



**Islam
and the
History
of
Learning
in
Katsina**

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and
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Foreword

Whenever the term *education* is referred to in any discussion, it is often regarded as the modern western type of *education*. True enough acquisition of this form of education is often necessary to a successful integration of any community into the modern structure of world affairs. But this should not be at the expense of the cultural values of the recipient communities.

The problems afflicting our current educational systems can best be understood and consequently tackled from historical perspectives. The high rate of failure to gain admission into institutions of higher learning across the country by indigenes of Katsina State can best be understood from a cultural perspective of our past, our present and the sum total of our conception of the role of knowledge in personal and social development.

Historical understanding is vital to an appreciation of future trends in the development of any society. It is in this regard that I welcome the publication of the proceedings of the International Seminar on Islam and the History of Learning in Katsina State organised in May 1992 by the Katsina State History and Culture Bureau.

This book is therefore a vital milestone in the activities of the Katsina State History and Culture Bureau, and a significant contribution towards our understanding of the evolutionary trends of knowledge in general in Katsina State. It is my sincere hope that it will stimulate debate, and draw Government attention to the recommendations of the scholars who have focused their attention on the history of learning in this State for the last five hundred years, with the hope of making the next five hundred years far more eventful.

Alhaji Kabir Garba
Katsina State Commissioner for Education
Katsina
Katsina State, Nigeria
February 1995.

Acknowledgments

This seminar would not have been possible without the co-operation and originality of a lot of people. I would like to seize this opportunity to thank many of them.

In the first instance, I would like to thank the Government of Katsina State, Nigeria for making me the Director of the Katsina State History and Culture Bureau during the period of which I helped to organize this seminar. In particular, I wish to thank Alhaji Abdullahi Garba Aminchi, a one-time civilian Deputy Governor of Katsina State, who took close interest in our preparations.

I would also like to thank my employers, Bayero University Kano, for providing me with the opportunity to take up the appointment, and at the same time enabling me to retain my links with the University through my postgraduate classes despite the rigours of my new office.

Similarly, I wish to seize this opportunity to express our appreciation to Alhaji Sa'idu Barda, who, as the then civilian Governor of Katsina State, approved a grant to the History and Culture Bureau to rehabilitate parts of the broken buildings of the old Katsina Training College. The Bureau intends to restore these buildings fully and use them as its permanent headquarters in recognition of their cultural and historical significance.

I should also thank all those other persons and organisations who contributed to the success of this seminar. They include the Director, Katsina State Islamic Education Bureau, Alhaji Suleiman Isa Mai'adua, who helped us greatly during all stages of the preparations.

I should also thank Alhaji Bello Musa Dankano who, as Commissioner in the erstwhile Ministry of Information, Culture and Home Affairs, first encouraged us to plan the seminar. In the same vein, I am grateful to Alhaji Zubairu Mohammed, formerly Commissioner for Education, for his support.

I wish to commend the assistance given to us by the Director, National Council for Arts and Culture, Dr. Sule Bello, and to acknowledge his contribution to our effort to publish the proceedings of the seminar. I must also express my gratitude to the

entire staff of the Katsina State History and Culture Bureau, and the Islamic Education Bureau for their enthusiastic role in organizing this seminar. I would also like to acknowledge the efforts of our resource persons who undertook to conduct research and write papers, some at very short notice.

Finally, I would like to thank the Katsina State Ministry of Education who undertook the task of publishing this particular volume.

Dr. Isma'ila Abubakar Tsigu
Katsina,
Katsina State, Nigeria
February 1995.

The Muqaddima: Islam and the History of Learning in Katsina

The Editors

Turning the pages of history has always been fraught with intellectual uncertainties. The parched crinkly pages are liable to crumble if turned too quickly. At the same time, they get more parched if left untouched for a considerable period of time. It is in order to keep the pages less amenable to historical weathering that the Katsina State History and Culture Bureau organized an international seminar *on Islam and the history of learning* in what is presently Katsina State in Katsina, May 1992..

The choice of the theme for the present seminar is informed by the position of Katsina as the oldest seat of learning — both medieval Islamic, contemporary Islamic and contemporary western — in Hausaland. This is especially valid when consideration is given to the geographic areas covered by the old Katsina Kingdom prior to the advent of colonial rule. The Kingdom then included Maradi and Zinder Prefects in present day Niger Republic, as well as other places like Yandoto in the southern part of present Sokoto State. The specific strategies of the Seminar presentations were an appraisal of the processes and methods of learning in Katsina State through the collating of available documents and appraising contemporary learning situations in the State. The broad objective is to provide us with clues to enable us understand our past so that we can appreciate our future, particularly with regards to learning in an Islamic state such as Katsina State.

Katsina State as defined above was home of many scholars, particularly during the period before the Sokoto Jihad of 1805. Learning centres like Yandoto and Ranko were famous throughout Northern Nigeria and the West African sub-region in general. Similarly, in Katsina city the Gobarau Mosque was a popular institute of advanced learning especially of Islamic sciences. Indeed, Gobarau was one of the oldest universities in pre-colonial Africa, and can competently compare its intellectual activities favourably compared with other Black African medieval universities like Fez and Timbuktu.

The learning centers in Katsina produced a number of *Ulama* who distinguished themselves in various fields of learning, such as Tafsir, Hadith, Islamic Jurisprudence, Astrology, Mathematics, Medicine, Philosophy, etc. Among these

were such great names as the celebrated 17th century scholar, Muhammad bn al-Sabbagh bn Muhammad al-Hajj bn Barakah bn Ibrahim al-Kashnawi popularly known as *Danmarina*. Danmarina was a very active scholar who published a number of works, including his famous commentary on the book *Ishriniyyat* written by Abdul Rahman bn Yakhftan al-Fazazi (died in 1230 AD). In fact, the seminar will for the first time consider an important poem titled *Qasidah Kha'iyya*, which Danmarina wrote in 1659, and was only recently discovered.

Thus, far more than any other area in this part of the country, Katsina State can be referred to as the Athens of what is to become Northern Nigeria. *The al-Kashnawi* scholars who flourished long before the Sokoto Jihad of 1804 were particularly famous not just in Hausaland, but throughout the West African sub-region. The works of these renowned scholars were eloquent testimony to the position of Katsina as the home of scholarship and intellectuals. It is thus not surprising that more than half of the great teachers referred to by Sultan Muhammad Bello in his *Infaqul Maisur*, a veritable compendium on the Jihad, all came from areas which make up Katsina State today. Thus the *al-Kashnawi* scholars made landmark contributions in various aspects of Black African intellectual history hundreds of years before the first white colonialist set foot on the Nigerian coast.

Similarly, Katsina State achieved a lot of prominence as the first centre of learning in Northern Nigeria after colonial conquest. The oldest institution of higher learning in the entire region was Katsina Training College, which was opened in March 1922. This college served Northern Nigeria for more than seventeen years as the only one of its type. Students from all parts of the region trekked or rode on horses or camelbacks to Katsina. This was how most of the early political leaders in Northern Nigeria and other notable people in the country learned their first letters of the alphabets in "western" education. Among these were the late Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto (b. 1926), Alhaji Abubakar Imam (1927), Alhaji Isa Kaita (1927), Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (1928), Alhaji Abdulrahman Okene (1931), Alhaji Yahaya Gusau (1931), Alhaji Bukar Dipcharima (1933), Alhaji Ahmed Talib (1934), Alhaji Aminu Kano (1937). Later, the College moved to Zaria and became transformed into Barewa College, and sustained its tradition of producing Northern elite corps of industry leaders, policy makers and Heads of State. The roll-call includes Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, the Sultan of Sokoto (1940); Alhaji Shehu Shagari, first civilian President of Nigeria (1941); Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim (1944); General Amadi Rimi (1945), Alhaji

Muhammad Bashar, the Emir of Daura (1945); Brigadier Kur Muhammad (1948); General (Dr.) Yakubu Gowon, former Nigerian Head of State (1950); Professor Iya Abubakar (1948); General Hassan Usman Katsina (1948); Alhaji Sa'idu Barda, a former civilian Governor of Katsina State 1951).

It is therefore something of an anomaly that in the face of such impressive intellectual tradition, Katsina State today performs woefully in getting its students to pass their prescribed examinations at all levels. We illustrate with examination and admissions statistics for just one year.

In 1990, three years after Katsina State had been created, a total of 52,974 children were registered into post-primary schools in the state. But in accordance with existing trends, well below ten percent of these only would be expected to graduate from their schools after six years. Indeed, statistics released for the state in 1990 indicated that 4,336 students were dropped out after three years of junior secondary school, in addition to the 5,369 who failed the primary school leaving certificate examination in that year.

A closer examination of the result scored by the state during the 1990 Senior Secondary School Examination (SSCE) proves even more revealing. Altogether, 3,335 candidates sat for the examination from the seventy schools in the state. Out of these, however, only 63 passed with five credits or more, representing a mere 2%. Thus, 98% of the 3,335 students who sat for the examination were not successful enough to be admitted into the next stage in their educational career.

A breakdown of the distribution figures for the individual schools brings the point home even more graphically. For instance, of the 279 students in Government Secondary School, Funtua only 2 passed, 1 passed from amongst the 274 registered in GDSS, Katsina, while the three girls' secondary schools in the state (viz: GGSS, Mani, GGSS, Kankia, and GGSS, Jibia), with a combined roll of 297 candidates recorded only 8 successes. Even Government College, Katsina, which is often considered the profit margin of the State secondary schools, could scarcely manage to score 24 passes out of 644 candidates who attempted the examination. Of the 156 graduates of the only Secondary Technical School in the state at Mashi, only 1 passed.

The subject by subject performance of these candidates is equally tormenting, especially in regard to the two subjects usually considered to be most important in post-secondary education: English and Mathematics. Out of the 63 successful candidates only 3 had a credit in English Language and another 10 in Mathematics; not more than 1 candidate passed both subjects.

Similarly, figures released by the Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB) indicate that in 1990 a total of 1,215 candidates applied for university admission from Katsina State. This represented only 0.45% of the total applications received by the board for the year. Not only did Katsina State record the smallest figures amongst all states in the country, but it was the lowest score by any state for many years. In contrast, that year Imo, Bendel, and Oyo States recorded over 39,000 applications each.

Translated into absolute figures in 1990, the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria offered direct admission to 163 candidates from Katsina State among the 3,820 admitted into the university that year, while Bayero University, Kano accepted a mere 68 from the State, as against its total of 925. It should be emphasized that the two universities account for more than 70% of undergraduate students of Katsina State origin in Nigerian universities, which goes to demonstrate how badly the state has fared in relation to other states in the federation.

One final point in this regard is that even the enrolment of Katsina State indigenes in the only national higher institution located in the State, the Federal College of Education, Katsina, confirms this. Of the 498 students admitted by the College for the Nigeria Certificate in Education (NCE) programme in 1990 only 136 were from the State, well below half the total number. A little further away, of the 455 students admitted into the Federal College of Education (Technical) Bichi, Kano State, in the same year, only 16 came from Katsina State.

It is contemporary events like these results that bring to fore the powerful role of history in human affairs. For it is only through an understanding of historical forces that we can begin to understand, and consequently, work out strategies for a more meaningful future. The concern with the quality of present-day educational provisions in Katsina State also provided a perfect vehicle for the seminar.

During the seminar eclectic researchers from various fields of learning presented research reports and examined available documents concerning learning situations in Katsina State from antiquity to present day. In order to gain a more focused perspective on the development of history of learning in Katsina State, the seminar was divided into three sub-themes:

- (a) Learning in Katsina State From Earliest Times on the 1805 Jihad.
- (b) Learning in Katsina State From Jihad to Colonial Conquest (1805-1903).
- (c) Learning in Katsina State From Colonial Conquest to date (1903-992).

Well over 50 papers of varying depth, insight and quality were presented during the seminar. Sifting through each in order to select the inevitable few that would have to be peer reviewed for publication was an extremely difficult task. This was because although we would have wished to present each paper, because of its unique contribution in this book, such would have been rather impossible due to the sheer number of the papers presented. In the final analysis 32 papers which were adjudicated by the editors to have fitted perfectly into the seminar themes without falling into gray areas, and providing more unique and original insights into understanding the evolution of learning in Katsina State were short-listed and sent for independent reviews. All the 32 papers were thoroughly reviewed, with indications of either suggested modifications or correcting lapses in arguments in an otherwise acceptable paper. The editors then faced the more difficult task of selecting the best 21. It is these that appear in the current volume.

Editing such huge array of different, and yet often overlapping thoughts is both challenging and rewarding task, if only for the detective instincts it brought out in the editors. For instance, many of the papers were poorly referenced. Tracing the original copies presented for clarification was often hampered by bureaucracy caused by the time lag between the seminar (1992) and editing the proceedings (1995). Although we attempted as much as possible to retain the original thoughts and analyses of the authors, we had to reduce some of the contents of the papers to lessen the duplication of historical narratives, particularly of the medieval intellectuals of Katsina. It is our hope that once this particular volume is published, funding would be more easily available for us to consider the other papers presented during the seminar in possible future volumes on the history of learning in Katsina State.

The papers presented during the seminar, as they appear in this volume cut across the themes outlined above and are arranged in clusters of inter-related disciplines for a deeper study and analysis of the broad themes discussed. There are four sections in the book.

Section I provides an overture to the entire seminar and contains the entire opening speech of the Guest Speaker, Dr. Yusuf Bala Usman, of the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, in a presentation which provides thoughtful commentaries of the author's views of the contemporary contexts of history and learning, not only in Katsina, but in Africa as a whole. The subsequent papers in the section provide various analyses of the intellectual legacies of Katsina from diaries of adventurers and explorers to the influence of recent wave of Islamic revivalism that cuts across the Islamic world.

While this section more or less focus a significant attention on the *history* portion of the seminar's theme, **Section II** is a series of attempts to provide another look at the historical corridor and trace further the contemporary origins and structures of education in Katsina State, with a specific focus on education and change in the State, and cutting across the genders. Papers were presented which often provide uncompromising analyses of the developing of the concept of learning in Katsina, and also presented a unique anthropological perspective of women education in early colonial Katsina.

Section III presents the various poetic traditions of Katsina, from medieval odes to contemporary renderings that encapsulate the history of Katsina. The papers included an entire re-print (from *Sudanic Africa*, Vol 2 1981 pp 133-44) of *Falkeina I: A poem by Ibn Al-Sabbagh (Dan Marina) in praise o the Amir-al-Mumin Kariyagiwa* by Hamidu Bobboyi and John Hunwick, no doubt one of the rare documents of the literary history of Katsina.

Finally, **Section IV** provides specific case studies aimed at providing cogency in institutional structures that lead to the excellence of education in Katsina. Having paused, rather than ended the journey into the understanding of historical forces as they affect learning in Katsina State, this final section provides vital clues about the future direction of education in Katsina State.

There is no doubt that the current volume provides not only an insight into the evolutionary nature of learning in Katsina State and its possible future directions, but its findings can equally be generalized to other parts of *Hausaland* which are indeed facing the same problems as Katsina State. Thus we hope this volume would stimulate a move towards a series of seminars along the lines of *Islam and the History of Learning in Kasar Kano*, *Islam and the History of Learning in Kasar Sakkwato*, *Islam and the History of Learning in Kasar Bornu*, etc. It is our hope that through such soul searching of our roots, we would be able to determine the *real* reasons for the educational problems of Northern Nigeria.

Dr. Isma'ila Abubakar Tsiga
Dr. Abdalla Uba Adamu
Katsina, Nigeria,
February 1995.

SECTION I

The State of Learning and the State of Society: From the Jihad to S.A.P.

The Guest Speech Delivered at the Opening Ceremony of the *International Seminar on Islam and the History of Learning in Katsina State*, May 1992

Yusufu Bala Usman

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Introduction

The theme of this seminar is *Islam and the History of Learning in Katsina State*. I have been invited to give one of the opening speeches. The organisers of this seminar, and the distinguished guests addressing you will, I am sure, adequately cover the background of the seminar; its purpose and objectives; other matters. My responsibility, as somebody engaged in, learning from, and teaching, history, is to draw your attention to the significant issues arising from the historical, contemporary meaning and context, of the theme of the seminar. These you may wish to explore here, or, later, in the subsequent revision, and edition, of your papers for publication. I cannot, of course, cover even the majority of the significant issues arising from a subject as vast and complex as Islam and history of learning, even limited to Katsina State. I will only attempt here to draw your attention to some of the significant issues which reveal how inseparable the state of learning is from the state of society, in both our historical and contemporary experience. This in the hope that this will make us avoid the sterile exercise of discussing the relationship between the history of learning and Islam in a vacuum, as is so often done in seminars and conferences on Islam and on Education.

Meaning

For our deliberations here to be useful we should be serious, and honest enough to recognise from the beginning of this seminar that we most likely give different meanings to the key terms and concepts making up the theme of this seminar. Unless we bring out these differences in the meanings we give to these key concepts, and arrive at some understanding over what they mean, we shall end up talking at cross-purposes. We shall learn very little from each other and this will surely defeat the purpose of this seminar, which as a seminar is after all known in Hausa as *taron kara ma juna ilmi* (a meeting to improve each others' knowledge).

We should therefore not avoid the elementary scientific exercise of the theoretical analyses, and dissection of the key concepts, even at the risk of being accused of being "theoretical". We should have no apologies for being theoretical, for without theory there is no knowledge. There are only instincts and reflexes, and this makes us almost like animals. As we shall see later, in this country, people are not so much against theory, knowledge and learning in themselves, but against the truths that these shall reveal.

Right now we should start by taking up the central concept in the theme of the seminar which is *learning*. What is the meaning of this *learning*, whose history, in relation to Islam, in Katsina State, we have gathered here to discuss? Is *learning* the same thing as knowledge? Is it the same thing as *education*? Or does it mean something quite different from all these?

What about Islam? Is Islam a religious faith, and a way of life, revealed and codified in the Holy Koran and the Hadith, whose actualisation in human society has varied among various peoples and in various epochs of history? Or is Islam much more uniform, and monolithic, constituting a specific religious, social, political, cultural, juridical and economic order, revealed in the Holy Koran and the Hadith and enjoined for all mankind since the Revelation? Or is Islam something else quite different from these?

As for Katsina State, which is the activity whose history of learning in relation to Islam, we are to discuss here, does it by its current boundaries exclude the parts of the historic *Kasar Katsina* which was twice its size? Or does *Katsina State* cover

Kasar Katsina? If it does, what about *Kasar Daura*, which was much larger than the present Emirate of Daura? If it does not include all of the *Kasar Katsina*, do we treat the centres of learning and the scholars from Kwiambana, Birnin Gwari, Yandoto, Gusau, and Runfa, Maradi, Tasawa and Gazawa? Or are these outside our scope since they are not in Katsina, or even in the Federal Republic of Nigeria?

And then, what about *history* of learning? Do we mean by this records of learning? Or do we mean our reconstruction of the history of the process of learning from these records? Or do we understand this *history* to mean the totality of the process of learning as it has taken place and continues to take place, with whatever changes.

I will leave you with these questions without attempting to provide answers for them. They have been posed in order to draw your attention to the need for theoretical clarification, at the very beginning of the seminar, so that our discussion is not imprisoned by definitions, and assumptions, which are unstated and whose basis we do not even know. In the course of this contribution I hope you will come to understand my own understanding of these concepts.

Contemporary Experience

Although this seminar is on the history of learning and I am a student of history, I am going to discuss the relationship between the state of learning and the state of society largely from our contemporary experience. I am also not going to even focus on Katsina State or the *Kasar Katsina* and the *Kasar Daura*, but deal with the whole country.

The school of history I belong to does not accept the distinction often made between historical and contemporary experience. We insist that the historical forces shaping our lives today should be studied and grasped in their historical, and in their contemporary manifestation, for the purpose of promoting the unity and independence of our country and of our continent.

Therefore, do not be disappointed if in this contribution on the state of learning and the state of society in a seminar like this there is more on the *Structural Adjustment Programme* than on the illustrious Katsina scholars of the 16th and

17th centuries like Wali Dan Masani and Wali Dan Marina; or on the restless intellectual activities of Muhammadu Ibn Muhammadu al-Kashinawi. I am sure some of the papers here shall adequately treat their contributions and significance. But I believe that, if we understand clearly what the consequences of the Structural Adjustment Programme on our lives and on our systems of learning, reveal about the state of learning and the state of society in Nigeria today, in contrast to the early 19th century, we shall be in a better position to understand the historical significance of the intellectual, and political, roles of Dan Masani, Dan Marina and Muhammadu al-Kashinawi, and use that understanding to promote the development of the people of Katsina State, Nigeria, and the rest of Africa.

Before going into what the conceptualisation, formulation, implementation and failures of the Structural Adjustment Programme reveal about the state of learning and the state of society in Nigeria today, I shall briefly touch on the state of learning in the whole country and on one of the major reasons, why, in spite of its deplorable state, very little is now being done to save it.

Current state of learning

There can be no argument about the fact that all over this country today there exists a widespread concern that the existing systems of learning from the most elementary, to the most advanced, are in a deplorable state. This deeply-felt concern has, however, not yet been translated into any serious public, political, action to improve the situation. The immunisation, sterilisation, and other forms of subversion and wrecking of our systems and institutions of learning keeps getting worse everyday. On the surface of it, children's Koranic schools, kindergartens, primary schools, Islamiyya schools, secondary schools, teachers' colleges, colleges of education, technical colleges, polytechnics, universities are increasing in number, in both public and private hands. And, generally, they are expanding their official enrolment figures.

But, it has come to be increasingly realised, from the early 1980s, and particularly with the devastation of the Structural Adjustment Programme imposed by the present Military regime over the last seven years, that, increasingly, very little *learning* is, in fact, taking place in these schools, colleges and universities. In some, relevant, or irrelevant, texts, formulae and techniques are memorised by rote, completely unaccompanied by any understanding of what they mean and

how they can be creatively and fruitfully applied in everyday life and in useful occupations. In others, even this robot-like exercise does not take place. The schools, colleges and universities exist on paper, or rather on the vouchers, and cheques used to, collect grants, subventions and donation; pay salaries, when possible; and pay contractors. Many public, and private, educational institutions in this country today, are merely cynical financial rackets.

This terrible conditions which our systems of learning have sunk to, is widely realised and has even been documented in some reports of official inquiries. But no public, political action has been taken to reverse it, and judging from current trends at the local government and state government level, the political institutions established by this Military regime, as part of its transition programme, are like the regime itself, incapable of addressing themselves to this very serious problem, even while they occasionally admit its existence.

One of the most important reasons for this is that an awareness of the significance of learning, which is the inner content of education, to human survival has not yet been made part and parcel of the dominant, operational, political outlook in this country.

This may sound strange, given the noisy political contests conducted periodically in this country over education — free, compulsory, universal, qualitative, moral, Islamic, Christian, traditional, scientific, etc, etc. — under both civilian and Military regimes, and from the village, district and local government and state levels, to the national level, since the days of our struggle for Independence. But in reality, these noisy contests and claims over education have, on the whole, come to have less and less to do with education as the essential foundation for human survival, human development and human dignity. These contests have not been over education as a fundamental requirement for self-determination, without which there can be no assured survival, genuine human development and true human dignity for individuals, groups, communities, nationalities and nations. These contests have been over education as a means for acquiring power, wealth and status in competition with others. In other words, education, as an instrument, a weapon, for selfish, individual, family and communal aggrandisement, within a colonial and neo-colonial economy and society.

There are some who claim by word-of-mouth that they are promoting education, as a means of enabling some to improve their knowledge of worshipping the almighty, and raising their moral standards. But the actual daily practice of many of these reveal that the only things that they themselves worship are the Naira, the Pound Sterling, the Rial and, of course, the almighty Dollar. The education they promote is not intended to promote genuine religious faith and morality, but is part of the exercise of wholesale enslavement to Mammon, nowadays worshipped through secondary deities known as "Free Market Forces".

Others claim by word-of-mouth that they promote education as a means of bringing about the scientific and technological development of our country. But their action, in their private and public roles, actually subvert the basis for our country's scientific and technological development, by entrenching the importation of vehicles, household, and other equipment, which only serves as no more than gadgets and trinkets, to generate further importation, and deepen our subjugation to western imperialism. The system of education apprenticeship and employment they promote only produces semi-skilled assembly and maintenance personnel, who are denied the opportunity to become real scientist, technologist and technicians.

Structural Adjustment Programme and learning

The people of Nigeria are almost unanimous in believing that the Structural Adjustment Programme of the present Military regime is responsible for the current state of learning in this country, which it is recognized was, even before it was introduced, already in a bad shape. Even the leaders of this regime rarely contest this widespread view, beyond claiming that they are doing their best.

But while the devastation inflicted by the Structural Adjustment Programme on the systems and institutions of learning in this country reveal the fact that the history of learning is inseparable from the history of society, its economics, politics and even external relations; recent statements from the highest level of this government in the context of the current economic conditions and trend illustrate this fact even more vividly. These recent developments reveal this at a level at which the issue raise and takes us back to the question of what exactly constitutes learning.

Let us start from Thursday, March 5, 1992. On that day the Federal Government devalued the Naira by over 80% and started a policy of allowing "market forces" to determine the value of the Naira. This produced an explosive inflationary situation which has devastated the living standards of most Nigerians and actually shocked them. The economic, social, political and even psychological consequences of this devaluation, and the further devaluation of the Naira it started, are still unfolding themselves.

The government has clearly become aware of how devastating, materially and psychologically, these March 5, 1992 monetary measures have been on Nigerians. In order to reassure the country that these measures have been done purposely in the interest of the country President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida gave a lengthy two-hour interview to the Daily Times. In the course of that interview, the key question was on how the relief measures coming after March 5 are going to reduce the price of food, as the issue of rising food prices has become one of the most explosive. The actual question the President was asked and his full answer to this question are as follows:

QUESTION: "The relief package coming at this time would suggest that government is aware of the hardship brought about by the new measures. But do you sir, believe this enough? How will the package relieve the rise in the price of Gari in the market?"

MR. PRESIDENT: "One thing that is attributable to this that the society is so vibrant. They talk about anything on earth, and they have a solution to every problem on earth. This makes the society good. I like it. You see everybody is talking. The market woman goes to buy Omo. She knows what the price was last week and now somebody says the Naira has depreciated. She starts wondering what is this depreciation business? But because she pays more for Omo, she goes back to put (higher price) on her gam or corn or palm oil or whatever. It is a very interesting phenomenon. In the end the only way we can get out of this problem is to produce more, especially food. I personally believe if we have more incentives to produce more food some of these problems definitely will fizzle out. The others are what I will call exotic requirements, people like you and I who would like to see Cable News Network (CNN) or play some of the latest compact discs and so keep the prices up. But if we are able to get food

prices reasonably low, it will certainly help. *Frankly, I have kept on asking our economists why is it that the economy of this country, has not collapsed up will now? Surely, it is not our knowledge, it is not our theories. It is not anything we have read. I still have not found an answer. The Nigerian economy has defied all economic theories and I think we should be grateful that we have a society such as this".*

The President appears to have evaded the question he was asked about how the government's relief measures, following the monetary measures of March 5, are going to lower food prices. But actually he did not evade it. He answered it, as he said, in a frank way. He answered it and made an admission which once all the other questions in the interview completely unnecessary. for the crux of what he *frankly* admitted in that answer is that the Federal Military Government under his leadership does not understand the Nigerian economy at all; does not know how to revive it; and has no idea how the measures of March 5 are going to affect it.

This admission is very illuminating because General Ibrahim Babangida is not a Sergeant Idi Amin, who, when at a cabinet meeting was told that inflation was doing a lot of harm to the Uganda economy, ordered the Ministry of Defence to immediately search for and arrest this trouble maker *Inflation*. General Babangida is not a Sergeant Samuel Doe either. He is a highly educated Military officer. Between 1963 when he was commissioned as a Second-Lieutenant, and 1985 when he became the Head of State, he had attended some of the best Military training institutions in Nigeria, India, Britain and the United States of America, and has passed out of them with good grades. He has even written and published learned monographs on defence policy and national planning.

His cabinet has been, and is still, full of Professors, Doctors of Philosophy and Havard Business School Alumni. He has, or has had, in his cabinet Professor and Doctors of Philosophy of economics, political science, medicine, virology, engineering, and administration. In the Presidential Advisory Committee, he has had since 1985, our leading professor of economics, political sciences, sociology and agriculture. Powerful Islamic scholars learned in *tafsir, fiqh, nahwu, siyasa*, and other Islamic sciences, are among his close, regular, advisers. He also has influential Christian theologians advising him directly and indirectly. Even the team of Military officers constituting the core of the regime, are highly educated in both Military and other sciences. Some of them bagged Masters and Doctorate

degrees while in office. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), who are said to employ the best economist in the world, are very supportive of his policies, and monitor, and guide, the regime in its policies.

The Babangida regime is, therefore, by all standards, a regime of learned Military and civilians, with some of the best education available in the world today. The regime has had over five years, since September 1986, to implement its Structural Adjustment Programme. Now, after these five years, this regime of experts, and experienced technocrats and academics is now telling us that it does not understand the Nigerian economy and has no idea how to revive it or what the consequences of some of its recent drastic measures are going to be.

Moreover, this regime came to power after two previous regimes which were also filled with learned men, but which also failed to revive the economy and did not also seem to have any ideas as to what to do about it, when they were overthrown.

So what is happening? Are these men not learned? Or is it a matter of lot of *ilmi*, but no *imani*? Surely not, because some of these learned men are by all accounts very pious and devout including the operational shakers and movers, like the Governor of the Central Bank. So, what is wrong?

This question take us into the heart of the issue of the relationship between the state of learning and the state of society. To move towards its answer we have to start from the general level of what shapes the nature of learning and how learning shapes society, whether in Islamic or non-Islamic societies, whether in the past or in the present.

The Jihad and learning

If we look at our recent historical experience, going back no further than the beginning of the 19th century, we will find that governments were established, including here in Katsina, which articulated a programme of reform, and came to power on the promise of implementing it. These governments were made up of learned men. In the case of Katsina a whole book *Usul as-Siyasa* (Principles of Politics) was written by the Sarkin Musulmi, Bello for its first Emir Mallam Umaru Dallaji, after 1806 AD, and was widely used. In it Bello asserted that among the responsibilities of the Emir was the provision of technical education

and training; agricultural and rural development; emergency food policy against famine; building new towns and improving existing ones; building roads, bridges, Mosques and markets and maintaining them. This is what Bello stated:

lay down for the people of his domain their worldly and religious duties. He should see to the rearing of craftsmen, and the encouragement of artisans whom the people cannot do without...He should in addition exhort the people to produce and store food; settle populations in urban and rural areas; build walled towns and bridges; maintain markets and roads; and work for the realisation of their general welfare as a whole... build Mosques and fill them with prayer and worship; appoint judges and teachers and arrange for the payment of their due stipends; appoint the educators of children and preachers and inspectors of public morals to ordain the right and forbid the wrong; and collectors of the poll tax and investigators of the oppressed and destitute.

The articulation pursuit of these measures by no means lead to the building of an ideal society, even by the standards of those days. But the learned men leading and advising government here at the beginning of the 19th century achieved a substantial measure of success in developing the society they ruled. They had their serious weaknesses and limitations. But they did create a new political community integrating peoples of diverse origin, over a vast territory and laying the foundation of modern Nigeria and of pan-West African and pan-African solidarity and integration. They did not wait for market forces or foreign experts to tell them what to do!

The polity they created was seriously weakened by slavery and slave trade, for example. These proved to be its Achilles heel, not only limiting its material, social and political, progress, but also providing an internal base for European imperialism to use to undermine and conquer it.

But what is significant is that these learned men of the late 18th and early 19th century studied their societies and understood it sufficiently enough to reform it significantly, while the learned men ruling us in this last quarter of the 20th century, coming almost two hundred years later, seem unable not only to reform this society, but even to use their learning to understand it.

Of course, their patent inability to understand it has not made them reverse their policies in any way. The Structural Adjustment Programme continues to be enforced and even lauded in a pitiful display of hollow cynicism.

What accounts for the difference between the learning of the leaders and advisers of the government here in early 19th century and the learning of the leaders and advisers of the government of today?

It does not seem to have been simply a matter of *imani* (faith). Nor does it seem to be simply a matter of *ilmi* (knowledge). Both these two groups of learned men cannot be fairly accused to have little faith or knowledge in the ordinary meaning of these.

What seems to be the difference is that the political systems, and organizations these two groups of leaders and advisers belong to differ in one fundamental respect. The system in which the leaders and advisers of the Sokoto Caliphate ruled gave greater room for self-determination among those who constituted it and in its relationship with the rest of the world. The leaders of this Jihad, were products of this system and studied articulated this essential aspect of it. They, for example, recognized, and even cherished, the importance of justice, in the terms of their epoch, for the survival of any polity, irrespective of the religious faith of its rulers. The statement by the Shehu Usman Danfodiyo is, perhaps, his most powerful political work, the *Bayan Wujub al-Hijra*, written in 1806, that:

"A kingdom can endure with unbelief, but it cannot endure with injustice";

will not make any sense to the members of the Armed Forces Ruling Council, the Federal Executive Council, the Presidential Advisory Council and of the boards of their private companies and banks. For them learning has nothing to do with grasping the meaning and implications of truths about society like this one, so succinctly stated by Shehu Usman Danfodiyo almost two hundred years ago.

Structural Ignorance

In a strange way, typical of the paradoxes of historical development, the learning of the leaders of the present regime, and their advisers, has placed them in a

position, in relation to our society and its place in the world, which only generates for them, what can only be called, structural ignorance. This is not to excuse them in any way from their moral and political responsibility for wrecking our economy and devastating our society. But it is to recognise that their learning, in both the Military and civilian spheres, and their political skills have given them such natural advantages, benefits and interests that they can only see our society through certain spectacle. They have become so dependent on these spectacles and their designers and makers, that even when they admit that they cannot see their way forward with them, thus, continue using their and walking in the direction already set even though they cannot see where they are going. Their ignorance about our economy and society and their inability to see where exactly their policies are taking them are, therefore, structural not incidental.

Conclusion

As far back as November 1985, we attempted to point out to them that they are heading for the abyss and proposed alternatives. That was in a paper "The Structure of the Nigerian Economy and the Real Meaning of Structural Adjustment", published in February 1986 in the book *Nigeria Against the IMF: The Home Market Strategy*. But their ignorance is structural and reveals vividly and tragically a level of the relationship between the state of learning and the state of society which a seminar like this cannot afford to ignore.

Katsina and the outside world: adventures in the historiography of *Birnin* and *Kasar Katsina*

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This chapter is in no way a contribution to the examination of Katsina's history as such, rather it is an attempt to bring to the attention of scholars materials that are not yet exploited in the archives and libraries of the wider world.

The use of word 'adventures' in the title is, of course, an act of homage to the memory of the late Professor Abdullahi Smith who long ago published a note 'Further adventures in the dynastic chronology of Katsina'.¹ As the electric nature of this paper will suggest the term 'adventure' is a singularly apt description for the varied nature and location of the five sources that follow. My original intention had been to cover both visitors to and travellers from Katsina. I do happen to have a number of sources on Katsina in other parts of West Africa, the New World and the Middle East, but their incorporation would have resulted in too voluminous presentation. Perhaps, I might ask for an invitation to another conference sponsored by the Bureau.

Before I plunge into the substance of the materials presented in the chapter, perhaps, I should justify my emphasis on the wider world. It is my opinion that reports about and interest in a place by strangers provide indices of that particular places importance at that point in its history. Such indices are not, of course, infallible, they are often a reflection of past glories rather than present realities, but examples of 'how others see us' can never fail to be of interest to scholars even if they do sometimes tell us more of the observers than of the observed.² Johan Leo Africanus

¹. Professor John E. Lavers died in Kano on May 16, 1993. Unfortunately the editors were not able to obtain the references cited by Professor Lavers in this chapter, nor get him to read the draft of this chapter before he died. Nevertheless the paper is included in this book as a tribute to the intellectual contributions of Professor Lavers to the historiography of Northern Nigeria generally.

