spectacular and progress were found in Bida/Lafiaji. These schools, although, being run like any other Arabic school in the land

(on the goodwill of the Muslim Community), were operating on similar basis to any modern secular institutions in the area.

They used up-to-date equipment such as blackboard, desks and benches for students, tables and writing materials for teachers while some provide their pupils with meals and uniforms.

Alhaji Adama's school in Bida and Alhaji Haroun's in Lafiaji provide these amenities to their pupils.

Through personal contact with teachers there, it became clear to me that they were ready to accept any changes in the

general approach to Arabic school learning as long as such changes were likely to bring about the desired development

in educational system. The schools look for aid and obtain it some, especially school 12 in Gbako Local government area,

obtain assistance even from foreign Arab. countries.
 at the time of my visit, two of the schools - numbers 2
 and 12, had graduate teachers on their staff.¹⁸

It seemed to me that the desired improvements were not coming fast enough into some Arabic schools because of a number of factors. First, the schools were being run on charity from the muslim community, therefore, there was scarcity of funds for their day-to-day running, Secondly, the majority of teachers in most schools were ill qualified, so that even if changes were to come for better, the teachers, could not adapt themselves to such changes because of their insufficient qualifications. In this circumstance, a minimum qualification of primary school leaving certificate might be recommended as pre-requisite for embarking upon a meaningful study of the Qur'ān by the teachers. In addition, the teachers should be able to read and write simple arabic, Hausa or Nupe to enable them communicate with their pupils with relative ease.

At present, the ill qualified Mallams in the Arabic schools seem quite happy with remaining in Quranic or Arabic schools teaching the Qur'ān throughout their lives. Many of them are not literate even in Arabic, and if they

want to write down what they teach, they are incapable of doing so. On the other hand, there are a few really learned Mallams who, in addition to teaching in their type of Arabic schools, also try to write down their discourses in Arabic for the benefit of future generations. A representative Mallam of this group has already been discussed,¹⁹ although we have said that he belonged to the first generation and has, therefore, been overtaken by modern scholars of Islamic studies. The best representative of this group is Alhaji Sheikh Ahmad Lemu.

IV THE ISLAMIC EDUCATION TRUST

(1) Sheikh Ahmad Lemu

Sheikh Ahmad Lemu was born in 1929 to a family of traditional Quranic Mallam in Lemu near Bida. His father, Mallam Muhammadu Baba Katun founded a Quranic school in Lemu in the early 1920's and produced several Quranic school graduates, who later established their own Quranic schools in various places in and around Lemu and Bida. Before Sheikh Ahmad was born, his father had left Bida for Lemu, a village about 25 kilometres north of Bida. He lived and established a number of Quranic schools there until he died in 1950. Before his death, he taught Sheikh Ahmad how to read the Qur'ān, which Sheikh completed in 1950. Sheikh had earlier been sent to the secular primary school in Lemu in 1939, so that for two years, he studied concurrently in the secular as well as in Quranic school. He completed his studies from Bida Middle School in 1948 and proceeded to the school for Arabic studies, Kano in 1950. He left that college in 1952, having trained there as a Grade Two Arabic teacher. He taught Arabic and Islamic studies in the then Provincial Secondary School Bida between 1956 and 1958

before he went for further studies at the London school of African and Oriental Studies, where he obtained his Diploma in Arabic in 1955. He proceeded to the University of London in 1960. There he graduated with honours in history in 1964.

Versed in both Arabic and English, Sheikh Ahmad worked in several capacities, administering studies of Islam in the former Northern Nigeria as well as in the defunct North-Western State. In 1965, he became principal of school for Arabic studies in Kano and in 1966, he was transferred to Sokoto as Principal of the newly established College of Arts and Islamic Studies there. When new states were created in the country in 1967, he was appointed Director of Planning for the North Western State Ministry of Education. In this capacity he was able to carry out plans for the enhancement of Islamic education throughout the State. His first step was to make compulsory the study of Arabic and Islamic religious knowledge in post-primary institutions throughout the North Western State. This included two-thirds of Nupeland. His first problem in this connection was shortage of teachers in the subjects. He reacted to this

by recommending strongly to the State government that teachers be recruited from the Sudan to teach these subjects. He had the privilege of being appointed on several occasions to lead a team of specialists on such recruitment tours. Because of his foresight, Sheikh Lemu did not forget the teaching of Islamic studies at the Primary school level. As the first step for providing teachers for this purpose, he initiated the formation of Islamic Education Trust (I.E.T.) towards the end of 1969.

At present, Sheikh Ahmad Lemu is the Grand Qaḍī of Niger State and the National President and Patron of the I.E.T. In all his various capacities, he contributed immensely to the cause of Islamic learning, not only throughout the Nupe kingdom but also throughout Northern Nigeria. Through his invaluable contributions he has ably laid a solid foundation for bridging the gap between the traditional Arabic schools and the more modern western type of secular institutions throughout the Nupeland. Through this organisation, i.e. the I.E.T., which was formed primarily to provide teachers of Arabic and Islamic studies for primary schools, he was able to recruit students from traditional Arabic schools and train them as teachers for secular primary schools. He has

succeeded, to a great extent, in this venture, thus bridging the gap between the traditional and secular institutions, particularly in Nupeland.

(2) The Islamic Education Trust (I.E.T.)

The importance of I.E.T. lies in the fact that it is a nation-wide organisation directly concerned with the propagation of the teachings of Islam, not only in the Nupe country but also throughout Nigeria, as we shall see later. The original aim of the organisation was to combat the acute shortage of teachers of Arabic and Islamic studies at the primary school level. This aim was later expanded to cover the supply of such teachers even to post-primary institutions in the former North Western Nigeria. Although the organisation took root in Nupeland, its headquarters was at Sokoto, the State capital which also included Nupeland. It began to train and supply teachers first, to primary schools and later to post-primary schools as well. The primary school teachers were recruited from traditional Arabic and Quranic schools while the post-primary school teachers were recruited from primary school leavers. Each group trained for five years to become fully qualified.

The organisation's role as a kind of stop-gap institution between the traditional Arabic school system and the more modern secular institutions in Nupeland cannot be over-emphasised. It has trained several Arabic Mallams in the area^{and} will continue to do so for a very long time to come. In addition to its training programmes, it has established a bookshop in Minna, the 'Ilm Bookshop', which brings in thousands of books on various aspects of Islam from all over the world, and sells them to the muslim reading public throughout the country. Some of the notable indigenous authors whose books are readily found in the I.E.T. Bookshop are Dr. M.O.A. Abdul of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Ibadan, Mrs. Aishatu B. Lemu of the I.E.T. and Sheikh Lemu himself. These Islamists have contributed immensely to the development of Islamic or Arabic Studies in Nupeland as many of their books are being used in most of the Islamiyyah schools in the area today.

A new type of Islamiyyah school has already evolved around the I.E.T. Bookshop. The school, under the patronage and

tutorship of Sheikh Lemu's British wife, is solely for house-wives resident in and around Minna. It organises courses of instruction in the basic fiqh and reading from the Qur'ān.²⁰ This is the peak of the traditional Arabic School system which began to grow in Nupeland about two centuries ago. There is still plenty of room for improvement in all the schools; nevertheless, they have had tremendous impact on the Nupes and their culture throughout the ages. The aims and objectives of these schools and the extent of influence they have had upon the Nupe people will be examined in the next chapter.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO

CHAPTER TWO

1. Muhammad Bello, Infāq al-Maisūr, (Cairo: n.p., 1874), pp. 48 ff.
2. This information was collected in a discussion with Sheikh Abubakar Sadiq, Supervisor for Arabic Studies, Niger State Ministry of Education, Minna, interviewed on February 28, 1982.
3. A major information on the early Arabic and Quranic Schools in Nupeland was obtained in a discussion with Nlako Giwa, son of the late renowned Nupe Oral historian, Ubandaki Kolo Giwa. He was interviewed on March 9, 1982.
4. There is no standard fees charged by the private Arabic Schools throughout the area under study. The fee varies from school to school. Some Schools even prefer to leave it to the discretion of the pupils' parents. Similarly, the stages at which fees are charged by fee-paying schools also vary from school to school. But, some of the common stages are after completing the first hi**z**b (sūrah al-'alā); the sixth hi**z**b (sūrah al-Mujā dalah); the thirtieth and sixtieth ah**z**ab
5. Not mothers because, traditionally they had very little say in running the home.
6. Hillard, F.H., Education in British West Africa, (London: Thomas Nelson, 1957), p. 163.
7. The three R's are Rearing, Writing and Rithmetic.
8. The School has had two proprietors since its establishment in May 1936. The present proprietor is Alhaji Muhammadu Baba Saba Yahya, son of the founder of the school.

9. Hans Wehr, Op. Cit., p. 69
10. I must express my indebtedness to Alhaji Muhammadu Baba Saba Yahya, for allowing me to study three of the Manuscripts (See Appendix II for part of the manuscript).
11. See Appendix II for part of the original manuscript.
12. This means a short poem. See Elias, Modern/Dictionary,
Arabic
(Cairo: E.M. Press, 1965), p. 543. Also see Appendix III for part of the Qasidah.
13. See Appendix III for a photocopy of part of the Qasidah.
14. Islamic Publications Bureau, Lagos, 1973.
15. Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria, 1975
16. Islamic Publications Bureau, Lagos, 1976.
17. For Sheikh Lemu's brief biography and contributions to Islamic learning throughout Nupeland, see pp. 122-5
18. Supra, pp. 105-107
19. Supra, pp. 110-114
20. For detailed discussions of religious activities of the I.E.T., see chapter six, pp. 245-53

CHAPTER THREE

ISLAMIC EDUCATION AND ITS IMPACT

In order to facilitate a better understanding of the discussions in this chapter, it would be desirable to encroach upon the realms of sociology of education, however briefly. This raises two basic questions: What is sociology? What is education? Education has been defined as an activity which goes on in a **society**; its aims and methods depend upon the society in which it takes place.¹ This is a simplified definition based on the Western classification of knowledge underlying the modern system of education, now prevalent in muslim countries. It is based on a secular concept which ignores the necessity of faith as the basis of action as required by Islam. It considers whatever training that Natural Sciences, Social Sciences and Humanities can give as sufficient for the growth of human personality.

I SOCIOLOGY OF MUSLIM EDUCATION

According to Islam, no definition of education or classification of its aims and objectives is possible unless the nature of man and the significance of knowledge are first made clear. Islam teaches that man is composed of body and soul: soul is rational while body is material. He is a unity as an individual and his individuality is referred to as the self. He is endowed with attributes bestowed by Allah. He possesses spiritual and rational organs of cognition such as the heart and the intellect. He also possesses faculties relating to physical, intellectual and spiritual vision, experience and consciousness. He is forgetful by nature and inclines towards injustice and ignorance. His most important gift is knowledge which pertains to spiritual as well as intelligible and tangible realities. Knowledge must guide him towards a high ultimate destiny in the Hereafter, which is determined by how he conducts himself in this world.²

Islam itself is a special body of knowledge granted to man by Allah, Who is the source of all knowledge: Knowledge is a trust which must be borne with responsibility, justice and wisdom, with reference to man and nature.

In nature are found signs of knowledge which must be approached with purity of purpose.³ With these classifications the meaning of education in Islam is given as inherent in the connotations of the terms Tarbiyyah, Ta'lim and Ta'dib taken together. What each of these terms conveys about man, his society and his environment in relation to Allah is related to the others. Together, they represent the scope of education in Islam, both formal and informal.⁴ According to Islam, education aims at the balanced growth of the total personality of man through the training of his spirit, intellect, rational self, feelings and bodily senses. The training imparted to a muslim should be such that faith is infused into the whole of his personality to create in him, an emotional attachment to Islam which will enable him follow the Qur'an and the Sunnah. In this manner, he will be governed by the Islamic system of values, so that he may realise his status as Khalifatullah⁵ to whom Allah has promised the authority of the universe.⁶

We may now go back to the question: What is sociology? Sociology has been defined as the study of society, although not the whole of that society, since other

branches of the Social Sciences also attempt to study society. The extent to which different functions of society can be isolated for study is the justification for the different disciplines of sociology, anthropology, economics, political science and the rest of them, which make up the vast field of study of human beings called the Social Sciences. Studies of any educational system and its impact on the society in which it operates is, in effect, a study of the social sciences, since it ought to cover all man's activities in life, which are interrelated. But, what distinguishes Social Sciences each from/other is the particular aspect of human activities which each selects to focus upon. The central concern of sociology is the social relationships of mankind and the Sociology of education is the study of relations between education and society. In this chapter, we are concerned with the examination of relationships between Islamic education and the Nupe Society in which it operates.

II AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The aims and objectives of muslim education in Nupeland are the same universal aims and objectives of Islamic education, which seek to develop the child's personality and prepare him for membership of his muslim community. The muslim education in Nupeland is, therefore, concerned with the influence of the muslim social environment on the growing child. We need to remember that it is always an individual child, with his own unique gifts and qualities that is being educated. Classical Arabic literature contains no theory of education more authoritative, systematic and comprehensive than the one handed down to us by al-Ghazali.⁷ He begins with the infant child before the age of conventional education. He asserts that the child is a trust placed by Allah in the hands of parents and that his innocent mind is a precious element capable of taking impressions. If the parents, and later, the teachers, bring up the child in righteousness, he will live happily in this world and in the next, and they would be rewarded by Allah for their good deed. But, if they neglect the child's up-bringing and education, he would lead a life of unhappiness

in both worlds and they would bear the burden of the sin of neglect.⁸

In his discourses, al-Ghazali touches upon both the spiritual side of education as well as the relationships between education and society in which it operates. Naturally, the parents are the first educators of the child and they remain so throughout his up-bringing. The pre-Islamic Nupe people had no schools and all the essential social training required of a child was given by the parents at home. Apart from occupational training for livelihood the children were trained to respect the elders and the strangers. If a visitor visited a family and departed, the children were asked to describe the stranger. Any child who was able to give the exact description of the visitor after he had departed was thoroughly beaten, because he had been told not to look at any visitors in the face. This shows that the Nupe children of pre-Islamic times were trained to be of good behaviour, not only to their parents and elders but also to visitors whom they did not know before.

At the advent of Islam, Islamic Schools became a necessary social invention to serve the new social order.

Grown-up people as well as children began to attend these Schools to acquire the basic essentials of the new faith. During the early days of Islam in Nupeland, only Schools and homes were recognised as agencies of muslim education. Eventually, people were able to define education in the wider sense, as the development of personality. It was then recognised as something operating not only inside the home and the school, but also outside these two areas, that is, in the wider community.

In this manner, muslim education in Nupeland came to be properly understood as an activity of the entire Nupe muslim community, which has it as one of its tasks to hand down the ^{dominant} cultural values and behaviour patterns of the society to the young and potential members. Since the new ^{dominant} values were Islamic, these Islamic values had to be disseminated to the Nupe muslim community. We want to examine the extent to which the new Islamic values influenced and were, in their turn, influenced by the indigenous values.

III ISLAMIC PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE INDIGENOUS VALUES

The Arabic and Quranic Schools in Nupe Kingdom place moral and religious training highest on their programmes because they believe that education per se in Islam, is religious education. In all the schools, the main content of the curriculum is the Qur'ān. The child is taught to read it and learn it by heart, thereby creating some psychological impact upon the child's mind.

In Islamiyyah schools, the child also has to learn to read and write the Arabic language in order to enhance his appreciation of the Qur'ān and the Prophetic Tradition. In 'Ilmiyyah schools both the Qur'ān and the Hadith are thoroughly studied. It is worthwhile noting that there is not much difference between the three types of Arabic Schools operating in Nupeland. The difference occurs only in the names of these schools and the emphasis laid upon various aspects of Islamic learning. Quranic schools emphasise the study of the Qur'ān while Islamiyyah and 'Ilmiyyah schools lay more emphasis on the study of Fiqh, Hadith and Quranic exegesis. Once the Qur'ān is

thoroughly studied in Quranic school, the student proceeds to Islamiyyah or 'Ilmiyyah school to embark upon courses of exegesis and scholarly elaboration on the Hadith. Such activities encompass the whole field of Islamic knowledge, for around the two sources of Qur'ān and Hadith revolves everything else, whether law, theology, mysticism or rituals. Each of these branches of Islamic learning has its impact on the learners. These impacts may be social, psychological or spiritual. We want to illustrate some of the impact upon the Nupe traditional values in the light of the five basic principles of the faith, as taught by the local Arabic schools throughout the Nupe country. We may begin with the first principle of Īmān or faith:

(1) Īmān (Faith)

Muslims have been taught at School that Islam is built on five fundamental principles of Īmān, Salāt, Sawm, Zakāt and Ḥājj. They are told that the most important of these is Īmān or faith, part of which is translated into action by the remaining four. It is faith which urges one to pray, fast, pay out the Zakāt or go to Makkah for pilgrimage.

These rituals can hardly be performed without the conviction of faith as defined by the Prophet:

You should believe in Allah,
 In his angels, in His revealed Books,
 in His Messengers, in the Last Day
 and in the determination of good
 and evil by Almighty Allah.⁹

This basic teaching of the Prophet shows that Muslims should not have anything in common with people of traditional religion who associate other things with Allah. As we have seen, this Islamic pillar of faith clashes sharply with the Nupe traditional belief in many gods through which one can reach the Supreme. This traditional belief has to be abandoned by anyone who accepts Islam.

The Nupes did not only know that one could not be the Creator of one's own self, but also believed that there must have been a Creator of all human beings and the entire universe. Who or what that Creator was, they did not know. They simply believed that He could not be seen. Therefore, they represented Him with all forms of representations which they called Kuti. The Unseen Creator whom they called Soko corresponds with Allah of Islam. Hence, Soko is used even

today by the Nupes as the name for Allah, Lord and Creator of the universe.¹⁰ The Islamic faith or Imān does not, therefore, seriously clash with the Nupe traditional belief since the Nupes believed vaguely in Allah. Therefore, they found themselves easy to adjust to Imān in Islam.

Through Islamic education, muslims know that belief in Allah is followed by belief in the angels, revealed Books, Messengers of Allah, the Final Day of Judgement and predestination. All these put together constitute the first most important pillar of Islam. The second is Salāt or prayer.

(2) Salāt (Prayer).

The Qur'an speaks of prayers several times and calls it Salāt,¹¹ dhikr¹² and tasbīh.¹³ The service of five prescribed daily prayers requires abandoning, during the few minutes spent in each service, ^{of} all material interests in order to provide proof of one's submission and gratitude to Allah, the Supreme Creator. This Islamic practice, which applies to every adult, male or female, is again in sharp contrast with the Nupe traditional worship which took place only once in a while, when the need arose. Moreover, the Arabic language that is used in prayer is an alien

tongue which has nothing in common with the variable and informal addresses of the deity, typical of Nupe traditional services. The worship inside buildings (mosques) is similarly unprecedented in Nupe traditional worship.

The service of early afternoon has transformed every Friday into a weekly congregational service,¹⁴ in which the Imām of the locality delivers a sermon before the prayers. The Islamic practice somewhat resembles the traditional practice of collective worship; nevertheless, it is fundamentally different in that the whole group is led by only one man, the Imām. Therefore, it is not a collective act, resting on collaboration and a division of tasks as is the case in Nupe traditional practices. But Islam supersedes all the diverse indigenous beliefs and practices. The traditional services are devoid of real spiritual significance which characterises the Islamic mode of worship.

Take prayer, for instance. When a believer comes to pray, he stands up, facing the Qiblah¹⁵ holds up his hands and proclaims: "Allah is the Greatest." He thus renounces all except Allah and submits himself to the will of his Lord alone. By the time

he has recited the opening chapter and some other verses of the Qur'ān, he feels himself so humble before the Divine Majesty that he bows low and puts down his head as a sign of reverence, proclaiming, "Glory be to my Lord who alone is Majestic." Then he stands erect to thank Allah for having guided him, and his mind is so full of gratitude that he prostrates himself, placing his forehead on the ground in all humility and declaring, "Glory be to my Lord Who alone is High." He repeats these acts so that his body gets accustomed to the spiritual exercise and gradually becomes worthier and worthier so as to be symbolically lifted from the mundane into the spiritual presence of Allah. There, he greets Allah by reciting al-Tashahhud, and receives the answer to his greetings. Indeed, for this purpose, he employs the very formula used by the Prophet during his ascension when he exchanged greetings with Allah:

The blessed and purest of greetings to Allah. Peace with you, O Prophet, and the mercy and blessings of Allah. Peace with us and with all the pious servants of Allah.¹⁶

Such is the significance of Prayer as taught by the Qur'ān and the Hadith. This mode of worship is unheard of in the history of Nupe traditional worship, which took

place only when the need arose. It may be once or twice a year when the people needed the assistance of Soko in one way or the other. In such a case, they would gather themselves, in their local communities to pray collectively to the Kuti, whose intervention with Soko was sought. The prayer was conducted either standing or kneeling down around the Kuti. They would then express their needs openly and variously in their own Nupe language. At the end of the worship, an animal would be slaughtered and its blood smeared over the object of the Kuti. The worship usually started in the morning and lasted for about two or three hours. The remaining part of the day was used in feasting and merry-making.

