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Transmission of Learning in Modern Ilorin: A History of Islamic Education 1897-2012

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Chapter One

Islam, Muslims and Concepts of Education

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁸ Balogun, 'Gwandu Emirate.' 141.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁴ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁵ Carr, *What is History*, 5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁰ Bochner and Riggs, ‘Practicing Narrative Enquiry.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵² Ware, *The Walking Qur'an*, 10.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁹ Halstead, ‘An Islamic Concept,’ 518.

⁶⁰ Halstead, ‘An Islamic Concept,’ 519.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Theoretical Framework

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

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

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

⁶⁷ Q 51:56

⁶⁸ Dodge, *Muslim Education*, 1.

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

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

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

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

⁷⁰ Dodge, *Muslim Education*, 31.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷⁹ Halstead, 'An Islamic Concept.' 522.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Review of Relevant Literature on the Area of Study

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

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

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

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

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

⁸⁵ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*.

⁸⁶ Al Iluri, *Al Islam fi Nijeriyya*.

⁸⁷ Al Iluri, *Lamahat al Ballur*. 9.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸⁹ Reichmuth, *Islamische Bildung*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁹⁰ Aliy-Kamal, 'Islamic Education.'

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

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

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

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

⁹¹ Muhammad, ‘A Study of Selected.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

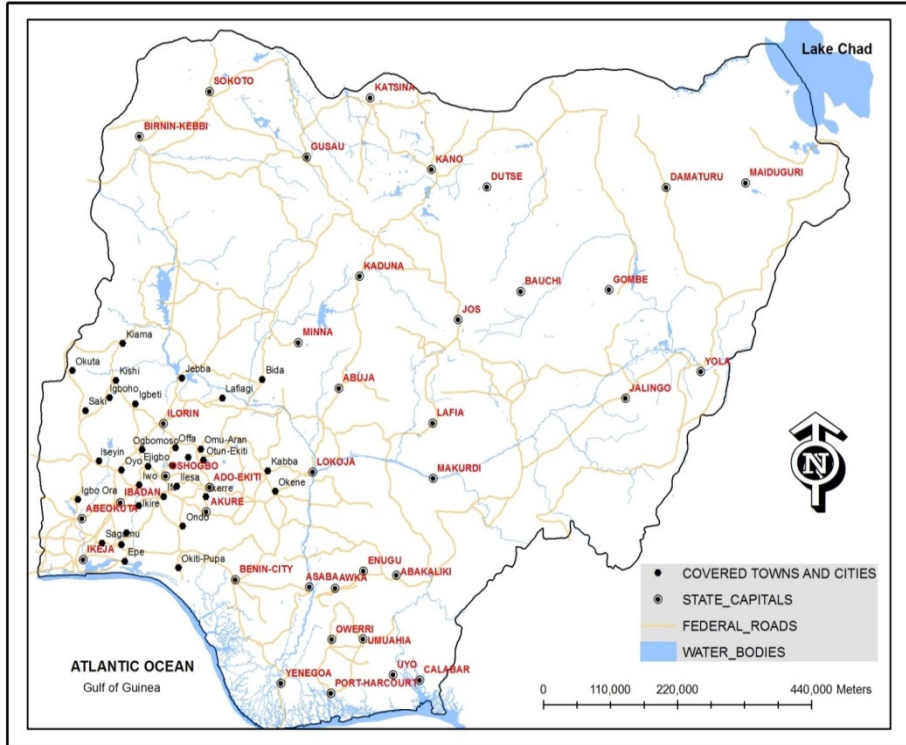
the early acquiescence of Yoruba Muslims to western education compared to Ilorin but which eventually rubbed off on Ilorin as well. In the same vein the work highlights the Yoruba inclination towards forming organizations rubbing off on Islam.

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

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

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

Section two



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

Islamic Education in Ilorin in the Nineteenth Century

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹⁵ Danmole, 'The Growth of Islamic.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹²⁰ Danmole, 'The Frontier Emirate,' 120.

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

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

Outline of the thesis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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