Leo Africanus or more correctly al-Hasan b. Muhammad al-Wazzaz as-Zayyati was a native of Gharnata or Grenada in al-Andalus, Spain. His family were forced into exile following the capture of the city in January 1492.³ They settled in Morocco and the young al-Hasan, when seventeen years old, accompanied his uncle on a mission to the court of Askiya Muhammad of Songhai. This was in the first decade of the sixteenth century. He was sent back on an independent embassy about 1512-3. It was while returning from this journey that he claimed to have visited the states of Hausaland, Borno, Gaoga (Bulala) and the Nile Valley. I am not alone in refusing to believe that such an accurate eyewitness for other parts of Africa could have been so blind in areas of interest to us. I hasten to qualify the foregoing statement by observing that should he have obtained his information — as he did for other areas that he was unable to visit — by questioning travellers who had journeyed to the area, then he was a fine interviewer. I say this because the errors and exaggerations are generally such as to suggest traveller's tales.⁴ But I digress for it is not the veracity of al-Hasan that is under discussion here rather we are interested in the publishing history of the text.

Al-Hasan was enslaved off the coast of Jerba in modern Tunisia while returning from a mission to Selim, the Ottoman Sultan, c 1518/19. He was given to Giovanni di Medici who, under the name Leo was then Pope in Rome. He was converted and took the two names of the Pope, John Leo. Under papal patronage he taught Arabic at Bologna University and wrote a number of works including his *Description of Africa*. No Arabic text is known to exist or to have existed. He seems later to have made his way back to Dar al-Islam from which time he vanishes from the record. The manuscript, or a version of the manuscript, fell into the hands of Jerome Ramusio who published it in his collection of voyages, *Navigazioni e viaggi* which appeared in Venice in 1550.

The work was an immediate best seller and was soon translated into other European languages, including English. The latter version appeared in London in 1600 as *A Geographical Historie of Africa* 'Englished' by one John Pory. It is this version that has dominated the work of English speaking scholars. It was this version that was republished with annotations in a new edition by R. Brown on behalf of the Hakluyt Society in 1896 (and reprinted in the 1960s).⁶ A version of the Nigerian sections in modernised English was issued by NORLA in the 1950s or earlier. However, few people are aware that a Hausa version, *Littafi na bakwai*

na Leo Africanus was published by the Translation Bureau in Kano in July 1930, based, of course, upon the Pory translation.

Most of us gathered here have at one time or another made use of the easily accessible Pory text. This should be admitted to our shame as we are taught to go back to original sources, to original texts. Our shortcomings are highlighted when we look at a version that appeared in Paris in 1956. This was based upon an Italian manuscript closely linked with that utilised by Ramusic in his 1550 edition. The Ms was translated into French and annotated by A. Epaulard with the assistance of Henri Lahote and Raymond Mauny.⁷ It should be a source of embarrassment that so few of us have made use of this edition. For those immediately interested in the entry entitled 'Of Cassena' there is at first glance little difference between Pory and Epaulard.

Of the Kingdom of Casena (Pory)

Casena bordering eastward upon the Kingdome last described, is full of mountaines, and drie fields, which yeeld notwithstanding great store of barlie and millseed. The inhabitants are extremely black, nosing great noses and blabber lips. They dwell in most forlorne and base cottages: neither shall you finde any of their villages containing about three hundred families. And besides their base estate they are mighty oppressed with famine: a king they had in times past whom the foresaid Tschia slew, since whose death they haue all beene tributarie into Ischia.⁸

Casena and its Kingdom (Epaulard)

Casena is a kingdom neighbouring the proceeding to the east. It encloses many mountains and its lands are harsh, but good for barley and millet. The inhabitants are very black: the people have extremely large noses and thick lips. All the inhabited places of this country are hamlets built of straw and all have a shabby look. None of them exceeds 300 hearths. Here their poverty is accomplished by sub-servience. This population was formally governed by a king, but the latter was killed by Ischia, the people were half destroyed and Ischia made himself Master of the kingdom as we have said.⁹

As I have observed there is little difference in this passage other than the interesting comment that half the population perished in the war, but a different picture emerges when we look at the entries on Cano and Zegzeg.

Pory's Cano

....Their king was in times past of great puissance and had mighty troupes of horsemen at his command, but he has since been constrained to pay tribute into the kings of Zegzeg and Casena. Afterward Ischia the king of Tombuto faining friendship into the two foresaid kings treacherously slew them both.¹⁰

Epaulard's Cano

....The king was formerly very powerful, he had an important court, a numerous cavalry, so that he made the king of Zegzeg and the king of Casena his tributaries (my emphasis). But Tschia, king of Tombuto pretending to wish to come to the aid of two kings, caused them to perish by a ruse and he seized their kingdoms.¹¹

It will be clear that any student attempting to unravel the tangled skein of the sixteenth century history of Hausaland will assuredly be led astray by reliance upon the 'Englished' Leo.

Before we move on to other sources, to other adventures we might note that the Spanish writer Luis del Marmol Caravajal, who spent nearly three decades of the sixteenth century as a soldier and exile in the Spanish enclave of Oran. Here he gathered material to supplement that of Leo, unfortunately he provides nothing new on the Hausa speaking areas,¹² even though our next source informs us that Kano at least had direct commercial links with Algiers.

Giovanni Lorenzo d'Anania

D'Anania was a renaissance man, a man both forward and backward looking publishing a book on demonology and another on the latest geographical discoveries. It is a matter for surprise that the information gathered by Anania from informants directly familiar with newly visited or 'discovered' areas should

vanish into libraries while Leo's data should remain the basis for geographers and students of Africa until the nineteenth century.

The first edition of Anania's *L'Universale fabrica del mondo, overo cosmografia* was published in Naples in 1573, a second and third revised and supplemented editions appeared in Naples three years later and in Venice in 1582. A fourth edition was published in Venice in 1596, but it contains no new information.¹³ The sections dealing with the lands of the bilad as-Sudan were translated into French together with annotation by Dierk Lange and Silvio Berthoud in 1972.¹⁴ This version is of particular value as the authors indicate the sequence in which the new data was incorporated between 1573 and 1582. A number of scholars including the present writer and John Hunwick had been searching for a sixteenth century author who was referred to in a seventeenth century manuscript description of Borno and who was named Danania. To B.G. Martin goes the honour of discovering that Danania was Giovanni Lorenzo d'Anania and to Lange for bringing the main body of relevant material to public notice albeit in a Journal not easily obtainable.¹⁵

Anania himself had gathered his information on the lands of the central Sudan from a native of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in Croatia.¹⁶ a certain Vincenzo Metteo who was familiar with Cairo and Fez and who described Kano at the time of his visit as the third city of Africa after the two North African cities. He had lived in Kano for some time in the late 1560s and early 70s together with several other citizens of Ragusa. He does not appear to have visited Katsina, which he believed to be as much as a months journey from Kano and his entry is brief.

One finds following (Agades) Casena which now has its own king, who is continually at war with the prince of Cheuno (Kano), there they use as money, as one finds is the case in all the lands of the blacks for small transactions, sea shells which are very white. One exchanges gold by weight for the goods that are carried there by merchants.¹⁷

He also made reference to the states and localities of Scira (Shira) and Zozobachi (Sosebaki).¹⁸ The latter reference is of particular interest to us as it figures in the route followed by Kanta in his campaign against Borno. Indeed Anania provides us with another fragment of information on this particular topic. He was told by

one of his informants that this prince (of Borno) is so powerful that several times he has put in a war footing 100,000 men against the king of Cabi.¹⁹

Ragusan citizens, even when travelling on their own affairs, were expected to submit reports on the economic and political condition of whatever place they visited. The Ragusan archives survived in good condition until the fighting last year.²⁰ If they have survived they will certainly repay attention by historians of the Nigerian region.

Katsina as a place of refuge: Fazzan and the Fazzan Chronicle.

For two centuries the Fazzan, today in southern Libya, was a province of the Saifawa state of Kanem. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was ruled from the town of Taraghan. After a period of anarchy in the fifteenth century it was re-united under a dynasty that came from the Saqiyyat al-Hamra in the far south of Morocco. They established their authority under Borno patronage. In 1549 the Ottoman Turks extended their authority (under a Ragusan eunuch from the coast south to Fazzan.²¹ Thereafter they retained a nominal control, apparently with Borno concurrence, over the area. The Turks had great difficulty in maintaining their authority. The Fazzanis were easily defeated, but occupying forces were equally easily ejected by revolts. It would appear that the Awlad Muhammad Sultans early established close ties — the nature of which is uncertain — with Katsina. As early as the Turkish invasion in 1549.

Al-Muntasir's son, an-Nasir, had ascended the throne (of Fazzan) after his father's death and as soon as he received news that the Turks had taken Sabha, he assembled his treasures and fled with his brothers and the nodes of his kingdom to Kasenah in Sudan... The inhabitants of Fazzan endured Turkish domination for only a short while.... they revolted... At the same time the people sent envoys to Kasenah to an-Nasir b. al-Muntasir and asked him to again take over the government of the Fazzan.²²

The pattern was established. But why Katsina? Politically Borno was Fazzan's key neighbour in the interior. The Fazzan political system was greatly influenced by that of Borno. Titles such as Ciroma, Galadima, Kaygma²³ had been borrowed and yet in time of need Katsina was the refuge, the safe haven.

The *Fazzan Chronicle* that provides our information was written by a Sidi Mustafa Khoja al-Misri, an administrator under Ali Pasha Karamanly of Tripoli. The last entry is dated 1166/1752-3. It has much in common with the *al-Tidhkar* of Ibn Ghalbun,²⁴ the eighteenth century historian of Tripoli. The similarities arose almost certainly because they both used the same sources. At the end of the century the French Vice-Consul obtained a copy and made a translation. At the time of the revolutionary wars he took refuge in Malta and his manuscripts entered the Library of the Knights of Malta. G.A. Krause, better known in West Africa as 'Mallam Musa', discovered them and published a German translation,²⁵ Hunwick and Martin have promised us an edition and annotation these many years, but they have yet to appear.

The *Chronicle* lists numerous flights to Katsina and the Sudan - generally meaning Katsina. In 1020/1611-2, the Sultan mortally wounded in an unsuccessful attempt to stem a Turkish invasion and feeling

His end approaching he sent an order to his brother at-Tahir to flee to Kasenah with the women and the treasure.

At-Tahir was called back by his people and ruled until 1032/1622-3 when he was forced to flee again. On this occasion he fled to Borno - against the advice of his brothers - and he and his sons were drowned in the Komadugu by Mai Umar b. Idris. his brothers were safe in the Sudan. In 1101/1687 the then Sultan again refused to pay tribute. The Psha sent his vizier, a member of the important al-Mukkani family of Tripoli. The Sultan was captured, but the rest of the family took refuge in the Sudan. After a time Muhammad b. Juhaym returned from the Sudan with an army. One would dearly like to know whether his forces came from Katsina or from Agades. The al-Mukkani family continued to play an interfering role in Fazzani affairs until the nineteenth century. In 1811-2 Yusuf Karamanli allowed Muhammad al-Mukkani (who while on a mission to Borno had the misfortune to be in the capital at the time of its capture by Goni Mukhtar) to go to Fazzan and there trick and slaughter the fulling family.²⁶ At least one child survived and was carried to Katsina. He grew to adulthood and returned to Fazzan where he was known as Muhammad Basarki Sharif.²⁷ Basarki, according to Bargery's *Dictionary*, was a restricted term, 'ba - sarake S(okoto) and Kats. A holder of one of the more important official positions'.

Death in Katsina: the Franciscan Mission to Borno

This strange event occurred in 1711. It was the culmination of a series of endeavours to establish a Christian mission in Borno. It had no sequel for another century and a half.

In 1700, the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the propagation Fide, in Rome, the body of the Catholic Church that supervises missionary activity considered a proposal to send a Mission to Borno 'Where there are many Christians'. For some years reports had been reaching Rome of the existence of Christian communities in Borno and the neighbouring areas. Later correspondence suggested that the greater number were in the kingdom of Gorofa or Golofa, more familiar to us as Kwararafa. It was reported that the latter were at war with the former, but it was decided that Borno would be the best base.²⁹

Two Franciscan Fathers were chosen, one Fr. Damiano da Rivoli was appointed Prefect of the Borno Mission. It was discovered that the route to the interior by way of the Mediterranean coast was closed by war and pestilence, so an attempt was made by way of the Nile Valley. For several years missions had been entering Ethiopia by way of the Nile and the Kingdom of Sinnar.³⁰ It was thought that the latter would be a suitable starting point for Borno. It was known that the route was used by pilgrims from the west, indeed it was to be used by Muhammad al-Kashnawi Danrankawi a few years later. Again the Borno Mission was thwarted by war. Fr. Damiano returned to Tripoli in 1705, but due to his advanced age he was replaced by Fr. Carlo Maria di Genova. Fr. Carlo had already served in the interior, returning from Sinnar with Fr. Theodore Krump who noticed the presence of Borno pilgrims and traders in Sinnar.³² Fr. Carlo remained in Cairo for some time and there met two grandsons of Mai Ali b. Umar (1639-77).³³ He moved to Tripoli where he was joined by an Arabist, Fr. Servarino da Silesia and after many delays they set out early in 1710.³⁴

The two Missionaries travelled under the protection of the Bay of the Fazzan. It is unclear in this context whether this was the Tripoli official the Bay an-Noba responsible for the collection of tribute and a member of the al-Mukkani family or the actual ruler of Fazzan himself. It is more likely to have been the ruler of Fazzan himself. It is more likely to have been the former as the ruler was known as Shaykh in Tripoli and Sultan in Fazzan.

The Fathers continued to send reports on their progress back to Rome. They informed the Propaganda that they had entered the capital of Fazzan on July 30, 1710. Due to a war scare they took refuge with the Court in the walled town of Taraghan,³⁵ the former capital of the Saifawa governors. There they became friendly with the son of the king of the 'Iuargha nation' (it is uncertain whether this refers to the Sultan of Agades or the Anastafidat of the Kel Owi Confederation) who was returning from the hajj.³⁶ The direct route to Borno by way of Kawar was closed 'in consequence of the multitude of robbers and other impediments', most likely an indirect reference to the long established policy of Agades and the Tuareg to force trade from Hausaland through their network rather than by the shorter Borno-Fazzan route. On October 17, 1710, Fr. Carlo wrote that they would accompany the prince to 'Accades, gate and key of the Negro kingdoms'. They had been told that they would not be able to preach in Agades, but in 'the kingdom of Cassina they would have an opportunity of exercising their spiritual office, particularly in some village or other of that kingdom, but not in the capital'.

From this time direct communication ceased until in October 1712 a 'Moorish merchant of Tripoli', one al-Hajj Milad, called upon the Prefect of the Franciscan Mission in Tripoli. He informed the Prefect that he had been a close friend of Fr. Carlo from the time of his residence in Tripoli. They had travelled together as far as Agades. There they learnt that the direct route to Borno was closed by 'great dangers'. As a consequence of this news the Fathers decided to accompany a small caravan travelling to 'the kingdom of the Sudan (sic).

Only one member of the caravan survived to return to Agades and to inform al-Hajj Milad of the fate of his companions. They had reached Katsina safely, but one of the party fell ill from the 'malignant and pestilential waters, which made the body swell up like those who have the dropsy'. Fr. Carlo was an experienced surgeon and physician and tried to operate, but fell sick himself, 'the Father Prefect grew sick being attacked with the swelling of the whole body and in eight days gave up his spirit to Go'. His possessions were seized by the ruler of Katsina and when Fr. Severino protested he was told they would only be restored if he became a Muslim. When he refused the ruler called upon him to. Begone then and for thy misdeeds thou shalt die like thy companion. The Father did in due course fall sick and he died ten days later in August 1711. Al-Hajj Milad's account was

taken down and transmitted to the Propaganda.³⁷ A copy was retained in the convent of the Franciscans in Tripoli where it was discovered a century later. It was published by John Barrow in the *Quarterly Review*.³⁸

There is one point of particular interest in the foregoing account, the seizure of the property of the dead man. This seems to have been widespread problem and was certainly not confined to Christians. Ahmad al-Mansur of Morocco and Idris b. Ali (Alawma) both sought protection for their nationals from the Ottoman Sultan while travellers accounts afford numerous examples of the problem.³⁹

Finally the attention of students of the history of the region is drawn to the fact that the reports of missionary priests of necessity frequently contain material of economic and political value and they might profitably examine the archives of the propaganda Fide in greater detail. I myself obtained a set of microfilms from the Archive about 1970, but they were unfortunately mislaid by the Northern History Research Scheme soon after.⁴⁰

News from Copenhagen

The eighteenth century was a period in which European curiosity about the interior of Africa grew beyond the casual interest. The prospect of profit - be it in the saving of souls or in the market place - continued to occupy the minds of the greater number of those engaged with the continent, but it came to be tempered with an increasing interest in geographical knowledge. These interests really flourished at the end of the century with the foundation of such institutions as the Association for the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, more conveniently called the African Association.⁴¹ As is well known Simon Lucas, enslaved in Morocco, freed and appointed Consul, was appointed by the Association to reach the Niger by way of Tripoli. Insecurity on the routes to the interior prevented his travelling, but he gathered much information on Borno and Cashna from two members of the Fazzan royal family, one of them being the 'Royal Factor'.⁴² No student of Katsina history can afford to be ignorant of this one of the earliest detailed accounts, of the state. Lucas is well known, much less known, much less familiar is the material collected by Carsten Niebuhr in Copenhagen in 1773. Niebuhr was a German who had been employed with others in an expedition to the Yemen sponsored by the King of Denmark. He was the only survivor and returned after seven years to Copenhagen.⁴³ In his account of his travels he mentioned the

interior of Africa. When the Tripoli Ambassador visited Denmark Niebuhr was able to follow up his interest. The Ambassador, al-Hajj Abd al-Rahman Aga was to be the informant of interest individuals over the next twenty or more years.⁴⁴

Abd al-Rahman was by family and early life a merchant and stood in close relation with merchants of the region. Other sources suggest he travelled in the interior in his youth. When speaking to Niebuhr he was accompanied by a slave from Afnu. According to Abd al-Rahman there were two major states in the interior, Borno and Afnu. 'The kings of Afnu and Borno are themselves Moslems and they belong like the Magrebi to Sunnism of the Maleki sect'. He went on Sanfara, the residence of the ruler (of Afnu) is a great walled town a distance of three month (journey) from Tripoli. This is of interest as it clearly reflects the political situation before the death of Zamfara.⁴⁵ The foreign merchant community would certainly have viewed Zamfara as the capital at least of western Hausaland, up until its destruction. Certainly, it was the commercial centre of the area at that period.

Abd al-Rahman Aga named also the following towns and countries which are situated in this area: Akades (Agades), Kanna (Kano), Sager (Zegzeg), Kardi (i.e. non-Muslim areas), and Flata (Fullata). He did not know anything about them except that these petty status or provinces are governed by Sultans. Ghuari or Kuar (Gwari) is the name of a town or province where a lot of gold is gathered.

The last sentence fits well with Bello's account in *Infaq al-Maisur*⁴⁶ and with the early Arabic sources such as Ibn Said.⁴⁷ The following passage, while containing errors and inaccuracies of the type one might expect from a visitor, is of particular interest.

Kaschne is a big trading town on the way from Sanfara to Fesan and the residence of a Sultan who is a vassal of the king of Afnu. The following towns belong to this kingdom: Khogo (Birnin Kogo, Kankara (B. Kankara) Koturkuschi (B. Kwatorkwashi), laua (B.), Saghami (B. Zagammi), Taghamis (B.), and Dandudsji (B.). All these towns are called *birni* that is citadel.

There are a number of questions we might ask of this passage. For example, why were these particular towns or cities of Kasar Katsina noted: is there any factors

that links them, are they on a route, are they connected politically or economically? I call upon the participants of this conference for suggestions.

Conclusion

In this Chapter I have brought forward a number of less familiar sources referring to the land of Katsina in the period 1500-1800. I am convinced there are many others to be discovered. The Arabic sources of Northern African have hardly been Examined. A mass of documents relating to relations between the area and Kano were discovered some years ago in Ghadames.⁴⁸ Through the early seventies Terry Walz worked in the Mahama as-Shiriyya archives in Cairo examining commercial contracts concerned with Saharan trade,⁴⁹ I hope the History and Culture Bureau will attempt to follow up some of the initiatives suggested in the chapter.

The place of Katsina in the intellectual history of *Bilad Al-Sudan* up to 1800

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The Development of Islam and Learning in Hausaland in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

It has been generally accepted by now that the introduction of Islam to Hausaland took place around (1349-1389) during the reign of the ruler of Kano *Yaji Dan Tsamiya*. In this regard we have to rely more on the statement *Asl al-Wangrawiyyin* which gave the date of the departure of the Wangarawa group from (Melle) as 835 AH (1431/32 AD). Than the story of *Tarikh Abarb Kano* (Kano Chronicle) which stated that the Wangarawa came to Kano during the era of Muhammad Rumfa (1463/1499 AD).² The reason for such a judgement is that the reign of the ruler of Kano Muhammad Rumfa is considered by many historians as a period of Islamic reform which suggests that Islam had already been rooted into the soil of Hausaland before such a period. However, both *Tarikh Arbab* and *Asl al-Wangarawiyyin* had agreed that it was mainly due to the Islamisation efforts of the Wangarawa who brought with them, according to *Tarikh Arbab* "The Muhammadan Religion" that Islam started to gain grounds among the of Hausaland.

In the case of Gobir and Katsina, it is reported by the same *al-Wangarawiyyin* that the Wangarawa, before arriving at Kano, had sojourned in both Gobir and Katsina for a while. It is also established that some of the Wangarawa people, especially the '*Ulama*' decided to remain behind in both Gobir and Katsina, probably with the intention of spreading Islam and teaching the people of the area the rudiments of Islam.³

The early impact of Islam in the Hausa states, but especially in Katsina, Kano and Zazzau had resulted in the gradual transformation of the socio-political and to some extent the economic conditions of the people of Hausaland. Thus, the centuries old belief in the *Iskoki* religious system, the dominant belief system in

Hausaland, by then began to give way for a more universal belief system, i.e. Islam, which was able later over the centuries not only to replace the old belief system in Hausaland, but also to radically alter the political system and institutions in Hausaland, so as to conform with the *Shari'ah*.

In the case of Katsina, as has been observed that it was mainly due to the influence of the Wangarawa, the Fulani and the Barebari that the Islamic activity became intensified, to the detriment of the Iskoki belief system which was relegated to the background. The Fulani who constituted the second wave of migration to Hausaland are said to have introduced new Islamic Science hitherto unknown to the people of Hausaland. Among such sciences which were being diffused by these Fulani scholars in the fifteenth century was 'Ilmu al-Tawhid (The Science of the Unity of God)⁵ a discipline which is vital to the understanding of the relationship between God, the Creator and His creatures.

The arrival of Muhammad Korau, as the ruler of Katsina (1445-1495) who was the contemporary of both Muhammad Rumfa of Kano and Muhammad Rabo of Zazzau has been regarded by many historians as the most significant era, as far as Islamic reforms are concerned.⁶ His association with the Muslim clerics is said to have consolidated his political base and allowed him to exercise a considerable control over his domain.⁷

It was not until the fifteenth century that Hausaland was connected directly with 'Northern African States.⁸ Direct contacts through the Trans-Saharan route which connected Kano - Katsina, with Tuwat (In today's Algeria), Gbadamas and Ghat (in Today's Libya) across Tripoltania (in Libya) and Egypt to Hijaz was established over the years, for the purpose of economic, cultural, diplomatic and intellectual relations between the rulers and people of *Bilad al-Sudan* and their counterparts in older centres of Islamic civilisation in Northern Africa and beyond.⁹ And as a consequence of these relations, books on various types of disciplines, merchandise, technological and scientific cultures started to flow, mainly from Northern directions towards the south.¹⁰ The institution of Hajj and its patronisation by both the individuals and the state has worked as a very important catalyst for strengthening relations between the Muslim communities in the 'Middle East and their brothers in Central and Western *Bilad al-Sudan*.

In this regard also, Katsina, as the most important interport in the Hausaland, and the second most important 'desert' port in Central *Bilad al-Sudan* had supplemented the oldest trade route in Central *Bilad al-Sudan* which connected Borno, through, Kawar and Fazzan across Tripoltania and Egypt to the Hijaz.

Al-Maghili's removal from North Africa was not unconnected with his uncompromising stance which he had taken against the connivance of the rulers of Tuwat, the most important trading terminus on Southern Algeria linking *Bilad al-Sudan* with the Maghrib - and the Jewish Merchant class in the area who were accused of manipulating the commercial activities in the area to the detriment of the Muslim people there.¹² His departure for *Bilad al-Sudan*, took place apparently after the failure of the revolt he led in order to have the *Shari'ah* implemented in full in Tuwat area. It was possible as it was attested by some sources that one of the objectives of al-Maghili's visit to *Bilad al-Sudan* was to raise a formidable army among the Sudanic people which would help him liberate the Tuwat area.¹³

However, al-Maghili's visit to Kano had resulted in the consolidation of the reform programme of the Amir of Kano Muhammad Rumfa for whom al-Maghili is reported to have acted as an advisor. Al-Maghili is reported to have written two important treatises for the Amir of Kano. The first was *Tajul-Din fi ma Yajib ala al-Muluk*, commonly known as (The Obligation Of The Princes). It is in *Tajal Din* that al-Maghili is reported to have laid down and probably for the first time in the history of Hausaland, the legal and constitutional foundation for a proper Islamic government. The relationship between the ruler and the ruled, the state functionary, the political institutions that maintain the government, division of labour, sources of revenue and the political structure of the state were clearly delineated by al-Maghili in *Tajal-Din*.¹⁴

The second treatise, which was short and precise, *Jumla Mukhtasara* was specifically written by al-Maghili and addressed to *Sarki* Rumfa on the latter's request. Specific issues relating to the conduct of the state in Kano, implementation of justice, anti-Islamic social practices, reform of institutions, implementation of the *shari'a* were some of the fundamental issues raised by al-Maghili in *Jumla Mukhtasara*.¹⁵ After completing his mission in Kano, al-Maghili is said to have visited and sojourned in Katsina for a while. It was in Katsina that al-Maghili is reported to have taken the noble profession of teaching. This was

apparently done in order to raise the standard of learning in Katsina and impart a new socio-political culture that might have here helped in creating a formidable Islamic state, with a well defined institutions which would help in creating the ideal Islamic society in Katsina.¹⁶ There was an ample evidence to suggest that al-Maghili might have acted also as a judge in Katsina. The reference to al-Maghili as a judge by Imam Jalal al-din al-Siyuti in his *Risala* to the king of Takrur, among whom was Amir Ibrahim Sura the ruler of Katsina (c.1495-1497), may testify to this fact.¹⁷

There is no doubt that the position of al-Maghili as a teacher, a *Qadi* and a *de facto Mufti*, had had a great impact on the state and the people of Katsina. Some Chronicles of Katsina like *Tarikh Asli Katsina wa Asli Ghubir*, which were apparently overwhelmed by the success with which al-Maghili had met in Katsina, had wrongly attributed the very introduction of Islam into Katsina to Shaykh Muhammad b. al-Karim al-Maghili al-Tilmisani.¹⁸ The *Tarih Asli Katsina...* which was quoted here in part indicates that:

"The Sheikh Maghili arrived from the east and called them to religion and they (the people of Katsina) said "what is religion". He replied, prayer, fasting and Mosques..."¹⁹

The other prominent juris-consult who seems to have developed special interest in the socio-political life of Katsina was Imam Jalal al-din al-Siyuti (d.1505), the special interest he had developed in the affairs of the rulers and people of Hausaland, was part of the overall interest he had shown about the development of Islam in the whole *Bilad al-Takrur*²⁰, but more especially Songhay under `Askia al-Hajj Muhammad. The close association which al-Siyuti had been maintaining with the people of the Sudan might have stemmed from the following: his observation of the pilgrimage traffic which passed through Egypt to Mecca and Medina and probably Bait al-Maqdis (Jerusalem); and also the high esteem in which he was held by the scholars of *Bilad al-Tukrur*. Al-Siyuti who was noted as an encyclopaedic writer with more than five hundred books to his credit, has been issuing Fatwas (legal verdicts) to the rulers and scholars of *Bilad al-Takrur* on various socio-political and economic issues pertaining to Islam. These Fatawas were later compiled in a big volume under the rubric *Fatawa al-Takrur*. Probably it was from his early times when he was a child or an adult that al-Siyuti was attracted to the affairs of Biladal-Sudan from his home town Asyut, which was the

southern most terminus of Egypt connecting Egypt with Biladal-Sudan, through the famous Daro-al-`Arbacyin'. However, unlike al-Maghili, there was no any concrete evidence to suggest that al-Siyuti had ever left his home Egypt for Hausaland or Songhay as has been suggested by some oral tradition current among the people of the area.

An explanation for this strong yet that many of al-Siyuti's writings may be found in the fact that many of al-Siyuti's writings on Islamic Jurisprudence, Tasawwuf (sufism) Tafsir, especially Tafsir al-Jalalayn al-Tibb (Medicine) were and are still being consulted by the `Ulama in West Africa. Al-Siyuti's admonition to the ruler of Katsina Ibrahim Sura who was referred to by al-Siyuti as Sahib Katsina, (the lord of Katsina) and his counter parts in Hausaland and Agades contain among other things, advice on state and social conducts and the necessity to implement justice.²¹ And as has been rightly stated:

"al-Suyuti's letter is only one example of the type of influence at the level of political ideas and outlook which helped to transform the institution of Sarkin Katsina into the central institution of the new political community".

The traditions of Islamic reform in Katsina were carried further during the reign of Amir, Ibrahim Maje (Mid 16th century) who was noted among other things for desire to seriously implement the Islamic practices among his people. The outcome was that those among his subjects who were not praying were made to observe the obligatory prayers and the bachelor among them were obliged to get married in order for them to live a decent life. Also one of this ruler's achievement was the ordering of construction of Mosques in all the villages under his domain²³ - all pointed to the expansion of knowledge the growth of Islamic institutions and the rise of the `Ulama' as we may see later.

Katsina is also reported to have received towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of sixteenth centuries more scholars from Western Sudan. Prominent among these scholars was Shaykh Umar b. Aqit, the grandfather of Ahmad Baba al-Tambukti. His visit to Hausaland is said to have taken place some time before the death of Sunni Ali, the famous ruler of Songhay in 1492.²⁴ It was during his journey back from Hajiz that this Shaykh sojourned for a while in Kano and later in Katsina before he returned to his home in Timbuktu.²⁵ Another notable scholar

who visited Katsina and acted as a judge there, was al-Shaykh al-Tadhikhti, popularly known as Aida Ahmad. It was after his return journey from Katsina in about 1509, that he was persuaded by the authorities in Katsina to settle and take the appointment of the Qadi.²⁶ Mukhluf b. Salih al-Bilbali was another distinguished scholar from the Timbuktu area who stayed in Katsina. And like Shaykh Aida Ahmad he was also assigned with the responsibility of the Qadi of Katsina before he decided to leave for the Maghrib and later his home - Timbuktu there he died after the year 1533 AD.²⁷ Probably it was the dire need of efficient and impartial judiciary, that many of the `Ulama, who visited Katsina were persuaded to have taken judicial appointment in the state as has been illustrated by the aforementioned examples of Aida Ahmed. Mukhluf al-Bilbali and before then al-Maghili and probably Ahmad Baba's grand father who hailed from the famous family of Timbuktu juri-consults, i.e. the Aqit family.

The Scholars of Katsina

As far as extant documentary evidence is concerned, it was only in the seventeenth century that Hausaland, and to be specific, Katsina, began to produce their own class of intelligentsia who could match the standard of other luminaries in central and western Bilad al-Sudan. These included scholars like Muhammad b. al-Sabbagh popularly known as Dan Marina and his student Muhammad Dan Masani. Dan Marina is credited among other things with his commentary on the *Ishriniyat of al-Fazazi*. He is also reported to have composed a poem in which he celebrated the victory of Borno Forces under the leadership of Mai Ali against the Jukun Forces.²⁸ Another important book which Ibn al-Sabbagh is reported to have compiled was a book on education in which he outlined among other things, the curriculum of education and various branches of Islamic learning.²⁹

A recently discovered manuscript among the collection of al-Hajj, Umar Falke (d 1962)³⁰ a Tijjani scholar from Kano in North-western University collection of Falkeiana has shown that Shaykh Muhammad al-Sabbagh has written another poem in praise of Sarkin Katsina Kariyagiwa³¹ for his implementation of the Hudu of the Shari'a on a person who claim false Prophetship in the area of Katsina. The apparent implementation of the Hudu by Sarki who was referred to as *Amir al-Mu'minin* in the poem; on *Khinzir al-Qaba'in* (the pig of filth) is a pointer to the firmness with which such rulers were adhering to the letters of the Shari'a. According to the poem, it was only after proper hearing from the complainants

which was followed by adequate consultations with all the Muslim leaders in Katsina, that a judgement for the execution of the false prophet was passed out by the ruler Kariyagiwa.³² However, unlike the assertion made by Hamido Bobboyi and John Huwick that there might have been a rebellion of some sort against the authority of the ruler of Katsina; the content of the poem points to one central point that the judgement has to do with individual claim to prophethood, which is not a new thing in the history of Islam, rather than an organized revolt to overthrow the sarauta in Katsina.³³

Muhammad Dan Masani who was born in Katsina approximately in the year 1585 was one of the celebrated scholars in Hausaland. It was to him that many works like the *Sharh of Ishriniyat al-Fazazi* were attributed, but more significantly with a biographical work on the history of the `Ulama of Yorubaland. The non-availability of such an important work had prevented the students of history from reconstructing the intellectual history of Yorubaland in the seventeenth century. Yet, the title of the work itself is an indication of the fact that the advent of Islam in Yorubaland could be traced to the period before the eighteenth century.

It was from the seventeenth century, but particularly in the eighteenth that the `Ulama in Hausaland, but especially in Kano area, could be said to have expanded their horizon of knowledge by embracing and promoting the pursuit of many branches of knowledge in addition to basic ones which relates to their temporal and religious matters. Their impact was being felt in all aspects of the societal life and they were held in awe by both the society and the rulers. Their position was enhanced by the fact that they were regarded by people as custodians of knowledge and morality. But they also acted as arbiters on several issues which were vital either to the state and the society.

The cross fertilisation of ideas with other centres of knowledge in Western Sudan, but particularly Timbuktu, the Ahir region in which Aghades happened to play a leading intellectual link between the centres of learning in the Maghrib and Egypt and even beyond and the Borno Empire where a number of `Ulama like Dan Marina, either traced their origin there or they migrated and settled in Katsina and other centres of knowledge in the same area like Kurmin Yan Ranko, and Yandoto. It was by then natural, that the scholars in Hausaland could move from one centre to another and from one `Alim to the other seeking more knowledge and exchanging ideas and experiences with the host scholars. There is every

evidence to suggest that the scholars of Yandoto and Katsina had become already famous in the field of Mathematics and other related topics like the occultist sciences, mainly `Ucum al-Awfaq (Magic square) `Ucum al-Hurif (letter Magics) under `Ulama of Katsina and Yandoto led many of them to manipulate them for the purpose of the control of societal affairs.³⁵

Without any doubt, the most famous scholar produced by the schools of Katsina and who made great impact inside and outside of Hausaland and Biladal-Sudan was Muhammad b. Muhammad and Katsinawi al-Fulani (d. 1741). Al-Katsinawi's fame in the area of `Ulum al-Asrar, al-Awfaq and al-Jafr (divination) went beyond the borders of Bilad al-Sudan to Egypt and al-Hijaz.³⁶ `Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti has described him in his `Aja'ib al-`Ashar fi al-Tarajim wa al-Akbar as the cynosure, the theologium, the ocean (of learning), the sea of knowledge, the unparalleled, the garden of science and disciplines, the treasury of secret and mysticism³⁷. Muhammad al-Katsinawi is reported to have studied with many famous `Ulama in Hausaland and Borno before leaving for Mecca and Medina. He later, decided or was persuaded to settle in Egypt, when he died and was buried.

Notable among his teachers in Bilad al-Sudan were Muhammad b. Sulayman b. Muhammad al-Wali al-Barnawi al-Baghirmawi, al-Sahykh Muhammad Bindo, al-Shaykh Hashim and al-Shaykh Muhammad Fudi from whom al-Katsinawi had acknowledged that he learnt a lot. According to Tarajim al-Akbar, Muhammad al-Katsinawi owed his success in mastering `Ulumal-Huruf, al-Awfaq and the sciences of calendar (al-Mawaqit) in the genre of Maghribian system of calculation and `Ulum al`Asrar according to its harfi and waqfi methods, to Shaykh Muhammad Bindo. He is also said to have studied under the feet of Shaykh Muhammad Kuru in Borno prior to his departure to Hijaz. It was this Shaykh who acquainted al-Katsinawi with certain acquisitions in the sciences of `Ulum al-Asrar and al-Raml (geometry) and `Ilm al-Hisab.³⁸ The pursuit of these disciplines by this Katsina Shaykh is an indication of the degree to which some scholars of Bilad al-Sudan had attained in the area of occultish sciences.