The clash between this traditional mode of worship and that of Islam occurs, not so much in the posture of the worshippers in the two religions as in the representation worshipped in the traditional religion and the sacrifices made, particularly in smearing the blood of the sacrificed animal over the object of worship. This is very repugnant to Islam. Without material idol-like symbol, the believer in Islam travels, so to speak, on a spiritual journey towards the presence of Almighty Allah. The Islamic

mode of service has, ever since, supplanted the Nupe traditional idol worship in most areas of Nupeland. Its material impact is also numerous. At least, five times daily, it assembles the inhabitants of a locality, provides the opportunity for relaxation, albeit for some minutes, in the course of the monotonous duties of individual occupations, and gathers the socially high as well as low personality. In this manner, Islamic prayer acts as a social agent which plays a crucial role in the development of interpersonal relationships of the Nupe people.

Another significant impact connected with religious services in Islam is the introduction of both physical and spiritual purification. Islam has made ablution¹⁷ and personal hygiene a necessary pre-requisite for the validity of all religious services. The Nupe traditional services did not require any purification. The people were not used to washing necessarily except after physical work in the field, when they were covered with dirt; and even then, it was not necessary for them to wash the whole body. The washing of the legs and the arms were enough. The practice is prevalent even today, especially among the rural

dwellers. The Islamic impact on this practice is not easily noticeable. Islamic learning has always emphasised the importance of ritual washings generally as antecedent to religious services. A saying of the Prophet "Cleanliness is half of faith"¹⁸ has also strengthened this. For this reason, most muslim farmers both in the rural and urban areas throughout the Nupeland now make it compulsory for themselves to take a bath, after working on the farms, before performing the ritual ablution for prayers.

Nupe tradition did not allow women in their period of menstruation to worship the Kuti or even touch it, because they were considered to be dirty. Similarly, women in the period of child-birth blood were prevented from such religious practices; it never occurred to the Nupes however, that washing was necessary for these women at the end of the blood periods. There were a few of them nevertheless, who felt the need for the women to wash after the stoppage of the blood in either of the two cases. There were also those who felt that both husband and wife needed to take a bath after sexual intercourse, contrary to the traditional practice of washing only the private parts and other parts of the body covered with dirt.

The few people who felt the need to wash in these circumstances did so, using soap and Lumakan or sponge. No-one ever thought there was any need at all, to take a bath after a wet dream.

The Islamic practice of religious washings does not agree in any way with the Nupe traditions in this regard. According to Islam, there are simple ablutions for the daily prayers, while a bath is prescribed for other occasions such as after sexual intercourse, after a wet dream, after monthly courses and after the stoppage of child-birth blood. The nearest traditional practices to the Islamic practice are the washings by a few Nupes in the circumstances enumerated above but the differences are still fundamental. The traditional washings were done, not because they were compulsory, but simply because they were thought desirable. Hence some performed them while the majority did not. In Islam, such washings are compulsory and every believer must perform them. Traditionally, the washings were performed with soap and sponge, and without any intention. Any kind of water was used, provided it was not spoiled by anything dirty, such as urine or excretâ .

In Islam, the water must be pure in itself and can purify something else, such as rain water, river or well. It must not be spoilt by anything dirty or even clean such as dung, soup or honey. The washing is performed without soap and sponge and with specific intention, taken preferably, in Arabic. But those who do not know Arabic are allowed to take the intention in their mother tongue until they are able to learn the correct Arabic version of it.

Since the Nupe people have accepted Islam, the Islamic mode of purification has replaced the traditional ways of washings. It was not difficult to adjust to the Islamic practice, but the problem has been with the intentions for the various purifications, which have to be taken in Arabic. The majority of the people do not know Arabic and are, therefore, using their own Nupe language in making the intentions. In addition to customary washings, Islam also recommends strongly that the believer should take a bath for Friday Congregational prayers. These ritual washings, both compulsory and voluntary ones, have great physical and spiritual impact upon the believers. They improve the believers' physical appearance as well as purify their religious devotion.

(3) Sawm (Fasting)

The third religious duty of a believer is fasting in the month of Ramadan.¹⁹ During the month, one must refrain from eating, drinking and sexual intercourse and from all forms of indecent behaviour from dawn to sun-set. This spiritual exercise has no equivalent in Nupe traditional worship. Therefore, it appeared extremely difficult at first for the Nupes to fast but later, fasting was accepted by them. In fulfilling their religious obligations, the Nupes are happy to undergo this spiritual discipline in obedience to Allah. At the same time, they derive from fasting, some advantages connected with self-discipline, from a form of military training to development of will power. Moreover, fasting provides the opportunity to share in the fate of certain unfortunate individuals who perpetually grapple with hunger because they cannot afford one square meal daily. Above all, fasting is, essentially, a religious practice and a spiritual exercise, enabling the believer to move nearer to his Lord. Its impact on the Nupe believers cannot, therefore, be over-emphasised.

(4) Zakāt (Poor Tax)

The Islamic Zakāt is not only confused with Sadaqah by the Nupe people, but it also has an ~~equivalent~~ in the traditional religion. This equivalent was taken out of animals and foodstuff only, and given out, not to the poor people in the community, but to their idols. The animal was slaughtered and the blood poured over several idols. The ~~meat~~ was regarded to be too sacred for human consumption. It was supposed to be consumed by the Kuti and since they could not eat, the meat was often thrown away for vultures to feed on. Similarly, the foodstuff, of whatever description, was put in a container and placed in front of the Kuti for three days before it was removed and thrown away. There was no specified quantity for the foodstuff to be given to the Kuti but the minimum quantity should be enough for one man's meal for one day. The sacrifice of foodstuff was given to the Kuti which brought rains called Ndaduma,²⁰ while that of animal was given to any Kuti, depending on the need of individuals. There was no limit of capital in either of the two cases.

The Islamic Zakāt has ever-since superseded this traditional practice in the predominantly muslim areas. The senseless waste of foodstuff and ~~meat~~ has given way to

the utilisation of these by the poor and needy muslims to whom Islam enjoins the payment of Zakāt. But the traditional practice has not disappeared altogether, since there are still a number of people in remote **corners** of the Nupe country who continue to adhere to Nupe traditional religion.

(5) Hājj (Pilgrimage)

Hājj, the fifth pillar of Islam, is obligatory on every adult, male or female, only once in a life-time. Those who do not possess the material means of performing it are exempted. The impact of this on the Nupes is also limited since the masses do not possess the means of travelling to Makkah. On the other hand, the few people who possess the means do go there every year for both service and merchandise. Pilgrimage has helped tremendously in broadening the social horizon of those who have performed it. The world brotherhood of muslims manifests itself there in the most vivid manner. The believers, without distinction of race, language or class, feel the obligation of mixing together in a spirit of fraternal equality before Allah. Mixing freely like this has social,

spiritual and psychological impact on Nupe muslims. The Nupe pilgrims, having gone through the rigorous physical struggles involved in the Hājj operations, return home spiritually reformed and with broader minds. The physical impact of Hājj can be seen on the new pilgrims in the type of dresses they use, especially when they attend the Friday Congregational prayers. Some of them are often seen wearing gold-coated teeth and dress like Arab muslim brothers. This is also the time when muslim mode of greetings of "al-salāmu 'alaikum" and "wa 'alaikum al-Salāmu/rahmatullah," are intensified. This also has great impact on Nupe non-muslim, as it lures them into Islam.

Without going into further details, we can now say that the influences of these Islamic religious rituals upon the Nupes and their indigenous values have been made possible through the processes of Islamic education. It has earlier been suggested that the five principal pillars of Islam have generally been reduced to two; but a great number of muslims among the Nupes do adhere strictly to the five and it is possible to discuss minute details of the influences of such practices on the people and their ways of life.

IV INFLUENCE OF MUSLIM EDUCATION ON SOME OTHER
ASPECTS OF NUPE LIFE

Islam has always been described as a complete way of life. Islamic education or law leaves nothing untouched. It covers all practical and theoretical aspects of human life. We are told that Islamic law was never thought of as a science before Shafi'i (d. 820 A.D.),²¹ who referred to it in his Risāla as Usūl al-Fiqh or Roots of law. From this, emerged branches of the rules of human conduct. Much of these rules and regulations have been disseminated throughout the Nupe country by the agencies of muslim education. Thus, we are able to discuss some of the impact of Islam on the Nupe traditions. Three aspects of the tradition may be highlighted here in order to show how they have been remoulded by the influence of Muslim education:

(1) Marital Life

One of the crucial aspects of indigenous Nupe tradition is marriage. The muslim rules and regulations about marriage seem rather complicated to some Nupe people, especially the rural dwellers. Some of them are so ignorant about Islamic teachings on marriage that

they still approve of marriage between brothers and their half-sisters. This practice was repugnant to Islam. Apart from grand-mothers, mothers, foster-mothers, wives' mothers, daughters and full-sisters, the pre-Islamic Nupe people used to marry all sorts of women related to them because of their preference for marriages within their kindred. Thus, they used to marry father's sisters, mother's sisters as long as they belonged to similar age-groups. They also used to marry brothers' daughters, sisters' daughters, step-daughters, foster daughters and sisters and half-sisters.²²

Islam has given the clearest guidance regarding who is lawful or unlawful for a muslim to marry. The Quran says:

Prohibited to you (for marriage)

are: your mothers, daughters, sisters, father's sisters, mother's sisters, brother's daughters, sister's daughters, foster-mothers (who gave you suck), foster-sisters, your wives' mothers, your step-daughters under your guardian-ship, born of your wives to whom you have gone in, - no prohibition if you have not gone in; (those who have been .) wives of your sons proceeding from your loins; and two sisters in wedlock at one and the same time, except for what is past, 23

This verse dispels all doubts about the legality, or otherwise, of a woman to marry. Its greatest impact is that it has reformed the Nupe traditional marriage practices and brought it in line with the Islamic practices. The ṣadāq (ewo-yawo in Nupe), which used to go to the father of the woman in pre-Islamic times in Nupeland is now given to the wife by Islam. The practice whereby girls were forced to marry husbands, as a result of consultations with the 'Kuti,' against their wish, gave way to the Islamic law of marriage. According to this law, marriage is a bilateral contract based on the free consent of the two contracting parties. The parents still assist by their advice and their experience in selecting the life-companion for their child; but the final say rests with the couple themselves. This is a great achievement in the social advancement of the Nupe people brought about through Islamic education.

The elasticity of muslim law is demonstrated by the fact that it permits polygamy. This idea is similar to some extent, with Nupe tradition of collecting as many women as possible as wives. The muslim idea, however, regulated the number of wives to four. Socially,

polygamy has several advantages: first, it has the capacity of increasing the muslim population, which might be a credit to Islam. Secondly, in the event of the sickness of one wife, other wives could come to her assistance, and thirdly, it teaches the women to be tolerant of each other and to respect each other's views and feelings. This, probably, is the reason why Islam allows polygamy as long as the wives agree to live together.

The Nupe practice before Islam did not guarantee this freedom amongst the wives who had to accept the conditions of living together because they had no choice. Today, the influence of Islamic education has wiped away the traditional practice of bundling the women together regardless of whether they wish to stay together or not. Under the Islamic conditions, if the woman agrees to be a 'Co-wife', the act of polygamy solely depends on her. She may, at the time of marriage, demand the acceptance or insertion in the marriage contract, of the clause that her husband would practise monogamy. Such a condition, if accepted, is as valid as any others in the legal contract. In the Nupe muslim society, polygamy has been regarded generally as a rule rather

than an exception. The general belief is that a muslim must have four wives, as long as he can afford it, in order to be able to increase the muslim population which is encouraged by Islam. In this circumstance, the muslim women usually have no grudge against polygamy and, in fact, some even urge their husbands to make more wives so as to have mates at home. As a result, even the very few educated women in Nupe society who might prefer monogamous life have been swallowed by the views of the majority on monogamy. The popular view is that monogamy is desirable only on condition that one cannot afford polygamy. Thus the traditional ideas on monogamy still overweigh the Islamic idea which seems to suggest that monogamy is a rule in muslim's matrimonial life.

Closely connected with marriage is divorce. One cannot discuss marriage problems logically without bringing in divorce. In Nupe tradition, divorce could take place easily. It was done unilaterally by the husband or his parents under the slightest pretext. This places the wife or wives at the mercy of their husbands or their husband's parents. These parents could

even divorce the wives in the absence of their husbands provided they were satisfied that the wives misbehaved. The action of the parents were not challenged even in the traditional courts which were made up of community leaders. The traditional courts were not guided by any code of conduct other than by their common sense and previous experiences in similar divorce matters. Although the Nupe parents of pre-Islamic times could unilaterally divorce the wives of their sons, they were in a stronger position to protect the interest of such wives. They could effectively prevent the maltreatment of the wives by their husbands and could ensure that every kind of good treatment possible were given to the wives by the husbands. Such treatments were good food, good clothing and freedom to visit parents and relatives when necessary. In the event of divorce, however, the wives were sent to their parents' homes immediately. They would stay there with their parents, and at their own expense, for the period it took them to reconcile her with ^{her} husband. If the reconciliation was not possible, the divorced women could not re-marry until after fifteen months. If reconciliation was

effected before this time, the wife would return to her husband without any ceremony. This was the traditional practice of divorce before Islam.

With the advent of Islam and the influence of muslim education, women were accorded more recognition in matters of divorce. In-as-much as the responsibility of the annulment of the marriage is vested in the hands of the husband, the wife too may acquire the right, through the muslim law court, to divorce her husband. The court possesses the right of separation of the couple if the husband is incapable of fulfilling conjugal duties. Further, there is also the bilateral separation, when the two agree mutually, on condition, to discontinue their marriage ties. Islam insists that the two should refer their quarrels to an arbitration panel before deciding upon definite separation.²⁴ The Prophet is also reported as saying "The most detestable of the permitted things in the eyes of Allah is divorce."²⁵

This saying of the Prophet is serving as a shield to protect the marital position of women since in many divorce cases, it is, the women who suffer most. For example, when a woman is divorced, she is, at once, deprived of sure means of livelihood unless she has

wealthy parents or she possesses a means of earning a living on her own. This is not the case with the majority of married women in Nupeland. What Islam has done for the security of divorced women, at least until they re-marry, is to place them under the direct care of their former husbands. They would be fully responsible for the divorcees' feeding, clothing and general welfare (with the exception of sexual intercourse) during their period of waiting, which Islam calls 'Iddah period. It is three months, and not fifteen as was the case in Nupe tradition. Thus, the influence of Islam and its educational system has raised the status of Nupe women to almost the same level as that of men.

(2) Inheritance

Inheritance is the last aspect of Nupe traditional practice upon which Islamic education has a great impact. The traditional practice of inheritance and the Islamic version have already been discussed,²⁶ particularly as it affects the rural population. Traditionally, the right of inheritance involved much more than the landed property of the deceased person. It included all his

property, movable or immovable. No woman was allowed any share at all. Instead, the women themselves were part of the property to be inherited - by male inheritors who were the sole traditional inheritors. The method of inheritance which was applicable throughout the Nupe Kingdom varied from locality to locality. The Nupes from Agaie-Lapai-Muye area used to make the eldest son of the deceased, the main heir. He inherited his father's wives, apart from his mother and step-mothers who were too old for him. This custom came about in Nupeland probably as a result of the influence of the Yagba people of Kwara State. This custom was also the practice of the Gana-ganas, a sub-tribe of the Nupe people, living around ^{the} south-eastern part of the Nupe country. In Bida and Lafiaji area the situation was different. There, the main heir of the deceased was his male brother, be he senior or junior to the deceased. He inherited all the wives of the deceased without exception. If the deceased had both senior and junior brothers, all the inheritance went to the Senior brother who could give out some of the inherited

wives to the junior brothers. In this case the women had no choice: they simply had to accept the man to whom they had been given whether they wished to stay with him or not. This traditional ways of sharing inherited property amongst the male inheritors also applied to other movable property which were shared along with the women.

When Islam came, it changed all these. It modified the inheritance of landed property (as can be seen on page 72 above) and divided the movable property among the rightful heirs. But, perhaps, the greatest impact which the Islamic law of inheritance has upon the traditional Nupe Culture is the bringing in of women for the first time, to be among the inheritors, while previously they were part of the inherited property themselves. Some think Islamic law of inheritance is complicated even though the Qur'an²⁷ is explicit about it, with the shares of different heirs varying according to individual circumstances. The recognition of women brought about through the impact of Islamic education is a corner-stone in the progress towards social emancipation of women in Nupeland. While we do not intend to discuss in detail, the muslim

law of inheritance, it might be worthwhile to look briefly into the shares given to female heirs by Islam. This has, undoubtedly, enhanced their social status.

(3) Enhanced position of women

Islam enjoins that the wife of the deceased man gets one-eighth if the deceased leaves a child, otherwise the wife gets a quarter. If the daughter is alone, she gets a half. Several daughters get two-thirds of the entire property - all these will take place when there is no son. If the deceased has a son, the daughter gets half the share of her brother. The mother, if she has no co-wives gets a third of the entire property. If the deceased has the father, child or brothers and sisters she gets one-sixth. The sister does not inherit if the deceased leaves a son. But if the sister is alone she gets a half of the property of the deceased brother. Two or more sisters get two-thirds which they divide among themselves equally. If the deceased has ^a daughter the sister gets one-sixth. If he has a brother, the sister gets half of what he gets. There are also

differences between the shares of full sisters, consanguine sisters and uterine sisters.

One might wish to conclude from the above that the important thing in this matter of inheritance, is not what the women get but that they are reckoned with when distributing items left by men. Unlike the Nupe tradition (as we have seen above) the Islamic tradition exalts women to an elevated social position. Mothers in particular have been so elevated that the Prophet is reported to have said that "Paradise lies underneath the feet of your mothers." He is said to have enjoined strict obedience to parents (especially mothers), and to have rated it as one of the works which please Allah most. The Qur'an²⁸ substantiates this and reminds man of the fact that it was his mother who had borne ^{him} in her womb, suffered much on his account and reared him up after making all kinds of sacrifices. Regarding the woman as a wife, the Prophet's saying, "The best among you is the one who is the best towards his wife"²⁹ is too well-known.

Throughout this chapter, we have tried to discuss some traditional Nupe practices and similar practices in Islam and to show some impact of Islamic practises upon the traditional Nupe ones. Some instances have been sighted from traditional ways of marriage, divorce and inheritance and some impact of Islamic education on them have been shown. The Islamic mode of education has superseded the traditional methods and the result has been the abandonment of certain traditional practices like utter disregard for women. As a result of the influence of muslim education, the Nupes came to realise their own position in relation to their environment, their fellow human beings and their Creator, thus realising their rights and responsibilities. In this manner, their traditional selfish attitudes towards others, especially towards women, gave way to a more reasonable attitude of mutual respect amongst all human beings, especially between men and their womenfolk. These new Islamic values were acquired through the agencies of Islamic education. These agencies were the Muslim parents in the home environment, the Mallams

in the school environment and the larger Muslim community, each contributing its own quota towards the development of the individual Muslim personality. The source of all the virtue has been the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet who has been looked upon by the Muslim communities the world over as the best teacher and 'the exemplary character worthy of emulation.'

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

NOTES AND REFERENCES

TO CHAPTER THREE

1. Ottaway, A.K.C., Education and Society, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962) pp. 1-6
2. Al-Attas, S.N., Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education (Jeddah: Holder and Stoughton, 1979), p. 157.
3. Ibid., p. 157
4. Ibid., p. 158
5. Allah's representative on earth.
6. Al-Attas, Op. Cit., p. 158
7. For details of al-Ghazali's biography, See Sharif, M.M., A History of Muslim Philosophy Vol. I (New York: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), pp. 581-616.
8. Tibawi, A.H., Islamic Education: (London: Luzac and Co., 1972), p. 40.
9. Abdul, M.O.A., The Selected Traditions of Al-Nawawi, (Lagos: Islamic Publications Bureau, 1973), p. 21.
10. For a full discussion of Nupe Traditional Religion, See chapter I, pp. 4-10.
11. Quran, 17:78
12. Ibid., 3:191
13. Ibid., 24:41
14. Ibid., 62:9

15. The direction muslims face in prayer. Following the confrontation with Judaism, which led to the **expulsion and elimination** of the Jews from Madīnah, the Prophet was enjoined to re-orient the direction of prayer (qiblah) towards Makkah rather than Jerusalem.
16. This formula is called al-Tashahhud. It is recited in the sitting posture, at the end of every two raka'as.
17. Qur'an, 5:7
18. Husain, S.A., The Book of Thousand Lights: Selection from 'Mishkat-al-Masabeeh; (Lucknow: Academy of Islamic Research and Publications, 1975), p. 4
19. Qur'an, 2:183
20. Supra, p. 8
21. Hamidullah, M., Introduction to Islam (Lagos: Islamic Publications Bureau, 1981), p. 118
22. Supra, pp. 52-3
23. Qur'an, 4:23
24. Ibid., 4:35
25. Husain, S.A., Op. Cit., p. 91
26. Supra, pp. 72-4
27. Qur'an, 4:7-12
28. Ibid., 17:23, 24
29. Husain, S.A., Op. Cit., p. 90
30. Qur'an, 32: 21 says:

لقد كان لكم في رسول الله أسوة حسنة . . .