However, it was at Mecca that al-Katsinawi started to write some of his encyclopaedic discourses in the area of occultish sciences and astronomy. The book titled *al-Durr al-Manzum wa Khuylasat al-Sirr al-Maktum fi `Ulum al-Talasim wa al-Nujum* was described by al-Jabarti as a voluminous work consisting of a Muqaddima, five sections and conclusion. The book is said to have been

completed by the author in Cairo in 1146.³⁹ The other important book written by Muhammad al-Katsinawi, was *Kitab-Bahjatul `Afaq wa `Idah al-lubs wa al-Ighlaq fi `Ulum Huruf wa al-`Awfaq*.⁴⁰ It deals with the science of letter-magics and magic squares. Al-Katsinawi's seemingly unparalleled mastery and manipulation of such a complex esoteric disciplines had endeared him to some notable scholars in Egypt who developed special interest in the world of occult and decided to sit at his feet in order to unlock the secrets of the natural and supernatural world, or the physical and metaphysical sphere. One of such scholars who was taught by Muhammad al-Katsinawi was al-Jabati al-Kabir (al-Jabarti - the senior). He is said to have studied with al-Katsinawi `Ulum al-Awfaq, `Ulum al-Kasr wa al-Bask (the science of Fraction and Numeration).⁴⁶

Many of al-Katsinawi's writings in the field of astrology, astronomy, the science of secrets are extant in different libraries in the world, but especially Cairo and London and of recent the Northern History Research Scheme of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.⁴³

However, despite the resounding success which al-Katsinawi is said to have made in Egypt, it seems he was not contented with himself and with the course of events as far as his overall ambitions are concerned. The evidence for such is to be found in a very short poem consisting of two lines which he gave to his host al-Jabarti al-Kabir as a farewell will which he asked him to inscribe in his grave. The meaning of the poem is that he, al-Katsinawi has sought to settle in every corner of the world, yet he could not find the right place where he could satisfy his intellectual and spiritual acumen. The consequence of such was that he continued to follow the mirage of his over-ambitions to the extent that he became the slave of it. And that he would have been free if he did not pursue that line of ambition.⁴³ One could read between the lines al-Katsinawi's strong desire to come back and settle at home, before death overtook him in Cairo.

The efforts by late M.A. al-Hajj to recover manuscript from Katsina in 1963 on behalf of University of Ile-Ife had resulted among other things in the recovery of many manuscripts bearing on astrological, astronomical and arithmetical disciplines. The mere reflection on the following titles like *Hisab al-Jummal fi al-Zawaj*, *`Adad Ayyam al-Shahar*, *Ma`rifat al-Buruj*, *Nubdha a n al-sinin Tarhil al-shams kifayal al-Nisab* and *al-Nujum wa-fusul al-sanna*, may indicate that the area of Katsina, probably more than any other area of Central Sudan, except Borno was

and is still leading in the area of mathematical, astronomical and occultish scenes;⁴⁴ a task which could be pursued by more competent people than the present author.

Conclusion

An attempt has been made in this chapter to trace the origin and development of Islam and Islamic learning in Hausaland in general and Katsina in particular right from the fourteenth century. In the case of Katsina which is the focus of this book, the role of certain rulers in promoting the Islamic interest which enhanced their position and consolidated their political base was outlined. The agents of Islamisation, i.e. the `Ulama from the Wangarawa, the Fulani and Barebari groups were also acknowledged in this chapter. In this regard, the various influences, coming from the west, the north and the east of Katsina were outlined.

The chapter has also dealt extensively with the rise of the local `Ulama in Katsina area who are reported to have had a great impact on the state and society and who played a significant role in the intellectual and educational life of the people of the area and beyond. They had also helped in the transformation of the socio-political and economic set-up of the state of Katsina. In this respect also, the role of certain scholars such as Muhammad b. al-Sabbagh and (Dan Masani), but particularly that of Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Katsinawi al-Fulani, whose activities and fame expanded beyond the borders of Bilad al-Sudan was emphasised in the chapter.

Notes

1. For more information about the introduction of Islam in Hausaland, see, M.A. al-Hajj Asl as-Wangariyin; A Seventeenth Century Chronicle on the Origin and Missionary Activities of the Wangawarawa, *Kano Studies*, Vol. 1 No. 4, 1968, p.9. See also A.M. Kani, 'The Rise and Influence of scholars in Hausaland before 1804, al-Muntaqa, Paris, Vol. III, No. 1, 1986.
2. *Tarikh Arbab Hadha al-Balad al-Musamma Kano*, translated and published by Palmer as Kano Chronicle, Vol. III, Lagos, 1924, pp. 104-5. See also *The Rise and Influence*, *Ibid*.
3. *Ibid*.
4. Y.B. Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina, 1400-1883*, Zaria, 1981, p.17.
5. *Kano Chronicle*, p.III.
6. Abdullahi Smith 'The Early States of the Central Sudan', in F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, *History of West Africa*, Vol. I, London 1971.
7. Y.B. Usman, *op.cit.*, p.18.
8. Abdullahi Smith, *op.cit*.
9. A.M. Kani 'Aspects of Intellectual and Diplomatic Relations between Northern Africa and Central Sudan... translated as *Mudhahir al-Ittisalat al-fikriyya wa al-Thaqafiyya* and published in *Majallat al-Buhuth al-Libya*, No. 1, 1981.
10. *Ibid*.
11. *Ibid*, p.12
12. See John O. Hunwick, *Sharia in Songhay: The Replies of al-Maghili to the Questions of Askia al-Hajji Muhammad* Edited and Translated with an introduction and commentary, Oxford, 1985, pp. 13-14.
13. *Ibid* pp 40-41
14. See *Taj al-Din alama Yajib ala-Muluk*, Baldwin Translation, Beirut, 1932.
15. *Jumla Mukh tasara* was quoted by both Shaykh 'Uthman b. Fudi and his brother Abdullahi b. Fudi in *Tanbih al-Ikhwan la Ah wal Ard al-Sudan*, NHRS, p71/1 and *Diya al-Siyasat* has been edited by the present author published by al-Zahra' Cairo, 1988.
16. John Hunwick *Ibid*, pp. 40-41
17. The *Risala of al-Suyuti* is mentioned in full in *Tanbih al-Ikhwan* by Shaykh Uthman b. Fudi, *op.cit*.
18. Y.B. Usman, *op.cit*, p.23.
19. *Tarikh Asl Ghubir*, as quoted by Y.B. Usman, *Ibid*.
20. *Risalat al-Siyuti* *op.cit*.
21. *Ibid*
22. Y.B. Usman, p.21.
23. *Kitab ila Macrifat Umara Kashua* is quoted by Bala Usman, *op.cit*, p.25.

24. See Muhammad al-Birtilli, *Fathal-shukur* ed, Muhammad Ibrahim al-Kattani and Muhammad Hajji, Beirut, 1981.p
25. Ibid.
26. *Kano Chronicle*. op.cit, p.111
27. *Fathal-Shukur*, op.cit
28. Muhammad b. al-Sabbagh, *Madh al-Saltan* 'All MC, NHRS p. 98/3
29. Muhammad b. Al-Sabbagh, *Mazjarat al-fityar*, NHRS, NR p.93/3, see also *The Rise and influence* p. cit, p.57
30. The Falake collection is located in the Library of the North Western University at Illinois. Chicago, USA. A major work: *The Hausa scholar Trader* and his Library collection by Prof. Abdullahi Muhammad in his seventies in partial fulfilment for his Ph.D Degree in the same University.
31. See Hamidu Bobboyi and John O. Hunwick, Falkenian I. A poem by Ibn al-Sabbah in Praise of 'Amiril Kariyagiwa in *Sudanic Africa, a Journal of the sources*, vol. 2, 1981, pp.133-34.
32. The author believe that 'That Kariya Giwa are dealing with was none other than "Uban Yari" further research by the two authors or specialist in the area they prove or disprove this association, see Ibid, P.128
33. Ibid
34. See Muhammed Bello, *Infaq al-Muysur*, Whitting edition, London, 1957, p.52.
35. See Habib al-Hassan 'su wa ne Malan Yandoto, unpublished paper presented to the *International Seminar on the Internal Tradition in Sakkwato Caliphate and Borno* C.I.C. University of Sokoto, June, 1987.
36. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, *Aj'ib, al-athar fajji Tarajim wal al-Akhbar*, Vol. II, Cairo, 1960, p.31.
37. Ibid. p.31-33.
38. Ibid, p.31.39. Ibid
39. Ibid
40. Ibid
41. Some of the writings of Muhammed b. Muhammed were brought from Cairo by Ambassador Nuhu Muhammed of Zaria. They are deposited in NIRS, A.B.U. Zaria
42. *Aja'ib* op.cit.
43. These works are all available in NHRS, A.B.U., Zaria.

A discourse on the intellectual legacies of some pre-jihad Muslim scholars of Katsina

Misbahu Na'iyā Katsina

Katsina State Library Board

Katsina

Katsina: A Short Description

The history of Katsina shows that as part of the seven original Hausa States, its rulers have always been of Habe origin. The ruling clan was usurped by the Sokoto Jihadists who set up the Fulani sullubawa ruling dynasty that rules Katsina to this day. Katsina had at one time been the centre of trade when the trans-sahara trade was the major trading intellectual centre of all Hausaland. As Hiskett (1975) pointed out, it was the Tuaregs and the former Habe rulers of Katsina, both of them now located in Nigeria Republic to the North that made many merchants and even the learned ulema to migrate to Kano. To make matters worse even the trans-saharan trade route through Maradi and Katsina altered course to Zinder leading to Kano thereby by-passing Katsina. Thus, Kano became the new centre of trade and learning after Katsina. Most of the Katsina merchants and ulema migrated to Kano over a period spanning a few decades. There are therefore, many residential quarters in Kano City bearing similar names as those found in Katsina, including Darma, Galadanchi and Marina. These "quarters", as some historians claim, house the migrants from Katsina made up of the merchant/Ulema classes of settlers who are presently fully integrated in the Kano society.

Muslim Scholars And Their Writings

Thus, the picture we have of Katsina and the rest of Hausaland, long before the advent of European colonialism and western-style literacy, is that of a highly literate culture. Islam had arrived through the activities of the Muslim Dyula (Wangarawa) merchants from the ancient West African Empire of Mali first to Katsina and then to Kano in the 14th century. "The advent of the Arab scholar al-Maghili" was traced first to Katsina and then to Kano in the 15th century. These eminent scholars of Islam has been credited by Gerard (1981) "among others with pioneering Arabic authorship (of religious texts) in Hausaland." Prior to this, all such texts were imported from North Africa and the Middle East.

Closely following the Wangarawa was "al-Maghili who had mostly stayed at Kano, but had been shuttling between Kano and Katsina in mid 14th century, with some other scholars" of the same origin. Al-Maghili's writings, many of which are extant include the famous *Tarif fima alal-muluk*, an Arabic text of which a copy was edited by Muhammad Zayyan b. Muhammad al-Mamun, Wazirin Katsina in 1931. This manuscript probably transcribed copy can be found at the Moroccan archive in "Rabat No.5529,"⁹. The text is about the necessities for administration of a state under Islamic law. About 23 other texts written by al-Maghili are also listed in the article by Bivar and Hiskett (1952) in the Bulletin of the SOAS of the University of London.

Al-Maghili had numerous successors in Hausaland generally and in "Katsina in particular who continued the tradition he "had started of manuscripting whole texts. The best known among them in Katsina is the Qadi Muhammad b. Ahmed b. Abu Muhammad al-Tazalchi also known as Aida-Ahmed (d.1529). al-Tazakhti was the next clearly attested author of Hausaland offer texts. He had in his earlier years visited Egypt and the Itjaz. Descendants of this great scholar may still form majority of the Qadiri of Katsina to this day.

Another jurist of the period was Maldhluf b. Ali b. Salth al-Bilbali (d. 1533) who later in his life travelled to the Magrib where his teachers included Ibn Ghazsi. His phenomenal power of memory was such that he was said to have committed the whole of Sahih Bukhari to memory. He was also resident in Katsina for a considerable period of his life.

The Education Legacy

The education system that these and many other unmentioned scholars of the century of the Sokoto Jihad fostered and left as a legacy to our day has proved strong enough to withstand years of social turmoil, colonialism, imperialism and challenge. Though not indigenous to Africa, Islam and Islamic education were so entrenched and remarkably homogenous all over the continent that one would almost say its introduction was spontaneous, the elementary *makaratun allo* and the higher level *makarantun ilmi* of deeper learning in Hausaland correspond to the Khalwas and Massids, respectively of Northern nilotic Sudan with regards to their organization, curriculum and teaching methods. The attitudes and aspirations

of students, parents and teachers as well as the central regulatory role in the life of the Muslim community which the Islamic schools play are all similar in strength and vigour and characterize the pupil's attitude in all Islamic institutions, and we find young people as well as old men, traversing many cultures and lands in order to receive instruments from a different teacher or text or even just to repeat a text already mastered under another teacher. Again we find even today, all over Katsina and rest of Hausaland for that matter, students of *Ilmi* schools drawn from pupils of western-styled schools and civil servants and other workers who manage to squeeze some hours after their busy daily routine, which they spend learning their religious lessons. It is conceded by Hiskett that Arabic language's sacramental and charismatic nature contributes to this attitude. But, perhaps, more fundamental is the fact that Islam is more than just a religion composed of a few rituals, but a complete and total way of life concerned with every facet of the life of its follower. Every Muslim then strives to become a good and complete follower. Success to Islamic education is, therefore, free at anytime in ones' life style, there are no fees charged and it is continuous throughout one's life and is not competitive essentially except for what may pass of personal rivalry among peers.

Also, although elementarily and basically, the mystic rather than 'Baconian' Islamic education at the higher level with its strong emphasis on scripture and literate authority can be truly critical. At such stages some amount of intellectual curiosity is even accommodated. Also commonplace is the issuance of the *Ijaza* which is a kind of scholarly process which links the students with a long line of scholars and teachers under whom he had learned.

Islamic education of this nature has its main content the study of the Qur'an from which all other branches of learning derive. To a Muslim, the Qur'an is the sum of all that existed past, present future, the whole universe, as Diop (1987) puts it. Revolving around the Qur'an are the various sciences including Tafsir (exegesis); Hadith (prophetic tradition); Fiqh Madh (penegyric/eulosity), Nahw (Grammar) Sart (Monopology) Balagha (Rhetoric) Hisab (Mathematics) , falaq (cosmology) Tibb (Medicine) and many others.

Ilmi schools of the type described and in which similar subjects as those enumerated above still abound in Katsina with many of them quiet more than a century old. Among the oldest and most prominent we may place the following:

1. The school at U/Alikali of the Hambali family.
2. The school at K/Kaura of the Hambali family also. Both of them of Katsina.
3. The school at the Imam's house of Mali. Lawal the chief Imam of Katsina.
4. The school at T/Kasuwa of Ladan Yusuf Abdulmumin b. Muhammed who are known for their mastery of the Muhtasar'.
5. The school at Darma of Muhammed Aminu b. Muhammad which also was founded before the Shehu.
6. The school at Garfar of Alhaji Falalu which has connection with Kogo Village by Lineage and was founded about 100 years ago by Alhaji Abubakar of Kogo village near Katsina.
7. The school at Albaba of Ustaz Abdul Gaith the Arab who settled in Katsina about 150 years ago.
8. The school at B Katsina of Wali Muhammadu Bello (Abubakar).

These are a few among numerous schools of Higher Islamic Education that were left behind by the Katsina scholars of the 17th and 18th Centuries. Almost all of them are still functioning as they have been over 300 years ago. Many of the leading scholars that conduct lessons in these schools still work from dawn (5:00am) till evening (4:00pm) with breaks only for the prescribed prayers. They are therefore continuing the centuries old traditions bequeathed to them by long gone forebears in the service of the deep of Allah (SWT). (Al-Ilory, 1980?) and (Abubakar, 1975).

Conclusion and our present predicaments

Conclusively, while Islamic education is still being imported though to a lesser scale, the question is still forced out of us, as to why do we not see the necessary positive change that education normally brings about! It seems that the only obvious answer is that our forebears whom we are today recalling with nostalgia succeeded in putting what they learned into practice. And we in this generation have succeeded only in learning but not putting into practice what we learn. Worse still, the systems we practice do not encourage this. Thus, we conclude by stating that the professed socio-economic-political systems that the Nigerian nation in general is governed by today are at variance with our cherished values that Muslims hold dear. And until we all return to such a state, few Muslims will feel the obligation to society and to their fellow's as Islamic training was supposed to impart to them. For as Dr. Junaid the Waziri of Sokoto says "when your own

world has been put aside, you feel no respect for any other" (Brown & Hiskett p??).

Notes

1. Abubakar, A. *Ath - Thakafatu-l Arabiyya fi Nijeriya* (Cairo, Al-Azhar Univ. PhD Thesis, 1975).
2. Al-Ilory, A. *Al-Islam Fi Nijeriya*.
3. Bivar, H. & Hiskett, M. *The Arabic Literature of Nigeria to 1804*. Univ. of London, Bull of the SOAS, Vol.XXV, Part 1, 1962.
4. Gerard, A. *African Language Lit*: London, Longmans, 1981.
5. Brown, N.G. & Hiskett, M. *Conflict and Harmony in Educ in Tropical Africa*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1975.
6. Usman, Y.B. *The Transformation of Katsina*, Zaria, ABU, 1981.

The *Izalah* Movement and Islamic intellectual discourse in Northern Nigeria: a case study of Katsina

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Historical forces behind the emergence of the Movement

The Remote Forces

1. Traditional System of Belief and Medication

On the remote causes for the rise of the *Izalah* movement and its ideas, the most conspicuous is the age-old cultural struggle between two opposing ideologies and philosophies of life. These are: on the one hand the traditional system of beliefs and worship customary to the Hausa society before the arrival of Islam, and on the other hand, the ideology of Islam that can be termed an outside influence having emanated from Hejaz, then spreading into North Africa, and eventually reaching the Western and Central Sudan including Hausaland. When Islam reached the *Kasar Hausa*, it met the people with an array of belief systems prominent of which were beliefs in the *Bori* fetish and superstitions. Beliefs in *Bori* comprised practice of the cult and belief in spirits such as *Sarkin makada*, *Sarkin Aljan*, *Sarkin Rafi*, *Uwar Gona*, *Kure* as well as belief in *Girka* (initiation) and superstitious odd happenings and incantations in the traditional set up. The penetration of Islam dealt a death blow to some of these beliefs and modes of worship. Others merely reduced in intensity while others were married together with the traditional customs (especially ceremonies), the Islamic and the pre-Islamic, hence the idea or concept of Syncretism. Again other people remained their former selves - that is did not succumb to Islam, but remained fondly attached to their traditional religions and even protect them. To this day, this phenomenon still persists - although Islam is by all means predominant. The need to respond to this situation in part, constitutes a causal factor in the rise of the puritanical movement known as the *Izalah*, which is all out to extinguish polytheism (*Shirk*) and (*bid'ah*) - innovation. This is revealed by a very recent research - impressive in its own right

- on the fetishes of the Hausa customs which are revealed to have serious influence on the *Mallaman Hausa*.¹

In pre-Islam Hausa society, traditional religious beliefs went side-by-side with traditional medication. With the coming of Islam, sometimes a mixture of the Islamic and the traditional was attempted to produce the alchemy of syncretism. The Hausa *Mallams* who have read some religious books came across the practice of *Tibb* the Islamic mode of medication. *Tibb* later became adulterated to *Tsibbu*. The *Tibb* of the *Shari'ah* came to eventually be merged with the *Tsibbu* of the traditional society. In the contemporary sense, *Dan Tsibbu*, always mean a *Mallamin Zaure* (a traditional Mallam) who issues charms and amulets for the purpose of medication such as removing ailment. Sometimes, *Dan Tsibbu* refers to a liar who is not afraid to cheat and at other times, the word may imply on unscrupulous fellow or a fetish who follows various dubious means to achieve material goals. In any case, according to these findings, *Tsibbu*, is used to imply dubiousness.²

This situation came about following the mass conversion that was witnessed in favour of Islam. But such conversion did not preclude the continuity of the former traditional practices we have referred to. And the moment indigenous scholars became dominant, there developed among them charlatans who were part of either *Mallaman Tsibbu* (*Mallams* who give medical aids), or *Mallaman Duba* (*Mallam* who practised fortune telling) and from them developed the *Gardawa* (itinerant traditional Mallams).

Between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries in Hausaland a period marked by state building and state formation, political struggle for ascendancy between ruling families and states and also expansion in commerce, *Tsibbu* became popularised. The activities of the Mallams were perforce being influenced by happenings in the wider society and *Tsibbu* too, had to be understood in that context.

The influence of the political and economic changes got expression in the following ways. For example, if certain verses of the Qur'an mentioned some rulings about business transactions such as debt or pawn and trade, the *Mallaman Tsibbu* would claim that whoever had an amulet or had *Rubutu* (washed verses) of the Qur'an he could either get the money or whatever he wanted without difficulty or as for trade, he would be wealthy. If the verses were dealt with the theme of

marriage they would claim that they could be used to favour a person to win a hand in marriage. Rulings on thieves were interpreted as helpful to render a person's properties immune to burglary. Verses talking of *mulk*, divine power or authority could be used for a person to attain status of political power or be domineering.³ *Tsibbu* has been and still is, a widely spread phenomenon in Hausaland. It was practised wherever the Hausa people were to be found, for example, in Kano, Yandoto, Katsina, Sokoto, Niger Republic, Ghana and even in Morocco. It is, however, difficult to say the exact location it was initiated. What is certain though is that it is still widely practised in Hausaland, and must have spread along with the movement of the itinerant scholars as well as the indigenous scholars in Hausaland.⁴

2. *The Gardi System of Education*

Al-Majirici or *Gardi* system of education is still extant to date. Even though we have examined *Tsibbu* in some length, we cannot separate them from the *Gardi* system.⁵ In this system of education, some Mallams became, as it were, professional or career Mallams, who took learning and teaching as a full-time occupation. Such Mallams normally had many students and pupils; *al-Majirai* who learn to memorise the Qur'an.⁶ In the process of learning the students are required at certain stages of the progress of their learning to make offerings or sacrifices: from common food to slaughtering of chickens and rams. These are to be used and prayed for retentive memory of the pupils. But what we are seeing gradually, here, is that circumstances are forcing the Mallams to devise means of sustaining themselves. This kind of learning is still wisely practised in Northern Nigeria. There used to be clashes leading to anathematising between the *Gardawa Mallams* and the *Ilm Mallams* - the latter are learned in all the sciences of Islamic knowledge. The *Gardawa Mallams*, it is believed, have little concern for principal pillars of Islam such as prayers, fasting, annual alms for the poor and pilgrimage to Makkah, though they claim to have pronounced faith in God, believed in the message of the prophet, and recited or memorised the Holy Qur'an. They have a negative attitude towards other books except the Qur'an. This is the principal reason why they considered the *Ilmi Mallams* as infidel (because they have not focused all their attention to the Qur'an alone).

It is exactly a group of this category that embarked on popular dissent in the millenarian *Yan Tatsine* movement of December 1980 in Kano. On the other hand,

some of the *Mallaman Ilmi* also seem to regard the *Gardawa* either as infidels or as improper Muslims. A typical *Gardi Mallam* who has reached the status of a *Hafiz* (one who commits the entire Qur'an to memory) when asked can fail to know what the duties of a *mukallaf* (a responsible mature Muslim) are.⁷ It is evident, therefore, that *Gardawa* are not infidels, but ignorant Muslims.

Mallaman Tsibbu in most cases pretended being pious and committed to Islam. Sometime some of them would appear a little bit dirty, but would rub much scent. Where a stranger *Mallaman Tsibbu* visits a village or town, people keep on trooping to him. Some of their epithets are: *Mallam Ko Wani Dodo* (Mallam the frightening), *Mallam Kubar mutum don Allah* (Mallam who can inflict harm, but can also pardon), *Kigo Mai Nahawu*, *Kigo Mai Rafanai* (Kigo who deals with jinns).⁸ They are respected not because of piety sometimes *Mallaman Tsibbu* do crack jokes with *Bokaye* (Bori officials) because they believe they have a similar business.

Generally, *Mallaman Tsibbu* do give two types of medicines, to aid a person such as aiding pupils, students for easy comprehension of their subjects or easy learning, or for want of birth, or protection of the body or wealth and medicines against *Mayu* fetishes, diseases such as leprosy, for accident prevention, snake charming, etc. Most of this aspect of medicine is in form of amulets, or charms of *Rubutun sha*, sometime with additional concoctions of barks or roots of trees or grasses. Or the *Rubutu* to be mixed with sand of a particular place, e.g. ant hill or to be washed with water of a certain river or rain water. The second medicinal aspect is for wickedness and evil. This is usually called *Asiri* or *nakali*. This mostly involves some rituals, slaughtering something, utilising some parts of human body (hair, nails, eyes, ears, noses, etc.) or some other fetishistic practices.⁹ The aim in most cases is to kill someone, or to exile somebody, or make somebody turn mad. Some of these medicines include *Kurciya*, *Jifa*, *Baduhu*, *Sagau*, *Layar Zana* or to induce a divorce of a certain woman or to seize a position somebody is occupying. The *Mallaman Tsibbu* in these cases, tax people seriously and usually place tough rules for them. Thus, far, we can summarise the works of a *Mallamin Tsibbu* to include *Rubutu*, *Layu*, *Wuridi Dau'i* and *bugun Kasa or Duba*. This is how pre-Islamic customs of Hausa medicine were cushioned in Islamic medicine. This is a very rampant phenomenon all over Hausaland up to the present. Hence, ignorant Muslims interpolated the teachings of Islam. These serve as both remote and immediate socio-environmental factors which offered a

big chance for critical *Mallams* to rise against these excesses. In this light, we are tracing the emergence of the *Izalah* to the activities of *Tariqah* groups, but equally fundamentally, with the Hausa customs, central to which is the original Hausa view of religion and medicine (that of *Bori*, *Tsafī* and superstition) which are still very widely practised in the society. While these were happening, the general society was governed by *Taqīd* - blind following. All these practices, the *Izalah* condemned as accretions, syncretism, or innovations. The contention being that these practices do not have bases in the Qur'an and Sunnah.

When the Shyakh Uthman b. Fudi came he faced similar problems as enumerated above, for which reasons books were written by him to strictly destroy traditional customs and the activities of ignorant Mallams. His *Nur al-Bab*, and *Wathīqal al-Ikhwan* are very important in this respect and they are often quoted by the *Izalah* preachers. In this light, at least to some extent, the *Izalah* movement could be said to be attempting a revival of the past. The ignorance Mallams were supported by a meek followership. Recently, Ali A. Muzrui has made a case against Islamic revivalism in post-Colonial Africa. In his view, Islamic revivalism in post-Colonial Africa, has had contradictory causes. Sometimes it arose out of economic disadvantage and desperation 'almost echoing Karl Marx's portrayal of religion as the sign of the oppressed creature and the soul of the soulless condition'. And at other times, it was health and prosperity that galvanised it. Thus, Mazrui opines, at its most dramatic in post-Colonial Africa, Islamic revivalism 'has emerged out of famine and drought as if the physical barrenness of the soil has given rise to spiritual fertility's, or as in the words of Susan MacDonald's account of Senegal and the Sahel: 'Now Islam is consolidating its position as people turn to the strict Muslim moral code to give them a sense of direction... persistent drought and the spreading desert have caused poverty, misery and hardship. This diversity had created a favourable terrain for increased religious favour.'¹⁰

Revivalism in Muslim Ethiopia and Somalia have been cited as one of the consequences of drought and famine, a fact expressed by poets and writers of the 1980s lamenting the agonies of hunger, deprivation, domestic tyranny, which in turn bred the problems of political refugees and of refugees of economic deprivation.¹¹ As for West Africa after independence, Islam was strong enough numerically and politically to be able to inherit the reins of post-Colonial power in countries like Mali, Guinea (Conakry) and Niger. In Nigeria under civilian rule Islam was also triumphant from 1960-66 and to some extent from 1979-83.¹²

The elements of over-amplification aside, the assertion of Mazrui can stand the test of evidence. The case of Nigeria is the case of a paradox of Pandora's box. While there was the new wealth and the concomitant self-confidence, there was also object poverty side-by-side. The wealth was initially occasioned by the colonial exploitation of the fertile agricultural land of the North and later by the rise of oil boom in the South. As for the natural-cum-social phenomenon of drought and famine, the two decades from 1970-90, witnessed serious occurrence and recurrent of droughts. Those that readily come to mind are the 1973 drought and that of 1984. This is why over the years, desertification control measures have been in progress by the Federal and State Governments.¹³ It also need to be recounted here that the late 1970s ushered in the oil boom and economic depression which characterised the entire decade of the 1980s, forcing the various governments to embark on various means of curtailing expenditure from the measures of economic emergency and austerity of ex-President Shehu Shagari to the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of the Babangida regime.

The exigencies of politics (as we will see later) cannot be ignored as serving one of the immediate catalysts for the emergence of the Izalah. It was officially launched in 1978 just a year after the hot debates on the issue of incorporating the Shari'a into the Nigerian Constitution. Already it has been shown (and as Mazrui has observed) that Islam triumphed from 1960-66 (impliedly the period of the late Sardauna of Sokoto, a time also at which Abubakar Gumi was given international exposure, especially to the Saudi Arabian Government); and also from 1979-83, a time of real politics and also one in which the Izalah consolidated its activities. These having been said, underlying Islamic revivalism and the rise of the Izalah, is also the constant threat to western cultural hegemony, especially the Christian factor. The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Bishops and Reverends make statements about what they see as the Gradual Islamisation of Nigeria. Pick anything and relate it to Muslims in national interest and it is 'Islamisation'. Thus, if Abubakar Gumi talks, Olubummi Okogie would respond or vice versa. Also, the speech Gumi delivered at Mecca, during the Hajj in 1982 clearly related the emergence of the Izalah in part, as a reaction against colonial and neo-colonial destruction of Islamic values and the imminent western cultural hegemony.¹⁴

Those who founded or initially accepted the Izalah were primarily the youth and generally speaking enlightened in western education. Western education, therefore, can be regarded as an input in its rise. For one, it is usually those enlightened in western education and the elites that have a quick and relatively easy grasp of new ideas. On social dimension, they were mainly workers and students.

During its earliest years, the Izalah was seen as a new thing. That was why its followers faced many problems with opposition groups and individuals. Foremost in counter-attacking the Izalah were two groups of *Qadiriyya* and *Tijjaniya* which, hitherto peddling opposing religious interpretations, came together to put up a joint defence against what they perceived as a common enemy. They are the *Kungiyar Jama'at Ahlis Sunnah* and *Kungiyar Dakarun Danfodioyo*, respectively.

At the intellectual level, the emergence of the Izalah provoked research, preaching (even on the side of Tariq followers) and release of pamphlets. The long-standing degeneration of Ulama, interpolation of *Tasawwuf* and *Taqlid* of the society have been shown; likewise the socio-cultural forces at work from the earliest time of the penetration of Islam vis-à-vis *bahaushiyar al'ada* (the Hausa customs) were looked into. Immediate socio-economic and political factors that acted as catalysts were also reviewed - such as drought, depression, and all sorts of hardships that made people to become way of unnecessary spending in traditional ceremonies in most cases seeing these as wasteful and unproductive ventures.

The colonial and neo-colonial factors including the treats of Christian cultural hegemony were adumbrated and added to the exigencies of lifting the ban on politics and political activities in 1979 for the control of state power; coupled with the input of western education, all these completed the circle. And with the dwindling status of the traditional rulers in the face of the gigantic developments of modern bureaucracy from Local through State to Federal levels, and the emergence of political centres such as Jos, Kaduna (the heart of Northern Nigerian colonial administration), Kano, Funtua, Malumfashi, etc. general decadence and lack of spiritual control by Sufis, the Izalah emerged.

Doctrines, ideology and teachings of the movement

At the outset, besides the Qur'an, and other Hadith books, the *al-Aqidah* became the handbook of the Izalah preachers. Likewise, the book *al-Islam wa ma Yutiluhu* (translated into Hausa as *Musulunci da Abinda ke Rusa shi* (Islam and what vitiates it), became a common book of reference. And later on, the Tafsir book, *Raddul Azhan*, completed the circle, for it became the 'official' battle cry of the movement, its intellectual guide, to all and sundry in search of 'the true path' to a pure and correct interpretation of the Holy Qur'an.¹⁵ Doctrinally, the Izalah followed the taking the Qur'an and Sunnah as the fundamental issues of belief and action and primarily against the *Tariqah* orders. It condemned as blameworthy innovations, all the Sufi concepts, including the *Qadriyya's* idea of Sainthood, divine love, intuitive knowledge, seeking mediumship of earthly spirits, fabrication of false traditions, mixing of concoctions for the common people, sorcery of all kinds, claiming the knowledge of God's greatest names and having control over or transactions with jinns. Other 'innovations' included the chanting of *dhikr* aloud, in congregation, use of *bandiri* and other musical instruments to cause ecstasy. It also condemned notions of Sufi hierarchy of Saints are design of ranks such as *Qhawth* and *Qutb*. All these claims and practices were (seen) as void, and false; handiwork of impostors.

More criticism were levelled against the *Tijjaniya*. The bone of contention with respect to the *Tijjaniyya* was the position attached to the *Salatil Fatih* and the *Jauhara*.¹⁶ The books of *Tijjaniya* which were vehemently criticised include Ali Harizimi's *Jawahirul Ma'ani*, *Munyatul Murid*, *Ifadatul Ahmadiyya*, *al-Hadiyyatul Hadiyyah*, and also the *Qadiri manual al-Fuyudat al-Rabbani*.¹⁷

The Izalah also condemned *Rubutun Sha*, *Layu* (amulets) and other aspects of Hausa customs that appear manifestly un-Islamic; these include among others, 'innovations' associated with marriage, especially its inclination towards materialism, innovations associated with deaths, burial and other ceremonies; those innovations attached to birth and naming ceremony - also assuming a material dimension. Customary rituals associated with installation of traditional rulers or those associated with the praise of the prophet and, indeed whatever was not rooted in the Qur'an, Sunnah and Fiqh.¹⁸ In actual terms, most of the Hausa customary practices on the threshold of Izalah's advent, appear similar to the practices which Shaykh Uthman b. Fudi castigated in his book *Kitab hukmu juhal Baladi Hausa*; in the book he categorized ignorant Hausa Muslims into two: the first seek for knowledge to perfect their religion and ritual acts and also they

respect the Mallams, and such are Muslims; while the second group do not care to learn the religion to the extent that they only mention the *Kalimah* on the basis of it being a common thing and as a general tradition in Hausa society and such are unbelievers.¹⁹ Just like at the advent of the Izalah and even today, people swear *Allah, Wallahi, Billahil lazi, al-Kawalin Allah, Na sha aradu*, etc. because it has become a tradition. Or the calling of the name of Shaykh Uthman 'Shehu' in event of wonders, or accident (especially in Sokoto region). These practices have become traditional acculturation of Islamic norms into the Hausa society. It would be recalled that when the Shaykh Uthman b. Fudi began his mobilisation efforts, one of his main problems was the rigidity and conservatism of the Ulama with regard to their interpretation of Islam. There emerged also charlatans under the guise of Sainthood; while on the part of religious education. Similar situations prevailed when the Izalah emerged, for example, there were charlatans and *Taqlid* and most people, especially the commoners and rural folk were ignorant of the basic tenets of the faith. Very few of them could perform the *Ibadat* (rituals) in the proper manner. Many adults did not pray, especially in villages until the day they got married. They then had become, it was assumed, responsible and so could be initiated into the 'way of the mature and responsible people', that is the religion of Islam and they begin to pray.²⁰ Socially, there was widespread prostitution and gambling among the youth - and religious practices were tucked in a corner of man's social life.