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ROLE OF THE MU'ALLIM IN
THE ISLAMIC LEARNING SYSTEM

I THE ARABIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

In any educational system, the teacher's role is very crucial. The essence of the role of Mu'allim in the traditional Arabic School system in Nupeland cannot, therefore, be over-emphasised. His role is as follows:

(1) His educational duties

The first duty of a Mu'allim is to create good relationship between himself and his pupils. The parents of his pupils feel that this good relationship is essential because, without it, it would be difficult for any meaningful learning to take place. Secondly, the Mu'allim is expected to show no favouritism and to be interested, helpful and loving towards his pupils. Having fulfilled these two conditions, he is then expected to teach his pupils all the elements of knowledge and values necessary for their up-bringing to fit them properly into the adult muslim community.

In the process of teaching, the Mu'allim is expected to control, discipline and mould the pupils's character. In this manner, he is placed in between the world of youths and the world of adults trying to meet the claims of his pupils while **reconciling** them with the expectations of their parents and relating both to the needs of the muslim society at large. He has, on the one hand, an academic role connected with scholarship and, on the other, he is a character-trainer **concerned** with the development of the child's total personality. The muslim community expects him to be properly behaved so that he can reflect the general moral values of the community in his behaviour and set a good example by his high standards of conduct. He is expected to avoid all the sins of the age and, if he sins at all, it should be by omission rather than by commission.

The Mu'allim's own image of himself consists of all that the public expects of him because, he is part of the community. But, probably he sees himself more as an academic specialist since this is his traditional

role. He wants to feel that he knows his subject very well, be it Qur'ān, the Hadith or the Tafsir, and that he is superior to his pupils in this respect. He also likes to feel that he is a moralist and is able to keep good discipline which is a highly valued quality in him. He likes to see himself playing these roles effectively.

He has different methods of achieving this end, covering a range of sanctions from enforcing a code of punishment to the gentle but effective persuasion by personal influence. There is, of course, more in discipline than keeping order: the objective is the development of a capacity for self-discipline. This brings out the Mu'allim's other function as a counsellor or advisor. If his pupil is lacking in interest or unwilling to learn, the Mu'allim's first concern is to find out the reason. Anti-social conduct, such as absenteeism or delinquency, must have its cause. The Mu'allim, therefore, tries to understand the pupil's motivation and act with the intention of seeking a cure and removing the obstacle to learning rather than imposing punishment.

To put the whole discussion in a nutshell, the Mu'allim sees himself as a parent to his pupil and as someone responsible for the development of his whole personality. He does this by teaching him all the essentials of life in accordance with Islam. His methods of achieving this and the authority which enables him to do so are both prescribed within the Arabic School system.

(2) His methods and authority

Western Sociologists¹ of education have distinguished two types of behaviour with regards to classroom teaching. These are 'dominative' and 'integrative'. 'Dominative' behaviour is described as autocratic methods and the attempt to dominate the will of others. On the other hand, 'integrative' behaviour is described as democratic methods of seeking to integrate differences into agreement by tolerance, consultation and discussion.² These types of behaviour can be observed in all spheres of life, particularly in industry, business and politics and, indeed, anywhere, where people are in position of

authority over others. But, most people cannot be placed clearly into one category or the other, because they possess elements of both.

Examples of these two types of personalities were observed amongst the mu'allims studied in the course of this work. The proprietor of school (6) in Lavun Local Government, for instance, was a domineering personality. He was confident that he knew, not only more than his pupils but also better than his subordinate Mu'allims and wished that they behaved in the same way as he does. He found it rather difficult to admit the values of their experiences and desires. He tended to make and take decision on his own, without reference to his colleagues who were his subordinates. He was, in fact, jealous of the ideas of the others and took suggestions from his subordinates as implying criticism of himself. He tended to use the technique of threats and blame on his pupils and assistants. He gave imperative commands and orders because he looked upon his Arabic school as his sole property. He believed that if the school became exemplary and trained his pupils correctly, the credit would come

to him as the proprietor; similarly, if the opposite happened, the blame would naturally come to him. He was confident that he was doing his best in his organisation and administration of the School and, precisely, this was why he behaved aggressively when his will concerning the school was questioned by the Arabic Supervisors for the Lawun Local Government Education Department. He was an elderly Mu'allim of 65 years of age,³ with over 40 years experience teaching in various Arabic Schools. He was well read in the Qur'ān and other branches of Islamic learning. He was widely respected throughout the local government Area.

The best example of integrated personality was found in the proprietor of Agaie School (15). His name was Alhaji Abu Katako. This Mu'allim was able to work with his colleagues instead of dictating orders to them. He realised the value of their experience; so he was prepared to invite their cooperation and to adapt his aims to their desires. As the proprietor of the School, he consulted his subordinates whenever the need arose and was quick to recognise and praise good ideas which came

from them. He was able to share responsibilities with his colleagues. He did not insist on keeping all the control in his own hands. He tended to use praise rather than blame, make requests rather than give orders and tolerate the disagreement of others. He was, in the real sense, flexible, permissive and adaptive. As a leader, he was able to coordinate the work of his colleagues and develop a happy and creative atmosphere among those who worked with him.

Obviously each of these two Mu'allims was an extremist in his own way. The great majority of the Mu'allims seen at work throughout the schools, operated between these two extremes. We are taking one of these as a model. His methods and authority in the Arabic School system will, therefore be examined. Let me say at this point, that none of these local Mu'allims attended any teacher training courses in the Western type of secular training college, except two teachers in Arabic Islamic School at Lafiagi. Apart from these, the teaching methods of a great majority of the Mu'allims remained as traditional as the methods that produced them themselves. In terms of the Western oriented ideas, the methods were Mu'allim-centred and not learner-centred. The

pupils had some measure of freedom but were sometimes regimented, sitting on the floor for hours on end. The lessons mainly took the form of lectures while the learners, especially the young ones, were expected to learn by rote. Under such circumstances, the Mu'allim exercises a great deal of power and authority over his pupils. One wonders whether or not the Mu'allim's power and authority were accepted by the pupils as legitimate, since this was a necessary condition before any meaningful teaching and learning could take place.⁴

The relationship between the mu'allim and his pupils clearly provides the setting in which authority is established. The acceptance of such authority by the parents and the pupils within the Arabic School system is a priority for good teaching. Because of the role of Islamic education in moulding the character of the individual learners, the Mu'allim who is the direct functionary of Islamic education, must have real influence. For him to exert his influence academically, morally and socially, he must be able to establish control, attention and motivation and this power must be voluntarily

accepted by the pupils. They must accept that it is legitimate for the Mu'allim to exercise power. He must have authority and right to be obeyed. How does he get his command obeyed? Will education be possible if obedience has to be imposed by the Mu'allim? Will he survive for long using power alone?

There is a close connection between power and authority; they are both the means of bringing about discipline in schools. On the other hand, it is when a system of authority breaks down or when an individual loses his authority that there must be recourse to power, if conformity is to be assured. Power, or the ability to get obedience, can be a barrier in education, unless it is accepted voluntarily by the pupils. It would be difficult to educate the pupils if obedience has to be imposed upon them by the mu'allim. In a number of Arabic and Quranic Schools in the area under study, the imposition of obedience on the pupils by the mu'allims has become a natural phenomenon. This is so, partly because of the traditional support for the imposition and, partly because the mu'allims have never received training in teaching methods. They have no idea, therefore that it is only when their pupils grant them, freely,

the right to exercise power that they can exercise their full academic and moral influences.

The need to distinguish between power and authority is important in determining those factors which lead pupils from merely yielding to power, to seeing its use as justified. In the traditional Nupe society, mu'allims are obeyed because of the position they occupy; but this does not mean that obedience is freely given. His status as a mu'allim gives him the symbols, the means and the support of power. He is generally traditional and authoritarian and has a positional status in which his rights and responsibilities are determined by the Nupe social structure. Parents, elders and, to some extent, local education authorities, almost always give their support to the mu'allim in exercising his power and authority over the pupils. Whether the mu'allim exercises his power and authority correctly or wrongly, it is left to his own discretion. He is almost always never challenged by parents or education authorities.

The pupils usually obey their mu'allims because they know that he has rewards to give out or punishments to inflict and that these procedures are backed by parents

as well as those in authority. In addition, each Mu'allim has a personal status. He was, himself once a pupil who has brought with him, experiences from his own childhood. It has been suggested that normative power is preferable because it could lead to the learner internalizing school values;⁵ once this has happened, the motive for learning and obeying are no longer external but internal. When the Mu'allim is granted authority, he is given respect and attention as a consequence. He is not respected because he gives instruction backed by power.

(3) His position in Max Weber's three types of authority

Max Weber⁶ has formulated three grounds on which authority could become legitimate. We need to examine in these relation to the position of the Mu'allim in the traditional Arabic School.

(a) The first type of authority which Weber calls 'rational legal' is associated with the growth of bureaucracy. Here obedience is granted to rules and procedures laid down independent of any particular individual. This is what Weber calls 'institutional authority'.⁷ In the Arabic Schools under study, it

applies to the procedures which have been established: it includes the Mu'allims' authority which is partly derived from the traditional rules which relate to muslim education generally. The bureaucratic structure is very powerful in the Arabic schools, although the Mu'allims are not conscious of it. The Mu'allims have several advantages, for instance, they check the pupils' attendance every morning and report to the proprietor, the absentees. This action of the Mu'allim is accepted by the pupils as legitimate, because they perceive of him as neutral agent in the procedure. He is regarded as neutral because he does not legislate the rule which stipulates that the pupils must be checked every morning. That rule was, probably, initiated by the Proprietor and, has since become part of the School so that to the pupils, that Mu'allim was carrying out a 'natural' instruction to enable the school resume its work in the morning. The entire pupils, therefore, see his actions as deriving from school regulations which he serves. So, the pupils comply willingly. This type of authority is common in all the Arabic Schools throughout the Nupeland. If the Mu'allim detects the absentees and tries to find out the reason for their absence, the

parents are convinced that he is interested in their children. This is an encouragement to them.

(b) The second type of authority Weber calls 'traditional authority'. This rests on loyalty to long-established ways of doing things. In this manner, authority is seen as natural because things have always been done or arranged this way. Most of the Schools under study have been established over fifty years ago and are still existing today. To a large extent, the proprietors of these schools still represent old establishments. The traditions of these schools remain as a force. The Mu'allims of such schools are not generally doubted; their authorities are not questioned by the pupils or their parents, probably because they do not want to tarnish the reputation of the schools they represent. With the exception of two or three Islamiyyah Schools which have their buildings and equipment modified, the rest are still largely traditional. They use traditional halls or Zaure and traditional equipment for instruction. The

Mu'allims themselves are so bound within the traditional authority in the same way as the pupils, that their freedom to modify things is very much restricted. Obviously, there is no question of modifying the Curriculum, which has always remained the Qur'ān; but there should be a question of modifying approach to the teaching of it. The equipment cannot be modified easily either, because this means money which is always not available. This leaves the Mu'allim and his pupils no choice but to be obedient to the long-established tradition, hence the applicability of Weber's traditional authority to the local Arabic School situation.

(c) The third and the last type of authority formulated by Weber is the one legitimated by the charisma or what he calls 'personal magic.' The legitimacy of charismatic rule rests upon the belief in magical powers, revelation and hero-worship.⁸ Some teachers exercise extra-ordinary power over children by projecting their personalities. This is the state of affairs based on emotion rather than on reason. Such teachers try to consolidate their authority by exhibiting qualities of

learning, humour, dignity, energy and so on,⁹ which may result in children seeing the power they wield as legitimate. The authority given to such teachers by their pupils is personal (while the previous two are impersonal). The quality of such authority varies with individual teachers. Quite a number of Mu'allims in the Schools observed were seen to possess this type of personal authority although many of them were observed to rely upon a combination of the three sources of authority. The division of the three should not, therefore, be treated arbitrarily.

Probably, the most important source of authority which has eluded Max Weber is professional!. The Mu'allim's professional authority plays a very important role in the dissemination of Islamic learning. This type of authority is based on the possession of knowledge and skill by the teacher. This body of knowledge and skill of the teacher should be much more than that of the pupils that the teacher has to be taken on trust. In the schools under study, pupils generally have to accept what the Mu'allim says as

the truth because they are not in a position to challenge his authority. Owing to the traditional respect amongst the Nupe people for anything religious, parents would not encourage their children to challenge the authority of their Mu'allims under any circumstances. Like the children, they too cannot imagine that the Mu'allims could misinform their pupils, unless this happens inadvertently or through ignorance on the part of the Mu'allims. Generally, however, the parents have placed so much trust in their children's Mu'allims that they almost overlook the human weaknesses of forgetfulness and lack of sufficient knowledge to solve all human problems. Islam is categorical on this when the Qur'an teaches:

...Of knowledge it is only
A little that is communicated
To you, (O men!) ,10

Since the majority of parents are ignorant of this Quranic teaching and since they are not in a position to challenge the Mu'allims, they could only advise patience to their children.

The tendency is for all types of authority to lose their effectiveness except personal authority. When the

Mu'allim builds up his image and impresses it on his pupils, he is teaching them to rely on him. The younger the pupil, the easier this is; but even adolescents do feel the need for affection, security and stability. Provided the image matches the age and sex of the pupils, they will value it. To gain a real impact, the Mu'allim must rely on his personal qualities, using them to obtain affection, even devotion from his pupils and to gain their respect and submission.

It is not, altogether, clear whether the inexperienced Mu'allim, or teacher for that matter, arranges his or her teaching, bearing in mind the fact that good teaching requires the legitimacy of the Mu'allim's authority within the classroom. There is evidence, however, to show that despite the haphazard, trial and error methods used by the inexperienced Mu'allim, there is a quest for authority. It means establishing individual relationships with some naughty pupils. By being helpful, by giving a kind word, the Mu'allim creates bonds to himself. The more the pupils are exposed to his influence, the more effective he can be. The **achievement** of authority in all teaching situations marks the end of the period of difficulties for both Mu'alim and the pupils. The pupils will now accept instructions without grumbling, because they have accepted the legitimacy of the Mu'allim's position, his power and his authority.

II HIS POSITION IN THE LARGER MUSLIM COMMUNITY

We have seen what an authoritative figure the Mu'allim is in the Arabic School system. We have also seen that whatever his own personal views may be, the fact remains that he has a role as a representative of adult muslim society. As the one responsible for the moral up-bringing of the youth, this is the ultimate source of his authority.

(1) As a representative of adult Muslim Society

On behalf of the adult muslim society, he is responsible for the socialisation of the young based on the principles of Islam. The way he uses his authority may vary but, whatever he does he cannot shirk and must accept his responsibility. The pupils or learners must react to him, as they react to all authoritative figures in different ways; but while they are in his care, it is his duty to give an example of excellent behaviour worthy of emulation, not only by the pupils but also by the adults in the larger community. Essentially, this is the basis for his own prestige and integrity in society. His social position

has been strengthened by the high value Islam has placed on Scholarship, which is his profession. A reported saying of the Prophet: "The learned men are hairs of Prophets"¹¹ has further strengthened his social position.

There are various grades of learned men in the Nupe Community. Those who have the ability to read simple verses of the Qur'ān and those who are highly learned in all spheres of Islamic sciences are traditionally classified as one - all of them are entitled to be called Mu'allims. The distinction in the status of the Mu'allims is such that in largely pagan areas, anyone who has learnt to recite a few chapters of the Qur'ān and performs his daily prayers is called a Mu'allim. In the Nupe capital of Bida and other big towns throughout the Nupe country, the name is reserved for those who preach, teach the Qur'ān and foretell the future by using sand. It is used for those who sell charms also.

(2) His Socio-religious duties

The Mu'allim we want to discuss in this study is the ideal type of person, the moralist who, because of his ~~exemplary~~ conduct is accorded honoured social position in the Nupe muslim community. His socio-religious duties include leading his community in the

daily prayers, in the social functions such as wedding and naming ceremonies. He also leads the community in religious ceremonies such as 'Īd prayers, prayers for the rains as well as funeral prayers. He delivers the customary yearly message which goes with 'Enavun' (or Torches)¹² celebrations. We shall examine him in these various duties.

As a spiritual leader of his community, the Mu'allim plays a big role in wedding and naming ceremonies. He is sometimes required to suggest suitable muslim names for the new-born babies before the eighth day, when the naming ceremony takes place. He leads the prayers which precede the ceremony. The prayers usually take place in the morning, specifically between 7.00 a.m. and 8.00 a.m., For the wedding, it may take place in the morning. The prayer also precedes the wedding ceremony. The Mu'allim reads varied prayers generally preceded by Khutbat al-Hājah¹³ which is as follows.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله حمده ونستعينه ونستغفره ونعوذ بالله
من شرور أنفسنا ومن سيئات أعمالنا من يهده الله
فلا مضل له ومن يضلل الله فلا هادي له وأشهد أن لا
إله إلا الله وأشهد أن محمدا عبده ورسوله
يا أيها الذين آمنوا اتقوا الله حق تقاته
ولا تموتن إلا وأنتم مسلمون يا أيها الذين آمنوا اتقوا الله
الذي تساءلون به والأرحام إن الله كان عليكم رقيبا. يا أيها
الذين آمنوا اتقوا الله وقولوا قولا سديدا. يصلح لكم
أعمالكم ويففر لكم ذنوبكم ومن يطع الله ورسوله
فقد فاز فوزا عظيما.

Translation:

All praise belongs to Allah.
We thank Him, we seek His help
and His forgiveness. We seek
refuge from Allah from the mischiefs
of our souls and from our wicked deeds.
Whomever Allah guides aright, none
can lead astray; and whomever He sends
astray, for him there is no guide. I
bear witness that there is no deity save
Allah, and I bear witness that, verily,
Muhammad is His servant and His Messenger. 14
"Oh ye who believe! Fear Allah as He
deserves to be feared, and die not save
as muslims, 15

O ye who believe! Fear Allah in whose name ye claim (your rights) of one another, and (have regard for) the wombs (that bear you). Behold, Allah has been watching over you." 16

"O ye who believe! Fear Allah and speak the right word that He may set aright your works for you, and forgive you your sins. Whoever obeys Allah and His Messenger, he will surely achieve great success. 17

The Mu'allim's duty as leader for the 'Id prayer has already been discussed¹⁸, although we referred to him there, not as Mu'allim but as Imām. The Imām and the Mu'allim are basically the same man, the only difference being that every Imām must be a Mu'allim. This means that the Imām is higher in rank than the Mu'allim, and that the Imāmship cannot be achieved without being a Mu'allim initially. Thus, the Imām is a very learned mu'allim, a religious leader of a larger muslim community, embodying many learned Mu'allims.

The role played by the Imām in large Nupe towns in connection with 'Id prayers and prayers for the rains, is played in rural areas by less privileged Mu'allims who are also called Imāms. Prayers for the

rains are performed in a rather unusual fashion. When the need arises, the people would gather themselves outside the town, usually in the 'Īd praying ground, with their clothes worn inside-out. The Imam also does the same and leads the crowd in supererogatory prayers of two raka'ahs, at the end of which he offers prayers to Allah for the rains. There are no specific prayers but the following is the one said to have been recommended by the Prophet:¹⁹

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ الرَّحْمَانِ الرَّحِيمِ
 مَا لَكَ يَوْمَ الدِّينِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ يَفْعَلُ
 مَا يَرِيدُ . اللَّهُمَّ أَنْتَ اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا
 أَنْتَ الْفَتَى وَنَحْنُ الْفُقَرَاءُ أَنْزِلْ عَلَيْنَا الْفَيْثَ
 وَأَجْمِلْ مَا أَنْزَلْتَ لَنَا قُوَّةً وَبَلَاغًا إِلَى حِينٍ .

Translation:

Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds, the Beneficent, the Merciful; Owner of the Day of Judgement. There is no deity save Allah. He does what He will. O Allah! Thou art Allah. There is no other god save Thee,

Thou art the Rich, and we are the poor,
 Send down upon us abundant rain and let
 that which Thou send down be unto us
 (a means of) strength and attainment
 for a time.

The funeral prayer is a more localised service for the benefit of the dead. When a man dies, his body is washed and prepared for burial. Before the corpse is buried, prayers are said over it by people standing. This is led by the Mu'allim or Imām, who faces the Qiblah with the dead body in front of him. The prayer has neither sujūd nor rukū' nor sitting. Everything is said standing and, at the end of it, the taslīm²⁰ is said also standing. Silently, the Imām and the followers read any prayers they wish, but the followers repeat the takbīrah²¹ after the Imām openly. He repeats the takbīrah four times while at the fifth time he says the taslīm. Among the recommended prayers which the Imām recites and which some of the followers may also recite silently is the following:

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 اَللّٰهُمَّ اَغْفِرْ لِحَيِّنَا وَمَيِّتِنَا وَشَاهِدِنَا وَغَائِبِنَا وَصَغِيرِنَا
 وَكَبِيرِنَا وَذَكَرِنَا وَاُنْثَانَا. اَللّٰهُمَّ مِنْ اَحْيَيْتَهُ مِنَّا
 فَاَحْيِهِ عَلٰى الْاِسْلَامِ وَمَنْ تَوَفَّيْتَهُ مِنَّا فَتَوَفَّهُ عَلٰى الْاِيْمَانِ
 اَللّٰهُمَّ لَا تَحْرِمْنَا اَجْرَهُ وَلَا تَفْتِنَّا بَعْدَهُ.

Translation:

O Allah! forgive those of us that are
 alive and those of us that are dead; those
 us **that** of us that are present and those of us that are absent;
 those of/are young and those of us that are adult;
 also our males and females. O Allah!
 whomsoever of us Thou causes to live,
 let him live as an adherent of Islam;
 and whomsoever of us Thou causes to die,
 let him die a believer. O Allah!
 do not deprive us of this reward
 and do not send us temptations.

One of the rare functions of the Mu'allim in Nupe
 traditional society, is the reading of a prayer at the
 beginning of each lunar year, which is supposed to **foretell**
 the events of the coming year. For instance, at the
 beginning of the current year, Mallam Musa Muhammadu, **read**

to the muslim community of his area that the coming year would be characterised by sudden deaths of important people; that there would be serious droughts and shortage of food, and that a lot of children would also die. At the same time, the paper he read also suggested some remedy for all the bad fortunes mentioned in the paper. The remedy suggested was that a form of sadaqah should be given to any Mu'allim. He did not specify the Mu'allim to whom the Sadaqah should be given for fear that people might suspect him. He was sure, however, that the sadaqah must be given to him since he was the only prominent Mu'allim in the area.

The stand of Islam on this practice is that no-one can foretell the future because no-one knows the future except Allah and Allah alone.²² The attempt by the Mu'allims to foretell the future, is, therefore, unIslamic. One is convinced, however, that this practice is continued because of the material gains the Mu'allims achieve by it. The sadaqah suggested as the remedy for the social misfortunes usually consisted of domestic animals like sheep and goats, as well as money and clothes. The Mu'allim who reads the paper is usually given these things as sadaqah. Since the Mu'allim himself is given these items

of Sadaqah, his authority on the whole issue is always challenged. Having been reminded that the knowledge of what will happen tomorrow is vested in Allah and in Allah alone, the Mu'allim is often accused of fabricating the stories in the paper, in order to be able to collect the Sadaqah for his own benefit. Some Mu'allims do admit the fabrication of the stories by their predecessors who handed them down. They argued that since they were not in a position to challenge the authority of their learned predecessors, they had to accept the message of the papers as authentic.

This is one of the occasions when the Mu'allim's authority is challenged by some sections of the Nupe muslim community. Rarely also is the Mu'allim challenged when he preaches Islam. He knows that his knowledge could be tested at times by learned members of his audience; on several occasions, he has been tested, by intelligent questions from learned men who listened to his preachings. He, therefore, has a duty to keep himself up-to-date in his profession of Islamic Scholarship. Thus, he has to busy himself every time, reading the Qur'ān and researching into other religious books on Islam, so as to widen his

own horizon of Islamic religious learning. This is necessary if he is to retain his ^{prestigious} position in the Nupe Social structure.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

III HIS OTHER SUGGESTED ROLES

Islamisation of the Nupe people is still in progress through the activities of muslim preachers and some ²³ Mu'allimūn. The difference between a preacher and a Mu'allimūn is slight. Generally, a preacher is a seasoned Mu'allimūn although it is not all seasoned Mu'allimūn that are preachers. But one can not be a preacher without, first of all, being a Mu'allimūn. Therefore, the Nupe muslim community possesses more Mu'allimūn than religious preachers. For this reason, one is inclined to suggest that more Mu'allimūn should take up preaching work in order to ensure further social and spiritual improvement of the Nupe Community. At present, the majority of the Mu'allimūn in Nupeland devote most of their time to teaching in their Islamic schools and have no time for religious preaching. Even with time at their disposal, many of them would not like to preach, because they do not feel they have acquired enough knowledge to enable them preach effectively. Such Mu'allimūn could use the knowledge with which they teach their pupils as a base, while they endeavour to acquire more learning from reputable

Islamic institutions. Two of such institutions are currently serving the Nupeland, one in Minna and the other at Lokoja. The third College was established in 1967 at Sokoto for the purpose of training muslim preachers. Some of the Mu'allimūn could attend the Theological College, Sokoto to acquire more knowledge of the Qur'ān, Fiqh and Hadith and prepare themselves for preaching work.

Another role one might suggest for the Mu'allim in the Nupe Community is that of mediation in disputes amongst members of the Community. By virtue of his prestigious position in the Nupe Social structure, the Mu'allim is in a good position to mediate and settle quarrels and misunderstandings amongst members of the community in which he lives. He does not need extra qualification or knowledge for this envisaged role. He only needs to maintain his established standard of moral conduct and use his common sense and past experiences - he is used to settling disputes amongst his school pupils and can rely upon similar experiences. At present, such disputes amongst members of the Nupe Community are mediated by a few elderly people and sometime even by the

Etsu himself. If the Mu'allimūn in the community can also take up this new role, they will be contributing their quota to the social improvement of Nupe Community,

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. Musgrave, P.W., The Sociology of Education, (London: Methuen and Co., 1965) pp. 223-255.
- Ottaway, A.K.C., Education and Society, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953) pp. 1-21
- Shipman, M.D., Sociology of the School, (London: Cox and Wyman, 1968), pp. 121-136
2. Ottaway, A.K.C., Op. Cit., p. 181.
3. This Mu'allim whose name is Naibi Enagi, was interviewed on February 7, 1982. He told me he was born in December, 1917 at Enagi, 10 kilometres south of Kutigi, Headquarters of Lavun Local Government area.
4. Shipman, M.D., Op. Cit., p. 121
5. Ibid., pp. 101-122
6. Max Weber is a German Sociologist of the 20th Century. His educational researches are widely acclaimed throughout the Western world. His greatest contribution to the study of Social Sciences was his work: The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation, published in (New York, by the Free Press, in 1964).
7. Ibid., pp. 324-392
8. Max Weber, Gerth and Mills, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961). p. 296.
9. Shipman, M.D., Op. Cit., p. 124
10. Qur'an chapter 17, verse 85 says:

... وما أوتيتم من العلم إلا قليلا .

11. Husain, S.A. Op. Cit., p. 42
12. See Chapter one, p. 50.
13. Khutbah means a sermon and Hājah means a need. 'Khutbat al-Hājah' signifies a sermon delivered on the occasion of the fulfilment of a person's need such as a marriage or a naming ceremony e.t.c.
14. Farid, A.H., Prayer of Muhammad, (Lagos: Islamic publications Bureau, 1975), pp. 194-5.
15. Qur'ān, 3: 102
16. Ibid., 4:1
17. Ibid., 33:70, 71
18. Supra, pp. 48-9
19. Farid, A.H. Op. Cit., pp. 231-2
20. The saying of Assalāmu 'alaikum.
21. The saying of Allāhu Akbar.
22. The future is Ghaib, which, in Arabic, means unknown. It is unknown to any-one except Allah.
23. plural of Mu'allim.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE TRADITIONAL ISLAMIC SCHOOLS VERSUS
WESTERN ORIENTED SCHOOLS WHICH
GIVE ISLAMIC EDUCATION

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF ISLAMIC EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS:

(1) Stages of the Schools:-

We have seen in chapter two that the three types of Islamic institutions in Nupeland are referred to under a general name of Arabic Schools. Specifically, the Schools are called Qur'anic, Islamiyyah and 'Ilmiyyah schools in order to indicate the side of the emphasis for these schools. For example, those that lay emphasis on the study of the Qur'an are called Quranic schools while those emphasising the study of Fiqh and Hadith are referred to either as Islamiyyah or 'Ilmiyyah School. This does not mean that Qur'an is not also studied in Islamiyyah and 'Ilmiyyah schools. Similar schools in Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria¹ are classified

by stages according to their standard while in Nupeland, each of the three schools is comprehensive by nature. This means that the pupils could attain any height of learning in any of the schools. The first stage of such schools in Arab countries is the Maktab or Kuttāb which came into being in pre-Islamic times. Such Kuttāb could not have taught the Qur'ān since the Qur'ān did not exist in pre-Islamic times. We learnt from the early history of Islam that the pre-Islamic Arabs living in towns often engaged in commercial transactions with the outside world. As a result of such trading activities, they came in contact with people who could read and write. Through this contact, some Arabs were able to learn the art of reading and writing informally. These were the Arabs who introduced literacy into pre-Islamic Arabia. They taught some reading and writing to fellow Arabs who frequently visited their houses or Kuttāb which rapidly grew later.² As the Maktab grew over the years it became inevitable that some of its pupils must have acquired more learning than the others, hence the necessity for establishing a higher institution for learning. This was, probably, the reason for establishing

the Madrasah, which became the second and intermediate stage of learning in early Islam. This stage could not have been reached until after the advent of Islam in the 7th Century A.D., when its first task was to Islamise those aspects of pre-Islamic learning which were not in conflict with its teachings and could help it to expand. Today, the apex of the Islamic education system is the mosque.³

In the Nupe country all the three stages are combined in one school, be it Qur'anic or Islamiyyah, under the name of Madrasah or simply Arabic School. The 'Ilmiyyah is slightly different in that its emphasis is always on the acquisition of higher Islamic learning in the fields of Tafsir, Fiqh and Hadith. Therefore, most of its pupils are adults and old men who should have completed the reading of the Qur'ān and have acquired some basic knowledge in the three branches of Islamic learning. The 'Ilmiyyah School is, nevertheless, also referred to as Madrasah by the Nupe people.

In the comprehensive Madrasah, a pupil can attain any height of knowledge. Both young and old, boys and girls do attend it but, while the adults attend it on their own, a certain degree of Coercion and discipline have to be

exercised at times, to enhance the young pupils' motivation to attend. Parents usually have to enforce this discipline. In the process of studying, the pupils are assessed and tested by the Mu'allim in order to justify their promotion from one stage to another. Their promotion does not, however, take place through the routine examination system which is common in Western oriented schools. In the Islamic Schools, the pupils themselves assist the Mu'allim in assessing their progress and determining the next step to take. Each pupil is, therefore, free to attain his ultimate level in any of the areas of his or her interest, without being held back because of the difficulties of his colleagues. The able and dilligent are allowed to move forward at their own speed, without being restricted by a rigid curriculum nor herded together in their age-groups. In the same schools, pupils of different ages and abilities sit side-by-side to study at their own rate. The brilliant are allowed to help the dull ones. Clever ones are made to understand the problems of the slow learners. Some of them appreciate the difficulties as well as the merits of slow-learners. But, above all, pupils in the Schools, like congregation in the mosques, are not grouped into social

classes. All those eager to learn sit together at the feet of the same Mu'allim. Each is distinguished by his or her academic contributions to the activities of the group.⁴

(2) Teaching in early Islam in Nupeland:-

In early Islam, teaching was regarded as a religious duty. The teacher was, therefore, prevented by the early muslim tradition from accepting fees.⁵ When institutions of learning first made their appearance in the muslim Arab countries, jurists found a way to legalise the payment of fees and to specify the duties and rights of teachers and pupils.⁶ Direct payment by the student to the teacher was, however, allowed in the early stages of education and only where endowments were not available. Where **endowments** were available students did not pay the teachers who were often provided for by the endowments and by gifts from rulers and wealthy men. A scholar was, therefore, assured living facilities wherever he went. It became customary for him to traverse the Islamic world, from one end to another, without difficulties in receiving maintenance on the way from educational institutions in recognition of some teaching given or received.

The situation regarding fees in Nupe Arabic Schools is much the same as it was in the Arab States of early Islam. Apart from the nominal fees received by the Quranic Mu'allims at various stages of reading,⁷ no other fees are compulsory for the pupils. Some Mu'allims in the Arabic schools are also learners at the same time. They adopt a time-table whereby they spend part of the day furthering their own knowledge of the Holy Qur'ān and Islam. At the initial stage of Islamic education in Nupeland teaching was not regarded as a profession which could be acquired by a mere certificate awarded by a government body but something acquired by real ability and true devotion. It was in recent times that a system was evolved whereby certificates were given to students after completing their studies from Arabic Schools. These certificates, commonly known as 'Ijāzah', are used as authorities allowing their holders to teach the Qur'ān and, possibly, to establish their own Arabic or Quranic Schools. The value of such certificates depends really on the prestige of the Mu'allim who issues them; but they are not the final qualifications in themselves. The Mu'allims holding them must prove themselves worthy leaders, who are capable of leading by good examples.

For most of the pupils of Arabic School system in Nupeland, the completion of the Qur'ān remains terminal. Only a very small percentage are usually fortunate enough to pursue their studies up to the University level, and most of these are from modernised type of Arabic Schools. The best examples of such schools are schools numbers two and ten.⁸ It will be remembered here that the core-Curriculum for these Arabic Schools is the Qur'ān which the pupils are taught to read and learn by heart. In a number of Islamiyyah schools, the pupils also learn Arabic language and literature in order to enhance their appreciation of the Qur'ān and the Hadith. Once the Qur'ān and a number of Prophetic traditions have been mastered, the pupils are involved in courses of exegesis and scholarly elaboration on the Hadiths. Such activities encompass the whole field of Islamic religious knowledge, for around the two sources of Qur'ān and Hadith revolves everything else, such as exegesis, jurisprudence and son on.

This level of learning is quite high. It is only possible for a very few scholars who began their learning career as pupils of traditional Arabic Schools. Such are the elites who are able to proceed to Advanced Arabic Schools⁹ patterned on the Western system. In educationally more developed Arab

countries, disciplines not bearing directly on Islamic studies are included in their educational system. Medicine, Science and other technical subjects are learnt through apprenticeship. Having been through the Maktab, and having acquired some basic religious knowledge, the student is able to satisfy his interest in the learning profession or in any other skill, by attaching himself to a master who would teach and guide him. Here, the objective is not divorced from the main objective of an Islamic society, namely, the Islamic ethical principles and values. In the circle of muslim medical men, engineers, methamaticians and philosophers, the final aim remains decidedly religious because, for a muslim, every action and every endeavour has to be justified in religious terms.

In the context of the predominantly muslim community of Nupeland, every service meaningfully rendered by the individual members of the society to the entire community can be justified in terms of Islamic religious values. Therefore, even an unlettered member of the community has his quota to contribute to the overall development of the community. As a religion based on the strict principles of co-operation, Islam does not also ignore the fact that

the individual has specific duties to the social environment which supplies the opportunity for him for the achievement of his educational goals. Therefore, the Mu'allim and the learners both mutually aim at a total commitment to character building based on the ideals of Islamic ethics. In the same way, the professionals in the Nupe muslim community do aim at achieving professional standards of excellence which, together with ethical standards of professional conduct, are reinforced and safeguarded by the Islamic religious ethics and values. These are the main characteristics of Islamic education as transmitted through the Arabic School system in Nupeland. What we ~~now~~ need to examine are the characteristics of Western type of institutions which also give Islamic education as they operate in the Nupe country.

II CHARACTERISTICS OF WESTERN ORIENTED SCHOOLS WHERE
ISLAMIC EDUCATION IS GIVEN

Stages of Western type of Schools and their nature:-

The first stage in the Western type of secular schools in the area under study is the Infant School. This is meant for the children whose ages range between three and four. The first two years of Infant Schooling are spent by the children, mainly playing around, acquainting themselves with learning environment. No formal learning really takes place at this early stage but children are taught some Islamic songs. The children are introduced to some basic preliminary works in English and Arithmetic during the second and third year at the Infant School, in order to prepare them for class one of primary school. At the age of six, children are generally ready for primary school, whether they have gone through the Infant classes or not. No serious Islamic religious knowledge is taught in the primary school but pupils, in their third and fourth years at the school are introduced to the simple reading from the Qur'ān such as Surat al-Fātiha, al-Nās, al-Falaq and al-Ikhlās.¹⁰ They are

also taught how to perform the ritual ablution and say the five daily prayers by the Islamic religious instructor to whom the children refer as "Religious Mu'allim." It is, at present, not possible for all primary school aged children in the Nupe country to have passed through Infant Schools because such schools are not **enough**. There are only two such schools throughout the Nupeland, one at Pategi in Kwara State and the other at Bida in Niger State. Because of the specialised nature of these schools, it is fairly expensive to send children there; therefore, only very few parents can afford to do so.

At the age of six, children enter the Primary School. There, they spend six years after which they pass on to post primary institutions. A number of subjects, including English language, Hausa, Arithmetic, Social Studies and Islamic Religious studies are taught. Arabic and Qur'an are also taught in all the primary schools starting from primary III. The first two years are used in practical demonstrations only, At the end of the ^{sixth} year, the pupils have to sit and pass a highly competitive common entrance examination to get into post primary institutions. They then have to pass through selection interviews for final selection to fill the very limited spaces available in higher institutions.

In Nupe country, there are three types of post primary institutions where Islamic Religious Knowledge is taught at present. These are secondary schools, Teacher Training Colleges and Vocational Training Centres. Secondary Schools are classified into three categories: those that offer secondary courses up to West African School Certificate level; those that offer similar courses but with bias towards technical subjects, leading to both school certificate and City and Guilds Examination levels; and those that offer courses with bias towards commercial subjects. These also lead the students to the award of school certificate and Secondary Commercial Certificates. Islamic religious knowledge is also taught in all these Schools.

The Teacher Training Colleges are classified into two categories: those offering courses leading to the award of Teacher Grade Two Certificates and those that offer similar courses but with bias towards Arabic and Islamic Studies. At present, there are two of such Colleges serving Nupeland. One of them is located at Lokoja in Kwara State while the other is situated at Minna in Niger State. The two Colleges

were established as a result of **constant** demands by the muslim communities of the two areas from the two State Governments for post-primary institutions which would cater for Arabic and Islamic Studies.¹¹ It was decided by the two State Ministries of education that Arabic Teachers Colleges would be more useful because they could produce teachers of Islamic Studies who could be sent to primary schools to teach the subject. Consequently, the College at Lokoja was set up in 1968.¹² Its catchment area was the whole of Kwara State but priority was given to its immediate environment, which is the Nupe area of the State. Therefore the majority of the pupils there at all times are Nupe. Every session, the College takes in students from among primary school leavers as well as from among pupils of Qur'anic Schools. The primary School leavers receive training not only in Arabic and Islamic Studies, but also in the basic secular subjects like English, Hausa and Arithmetic. They train for five years at the end of which they qualify as teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies in primary schools, after passing the final examination, conducted by the College. The certificate they receive at the end of their courses is called 'Diploma in Arabic and Islamic Studies ' and not Teachers' Grade Two Certificate.¹³ The intakes from traditional Quranic schools

spend three years at the college and train only in Arabic and Islamic Studies. They do not study any of the secular subjects because they have no background in them. At the end of the third year, they do qualify as teachers of Arabic and Islamic studies qualified to teach at the primary schools by using the mother tongue. The certificate they receive is also called Diploma, but of a lower grade than those of the primary school leavers who spend five years to train. These teachers are usually referred to in the primary Schools as 'Mu'allimūn, because they neither speak English nor teach it. The first intake of such Mu'allimūn into the Lokoja College passed out in 1971,¹⁴ while those fully trained Grade Two Arabic Teachers passed out from the College in 1973.

The Arabic Teachers College at Minna was established in 1975 to fulfil similar objectives to its sister college at Lokoja, but unlike it, the Minna College was not located in Nupeland but in Minna, which is in Gwaraland. Nevertheless, the majority of the students have always been Nupes since its inception. This is because of the larger population of the Nupe people.¹⁵ The important difference between this College and the College at Lokoja is that all the recruited pupils into Minna College who study on full time basis are primary

school leavers. They spend five years at the end of which they qualify as Grade Two Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies - the same as those who attend the Lokoja College. But the Minna College trains the intakes from traditional Quranic Schools only on part-time basis. They come into the College during long vacation and stay there to study. Like their counterparts in Lokoja, they too devote their time solely to Arabic studies but it takes them two or three years longer depending on when they are assessed by their teachers as having acquired enough knowledge to warrant the award of the Diploma. Most Mu'allims qualify after attending vacation courses for five or six years. The two Colleges have been doing well in providing teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies to Western - primary Schools throughout the Nupe country.

Vocational training Centres have only just been introduced by the two State Governments to cater for the increasing number of drop-outs who are not able to pursue their studies beyond the primary school level. These pupils are taken into the centres and trained for three years in simple mechanical and electrical works. Islamic religious knowledge is also taught in them.

There are two post-secondary institutions in the area, both of them located in Bida. One is the Federal Polytechnic, with which we are not concerned because Islamic Studies is not taught there. The other is the State College of Advanced Studies, which takes in Secondary School leavers as well as holders of Teachers' Grade Two Certificate with some papers at the Ordinary Level of the General Certificate of Education Examination. Some of these students are trained by the College in Arabic and Islamic Studies up to the advanced level of the General Certificate of Education. The College also trains students for Diploma in Arabic and Islamic Studies.