As soon as the movement began to gather momentum, series of forthrightly national preaching campaign were embarked upon. These are besides the day-to-day preachings in towns and villages, in the mosques after the five daily prayers and, especially between the Maghrib and Ishai prayers. Preaching campaigns were also organized at both state and local government levels. The Izalah movement emerged with a critical openness that asked questions and answered them. It provoked researches in the Islamic sciences generally and re-awakened the generality of Muslims from their questions and so made them alert. This is quite contrary to the method of preachings in earlier times of *Wa'azu*. *Wa'azu* more or less involved an amalgamation of combination of simplistic interpretations of the Qur'an and a times common wisdom and mythological stories of saints, sinners, angels, and jinns.

From 1977, hazy ideas about the movement to be called *Jama'atul Izalatil Bid'ah wa Iqamatis Sunnah* (JIBWS) were quite widespread in Nigeria, but particularly in

the Northern part of the country.²¹ Since it has not become inaugurated as an association or better still a movement, the Izalah operated freely under various names in different places. For example, while in Kaduna it was called *Jamiyyar Yada Addinin Musulunci*, (Party for the propagation of Islam), in Gusau area of Sokoto State, it was named *Kungiyar Raya Addidin Musulunci* (the Association for the Promotion of the Islamic religion); elsewhere as in Anka District of Sokoto State, it was either called *Kungiyar Kashe Almubazzaranci da Raya Sunnah* (Association for extinguishing excesses and establishing the Sunnah) or *Kungiyar Kashe Bidi'o'i da Raya Sunnah* (Movement for extinguishing innovations and establishing the Sunnah). In Katsina, it assumed the name, *Kungiyar Daukaka Addidin Musulunci* (the Association for the Upholding of Islam).²²

How Izalah came to Katsina

Regarding the formation of a movement known as the JIBWS one can make a general statement that JIBWS, formation can be ascribed to the collective effort of two persons - Shaikh Abubakar Mahmoud Gumi, whose long standing efforts had set the incubation of the movement in process, and Mallam Isma'ila Idris who advanced to preach the ideas to the public. But in other places, the introduction of the movement to people and its entrenchment, can hardly be ascribed to one or two persons, but rather to a group of few persons who had come across and taken to the ideas of the movement. Thus, the introduction of the movement in Birnin Katsina can hardly be ascribed to one or two persons only, but rather to a group of few persons. This is what obtained with case of the coming of the Izalah to Katsina.

It was brought so to say from Kaduna, the then Headquarters of Kaduna State of which Katsina was a Local Government. When the Izalah emerged, it was first embraced by workers and students (who can generally be regarded elites). Such elites had various levels of western education and interaction and they also happened to be mostly youth. This does not in any way mean that elderly people did not appreciate or sympathised and even enthusiastically supported the movement. This is because, in places like Katsina, a number of adult and respected persons were associated with introducing the movement. Hence there was a mixture in the composition of the people who introduced the movement into Katsina. There were the elderly persons, and there were the youth. They were, however, in most cases educated in the western type education. Of course, in this

part of the country, people grow up in Islamic type of education and as it applies to those who brought the Izalah to Katsina.

The introduction of the movement here was actually around 1975/76. The harbingers of the introduction of the Izalah into Katsina include: late Mallam Muhammadu Maigemu, late Aliyu Hafiz, Mallam Salihu from Yankara, late Mallam Muhammad Sani Dalibi, Alhaji Dangaladima, Muhammadu Augi, late Sarkin Rafi Bello Danbaba, late Mamman Barda, Liman Abubakar, Liman Abba, Mallam Ja'afaru. Others are Mallam Yakubu Musa Kafanchan, Mallam Ibrahim Bawa Maishinkafa, Mallam Sani Kerau, Mallam Babangida, Mallam Bature, Mallam Umaru, Mallam Salahuddin Abubakar, Mallam Abubakar Yandoma. Those who came lately include among others, Mallam Yusuf Sambo Rigacikun and Mallam Abubakar Alaramma.²³

I have already adduced that generally, the persons who introduced the Izalah into Katsina were elites. Their compositions vary from workers, civil servants to students. It should be reiterated here that schools and offices as well as other working places had played a very tremendous role in accommodating the Izalah particularly at its critical phase of infancy - the formative period. And by implication such institutions or centres had served the role of nurturing a weak movement into one to be reckoned with ten years after its inauguration; and this is the fact not only in relation to the introduction of Izalah in Katsina town, but in other places as well.

Gleaning through some of the names mentioned above, we can notice that people like Alhaji Dangaladima and Ambassador Tanimu Saulawa were workers and not only that, Saulawa was a top government functionary. On the other hand, there were also many students of the Arabic Teachers' College, Katsina (in the Higher Muslim Certificate Section). For instance, people like Yakub Musa Kafanchan who was very popular, Mallam Sani Kerau, Mallam Ibrahim Bawa Maishinkafa, Mallam Yusufu Sambo Rigachikun, among others were all students of the above mentioned section of the Arabic Teachers' College, Katsina. One fact that may be pointed out even if in passing is that these students' acceptance and propagation of the ideals and realities of the Izalah even at that early period, was that they were being taught, and polished by teachers with similar ideas who had come from Makkah, Misra (Egypt) and the Sudan.²⁴

The students from the Higher Muslim Section of the Arabic Teachers' College, Katsina, constituted the intellectual wing of the new movement. From the local level of preaching tours and activities, some of them rose to become prominent scholars and famous among the Izalah adherents at the national level. These included, for instance, Mallam Yakubu Musa Kafanchan, Mallam Ibrahim Bawa Mai Shinkafa and Mallam Yusuf Sambo Rigachikun. Others such as Mallam Babangida, Mallam Sani Kerau and Liman Abubakar and later Liman Abba remained locally respected as reputable scholars. Liman Abubakar was actually the first Jumu'at Imam, but later on he was removed and Liman Abba was made the Chief Imam of the Jumu'at Mosque. Another very influential patron civil servant and an Islamic scholar was Mallam Halilu. Even though Izalah had become intense, I have not come across any information regarding loss of life on the part of the adherents of the new movement in Katsina town. However, what problems were obtained were largely social in nature. Of course, a times they used to be stoned while preaching, especially during the nights. There were also incidences of some of the preachers being manhandled. Other confrontational stances include name calling and jesting, but, perhaps, more serious was the issue of family breakage. Some parents in anger of their children, disowned them or children who accepted the new ideas found it difficult to accommodate their parents and had to abandon them; or breakage in friendly relations or breakage of ties with relatives of neighbours. There were also cases of separation or breakage of marital ties; all because either one party or the other had accepted the ideas of the Izalah.

In a nutshell we have traced some of the remote and immediate forces behind the emergence of the Izalah movement in Northern Nigeria generally. The movement theoretically and practically speaking was an intellectual movement initiated and led by scholars. It became critical or existing social and religious conditions of the society. It embarked on so many ways to educate the people: preaching, building of schools, writing of pamphlets and dissemination of messages through the cassettes. It reinvigorated the idea of learning and research and this had the effect of galvanising even its opponents to make further researches on issues.

Notes

1. Muhammad Aliyu Bunza. *Hayaki Fidda Na Kogo: Nazarin Siddabaru da Sibirin Hausawa*. M.A.(Hausa) Dissertation, Bayero University, Kano, 1989.
2. However, there are many views about *Tsibbu*. Bunza lumps *Mallaman Tsibbu and Mallaman Zaure* as one and the same.
3. Ibid.
4. Aliyu Bunza has collected well over 200 works on *Tsibbu*. He has also recently finished writing a book on Hausa and Islamic medicines, titled *Magani Cikin Musulunci*, (1990).
5. Ibid, and Also S.J. Muhammad '*Factors Behind Mai Tatsine Syndrome 'Departmental Seminar Paper'* (Islamic Studies), Bayero University, Kano. 1113-1987. Also A. Fafunwa has done a very good work in this system of education in Northern Nigeria. See his *History of Education in Nigeria*, London: 1974.
6. When the student completes the Qur'an then *Ya Sauke al Kur'ani* and if he likes he shifts to learning books *Al majirai* (sing. *Al-majiri*) is a corrupted Arabic word *Al-Muhajir*, meaning an emigrant.
7. Aliyu Bunza, *Magani Cikin Musulunci*, op cit.
8. Aliyu Bunza, '*Hayaki Fidda Na Kogo*, op cit.
9. Data on this was gathered during field work and observation.
10. Ali A. Mazrui, "African Islam: Between Revivalism and Expansion" in the Reporter, Monday, January 15, 1990, p.7.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. During the month of June 1990, Muhammadu Kwarin Gamba has composed a poem on drought and lack of water. *Allah Ba mu Ruwa (O! God, Give Us Water)*, June, 1990, Sokoto.
14. Extracts from A Speech by Sheikh Abubakar Gumi at Makkah during the Hajj of 1982 and broadcast by Radio Makkah EMC/S/082/Vol.II. Matters Relating to Religious Affairs.
15. A Gumi, *Raddul Azhan 'ila Ma'ani al-Qur'an (Tafsir)*, Lebanon, 1986.
16. *Salatil Fatih* was claimed to have been revealed to Muhammadul Bakari (at the Ka'aba many years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW)). Statements in respect of it have also been made that its recitation is equal to the recitation of the Holy Qur'an more than 6000 times. These and also other supreme qualities given to Ahmadu Tijjani are some of the central things the Izalah has been or is still attacking. See some Izalah handouts, e.g. *Hujjojin Dake Hana bin Dan Darika Salla* (Proofs on why Tariqah follower must not lead prayer), n.d., see also *Jawahirul Ma'ani*, Vol.1, p.136-138; *Munyatul Murid*, p.17; *Ifadat al Ahmadiyya*, p.40 and 195 and *al-Hadiyyat ul-Hadiyya* in the talks of Ibn al-Khatimi.
17. See Ibid.

18. *The Ishiriniyyah* (poems of praise of the Prophet) and *al-Dala'ilul Khairati* (also a book of praise of the Prophet) were vehemently criticised, especially by Mallams al-Hassan Sa'id, Rabi'u Daura, Adamu Mai Shafi and Usman Dangungu; also interview with Shaykh Abbas Ahmad 26-5-90, Kano.
19. Uthman b. Fudi, *Kitab Hukmi Juhhal Baladi Hausa*, Ms. n.d.
20. It is customary among the Hausas (especially in villages) that when a person got married for the first time, one of the items the new wife brings to him is the *buta* (kettle) which is meant in essence for ghuslul Janabah (ritual bath after sexual intercourse) and wudu (ablution).
21. The ideas about what the Izalah was calling towards had reached Lagos from about this time amongst the Hausa communities living there.
22. Its Secretary the (late) Mallam Mohammed Dalibi Ibrahim.
23. Interview in Katsina 3rd September, 1991.
24. Interview in Katsina 3rd September, 1991; see also the seminal work of K. Lansine *Evolution of Islam in West Africa: The Wahhabi Movement and its contribution to political Development 1945-58*, PhD Thesis (1972), Available at the Bayero University Kano Post-Graduate Library.

Islamic fundamentalism: The *Shias* in Katsina

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Introduction

In the last two years or so, Katsina has become a famous centre of activities of the Islamic movement whose members are popularly regarded as *Shias*. This chapter examines the historical, political and economic situation which gave birth to it. The argument advocated is that the colonial state in Nigeria succeeded in creating a class of modern Islamic scholars who not only provided support to it, but also has remained sympathetic to imperialism. Consequently, it is argued, the rise of the Islamic movement is seen as a response to the deepening economic crisis in Nigeria and the failure of post-Independent regimes to concretely address the issue of social justice. The *shia* label which is given to the movement appears to be an attempt to isolate and trivialise it. Beyond this, however, one could see as a reflection of the movement's connection with one dimension of the global struggle against imperialism.

The emergence of modern *alkali* scholars

The battle of Burmi of 1903, marked the end of militant resistance Islamic scholars and group of Muslim against colonialism in Northern Nigeria. From then up to the time of independence, there was no significant challenge to the British rule (in Northern Nigeria) on the ground of religion. The leaders of sects like *Tijaniyya* and *Qadiriyya* were only interested in promoting the ritual aspects of Islam, Islamic education and sufism (religious brotherhood). They were clearly a political and as the British themselves were happy to note, harmless to the colonial order. *Mahdism* on the other hand, was a militant and dreaded brotherhood in the Sudan. In Nigeria, however, Shaikh Said bn Hayat, the *Mahdist* leader was arrested in 1924 at the time when he was getting settled and organizing his community of *Ansar* at the town of Dumubulwa in Fika Emirate of Northern Nigeria. He was accused of plotting to overthrow the colonial government, tried

and subsequently, jailed. He was not released from detention until the eve of Nigeria's Independence in 1959.²

Along with the effective continuous monitoring and control of Islamic fundamentalism in Northern Nigeria, the British embarked upon a series of reforms - political, economic, judicial and social - as part of the process of the integration of the region into the world capitalist system. Here I will only highlight the judicial reforms because it is more directly relevant to the understanding of my thesis.

The transformation of the judicial system of Northern Nigeria began effectively from 1904 and continued up to the time of Independence in 1960. One of the major features of the reform was the establishment of Northern Nigeria Provincial Law School in Kano in 1934. The school was charged with the responsibility of producing Alkalai (Judges) for the Alkalai courts.³

In order to stabilize their so-called indirect rule system in Northern Nigeria, the British ensured that the intake of the law school were children of *Alkalai* and *Imams* throughout the North. In this way, the old order was perpetuated and there was little if not insignificant resistance to the continuous erosion of the domain of Sharia'h by the British.

The product of the law school in Kano came not only to serve as *Alkalai* throughout the North, but more importantly, they also played the role of *Ulama* who gave *fatwa* on issues of religious interest to the entire Muslims of the country. Their closeness to the government which, especially from 1960 gave them greater access to government resources and (government owned) mass media further strengthened this dual role which they played.

After Nigeria's Independence on October 1, 1960, the Northern Regional Government realized the need not only to continue to enjoy the support of the Ulama, but also to organize and use them to subtly influence the course of events. In 1962, Jama'at Nasr al-Islam (JNI) was established, while in 1963 the Council of Ulama was inaugurated. Both bodies, consisted largely of the products of the law school in Kano, and other scholars who belonged to the aristocratic and feudal families throughout the North. Members of the two bodies came to serve as the ideologies of the ruling regional party, the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC).

Their role did not only stop at giving advise on religious matters to the NPC as well as legitimizing political repression and oppression by the party's government, but also as Alkalai, they ruthlessly dealt with members of the opposition political parties, particularly the Northern Elements Peoples Union (NEPU).⁷

Juma'at Nasr al-Islam and Council of Ulama came to issue preaching licences to scholars (outside their own fold) who wanted to conduct preaching activities. In this way, religious 'extremism' or fundamentalism was checked, as erring and unlicensed preachers were quickly arrested and thrown into prison. The JNI and Council of Ulama Scholars - judges whose leader and most outstanding member is Shaikh Abubakar Mahmoud Gumi, a former Grand Khadi of Northern Nigeria came to provide legal and religious cover for moral and political corruption and the maintenance of decadent regimes. The JNI in particular has come to serve as an extension of the *Rabitah* (World Islamic League) which has been shown to be an imperialist organ used by the United States to manipulate the Muslims all over the world.⁸

The socio-economic situation

The colonial and neocolonial economy in Nigeria has no doubt created a class of party and comprador bourgeoisie, bureaucrats and other parasites who have continued to live at the expense of the vast majority of the ordinary people in the country. Despite Nigeria's oil wealth, abundant human and natural resources, the majority of Nigerians still wallow in abject poverty, ignorance, and disease, a series of Military coups, civilian and Military regimes have over the last three decades failed to address the socio-economic crisis which has rocked the stability of the Nigerian policy since Independence. The country has been continuously searching for a viable political order which will ensure social justice and alleviate the suffering of the ordinary people.

In 1975, General (Dr) Yakubu Gowon's regime which had ruled Nigeria since 1966 was successfully overthrown by a group of army officers who accused him (Gowon) of corruption and lack of political direction. The new Military regime which emerged was headed by General Murtala Ramat Mohammed. In 1976, however, after the assassination of the latter, General Olusegun Obasanjo, who was the second-in-command to General Murtala Mohammed, took over the mantle

of leadership of the country. The Murtala/Obasanjo regime, between 1975 and 1979, vigorously pursued a programme which was aimed at the return of the country to civil rule in October 1979; a new Constitution for the country drafted by the Constitution Drafting Committee (CDC) and considered by the Constituent Assembly (CA). The thorny issue which caused tension in the country then was the question of whether or not Sharia should be enshrined in the country's Constitution to cater for the larger Muslim population of the country.⁹

While the country was marching towards the Second Republic, crisis in the Nigerian economy compelled the Obasanjo's regime to reduce public spending and introduce an economic package known as "Austerity Measure" which, in practical terms, meant inflation and unemployment.

Between 1976 and 1978, there was sharp reduction in the funding of Universities in Nigeria. The government, through the National Universities Commission (NUC) hiked the cost of students feeding from 50k to N1:50k per day, while accommodation fee was raised from between N36:00k to N72:00k to N90:00k to N180:00k.¹⁰

As a result, University students all over the country embarked upon boycott of classes in protest against government's decision to increase the cost of feeding and accommodation. The peaceful protest by the students, later erupted into violent demonstration, and confrontation with the law enforcement agents - the Police. A total of 9 students lost their lives in the crisis, all Nigerian Universities were closed down and the National Union of Nigerian Students (NUNS) was banned. In addition, several students leaders and university lecturers were arrested and or summarily dismissed.¹¹

The Iranian Revolution

It was in the wake of the above political and social upheavals in Nigeria that the Islamic revolution broke out in Iran in 1979. Its over-whelming success which was marked by the overthrow of the powerful and decadent regime of Shah Reza Pahlavi had an immediate and inspiring impact upon Muslim societies all over the world. This was, despite the attempt by the leaders of the western world through their media and Muslim agents, to contain the Islamic revolution in Iran by branding it a *Shia* uprising.¹²

But it was clear to many people that the revolution, despite or in spite of its *Shia* origin had certain objective features which made it to animate the spirit of Islamic revivalism among oppressed Muslims in the world.¹³

Malam Ibrahim El-zakzaky: The leader of the Islamic Movement In Nigeria

He was born in Kwarbai quarters in Zaria city in the 1950s. Not much is known about his childhood years. He first came into public limelight between 1976 and 1980 during his period of study at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria where he read Political Science.

As a dedicated and devout Muslim youth, he was active member of the Muslim Students Society (MSS) and featured prominently in its activities, especially between 1976 and 1979. But the MSS which could correctly be described as the youth wing of the Jama'at Nasr al-Islam whose inspirer and guide is Alhaji Abubakar Gummi¹⁴ was, not surprisingly, lacking in political vision.¹⁵ The MSS was more concerned with organizing public lectures and annual Islamic vacation course which encourage Muslim youths all over the country to come together and learn more about Islam. Malam El-Zakzaky was, however, not satisfied with the lack of political orientation of the MSS. He strongly felt that the Society must have a definite and concrete political goal. Its public lectures and other activities should be geared towards the practical and revolutionary transformation of the country along the lines of Islam. The means, the preparation of Muslims "for the inevitable clash with *Kufr*" (i.e. non-Muslims). Consequently, as a result of the conceptual and methodological differences between El-Zakzaky and most of the MSS members, there was a split in the society in 1979 when El-Zakzaky began to lead a small, but dedicated radical group which formed the nucleus of the Islamic movement. Their source of inspiration was Iran, and they followed very keenly, the revolutionary events that were unfolding there.

In Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (Samaru Campus), the first practical demonstration of the young Islamic Movement's new found zeal was a rather violent demonstration which was led by El-Zakzaky "to protest against moral laxity and proliferation of alcohol on ABU's main Campus."¹⁶

In early 1980, el-Zakzaky visited Iran and came back to Nigeria with pictures and movie films of moving incidents and events of Iranian revolution. He went round the country's universities, especially those in the Northern part (of the country), displaying the pictures, showing the films and giving public lectures in an apparent effort to recruit more Muslim youth into the Islamic Movement. It is difficult to assess the extent of the success of this proselytizing campaign by el-Zakzaky, but its immediate effect was that groups of Muslim students particularly in Kano, Zaria, and Sokoto began to go about the street chanting the slogan of "Islam Only" and painting some public building both within and outside University campuses in the cities mentioned above.

Undisputably, el-Zakzaky became the leader and philosopher of the Islamic Movement, guided by its ideological slogan of "Islam Only" dismissed the nation state, the flag and national anthem as manifestation of thought¹⁷ that must be shunned".¹⁸

Between 1981, el-Zakzaky, served two prison terms of four years each (making a total of 8 years) for his Movement's defiance of the authority of the Islamic Movement is undaunted in their struggle against the Nigerian State, for el-Zakzaky and his followers:

Prison is a training ground. You are cut off from all the outside world and have time for the devout worship of your Lord in isolation. It is good for your spiritual, moral and even physical training...¹⁹

At this juncture, it is necessary to ask: Are members of the Islamic Movement *Shias*? First of all what is *Shiaism*?

Central to *Shiaism* is the doctrine of the *imamate* - successor to the Prophet in both the spiritual and political sense. For the *Shias*, the *ghaiba* (disappearance) of Imam Husain, son of Hazrat Ali and grandson of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) from the surface of the earth renders any worldly power illegitimate in so far as such power cannot prove in clear and unmistakable terms that it only exercises authority on behalf of the absent Imam.²⁰ As far as they are concerned, therefore, only the descendants of Prophet Muhammad (SAW) should be recognized as the legitimate authority and guide of the *Ummah* in religious and secular matters.

Another important aspect of *Shiaism* is the celebrated concept of martyrdom. Although it is a concept which is highly prized in Islam and cherished by Muslims of all times, the *Shias* gave it a special place in their life, especially with their annual hysteric celebration of the demise of Imam Husain at *Karbala*. And it was from this ceremony that they derived their popular slogan which fires their political consciousness and that is: *Everyday is Ashura, and every place is Karbala*.²¹ This means in other words that:

Wherever the Muslim is, is a field of struggle where the forces of justice and legitimacy are confronted by the forces of tyranny. Every day of life is a day of battle in which he should seek either triumph or martyrdom.²²

Apart from the two important aspects of *Shiaism* which we have mentioned so far, namely, the rejection of *de facto* authority and the strong belief in the concept of martyrdom, there are other features of *Shiaism* which differentiate it from the *sunni* group of Muslims, and this include *Muta* (Temporary Marriage) combining *Zuhr* and *Asr* prayers together, and prostrating on the sand of *Karbala* during prayers.

The Nigerian Muslims are predominantly *Sunni*. It is argued by some members of the Islamic Movement that it is the government and its agents who gave them the Shia label in order to estrange their relationship with the larger Muslim population. This position is echoed by Muslim Yakubu Yahaya, the leader of the Movement branch in Katsina State. He emphatically stated that:

We are not *shiite* (Muslims). We are Muslims. We have no relationship with any other name. Not just *shiite*... Wherever is raised to work for Islam, they try to give it a name in order to seek people avoid it. I know that it is the Jews who always divide the Muslim into groups.²³

Some people, however, claim that it is the members of the *Izalatul Bida wa Iqamatul Sunna*²⁴ that gave the Islamic Movement the name Shia. But interestingly, however, the Grand Patron and founder of the Izala Movement, Shaikh Abubakar Gumi has, himself said that the Islamic Movement is not a Shia organization. Its members, according to him, "only admire what happened in Iran, but in reality there are no Shiites in this country".²⁵

Although members of the Islamic Movement had rejected the Shia label which is imposed upon them, members of the public largely see them as such. This means that we had to go beyond the people's assertions and claims to ascertain the true character of the Islamic Movement.

Before I set out for my field work in both Kano and Katsina, I was informed that some members of the Islamic Movement carry with them imported sand from *Karbala* which they tie in hand-kerchief for the purpose of prostrating on it during the five daily prayers. I was also told that they conduct *Muta*.²⁶ I have, however, found no single evidence in both Kano and Katsina to show that members of the Islamic Movement are engaged in such practices.

There is, however, no doubt that the Movement has over the decade, remained considerably opposed to the secular state. They regard it as one that lacks political legitimacy since it is not built on the foundation of the Sharia. A study of the Katsina branch of the Movement which in recent times has proved to be the most active and radical wing, reveals very clearly the ideological direction of the Movement. Let us, therefore, examine its activities.

Mallam Yakubu Yahaya is the leader of the Katsina branch of the Islamic Movement. He was born in 1954 at Unguwar Madawaki, Katsina. He studied the Qur'an and Islamic Sciences from his father and other scholars in Katsina. He is an electrician by profession. He did not attend any formal institution in the western sense until 1979 when he was admitted into Arabic Teachers' College, Katsina, where he studied for Higher Muslim Certificate. This is a 3-year course which was designed for the training and mass production of teachers of Islamic Religious Knowledge, especially at primary school level. After his completion of the course in 1983, he gained admission into Bayero University, Kano for 3-year Diploma course in Arabic, Hausa and Islamic Studies.

It was in 1984 while in Bayero University, that Yakubu Yahaya met Mallam Ibrahim el-Zakzaky. The latter had visited the University Campus on his usually preaching tour. Mallam Yahaya attended el-Zakzaky's lecture in the University Mosque. He became convinced about the mission of the Islamic Movement as was revealed by el-Zakzaky. Mallam Yahaya, for example, recalls how el-Zakzaky was able to convince his audience that the Muslims of Iraq and Iran, much more than their brothers in Nigeria understand the meaning and implication of the

cardinal belief of all Muslims: *Lailaha illallah Muhammadul Rasulullah* (SAW), meaning that "there is no god but Allah and Muhammad (SAW) is his prophet and messenger".

In the same year in which he (Mallam Yakubu) met el-Zakzaky, that is in 1984, he established the Katsina branch of the Islamic Movement and also opened up contact with el-Zakzaky by visiting the latter once or twice in every three months.

After the completion of his Diploma course in 1987, Mallam Yahaya went back to his alma mata, Arabic Teachers' College, this time, as a teacher. However, he was only able to teach for a year before his appointment was terminated in October 1988 by the Katsina State Government. The latter's excuse for terminating Mallam Yahaya's appointment was that it took the action in the interest of the public. The fact of the matter is that Mallam Yahaya used to teach his students to disregard the National Anthem and the faith of flag because all they seek to do is to "erode the faith of Muslims in Islam". He also used to encourage them to ignore the school's time-table and routine whenever any of the school's schedule coincide with any of the times for the five daily prayers. In other words, Mallam Yahaya was encouraging and teaching students how to rebel against any authority other than that of Allah.

Since the termination of his appointment in 1988, Mallam Yahaya has devoted his life entirely to the propagation of Islam, studying, teaching as well as preaching in mosques and open spaces in Katsina and other surrounding towns. However, Mallam Yahaya is not licenced by the relevant bodies recognized by the government - Jama'at Nasr al-Islam and Council of Ulama. According to him:

I derive my authority to preach from the Qur'an which enjoined all Muslim to call (people) to the way of Allah. I do not need any other permission from anybody.²⁷

It is necessary to point out that before 1984 when Mallam Yahaya established a branch of the Islamic Movement, he was a recognized member of the Council of Ulama. He used to be invited to its meetings. But as soon as he became openly identified as the leader of the Islamic Movement the Council stopped inviting him to its meetings.²⁸

Growth of the Islamic Movement

Looking at the biography of Mallam Yahaya, it is clear that one of the most effective ways by which the Islamic Movement derive its membership is through preaching in Mosques and other places. It was in this way, for example, that Mallam Yahaya himself was won over by el-Zakzaky. Another way in which new members are recruited is through *muzahara* (public procession). This is usually organized and conducted in major towns such as Zaria, Kano, Katsina, whenever the Islamic Movement was protesting against any law, action or inaction by government or its agents. During the *muzahara* members of the Movement distribute leaflets, explaining their mission to passersby on foot, motorists and shop owners/keepers along their way. In this way, they enlighten people about the Movement and urge them to join the vanguard of Islamic revolution. This has proved very effective in swelling the membership of the Movement because, according to Mallam Yahaya, they always get new members into their fold each time they conducted the muzahara.²⁹

Although the *muzahara* is supposed to be peaceful. It often ends up in violence, and the arrest of most of the members of the movement by the Police on the ground of organizing unlawful assembly and public procession (that is without obtaining permission from the Police). Police usually disperse the procession or assembly of the Movement with teargas, and in the ensuing fracas, some people lost their lives and or sustain serious injuries while arsonists seized the opportunity to destroy public property. Examples: some times in December 1990, *Fun Time*, a comic magazine which is published by the Daily Times of Nigeria Limited, was said to have carried some cartoons in which the holy Prophets Muhammad (SAW) and Jesus (AS) were said to have been ridiculed. In protest against such publication, members of the Islamic Movement in Katsina went to the sales office of Daily Times (in Katsina) on March 29, 1991 collected all the copies of the magazine and other publication in the office and burnt them (outside the office):

While doing that, we did not touch any of the staff of Daily Times nor did we insult anybody. We burnt the publications in order to express our displeasure with the Daily Times for putting up to of our Prophets to ridicule. We know that the punishment of whoever ridicules our prophet is death, but we could not carry out this sentence because we did not know the actual person who was responsible for the act. This was why we had to

punish the company with the hope that our action will serve as deterrent to others.³⁰

As a follow up to above action, the Movement organized *muzahara* in order to further emphasize its opposition to the blasphemous and urged all Muslims to actively participate in its condemnation. Accordingly, on Friday, April 19, 1991, members of the Movement assembled at the Katsina Central Mosque along with other Muslims, for the congregation prayer. Before the prayer commenced, Mallam Yahaya stood up and told the congregation the story of the *Fun Times* Magazine and the reaction of his Movement.

I then appealed to the members of the congregation to join a *muzahara* immediately after the completion of the Friday prayer. My appeal was in the name of Allah and His Prophet Muhammad (SAW). I reminded all those who respond to my call that *muzahara* means peaceful and orderly procession. No one should misbehave in the process because we will not hesitate to remove any unruly person from our midst.³¹

However, this peaceful procession was accosted by the Police who immediately began to fire teargas into their midst, Pandemonium set in, and everybody began to run helter skelter: Katsina State Ministry of Information, Treasury Department of the State's Ministry of Finance and the State Library buildings in addition to four vehicles of the State Government were set ablaze. In the end, a total of 161 members of the Islamic Movement were arrested and detained by the Police. But 40 out of those detained members of the Islamic Movement were ones who voluntarily submitted themselves to the Police when they heard that their colleagues were already been arrested by the Police. Another 18 (out of the 161 arrested people) who were not even in town the incident took place, reported themselves to the Police and said that, although they did not take part in the *muzahara*, they wished to identify themselves with the actions of their colleagues.³²

From the above incident, one thing which is clear is that harassment by Police is not an effective deterrent, as members of the Movement are committed to carrying out their activities despite threats of or actions by the law enforcement agents. Let us support this position with an example: the 161 members of the movement who were arrested were charged with unlawful assembly, rioting and inciting religious

disturbances, were tried and sentenced by a tribunal which was headed by a High Court Judge. As soon as some of those who were jailed completed their prison terms and regained their freedom, other members of the movement from all over the country converged again in Katsina to rejoice with them. The Police fired teargas on their assembly, arresting over 250 of them. In the process, one member of the movement and a Police man lost their lives.³³

Apart from *Muzahara*, the Islamic Movement publishes a vernacular magazine in Hausa titled: *Gwagwarmaya* (i.e. struggle). This magazine enjoys wide circulation among Muslim youths especially in the Northern part of the country. This is in addition to audio-visual cassette recordings of preaching sessions and other activities of the movement.³⁴

An analysis of the composition of the membership of the Islamic movement, according to three variables, i.e. age, educational background and sex is highly revealing. More than 80% of a sample of 161 members of the movement are people who did not go beyond primary school. They are largely students of the traditional Qur'anic and *ilm* schools that are available in abundance all over Northern Nigeria needs to be further investigated. The movement as can be seen from the table below is male dominated, and consists of the most active part of the population of the society, i.e. 16-40 year old people. This could be the result of growing socio-economic distress in the country. In conducting their activities, for examples, an interesting thing about the members of Islamic movement is their commitment to their belief/programmes. It appears that the concept of martyrdom is fully internalized by them. The fear of death in the course of their encounter with the law enforcement agents like Mallam Yahaya and several of the members repeatedly stated during interviews with them is out of the question:

It does not matter to us at all whether we die or survive in struggle for the establishment of Sharia'h in all its ramification in this country. God will raise other believers who will continue with the struggle from where we stopped.³⁵

Table: Showing an analysis of the composition of the membership of the Islamic Movement according to their ages, educational background and sex.

Education	No	Age Group	No	M	F
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Undergraduates	4	16-20	40	151	10
H.N.D.	2	21-30	60		
Secondary School	24	31-40	60		
	41	41-50	0		
Primary/Quranic School	131	51-60	1		
Total	161	161	161		

In fact, when following their burning of Daily Times publications on March 29, 1991, the then Military Governor of Katsina State, Colonel John Madaki, arbitrarily pronounced death sentence over Mallam Yahaya. 36 members of the movement from all over the country began to troop into Katsina to congratulate Mallam Yahaya over the death sentence which was passed on him. Although the sentence was not carried out, the hysteric celebration of the Governor's threat under scores the determination of the members of the Islamic movement to carry on with their struggle against all odds.

Although there is no detained articulation of the type of society which the Islamic movement wants to establish in Nigeria, it is very clear that as far as they are concerned, the secular character of the Nigerian State, makes it lose its political legitimacy and the right to control the lives of Muslims in Nigeria. According to Mallam Yahaya:

We do not recognize the laws of this country because they do not conform with the laws of Allah as stated in the Holy Qur'an. This is why we want to operate outside it.

Our Prophet appointed an Alkali (Judge) a Governor and War Commander based on the provisions of the Holy Qur'an.

We want to follow the teachings of the Holy Qur'an and our Prophet in toto.³⁷

The implication of the above statement is that while the long time objectives of the Islamic movement is to bring about an Islamic revolution, in Nigeria in the meantime, they will continue to defy its laws. This is why, for example, they are

not prepared to seek for anybody's permission to assemble for their activities, conduct preachings, public processions, etc.

Conclusion

The establishment and consolidation of colonial rule perverted the course of the development of Muslim societies in Northern Nigeria. The British were able to cut the sharp edge of Islam and reduce it simply to a religion of rituals through the way and manner the values of free enterprises and liberal democracy were entrenched in Nigeria. The vanguard of Islamic revolution, the Ulama, were successfully incorporated into the colonial establishment, while structures were set up not only to ensure their reproduction, but also to facilitate their perpetuation of the neocolonial state order after the colonial master had left.

The emergence of the Islamic movement in the wake of socio-economic convulsion and political instability in Nigeria, marks the resurgence of Islamic revivalism which had for long been suppressed. In this period of economic uncertainty and political dilemma in which most Nigerians find themselves, the young Muslims increasingly see the Islamic movement as an effective vehicle through which they can register their dissatisfaction with the western political and economic system which the Nigerian State represents and doggedly defends. The members of the Islamic movement are not Shias in the theoretical and theological sense of the word. For them, Shiaism means a complete return to the pristine values of Islam as enshrined in the Qur'an and Hadith of Prophet Muhammad (SAW). It also means a radical departure from western values and its exploitative political and economic system.

Notes

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2. A.G. Saeed. "The Ansar Community of Dumbulwa: Its origin and Development, 1991 to 1923" Bayero University, Kano, Department of History, Postgraduate Seminar, January, 1985, pp.2-10.
3. A.B. Sulaiman. *The Role of Shahuci and School for Arabic Studies, Kano in the Development of Legal Education in Northern Nigeria to 1967*. M.A. History, Bayero University, Kano, 1990, p.87.
4. Ibid, pp.175-176.