All these institutions discussed above are secular in nature and are run purely on the Western pattern. They all have one thing in common and that is that the promotion of students in them takes place through the examination system which is familiar to us. The examination system is responsible for many other factors which differentiate the traditional Islamic education from the Western system of secular education. But, like the Western educational system which caters for higher community issues and national manpower needs, the Islamic educational system measures its activities by the fact that it stimulates the community as a whole to take

interest in higher issues that are fundamental to its nature and necessary for its survival.

Modern educationists have often talked about the desirability of assessing pupils' performances in the Schools. The process called continuous assessment has recently been introduced into Western-oriented institutions in Nupeland, but the majority of the schools still rely on examination results. Thus, little attention is paid to the fact that if a teacher cannot say whether his pupil is good or not after teaching him for a number of years, he can never say so after two or three hours examination. It must be realised that this situation is not peculiar to institutions in Nupeland alone, but that it is true also of academic institutions in the entire country.

In the Islamic educational system operating in Nupeland, the Mu'allim assesses his pupils' progress and determines the next step to take. Each pupil is free to attain his ultimate level in any of the areas of his or her interest, without being held back because of the difficulties in related discipline, for instance, if his or her colleagues are not catching up with him. The Mu'allim, because of his role in the Islamic educational system, acts not simply as a guide to higher knowledge but also as an example to better conduct.

Teaching, in Islam, is not simply a profession to be sold, but a role to be fully and completely performed according to Islamic ethics.

Furthermore, the traditional Islamic education is an integral part of its own society. The Arabic School system develops naturally, springing from the society and responding to its needs. In Nupe society, these needs are satisfied to some extent in that the system has enlightened the society about the religion of Islam. On the other hand, the Western type of secular education is expressed in a school created by the State government to which students come from many localities. These schools, because they are transplanted Western institutions, many a time, they do not reflect the aspirations of their environment nor satisfy the needs of the society. For the most part, they do not interact with the Community nor help their products to do so. Some of these schools, especially the post-primary and post-secondary schools, take away the children from their parents and board them in hostels with the result that the whole system becomes emphatically artificial and foreign.

The issue of boarding students in schools is something good. It is even encouraged by Islam. The Prophet's well-known saying that muslims should seek for knowledge even in China¹⁶ has two important implications. It shows, first

of all, that every muslim should seek not only religious knowledge but also knowledge of secular subjects, since in the Prophet's time, there were no muslims in China. The second idea implicit in the Prophet's injunction is the idea of boarding. If a student leaves his or her home to acquire knowledge in some other place or country, he must find a boarding place somewhere.

In Nupeland, the issue of boarding in educational institutions arose out of many reasons. One of such reasons is great distance between students' home and their places of study. The first boarding started towards the end of the 19th century when Quranic Schools of the time offered boarding to some of their pupils. These boardings were not as organised as we have them today in Western oriented institutions in the area. They consisted mainly of giving the pupils whose homes were very far, a place to sleep and something to eat. Such pupils, in addition to learning from the Mu'allim, also help the Mu'allim with domestic duties such as fetching water, firewood and washing clothes. It is not known who established the first boarding system in Nupe Arabic Schools but one of the Schools which used

the early boarding system was school nine, one of the oldest
 schools
 Qur'anic \angle in Bida.

Today, a number of Arabic Schools in Nupeland do supply boarding facilities to a few of their students who come from distant places to study. These students usually bring some foodstuff from their homes to augment what food the Mu'allim can provide them. The advantage of boarding system in the traditional Arabic Schools is to make it possible for pupils living far away to acquire learning from the schools. If it has any disadvantages, it might be the inconveniences it may cause the learners. The idea of boarding is, therefore, not ruled out in Nupe Arabic Schools but is only rarely used.

One important difference between the traditional Islamic education and Western secular education is that the institutions in the former place moral and religious training highest on their educational programme. This is so because education in Islam - is basically religious. In the Western system, many institutions have adopted a secular outlook, thereby neglecting this all-important aspect of education, moral education. Although religious education, taught through the subject of Islamic Studies, has been introduced into the Curriculum of many Western type of institutions in the area under study, the

subjects are ineffectively handled. This is because the teachers themselves do not have enough knowledge of the subjects they are supposed to teach. This leaves the students not well informed about their own muslim traditions. As such, they are left as a prey to any new ideas, however illogical, without anything in their own tradition with which to measure these new ideas. Moreover, since the subjects of Islamic studies are taught in isolation among many secular subjects their effects on the students tend to be outweighed by the effects of secular subjects on the same students. In secondary schools, for example, many muslim students do not seem to be interested in Islamic studies because they feel that it is too easy. At the same time, there are those who think it is too difficult because of Arabic. On the **other** hand, many of those who study it, do so because they feel they could easily pass it in their school certificate examination. Therefore, many Secondary School leavers studied the Islamic religious knowledge, not necessarily because they wanted to use it to improve their religious duties but because they wanted it to help them obtain their Certificates. This is another difference between Islamic studies as taught in Western oriented institutions and the Islamic Studies as taught in traditional Arabic Schools.

Here, the Mu'allims do not adhere strictly to rigid examination of the pupils but rely more on continuous assessment which enables the pupils to grow into the level of learning they desire. The Western oriented institutions, on the other hand, have failed to find a satisfactory alternative to examination systems which they continuously deplore. In many of these institutions, continuous assessment has become fashionable, but they have not completely supplanted the old hit-or-miss examination exercise.

It will be remembered that about the beginning of the 20th century when secular form of education was introduced into Nupeland, it was so carefully planned by the Colonial masters that it did ^{not} reflect the reasonable inclinations of the pupils. The reason was that they wanted to preserve their position in Nupeland for a long time. Therefore, most of the Schools were an expression of certain prejudices on the part of the planners, some of them reflecting Western industrial society. The students were treated as objects on production line, represented numbers in statistical tables and were not regarded as persons pursuing the most humble of human endeavours. This was the position during the Colonial era.

Today, the situation is different. The educational planners are Nigerians who carefully plan the Western type of secular education now operating in the Nupe country, taking into consideration the general environmental background of the children. This accords well with the Islamic educational system that mirrors the humanity and simplicity of its society.

This short comparative study would also require a brief discussion of the position of teachers in the two systems. Traditionally, the Islamic educational system is based on the deep personal relationship between the teacher and the taught. Ideally, this should also be the situation in the Western oriented institutions where Islamic education is given. In whatever system of education, the teacher is supposed to be the source of spiritual as well as professional guidance. From experience, one can say that Western type of education is basically impersonal; the teacher's functions in the system is more professional than moral or ethical. In theory, ethical and moral training form part of the function of professional educators but, in practice, teachers in secular institutions today, are clearly teachers of skill and not of conduct.

Bad examples of smoking and self-medication are openly given to students by teachers in institutions throughout the country. The majority of such teachers are teachers of secular subjects but this is not suggesting that teachers of Islamic religious studies in secular schools do not also indulge themselves in this kind of habit. The possibility of having such bad teachers in some Arabic Schools in Nupeland cannot also be ruled out.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

III SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING THE
TRADITIONAL ARABIC SCHOOLS

We have seen, through this chapter, some of the characteristics of Islamic education as given by the traditional Islamic educational institutions in Nupeland. We have also seen the stages of development of these traditional institutions and how teaching in them developed from the early times of Islam in the area. We might conclude, therefore, that some progress has been made. Nevertheless some improvements can still be made. For example, the practice whereby Arabic Schools are now left in the hands of individual proprietors could give way to a more competent ownership if the State governments, or even the local education authorities, could take over the running of such schools. These schools have been left in the hands of the community with the result that there is not enough money to run them - inadequate buildings, outdated equipment, insufficient teachers. Moreover, not all the children of school age do go to such schools because there is no law saying they must. The present irregularity in the attendance of those who patronise such schools should also give way to greater seriousness and regularity of attendance.

There should also be better organised administration of learning in the traditional Arabic institutions throughout Nupeland. The re-organisation of the traditional learning institutions is the first priority for any meaningful development to begin. This requires money which is very difficult to come-by nowadays. These private Arabic Schools should make the payment of school fees compulsory for all their students. In addition, the entire muslim Community of Nupeland should contribute generously to the running of such Schools. These measures should help to a great extent in strengthening the financial position of these private schools.

Granted then, that money is available, the next important problem would be teachers. Many of the teachers in the Arabic Schools are well-qualified for their teaching job, although most of them are not trained to be teachers. On the other hand, quite a number of them would need to widen their scope of Islamic learning. Such teachers may not be ready to embrace any new changes in their schools brought about by new developments. The answer would be training or re-training on the part of many teachers.

With regards to Western oriented institutions which give Islamic education, their problem is not so much of lack of money as it is of lack of enough knowledge about their teaching

subject of Arabic, or Islamic Studies, or both. By comparison, their knowledge of these subjects is far less than the knowledge of their Counterparts who have come through purely Arabic Schools, although their organisation of learning in general, is better than that of their counterparts from these schools. Obviously, many teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies in Western secular schools need to improve their academic standards in the two subjects by going for further courses in institutions of higher Islamic Studies.

Another step which might also help to improve the lot of Islamic education in Mupeland is that teachers of Arabic and Islamic religious knowledge in Western oriented schools should organise seminars during long vacations. They should invite, to these seminars, the Mu'allimūn from traditional Islamic schools. They should stay together for a week or so, discussing their problems on the teaching of Islamic Studies generally. They should invite eminent scholars in the field to present papers on various topics connected with Islamic education, discuss these papers and exchange ideas. They could even discuss the syllabus they cover in their schools and encourage each other to write books on relevant topics.

This kind of approach may be difficult for many teachers, especially for those who may not be used to the approach. Once it is organised, the Mu'allimūn can familiarise themselves with it. They can even be encouraged to organise similar seminars at their own level, in which their common educational problems could be discussed in Nupe language, so that more people would understand. The suggested approach, when properly organised, should contribute a great deal to the future development of Islamic education throughout the Nupe kingdom.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Tibawi, A.L., Op. Cit., pp. 23-46
2. Nasiru, W.O.A. "Islamic Learning Among the Yoruba, 1896-1963", (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1977), p. 2.
3. Tibawi, A.L., Op. Cit., pp. 26-32
4. Admittedly, the wealthy and the noble classes of Nupe society do hire private Mu'allims to teach their children. But, there is no public Arabic School system as such in Nupeland. The Mu'allims are paid when they are hired in this way by the wealthy men.
5. al-Ghazali Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn, Vol. 1, p. 46
al-Ghazali maintained that no fees should be accepted by the teacher, an idea which was at variance with the common practice of his time. Fees were paid during al-Ghazali's time.
6. Tibawi, A.L., Op. Cit., p. 40
7. For details of the fees charged by the private Arabic Schools in the area under study, See chapter six, pages 231-46..
8. See Table 1, pages 105 and 107 above.

9. Such Schools are College of Arts and Islamic Studies, Minna, established in 1973; School for Arabic Studies, Kano, established in 1935; and College of Arts and Islamic Studies, Sokoto, established in 1967.
10. These are chapters 114, 113 and 112. These chapters are studied first, not so much because of their importance in the Qur'an, but probably, because they are short and easier for the beginners to study.
11. I know there were constant demands for such post-primary institutions in the area through my informant, Alhaji Abdullahi Faki, proprietor of School 1 in Lafiagi. He is an ex-student of the Arabic Teachers' College, Lokoja and now teaches Islamic Religious Knowledge at the Central primary school, Lafiagi. He was interviewed on February 15, 1982.
12. Ibid.,
13. Teachers holding the two certificates are employed by the Niger State Government on Salary Grade Level 05. Moreover, the two Certificates are recognised to be at par by the ZUCAS, because they are both accepted as the pre-requisite for entry into the Diploma Courses for the institution.
14. Alhaji Abdullahi Faki, See 11 above.
15. By the 1963 population census, the Nupes form the largest ethnic group in Niger State, constituting over 40% of the population. Also see Niger State: A Survey of Resources for Development, NISER, Ibadan, 1980, pp. 52 f.
16. Musain, S.A., Op. Cit., p. 41

CHAPTER SIX - CONCLUSION

Two types of educational institutions are involved in the dissemination of Islamic learning throughout the Nupe Kingdom. They are the traditional Arabic Schools and a few Western oriented secular schools. It is often difficult to write about the economics of education in a given locality, especially when relevant statistics are not available. It is equally difficult to talk about the economy of a developing system of education such as the traditional Islamic education system in Nupeland. In this chapter, an attempt will be made to discuss the sources of funds for the traditional Arabic Schools (private sector), and the Western type of secular schools (public sector), which also teach Islamic Studies. By private sector here, it is meant all Arabic and Quranic schools run by individuals and organisations. This does not include christian denominational Schools or other types of secular institutions run by private individuals or organisations where Islamic learning is not given. By public sector, it is meant all Western oriented Schools which are run ^{by} Local or State Governments and where Islamic Studies are given prominence. It includes most primary Schools in the area, the three post primary Arabic Teachers' Colleges ^{at} Lokoja, Dikko and Minna and also a post-secondary institution in Bida - the

I SOURCES OF FUNDS

(1) Private Sector of Islamic Education

In most Arabic and Quranic Schools in the area, no specified fee is paid by the pupils. Some schools charge fees only occasionally, when the need arises and even on such occasions, the fees are nominal. For example, Muhammadu Sani's Nasrul Islam School at Lafiagi in Kwara State, charged a fee of ₦2.00 per pupil as their contributions towards the re-roofing of their classroom. I was told that the classroom roof got blown off by a strong wind in August, 1981. This was a serious incident because it disrupted the school work. Since the School is a private one, no local or state government came to its aid; hence the proprietor, a poor old Mu'allim, had to ask the parents to contribute towards making a new roof. Unfortunately, almost all the pupils failed to pay the nominal levy. Help however came from an unexpected source. A local muslim businessman volunteered to re-roof the classroom.¹

It may not be surprising that the majority of the pupils failed to pay this nominal charge because many of them were from very poor parents. Such is the

precarious financial position of many of these traditional Arabic Schools. The above example has indicated how difficult it is for such private schools in the area to obtain funds even for necessary physical repairs let alone involve themselves in new developments. In most of these schools the teachers do not expect and do not obtain any financial reward in form of salaries or allowances. Therefore, they have to engage themselves in petty trades and farming to enable them feed and take care of their domestic problems. Some Mu'allims sometimes make use of their pupils to work on the farms as part of extra-curricula activities. Although such Mu'allims are regarded as full-time teachers of Islamic Studies in Nupeland, they are only part-timers in practice, because part of their time in the classroom is spent in earning their living.

Muhammadu Sani's Nasrul Islam School can serve as a model of similar Schools in the area. It is a typical Hupe Quranic School, founded in 1960. At the time of my visit, the number of pupils was seventy (70). This number kept from time to time, dwindling or increasing

as most of the pupils also attend secular primary schools. There are four permanent teachers including the proprietor who was the principal teacher. They are all products of traditional Qur'anic Schools. They are all learned in Qur'an, Fiqh and Hadith. In addition, they all have some knowledge of Arabic language which they try to teach.

The School Curriculum was prepared by the proprietor, with the help of his teachers. The Curricula for the various Schools for Islamic Studies in the area is similar because, all of them have a common objective of the dissemination of Islamic learning.

The catchment area for the Schools visited were their immediate environment. Most of the pupils study on part-time basis since they also attend secular primary schools in the mornings. The teachers in the private schools are usually recruited through negotiations with proprietors of such schools, since they are generally not paid Salaries. This is the reason why they have to find other ways of earning their living. They regard their teaching work in the Arabic or Qur'anic School as being done in the name of Allah from whom they expect their reward. Since such teachers are not employed by Local or State government,

they are not promoted, but their prestige depends upon their activities in the schools. The question of discipline for such teachers does not arise because since they regard their work as strictly religious, they are guided by the Islamic moral principles. They are generally obedient servants, both to their elders in the Schools and to the age-long traditional system of Islamic education throughout the Nupe kingdom.²

Many of the private Arabic schools are not purpose-built, but hold their classes in the Zaure or traditional halls. The few that have been purpose-built are in temporary structures, usually a single classroom accommodating seventy (70) pupils or more (as is the case with Muhammadu Sani's Nasrul Islam School). The buildings are usually poorly roofed and poorly equipped, an indication that they do not receive the required attention from the muslim communities which they serve. The pupils in some schools use desks and benches, most of which are not repaired when they break down, due to lack of funds. The schools rarely receive any form of financial assistance either from the Local or State Government.

What appears to me to be the only sure way through which the private Arabic schools can obtain funds is through gifts and donations from wealthy muslim businessmen and organisations. Even then this cannot be always dependable because the donations are voluntary. Influential proprietors such as Alhaji Muhammad Haroun, a practising judge, and Sheikh Yusuf Alfa, an Imām, often succeed, owing to their prestigious positions in the society, in obtaining aid for their schools. They often receive generous donations from wealthy Nupe merchants.

In the past, the financial aid coming to the private Quranic Schools from the State Ministries of education used to be constant; nowadays it is coming only sporadically. Before 1980, the Kwara State Government, through its Ministry of Education, used to send a grant of ₦50.00 annually to every recognised private Arabic school in its area of jurisdiction. According to my informant,³ this practice stopped two years ago, although there was no official government letter stopping it, and there was no explanation about why it was stopped. When the practice was in force, the amount of grant was too small to contribute to any meaningful physical development of such schools. One can now imagine the financial position of the educational establishments now that no grant is forth coming.

The financial position of private Arabic Schools in Kwara State is not much different from the situation of similar schools in the Niger area of Nupeland. The majority of these schools fall within the Niger side, because of the larger concentration of Nupe people in that area. All the schools devise ways of financing themselves. They have three sources of revenue which can be described as unreliable. These are nominal students' fees, donations from members of the muslim community and occasional assistance from the state Ministries of education. It was observed that private Arabic schools in the Niger part of Nupeland were generally more developed than many of their sister schools in the kwara area. This may be because the muslim communities there have been more liberal with their Arabic Schools.

In Alhaji Shehu Makanta Wawagi's Qur'ānic School and that of Alhaji Maishera, both in Bida, and Alhaji Makanta's Qur'ānic School at Agaie, the pupils have paid no fees. But, from time to time, parents do send to the Mu'allims there, some unsolicited gifts of money and food. The fee-paying schools include Alhaji Zakari's Islamiyyah School, Alhaji Isah Gigbadi's Qur'ānic School, Alhaji Abdul Qādir Atachi's Qur'ānic Cum Islamiyyah School. These private

Schools are so much attached to their proprietors because they are regarded as their personal property. They are even more frequently referred to by the local people as Alhaji Wani's School rather than 'Ilmiyyah school. As some of the schools are fee-paying while others are not, one would expect some disparity in terms of physical development between these Arabic schools. Obviously, there are some differences, but they are not much.

There are also some differences in terms of facilities and physical developments between schools in the rural areas and those in Bida town. Because of the town's size and cosmopolitan nature, schools located in it enjoy more gifts and donations from wealthy businessmen. This does not mean that schools in the rural areas do not obtain gifts and donations at all.

A deeper investigation into intermittent financial assistance from the Niger State Government, shows that there was a set procedure for administering the aid. When a private Arabic School wanted to be recognised by government as a private venture, the proprietor of such a school would contact the State Ministry of Education, through the Local Education Authority (L.E.A.) The Ministry would then arrange, through the same agency

to have the school inspected by a team of Arabic inspectors. Some of the things the inspectors would look for and assess are the location of the school, the length of time it has operated, how useful it has been to the community, the number of pupils on its enrolment, the qualification and experience of the proprietor and the number of permanent teachers in the school. The Curricula of the school was also examined. On satisfying the Ministry's requirements, the school would be given an initial amount of ₦400.00 by the State Government to make a start. Then, as from the second year of the government's recognition, the school would be granted the sum of ₦60.00 annually. (In the case of Kwara State, it was ₦50.00 annually. The disparity occurs because the two state Governments operate independently of each other). For Schools in the Niger area, the amount was raised to ₦92.00 annually in 1978. For two years until 1980, the new rate continued to be paid to all recognised private Arabic schools throughout the Nupeland of Niger State.⁴

Thus, the financial situation of all private Arabic and Qur'anic Schools throughout the area under study has been very precarious. Apart from the fact that the pupils of these private institutions ~~buy~~ their own books

and all the necessary materials required for learning, they have contributed very little to the physical development of the schools. Gifts and donations received by the institutions have been negligible, inconsistent and, at times, even non-existent. It is plausible to suggest that State governments have less interest in the activities of these so-called recognised private Arabic Schools because of discouraging financial assistance. The proprietors for the various private schools struggled for governmental recognition mainly for financial reasons. This was because they had no other sure means of revenue. At first, the governments responded favourably and with enthusiasm. Later, the enthusiasm was relaxed and the financial aid was no longer coming, without any governmental explanation. It might be because there are too many recognised private Arabic schools as the following chart indicates:

STATE	L.G.A.	NO. OF SCHOOLS
KWARA	EDU	25
NIGER	LAVUN	30
NIGER	GBAKO	63
NIGER	AGAIE	23
NIGER	LAPAI	23
		TOTAL 164

Table 2: Number of officially recognised private Arabic schools throughout the area under study.

There are two institutions in the category of private sector of Islamic education in Nupeland which are different from other private Arabic schools. They are Jama'at Nasrul Islam's 'Ilmiyyah Cum 'Islamiyyah school in Bida and the Islamic Education Trust's Extra-Mural Education Centre for Women in Minna. These two institutions are different from the others in the private sector because they have reliable sources of funding their educational activities and are much more developed. They too ask for and receive donations from wealthy members of the community. They also charge their students fees. These institutions deserve our detailed attention as regards their educational activities in Nupeland. We shall examine them one by one.

The Jama'at Nasrul Islam's 'Ilmiyyah Cum Islamiyyah school in Bida is the only one of its kind in Niger and Kwara States. It was established in 1972. At the time of my visit, its enrolment stood at 30 adults (all males) and 50 children (32 boys, 18 girls). There were 4 permanent teachers, 2 Arabs and 2 Nigerians. The two expatriate teachers were both graduates in Arabic and Islamic Studies. The Secretary of the institution told me that the two teachers were loaned to the School by the government of Kuwait, through the Jamā'at Nasrul Islam Headquarters in Kaduna. They were to

stay and work in the school until December, 1983. The two Nigerian teachers, both of them Nupe, are graduates of the School for Arabic Studies, Kano. They both attended courses in Higher muslim studies there, after completing their reading of the Qur'ān at home. Teachers for the junior pupils were selected from the advanced students, all of whom must have completed reading of the Qur'ān before enrolling in the school.

The school operates two sections each with clear Curriculum organisation. The first section is called adult classes. It comprises two groups of fifteen students each. The curriculum is Arabic language and Islamic Studies. The first comprises the study of Arabic as a language - its grammar, syntax and the parsing of simple Arabic sentences. Islamic studies comprises Tafsīr, Fiqh, Sīrah and Hadīth. For this group, no lessons were given in the reading of the Qur'ān. The Curriculum for the junior pupils comprises mainly the Qur'ān although they are also taught the elementary stages of Arabic grammar and syntax. The school was very well organised and there was generally no problem in teaching and administration of learning.

The school was classed in a block of two big classrooms, built in permanent structures with the staff room in the centre. Like other private Arabic schools in the area, it also operates on the goodwill of the muslim community there, but its strongest source of revenue is the constant aid it receives from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. These two countries also send books and teachers from time to time. Parents also help in the supply of equipment such as desks, benches, tables and chairs.

As a form of extra-curricula activities, the Secretary of the institution, Alhaji Zakari Shehu, has organised the interested students into an aid group. The special duty of this group is to propagate Islam and Islamic learning in the rural areas of Nupeland. Membership of the aid group is open to all students who can afford it. I was told that the initial fee for enrolment is ₦20.00. The subsequent fee is ₦1.00 per month for every member of the group. This is in addition to ₦5.00 monthly, payable by every student of the school. Almost all the thirty advanced students of the school are members of the aid group. One remarkable feature of the group, however, is that one does not have to be a student of

the school to be a member of the group. Consequently, there are more members of the aid group than there are students of the 'Ilmiyyah - Islamiyyah' school.⁵ The organisation is acting as an incentive for more pupils to enter the school.

The pupils are recruited on application to the Secretary, who invites them for interview. He then sits in a panel with some teachers to make selection. It is not everybody who applies that is able to enter the school because of the initial fee of ₦20.00. The teachers are also recruited locally. They are not paid salary but are paid some unfixed allowances from time to time. Both teaching and learning in the school are on part-time basis. The time of work is usually between 4.30 p.m. and 6.00 p.m. everyday of the week including Fridays and Sundays.

The extra-curricula activities of the aid group is on similar lines with that of the 'Red Crescent', an aid group which operates in some muslim Arab countries on the basis of Western 'Red Cross Society'. The aid group of Jama'at Nasrul Islam School in Bida is out, not only to propagate Islam, but also to render service to any human being who needs such a service. Members of the group have

provided themselves with special uniforms of white upon white with green caps. Every service they render is done through their own initiative and voluntary efforts, but they are well organised under the secretary of the 'Ilmiyyah-Islamiyyah school. They expect no reward and are given none. Their services are very conspicuous in Bida on Fridays during the weekly congregational prayers. They are seen scattered in all corners of the Juma'at mosque, directing the worshippers to their seats and, at the same time, preventing the undesirable peoples such as traders and others from trespassing the praying ground.

It is important to remember that members of this aid Group are, themselves, products of private Arabic School system. But, their contributions towards the dissemination of Islamic learning go far beyond any Arabic school. They have been able to carry far afield, their lessons from Arabic and Islamiyyah schools, for the benefit of the less fortunate ones, especially throughout the rural areas of the Nupe country. They are sufficiently supported by the finances of the school realised through personal contributions from members of the aid group, through fees

collected from pupils, through donations from wealthy parents, and through large endowments from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia as well as from Jama'at Nasrul Islam Headquarters in Kaduna. Thus, the school's financial position is much stronger than that of sister private Arabic schools throughout the area under study.

The second school which enjoys strong financial support in the area is the I.E.T.'s Extra-mural Education Centre for women in Minna.⁶ The Centre was established in 1980 to cater for the Islamic education of women to which the I.E.T. attaches great importance. The centre conducts a one-year course of morning classes for housewives. The course includes literacy in Hausa, Qur'ān and Tafsir, Hadith, Sirah, Tauhid, Fiqh and Moral Teachings of Islam. In addition, there is a weekly Ladies Circle for study of Qur'ān and Hadith - conducted in English. Higher courses are also devised for women who have completed the one year basic Islamic education course at the centre. The same topics covered in the basic courses are also taught in the advanced course but in greater details.⁷

support in the area is the I.E.T.'s Extra-mural Education

Islamic week-end schools are opened where feasible on Saturdays and Sundays to impart the knowledge and love of Islam to children. They are conducted in Senior primary classes in Minna. Most of the children who attend are Nupes. The duration of courses in the week-end school is one year, the Curriculum is Tauhid, Sīrah, Fiqh, Qur'ān

The functions of the I.E.T. in the dissemination of Islamic learning throughout Nupeland go far beyond the Women's extra-mural Islamic Education classes and children's week-end schools. They organise weekly meetings in various parts of Niger State for intensive study of the Qur'ān, Tafsir and Hadith, for the benefit of those who wish to improve their Islamic religious standards and knowledge. When the Hājj season approaches, the I.E.T. field-workers conduct short courses for intending pilgrims in many urban and rural centres to teach the pilgrims the meaning and correct performances of the Hājj rituals, to advise them on proper conduct for a pilgrim and to give other practical guidance. The I.E.T.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



No 000045

عَقْدَةُ الْوَقْفِ لِلدِّرَاسَةِ وَاللِّبْرَةِ وَاللُّسْرَةِ
عَقْدَةُ الْوَقْفِ لِلدِّرَاسَةِ وَاللِّبْرَةِ وَاللُّسْرَةِ

ISLAMIC EDUCATION TRUST, NIGERIA

This is to certify that

Jummai Muhammad

attended and successfully completed the Basic Islamic Education course
organised by the Islamic Education Trust at Minna and
is hereby awarded

BASIC ISLAMIC EDUCATION CERTIFICATE

With effect from 25th March 1981



Office Stamp

Muhamad
I.E.T. Education Secretary

[Signature]
State Chairman of I.E.T.

leaders and workers also take part in other activities for the enlightenment of the public, such as:

- participation in Radio and Television programmes in Niger, Sokoto and Lagos States
- Public lectures on Fridays in Central Mosques
- Tafsir of the Qur'an daily during the month of Ramadān in Niger and Sokoto State capitals
- Organisation of monthly lectures by highly qualified speakers in Niger and Lagos States
- Weekly publication in the New Nigerian Newspaper of selected passages of the Qur'an and Ahādith for the enlightenment of the reading public, muslim and non-muslim as to the authentic Islamic teachings.

The I.E.T's involvement in the propagation of Islamic learning in its areas of operation cannot be discussed in details here. These Islamic activities are very well conducted by the I.E.T. staff. The important question one has to ask at this point is: how is the organisation able to fund its Islamic activities?

Like other private Islamic institutions serving the Nupe muslim community, the I.E.T. has to devise ways of obtaining funds to finance its activities.

It asks for and receives donations from its supporters and issues receipts for such donations received.

It has both registered and unregistered supporters and accepts donations from both ^{of} them. The registered supporters are regarded by the officials of the I.E.T. as members of their organisation. Such supporters undertake to make regular donations to the I.E.T., either in the form of monthly Bankers orders or of periodic lump sums.

The I.E.T. has opened a bookshop (called 'Ilmi Bookshop) in Minna, Sokoto and Lagos. These specialise in Islamic books, but they deal also in general textbooks, stationery and office supplies. The purposes of the bookshops are to make available a wide range of good quality Islamic books to the reading public and, more importantly, to serve as a source of revenue for the I.E.T. It has also established a publications division to the bookshop in Minna, which has a duty to produce and publish new books and pamphlets to meet the needs of the public. It also makes reprints of other useful Islamic

literature, with the permission of the writers. Publications to date include:

- Islam and Spiritual Life, Part 1: Belief
- Islam and spiritual life, part 2: Worship
- Islam and Spiritual Life, Part 3: Morality
- A Critical look at the Theory of Evolution
- The significance of Fasting
- Islam and Christianity (Reprint)
- Moral Teachings of Islam (Reprint) and

many more. The sale of these printed and reprinted Islamic Literature contributes a great deal to solving the I.E.T.'s financial problems.

Another source of funds for the Organisation is the external assistance received by the organisation through its President General, Alhaji Sheikh Ahmad Lemu.

As a learned Islamist and Grand Qādi of Niger State, Sheikh Lemu has made connections both in Nigeria and abroad. He travels abroad, especially to the Arab countries of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, to obtain financial aid for the I.E.T. He also succeeds in registering the I.E.T. as a government contractor and supplier of materials. It has executed several

building contracts both for the Niger State Government at Minna, and for the Federal Government at Abuja, the new Federal Capital.⁸

As an Islamic organisation, the I.E.T. maintains a Zakāt fund consisting of Zakāt paid on its own accounts and the Zakāt received from the public. This is utilised in accordance with the categories of eligible recipients listed in the Qur'ān. This last source of revenue for the I.E.T. logically concludes all sources of revenue for the organisation. From a brief survey of these sources, one can reasonably conclude that the I.E.T. schools enjoy more funds than any other private institutions for Islamic studies serving the Nupe community. The strong financial position of the organisation manifests itself in the mere sight of the physical facilities available at its headquarters in Minna. When I visited the headquarters on November 24, 1982 I saw a new block of four large classrooms recently completed through the direct supervision of the I.E.T. staff. I was told by the organiser of the extra-mural classes, Mrs. Aishatu B. Lemu, that the ultra-modern block cost the organisation about ₦50,000.00 only. This amount was believed

by the I.E.T. to be too cheap by government standards. If it were built for the government, it could not have cost less than ₦100,000.00.

The maintenance of these classrooms in permanent structures and of the teachers are the responsibility of the I.E.T. The pupils, both children and housewives, do attend lessons as part-timers. Those for Basic and Higher Islamic education courses attend lessons from Mondays to Thursday, between 10.00 a.m. and 12.00 noon. Children's week-end courses are held on Saturdays and Sundays between 9.00 a.m. and 11.30 a.m.

School materials and facilities are provided by the I.E.T. while learning is effectively organised by the staff in the schools. The pupils are locally recruited and so are the teachers who are employed on full-time basis. They are paid salary, promoted and disciplined by the I.E.T. Fees are payable by all students of the School. Students for basic courses and children's week-end courses pay only ₦5.00 for the duration of the course, which is one year. Students for higher Islamic courses pay ₦10.00 for the duration of the course, which is also one year.

The I.E.T. has a strong financial position.

Therefore, its school enjoys better learning facilities and is more organised than any private Arabic schools in the area. It enjoys even better facilities than some of the Western oriented schools which also give Islamic education.

(2) The Public Sector of Islamic education

It has earlier been stated that all secular primary schools throughout the Nupe country do teach Arabic and Islamic studies to their pupils.⁹ Quite a number of secular post-primary schools in the area also give Islamic education to their pupils. A special study of some of these schools (to which I refer as public sector of Islamic education) has been undertaken, and in the following paragraphs, an attempt will be made to examine the sources of funds for such schools, as they affect the teaching of Islamic studies.

Let me say at this point that all the post-primary institutions in the two states embodying the Nupe country, regardless of whether they give Islamic education or not,

are solely financed by the two State Governments. We have often heard over the radio and read in the national dailies that both Kwara and Niger States have budgetted so much money for their services in the current fiscal year and that, out of this amount, so much has been earmarked for education, both secular and religious. That a large sum of money has been spent annually by the governments on education throughout Nupeland is confirmed by the number of post-primary institutions in each of the five local governments of the area. All the institutions do give Islamic education to their pupils.

STATE	L.G.A.	NO. OF SCHOOLS
KWARA	EDU	3
NIGER	LAVUN	4
NIGER	GBAKO	11
NIGER	AGAIE	2
NIGER	LAPAI	3
Total		23

Table 3: Number of Government Post-Primary Schools in Nupeland which give Islamic education.

Out of the total of 23 post-primary institutions in the Nupe area of the two State, one is a post-secondary institution, which also gives Islamic education. It is called 'Zungeru College of Advanced Studies', henceforth to be referred to as the ZUCAS. It is situated in Bida. All these institutions are accommodated in ultra-modern buildings well-equipped and all, except one, have boarding facilities for students. They are all government sponsored institutions which means that all the expensive buildings have been provided by the government. All learning facilities and equipment are supplied by the government and the feeding of students and other boarding facilities provided by the government. Financial statistics for all these are not easy to come by but, as a one time principal of four¹⁰ of the institutions in Niger State, I am able to illustrate some annual expenses in one of such institutions.

For one academic year, I was spending not less than ₦150,000.00 on feeding my students (I had about 900 students in all). On electricity, I was paying the National Electricity Power Authority (NEPA) an average of ₦250.00 per month, and about ₦150.00 per month on water.

This means that for food, water and light alone, the Niger State government was spending an average of ₦160,000.00 per annum on my school, not to talk of teachers' salaries,¹¹ equipment and other essential facilities for effective running of the School. It should be remembered that there were 22 other schools in the area; moreover my school¹² was, by no means, the biggest. The one post-secondary institution among them, the ZUCAS, would have spent more, if not on food and water because of its fewer students, at least on teachers, equipment and other learning facilities at that higher level of education.

The Bida Teachers' College founded in 1954, has played an important role over the years in producing Islamic religious teachers for primary schools throughout Nupeland. Education at the primary school level in the area is the sole responsibility of the local governments. Each of the five local governments has a number of primary schools ranging from 70 to over 200 but, as is the case

great; moreover my school¹³ was, by no means, the

with private Arabic schools, the smallest number falls within the Kwara part of Nupeland:

STATE	L.G.A.	NO OF P/SCHOOLS
KWARA	EDU	93
NIGER	LAVUN	214
NIGER	GBAKO	191
NIGER	AGAIE	70
NIGER	LEFAL	82
	TOTAL	650

Table 4: Number of primary schools sponsored by the five local governments of Nupeland. They all give Islamic education to their pupils.

At the time of this study, the total number of primary schools owned by the local governments was 650. But the number continues to increase in view of the current massive expansion programme for primary education throughout the country. Each of the schools in Nupe area is accommodated in permanent buildings maintained by the Local Education authorities. The number of classes varies from school

to school, ranging from one to six, fairly well equipped, with modern seating facilities and writing materials. They all try to provide some basic books in Islamic religious knowledge and Arabic language. Some schools even have library facilities with Islamic religious books in them. These are mainly used as reference books by the Islamic religious knowledge (IRK) teachers. This indicates that a fairly large amount of money is being spent on Islamic studies, even at the primary school level.

Teachers of Islamic Religious Knowledge are employed on full-time basis by the L.E.D's. They are promoted and disciplined by the same authorities who plan and organise the Curricula for the Schools. To ensure effectiveness in the teaching of the Islamic Religious Knowledge, the L.E.D's have appointed Arabic Supervisors who go round the schools to supervise the teachers. Pupils in the schools study full-time and also engage in extra-curricula activities like games and sports. There is similarity in the Curricula of various primary schools because they are all out to inculcate in their pupils the basic ideas of Islam as a religion.

The biggest contributors of Arabic and Islamic Religious Knowledge teachers to the primary schools in Nupeland are the two Arabic Teachers' Colleges at Lokoja and Minna. They are both being fully funded by governments of Kwara and Niger States respectively; their educational activities have already been discussed.¹³ There are two other Colleges which also train Arabic and Islamic Religious Knowledge teachers for primary schools in the area. They are College of Arts and Islamic Studies, henceforth to be referred to as CAIS, situated in Minna, and Women Arabic Teachers College at Dikko near Abuja. These two Colleges are purely Arabic institutions giving their lessons in the Arabic language, although some secular subjects are also taught. We shall examine the activities and funding of these colleges.

CAIS was established as Ahmadiyyah secondary school at Minna in 1970 but, three years later, it was taken over by the government of the then North-Western State. It was renamed by the State government as College of Arts and Arabic Studies, Minna. When Niger State came into being in 1976, the State government once again

changed the name of the College to College of Arts and Islamic Studies, Minna. Arrangements were then made by the State government to provide a more befitting permanent accommodation for the College in the outskirts of the State Capital, Minna. The College moved to this permanent site in 1980.

The teachers are employed full-time, promoted and disciplined by the State Ministry of Education. The College operates two sections for the students, a section for training Grade two teachers and a section for Higher muslim studies. The student for Grade two section are fully boardered while those for Higher Islamic Studies attend the College on day - to - day basis, because of lack of enough hostels to accommodate them. Arrangements are, however, being made by the State government to provide more hostels which will eventually accommodate all the students of the College. College materials and facilities are provided by the government while the organisation of the College and the Curriculum is carried out by the principal and his staff under the guidance of specialists from the State Ministry of Education.

There are no co-Curricula activities for the students although they are full-timers. They ^{are} recruited all over the state to fill the two sections of courses in the College. The students for Higher Islamic Studies are

recruited from among Grade IV Certificated teachers and from among products of traditional Arabic Schools throughout the State. They attend courses for four years at the end of which successful students proceed to the University of Sokoto or the ZUCAS in Bida for Diploma courses in Islamic Studies. Successful students at this level are also eligible to proceed for degree courses in Arabic and Islamic Studies at the Universities of Sokoto or Kano.

The Grade II section of the College trains teachers for primary schools in subjects other than Islamic Studies. The students into this section are recruited through the result of National Common Entrance Examinations. They spend five years for the course. In addition to their grade II subjects, they are also given basic lessons in Arabic and Islamic religious knowledge.

In order to cater for the role that women can play in disseminating Islamic learning not only in Nupeland but also throughout Niger and Kwara States, the Niger State government has established a Teachers' Training College solely for women. The College was established in 1979 at Dikko, near Abuja. The interesting thing to note about the location of the College is that it is situated in an area predominantly inhabited by non-muslims. It is a boarding institution, built in permanent structures.

The State government supplies most of the furniture for the College but part of it is also supplied by pupils' parents. All the teachers there are government employees - they are, therefore, paid salary, promoted and disciplined by the State government. The students are recruited all over the State. They study on full-time basis. The majority of them are Nupes - from Nupe speaking areas of the two States.

The first intake into the College in 1979 was recruited through the Ministry of Education's entrance examination; but the subsequent intakes were recruited through entrance examinations prepared by the College itself. The general organisation of the College and the Curriculum are carried out by the staff of the College under the guidance of the Ministry of Education. During my visit, there were seventeen teachers out of which five were all teachers of Islamic Religious Knowledge. Most of the books used for the subject were supplied by the Niger State Ministry of Education. The extra-Curricula activity was generally in form of games and sports. The College has not yet graduated any student because it started training them only three years ago.

The first graduates are supposed to leave the College in June 1983.

A brief survey of the institution's syllabus for Islamic studies shows that all the four classes study Qur'an, Tafsir, Hadith, Tauhid, Sirah, Tahdhib and Fiqh. For Qur'an and Tafsir, year one uses Juz' 'amma. They study the chapters between al-Nass and al-Duha, translate and recite them. In hadith, they use Ar ba'un al-Nawawi and study hadiths from one to twenty two. They also recite asma' Allah al-husna. In Sirah, they study the history of Adam, Muhammad, Nuh, Ibrahim, Musa and 'Isa. In Tahdhib, they are given an insight into Truthfulness, cleanliness, obedience to parents and kindness to animals. For Fiqh, they use al-Ahdari and study the chapters of al-Taharah to al-Zakat.

The subsequent classes use the same basic books for their Islamic studies but the coverage and depth of study vary from class to class. The highest class, year four, covers all the ahadith in al-Nawawi with their commentaries. They also read the Qur'an from the chapter of al Qaf to al-Gasiq and translate from al-Tariq to 'amma.