5. Y.B. Usman. *The Manipulation of Religion in Nigeria 1977-87*, Vanguard Printers and Publishers, 1989, pp.83-84.
6. T.M. Naniya. *The Transformation of Administration of Justice in Kano Emirate 1903-1966*, PhD (History), Bayero University, Kano. Unpublished, p.351.
7. Ibid, pp.342-347.
8. Usman. *The Manipulation of Religion*, pp.88-90.
9. Ibid, pp.85-88.
10. T.V. Nwala. *Crisis in Nigerian Universities Underlying Factors and Solutions* - Publication of the Committee for Free Education, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Undated, pp.1-16; *The University Crisis Muhammad Commission*, the White Paper. Issued by the Academic Staff Union of Nigerian Universities, undated, p.7; J.M. Aminu, *Quality and Stress in Nigerian Education: Selected Addresses and Papers 1975-85*, University of Maiduguri and Northern Nigerian Publishing Company, Maiduguri and Zaria, 1986, p.12.
11. Ibid.
12. H. Algar. *The Islamic Revolution in Iran* Gaskiya Corporation Ltd, Zaria, 1980, p.1.
13. Ibid.
14. Usman. *The Manipulation of Religion*, p.90.
15. Citizen, July, 19 - August, 1991, Vol.2, No.31, p.13.
16. Ibid.
17. A Qur'anic term that denotes a law giver other than an in opposition to Allah.
18. Citizen, p.13.
19. Ibid, p.14.
20. Algar. *The Islamic Revolution in Iran*, pp.2-4.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. *African Concord*, 22 April, 1991, Vol.5, No.51, p.3.
24. This is a highly reactionary, a political Muslim group which is more preoccupied with the pursuit of pristine sentimentation as it effects religious rituals.
25. Citizen, p.18.
26. *Muta* (i.e. temporary marriage) I got this information from my discussion with Mallam Muhammad Saeed el-Nafaty of the Islamic Studies Department, Bayero University, Kano.
27. Interview, Mallam Yakubu Yahaya, Katsina, October, 1991.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid. Interview, Muhammad Ibrahim et al.; Katsina, October, 1991.
33. Press Release by the Islamic Movement, January, 1992.

34. Interview, Mallam Yakubu Yahaya.
35. Ibid. Most members who were interviewed, share this view.
36. Colonial Madaki accused Mallam Yahaya of taking the law into his own hands and of trying to cause the breakdown of law and order in the State. See: *African Concord*, pp.32-38.
37. Interview, Mallam Yakubu Yahaya.

SECTION II

Education and Change in Katsina Kingdom

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Introduction

History has established the central place of education in change and societal development. As a tool of cultural reproduction, education has been the veritable underlying force of all cultures and civilisation, past and present. Ancient Egyptian civilisation had its vitality anchored on its educational system. So does the Greek, the Chinese and the Nok cultures, the latter which developed terra cotta techniques in cultural preservation in Nigeria. The Renaissance of the European middle age was the great educational revolution that brought about the rapid transformation of Europe. And the subsequent industrial revolution was also predicated on development of a sharper educational tool, now totally secularised and disposed towards science and technology.

The rise of Islam and its civilisations have also been through scholarship and learning. From the beginning, Islam has been a religion built and reproduced on learning. Not only was the first revelation of the Qur'an concerned with learning, reading and writing, both the Qur'an and the Sunnah speak abundantly on learning for the quest of Allah. For example, Allah says:

He grants wisdom to whom He pleases and he to whom wisdom is granted receives indeed a benefiting overflowing.²

Indeed, Islam has made learning from the very first Qur'an revelation mandatory on Muslims ("Read in the name of the Lord who created"). The Prophet was also emphatic on this. Among others he once said:

Acquisition of knowledge is an obligation upon every Muslim.³

Islam as a religion of learning, thus, places a very high premium on both scholarship and education. For it is only through scholarship and learning that the truth can be pursued and the ummah mobilised to establish an Islamic social, economic and political order. This explains why all Islamic civilisations, from the time of the Prophet (PBUH), through the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Fatimids, the Ottoman Empire to the Sokoto Caliphate and the Islamic Republic of Iran go with them an important tradition of scholarship and learning.

In Hausaland from about the 15th century, we all know the agency of Islam and its tradition of scholarship in the process of societal transformation, especially state formation. Through Islam, such kingdoms as Katsina, Kano, Zazzau, etc. were transformed into both strong and vast political entities, but also important centres of learning.⁴ Among others, Islam provided these societies with the potent instrument of wielding and consolidating various communities and disparate groups, and also the necessary ideological dispensation. According to Y. B. Usman

In all these polities the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was a period of radical political changes associated with Mai Ali Ghazi in Borno (c. 1470-1503); the Sarkin Kano, Muhammadu Rumfa (c. 1463-1499); the first Kanta of Kebbi (c. 1513), and the Askia Muhammadu Toure in Songhai (c. 1493-1528). The ideas and attitudes which brought about the

generated these changes were made up of elements of the Islamic and non-Islamic outlook on government found in these areas. In general these changes made for the prevalence of a conception of a political community incorporating diverse descent, linguistic and occupational groups, around a government standing above all these with sovereign right over defined territory with which the community was closely identified. They produced the ideological climate within which the.... Sarauta system emerged.⁵

Islam also helped in the further transformation of Hausaland, especially through trade and the development of learning. The input of Muslim traders must have further enhanced production and exchange of goods and services. In this regard, the epochal role of the Wangarawa and Arab traders stand out clearly.⁶

In the kingdom of Katsina, Islam and the scholarship industry it generated, thus, became the main motor of transformation and change from the 15th century. The scholarship of the period allowed for the exposition and taking root of aspects of Islamic civilisation in both politics and administration, economy and trade, culture, science and technology. And since, as we said earlier, the level and potency of education in a society determines to a large extent its degree of transformation and progress, an analysis of the learning industry in pre-Caliphical Katsina shows that by its conception, focus and structure, it remained basically eschatological, urban-based and elitist. It, thus, had infinitesimal impact on agriculture, industry, science and technology. Unlike in Europe, therefore, where the Renaissance became instrumental to the industrial revolution through the transformation of science and technology, production processes and relations in Katsina kingdom did not change radically, its scholarship and intellectualism, notwithstanding.

Scholarship, learning and changes in Katsina Kingdom

By the 15th century, Katsina Kingdom had become an important centre of Islamic scholarship and learning. The kingdom then was renowned for its scholarship, scholars and centres of learning. The development fostered a growth in the size and influence of an Islamic intelligentsia (Ulama) throughout the kingdom. Yandoto, situated in southern Katsina was a bastion of scholarship and learning, and like those of matazu, had come to occupy a powerful position in the Katsina laka area. Other important centres of learning in the kingdom included the city of

Katsina, Kwami, Makurdi, Morai, Benye, Bugaje, Dallaji, Rugar Bade, Mani, Dan Ashita, etc. Indeed, in the city of Katsina, Y.B. Usman identified Masanawa, Gafai, Tsolhuwar Kasuwa, Gambarawa and Maiaduwa as centres of learning. At Masanawa live the descendants of the Wali Abu Abdullahi Masanih al-Barnawa al-Katsinawi (1595-1667).¹⁰ The Ulama of these quarters were of diverse origins, such as Borno, Yandoto, Mali, Wangara, Zadam and Senegambia.¹¹ The situation of Katsina kingdom by the 15th century has been summed up, thus:

Katsina (was) a largely Islamized population in terms of norms, values and identify, whose rulers were also Islamized, but whose legitimacy as a dynasty was based on the *Iskoki* belief system. A numerous and self-conscious Muslim intelligentsia existed.¹²

But while learning and scholarship were fostered by both the wandering and settled catechist teachers, and the book market also flourished in the kingdom, it has been observed that education flourished only in urban areas, and even then limited and 'geared towards the study of morality, eschatology and the good virtues of a prince'.¹³ The contents of education laid more emphasis on jurisprudence and the spread of Islam. According to Ardo and Junaid, educational goals and concept was:

...synonymous with religion. To be learned was to be religiously versed. Similarly, schools -religious schools - flourished only in the urban areas.¹⁴

It therefore seems that scholarship in the kingdom of Katsina, like in the other Hausa states, was dominated by eschatological studies and theologism. It neither incorporated in its realm, and that of society the progress and advances of Islamic sciences of the first ten centuries of the emergence of Islam, nor replicated a Renaissance akin to Europe of the middle ages. In essence, scholarship and education in Hausaland did not transcend the arena of *Kalam* (primarily more concerned with theology) to incorporate and advance the frontiers and values up *Talsafah* and Islamic sciences.

For Islamic scholarship and education in the kingdom, and up to now in Nigeria is bedevilled by lack of state programmes and funding. Neither did the state establish and run schools nor confront scholars with societal issues and problems transcending the eschatological and moral. The Ulama were only called upon to

ponder and produce treatise meant for the princes.¹⁵ In fact, and up to now, Muslim scholars, beside espousing on the moral, eschatological and theological, fall back on the mystic and speculative (*duba*, *dibbu* and *chamfi*).

For the subjects, therefore, education only bred obscurantism and left them only with *taqlid*, lacking any vitality to engage them in productive ventures in the study of science and technology which led to the industrial growth of the western world.¹⁶ Indeed, as argued by Ardo and Junaid, this, coupled with the lack of interest by the State account for "the reason why Arabic, the language of the Islamic religion, was not learnt or spoken widely by the time of colonial conquest, and in fact even now, almost a millennium since the establishment of the Islamic educational system."¹⁷

As observed by Ibraheem Sulaiman, "scholarship pertains essentially to the intellectual and moral nurturing of individual human being", but also of the "positive transformation and development of society."¹⁸ And Usman Bugaje has gone further to show that a proper conception and objective of scholarship in Islam include the sense of struggle for the implementation of the truth in society.¹⁹ It should also serve to mobilise the society for the 'realisation of good', should be relevant to the total life of Ummah, insightful and capable of opening new frontiers of knowledge for the benefit of the society.²⁰

In the development of science, for example, the scholarship of Hausa state 'degenerated to fortune telling and forms of witchcraft'²¹ against the ebullient tradition of the Islamic sciences of the Golden Age of Islam, from which the European Renaissance borrowed a lot. For aware of the need to understand, control and benefit from nature, the Qur'an has consistently appealed for the observation of natural phenomena. This 'consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the universe'²² led to the development of the study of the solar system and the earth', with the variety of life; ideological underpinnings for the development of Astronomy, Geography, Botany and Biology and other *falsafah* as opposed to *kalam*.²³

The contribution of Islamic scholarship to the development of modern science and technology is legion. At its Golden Age, Islamic scholarship was one of extensive search by Islamic scholars into Greek and other scientific works, the translation of scientific texts from earlier civilisations and epochs and their adaptation.²⁴ That

was also the period of original scientific theorising and intellectual creativity by Muslims and the establishment of institution of advance learning such as al-Azhar, Qurawuyuh, etc.²⁵ Thomas Emeagwali has concluded, thus:

The methodology of what is referred to as modern science is directly indebted to the scholarship of ibn Hazm in terms of the developments of Physics; ibn Tufayl in terms of the Biological Sciences; ibn Hayyam and al-Kindi in terms of Chemistry and al-Razi, al-Majusi, ibn Bashir, ibn Sina and ibn Rushd in terms of medicine.²⁶

In explaining the extent to which the scholarship of Hausaland incorporated these earlier advances and consolidated them within the context of the society through its overall intellectual activity in respect to the explanation of natural phenomena, we need to analyse the social formation in question. This is because:

Science is often affected and influenced by the specific configuration of power relations in a given formation... The nature of development of superstructural forms of organization as it relates to this issue and the extent to which scientific activity would serve to enhance the productive power of the formations is an equally important issue in that we would become clear about the nature of interaction between the economy and the scientific activity...²⁷

The fact that while the formation of Katsina kingdom had seen various changes and development in its superstructural forms without any radical change in the process and relations of production implies a weak organicity between scholarship and the economy. While the work of Hiskett has drawn attention to evidence of the knowledge of the Islamic stellar calendar and the revolution of the planets,²⁸ the extent to which such intellectual activity was integrated with the intellectual and scientific thought of the Islamic Golden Age and the society was minimal.

Conclusion

What we have established firstly is the primacy of learning and scholarship in the positive progress and change of any society. That the sharpness of an educational tool is correlative to the development of a civilisation. And secondly, while one does not agree with the contention of Ardo and Junaid that a secularised

educational system provides more for development, we have seen that the achievements of the scholarship of Islam in science and technology of its Golden Age was neither integrated and, therefore, nor advanced in pre-twentieth century Hausaland.

Evident from the lack of organicity of *Falsafah* and *Kalam* in its scholarship, the educational system of the kingdom of Katsina was ensconced in theologism, and at best in fortune telling and soothsaying. While scholarship in Europe, built on the achievements of earlier successes of Muslim scholarships was serving the Renaissance of the middle age (the gateway to the European industrial revolution), the societies of Hausaland were still enmeshed in a scholarship of clairvoyancy.

And as is evident from the world of today, Muslims either go back to their roots and compliment their society with the advances of its progenitors in the realms of the sciences and advance the frontiers and efficacy of their religion, or continue in their post-15th century stupor of theologism and continue to be in the backseat of world affairs. The latter can only put them to the backyard of present achievements and make good the belief of the supremacy of secularism over religion.

Notes

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2. See the Qur'an, XC: 1.
3. M.M. Dangna, *Ulama in Sokoto Caliphate: Their Role, Then and Now*. Paper presented at the International Seminar on the Role of Ulama in Sakkwato Caliphate, op.cit, p.1.
4. See for Example A. Smith, "Some Considerations Relating to the Formation of States in Hausaland". *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, V.3, 1971; and J.O. Hunwick, "Songhay, Bornu and Hausaland in the sixteenth century", in J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder (ed), *History of West Africa*, Vol.1, Longman, 1971.
5. Y.B. Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina (1400-1883): The Emergence and Overthrow of the Sarauta System and the Establishment of the Emirate*, Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1981, p.21.

6. O. Bello, *The Contribution of al-Torodi to the State of Learning in the Sakkwato Caliphate*. Paper presented at the International Seminar on the Role of Ulama in the Sakkwato Caliphate, op. cit, p.1.
7. Ibid, p.1.
8. A.A. Batran, "A Contribution to the Biography of Sheikh Muhammad Ibn Abd-al-Karim Ibn Muhammad (Umar-a-Amer) al-Maghili al-Tilimasani". *Journal of African History*, XIV, 3, 1973, p.390-93.
9. See Y.B. Usman, op.cit, p.71-75.
10. Ibid, p.71.
11. Ibid, p.71-75; and P. Bello, op. cit, p.1.
12. Y.B. Usman, Ibid, p.75.
13. G.V. Ardo and M.I. Junaid, "Education in the Sokoto Caliphate: Continuity and Change", in A.M. Kani and K.A. Gandhi (ed), *State and Society in the Sokoto Caliphate*, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, 1990, p.293.
14. Ibid, p.295.
15. Ibid, p.295.
16. Ibid, p.295.
17. Ibid, p.296.
18. I. Sulaiman, *Worlds Apart: A Brief Analysis of the Role of Scholars of the Sokoto Caliphate and Scholars of Contemporary Nigeria*. Paper delivered at the International Seminar on the Role of Ulama in the Sokoto Caliphate, op. cit, p.1.
19. U.M. Bugaje, *Towards an Exposition of the Concept and Objective of Scholarship in the Sokoto Caliphate*, in Ibid, p.5.
20. Ibid, p.7-14.
21. Ibid, p.9.
22. K. Ahmad (ed), *Islam - Its Meaning and Message*, London, 1975, p.209; and A. Shariati (ed), *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, Wiesbaden, 1963, p.136-154.
23. G. Thomas - Emeagwali, *Reflections on the Development of Science in the Islamic World and its Diffusion into Nigeria Before 1903*. Paper presented at the International Seminar on the Role of ulama in the Sakkwato Caliphate, op. cit, p.2; and the Qur'an ch. 21, 4; ch. 10: 3-7; ch.2. 190; Ch.13: 2-5; ch. 55: 2-27.
24. See F.E. Peters, *Aristotle and the Arabs*, New York, 1968; and S.H. Nasr, *Islamic Science*, 1976.
25. M. Nakosteen, *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education*, University of Colorado, 1964, p.45-50; and F. Reichmann, *The Source of Western Literacy*, 1980.
26. G. Thomas-Emeagwali, op. cit, p.5.
27. Ibid, p.7.
28. M. Hiskett, "The Arab Star Calendar and Planetary System in Hausa Verse", in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXX, 1967, p.158-76.
29. G.V. Ardo and M.I. Junaid, op. cit, p.299.

Some reflections on the development of Islamic learning in Katsina (1300-1800 AD)

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During its long pre-colonial history, Katsina appeared to have passed through three distinct stages. First, there was the stage of pagan kingship, from the time of its establishment to the reign of Sanau about the middle of the 15th century. During this period, Katsina was made up of communities centred around some *iskoki* or cult of ancestor worship with little political cohesion. The second stage was that of Muslim kingship which started with the reign of Korau in the 1450s and lasted until the Jihad in the 1800s. During this period Islam, which had earlier spread, gained ascendancy, pushing the pagan cults to the background. It was during this period that trade boosted, the towns grew, the Shari'a became established, Islamic learning developed and the polity grew in both complexity as well as political cohesion. The third stage started with the Jihad and lasted until the colonial period. This was the stage of the Emirate system which represented a more through Islamic system of governance with Shari'a firmly rooted in society and Islamic learning taken to greater heights.

This radical, if gradual, transformation from a fetish centred parochial community into a cosmopolitan Islamic society with extensive trade links, complex political structure and well developed tradition of learning has understandably elicited substantial interest. Many historians have tried to unravel the force behind this profound transformation and the factors that aided it. Previous studies have tended to emphasise economic factors and class struggle, almost to the exclusion of Islam. Recent studies, however, have conceded more grounds to Islam. This chapter wishes to reflect over the development of the Islamic tradition of learning and re-examine its role in the transformation of Katsina, in the light of the more recent research.

The spread of Islam into the region of Hausaland had, for sometime now, been associated with the arrival of the Muslim Wangara traders in Kano in the middle

of the 14th century.¹ Recent researches have, however, suggested much earlier date and argued that the arrival of the Wangara represented a stage in the Islamisation of Hausaland rather than its beginning.² The real significance of the advent of the Wangara, argued Adamu, "should at the very best be taken to refer to the Islamisation of the government circles in Kano, but not to be regarded as giving an acceptable history of the first arrival of Islam in Hausa".³ Philips, writing on the Islamisation of Kano, has also argued:

In western Sudan Islamisation of the people seems to have preceded that of their rulers, for instance, Jenne there were already 4200 Muslim scholars when the ruler converted. In ancient Ghana there were 12 Mosques at the time of the Almoravids. Although the conversion of the rulers often accelerated the conversion of the masses, it rarely began it in West Africa. The conversion of the ruler and his court was a dramatic turning point from which date the state may be considered Muslim. But this is a climax of a process of Islamisation rather than its commencement.⁴

Similarly, the arrival of Korau from the learned city of Yandoto and his wresting of power and emerging as the first Muslim king of Katsina, represents a climax of Islamisation in Katsina. Without a substantial and, perhaps, influential Muslim subjects in Katsina as at the arrival of Korau, it was not conceivable how the transition could be so smooth, without any known incidence of revolt or social upheaval. That it was smooth even as, Korau was a stranger to the Birni not only further supports this interpretation, but also reflects the measure of broadmindedness and the cosmopolitanism in Katsina at the time. This may have, perhaps, been due to the weakening of the parochialism of the more particularistic ancestor-worship cults. This very weakening of the pagan cults of Durbi-ta-Kusheyi and their other varieties was clearly the result of the increasing influence of Islam.

The conflicts in the Katsina Kinglists does not allow us to say accurately how long the reign of Korau was, but he appeared to have a long reign and, perhaps, more importantly, his reign marked a clear break from the smaller particularistic, ancestor-worship based communities into a more cohesive cosmopolitan political community made up of several *garuruwa* and *birane*. The reign of Korau coincided with similar changes in Zazzau and Kano where Muhammadu Barau

and Muhammadu Rumfa came to power with a clear Muslim identity and determined to throw the weight of the emerging state behind the ongoing process of Islamisation. In the cautious words of Smith:

The pre-eminence of these rulers is partly due to the roles they are believed to have played in the spread of Islam in Hausaland. Muhammadu Korau and Muhammadu Rabbo are stated in the king list to have been the first Muslim kings of Katsina and Zazzau, respectively. While Muhammadu Rumfa is regarded as an Islamic reformer.⁶

The sum total of the efforts of these three *Muhammadu* was to consolidate Islam and open the gates of Hausaland to Islamic, cultural and intellectual influences, more than ever before. A further impetus to their efforts was received from a similar change in leadership in Songhay which brought Askia Muhammad Toure to power in 1492. This particularly integrated effectively the Katsina-Kano-Zazzau axis of Hausaland into the Timbuktu intellectual zone, boosting the development of learning in these cities.

It is easy to see, therefore, how Ibrahim Sura (c. 1495-95), the immediate successor of Korau got in touch with Jalal al-din al-Suyudti in far away Cairo asking for his *Fatawa* on certain issues. Muhammad al-Maghili's (d. 1503) visit and sojourn in Katsina was what seemed to have concretised the yearnings of these kings and the growing Muslims population in Katsina. For it was al-Maghili who seemed to have solved for the government of Katsina the problem of the application of the shari'a in a multi-religious community. Al-Maghili's background in Telemcen, in North Africa, and the very circumstance that prompted his exit out of his country made him best placed to address himself to the issue. He seemed to have succeeded in establishing an effective machinery for the administration of justice and left behind Ayd Ahmed, one of his most able disciples to head this system as the Qadi of Katsina after he had moved to Kano.⁷ Ayd Ahmad whose full name is Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Tazakhti also known as *Dan Takum* died in Katsina in 1529. While in Katsina al-Maghili prompted the building of the Gobarau Mosque with its Timbuktu type architecture which served as an educational centre in the same fashion as the Sankore Mosque in Timbuktu developed into a kind of university.

In time Katsina grew into a city of learning attracting scholars and students from the width and breadth of central and western Bilad al-Sudan. Though Yandoto remained a city of learning until the Jihad period, Birnin Katsina seemed to have excelled over it from the beginning of the 16th century. Many prominent scholars from Timbuktu visited Katsina on route to or from pilgrimage.⁸ Many of them like Makhluf b. Salil b. Balbali (d. 1535) who studied earlier in Timbuktu and Marrakesh stayed and taught in Katsina for some time.⁹ There were also several students coming from neighbouring Hausa states and Borno in search of learning.

By the end of the 16th century, Katsina had begun to produce indigenous scholars of international repute. Scholars like Muhammad b. Masani al-Barnawi al-Kashinawi (1595-1667) (Dan Masani) was another, some of whose writings have luckily survived, if still unstudied. There was also Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Fulani al-Kashinawi who became renowned in the secret sciences (*al-ulum al-siriyya*), Mathematics and Astronomy. He was educated in Katsina and then travelled through Egypt to Hajj. On return from Hajj he remained and taught in Cairo where he died in 1741 as guest of al-Jabarti. Among the works of al-Kashinawi is *al-Durr al-Munzum wa Khulasat at-Sirr al-Maktum fi ilmi al-talasim wa-l-Nujum* which he compiled in Cairo in 1733-4.¹⁰

From the middle of the 17th century the tradition of Islamic learning in Katsina appeared to have matured to a point where it produced a coterie of indigenous intellectuals renowned for their knowledge abroad and influence at home. Unfortunately, very few of their writings are extant and even these have not been studied and our understanding of the development of this tradition of learning in Katsina remains scanty. We may, however, glean a substantial information by looking at the feature of the tradition of learning in Western Bilad al-Sudan, a feature generally known as the Timbuktu tradition, of which the tradition of learning in Katsina is an integral part. In fact, an understanding of the broader tradition will help us place the development in Katsina in its proper context.

Islam and knowledge can be said to be synonymous not so much because of Islam's emphasis on knowledge and respect for human intellect as for the practical step it takes in making the search for knowledge obligatory on every Muslim, male and female. Thus, the first thing a Muslim child or convert does is to learn the Qur'an. The Qur'an not only sets out the basic principles of life for the Muslim, but urges Muslim consistently and strongly to acquire for more knowledge. But

knowledge in this tradition is not acquired for its own sake, but for a higher goal. This is precisely why the *Shaykh* in this tradition of learning plays a central role. This not so much because the Shaykh commit to memory most of the standard texts like the Qur'an, books of *hadith* and *fiqh* texts, but because learning in this tradition goes beyond the mere acquisition of knowledge to involve the shaping and moulding of the pupils' character. Knowledge is being acquired to be put into practice and both knowledge and practice in Islamic context must always go together. Thus, this is the piety of the Shaykh which recommends him to prospective students as much as his learning.

The significance of the matter was such that students defy distances and other obstacles and difficulties to travel to a renowned Shaykh to acquire learning. The central role of the Shaykh made the chain of transmission of learning (*silsila*) and the sheikh's permission for the student to teach the subject to learnt (*ijaza*) very important. This seems particularly so in the Bilad al-Sudan. Where "scholars tended to play a far more prominent role in their communities than in the North Africa and Middle Eastern cities", in Sufi circles both the Shaykh and the *silsila* acquire a special significance as they determine the position of the *murid* in the hierarchy of the *tariqa*. Both within Sufi and non-Sufi circles, the *silsila* and the *ijaza* join the sheikhs and their students and *muridun* otherwise separated by gulfs of time and space, into one fraternity, reinforcing this network of scholarship and enriching the quality of knowledge.

Though the curriculum was uniform throughout the region and throughout the period, it did not remain static. It was constantly being nourished and updated through the movements of scholars in and out of the region either for reasons of Hajj or the more routine search for knowledge. Considering the depth and breadth of this curriculum, it is neither possible nor even desirable to delineate it here. It may be useful, however, to mention the core curriculum if only to show that it was not very different from what was to be found in most parts of the Muslim world of the time, the difference, if any, being one of emphasis.

As will be expected in any Muslim community the Qur'an forms the focus of the curriculum, which forms the first reading material from childhood and is often committed to memory. In advanced studies it is the *Tafsir* (exegesis of the Qur'an) that is studied and there are several of such Tafsir, each with its learning emphasis or style. The *Tafsir al-Jalayan*, which was started by Jalal al-Din al-Mahelli and

completed by Jalal al-din al-Suyudi, became particularly popular in the region from the 16th century. Next to the Qur'an comes the *hadith* of the Prophet which in advanced studies is read along with the *Sira*, the life history of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW). Beside the *sihah at-sitta* (the six most authentic ones) and their various commentaries, of which the Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim are to this day the most prominent, the Muwatta of Imam Malik, which is at once a hadith and fiqh book occupied a special place in the region. Similarly, the *al-shifa* of Qadi Iyad takes a prominent position among *Sira* books, a position has maintained to this day in the region.

Fiqh (jurisprudence) also forms a core course, the study of which starts from childhood when the basic acts of worship are learnt, and later the more issues of marriage, inheritance, commercial transactions, social interactions, political issues, etc. are discussed. Here while the *Risala* of ibn Abi Zayd of Qayrawan takes care of the more elementary issues, the *Mudawwana al-kubra* of Sahnun and the *Mukhtasar* of Khalil and their various commentaries take up the more advanced issues with details. At a more advanced level the study of fiqh entails the study of the sources or foundation of jurisprudence, *usul al-fiqh*. It is here more than anywhere else that a thorough knowledge of the Arabic language becomes necessary. Indeed, some knowledge of the language is acquired along the system of education, but at this level a proper study of *nahw* (grammar), *Balagha* (rhetoric), *arud* (prosody) *mantiq* (logic) becomes essential. In addition to the language requirements the study of tawhid often complements the study of *usul al-fiqh*.

While these form the core of the curriculum, there are many other subjects that engage the attention of scholars. These include history, philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and the science of tasawwuf. Scholars in the region like their brothers in the rest of the Muslim world tended to acquire educational base before specialising in any field of interest. Writing about Muhammad Baghaygho, a prominent Timbuktu scholar, Hunwick remarks that "the scholars whose works Muhammad Baghaygho studied and taught represented every area of the Muslim world from Spain and North Africa in the West through Egypt, Syria Arabia and Iraq in the Middle East, to Persia and the Soviet central Asia in the East".¹¹

It is interesting that despite the exposure of the scholars to the wider intellectual heritage of the Muslim world they maintained their Maliki based fiqh and certain

features that became unique to the western Sudan. Indeed the influence of the early Maliki Fuqaha of Qayrawan like Sahnun, the author of the *Mudawana al-kubra*, ibn Abi Zayd of the *Risala* and Abu Imran al-fasi the activist was overwhelming. It was also the Murabitun scholars who laid the foundations of this tradition of learning which came to be symbolised by Timbuktu. Some of the prominent scholarly families of Timbuktu like the Aqit family which produced luminaries like Ahmad Baba al-Timbuktu, were direct descendants of the Murabitun scholars. For a deeper appreciation of this tradition of learning we may need to look, even if briefly at some of the prominent scholars who gave it its unique features. Muhammad al-Maghili, Ahmad Baba and Sidi Mukhtar al-Kunti are three scholars.

Muhammad b. Abdul-karim al-Maghili was a native of Tlemcen, and was a leading scholar in Tuwat, both towns in present day Algeria. He was raised in the best tradition of North African Maliki scholarship. He was born in the early decades of the 15th century when the power of the Marinid dynasty ruling the maghrib was on decline and the number and influence of Jews, having been deported from Muslim Spain (Andulus) following a treachery, was on the increase. In Tuwat in particular, the Jews who were supposed to be *dhimmis* under the Shari'a were taking over the economy and were steadily finding their way to the seats of power. The situation in the maghrib was gradually generating resentment among the Muslim population and in some cases, provoked several clashes. Al-Maghili was one of the very few ulama in Tuwat to raise their voices against the growing menace of the Jews and to campaign for the restoration of their *dhimmi* status as provided by Shari'a. Al-Maghili distinguished himself not only in his arguments with other ulama who supported the Jews and their corrupt rulers, but in his resolve and determination for the establishment of the rule of the Shari'a.

Throughout his itinerary al-Maghili left the stamp of his militancy as well as his loath for the ulama who connived with the rulers to supplement the provisions of the Shari'a. In Adages and Takedda he taught and soon acquired a substantial following, including Ayd Ahmad. In Katsina he instituted a machinery of justice under the Shari'a and established an institution of learning at Gobarau. In Kano he wrote a book for Muhammad Rumfa on the establishment of Islamic government in Kano, *Taj Al-din fi ma Yajib an al-muluk*. In Songhay he answered the

questions of Askia who was anxious to establish the Shari'a and urged him to carry out Jihad and establish Islam.¹²

The thrust of al-Maghili's contribution is that the rule of the Shari'a must be supreme in a truly Muslim community. Both the executive and the judiciary must submit to its dictates. He gave the principle of *Amr bil-maruf wal-Nahyi an al-munkar* (commanding the right and forbidding the wrong), a new vitality as the main instrument for the maintenance of the share and the establishment of justice in society. He justified the use of force whenever necessary in the application of this principle, thus, giving Tajdid a unique vigour in the region. His concept of ulama al-su, the venal ulama, who gave support to corrupt governments and blocked the efforts of those who strive to restore justice was of seminal significance to the region. Not only did it improve dramatically the sense of responsibility among scholars in the western Bilad al-Sudan, but it also was a standard by which the ulama of the region came to be judged.

Ahmad Baba al-Tumbuktu (155-1627) is, perhaps, the greatest and certainly the most prolific scholar of his time in the western Bilad al-Sudan. During his long and illustrious career he taught, like many of his teachers, a wide range of works and wrote well over 50, often voluminous, works.¹³ Ahmad Baba symbolised selfless dedication to learning and teaching, where the spread of knowledge become a primary objective. Teachers took great pains and went out of their way to make knowledge available to literally whoever needed it. There were no ivory towers; the Mosques were often the colleges and universities. Any seeker after knowledge could walk into Sankore or Gobarau confident of finding a teacher. Knowledge was sacred so both the teacher and the student approached it with reverence and awe.

In the Timbuktu tradition the respect for the teacher emanated not only from his dedication to learning, but also from his distance from power and corruption and the identification with the aspirations of the ordinary people in the midst of whom the teachers lived. This distance from authority often buttressed their moral authority making them beacons of justice around whom people could rally and on whom people could rely in trying times. When Timbuktu was invaded in 1591 by Moroccan mercenaries, it was Ahmad Baba and fellow scholars who were at the forefront of the resistance. When he was taken in chains to Morocco and arraigned before the Sultan, Ahmad Baba displayed courage and wit which set the standard

for the scholars of the region.¹⁴ Humility and courage came to symbolise scholarship in this tradition of learning.

Sidi Mukhtar al-Kabir al-wafi al-Kunti, the celebrated Qadiriyya shaykh was born in Azwad, North of Timbuktu, about 1729-30. He saw the ascendance of Qadiriyya *tariqa* and took sufism to greater heights and gave it the dynamism it did not have in the maghrib and the orient of his time. He was concerned about the decline of learning and the perversion of *bida'a* and he made efforts in raising learning and reviving the Sunnah. But what distinguished him from his contemporaries and left his indelible marks on the intellectual tradition of the region was not so much his efforts in reviving learning as his concentration on the refinement of character (*akhlaq*), like his views on *zuhud* and *madhahib*. Al-Kunti did not encourage the Sufi tendency of withdrawal from society or the narrow concept of being tied to one *madhhab*. Even as a qadiri shaykh he was liberal enough to allow people to have as many shaykhs and tariqas as will satisfy their spiritual yearnings. Summarising some of these ideas, Batron noted,

Sidi al-Mukhtar made clear that Zuhd does not lie in complete detachment from the world, but in emptying the heart from the desire of the world. He deprecated a life of mendacity and exhorted the muridun to take a profession and increase their riches. Wealth, he asserted, was the cornerstone for jah and haiba.

Besides calling the people to jihad against the carnal soul, Sidi al-Mukhtar called for the return to the basic sources of Islamic jurisprudence and the restoration of the teachings of the companions of the Prophet and the Tabi'in. Moreover, he rejected exclusive adherence to one madhhab and opened the door of *ijtihad* to whoever was juristically qualified.

Al-Kunti's dynamic ideas gave this tradition of learning fresh impetus, allowing the society full rein to exploit its intellectual capacity.

The Islamic tradition of learning which developed in Katsina was one in which knowledge was held sacred and studied not only for its own sake, but for a sublime purpose. This sublime purpose is the establishment of a just and equitable society, and to restore this justice and equity whenever they are found wanting in society. Knowledge in this tradition of learning confers a moral responsibility, a

responsibility to reform society. The scholar in this tradition represents the conscience of society and a beacon of hope. This is precisely what gave this tradition of learning the capacity to change society, as the 19th century jihad amply illustrates.

Katsina, along with other emirates of the Sokoto caliphate have since fallen prey to European imperialism. The Islamic tradition of learning has for the last nine decades been under the physical and psychological attack of colonial and neo-colonial governments. What has remained of it is understandably only a shadow of its real self. Battered and bruised almost beyond recognition, edged out of the main stream of society, it is even to its credit that it has still managed to survive. The reasons for this attack are fairly well known as Professor Smith tried to explain:

Education policy pursued in the Muslim countries by the imperialist powers... usually denied any large-scale government support to Islamic educational institutions, and generally placed obstacles in the way of the expansion of the Islamic school system. This was because it was believed that too much Islamic education might give rise to anti-imperial 'fanaticism', 'Mahdism' and so on. At the same time it encouraged the development of Western education, partly as a counterpoise to Islam, partly to train subordinate administrative personnel for employment in the imperial administration, and partly to develop an influential class persons in Muslim countries who, though, Muslim to the extent of praying and fasting, possessed a Western cultural orientation -- language, consumption habits, dress, social morality, ideas about government, economic, class, etc. -- and therefore a stake in the continuation of the 'western connection'.

Has this western system of education made Katsina, or indeed Nigeria for that matter, any happier a place to live in? The greatest promise of the imperial system of education, fully secured in its secular niche has been material development. We must now ask, has it delivered; with the crushing weight of corruption, inefficiency, poverty, disease and hunger on our frail shoulders? How much hope can we nurse today? Can the scholars of this western system of education deliver us from the prevailing tyranny and injustice that has today become our lot in the same way Muslim scholars and the Jihad leaders of the early 19th century

delivered their society from the tyranny of the Hausa rulers? In the western European tradition of learning such questions do not arise, for scholars in this tradition have simply no responsibility beyond their "good selves". But in the Islamic tradition of learning, where the scholars has a moral responsibility to his society and where human society has objectives beyond bread and butter, such questions must be raised and must be answered too.