In addition, they learn about paradise and Hell, Reward and punishment and, questioning of the grave.¹⁴

The establishment of an Arabic institutions solely for women has shown clearly the recognition accorded to women and to the role they can play in imparting Islamic learning, by the authorities in Nupeland. It is not known how much money is being spent on this College by the state government, but it is obvious that a lot of money is being spent annually on running the institution. The establishment of Islamic institutions by the State government to supplement the efforts of private Arabic Schools throughout the Nupe kingdom shows that Islamic education in the area has not been neglected. All the government Arabic institutions engage actively in producing Arabic and Islamic Religious Knowledge teachers for primary schools. They are, therefore, doing the work of Teachers' Colleges, some of which also produced Arabic and Islamic Religious Knowledge teachers for the primary schools.

Arabic and Islamic Studies are, also taught in most secondary schools in the area and, representing this category of schools, is Government College, Bida.

The College was established in 1912 as a primary school, by the then Bida Native Authority. It was one of the first western oriented secular schools built with the purpose of incorporating a more up - to - date type of education within the context of arabic education system.¹⁵ From the inception of the College up to date, Arabic and Islamic religious knowledge has been taught in it. The school changed its name several times over the years. It became a Middle School in 1914 and in 1956, it was taken over by the then government of Northern Nigeria, which changed its name to Provincial Secondary School. In 1957, it produced the first set of students to sit for West African School Certificate examination in Islamic religious knowledge. In 1968, the status of the school was raised to that of the sixth form by the then North-Western State government and its name was changed to Government College, Bida - the name by which the institution is known today. Since 1968, the College has been preparing some of its students for Higher School Certificate (H.S.C.) in the subjects of Arabic and Islamic Studies.

Government College, Bida is still owned by the Niger State government which is responsible for funding all its educational activities. It moved to its present permanent site in 1956, when it became a junior secondary school and, since then, it has been expanding rapidly. All the teachers there are employed full-time, promoted and disciplined by the State Ministry of Education. It is not known how much money is allocated annually to the teaching of Arabic and Islamic studies, but teachers of these subjects are employed by the government and most of the school materials for the subjects are also supplied by the government. Pupils of the college are recruited from all over the state. They are in the College on full-time basis and are fully maintained by the State Government. The teaching of Islamic religious knowledge is strictly supervised by officials from the Inspectorate division of the State Ministry of Education. These officials are also responsible for preparing schemes of work for the subject, which are used in all secondary schools throughout the State.

The highest institution in Nupeland which gives Islamic education is the Zungeru College of Advanced Studies (ZUCAS). It is the only tertiary institution owned by the State Government and because the government

attaches great importance to Islamic learning, the subject of Islamic studies is taught there. The College prepares three categories of students in the subjects - those studying for the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level, those studying for the Advanced Level of the General Certificate of Education and those studying for Diploma. Students studying for Diploma stay in the College for three years (See Appendix VIII ^{for} the syllabus). For the General Certificate of Education Advanced Level, the duration of the course is two years. Those who have failed their Islamic Studies paper at the School Certificate level are also accepted into the College for one year's remedial course, to prepare them for the General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level examination in the subject. They are given intensive coaching in Sīrah, Qur'ān and Hadith and also in Tawhīd and Fiqh.

In this manner, the ZUCAS is also contributing its quota towards the dissemination of Islamic learning throughout the Nupe country. It is, probably, no wonder then that the sole management of the private Arabic schools in Nupeland has been left in the hands of private owners. It is now evident from the foregoing that both the State and the local governments are spending large sums of money on Western oriented schools which also give

Islamic education. This may be the reason why much money is not left to finance private Arabic schools in the area, hence the intermittent remission of minimum financial grants to such private institutions.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

II. ISLAMIC EDUCATION AS A SOCIAL SERVICE INVESTMENT

So far, we have seen that all hands have been on deck in an effort to spread Islamic learning amongst the muslim population of Niger and Kwara States, particularly in the Nupe area. Both the Local and State governments are doing their best in this regard but there is a limit to how far they can go because of financial problems. Obviously, the proprietors of all the private Arabic schools expect the governments to go further in helping them develop their private institutions.¹⁶ But on the other hand, the governments feel that by giving Islamic education in government owned institutions, and by treating Islamic studies along similar lines with secular subjects, they will be rendering useful service, not only to the predominantly muslim community of Nupeland, but also to the minority who may not be interested in Islamic learning. Despite this fact, the two State governments have undertaken to establish a few institutions devoted purely to the teaching of Islamic studies. In all these institutions, education, whether secular or Islamic, has been regarded both as consumption and as investment.

From an economic point of view, that is, in view of the large amount of money the two State governments spend on educating the individuals, education generally is regarded as consumption. On the other hand, because of the belief that a community's wealth, or rather, a nation's wealth is in its people who must be educated, education is regarded as investment in mankind!¹⁷

The use of the word 'investment' in education implies that there is a return to society analogous to that from physical investment, and that education has, as one of its main tasks, the creation of an efficient working force. This trend of thought has recently come to the forefront of economic thinking, and it represents an entirely new attitude to the problem of paying for education. This attitude has been exemplified in efforts being made by governments and proprietors of private Arabic schools in Nupeland to find money to pay for education, both secular and Islamic, at all costs. This precisely, is the reason why education has always occupied priority position in the budgetary arrangements of the two State governments; this is also why proprietors of private Schools apply to government for financial aid. For them, the return on education are as high as those in physical capital.

It has been argued that as the development of a high level culture is the ultimate goal of education, so is the production of a high level man-power for the nations' economy its aim. In modern economies, the place of unskilled worker is diminishing rapidly and, as the economy develops, it needs more diverse skills that rely upon a general background of education for their development.¹⁸ If Islamic education cannot provide such skills, it can provide, at least, the moral guidance to the utilisation of such skills. Armed with Islamic moral or ethical principles, such workers can easily adapt themselves to any working conditions.

Obviously, this is a world-wide argument in favour of education as an investment. There is no reason to suggest that this has not been the guiding principle for the educational authorities in Nupeland. With this argument at the back of their minds, it should be understandable why education has continued to engage their maximum attention, although financial resources have often limited the growth of the educational system generally.

The ideas of State governments and Local Education Authorities about the values and objectives of Islamic

misunderstood and largely in conflict with their so-called progressive ideologies. The possible cause of this might be their discouragement by the Arabic language which they could not understand and consider the sole media for Islamic education. In any case, this is the contempt at which the Colonial masters held Arabic, and anything Islamic and they, being intensely missionary by nature, did everything possible to discourage people from learning Arabic and Islamic Studies. During their time, they succeeded in selling to the authorities in Nupeland, the idea that Islamic education could not go far enough in the modern technological world. This idea is no more true than saying that christian education cannot go far enough in the modern technological world. The antagonists of Islamic education contended that it is only through Western oriented education that upward social mobility is made possible. This idea is also not true because Islamic education has provided upward social mobility to several teachers of Arabic and Islamic studies throughout the Nupe Kingdom.

In the Nupe country of the early 20th century, the subordinate groups were mainly the rural dwellers, who were organised at the sub-tribal level. For such subordinate groups, the very notion of a school, whether secular or Qur'anic, was foreign to the accepted way of life. In addition, the child was an economic asset on which the family depended. Schooling, because it tied down a potential worker in non-productive activity, was expensive for them even when it was free. Consequently, attendance was erratic, always at the mercy of family need. One inevitable result of this lack of cultural support for educational activities in Nupeland of the time, was that education of any kind was not cumulative. It could not have progressed year by year to new and higher subjects and skills. The teacher could not have counted on his pupils as having mastered some set of facts or skills just because they had so many years of schooling. Therefore, each year tended to become a repetition of the previous one, devoted to attempts at ensuring that everyone had, at least, mastered the basic skills of reading and writing. At each level, the gap between what should have been learnt and what was actually learnt became greater. Teaching degenerated into a desperate attempt to instil some minimum amount of learning.

In such a discouraging situation, teachers were tempted to take the easy way out, either giving up completely or devoting efforts only to those few students who would accept them wholeheartedly and were comparatively easy to teach. Such was the social and economic situation of education generally in Nupeland. The educational situation today is quite different.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

III SOME FUNCTIONAL VALUES OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION

Today, the educational situation in Nupeland has radically changed. Despite efforts made by various governments of the area to keep the two systems of education abreast, the traditional Islamic education still lags behind. The reason for this appears to be that the over-taking system, that is, the Western oriented system of education, seems to be easier to comprehend by the people, and to have more economic advantages. The traditional Islamic education has not been realised to have some economic advantages as well. Apart from its advantages as a religious learning, it also has some functional values which ensures financial stability, if not for the proprietors of private Arabic Schools, at least for the Arabic and Islamic Religious Knowledge teachers in secular institutions and for some judges in the muslim shariah courts, many of whom were products of Islamic education system. It also has symbolic values which goes with social status.¹⁹ But here, we shall be more concerned with the functional values of Islamic education, since it is on this that government and the general public in Nupeland have capitalised.

The functional type of education serves to promote individual upward social mobility as well as group upward social mobility under certain circumstances. The major way in which Islamic education has fostered individual upward social mobility in Nupeland ^{is} by training lower-status young men to take positions in the primary and post-primary schools and thereafter, enter the social strata higher than that of their parents. Many of these parents are farmers, weavers, petty-traders and unskilled labourers. Individual upward social mobility may be increased by a system of Scholarship grants to poor but able young men to further their Islamic education at the University level,²⁰

This higher level of Islamic education is now possible for only a very few students of the traditional Arabic schools because, the traditional system of education has not been so developed; but development is very important if the muslim community of Nupeland is to achieve its goal through Islamic education. The desired development could not be achieved unless both the state and local governments of the area could come out in full force to assist the schools financially.

The strongest need for the schools is to develop their physical facilities in order to improve their physical outlook. They also need to improve their Curriculum content, staffing position and, above all, the quality of Islamic education they give. At present, most of the private Arabic schools do not even have classrooms for their lessons, let alone have other learning facilities. They hold classes in the traditional Zaure or hall, where they sit on hard floors.²¹ The governments should come in here in a big way to provide the schools with ultra-modern classrooms, equipped with desks and benches for the pupils, tables and chairs for the teachers, and other learning facilities for both the teachers and taught.

At the same time, the Mu'allim's methodology should be improved through exposure to training in the art of teaching. He has never had such kind of training but has been borrowing and using the methodology, of his childhood Mu'allim. This methodology is the traditional one in which the learner is regimented and made to learn by rote, large portions of the Qur'an. The big disadvantage of rote, /

be forgotten. Moreover, when the memorised portions are put to writing, the pupils concerned cannot read them. The governments can play a big role here by training the Mu'allims in the modern techniques of teaching which places more emphasis on 'learner-centredness' rather than 'teacher-centredness'. This would help the pupils to learn their Qur'ān and other religious books well.

The need has always been there in Nupeland for the study of Islamic education. This need cannot be over-emphasised in view of the predominantly muslim population of the area. This explains also the reason why attention has always been focussed on learning the Qur'ān and other Islamic religious books. But, if the muslim population of the area would like to regard their Islamic education system as pragmatic and functional as any other system of education, their system of Islamic education should not be confined to religious education alone. It should be expanded to include the study of all secular subjects necessary for their live-lihood.

The envisaged expansion of Islamic education system would necessitate the take-over, by the state governments, of all financial responsibilities for the private Arabic schools throughout the area. The governments should also

participate actively in the reorganisation of the Curricula of such schools. They should pay the proprietors, and teachers working under them, enough salary and allowances to encourage them face their work, without worrying about finding other means of livelihood. In this manner, the governments would be contributing a great deal to the improvement of the quality of Islamic education in Nupeland. In order to ensure an effective quality control over the improved quality of Islamic education, the governments should intensify their network of Arabic inspectors, who should inspect the Schools and guide the the Mu'allims.

If the governments could come out to assist the private Arabic schools as suggested above, the enthusiasm of the Mu'allims in such schools would be maintained and utilised to the best advantage of the entire muslim community in Nupeland. The community would then be in a better position to prove to the world that the traditional Islamic education can also be as pragmatic and as beneficial as any other educational system, anywhere in the world.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

TO CHAPTER SIX

1. The information was gathered from Muhammadu Sani, Proprietor of the School. He was interviewed on May 15, 1982.
2. See Appendix IV for a breakdown of the Current enrolment for all private schools seen in the project.
3. He is Alhaji Abdullahi Faki, Proprietor of Ansarul Islam School, Lafiagi, Kwara State. Interviewed on March 16, 1982.
4. These facts were obtained in an interview with Alhaji Muhammad Umar, Supervisor for Arabic Studies, Lavun Local Government. He was interviewed on March 20, 1982.
5. In an interview with Alhaji Zakari Shehu, April 2, 1982.
6. The School was briefly referred to before under the name of Islamiyyah School. See page 126 above.
7. See Appendix V. for a draft Syllabus for women's Basic Islamic Education Course.
8. These facts were made known to me by Alhaji Sheikh Ahmad Lemu, President of the I.E.T. He was interviewed in Minna on November 24, 1982.
9. See chapter Two, page 103.

10. From October, 1978 to April, 1981, I was Principal of Government Teachers' College, Bida. From July 1976 to September of the same year, I was Principal of Government Teachers' College, Mokwa. From July to September, 1977, I was Principal of Government College, Bida and for a brief period between October and November of the same year, I was also principal of Government Teachers' college, Paiko near Minna. Therefore, I have some insight into Government expenses on post-primary education in the State and in Nupeland in particular. Islamic education is given in all the four colleges at which I had been principal.
11. At the Bida Teachers' College, I had, on my teaching staff, a total of 42 teachers, excluding myself. 3 of the teachers were on Salary Grade level 14; 9 on Grade Level 12; 11 on Grade Level 10; 7 on Grade Level 09, while the majority of them were on Grade Level 08. These were 12 in number and were all holders of the National Certificate in Education (N.C.E.)
12. See Appendix VI for the draft Teachers' Grade Two Certificate Examination Syllabus used by the College for Islamic Studies. It was prepared by the State Ministry of Education and represents the syllabus for all Grade Two Teachers' Colleges in the State.
13. See chapter five, pages 212 - 14.
14. See Appendix VII. for a copy of the past Question paper in Islamic Religious Knowledge for year II.
15. See chapter Two, page 102
16. I got to know this through my interviews with the Proprietors.

17. Halsey, A.H., Floud, J., and Anderson, C.A., Education, Economy and Society (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1961), p. 37.
18. Ibid., pp. 39 ff.
19. See chapter four, pages 185 - 95 for the Mu'allim's social status in the larger Nupe Muslim Community.
20. This actually happened in the case of Sheikh Ahmad Lemu, a product of traditional Islamic education system who, through such Scholarship grants by the defunct Northern Nigeria Government, has now risen to the rank of a Grand Qādi. His father was a proprietor of an Arabic School in Bida. See Sheikh Lemu's brief biography, pages 131 - 6.
21. See Table 1; pages 105 - 109.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A BOOKS

1. Abdul, M.O.A.
The Prophet of Islam,
Lagos: Islamic Publications Bureau, 1971.
2. _____
Islam as a religion,
Lagos: Islamic Publications Bureau, 1972.
3. _____
The Historical Origins of Islam,
Lagos: Islamic Publications Bureau, 1973.
4. _____
The Holy Book of Islam,
Lagos: Islamic Publications Bureau, 1974.
5. Ahmad, B.Y.,
al-Balahuri, Futuh al-Buldan, Leiden: 1866.
6. Ali, Muhammad,
Translation of the Holy Quran, Lahore, 1951.
7. Ali, A. Yusuf,
The Message of Islam,
Lagos: Islamic Publications Bureau, 1977.
8. _____
The Holy Qur'an. Text, Translation and
Commentary. *Washington: The Islamic Center,*
1978.
9. al-Nawawi, al-Arba'ūn al-Nawawiyah, Cairo:
al-Matba'at al-Salaḥiyyah, 1959.
10. Al-Attas, S.N.,
Aims and objectives of Islamic Education
Jeddah: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979.

11. Al-Afendi, M.H. and Baloch, N.A.
Curriculum and Teacher Education,
Jeddah: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980.
12. Arnold, T.W. (ed.)
The Preaching of Islam,
London: Macmillan and Co., 1971.
13. Arnold, T.W. (ed.)
The Legacy of Islam,
London: Macmillan and Co., 1975.
14. Asad, M.
Islam at the Crossroads,
London: n.p., 1967.
15. Bello, M.
Infāq al-Maisur fī Tārīkh bilād Tukrūr,
Cairo, n.p., 1974.
16. Belyaev, E.A.
Arab, Islam and Arab Caliphate;
London, n.p., 1969
17. Davis, K.
Human Society,
London, n.p., 1970
18. Dodge, B.
Muslim Education in Medieval Times
Washington, n.p., 1962
19. Ezzati, A.
An Introduction to the History of the Spread of
Islam, Lagos: Islamic Publications Bureau, 1979.
20. Farrah, C.E.
Islam,
New York: n.p., 1968.

21. Farid, A.H.
Prayers of Muhammad,
Lagos: Islamic Publications Bureau, 1975.
22. Gibb, H.A.R.
Muhammadanism,
Oxford, O.U.P. 1949.
23. Goglin, D.A.
The School in Contemporary Society
Illinois: Scoft, Foresman and Co., 1965.
24. Halsey, A.H., Jean Floud and Arnold, C.A.
Education, Economy and Society,
Toronto: Collier-Macmillan, 1965.
25. Hamidullah, M.
Introduction to Islam,
Lagos: Islamic Publications Bureau, 1981.
26. Harold, E.
Child-Centred Education,
London: Methuen and Co., 1970.
27. Hans Wehr.
A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic
edited by David Cowan
London: Goerge Allen and Co., Ltd., 1966.
28. Haykal, M.H.
The Life of Muhammad, (Translated by al-Faruqi)
New York: North American Trust
Publications, 1976.
29. Hussain, S.A., The Book of Thousand Lights,
Lucknow: Academy of Islamic Research and
Publications, 1975.
30. Hogben, S.J. and Kirk-Green, A.H.M.
The Emirate of Northern Nigeria,
London: O.U.P. 1966.
31. Husain, S.S. and Asraf, S.A.
Crisis in Muslim Education,
Jeddah: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979.

32. Jurji, E.J.
The Great Religions of the Modern World,
London: O.U.P. 1972.
33. Cragg, Kenneth
The Event of the Qur'an
London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.,
1971.
34. Lebon, G.
The World of Islamic Civilization,
Leiden; n.p., 1945
35. Macdonald, A.M.
Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary,
Edinburgh: Clark Constable Ltd., 1980.
36. Middleton, N.J.
Gods and Rituals
New York: McGregor and Werner, 1969.
37. Musgrave, P.W.
The Sociology of Education,
London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1965.
38. Nadel, S.F.
A Black Byzantium,
London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1945.
39. -----
The Foundation of Social Anthropology,
London: Cohen and West, 1951.
40. -----
Nupe Religion,
London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954.
41. Nalito Steen.
The Islamic Origins of Western Education,
London: O.U.P., 1972.

42. Ndayako, M.
Inji Etsu Nupe,
Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation, 1953.
43. Ottaway, A.K.C.
Education and Society,
London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.
44. Rosenthal, E.
Political Thought in Medieval Islam,
New York: n.p., 1963.
45. Shalabey, A.
History of Muslim Education,
Beirut: n.p., 1954.
46. Sharif, M.M.
Islamic and Educational Studies,
Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture,
1964.
47. _____
A History of Muslim Philosophy
New York: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963.
48. Shipman, M.D.
Sociology of the School,
London: Longmans, 1968.
49. Smith, B.
Mungo Park's Travels,
London, O.U.P., 1965.
50. Sweetman, W.
Islam and Christian Theology,
Chicago, 1972.
51. Thorndike, D.K.
Principles of Teaching,
London: O.U.P., 1976.
52. *Tibawi, A.L.*
Islamic Education,
London: Lucaz and Co., 1972.

53. Trimmingham, J.S.
A History of Islam in West Africa,
 London: O.U.P., 1961.

54. Watt, W.M.
Muhammad, Prophet and Statesman,
 London: O.U.P., 1961.

B - Theses and Long Essays

55. Abdul Rahman, S.
 'The Impact of Islam upon the Nupe Culture'
 Unpublished M.A. Thesis
 University of Ibadan, 1978.

56. Nasiru, W.O.A.
 'Islamic Learning among the Yoruba'
 Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis
 University of Ibadan, 1977.

C - Articles

57. Abdul, M.O.A.
 The Islamic Influence on the Brass-smiths
 of Bida: A paper presented at the International
 Symposium on Islamic Art, Calligraphy,
 Architecture and Archaeology at the University
 of Pashwar, Pakistan, March 1 - 6, 1981.