Notes

1. *Kano Chronicle*
2. See U.M. Bugaje, *The Tradition of Tajdid in Western Bilad al-Sudan*, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Khartoum, 1991.
3. Quoted in M.S. Umar, *Sufism and Anti-Sufism*, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Bayero University Kano, p. 27.
4. J.E. Philips, The Islamisation of Kano Before Jihad, *Kano Studies (New Series)*, Vol 2 No 3, 1982/85 p. 32-33.
5. Tradition reported that Korau was a stranger from the learned city of Yandoto. See Y.B. Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina*, A.B.U. Zaria, 1981, p. 10-11.
6. A. Smith, The Early States of the Central Sudan, in Ajayi and Crowder (eds), *History of West Africa*, Vol 1, 2nd Edition, London, Longman, 1976 p. 198.
7. Al-Sa'adi, *Tarikh al-Sudan*, p. 39-40.
8. U. al-Naqr, *The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa*, Khartoum, K.U.P., 1972, pp. 34-5.
9. Al-Sa'adi, op.cit. p. 39.
10. See al-Naqr, op.cit p. 127.
11. J.O. Hunwick, A Sixteen Century African Scholar: Muhammad Baghaygo, in *Studies in Memory of Kwame Yeboah Da Aku*.
12. See J.O. Hunwick, *Sharia in Songhay: The replies of al-Maghili to the questions of Askia al-Hajj Muhammad*. Oxford, O.U.P. 1985.
13. See A. al-Bartali, Fath al-shukur fi ma'riyat a'yan ulama al-takur, in, M.I. Kihami and M.Hajj (eds) Beirut, 1981 pp. 31-7. See also E.N. Sa'ad, *Social History of Timbuktu*. Cambridge, 1983 p. 75.
14. Ahmad al-Nasiri, *Kitab al-istiga li akhbar duwal al-maghrrib al-aqsa*. Vol 5, Dar Bayda, 1955. p. 125. See also L. Kaba, The pen, the sword, and the crown: Islam and revolution in Songhay reconsidered, *JAH*, 25, 1984, pp. 241-26.
15. A. Barton, An introductory note on the impact of Sidi al-Mukhtar on West African Islam in the 18th and 19th centuries, *J.H.S.N.*, Vol 4, No 4, 1973 p. 343.
16. Abdullahi Smith, *Report to the National Universities Commission*, unpublished, 1976.

The period c.16th to 18th century in the History of Learning in Katsina

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It is difficult to say when exactly Katsina was established, nonetheless, various attempts were made by different people to explain its establishment. In a popular opinion the emergence of the kingdom was connected with the famous Bayajidda legend.¹ I do not intend to repeat the legend here as it has been well represented in books as well as committed to the memory of many. However, modern historians have reputed the claim.² According to some historians Katsina, like most cities and towns, came to being as a result of the coming together of some smaller settlements close to one another with a view to forming a bigger settlement. That could be due to a common desire of the hitherto smaller settlements. Perhaps, they all wanted to benefit from a fertile land in the area, or a better security which the area can provide or that the area enclosed the place of their worship.³

According to Barth, Katsina came into existence in the early 13th century when the seat of power was then at Ambuwai.⁴ In any case Katsina came to limelight between 13th and 14th centuries, especially during the reign of King Muhammadu Korau (1348-1398).

Just like the establishment of Katsina was shrouded in mystery, the exact period for the introduction of Islam to the city is also obscure. In fact on a general perspective we were told that:

Islam reached the Savannah region of West Africa in eight century AD, the date from which the written History of West Africa begins.⁵

Again, the issue was more specific when it was said that:

Islam was brought to Hausaland in the early fourteenth century by traders and scholars. About forty Wangarawa traders are thought to be

responsible for introducing Islam to Kano during the reign `Ali Yaji who ruled Kano from 1349-1385.⁶

In another opinion also we were told that:

that exact date of introducing Islam into Hausaland is yet to be determined and this is already due to the absence of written sources. However, it is generally accepted that the religion of Islam made its first inroads in Hausaland, sometime, before the fifteenth century.⁷

In their attempt to date the period for the introduction of Islam in Katsina some historians like Hunwick opined that it was introduced to the city during the reign of Muhammadu Korau (1348-1398). He said this could even be seen from the ruler's conversion to Islam which was probably due to the influence of the Wangarawa immigrant scholars.⁸ Others that share a different opinion like Hogben believed that Islam came to Katsina during the reign of Ibrahim Sura (1495-1497), the person who ascended to the throne immediately after Muhammadu Korau.⁹

In line with Hunwick and Hogben's opinions dating the introduction of Islam to Katsina in the 14th and 15th centuries, respectively, we could accept both for we were told that the Wangarawa came to Kano between the 14th and 15th centuries, after passing through the land of Gobir, Azben and Katsina. Some of them were said to have settled in the areas they passed through.¹⁰ Therefore Islam most probably came to Katsina in the 14th century during the reign of Muhammadu Korau (1348-1398), the seventh ruler according to the Kinglist of the city. Thus unlike the case in Kanem-Borno, the earliest Islamic influences came from the west rather than the east.¹¹

Interestingly, while some sources described Korau as a famous warrior whose ancestral home was Yandoto in present day Trahe (chafe) district of Sokoto State; others described him as a learned Mallam who came to settle in Katsina from Yandoto.¹² Apart from the fact that Muhammadu Korau's name was a Muslim name, it was during his reign that Islamic learning gained a boost in Katsina. This was in conjunction with the development of documentation culture which is a by-product of advanced intellectual awareness. This argument is based on two factors. First the construction of the famous Gobarau mosque minaret was credited to the tenure of Muhammadu Korau. Further, he was the first Katsina ruler whose period

of reign was documented with dates being estimated from 1348 to 1398. Added to that it was that it was during his reign that some notable scholars visited Katsina. These included Alhaji Jodoma who provided the real *Qibla* (Muslim direction for prayer) when constructing the Mosque at Gobarau.¹³ Another visitor was the famous North African scholar Sheikh Abdullah Muhammad b. Abd al-Karim al-Maghili.¹⁴ However, this opinion is shrouded in mystery in the sense that al-Maghili was said to have visited in 1493 after his visit to Kano, while in the Katsina Kinglist Muhammadu Korau was said to have ruled the city from 1348-1398. With a 95 year gap between Korau's reign and Al-Maghili's visit, it was clear some historical interpretation is faulty.¹⁵ In any case we were told that al-Maghili visited Katsina which:

...was a centre of Islamic learning during the fifteenth century. Most of the pilgrims from Mecca used to visit Katsina. Similarly, a number of scholars from Sankore University, Timbuktu, visited the city, bringing with them books on divinity and etymology.¹⁶

More so, in another source we were told that:

Fifteenth century Hausaland - witnessed movements of scholars from Borno. Some of the Bornuan scholars moved into Katsina and Zazzau to participate in the transmission of learning.¹⁷

Such was the position of learning in Katsina, especially from the period of Muhammadu Korau onwards. No sooner than Islam was introduced to Katsina in particular and Hausaland in general than it continue to spread. The agents for the introduction as well as spread of Islam were principally the Wangarawa (Fulani clan from melle most probably in Senegambian region), traders and itinerant scholars. A.M. Kani quoting Kano chronicle stated that:

The Wangarawa came from Melle bringing the Muhammadan religion. The name of their leader was Abd al-Rahman Zaité.¹⁸

They came to Hausaland on transit while on their way to Mecca for pilgrimage, but settled in various parts of Hausaland as they passed through with a large number of them settling in Kano.¹⁹ Thus

Trade and commerce - paved the way for the introduction of new elements of material culture, and made possible the intellectual development which naturally followed the introduction of literacy and for which parts of the Sudan were to become famous in centuries to come.²⁰

It is for these reasons that some historians often referred to the 16th century as the golden period of learning, due to a world-wide boost in learning during the period.²¹

Having discussed the introduction as well as the spread of Islam in Katsina and Hausaland in general, let us look at the method for the spread of the religion. Virtually all sources revealed that Islam was spread peacefully in Hausaland. In this regard Kani has this to say:

It is assumed that Islam spread in this area by peaceful means and the agents of Islamisation were mainly intenerant scholars.²²

As Islam became widespread, schools were built especially in Katsina and scholars came from all parts of the world and were busy imparting the religion. Gradually Katsina was transformed to a notable centre of learning.

The presence of the Wangarawa among the Hausa communities was bound to have a great impact on the socio-political life of the people. It was also bound to bring significant changes with regard to Islamisation and the transmission of learning in a hitherto illiterate society".²³

By the time the products of the established schools graduated, Katsina marked a landmark in having to its credit a class of indigenous Muslim intelligentsia. In the seventeenth century, Katsina produced native scholars like Muhammadu Dan Masani and Muhammadu Dan Marina. "Learning developed among these Ulama (learned men)" says Hamidu Alkali, through contacts with centres of learning like Timbuktu.²⁴

These renowned Katsina Ulama contributed their quota to the upliftment of the society in most fields of endeavour, i.e. administration, commerce, social life, science and technology, etc. They also contributed a lot to the literary scene by writing books, teaching and preaching, all with the aim of enhancing the standard

of Islamic education. With the status of Katsina as a centre of learning people from distant places visit the city to further their educational career and not only that some came as visiting lecturers to impart knowledge.

With the introduction of Islam to Katsina in the 14th or 15th century, having accepted by people the religion continue to grow stronger and stronger. It brought about changes not only in the ritual affairs of the people, but in social, political as well as economic spheres. Literacy among the people was associated with the coming of Islam. For example, al-Maghili was associated with the establishment of the shari'a to the rulers of Katsina. He was said to have acted as a judge (qadi) before proceeding to Goa.²⁵ To further signify how shari'a was taken with all seriousness in Katsina, findings of Professors Hunwick and Bobboi revealed that the a booklet, *Kha'iyya* was written by Dan Marina purposely in praise of Sarkin Katsina Karyagiwa's verdict against one reprobate named Magani who falsely claimed to be a prophet. The ulama of Katsina in line with the shari'a reported him to the ruler and demanded justice to take its course. He was sentenced to death, and that became a source of joy to the writer, who thus showered praises on the ruler.²⁶

Finally, it should be well noted Islam as an ideology is bound to have some impact on the lives of its adherents. Changes occurred in people in almost all spheres of endeavour be it spiritual, social, political as well as economic. With time shari'a was established and the art of reading and writing was interwoven with the introduction of Islam in the area. Such was the legacy left in Katsina for the current generation not only to study, but emulate.

Notes

1. This is a regular opinion among the people of Katsina. It has formed an integral part of Katsina's oral tradition.
2. Abdullahi, Smith 'The Early states of the central Sudan' In Ajayi, J.F. Ade and Crowder, Michael (ed) *History of West Africa* Vol. 1 2nd Edition London, 1981 p. 185.
3. Ibid pp 185 - 188. Dr. Usman Y.B. also shares the same opinion.
4. Barth, H. *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa* Vol.1 London, 1965 pp. 473 - 476
5. Fafunwa, A Babs *History of Education in Nigeria*, London, 1974 p.53.
6. Ibid, p.54
7. Kani, Ahmed Mohammed 'The Rise and influence of scholars in Hausaland before 1804. In *Al-Muntaka courier de l'Islam*. Societe Generale, Paris 1986 p.47.
8. Hunwick, J.O. 'Songhai, Borno and Hausaland in the 16th century, In Ajayi, J.F. Ade and Crowder Michael, *History of West Africa* Vol.1 p.274
9. Palmer H.R. *History of Katsina*, NNAK/SNP/17/8K 2076 (Mimeo)
10. Kani, Ahmed Mohammed 'The Rise and influence of scholars in Hausaland before 1804 - p.49
11. Ibid p.47
12. Dankoseou Issaka, *Traditions Historique des Katsina waapre's la jihad*. Centra Nigerian de Recheroha en sciences Humaines, Niamey p.9.
13. Ibid pp.9 - 12.
14. Usman Y.B. *The Transformation of Katsina (1400 - 1883) The emergence and overthrow of the sarauta system and the Establishment of the Emirate*. A.B.U. Press Ltd, Zaria, 1981 p.21. The presence of Al-Maghili meant a lot to the people of Katsina because he exercised a great influence on them. He was credited with offering useful advises to both the rulers and ruled especially on matters of administration and worship.
15. Ingawa, Tijjani Lawal *Katsina Dakin Kara* p.10
16. Fafunwa, A. Babs *History of Education in Nigeria* p.54
17. Kani, Ahmed Mohammed, 'The Rise and influence of Scholars in Hausaland before 1804' p.49.
18. Ibid
19. Ibid
20. Fafunwa, A. Babs, *History of Education in Nigeria* p.53
21. Hodgkin, Thomas *Nigerian Perspectives*, Oxford University Press London, 1975 p.33
22. Kani, Ahmed Mohammed, 'The Rise and influence of Scholars in Hausaland before 1804' p.47.

23. Ibid p.48
24. Fafunwa, A. Babs *History of Education in Nigeria* p.54
25. Ingawa, Tijjani Lawal *Katsina Dakin Kara* p. 16; Hodgkin, Thomas *Nigeria Perspectives* p. 178 and 400
26. Kani, Ahmed Mohammed, 'The Rise and influence of Scholars..' p.57.
27. Ibid
28. Hodgkin Thomas *Nigerian Perspectives*, p. 178 and 400
29. Ingawa, Tijjani Lawal, *Katsina Dakin Kara* pp.16-17
30. Kani, Ahmed Mohammed, 'The Rise and influence of Scholars..' p.57.
31. Ibid
32. *Fitilar Katsina* 27th April - 10th May, 1992.
33. Dankosou, Issaka *Katsina Traditions* p.49. Ingawa, Tijjani Lawal *Katsina Dakin Kara* p.17
34. Kani, Ahmed Mohammed 'The Rise and influence of scholars...', p.55
35. *Fitilar Katsina* 27th April - 10th May, 1992.

The State, Learning and Islam in Katsina

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Intellectuals like to think that they can practice their academic pursuits in a clear, purified air, free from the filth and pettiness of day-to-day politics. In fact, scholarship is isolated from many of the concerns of "practical men" - so much so that they are frequently conceived as living in an "ivory tower", protected from the vicissitudes of "real life". Nonetheless, reality compels us to admit that learning and the learning environment are intimately connected to the very real politics of the state: no matter where or when or under what auspices the intellectual is plying his trade. The state has played, and continues to play, a very significant role in the life, environment, work, result, and publicity of most intellectuals; and it is naive to pretend otherwise. Realistically, therefore, one should be aware of the continuous concern and intervention of the state. One must look behind the cant which beclouds many discussions about education (and especially "educational policy") - this is particularly true of us concerned with colonial history when the controllers of the scene, the employers, the reporters, the policy makers, the administrators, the teachers, and the apologists were generally one and the same: the colonial officers themselves, or in some cases their surrogates (very carefully reigned). This is particularly true in colonial Katsina history - where so often academic works is one bother to look up exactly to whom is referred by the ubiquitous phrase "a colonial official" one finds the same name reported over and over again (from 1905 through the late 1920s): Herbert Richmond Palmer.

Traditionally, one of the "high points (or "turning points") of British Colonial Educational Policy in Northern Nigeria was the establishment of the Katsina Training College in 1921. It is commonly thought that the British, and particularly the British Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, chose to demonstrate their respect for Islamic learning by establishing the Katsina Training College in Katsina City - because of the great Islamic traditions of Katsina. This is reflected generally in the standard literature. A standard work by Ozigi and Ocho, *Education in Northern Nigeria*, introduced the issue this way:

The appointment of Sir Hugh Clifford brought about considerable educational changes in the Northern provinces...A more important change marking departure from Vischer's earlier policy can be seen in the opening of Katsina College.¹

Hull's standard work on Katsina, *The Development of Administration in Katsina Emirate, Northern Nigeria, 1887-1944* agrees:

It was not until the appointment of Sir Hugh Clifford as Governor of Nigeria that the British began to be seriously concerned with the expansion of education in the Northern Provinces. Clifford saw the need to train indigenous men as teachers in the growing number of Government-supported primary schools. In 1921, he chose Katsina, traditionally the intellectual center of Hausaland as the site for the first teacher training in Northern Nigeria.²

This, despite the fact that the school opened only with thirty-five students³ and that some six years later in 1927 when Abubakar Imam was admitted to the college he was student number 110.⁴ Aliyu Babs Fafunwa's otherwise useful book *A History of Nigerian Higher Education*, completely ignores the establishment of Katsina Training College altogether, only recognising its existence some nine years after its establishment, and even then missing up the basic facts:

Also in 1930, the government planned to convert Katsina College, which was then the only secondary school in Northern Nigeria, into a higher college similar to Yaba. In 1938, however, the plan was abandoned, but Katsina College was renamed Kaduna College and moved from Katsina to Zaria, where it was reorganised as a teacher training centre; it also served as a 'preliminary training' centre for engineering and agricultural Assistants. The government's change of plan was explained by lack of finance.⁵

This collection of strange data (unsupported by any footnote) is, perhaps, only close to the truth when it concedes that finance was a primary consideration of the colonial government's educational policy.

There is, of course, some reason to believe that Sir Hugh Clifford chose Katsina because of its heritage as a centre of Islamic learning - and this is because he said so - or at least it was included in one of his speeches. Although, the Katsina Training College had started in 1921, it was officially "opened" by the Governor himself on March 5, 1922, when he was on a general tour of the entire North, having taken over the Governorship of Nigeria from Sir Lugard in September 1919. In this speech in Katsina he is reported as having explained the siting of the College as follows:

The first of these reasons is that Katsina in ancient days was held in high repute throughout the Muhammadan Emirates as a seat of learning and piety; and it is good, I think, that this tradition should be perpetuated. My second reason was that Katsina, though it is an important town and the administrative capital of an important Emirate, it is not as yet as close to the railway and commercial centre as to make it unsuitable for that quiet and tranquillity and that freedom from distractions which are so necessary for young men who are devoting their lives to study".⁶

Now that sounds fairly clear, if somewhat disingenuous and fatuous. Certainly there were other important Northern towns, heads of important Emirates, with traditions of "learning and piety", which were far from any proposed railway (e.g. Sokoto and Maiduguri). One does know that Governors, and the like, seldom have the opportunity (or desire) to draft their own speeches - especially when they are on whirl and wind tours of a vast area like Northern Nigeria, as Clifford was at the time he gave the above speech in Katsina. Still, it must be conceded that Governors often insist on imprinting their own ideas on their speeches (even if the actual text is written by an underling), and Clifford did have his own ideas, particularly as he felt that he understood the "Muhammadam" from his days in the colonial service in Malaya.

Nevertheless, it should be remembered that Education was not among those Ministries which had been amalgamated in 1914, and in fact, it was not for almost a decade after the founding of the Katsina Training College that the Education Department was amalgamated, and so it is clear that the founding of the College was primarily a Northern affair, and the decisions, influenced as they might have been by some of the Governor's ideas, were primarily made by the Northern political (i.e. colonial) service, and most especially its head the Lt. Governor.

Certainly some thirteen days after the Katsina speech, Governor Hugh Clifford delivered a much more famous — and much more important — speech in Kaduna on March 13, 1922 at the conclusion of his Northern tour. This speech was determined to be so important as to have been "published for the benefit of all officers in the political and educational services".⁷ In this concluding paragraph, the Governor stated that:

...though (this minute is) addressed to your honour (i.e. the Lt. Governor), (it) is primarily intended for the guidance and instruction of the junior members of the political service of the Northern Provinces; and I should like to add that, before it assumed its final form, it had the incalculable advantage of being subjected to your expert comments, advice and criticism, and may now be taken embodying views and opinions that are held no less strongly by your honour than they are by me.⁸

Even though the Governor often clashed with the British colonial establishment in the North (i.e. Kaduna), he inevitably and admittedly was enormously dependent on them for information, advice, and administration. The Northern (Kaduna) Political and Educational Services could not be ignored, and it is through understanding the political realities of the North in 1921 that one can understand the kinds of schools created and the locations chosen, rather than by looking at the "educational theories and principles" being developed in Lagos at the time. Who was the (Acting) Lieutenant Governor of the North in 1921 when the critical decisions about the creation of and the siting of Katsina Training College were taken? Herbert Richmond Palmer.⁹

H.R. Palmer was a twenty-seven year old university graduate when he came out to Northern Nigeria in 1904, and he found himself in Katsina within a year. He spent another quarter of a century in the country, but Katsina was in many ways the beginning of his career and continued to be important to it.¹⁰ He was the Acting Lt. Governor of the Northern provinces in 1921 and 1924 and the Substantive Lt. Governor from 1925-30, after which he went on to act as Governor in Gambia and Cyprus.¹¹ One of the very first men Palmer met in Katsina was the Durbin Katsina, Muhammadu Dikko, who was the liaison officer between the Sarkin Katsina (Emir of Katsina) and Palmer. Dikko's own father had been made Durbin Katsina in 1853, but he himself was also a self-made man in some respects — having become, with Dan Waire, one of the two powerful and respected Generals

in Katsina Army. He was equally astute and intelligent as Palmer, and although he had a reputation of being fiercely in favour of Katsina independence against all external interest (not only Britain, but also Maradi and Sokoto), he recognised that Palmer could be of use to him.

Palmer and Dikko forged a relationship which was to be overwhelming importance to the careers of both of these extraordinary individuals, a relationship which was bred not only by self-interest, but also of mutual respect for each other's intelligence. Each was to serve the interest of the over many years. It was almost solely due to the influence of Palmer that Dikko became the Emir of Katsina — against tradition — thereby replacing the traditional ruling Dallazawa clan (Incidentally, Palmer also changed the ruling dynasty in Daura). He was to retain this mighty position from 1907 (when his appointment was vociferously opposed by many in Katsina) to his death in 1944, by which time he had earned the respect and admiration of a great many of his subjects and he had acquired a new kind of legitimacy not only for himself, but for his family - at least for many of the citizens of Katsina. Palmer in turn also used Katsina (and the co-operation of his appointed Emir Dikko) to instigate many new changes in the "Indirect Rule" system originally instituted by Goldie and Lugard - so much so that many of the institutions which came to be considered essential to the system (especially the Bait-al-mal or "Native Treasury") and are often thought of by some as either "traditional" or "Lugardian" are really creations of Palmer, with Dikko's assistance and co-operation, in Katsina. Palmer had ideas and wanted to make them work so that they could enhance his reputation. Dikko made them work.

The assertion in Sir Hugh Clifford's speech in Katsina in 1922 that Katsina had a long and well deserved reputation for "learning and piety" is, of course, correct. Anyone even vaguely familiar with the history of Katsina is familiar with names like Dan Marina, al-Katsinawa, and palaces like Kurmin Dan Ranko and 'Yandoto. A Katsina king is said to have first converted to Islam in the fourteenth century (i.e. 1300s AD), and al-Maghili (the noted Muslim scholar from Algeria) made a considerable impact on Katsina in the fifteenth century (i.e. 1400s AD). This is not in contention. What is much more of interest here, however, is whether the British (especially Palmer and his colleagues) had respect for Katsina as a centre of Islamic learning. In fact, Palmer clearly stated in writing that he did not consider Katsina Emirate to be predominantly Muslim — quite the contrary, he believed

that a clear majority of the population was non-Muslim. In 1905 he estimated the religious composition of the Emirate as follows:

North-East and West	80% pagan
South	90% pagan
Central, East, and South-East	60% pagan. ¹²

In the same report, he went on to state that:

Except in towns where Fulani chiefs, e.g. Headmen, reside, e.g. Ingawa, Mani, Karofi, I have never seen a 'masslachi'.¹³

In the same year, Palmer's immediate boss, F. Cargill, the Resident of Kano, wrote to him that "...you must insist upon monthly returns from the different Alkalis. I am quite aware of the corrupt nature of the Native Courts. But it is our duty to improve them and to render them efficient".¹⁴ Even with regards to Christian Missions in Katsina, Palmer's views in 1907 were informed more by political interests and racialism than by any concern with preserving the local integrity of Islam:

I am *very* much adverse to their coming to Katsina: the Seriki has lost a certain amount of popularity through the Europeanizing re: sanitation and other things... Here the results would, I am sure, be very bad, and if it came to that I would rather have Miller himself, than one of these damned oily black persons who teach the native that all men are equal".¹⁵

Having installed Dikko as the Emir of Katsina in 1907, Palmer continued to be concerned about the roles of the traditional rulers in Katsina vis-à-vis, those in Sokoto and Kano. He was afraid of Sokoto, and as Hull commented

Temple correctly noted that Palmer was highly suspicious of the Emirs of Sokoto and Kano and that he was under the impression that both were scheming to bring about a breach between him and Dikko. Palmer undoubtedly believed that Temple and the Sarkin Musulmi were in conclusion to place Katsina under the jurisdiction of Sokoto. The correspondence of this time clearly reveals that there was a great deal of

friction between Palmer on the one hand, and the British and Native Authorities in Kano and Sokoto on the other.¹⁶

Even months after the installation of Dikko as Emir, Palmer wrote to Kano:

...that there may be... a middle course between retaining the Sokoto Fulani rulers and putting in Habes that middle way is to be found by putting some of the rich families, lost by the revolution of Dan Fodio into power".¹⁷

Palmer continued to be concerned with Kano, and half a year after writing the above report he wrote to Kano (obviously suggesting that they take steps like he had done in Katsina):

I believe firmly that either we must demonstrate unmistakably to the Kano Fillanis that we are upper dog or some trouble is merely a matter of time. Things have now so far developed that the theory of the Emir acting on the advice of the Resident will certainly court trouble — it is utterly misconstrued by the natives at large. Psychologists may theorise as to how a man can know that he was put in as a nominee by foreigners and yet believe that he owes his appointment to divine and hereditary reasons, but there is the fact...¹⁸

Palmer's suspicious and reticence about Sokoto and Kano was to continue, but he was to go on to bigger and better things. With the co-operation of Dikko, he had made far reaching changes in Katsina. A new hospital was established, which was to become the second largest in Nigeria".¹⁹ About 500 Pounds a year was contributed to the schools in Kano where some fourteen Katsina noblemen's sons were in school (this was not a derisory sum — it was more than 50% larger than Palmer's annual salary!). Soon tax payers in Katsina were paying about twice what those in Kano were.²⁰ The central administration of the Emirate had been reorganised, especially with the Native Treasury, the Waziri, and the Magajin Gari - the District Head system was well established and Katsina had become a model Emirate continued to be in mind.

Progress in Katsina was also of concern to the Emir of Katsina, Dikko, and he used this as a way of establishing his own new kind of legitimacy. He dealt with

other problems in his own way (e.g. he married the daughter of Sarkin Kano Abbas and took her with him to Mecca the first time he went). He was certainly an accomplished diplomatist as well as administrator. He knew to a considerable extent how to manipulate British administrators so that he (and the Emirate) got as much as they could from the system, while giving the British that minimum (primarily taxes, groundnuts, and cotton) which they demanded.

It is necessary to consider political conditions in Nigeria in and around 1921, especially with regards to the respective positions of Palmer, Dikko, and Clifford, if one is to get a good picture of the climate and time in which the Katsina Training College was established. The first World War had ended only 1918 and the following year the Governor, F.D. Lugard, retired. He was succeeded by the former Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Hugh Clifford. Many in Nigeria had been unhappy with the politics of Lugard, and Clifford was inclined to agree with some of the complaints. His major innovation to Nigerian government was, of course, the new constitution, introduced in 1923, which obviously took up a great deal of his time. It should be noted that this constitution did not change matters in the North very much. Clifford was also interested in other administrative reforms which included that "the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Northern Provinces should be reduced to the status of Chief Commissionership".²¹ Still other reforms, according to Okafor (including the creation of the post of Secretary for native Affairs), "were aimed at undermining the position of the Lieutenant-Governor, Northern Provinces".²² None of these policies, of course, was likely to ingratiate him or Lagos with Palmer or the rest of the Northern (British Colonial) Political Officer Class. It might be noted that it was only after he left Nigeria that Palmer became the Substantive Lieutenant-Governor of Nigeria (though he had been acting in 1921 and 1924). It should also be noted that while he was interested in education, indirect rule, and even Islam (because of his experience in Malaya), he had neither the time nor the real power (since the Education Department was till about a decade away from amalgamation) to interfere very much in these aspects of Northern Government.

It should have been surprising if Palmer had not seen Clifford as a threat to himself personally (as far as his own career) and to the system which he had developed (i.e. his own interpretation and modification of "Indirect Rule"). Palmer was certainly a wise man and someone who knew how to protect his own interest and reputation. It should be noted that when the post of Secretary of Native

Affairs for Nigeria was created, Palmer was careful that his own protégé G.J. Lethem, was appointed, to look after "Northern" (i.e. British Colonial Kaduna) affairs in Lagos and to report to Kaduna about the thinking in Lagos. Lethem was later to help whitewash Palmer's deportation of Shaykh Sa'id from Dumbulwa (Fika Emirate) in 1924, in a somewhat silly publication entitled *A History of Islamic Political Propaganda in Northern Nigeria*, which rather hysterically linked up Mahdism (and all sorts of other bogies for the British - such as Egyptian nationalism, Tijjaniyya, Sannusism, etc), with international Bolshevism!

If Governor Clifford wanted a Teachers' Training College in the North - then, fine, all well and good - a bone should be thrown to him. Dikko and Palmer had both consistently supported education (as long as it was for the sons of traditional Northern Muslim nobles) in Kano and Katsina. It was, however, one believes, essential that Palmer make sure that the College be located where he could control it, watch it, monitor it, and make sure that it developed along "proper" lines. What better place than Katsina. Surely Dikko, as Emir of Katsina, would keep a close watch on the school and nurture it along the right lines - and so he did.

Clifford and Palmer had clear and conflicting agendas, but what about Dikko? Did he have any problems at this time? As a matter of fact, he did. Generally speaking, of course, he was doing well and was succeeding in most of his programmes. But only in the previous year (1920) he was forced to release his rival Dan Waire from prison, and it is not unlikely that this might have injured his public position.²³ Dikko had not completed his agenda, and there was still the story problem of the opposition between the Alkali's court and the Emir's Judicial Council. In fact, in 1921, G.L. Monk (a British officer) reported from Katsina that:

...what has struck me most at Katsina is the very subordinate position occupied by the Native Courts and the Shariya and more especially the lack of position, influence, and prestige of the Alkalin Katsina. It is in marked contrast to the position in other first class Emirates and strikes one as being all the more remarkable as being found in the 'Athens of Hausaland'.²⁴

So, there were troubles in the *Athens of Hausaland* after all. And certainly the Emir would be able to cooperate with his old Resident, Palmer, - in fact, it was even more desirable now that Palmer was in the ascendancy!

But, still, these do seem rather small problems in Katsina, considering how well the Emir was really doing. Nevertheless, there was till much that Government could do to make Dikko's life (and diplomacy) much easier. Dikko's legitimacy was still, of course, questioned in some traditional circles, and he could certainly benefit from having a school in his city which attracted royalty and nobility from throughout the North (Sokoto to Bama, Kano to Bida to Ilorin). We have already seen that he had been using marriage alliances wisely to consolidate his legitimacy and position. However, there was still something that the Government could do for Sarkin Katsina Dikko which would put him in an almost unassailable position - and this was to send him to Mecca. And so off to Mecca he went, via England, of course. This was no ordinary journey and should not be confused with the casual way even ordinary farmers or cattle herders now travel to the Holy Land. Up till that time not a single Emir (or Sultan) in Hausaland had ever travelled to Mecca - nor, in fact, to England. The Emir's travelling party was fairly considerable - Dikko travelled not only with his favourite wife (the daughter of Sarkin Kano, Abbas) and a concubine, but also with several sons and others including Sarkin Musawa and the District Head of Kankiya. The trip lasted some 177 days in all - from May 29 to November 22, 1921. Sarkin Katsina, Dikko was, thus, to return at the end of 1921 - filled with the awe of having made the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, laden with gifts and stories from the fabled capital of the Empire, London, and welcomed by a new Training College of great prestige which had garnered some of the most notable aristocrats from throughout the North. It must have been a great day when he returned to Katsina.

The claim that Katsina Training College was established because of the historic Islamic traditions of scholarship are simply mystifications of British policy. In fact, the British had no real respect for Islam, and their central concern was to control, restrict, and monitor learning in Katsina and Northern Nigeria in general. The school was not designed to train ulama, but rather teachers, and later administrators. Also, in the following year (1922) two other schools were established in Katsina - the Arts and Crafts School, and the Katsina Provincial School. The latter was, of course, much larger than the Training College, and sometimes they even shared the same teachers. The view of Nigerian history to be taught was most definitely to be a British-oriented one - notably the history master (the author of *Emirates of Northern Nigeria* - a text written for the College), had been a D.O. in Katsina - S.J. Hogben.²⁵

In trying to de-mystify the establishment of Katsina Training College, one should not lose sight of the fact that schools are better than no schools, and that the main problem was the slow and restrictive manner in which new-style schools were introduced by the colonial government. However, it is also important to remember that the school was designed to serve specific colonial purpose - originally defined, perhaps, by Clifford, but definitely deflected and re-interpreted by Palmer, and then used skilfully by Dikko.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is illusionary to think that the state ever remains neutral in matters of scholarship and learning. Every state - Islamic, colonial, post-colonial, has attempted to control, manipulate and monitor scholars. Only when scholars (and politicians) all realize this can they find sufficient room to pursue their genuine intellectual goals. A delicate balance has to be established between the interests of the state and those of the intellectuals.

Notes

1. Albert O. & Ocho, L., *Education in Northern Nigeria*. George Allen & Unwin, London, 1981, p.50.
2. Richard William Hull. *The Development of Administration in Katsina Emirate Northern Nigeria, 1887-1944*. Columbia University. New York, PhD, 1968, pp.333-334.
3. Ibid, p.334.
4. Abdurrahman Mora (ed) *Abubakar Imam Memories*. Northern Nigerian Publishing Company, Zaria, 1989/90, p.12.
5. A. Babs Fafunwa. *A History of Nigerian Higher Education*. Macmillan & Co (Nig.) Ltd, Lagos, 1971, p.30-31.
6. NAK/KATPORG 1,15.n.p. Speech by His Excellency at the Opening of Katsina College, March 5, 1922, quoted in Hull, *The Development*, pp.334-5.
7. A.H.M. Kirk-Greene (ed). *The Principles of Native Administration*. London, 1965, "The Clifford Minutes" - editor's introduction to.
8. Ibid, text as printed in Kirk-Greene's work.
9. S.O. Okafor, *Indirect Rule: The Development of Central Legislature in Nigeria*. Nelson Africa, Lagos, 1981, p.235.
10. This is not the place to write a biography of Sir H.R. Palmer, but Ms. Asmau Garba Saeed of the History Department, Bayero University, Kano, is producing a great deal of material on Palmer in her soon to be completed PhD, and one expects that she will also write at least a biographical essay on Palmer in addition - as she has done some considerable research on the topic in the UK.
11. Okafor, *Indirect Rule*, pp.235-6.
12. NAK/KATPROF/1. K2076. Palmer to Resident Kano, November 3, 1905, encl. quoted in Hull, *The Development*, p.27.
13. Ibid, p.28.
14. NAK/Katsina Division Monthly Reports 1905, Report for July 1905 (KATPROF/1 1977) encl. F. Cargill, Resident Kano, "Reply to June Report", July 21, 1905, op. quoted in Hull, *The Development*, p.131.
15. NAK/SNP 15/3,377, A. 11. H.R. Palmer to Major Festing, June 9 1907, enc. quoted in Hull, *The Development*, p.333.
16. Hull, *The Development*, p.13.
17. NAK/SNP 15/3,377, A.12. Acting Resident Palmer to Resident Kano March 14, 1907, quoted in Hull, *The Development*, p.155, fn.1.
18. NAK/SNP/16/3,0109. H.R. Palmer to A. Festing, October 3 1907, quoted in Hull, *The Development*, p.144.
19. Hull, *The Development*, p.209, Est. in 1907; second largest in Nigeria by 1938 with 245 beds.

20. Hull, *The Development*, p.262.
21. Okafor, *Indirect Rule*, p.105, parag.20.
22. Ibid, p.104, parag.5.
23. Hull, *The Development*, p.176. It might also be noted here that the deposed Sarkin Katsina Abubakar was still alive in Ilorin and only died there on September 4, 1940, p.116.
24. CSO 26/2, 09560, p.22 Kano Province Annual Report, quoted in Hull, *The Development*, p.286.
25. See NAK,HASS/1166, n.p. S.J. Hogben, Ruma District Census and Report cited in Hull, *The Development*, p.23.

***We teach girls that it is wrong to carry babies on their backs!*
or How inappropriate policies damaged girls' education in
colonial era**

Jean Boyd

Part I: 1930-45

"Female education started in 1933 has already proved successful and the girls' schools at Sokoto, Argungu and Birnin Kebbi need no longer be regarded as experimental. The rapid progress made and the ease with which difficulties have been smoothed away is, in my opinion, remarkable. The Emirs and the other NA officials have been most helpful... and the question of starting a "Northern Provinces Women's Teachers' College" which the Sultan has asked should be established at Sokoto is under consideration by the Education Department". John Carrow, *Resident's Annual Report, Sokoto*, 1933

"What I am trying to emphasize is the unplanned way in which female education started in Nigeria. There was no demand for this education, in fact it was against the whole of African opinion; Emirs, District Heads, Village Heads and the people". John Carrow, *Letter to Jean Trevor*, February 27, 1973

In the first part of this chapter I will attempt to explain Commander Carrow's two statements which illustrate the well known dilemma (which faces all writers of Annual Reports) namely, "how to ensure that what I write is pleasing to my superiors who, after all, have devised the policy". The problem has affected very many people writing about girls' education, and there has been a great deal of "economy of the truth". It is now time to try to make sense of the evidence.

Colonial administrators, born in Victorian times, went to British public schools where it was each school's function "to prepare young gentlemen for the job of governing the colonies and to teach them how to feel at ease with anyone".¹ The sisters of the young gentlemen concerned did not have access to education as did their brothers: women's education at the secondary level hardly existed in the

United Kingdom until the second decade of this century. The future colonial administrators were educated at all-male Oxbridge Colleges and read books which introduced them to Islamic thought and philosophy as interpreted by British orientalist and scholars who took an unsympathetic view of the place of women in Muslim societies usually in the Middle and Far East.²

I have made passing mention of these factors, the lack of secondary education for women in the UK and the type of instruction available to colonialists on sensitive issues such as expectations and Muslim society, because I believe that, whatever his expectations and knowledge, the European newcomer to Northern Nigeria at the beginning of the century would not have been on the lookout for evidence of female scholarship or women's organisations. And I wonder whether the Ulama would have been willing to share with him any knowledge of eminent female writers, teachers, or women of influence, even if they had been asked.

For example, when the first Assessment Reports were made on the Sabon Birni area in Sokoto Province, no mention was made of the role of *Inna* although by right and in fact she had considerable authority: she rode her horse astride and dressed like a man complete with turban. She owned farms and was the possessor of a sword captured by her ancestor, Inna YarBukuma from the Zamfara enemy. I suggest that the existence of an influential woman did not "fit in" so evidence was ignored, not "seen".³

As for the education system established for women by Nana Asma'u, which went on being skilfully organised and successfully administered after her death, what could the colonialists make of that? And yet when they arrived in Sokoto, TaModi, Shehu dan Fodio's granddaughter, was the head of the teaching network. I have spoken to women who went to the *Hubbare* to be taught by TaModi⁴ in the reign of Sultan Aburrahman before the British invasion, and am convinced of the claims made by the women scholars I have met.

I think we can accept that the colonial administrators neither looked for nor found any evidence of women's education in the north. They were not expecting to find anything like that, rooted in the Mahdist experience of the Sudan, a feeling which was mirrored in Francophone West Africa "where Islam suffered official hostility or indifference during the colonial past."⁵

In 1927, G.J. Lethem, Acting Secretary Northern Provinces issued a *Confidential Memorandum to the Residents of all Provinces on Religious Propaganda*. The memorandum was written as a result of two incidents⁶ which were, in the view of Mr. Lethem, to be regarded as part of the general tide of Islamic "Mahdist" revivalism, and he said:

Most Emirs will undoubtedly appreciate this (the necessity for chiefs to "maintain their secular authority against the revivalist preacher and sectarian") especially as the whole bias of the present form of Native Administration in Nigeria is to place power and influence in the hands of secular chiefs and minimise the influence of leaders whose appeal is to religion.⁷

The first mention that I can find of girls' education was made by E.R. Hussey, Director of Education, on September 9, 1929.⁸

It is suggested that an attempt should be made with girls' education at two selected centres of population, such as Kano and Katsina in co-operation with the Medical Department. The plan would be that a lady Medical Officer might be posted by the Director of Medical and Sanitary Service to the clinic and that there should be nearby a centre for girls' work, staffed by a Headmistress with previous experience of Africa, a health worker and a Kindergarten teacher. The health worker would be the link between the two establishments and she should get to know the women and girls in their houses. By degrees a few girls would come for daily instruction and eventually a school might be developed. The object of the school would be to teach domestic hygiene, care of children and other domestic elementary knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic. In the course of item some girls trained in these places might establish little local Schools in their parents' homes."⁹

In August 1930 girls' schools were opened at Kano and Katsina with fifteen and forty pupils, respectively. In the 1930 Annual Report we read of "the promising start" which had been made. It is no surprise, therefore, that the Resident of Sokoto, Commander John Carrow, raised the matter of girls' education in a letter to the Secretary of the Northern Provinces. Very importantly, the Sultan and the

Emir of Gwandu had informed the Resident about the existence of "many women with a thorough knowledge of the Qur'an and Arabic script".¹⁰

I believe the Sultan and the Emir wanted the "new" kind of education to be made part of the existing Asmawian system which was rooted in the traditions of the Muslim women scholars of the area.¹¹ The administration was totally opposed to any such thing, and there was talk, even, of importing teachers from Achimota College in the then Gold Coast, a proposal which the Sultan and the Emir found completely unacceptable. A compromise was struck and in 1934 the girls' schools in Sokoto and Gwandu were launched. The British promised the Emirs and that they would teach only domestic subjects and literacy to the girls and that they would respect native customs and allow the girls to leave school at the customary age of marriage, having regard to the role of women in society.

The central problem - how to educate teenage girls when public opinion demands they should be married - was never sensibly addressed and no government initiative has ever found a solution. Peter Tibenderana has argued that:

it was among the aristocracy and the rich that early marriage, which was detrimental to the progress of girls' education, was very rampant. This was encouraged by the high demand for the princesses by men who hoped to enhance their political ambitions and to boost their social status by marrying into the nobility and politically important families.

However, to imply that only the daughters of the "aristocracy" married young is misleading. A book published in 1931 states:

A boy on reaching the age of seven should be circumcized and sent to (Qur'anic) school. A girl should also be sent to (Qur'anic) school, but only in order to learn to pray: when she is old enough to be married her education comes to an end".¹²

In another much later book we read:

In most parts of Hausaland child marriage is the rule rather than the exception... in some parts of rural Hausaland a girl is married away to a

boy or man at the very early age of 5 or 6 years. The girl actually goes to her marriage home at this age.¹³

To repeat myself, whatever the exaggeration in the passages quoted above, it is correct to say that society demanded that girls should marry at puberty. The problems attendant on educating teenage girls in the far north were never sorted out at the beginning and have not been sorted out since. It was assumed that girls education must follow the pattern of boys: girls who wanted to "succeed" at school had to put themselves outside the accepted norms of behaviour and take risks with their future - particularly their marriage prospects.

A dreary pattern was established in the 1930s leading to fifty years of lost opportunities, wasted effort by teachers, a drain of public money, many unhappy girls - all because those who **KNEW** did not force the issue and demand reform.¹⁴

Peter Tibenderana quite rightly speculates why Sultan Hassan and Emir Usman of Gwandu were so keen to have girls' schools established and has suggested the reasons might lie in their desire to please the British, their own opposition to sending the daughters of the nobility to Kano and Katsina ("thought to be degrading to the former overlords of the Sokoto Caliphate"),¹⁵ and a desire to divert attention from the alternative which was co-education as proposed by Miss Fegan in 1932.¹⁶ I do not think the Sultan and Emir did "clamour for girls' schools so desperately". I believe what John Carrow said in 1973 was true:

there was no demand for this education, in fact it was against the whole of African opinion Emirs, District Heads, Village Heads and the people.

The proof of this is found firstly in the fact that none of the daughters of the leaders of public opinion in Sokoto attended the girls' school¹⁷ and secondly the schools did not flourish (there being no demand for places) in spite of the glowing optimism of the initial Resident's Reports.

In February 1940 Miss Plummer described Katsina Girls' School as by far the worst of the schools she had visited and she recommended that the school be allowed "to die".¹⁸ One of the reasons was a shortage of teachers which is why a "teachers' training college for Mohammedan women of Northern Nigeria" was built at Sokoto "at the urgent request of the Sultan". I believe the Sultan,

understanding how the acute problem of staffing girls' schools was affecting pupils had sought to provide a training place for women teachers at the city which was famous among the Ulama for women scholars. What the Sultan failed to perceive, however, was the desperate **LACK** of understanding of these matters among the British administration. In 1938 Miss Booker, the Headmistress of the Girls' School, tried to do a survey to find out what local customs were as far as girls were concerned, but the administration discouraged her because they said, "it might antagonise Muslim leaders".

I can best illustrate what I have called the profound lack of knowledge of the British by referring to an entry in the diary of Mrs (later Lady) Sharwood-Smith, wife of the Resident Sokoto.¹⁹

There was great excitement at the Girls' School because one of the married pupils had produced a baby. A European type cot with a mosquito net had been provided for the infant and there, it was, all tucked up in a night-dress and nappies. "We keep the baby in its cot as much as possible", a European teacher told me, "It is bad for them to share their mothers' beds and risk suffocation. **WE** are also trying to teach the girls that it is wrong to carry babies on their back. It could easily cause a curvature of the spine".

The Girls' School, unlike the one in Katsina, had been kept on in order to provide a suitable place in which the WTC students could do teaching practice. In 1945 Commander Carrow wrote in his report that "illness among European staff and continued deterioration in the buildings have created difficulties". In 1946 Sir John Patterson said that "the pupils at the WTC Sokoto were drastically reduced in numbers from 50 to 17".

It is clear that the British had failed to "get it right" because they had put the girls to be educated into the only mould that they knew, had established a school system whose organisation approximated to British metropolitan practice, and, in the absence of clear policies, had allowed education officers to emulate British standards so that "over a period of time education officers, for lack of acceptable alternative models, drew upon their own educational experiences".²⁰

Part II: 1955-57

"Over a period of time, education officers for lack of acceptable alternative models drew upon their own educational experiences".

In 1954 I attended the University of London to study for a Postgraduate Certificate in Education. I had already been accepted into the Colonial Service and had been assigned to Nigeria I therefore took a particular course which was called a PGCE with Special Reference to Tropical Areas.

My Tutor and Head of Department had both served in Nigeria - the former in the Eastern Region and the latter mainly on the Plateau. I was required to read the Qur'an and write an essay on the place of women in Muslim society, a task I was ill-equipped to do. There were two Sudanese women in my tutorial group, and a Nigerian lady from the Western Region, but my profound lack of insight was apparent and they were unable to enlighten me about the Muslim scene or what to expect in Northern Nigeria. The general course work - the philosophy and psychology of education - was common to the whole year group most of whom were intending to teach in British schools. The only useful lectures, on looking back, were those by David Arnott¹ at the School of Oriental and African Studies, and those at the School of Tropical Medicine where we learned about bilharzia, malaria and guinea worm.

In view of the mistakes made in the period 1930-45 one might have expected the colonial office in Great Smith Street, Miss Gwilliam the formidable lady who interviewed me and Dr. Geary, the Chief Woman Education Officer in Kaduna when I arrived in Nigeria, to have adopted a fresh approach to the whole business of women's education; to have thought through the problems and to have created a new ideology. This did not happen and the new Provincial Girls' Schools, including the one in Katsina, were recreations of British schools Adapted-for-the-tropics.

I arrived in Lagos by ship (SS Apapa) and journeyed north by train: at Kaduna station we were met by the Director and Deputy Director of Education and Dr. Geary in full evening dress, an overwhelming experience! We journeyed on to Kano: I was taken to Katsina by Margaret Burness,² to a "station" where the Resident, Mr. "Bowler" Maddox, was nearing the end of his thirty years of service, an Edwardian who had been appointed in the 1920s.

I had a house at the school which only two weeks prior to my arrival had been linked for the first time to the electricity supply. The other "Kaduna" type house on the compound was occupied by Joan Blacklock the headmistress who had taught at Toto then Kano Girls' Middle School (opened in 1947) of which she had bitter memories on account of what she always described as "the unruly behaviour of the girls" who in her view had never wished to be there.³ She had determined, on becoming the first headmistress of the new school⁴ at Katsina, to impose strict discipline and during my two years at the school (1955-57) the girls were well behaved. There were three classes when I arrived, 60 pupils altogether, all boarders.⁵ They wore a uniform which consisted of a blouse, wrapper and head-tie, and for games had a loose pop-over dress: shoes were not supplied. On September 8 1955 I wrote:

"All teaching is done in Hausa. The girls know no English so I teach arithmetic, art, PT and handwriting by a curious and probably extremely funny (to anyone else) method of violent gesticulation, the odd Hausa words and pidgin English. I am trying to learn fast, but it will be years before I'm proficient - in the meantime any "teaching methods" I learnt in England are quite useless. For instance, they say their tables in Hausa and I haven't a clue whether they are right or not".

Which parent anywhere in the world would have entrusted their daughter's education to such an ill-prepared alien *without coercion*? The Emirs of Katsina and Daura⁶ had a daughter each at the school and I remember the children of Yarin Katsina, Sarkin Sullubawa, the District Head of Ruma, and the Wali (whose daughter never boarded, but attended daily). Otherwise I recorded that the children quite often came from what I described as "poor bush homes".⁷

"I discover that there are only three maps on the premises", I wrote on September 28, 1955. "One of the world, one of Africa and one of the British Isles. There are no maps of the province or Nigeria or West Africa. So I'm beginning to construct them". One can only wonder why irrelevant materials, a map of the British Isles, were bought, and not the very equipment needed. The history and Geography textbook in use until the 1950 was *A handbook on the teaching of the elementary school history and Geography syllabus in Nigeria*, by T.R. Batten which had brief chapters on different ethnic groups⁸ and described the rest of the world in an

introduction which began as "Nigeria has no contact with China, Russia or South America, so we will ignore them. Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa and so on, are only linked to Nigeria on account of their being part of the British Empire. Remember that, but we will say nothing further about those lands. We will proceed with accounts of the countries which trade with or have dealings with Nigeria - British West Africa, France, Germany, North America, Egypt and Arabia (the last two being linked by religion to Nigeria)".

As for history, the section is small and as a newcomer I did not understand the implications.⁹

"Although Bello required of his governors high standards as far as the law, probity and the judiciary were concerned, after his death matters lapsed. Only one or two Emirs were men of honour, the rest were oppressors and have left bad reputations behind them...The law was tainted by such tortures as the removal of finger nails by such pincers, the forcible pounding of limbs in mortars and impalement. Aburrahman, "the unbaked pot", who was Sultan when the British arrived was, perhaps, the worst of the bunch as far as the law was concerned and there are many tales of his oppressive regime and wicked character. These are to be found in the *Littafin Tatsuniyoyi* of Edgar.¹⁰

As far as I know the children had no Hausa story books nor did they learn poetry. There were two local teachers, Mallam Hassu Mani¹¹ and Malama Cima both of whom lived in the Emir's house¹² and *Addini Malam* who taught Religious Knowledge. I do not remember the Addini Malam being held in very high Esteem or having much in the way of status - this was not because he had any personal failings, but IRK was for Joan Blacklock, the headmistress, a peripheral subject. She worked hard at making the school a success according to her own lights: she believed that cleanliness orderliness, politeness and the 3 Rs were of paramount importance, probably in that order. When she lived in Kano she had been filled with stories of infamous happenings by Miss Miller, the lady missionary, and what she heard coloured her initial views of Islam. It was therefore the school's good fortune that the school manager, the Ma'aji of Katsina, visited the place frequently and had a very moderating effect on the head.¹³ She did her best, worked very hard, she had poise and dignity and cared very much for the children, but I believe she (and I) were all along misdirected, I think we were doing the wrong things.

We laboured to mould the girls into the only shape we knew - little British school girls overseas.

When the Queen Elizabeth Secondary School for girls opened in Ilorin we were expected to groom our girls for the intake - which meant switching to teaching in English from teaching English as a foreign language (with the help of the Oxford English Course). The headmistress thought it was an impossible thing to do and eventually much against her will, she was removed from Katsina and posted to Kontagora.¹⁴ She always believed she had been transferred because of her stand over the teaching of English.

Perhaps, the following incident illustrates more clearly than most the depth of misunderstanding about our function and what education was supposed to be about. One day Dr. Geary sent a message to the headmistress asking her to start a Brownie Pack, a junior branch of the Girl Guides. Named "Brownie" after a Scottish good spirit or fairy which is supposed at night to busy itself on little jobs for the family. The aim is to train young people to be good citizens: Brownies wear uniforms, salute the flag, take badges and go on camp. To our little girls this would have been totally foreign: why did Dr. Geary not know this? The idea was in fact never implemented (although our lack of zeal further discredited us in the eyes of "Kaduna") because we thought it was harebrained and because we were already overstretched.

By 1957 the staffing position at the school was very poor, with only the headmistress and myself as "senior service" teachers.¹⁵ There was in addition a locally employed teacher who taught infrequently, whose unreliability was exasperating. Unfortunately as she was the wife of a senior British officer nothing could be done about it. My own extra-curricular activities included "the classification of the books in the library, supervising the school clinic, organising poetry classes, keeping an eye on the hairdressing rota, organising "prep" time, participating in games and PT, helping with time-table, planning a complete five year scheme for the teaching of History and Geography (and making notes on the geography of Africa and the history of Nigeria for teachers unable to read English texts), stencilling notices, supervision of the boarding compounds". If it had not been for our incomparable Senior Matron, Malama Binta, we would have been unable to manage. It was she who kept the compounds immaculately tidy, the girls sweetly disposed and the food wholesome.

The theory that "the main factor which hindered the spread and development of girls' education in the area during the colonial era was Muslims' opposition to female education" is correct. Tibenderana's hypothesis that "the British educational policy which placed much emphasis on co-education instead of building girls' schools, coupled with the parsimony with which the British administration spent money on girls' education were mainly responsible for hindering the development of girls' and women's education in Northern Nigeria" is only part of the truth. As I have shown above, girls' schools themselves were caricatures of what they should have been. Surely the fault lay in the fact that research into existing structures (the Asmawian tradition) was never conducted; sensible ways of planning girls' education around the teenage years were never explored, expatriate teachers were left ignorant of their pupils' background and were inadequately trained, successive Directors of Education failed to perceive the problem and persistently sought to educate girls by methods already proved wrong, and the curriculum was in part irrelevant to the needs of pupils, parents and society.

Naturally parents, rich and poor alike, under the circumstances, rejected female education and one can hardly blame them.

Notes

PART I: 1930-45

1. Lord Soames (son-in-law of Sir Winston Churchill) one time Governor in charge of preparing Rhodesia for independence. Les Anglais, Philippe Dandy, Barrie and Jenkins, 1991.
2. *The future of Islam*, by WS Blunt, Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co., London, 1882 is a typical example. I have the copy formerly owned by a Sokoto Resident inscribed "A Burden, Christ College, Cambridge, 1908".
3. Until quite recently the works of Nana Asma'u (65 in number spanning 40 years) were hardly mentioned in detailed books about the Sokoto Caliphate. The sole reference to her in HAS Johnston's (*The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*, London, 1967) read ... "Shehu's daughter Nana, who incidentally was the outstanding woman of her day, had been given to Gidado in marriage. "Hogben and Kirk-Greene (*The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, London, 1966) said "this Asma'u is the authoress of an Arabic ballad. "Saleh Abubakar (*Birnin Shehu, the city of Sokoto - a social and economic history c. 1809-1903*, PhD Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, 1982) argues that "these were the daughters of aristocratic homes who had slaves and servants to free them the need to expend their labour on household chores and concentrate instead on education. "Most men have been freed from household chores since time began, but few have become trilingual poets. What is more the successful organisation of large households by *uwar-gidas* called for sophisticated management techniques. Asma'u for example was a busy woman who handled day-to-day activities such as spinning, marketing, cooking, the preparation of expedition supplies, as well as those who cared for maternal and other medical conditions, to say nothing of the children's education.
4. Shehu dan Fodio - Mariya: Emir of Kano (2) = Maryam = (1) Abdulkadir b. Gidado Ibrahim Dabo Maryam (known as TaModi).
5. "Government and Islamic education in Northern Nigeria 1900 - 1940", JP Hubbard in *Conflict and Harmony in education in tropical Africa*, Ed. Brown and Hiskett, George and Unwin, 1975.
6. The incidents were "the rushing of a French government post and the brutal murder of a French European officer by a band of religious fanatics... and a murderous attack on a British officer by an individual fanatic".
7. Kaduna Archive, K5621/4, para 11.
8. *Report of the Residents' Conference 1929*, Appendix A(5).
9. Peter Tibenderana, "The beginning of girls' education in the Native Administration schools in Northern Nigeria 1935-45" in *The journal of African History*, 26 pp.93 - 109, says while paraphrasing Hussey's statement, "it was hoped that the study of the

above mentioned subjects would make girls "good wives" for the educated sons of chiefs." This I suggest is Tibenderation; I find no evidence in the text of this view.

10. *Impediment or encouragement: a study of popular attitudes towards western style education in girls in the Sokoto area of NW Sokoto Rabi Bada*, BA Thesis, St Lukes College, Exeter, 1970. Unfortunately this thesis is now missing from Exeter University library. Though searches have been made by library staff, the last in July 1992, but all traces of it have vanished. The notes I made were written in 1984.
11. I have written about this in *The Caliph's Sister, Nana Asma'u, 1793 - 1865, Teacher, Poet and Islamic Leader*, Frank Cass, London, 1989.
12. *Labaru na Da da na Yanzu*, Translations Bureau, 1931.
13. *A School certificate Hausa course*, Umaru B. Ahmed, NNPC, Zaria, 1975.
14. In this short chapter it is not possible to detail all the humiliations which secondary school girls have suffered **IN ADDITION** to the obvious one being forced to repudiate behaviours as far as marriage is concerned. They include being called upon (by high ranking bureaucrats) to make up a football team to play a team of permanent secretaries at a event in Sokoto in 1975, being obliged to tour cities and towns with national census officials, in cars, at night, in Bida in the 1970s, and being required to act as waitresses at Government at public functions.
15. Tibenderanam op cit, p.99.
16. No Daughters of Sultan Hassan Abubakar the school, nor any daughters of the Waziris.
17. Tibenderana, op cit, p. 106.
18. The diary is in the collection at Rhodes House, Oxford.
19. *Conflict and Harmony*, op cit, p. 162.

PART II: 1955-57

1. Later of West African Languages, SOAS: he was a brilliant teacher of Hausa.
2. We drove up in the pouring rain, and I recorded in letters I sent home (which I still have and from which I have drawn from this subjective account) that there was "a notice as you enter Katsina Province saying "You are now in Katsina Province; in certain circumstance you may be put in prison for a motoring offence."
3. She told me the girls were rude, refused to learn, and were deliberately obstructive. I met staff at the school who confirmed Blacklock's views.
4. I recorded that "it had been opened 18 months prior to my arrival", which meant the beginning of 1954.
5. Primary III, Primary IVA and IVB, in other words the children started PGSK after two years of primary education and were therefore aged about 8 when they reached us.

6. The Emir of Katsina, Usman Nagogo and the Emir of Daura Abdurrahman. I feel it is important to focus on this point because Jean Trevor in her paper based on her work in Sokoto 1955-57 dwells on the "aristocratic" background of a meaningful percentage of the girls. (See Western education and Muslim Fulani/Hausa women in Sokoto, Northern Nigeria, in *Conflict and Harmony*, op cit.) I did not meet with this Katsina, except as I have explained. When I was teaching in Sokoto 1957-59 I knew of only one "aristocratic" father, Alhaji Aminu Tafida, Tafidan Sokoto. There are other points on which I find lack of agreement with late Mrs Trevor's views.
7. Many of the girls came to school with leg ulcers, hookworm, guinea worm or leprosy. Ulcers were evidence of a deficient diet and hence a less well-off family.
8. "Hausawa, Fulani, Mushi, Mutanen Duwatsu na kasar Jos da ta Bauchi, Yarbawa, Ijo, Ibo, Ikoyi."
9. The way History were presented must, I believe, have been the result of precise policy directions.
10. Batten, op cit, p. 299, my translations from the Hausa version.
11. Hajiya Hassau later become a distinguished public figure.
12. Malama Hassau lived in a house inside the main gate, to the left. I used to visit her there. I am unsure of the location of Malama Cima'a house; she was very shy and I never got to know her well.
13. Joan Blacklock, born Manchester circa 1925, educated at Manchester University; married Michael MacEmara; died Kaduna circa 1975 of viral pneumonia. The Ma'aji was Alhaji Sulaiman. He later become the Mutawallin Katsina. As a measure of his respect for Miss Blacklock he eventually allowed one of his daughters to join the school.
14. I cannot remember when this happened, probably about 1959/60. She was unhappy there: eventually she returned with her husband to Katsina living in the house near the airport. Her illness and death at the age of fifty was met with sorrow and dismay by her Katsina friends.

15.	Provincial Secondary School, Katsina	Provincial Girls School School, Katsina
No. of Classes	6	5
Staff (European)	6	2
Grade I Teachers	0	0
Grade II Teachers	1	0
Grade III Teachers	0	1
Untrained	0	2
(February 1957)		

SECTION III

***Falkeina I: A poem by Ibn Al-Sabbagh (Dan Marina) in
praise of the Amir-Al-Mumin Kariyagiwa***

Hamidu Bobboyi and John O. Hunwick²

Introduction

Under a project partially funded by the United States National Endowment for the Humanities, a machine-readable catalogue of all the Arabic manuscripts and pamphlets housed in the Melville J. Herskovits Africana Library at Northwestern University is being prepared by the writers of this paper. Approximately 85% of the manuscripts preserved there original in the library of a single Tijani scholar of Kano, al-hajj `Umar Falke (d. 1962) and for much of this collection there has not hitherto been even a checklist. Our examination reveals that although much of the content of this library is what may be called `standard works' there is a not insignificant number of unique items, including some whose very existence was previously unknown. We are therefore planning to publish the shorter of such items through the pages of *Sudanic Africa* under the general title of *Falkeiana*, in memory of the scholar who originally collected or copied them. The `Poem of Ibn al-Sabbagh (Dan Marina) in praise of the amir al-muminin Kariyagiwa' reproduced and translated below is the first of such endeavours.

In the section on the `ulama' of Katsina in his *Infaq al-maysur*, Muhammad Bello makes reference to the celebrated scholar Ibn al-Sabbagh, describing him as *al-ustadh* (`the teacher'), *al-mukashaf* (`the one illuminated') and *dihliz al-ilm* (`the hall-way of learning') and listing works of his including what was evidently a major composition, a commentary on the *Ishtiriyat* of `Abd al-Rahman b. Yakhlaftan al-Fazazi (d. 627/1230).¹ So far no copy of this has come to light, but

². This is re-printed from *Sudanic Africa, a Journal of Historic Sources*, Vol 2, 1981, with the permission of the authors who sent us this specific article in response to our request for paper from them.

two other smaller works of his are relatively well known: the *Mazjarat al-fityan* and the *Qasida daliyan* in praise of the mai of Bornu `Ali b. `Umar.² The present work, a poem of eighteen lines rhyming in kha, has never before been referred to in the literature and no copy has been reported in public collection. Yet its attribution to Ibn al-Sabbagh seems by line 16:

This is my prayer, O my God, respond to it I am your servant as Sabbagh
who says not what he does not do.

While one could conceivably argue that this indicated that it was written not by (Muhammad) Ibn al-Sabbagh, but by his father, the date of composition given in the last line of the poem (24 Safar 1070/10 November 1659) is very close to the hitherto putative date of death of the son (1655),⁵ while there is no indication that the father was scholar, let alone a poet.

The full name of Ibn al-Sabbagh is Muhammad b. al-Sabbagh bn Muhammad al-Hajj (Muhammad b. al-Hajj) b. Baraka b. Ibrahim al-Kasnawi al-Arabi.⁴ We know virtually nothing of his life, but Muhammad Bello indicates that he was a teacher of another famous Katsina scholar Muhammad b. Masanin (Dan Masanih) who died on 2 Rajab 1078/18 December 1667.⁵ The discovery of Ibn Sabbagh's *Qasida Kha'yya* enables us to establish a firmer floruit based on the date of composition of the poem and we can say with confidence that he was active in late 1659.

More significantly, if our interpretations below are correct, the date given in the poem appears to lend support to the chronology of Katsina rulers in the 16th centuries proposed by Hunwick in 1973.⁶ The poem is in praise of a ruler called Kariyagiwa - 'elephant slayer' an honorific shared by at least three rulers of Katsina. The reign of the earliest of these, who bore the Muslim name `Ali was marked by an eclipse of the sun, according to the king lists. The only two possible dates for this phenomenon, 1532 and 1576, are clearly two possible dates for this overlap with the life of Ibn al-Sabbagh. Another Kariyagiwa was evidently in power in 1181/1774 and this is approximately a century too late to be the one whose deeds are celebrated in this poem.⁷ The third Kariyagiwa whose candidacy must be considered is more difficult to pin down King lists published by Palmer. Landeroin and Daniel all show a Kariyagiwa reigning after Sarkin Katsina Uban Yari (var. Yara, Yadi) as do two of the six lists published by Bala Usman.⁸ In the latter's four other lists, however, Uban Yari's successor is given as Jan Hazo, while

in two of them Uban Yari himself is given the soriqet Kariyagiwa. Whether Karigagiwa and Uban Yari are one and the same person or whether there was a Kariyagiwa who reigned immediately after Uban Yari, Ibn Sabbagh's *kha'iyya* makes it clear that neither the date of death for Uban Yari proposed by Smith (1118/17706-7) nor that proposed by Palmer (1018/1609-10) can be correct. Daniel's proposed date of 1068/1657-8 for Uban Yari's death remains just tenable if it is true that the ruler called Kariyagiwa was other than Uban Yari and was a successor to him. Ibn Sabbagh's poem, however, contains other hints that incline us to believe that the Kariyagiwa we are dealing with was none other Uban Yari.

Two points are noteworthy. First, in several of the lists Uban Yari is credited with executing a man called Magani or Haddagar.⁹ In Palmer's list published in Sudanese Memoirs Magani is given the nickname Mai Anfanin Baki - 'th one possessed of a useful mouth (or speech)' and by extension 'the honey-tongued' or 'the slick talker'.¹⁰ A claimant to prophet hood might well have such an epithet applied to him even though he is, for theological reasons, described by Ibn al-Sabbagh as 'the pig of filth'. Secondly, if our reading and interpretation of line 15 of the poem is correct, then it would indicate that the Sultan Kariyagiwa of Ibn al-Sabbagh's poem held sway for a time over Zamfara. The *Kitab ila ma^crifat unmara' Kashina* indicates that 'certain matters' occurred between Uban Yari and Zanfara, indicating that there was some Katsina involvement in Zamfara affairs at that time.

The fact that there was a disturbance of some significance resulting in an execution in mid-17th century Katsina may also be confirmed by a work by Ibn al-Sabbagh's contemporary Muhammad b. Masanih (d. 1078/1667). Although as yet we know only the title of the work and no copy has been recovered, that title alone is suggestive: *Tazyin al-^casa bi-darb hamat man asa--* 'Adornment of the staff concerning the execution of him who rebels!'¹¹ Whether or not this concerns the same incident we cannot, of course, yet be sure. Although the title might suggest political rebellion rather than heretical religious claims, it is possible that the ^culama who took the initiative in bringing the world-be 'prophet' before Kariyagiwa managed to convince the Sultan that the man was inciting people to rebellion against him. Perhaps, in the manner of our stumbling across Ibn Sabbagh's *kha'iyya*, we shall one day be fortunate enough to locate a copy of this work and through it shed some further light on Katsina history in the 17th century.

In the mean time the poem of Ibn al-Sabbagh certainly seems to confirm the occurrence of a significant disturbance in Katsina in or around 1659. It also shows that Muslim scholars did not shrink from using the 'caliphal' title of amir al-minin to describe their ruler, though it was previously thought to have been applied only to the mais of Bornu at this period. It is also interesting that the ruler who in our poem was granted this title was referred to, even by a scholar, under his Hausa by name -- Kariyagiwa -- the use of such names rather than clearly Muslim names having hitherto been assumed to be an indication of a lack of Islamic zeal or even a resurgence of 'paganism'. We must think again on this point. To paraphrase Shakespeare: what's in a name? An amir al-mu-minin y any other name would be as orthodox!

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx Arabic Text xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Translation:

The poem presents a number of difficulties of interpretation. Although the hand is neat and clear with full vocalization, the style is sometimes cryptic and the author uses a number of rhyming words which we have been unable to find in standard Arabic dictionaries such as the Lisan al-arab of Ibn Manzur or the Taj al-arus of al-Zabidi. There are, indeed, relatively few Arabic words ending with the letter kha and it is an unusual qafiya for a poet to choose. It is possible, therefore, that Ibn al-Sabbagh either drew on lexicographical resources not available to us, or (less plausibly) that he modified or even invented words to suit his purpose. Words we could not authenticate and interpret have been left in transliteration.

1. Inform on my authority at the Shaykhs in Islam what occurred an age of youth(?)
2. A trustworthy imam, Kariyagiwa our well-beloved, a helper of Islam, standing tall for the religion.
3. Gave victory to Islam, the Religion of Muhammad, and strengthened it,¹⁵ putting an end to the claim of one puffed up with pride.

4. The pig of filth arose claiming the prophethood of the messengers of God among the abarikh.
5. Theamir al-muminin, the father of guidance, imposed on him the fixed penalty of the sharia among those subdued by the sword (al-barayikh).
6. He hastened to listen to the complaints of him who raised them, receiving them from Ibn Yusuf who was shouting(?).¹⁶
7. He called all the Muslims to his palace and brought them together both young and old.
8. He consulted them as to what should be done in the matter of the accursed one. Death, they said with one accord(?).¹⁷
9. So they were slaughtered¹⁸ in front of him, through the grace of the Messenger of God, pride of the matatikh.
10. We were greatly pleased at that. No happiness is there like it except in the abode of eternity on the day of taking the yawabikh.
11. After this there remained no claimant to prophecy in our land for fear of the sword's exemplary punishment.
12. I ask you, O Giver, to ordain all that Kariyaghiwa intends to do in this world and in the barzakh.¹⁹
13. And give him victory over all enemies broken by the sword who rebel against him.
14. Just as he aided the true religion in open fashion by killing the enemy of God, the worst of jahanikh.
15. And exercised authority over Zanfara (?) for a priod. O Lord accept the prayer of the mudassakh.
16. This is my prayer, O my God, respond to it. I am your servant al-Sabbagh who says not what he does not do.
17. This poem was completed on a Friday, 24 Safar,²⁰ not at the beginning (?).²¹
18. In the [year of] the prophetic hijra l-gh y n, then -l.22 There is none who denies that date.

Appendix:

A Note on the Katsina King-lists Published by Bala Usman Bala Usman's article 'The dynastic chronologies of three politics of Katsina' (see note 8 above) contains translations of three king-lists and, as an Annex, a comparative table giving regnal

names and lengths taken from six local lists and the list of Landeroin. The six lists include the three fully translated ones which are discussed below as well as (1) KTUK, Version 1 (see below), (2) a list derived from a `group interview of the Massanawa. Birnin Katsina, July 1971 and (3) a list obtained from Mallam Ali of Maradi in September 1971.

The three lists fully translated in Usman's article are the following:

1. *Malam Salisu Books of Palmer* (MSB). According to Bala Usman these were written in Hausa and the king-list appears to have been translated from Arabic for Palmer who copied the translation down verbatim. Usman thinks it is essentially the same document as the *Kitab tartib umara Kashna* (see below), a copy of which (in Arabic is to be found in Palmer's papers. It lists 40 rulers from Kumayo to Mahmud.
2. *Kitab ila ma'rifat umara' Kashina* (KMUK). Copy (in Arabic) in Palmer's Papers in the Nigerian National Museum, Jos (MS 372, K61). It lists 27 or 28 rulers from Kumayo to Karyagiwa. The difference in numbers depends on whether or not one includes a ruler apparently called R-l-b-h (with a reign of 40 years) as the second ruler, following Kumayo. His name is not in either of the other two lists, though MSB lists Ramba-Ramba as the 2nd ruler with a reign of 40 years. Usman does not alert readers to this problem. A first version of this list would appear to have been written in the reign of Jan Hazo, son of Muhammad Uban Yara, since the compiler says of him 'We ask God to lengthen his life in obedience to God and His Messenger and (prolong) his justice and his aid to his Muslim subjects'. The remaining three regnal entries would have been added later. What we have is a later copy since the handwriting is the same throughout.
3. *Kitab tartib umara Kashna* (KTUK). Usman refers to copy in the Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna. It lists 38 rulers from Kumayo to Mahmud. It closely parallels MSB except that it omits ruler No.2, Ramba and ruler No.36, Tsagarana Roni (who is said to have ruled for only one year). In Annex 1 Usman publishes the regnal names and reign lengths of another version of the *Tartib* from a copy in the Palmer Papers. This list begins with Uban Yadi (Yara) and goes down to Mahmud, suggesting that the *Tartib* was originally an independent communication of the KMUK.