58. Kirk-Greene, A.H.M.
 The Battle of Bida: *West African Review*,
 London, July 1955.

One of the Arabic texts of Etsu Muhammadu Ndayako's Khutbah for Friday Congregational Prayers.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله الذي علا يعزته فوق البريات ورفع بقدرته
 السموات وزينها بنجوم المنيرات ووضع الارض
 وزينها بالنبات وأرسلها بالرواسي الشاخات وفجر
 خلالها أنهار من ماء فرات ونشهد أن محمدا عبده
 ورسوله بتبليغ الرسالات وأداء الأمانات وصلى الله
 عليه وعلى آله المهجبين السادات وأزواجه الطاهرات
 أصهار المؤمنين والمؤمنات وسلم عليهم وعليهن
 تسليما. يا أيها الذين آمنوا اتقوا الله وقولوا قولا
 سديدا يصلح لكم أعمالكم ويغفر لكم ذنوبكم
 ومن يطع الله ورسوله فقد فاز فوزا عظيما.
 (جلوس)

الحمد لله رب العالمين الصلاة والسلام على سيد المرسلين
 أوصيكم يا عباد الله ونفسي بتقوى الله العظيم المنان
 وأحذركم من الدنيا إذ ليس لها أمان بل هي دار البلاد
 واصتخان فرحها وسرورها لا يدومان عزها وملكها
 عن صاحبها سلوبان أيامها ولياليها هموم وأحزان
 أيها الناس أيها الناس أيها الناس إن الله يامر بالعدل
 والإحسان وإيتاء ذى القربى وينهى عن الفحشاء
 والمنكر والبغى يعظكم لعلكم تذكرون
 يغفر الله لنا ولكم آمين.

كَلَّا وَلَا يَنْطَبِعُ بِهٖ فَلَيْهٖ كَلَّا اِنَّ رُجْمَهَا
لَهُوَ الْكِتَابُ وَقَالَ قُلٌّ تِلْكَ رُجُومُهَا
مُذَكَّرَةٌ بِعَنْدِ الْاَرِزِّ وَقُلْنَا لَنْ يُصِيبَ

قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ لَا يَبْلُغُ
لَهَا إِسْمُ الْاِيْمَانِ عَجْرٌ
حَتَّى يَبْدَعَ الْمُنْجِاحُ
وَالْكَذِبُ وَالْمَسِيءُ
وَارْكَازَ حَقًّا اِفْرَا بَعْدَ
بَعْثِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ
اَنْ تَقُولَ الْكُذِبُ
بِلَا الْكُذِبِ بِجَانِبِ
الْاِيْمَانِ

الْاُمِّي كَمَا نَظَرْنَا فَاُولَئِكَ الْكُذِبُ
وَلَا اَفْرُوزُكَ تَقْلًا وَلَا مَدْمًا اَلْمَوْفُورُ

الْمَوْفُورُ الْكُفْرُ الْقَصْرُ اَنْ يَكُنَّ

مَا تَجْرُو فَلَئِنْ مَكَانًا تَبْدُو وَحَسْبُ لَكَ

وَاِنْ كُنَّا تَابِ الْكُذِبِ بِحَيْثُ الْكَاذِبُ

فَلَمْ تَذْهَبْ عَنِّي بِاَعْدَائِي وَلَا تَخَارِجِي

لَمْ يَرَوْا مَرِيضًا بِكَ وَيَقْسِي كَوْتِي هَدَلٌ

عَنْكَ وَعَمَّ الْكُفْرُ الَّذِي اِذَا اسْتَكْرَمَتْ اَرْضُهُ

سَيَقُولُ النَّاسُ وَانْتَهَى مِنْ حَيْزِ الشَّيْطَانِ
اَقْوَلَهُ تَعَالَى وَلَا يَفْرُ
تَكْرُمُ بِاللَّهِ الْفُرُوقُ

مَرِيضِيَا الزَّمَانِ الْكَلَامُ وَهُوَ عَارُ الْكَلَامِ
هُوَ ذُو مَعْنَى اَلشَّيْءِ يَرْتَدُّ فِيهِ اَهْلُ الْاَرْضِ كَالْمَاءِ
مَعْنَى خَاطِبِهِمْ بِيْرًا عَرَضَهُ اَوْ جَهْلَهُ

لَا يَلْعَلُ يَفْعَلُ اَلنَّاسُ قَوْلُهُ هُوَ اَب
لَشْرُوعِهِ حَيْثُ الْاَنْبِيَاءُ وَاِنْ عَلِمَهُ اَنْتَهُ
اِخْطَا اَلْمَرِيضَةَ لِحُبِّ الْكُذِبِ
اَنْ يَفْعَلَهُ تَعَالَى
اِذَا جَاءَ الْكُفْرُ هُوَ اَبَا بَل
اِنْ اَبَا طَرَا حَارٌّ زَهْرًا فَا:

UNIVERSITY OF
PROFESSOR

Part of the Qasīdah prepared by
Mallam 'Abd al-Qādir Zaria praising
the author of al-ṣidq Murrūn

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ الْكَرِيمِ
 فَتَحَ لَنَا الْكَافِرَ الْمُصْطَفَى وَأَخْوَاهُ الَّذِينَ رَوَى الْكَافِرَ
 الصِّدْقُ مِنْ طِفْلَةٍ لَكُمْ أَطَى مِنَ النَّبِيِّ الْحَبِيبِ الْأَخْبَى
 كَرِيماً مَعَ مَا أَحْبَبْتُمْ بِهِ تَقَبَّلَ بِفَضْلِ اللَّهِ بَعْدَ النَّبِيِّ
 كَالشَّيْخِ عَمْرٍو ابْنِ جَبْرِ بَلَّغْتُمْ بِهِ الْإِسْلَامَ بَعْدَ النَّكَرِ
 لَمْ يَكُنْ فِي النَّوْعِ نَارَهُ يَا بَيْتَكَ تَصْرِيحاً لِلْإِسْلَامِ
 إِقْلَامُ تَرْوِيهِ الْجَلِيلِ سَارَهُ بِتَرْوِيهِ وَمِنَهُ قَبْلَ النَّبِيِّ رِ
 أَمَقْنَا نَظَرَ بِهِ مَوْلَى اللَّهِ لِنَجْمِنَا الْمَوْكُوفِ فِيهِ بِالنَّبِيِّ الْأَخْبَى
 بِوَجْهِهِ لَمْ يَأْتِ بِمُرَاسِمَتِي بَلَّغْتُمْ بِهِ رُؤْيُومَ الْإِسْلَامِ
 وَأَجَابَ لِسَائِلَهُ ثَلَاثُ مَسَائِلِ بَلَّغْتُمْ بِهِ الْإِسْلَامَ وَالنَّبِيَّ الْأَخْبَى
 يَا أَهْلَ بَدَايَا عَمَلُوا بِاللَّذْوْنِ لَا تَقْرُؤُوا عَنْهُ مِنْ جِلْدِ الْبَيْتِ
 شَيْخُ الشُّيُوفِ فَذَابَ بَارِئُ الْبَيْتِ بِنِصَاةٍ وَاسِيَةٍ بِبَيْتِ النَّاطِقِ
 مِنْ شَأْنِ يَا بَيْتَ الْبَيْتِ بِبَيْتِ إِدْرِيسَ شَاءَ مَا وَافَقَ عَمَلُ الْغَائِبِ
 حُرُوكَيْهِ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ كُلِّهَا لَسِبْتَ الْعَالَمَ كُلَّهُ الْفَخْرُ الْمَخْبُورِ

APPENDIX IV

SAMPLES OF SCHOOLS STUDIED WITH A BREAKDOWN
OF THEIR CURRENT ENROLMENTS

L.G.A.	TYPE OF SCHOOL	YEAR ESTABLISH	ENROLEMT		TOTAL
			MALE	FEMALE	
EDU	1. Islamiyyah	1950	150	50	200
EDU	2. Arabic	1967	260	40	300
EDU	3. Quranic	1960	45	25	70
LAVUN	4. Quranic	1941	20	10	30
LAVUN	5. Quranic	1972	30	10	40
LAVUN	6. Arabic	1920	50	40	90
LAVUN	7. Islamiyyah	1976	35	12	47
GBAKO	8. Quranic	1960	80	60	140
GBAKO	9. Quranic	1860	130	20	150
GBAKO	10. Islamiyyah	1960	220	80	300
GBAKO	11. Islamiyyah	1935	48	12	60
GBAKO	12. 'Ilmiyyah	1972	70	10	80
GBAKO	13. 'Ilmiyyah	1950	12	-	12
GBAKO	14. 'Ilmiyyah	1930	30	70	100
AGAIE	15. Quranic	1962	230	120	350
AGAIE	16. Islamiyyah	1956	16	4	20
LAPAI	17. Quranic	1978	17	7	24
LAPAI	18. Arabic	1969	32	18	50

APPENDIX V

ISLAMIC EDUCATION TRUST

WOMENS' BASIC ISLAMIC

EDUCATION COURSE

1982/83

SYLLABUS

FIRST TERM

1. Qur'an and Tafsir (2 Lessons Per Week)

(Book: Juzu Amma-Hausa translation by N. Mustafa and S. A. Lemu)

Al-fatihah and Surah's an-nas to Al-Kauthar.

2. Fiqh (2 Lessons per week)

(Books: Tarbiyyar Yan Musulmi Books 1 & 2, Ibada da Hukunci Books 1 and 2, with emphasis on practical demonstration)

(a) What is Fiqh, and the importance of its study (one lesson)

(b) The articles of Faith (six lessons)

(c) The Pillars of Islam in Summary (one lesson)

(d) Ritual Purity:

Purpose of purification (one lesson)

Istinja and istijmar (one lesson)

Pure water (one lesson)

Ritual ablution practical (two lessons)

Dry ablution (one lesson)

- Ritual bath (one lesson)
- Things that spoil ablution (one lesson)
- Things that necessitate Ritual bath (one lesson)

3. Hausa Literacy (six lessons per week)

(Book: Ka koyi Karatu Book 1)

- (a) Hausa letters and the way of writing them including the implosive and ejective letters.
- (b) Formation of words and glottal stop.
- (c) Numbers 1-50
- (d) Some rules of everyday writing. Layout Punctuation.

4. Tahdhib (2 Lessons per week)

(Teachers Reference: Methodology of Primary Islamic Studies, Tahdhib Section)

- (a) Importance of Tahdhib and its sources in the Qur'an and Hadith.
- (b) Cleanliness of body, teeth, clothes, food and surroundings. Islamic etiquette of eating
- (c) Kindness to parents, respect for elders
- (d) Goodness to family, relative and neighbours
- (e) Kindness to animals.
- (f) Truthfulness and honesty
- (g) Inter-personal relationships.

SECOND TERM

1. Qur'an and Tafsir (one lesson per week)
(Book: See 1st Term)

Surahs Ma'un to Takathur.
2. Fiqh (one lesson per week)
(Book; See 1st Term)
 - (a) Importance of prayers, Significance of Qiblah
(one lesson)
 - (b) Names of prayers and their times (one lesson)
 - (c) Adhan (one lesson)
 - (d) Iqamah (one lesson)
 - (e) How to perform prayers (Practical) (two lessons)
 - (f) What spoils prayers (one lesson)
 - (g) What is disliked in prayers, common
mistakes in prayers (one lesson)
 - (h) Glorification of Allah (one lesson)
 - (i) Personal supplication (one lesson)
 - (j) Praying with an imam (one lesson)
3. Hausa Literacy: (Four Lessons per week)
(Book: Ka koyi Karatu Book 2)
 - (a) Word formation and sentence construction
 - (b) Numbers 50 - 100
 - (c) Punctuation marks (continued)

4. Sirah (one lesson per week)
 (Book: Tarihin annabi Kammalalle or any other suitable book)
- (a) A brief history of the following Prophets: Adam, Nuh, Ibrahim, Musa, Isa.
- (b) The life of the Prophet: Birth, youth, marriage. The beginning of Prophethood. Public preaching and its consequences. Flight to Abyssinia. conversion of Umar. The Boycott. Death of Khadijah and Abu Talib. Invitation from Medina. Hijrah.
5. Hadith (one lesson per week)
 (Book: Arba'una Hadith of Annawawi)
 Hadiths Numbers 1, 3, 7, 12, 13, 14, 34,
6. Arabic (two lessons per week)
 (Book: IET's Arabic Reading Course)
 First half of the booklet.
7. Tahdhib (one lesson per week)
 (Book: Teachers Reference: Methodology of primary islamic Studies, Tahdhib section.)
 Items 1 - 7 on list on page 45 of Reference book
9. Sharia and Marriage (one lesson per week)
 (Book: Aure akarkashin Shari'ar Musulunci: A. Bappa Mahmud) Three quarters of the book to be covered

THIRD TERM

1. Qur'an and Tafsir (two lessons per week)
 (Book: See 1st Term)
 Surahs Al-Qari'ah to Ad-Duha

2. Fiqh. (two lessons per week)
- (a) Fasting (Four periods)
 - (b) Zakat (Four periods)
 - (c) Hajj (Four periods)
- (all to the level discussed in *Ibada da Hukunci Book 2*)
3. Hausa Literacy (two lessons per week)
- (Book: *Bala da Babiya*)
- (a) Dictation and reading of some page of "Bala da Babiya"
 - (b) Composition
 - (c) Letter-writing.
4. Sirah (one lesson per week)
- (a) The Muslim Ummah in Medina
 - (b) Battle of Badr
 - (c) Battle of Uhud
 - (d) Battle of the Trench
 - (e) Treaty of Hudaibiyya
 - (f) Conquest of Mecca
 - (g) Farewell Pilgrimage and Sermon
 - (h) The Character of the Prophet.

5. Hadith (one lesson per week)

(Book: See 2nd Term)

Hadith Numbers 15, 16, 18, 31, 39, 40.

6. Arabic (two lessons per week)

(Book: See 2nd Term)

Completion of the Reading book.

7. Tahdhib (one lesson per week)

(Book: See 2nd Term)

Items 8 - 14 on list on page 45 of reference book.

8. Sharia and Marriage (one lesson per week)

(Book: See 2nd Term)

Completion of Recommended book plus 3 lessons on the mother's Islamic training of children (materials to be prepared by I. E. T.).

APPENDIX VI

Niger State Ministry of Education, Teachers'
Grade Two Certificate Examination, Draft
Syllabus for Islamic Studies.

There will be one Paper of 2½ hours:

Comprising five sections:

Section A: A: Sirah

B: Quran

C: Hadith

D: Fiqh and Hadith

Candidate must answer five questions: one question from each section. Three question will be set in each section.

The aims of the syllabus should be achieved the following purposes:

(A) To promote better understanding of Islamic teaching with special reference to:

(A) Sirah

(B) Quran

(C) Hadith

(D) Tanhid and Fiqh.

(B) To provide students with real picture of the world in which they live as well as the next world from the Islamic point of view.

(C) To improve their knowledge of the true worship and to establish a good relationship among man-kind.

(D) To follow the example of the great muslims in their virtuous conduct .

To achieve the above mentioned aims, the teacher should put the following points into consideration.

(1) To consider putting the Islamic values into practice.

(2) To link the religious studies with everyday life and to deal with life problems in the light of Islamic teachings.

(3) It is recommended that period should be allocated from time to time to solve any religious problems raised by the students out of the syllabus

(4) The teacher himself should set a good example for his students by observing all the religious duties and virtues thus encouraging them to follow his steps.

(5) To keep an eye on the student in regard to their behaviour not only at school but also at any place he may happen to see them.

Some note on general guideliness to the teaching of Islamic religious knowledge in secondary school and teachers training colleges.

These notes aim at throwing light on the content of the Islamic Religious Knowledge syllabus designed to cover five years after primary education. Attempt is also made to touch on the method where this is though necessary.

Section A: Historical Origins of Islam:

1. The Arabian peninsula before Islam.

This is intend to give an historical back-ground to the advent of Islam.

(a) Geography and people. The teacher should aim at describing the Arabian peninsula in out line and Hijaz in some details and teaching briefly the social, political and religious institutions of pre-Islamic Arabis. The objective of this approach is to enable the students acquire background knowledge of pre-Islamic Arabia and find out what changes were brought by Islam.

2. The life of the prophet Muhammad A to 1 should be covered.

3. 4, and 6

These should be covered as they are with brief biography at the four orthodox calips.

Section B: Qur'an

In all lesson in the Quran three main objective should be aimed at

In all lesson in the Quran three main objective should be aimed at

- (1) Correct understanding of the Quran
- (2) Correct reading of the Quran
- (3) Taking guidance from the teachings of the Quran.

Efforts to memorize any portion of it should be after the first three objectives have been achieved.

- (1) The Quran as a book.

A - F is intended to give the students background history of the holy book which will help in all lesson on the Quran.

Items 2-4 are intended to bring student into direct contact of the holy book. This is the most important aspect of the syllabus. Modern methods of teaching should be applied here. The following steps are suggested.

- (a) The teacher should first read out the surah (chapter) or the verse or verses at least twice while the students listen.
- (b) The teacher read with the students.
- (c) The teacher reads the difficult words or phrases in pronunciation and solve the difficult with the students individual reading.

- (d) Meaning of new words or difficult should now be given.
- (e) General sense of the chapter or verses should now be given.
- (f) The interpretation should now be given.
- (g) The teaching in surah or verses should now be discovered and emphasised.
- (h) Then attempt at memorisation should now start.
- (i) For chapters not intended to be studied in detail four steps should suffice
- (a) Reading out by the teacher
 - (b) Reading together with the students.
 - (c) Gist of the chapter to be given by the teacher
 - (d) Individual reading by students.

C: Hadith

In addition to what have stated in the syllabus, care should be taken in all cases of the hadith are given.

D: Tauhid and Fiqh.

The details given in the body of the syllabus are adequate.

Ibadat (Retuals):

The details given in the body of the syllabus are sufficient but care should be taken to ensure that the spiritual as well as the material benefits of the rituals are explained to the sutdents. Practical demonstration should always be given where necessary.

Fiqh Jurisprudence

It is always important to refer the theory of fiqh to practical life and discuss any problems and try to find solutions to them.

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY

NIGER STATE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, WOMEN ARABIC
TEACHERS' COLLEGE, DIKKO,

Class II, End of the Year Examination

Islamic Religious Knowledge Paper, June, 1982

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

كلية المعلمات لدراسات الشرعية والاسلامية

إختبار الترم الثاني في اللغة لسنة الثانية

بدينو ولاية نيجير

اولا الفقه : ما معنى الزكاة ؟ وما معنى نصاب الزكاة كلا من البقر الابل ،

الاسر والبيرة النيجيري .

ثانيا اقرا ن الكريم : وقال تعالى : لا افسح بهما بالبد . وانت حل بهذا

البد . ووالد وما ولد . لقد خلفنا الانسبان في نبد . ايجسب ان لن

يقدر عليه احد . يقول اسدات مالا ليدا .

اسقر واحد فله بين السسوالين الاتيين : اسن السلى اذ بما لى لهذه

الاية الكريمة ، او ما فى السرداات اللغوية لطلماات الالية :

البد ، حل ، ما ولد ، ايجسب ، اسد ، ليدا .

السديت الشريف : عن النواسر بن . معان رضى الله عنه عن النبى

صلى الله عليه وسلم قال : النبى حسن السلى وادش ما سادات فى نسن

وذر نسان يطلع عليه اسن . رواه مسلم .

اسن نذا السديت سمر ما موبزا .

التوحيد : انقضى عشرة ففقد من اسما أنه الحسنى .

وما نبى اول اية النبى نزلت على محمد رسول الله عليه السلاة وانسلام ؟

APPENDIX VIII

ZUNGERU COLLEGE OF ADVANCED STUDIES, BIDA

DRAFT SYLLABUS FOR DIPLOMA

IN ISLAMIC STUDIES

DIPLOMA I:

Paper I Islamic Law and Theology

- (a) Birth and early development of Islamic Law.
- (b) The schools of Islamic Law with special reference to the Maliki school of law.
- (c) Law of personal status: Contract of Marriage.
- (d) The early development of Muslim Theology and Thought.
- (e) Concept of Caliphate in Islam.

Paper II: Qur'an and Hadith

- (a) Introduction to the Qur'an
- (b) History and development of Hadith Studies
- (c) Selection from Hadith.

DIPLOMA II.

Paper I: Islamic Law, Theology and Thought

- (a) Crimes defined under Islamic Law
- (b) Offences left to the political and judicial Authority.

- (c) The administration of criminal justice.
- (d) Concept of inheritance
- (e) Muslim Thought and Theology: The golden Age.
- (f) Sufi orders in Islam.

Paper II: Qur'an and Hadith.

- (a) Outline and developments of Qur'anic Studies
- (b) Hadith studies (Mustalah al-Hadith)
- (c) A survey of the six authoritative collections of Hadith.
- (d) Selections from Qur'an and Hadith.

DIPLOMA III.

Paper I: Islamic Law, Theology and Thought

- (a) Usul al-Fiqh
- (b) Theology and Thought: Islam and Modern civilization
- (c) Modern Islamic Movements
- (d) Islamic reform movements in West Africa.

Paper II: Qur'an and Hadith

- (a) A detailed study of a book on Tafsir (to be specified from time to time).
- (b) Modern contributions to Qur'anic studies with special reference to West African scholars.
- (c) A detailed study of Muwatta's Malik Ibn Anas
- (d) Hadith transmission and transmitter (Ahwal wal-Riwayah)
- (e) Selections from Qur'an and Hadith bearing on contemporary Muslim problems.