Not surprisingly, there is considerable consistency between all three lists both as regards names of rulers, their order and length of reign, as least down to Jan Hazo, the antepenultimate ruler in KMUK. In fact, the three lists seem to be organically related in the following way KMUK was the 'original' list put together in the time of Uban Yari, and later continued independently as KTUK (Version 1) down to Mahmud, the next to last Hausa sarki before the advent of the Fulani umara, KTUK (Version 2) is the rendering of this consolidated version.

Palmer himself published a 'consolidated' Katsina chronicle in his Sudanese Memoirs.²³ He states that it was 'derived from three separate lists extant in Katsina'. Two of these lists were presumably KMUK and KTUK while the identify of the third is a mystery. It was presumably from this third list that he selected the clearly unacceptable date of Uban Yari's death (a Monday in 1018/1609-10) and the nickname of the person called Magani who was killed in hsi reign. 'Mai anfanin baki', lit. 'the one possessed of a useful mouth (or speech)' hence 'the honey tongued' or 'the slick talker'.²⁴

There are a number of problems in the English translation of KMUK when it is compared with Palmer's Arabic text. The problems are especially acute in the reigns of Muhammad Uban Yara and his successor Jan Hazo, where the translation includes in the account of Uban Yara certain phrases which belong to the reign of Jan Hazo. The English translation of KTUK in many ways parallels the Arabic text of KMUK, though, strangely, some of the confusion between material relating to Uban Yan and Jan Hazo appears again in MSB.

The following translation of the portion of the KMUK dealing with these two reigns is made from the Arabic text in the Palmer Papers:

xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx Arabic translation xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Then his son Muhammad Uban Yara, known as Karyaghiwa. He reigned (wallaha) for 31 years, 5 months and 7 days and died the night of Monday in the venerated

month of God Jumada 1, the 10th night of it, in the year 1082. It was in his reign that there occurred the killing of Maghani, the one who caused distress to the caravans (lit. `goods') of Kano (sanib diq mata Kanu),²⁵ as well as the killing of the Sultan of Kano Kutunbi and the capture of his heir al-Hajj²⁶ and other matters which took place between him and Zamfara.

There reigned (next)²⁷ his celebrated and divinely favoured son Jan Hazu whom God aided with mighty victory. We ask God to lengthen his life obdedience to God and His Messenger and (to prolong) his justice and his aid to his Muslim subjects, through His grace and favour and generously. Surely He is Hearing and Close with a response to him who calls on Him.

Notes

1. Muhammad Bello. *Infaq al-maysur fi ta rikh bilad at Takrut*. cd CEI Whitting London 1951, 24
2. There are numerous copies of the former, see Arabic Literature in Africa a bulletin of biographical and bibliographical information, 1, 1985. 33-4 HR Palmer published an English translation only of the qasida in praise of Mai 'Ali in his 'History of Katsina'. *J. African Soc.* xxvi, 1926 7 226-7, and the Bornu Sahara and Sudan, London 1936, 246. The Arabic text of this poem and a new English translation will be published in a forthcoming issue of *Sudanic Africa*.
3. This date was first proposed by W. E. N. Kensdate in his *A Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts* preserved in the University Library. Ibadan Nigeria, Ibadan 1955 8. 18. and was followed by A.D.H. Bivar and M. Hiskett in their 'The Arabic literature of Nigeria to 1804: a provisional account'. *Bull. SOAS*, xxv, 1962, 113-4.
4. See *Arabic Literature in Africa*, 1. Loc cit
5. *Infaq al-maysur*, 24 Oral sources, however, reverse the relationship, see 1 Dankoussou. Traditions historiques des Katsinawa aprcs la jihad. Niamey, n.d. 37-52
6. See J.O. Hunwick. The dynastic chronologies of the Central Bilad al Sudan un the sixteenth century somere interpretations: *Kano Studies (new series)*. I. 1973, 40-2
7. See HFC Smith. A Gregment (NIC) on 18th century Katsina Bull of *News Historical Society of Nigeria*. N. 4 March 1961, 4-6
8. See H.R. Palmer. *Sudanese Memoirs*, Lagos 1928. m. 81. Documents Scientifiques de la Mission Tilho (1906. 1909). Paris 1911. H. 459. F de F. Daniel. 'A History of Katsina' (unpublished typescript. copy in the Melville J. Herskovits Africana Library, Northwestern University). 33: Bala Usman. The dynastic chronologies of three polities in Katsina'. *Bull de l'IFan*, xi, 1978, 396-414 On the King lists used by Bala Usman, see Appendix below
9. He is called Maghani in KMUK (*Kitab ila ma'rifat umara' Kashina*, see appendix for abbreviations) and in Palmer's list in *Sudanese Memoirs*. The name H-d-g-r is simply a copyist's error for Maghani. 10. This nickname also appears in Daniel translated 'History' suggesting that he made use of either Palmer's consolidated list in *Sudanese Memoirs* or his third 'mystery' list.
10. See *Arabic Literature in Africa*, 1, 1985, 33
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
- 14.
15. Text 'szzarashu - i.e. 'gave a discretionary punishment'. However, no, only does this not make sense in the context of this line. But it is clear from what follows (1.5) that

- the death penalty decreed by Kariyagiwa was a fixed shari'a punishment (hadd) and not one in the discretion of the ruler We have therefore read the word as 'azzazahu
16. Reading: sankh, though what is in the text could be read as mankh
 17. Text: min ghayn namikh.
 18. Reading: qatlan dhari... and not dhamari... as in the text note the plural verb. no doubt indicating that a number of the would-be prophet's followers were put to death on the same occasion
 19. The barzakh is a transitory state between this life and judgement in the hereafter
 20. The date is expressed by the ramz, k.d (20+40
 21. Text: ghayia sharikh
 22. Alif=1, lam=30, ghayn=900, ya=10, nun=50,'ayn=70,ta=9 Total=1070
 23. Lagos 1928, III, 24. 91
 24. The title Palmer gives to consolidated list indicates that he incorporated marginal notes' from the three lists at his disposal.
 25. The translation is tentative. Usman's translation has 'follower of (the) guest, property of Kano' (evidently reading dayf instead of diq - the two readings are equally plausible), though it is hard to see what this would mean.
 26. The *Kano Chronicle* (trans. H.R Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs* m, 118 9) records that Kutunbi attacked Katsina twice and died during or shortly after the second attack . His successor al-Hajj was deposed, according to the chronicler, for a reason I have forgotten. According to Palmer, Kutunbi reigned for 26 years. 1623-48 and Al-Hajj for 8 months and 24 days.
 27. The text is manifestly corrupt at this point. It reads *wallaha waladuhu*. The usual way of announcing the next ruler in this document is simply with thumma, while the phrase wallaha comes at the end of the reign introducing the number of years given ruler reigned. However, in this case, because the reign length was given before the account of this reign, the phrase wallaha had already been used. The compiler or copyist seems to forgotten this and started to write 'he reigned X years then remember he had already said this and glossed over the error by making 'his son' the subject of the verb 'reigned' omitting thumma.

A linguistic commentary on pre-jihadic Hausa Islamic verse found in Katsina around 16th-17th century A.D.³

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Introduction

This chapter sets out to discuss and comment on the linguistic aspect of an Islamic verse, *Wakar Yakin Badar* written in Hausa, found in Katsina precisely around 17th century AD. It will begin with a vivid discussion on the intellectual atmosphere apropos Islamic activities that flourished in the period. The style of writing literate verse from the primitive method of writing to the time when the classical Arabic material convention are the inculcated into the system of writing the poetry. The transition period and the evidence of the transition texts that are extant.

The chapter will also look into the biography of the author, his scholarly writings and his personality. Finally, we will bring a discussion on the poem itself, its authorship, plus a commentary on its linguistic content. The full text of the poem is also attached in the Appendix.

The intellectual climate of the 16th-17th century Hausaland

The intellectual atmosphere in Hausaland with specific reference to Katsina during the early years was as old as the introduction of Islam itself. Literary activities ran almost concurrently with Islamic reform movement. The literary activities came into the limelight after most of the traditional rulers became fully committed Muslims and employ Muslim clerics in their courts. Other Muslim scholars became fully engaged with their scholarly pursuits. Among the Muslim scholars

³. The complete poem rendered by Malama Saude Makauniya, Masanawa, Katsina, titled Wali Dan Masan, Katsina. Since no English translation of the poem was provided, the editors omitted the Hausa version from this volume. The full poem, however, is available at the Katsina State History and Culture Bureau, Katsina, Nigeria.

who featured prominently was Muhammad bin Abdulkarim al-Maghili (c. 909 AM, 1504) who was noted as an Islamic missionary who taught both in Kano and Katsina.

Among the extant volumes al-Maghili left behind were:

1. *Ta'arif fi ma yajib ala l-muluk*. The Arabic text was edited in 1932 by Wazirin Katsina Muhammadu Zayyanu bin Muhammadu al-Ma'mun.
2. *Mukhtasar mimma yajuz lil hukkam fi radd al-nas an al-haram*.

This volume is quoted by Shehu Usmanu Danfodiyo in section six of his *Tanbin al-Ikwan*. Bivar and Hiskett (1962) were able to collate about 23 volumes of al-Maghili's work in his career as an author, the last among the volumes found was *mimiya ala wazn al-Burdaa*: an ode rhyming in *mim* in the metre of *Burda*.

Sheikh al-Maghili inspired Sufi order in not only Hausa land, but the vast land of West Africa under the votaries of Qadiriyya sect. One interesting thing peculiar to al-Maghili's work is that his writings and teachings are more preserved and memorised by people across land more than that of his predecessors. Nonetheless, there is one immediate reason attributed to this elemental fact.

Muhammad bin Ahmad Abi Muhammad al-Tazakhti otherwise known as Aida Ahmad is the next obvious author of Hausaland after al-Maghili as per Biver and Hiskett (1962). He is reported to have attended classes of instruction run by al-Maghili at Takodda, al-Tazakhti also had so many contacts outside Hausaland such as Egypt and Hijaz with notable scholars such as Shaykh al-Islam Zakariyya and Dhalal al-din Qalqa-shandi.

While at Mecca, al-Tazakhti was endowed with *ijaza* that is licence to teach by Abu l-Barakat al-Nuwairi, Ali bin Nasir al-Hijazi and Abu Tayyib al-Busti. Upon his return with office of Qadi by the then Sultan of Katsina (n.d.). Al-Tazakhti died at the age of sixty years around AH 936 or precisely 1529. Among his famous writings was the commentaries on *Mukhtasar Khalil*. Al-Tazakhti is, thus, the second author in the history of early literary scholarship in Katsina after his teacher al-Maghili.

However, a more close look into the literary activities of the 17th century Katsina reveal that there were Muslim writers whose activity were found with a measure of definiteness and precision. Prominent among these writers is Ibn al-Sabbagh popularly known by his Hausa sobriquet Wali Dan Marina. He was the teacher of Dan Masani. Ibn al-Sabbagh was described as a poet and commentator (see *Infaq al-maysur*). While Dan Marina died in 1655 Dan Masanih died in 1667. This shows that the probability of their having flourished in the same period is very high. Dan Marina composed a poem to celebrate the victory of Mai of Borno Ali bin al-Hajj Umar who reigned between 1645-1684, over the Kwararafa, a tribe of the Benue valley. Other writings of Dan Marina that are extant include *Sharh al-Ishriniyyat al-Fazazi*. There is also *Mazjarat al-fityan*. This is a write-up which contains some admonition to the adolescents.

About the author

The author of *Wakar Yakin Badar* is Muhammadu bin Masanih bin Umaru bin Muhammad bin Abdullahi bin Nuhu who was originally from Borno and a Katsina man by birth and residence. Dan Masanih was described by Alwalaati as a very learned Sheikh, the most learned, jurist, grammarian and the linguist. He was the father of Abdullahi Muhammad bin Masanih.

Dan Masanih has a commentary on *al-Ishamawi* called *Buzug al-Shamisiyya ala muqaddima al-Ishawiyyah*. He also made a commentary called *Al-Nafiha al-Anbaryyya fi Malli al-faz al-Ishriniyya*. He has a versified (volume) work which has no dots on the Arabic consonants, *Juz' latif manzum, wa laisa fihi harf mancut fausaniya wa la takhtaniya*. He also has another work called *Tazyinul asaa fi Barbi Hammami man asaa*. He also has a work on Surat al-Ikhlās called *Ainul Ikhlās fi Tilawati Surat al-Ikhlās*. He also has a work in response to the inquiries on the ways of determining magrib prayer time from the Muslim jurists of Yorubaland called *Shifa' ribba fi fahrir fuqaha' hilad Yuruba*. He has another volume on morphology and syntax *Talifun ala ma'arifat ma yaqbalul sarf, wa adamba*. He has another volume called *Fathul maram* on the work of Ibn Hisam. Besides he wrote several poems on various subjects both in Arabic and Hausa (Ajami), among which is *Wakar yakin Badar* our subject of commentary in this paper. Dan Masanih died on Sunday in the afternoon on the second day of Rajab in the year 1078. A.H. which is equivalent to 18th December 1667.

Before his death he was a councillor in the Katsina sultanate. The Dan Masani Katsina is an official state title in Katsina and the family is still being represented. Besides, other Hausa states copy Katsina's example of Dan Masani of Dan Masanin Kano, Dan Masanin Sokoto, etc.

The Hausa Islamic verse

It is often noted by scholars that the advance of Islam in Hausaland was accompanied by the growth of a local Islamic literature. This initially remained so for many centuries, a literature in classical Arabic, the liturgical language of Islam Hiskett (1975:19), yet, the Islamic reform movement prior to 1804 and indeed after, has synchronised Islamic literature with indigenous Hausa culture. This is by way of composing Islamic verse in the vernacular language, to inject the Missionary propaganda and deliberately in an attempt to calibrate Hausa secular song tradition, especially among women and the satirical verses chanted by men as popular songs tradition.

Hausa Islamic verse came to light, therefore, as a protest against the mundane aspects of the indigenous satirical verse circulating in Hausaland which were more or less derogatory and un-Islamic. Ibn al-Sabbagh has written the 17th century vernacular version of Islamic verse to Mai Ali of Borno on his victory over the Kwarrafa as earlier mentioned. His disciple Dan Masani has written several others among which is our subject of commentary *Wakar Yakin Badar*, praising the Prophet and describing the battle of Badar in it.

About *Wakar Yakin Badar*

The poem was originally written by Dan Masani in the 17th century and it was memorised by many and particularly women as a substitute for the profane verses in Hausaland. Like many of the subsequent Hausa Islamic verses, it was left in the memory of the destitutes who chant the verses and collect money from people as alms.

The *Wakar Yakin Badar* in question was a version recorded some twenty years ago in Katsina in Masanawa from a blind woman Malama Saude Makauniya who confirmed that it was originally composed by Wali Dan Masani. Besides, evidence

from the content of the poem buttress her confirmation and will be exhibited in the chapter in due course.

Prior to 18th century most of the Hausa Islamic verses found do not conform with the present day classical Arabic metric style. The current vogue of Arabic metre is more pertinent to the 19th century Jihadic and post-Jihadic composition.

It is an evidential fact that *Wakar Yakin Badar* also does not conform with the classical Arabic measure, one, the majority of verses are in distiches only one verse is in monostich and about five verses of the forty nine found are in tristiches. The end-rhyme in (*ka fiya*) does not tally with one another in all the verses. This shows clearly that it belongs to the 17th century pattern of poetic composition.

Other kinds of Hausa Islamic verses of the same species with *Wakar Yakin Badar* include the following:

1. *Durratus sana* of Muhammadu na Birnin Gwari.
Mui aniya mu san shirin tauhidi gun mata makyuyata.
In ka fito musu kofar karatu duka kyuya su kan fito.
In ko ka fake da gun waka maz-maza su kan hardace.

2. Malam shi'itu Dan Abdul ra'ufu's Hausa version of Jiddul ajizi also does not conform:

Bismillahi rabbana farawar fadata.
Tahimidi na kai salati a biy mu sam albarka
Alhamdu lillahi dekacin yabo
Duka nai matabbacin ne lillahi Jalla mai iko.

Al-Khalil bin Ahmad an Arab grammarian who flourished around the eighth century was the first to use the paradigms to describe the poetic metres, but it was opined (Hiskett, 1975:180) that it was during the eighteenth century that Hausa poets adopted the classical convention as it obtains a transition as it obtains today. The following posers here remain as to whether there is a transition period between the primitive method of making poetry and of the present classical Arabic; secondly whether scholars recognise any transitional text extant in the said

period. Thirdly, does the transition period witness any common style among the writers which can boldly be classified as an independent genre? Lastly, does the two different texts exist side-by-side at one time or was it an overlap or a continuation?

Unless and until the above questions are duly substantiated, a lacuna is hereby justifiably realised in the history of Hausa Islamic verse. However, in my formal contribution for the search of the missing period and texts, I hereby declare that *Wakar Yakin Badar* of Dan Masani be recognized as a transition text due to the following reasons:

In the first instance, it has got some of the characteristics of the 16th-17th century poetic features specially the number of lines per verse are incongruent. Secondly, it has not specific end-rhyme (*kafīya*) like that of the classical Arabic, but finally run on the metre Hafif of the classical Arabic (--v--/--v--).

About the authorship of the poem *Wakar Yakin Badar* it was written by Dan Masani as confirmed by a custodian of the poem, Saude Makauniya Masanawa living around the original residence of Dan Masani. It was of the 17th century its content depict pure history of Islam and there is nothing profane in its content that one can deny its being attribute to the personality of Dan Masani.

Another evidence from its content which shows that it originates from Katsina is in the lexical selection of the poem, for example, in verse 13b, the lexeme *Wan'in* and *Iyatai*, especially the former is only peculiar to Katsina dialect (see Abraham 923 for details).

The language issue

The subsequent paragraph will focus on the language characteristic *Wakar yakin Badara*, with view of exhibiting a comment on the individuality of the text.

Language usage

Language has three forms of usage. It is either directly, informative or expressively. When we use language directly, we use it to cause or avert an action. This is done through other channels categorized under directives. They include commands, requests, questions and instructions. We use language informatively when we are communicating information describing things and reasoning about it. This is achieved through giving a report of some events or giving an account of some process. Lastly, we use language expressively this is also channelled through our feelings, emotions and attitudes.

Upon the three broad levels of language communication skills, the second entry above, that is informative is the kind employed in *Wakar Yakin Badar* after the formal opening doxology which is a prayer and praise:

1. *Bisimillahi suna ne na Allah Ta'ala,
Za ni yabon Rasulullah, Maccinmu bayi.*

2. In the name of Allah the most high
I will praise the messenger (Muhammad) our saviour We the servants
(of Allah).

The author goes on to bring an account on how the battle of Badar was fought.

The purpose of the poem

The main purpose of writing *Wakar Yakin Badar* is to impart knowledge in a particular field of study and that is Islamic history. The chief aim behind the poem is to inculcate a religious point of view.

12 *Mutan makka sun murna da saukar fiyayye.
Amma sai a anka kara, takubba da masu.*
13 *Wani wawa abu Jajil da ke ba su karya.
Ya ce koway je wurin wan'in shina bashi 'yatai.*
14 *An ga Siraka yai gama da bai kai isa ba,
Ya kai godiya ta kafe, wurin babu ramu*

12 The people of Mecca were happy with appearance of the supreme being.

But there was confrontation which involve swords and spears.

13 A certain Maskish Abu Jahil who told them lies

He said whosoever confronted Him (Muhammad) he will give not to him, his daughter for marriage.

14 Siraka was seen enchanted and had trial, but failed

He reached (them) and his mere started sinking

In a plain where there were no pot-holes.

The above excerpts suffice a reflection on the purpose of the poem *Wakar Yakin Badar*.

The situation of the writer

Considering the fact that language is a social behaviour and Hausa society is stratified into different social groups, the language itself reflects these social groupings. The differences are so exquisitely discernible as they reveal themselves in distinct forms. They involve different paradigms of grammar and vocabulary, but under this subheading we are concerned with dialectal difference and the dialect in which *Wakar yakin Badar* written is undoubtedly Katsina dialect, e.g. verses 13b, 30b, and 2a.

The motives behind the writing

The writer of poem may be faced with a number of specific motives: one is that of the communication of ideas, the reporting of detailed facts about some issues, injecting beliefs, correction of abuses, entertainment, or enlightenment evocation of attitudes, etc. Thus the motive behind writing *Wakar yakin Badar* is one of communication of ideas about the divine being to the audience of the 17th century Hausa civilisation. It is reports facts about religious issues which pertain to Islam. It injects Islamic beliefs and indeed of correction of abuses.

Dan Masani in his *Wakar Yakin Badar* poetry employs a more generally, but religiously ascribed vocabulary in his opening doxology 1a -12b which is a kind of doxologu uncommon to the current vogue. It is a kind of vocabulary, which in religiously general term, normally employed to chant praise verses.

However, the author arrives at a more specific vocabulary 13a 49b, while he was describing the actual battle of *Badar*. He specified his lexical selection to figure out the battle scene. His exemplification therefore is more concrete than abstract. On the whole scale, Dan Masani used formal language to communicate to his audience.

Grammatically speaking, Dan Masani usually prefers simple sentences to complex ones in his verses:

9. *Annabi kai muke murna cikin annabawa,
Kai ne auwalun Fari da ka zo a baya.*

9. The prophet we were proud out of other prophets.
You were the first came at last.

43. *Daga nan sai Aliyu shi ma ya zo cikin nasa kaya
Doki goma bayansa, samarin fiyayye.*

43. There and then Aliyu appeared in his regalia
Forty houses accompany him, the cigilantee of the exalted being.

In the poem the author employs figures of speech as well. This makes his poetic work a colourful one:

3. *Nai haramar yabo da yawa, na duba da zurfi
Gulbi mai ruwa tari, fito sai da jirgi.*

4. *Alkura'ani Jirgi ne da ya zo da fadi
Shi Jibrin ya kawo shi wurin salibinai.*

8. *Za ni yabonka Gamzaki da ka zo da haske,
Hasken naka na da yawa, yana shafe rana.*

3. I intended to praise as much, and I perceived its deepness.
Brook which accumulated water, ferrying of which can only be done by ship.

4. Qur'an is the ship which appear so large,
Jibril (angel) brought it to his dea one.

8. I intended to praise the morning-star which appear bright.
Your dazzling brightness surpassed that of subshine.

The use of figures of speech in his poetry makes it very appealing and persuade minds to accept and believe in the message. The figures indeed constitute the most revealing features of Dan Masani's style. They contribute in no small measure to the clarity, interest and liveliness of the style.

The subject matter

The lexical selection in Dan Masani's poem has obviously affected the nature of its subject matter; that is religious texts, and considerable number of religious terms has been used: e.g. 1a Bisimillahi, Ta'ala, 26, Rasulullah, 4a Alkura'ani 4b sahibi (nai), 5b, Jalla Jalala, 20a Makka, 30b Rasulu, 32b Rasulu, 33b Sasulu, 34b Rasulu, 36b Jalla 37a Ya Illahi 38b Kun-fa-yakunu 49a Jahil, etc.

As can be seen in the poetry itself, the content of the writing limits the range of lexical choices of the author to the religious circle.

The audience

Every writer does so for somebody or group of people he considers as his audience. His perception of the intended audience will not doubt have a direct affect towards the relative restriction of his language use. As for Dan Masani's *Wakar yakin Badar*, he addresses his audience in their mother tongue (Hausa) not Arabic this time, while he fully well noted that it is a reformist kind of approach. He employs language and grammatical structures that are simple enough for his audience to comprehend. Further, he went to the extent of localising the Hausa language itself by composing the poem in Katsina dialect as it can evidently be seen in some of his lexical selections: iba 2a, sahibinai, 4b, tamkal, 7b; wan'in, 136; `yatai, 13b; shina, 15ab, Immai, 27ab; tasbahatai 33a, etc. Note that the use of 'F' instead of Katsina's 'h' as in karfi, 47; fili, 48a, fiyayye, 42b; 43b, etc. could be due to the editorial reasons.

The tone

By tone here we mean the writer's attitude towards his written material and also his attitude towards his intended audience tone also engulfs different subtleties of meaning. How could Dan Masani have read this poem for us today if he were alive. Could his tone reveal anger, exasperation, sympathy, resignation or could it mean gentility and kindness. Definitely the quality of his tone will convey the full implication of his meaning. Today Dan Masani is no more, then what will happen to the tone of his poetry? The tone depends on the historic relationship between author and the audience and of course the subject matter. The tone will reveal itself gloriously in the writer's choice of grammatical structures and the selected vocabulary. In the case of *Wakar Yakin Badar*, a very humble tone is sustained throughout the poem.

Conclusion

To sum up, one would find that the intellectual climate of the 16th-17th century Katsina in particular and Hausaland in general was full of scholarly activities on the Islamic religion. The subject matter was primarily on the Islamic reform movement, since Islam was already introduced and to some extent established.

Wakar Yakin Badar sustain the qualities of being classified as the 17th century text. Its content shows Katsina as its geographical location so also its linguistic aspect. Its being attributed to Dan Masani is worthy.

The only poem dissociated to him "*Wakar sharrin Taba*" which some scholars contemplate that *taba* (tobacco) was probably introduced by Europeans and that it may not be so rampant at that time to cause any serious alarm to warrant any writing.

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A poetic history of Katsina, 1808-1992

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Introduction

That there is crisis in Nigeria's educational system is no more news, dilapidating buildings, unpaid teachers, lack of educational materials for day-to-day activities like chalk and blackboard, examinations failure, etc., but then what may be regarded as news is the fact that the crisis started in the early 1960s, immediately Nigeria got its independence. This, according to educationists,¹ is due to a number of factors which include:

1. The use of English Language as the language of instruction in teaching, instead of the home language which the learners have been using in their thought processes right from childhood.
2. There is also the problem of the language dilemma, most especially in primary schools between the mother tongue and English as second language. The main problem as enumerated by the educationists has to do with which one should be taught as a subject and at what stage?
3. Deaf and dumb phenomenon, that is, the communication aspect in class, most of the pupils/students do not freely understand what the teachers are communicating, there seem to be a situation where a dumb teacher is talking of deaf students, the idea of using local languages with most of those concepts that are of paramount in understanding and which will help in "stamping in the minds of the students, and help them to relate the concepts and ideas to their daily life", are not there.

That is say from the 1970s, cracks were seen in educational development, most especially in the North. This is due to the fact that there is a change from Hausa as language of instruction during colonial rule to English after independence, without competent bilingual teachers, without adequate texts in English, without the necessary policy making from the authorities.

Educational standards fall to the lowest, such that by 1985, West African Examination Council's most important trade mark may be termed as **MASS FAILURE**. This is so when we take into cognisance, the assertion by Otujodunmi (1985) that the 1985 WASCE is the "worst in the Council's forty-four years, where up to seventy percent of the 514,943 candidates who sat for the WASC examination failed".²

According to a recent report³ in Kaduna State, in the 1991 results only 60 students got 5 Credits out of the thousands that sat for the examination, the rest, despite failing, cannot boast of having been to secondary schools; most cannot read nor write; others cannot speak good English, while some still have difficulty in reading a Hausa text. When it comes to subjects like Physics many cannot say that is Newton's first law of motion or in Chemistry what constitute water.

There is the need to have a rethink over these issues with a view to reducing the number of ignorant secondary school leavers/goers. One way of doing such is to go back to the system used during colonial rule, I know some may object to this kind of proposal, but then I am sure not all colonial policies were bad. However, bad we may come to think of it; on the issue of instruction in our primary/secondary schools colonial education is far better. During colonial rule students and pupils were instructed all their lessons in their mother tongues for the most important period of their educational life by the use of poetry in classes to instil into their minds some knowledge that they may otherwise not bother about. Unfortunately it was done in early seventies and it proved some how successful.

This seminar, though "Islamic" in nature, is an avenue for me to point this out, and to show why the four years that Katsina has been as a State is hastily being forgotten, and profess a way out. In this poetic history, we may not find most of HISTORY or ISLAM, but then there is all that it takes for the State to become what it is. Some might say this is a collection of history in a hurry or what Joseph Ki-Zerbo referred to as journalist kind of history.⁴ All the same, what I did in these collection of stanzas is to picture Katsina from 1804-1992 and make certain observations, things like the place for the future. I know in the course of this seminar deliberations, things like the place of Dan Masani, Dan Marina, Dan Takum, Takusheyi, Gobarau minaret in the history of Katsina will be unearthed. Figures like al-Maghili ibn Batuta, the Usmanu Danfodiyo Jihad and others would be discussed extensively, but then, they may end up in the archives just like what

they discussed, but then what I have here is what we are going to have as the outcome of the seminar in a condensed form, but in a melodious way.

The Poem in Hausa and English (an excerpt)⁴

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Ya Allah gwani Masoyi mai gani | 1. Oh God the perfect , my lover, the all seeing |
| 2. Ya Jallah Karimu Sarki mai komi | 2. Oh God the Generous The king of all |
| 3. Kai ne Gaffaru Sarkin nan mai Kiru | 3. You are the forgiver King of the village Kiru |
| 4. Yau murna nake kira Hawayena sun zubo | 4. I am happy today With tears dropping |
| 5. Katsina nake kira A shiryayyen wakena | 5. I call upon Katsina in this Structured poem |
| 6. Kirana don Aminu Muhammad manzona | 6. Because of Aminu The Prophet Muhammadu |
| 7. Ka amshi kiran da nai ma Don kai nan kewa | 7. Heed my call as I am in solitude |
| 8. A yau zanen tarihi zan abo ne fa | 8. Today I am onto history little you are about to hear |
| 9. Wannan tarihi na ji ga babana | 9. This history I learnt it from Grand-dad |
| 10. Ya ce Ibrahimu | 10. He said to me I |

⁴. This is an excerpt from a 348 stanza poem. It is truncated for reasons of space. The original complete poem is available at the Katsina State History and Culture Bureau. (The Editors)

na ji ga babban

learnt (it) from my God

11. Tunau jikan Dudi
Galadiman farko

11. Tunau Grandson of Dudi
The first Galadima

12. Kasar Katsinar Korau
kasa ce mai girma

12. Katsina the land of
Korau is very big land

13. Timbuktu da Songai
Tunisiya ni na ji

13. Timbuktu and Songai
Tunisia, I was told

14. Sun san da kasarmu
Kasar babban sarki

14. They know of our land
The land of the great king

15. Kumayin ne Sarki
tsatson Hausawa

15. Kumayo the great
Progenitor of the Hausas

16. A can Katsinar kuma
an sha dabdala

16. In Katsina of the olden
there were lots of crises

17. Sarki Korau ne
ya kashe Sanau ta

17. The King Korau
killed his rival Sanau

18. Sarkin Katsinar ne
sarkin Haben fa

18. King of Katsina
king of the Habe

19. Bayan Haben nan
sai Fallanin fa

19. After indigenous
tribes then came the Fulani

20. Ga tarihinsu
ku saurara ku ji

20. Here is their history
you listen to me

21. Usmanun Fadiyo
yai yakin Yunfa

21. Usmanu Fodiyo
fought King Unfa

22. A 1804 ne
mun bi shararra

22. It was in 1804
that we found the path

- | | |
|---|---|
| 23. Sakkwato tai kira
don ita ce Inna | 23. Sokoto called all of
us she was the leader then |
| 24. Musulunci ya kafu
Sunan Allahu, shi ma yai tashe | 24. Islam became stablised
Allah's name became the
order of the day |
| 25. Fillanin su fa
Sun yake Habe, sun cinye su fa | 25. The Fulani's fought
the Habe and defeated them |
| 26. Ummaru mai Dallaje
Yai himma ranar | 26. Ummaru Dallaje
fought well that time |
| 27. Da shi an kai yaki
da Ummaru Dumyawa | 27. He fought together
Ummaru Dumyawa |
| 28. Da su da Na-Alhaji
sai Dudin shi ma | 28. Together with
Na-Alahji and Dudi also |
| 29. Manyan malamai ne
Fillani ne su | 29. They were great
teachers They were all Fulani |
| 30. Ka ji fa farkon su
Dallazawan fa | 30 That was the origin
of the Dallazawa dynasty |
| 31. Har da fa Sullubawa
don ban manta ba | 31. Together with the
Sullubawa I have not
forgotten |
| 32. Ummaru mai Dallaje
she ne yai sarki | 32. Ummaru Dallaje
Became the Emir |
| 33. Na-Alhaji 'Yandaka
a Dutsinman can fa | 33. Na-Alhaji became
'Yandaka with his base at
Dutsinma |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 34. Ummaru Dumyawa
Sarkin Sullubawa | 34. While Ummaru Dumyawa
King of the Sullubawa |
| 35. Dudi yai Galadima
Galaduncin an nan | 35. Dudi became the
Galadima progenitor of the
Galadanchi |
| 36. Kun ji fa su manyan
Katsinawa an girma | 36. That were the elders
Katsina has come of age |
| 37. Ya 'yan Katsinawa
mui himma mu dai | 37. Oh you people of
Katsina stand up get up |
| 39. Don haka nai kira
ku saurara ku ji | 39. I now call upon you
listen to me, all |
| 40. Ba wani mai gina mu
sai mu dai da kanmu | 40. No one is going to
build the state only our own
selves |
| 41. Duba dai da kyau
ai mu mun taso | 41. Look all over the
state we have really come of
age |
| 42. Asibitoci manya-manyan
hamsin na kirgo | 42. Big constructed
hospitals I counted about
fifty |
| 43. Ku duba ko'ina
lafiya gun kowa | 43. Look everywhere
the people look healthy |
| 44. Wuraren shakatawa
da otel ga su nan | 44. Places for leisure
living hotels all round |
| 45. Da motel don fa cimmu
muci mui hamdala | 45. Motesl all over the
state lets eat to satisfaction |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 46. Fagen ilimi shi ma
ba mu yada shi ba | 46. Education also is our
top priority |
| 47. Firamaren ne fa
alften na kirgo | 47. Primary schools I
counted thousands |
| 48. Maitan nai fa kari
talatin ban cire ba | 48. Two hundred more
add thirty more |
| 49. Sakandaren ita ma
dari biyu ni na ji | 49. Secondary schools two
hundred and more |
| 50. Allah mun gode
Kai mana kayn baiwa | 50. Thank you God you
so blessed us |
| 51. In har mun butulce
mu mun kwaru fa | 51.If we show ingratitude
it is our loss |
| 52. Jiharmu sabuwa ce
Katsinawa sai murna | 52. Ours is a new state
Katsina people are happy |
| 53. A watan satumba ne
a ranar larba fa | 53. It was created in
September that very
Wednesday |
| 54. Ashirin ne har da uku lissafi yakkai | 54. 23rd of the month
acurrately |
| 55. Alif da dari taran ne
kai dai mana min | 55. Nineteen hundred
take if from me |
| 56. Kara dai tamanin
da bakwai in ka so | 56. Plus eighty years
in addition, seven more years |
| 57. Fadin Katsinar ne
jihar nan mai kewa | 57. Katsina's lad mass
who take away grief |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 58. Dubu ashirin fa ne dai
dubu hudu sa min su | 58. Twenty thousand add
four thousand more |
| 59. Hadi da biyar fa na sa
da sha bakwai kara | 59. Plus five more
thousand add seventeen to |
| 60. Yawan ko mu mutane
miliyan uku ni na ji | 60. The population of the
people three million so I |
| 61. Dubu dari takwas ne
dan kara min su | 61. Plus eight hundred
thousand add them for me |
| 62. A nan ni zan tambaya
sai ku ban amsa ni dai | 62. Here is a question
please answer me |
| 63. Shin ko kun san Katsina
sanin dai sosai fa? | 63. Do you know Katsina
well? real knowing I mean? |
| 64. Ba sanin Bunu ba
da bai kyauta min ba | 64. Not like that of Bunu
that is not knowledge |
| 65. Amsar ga ta nan fa
suarara min ni | 65. Here is the answer
listen to me well |
| 66. A yamma Sakkwato ce
Kano na can gabas fa | 66. West of Katsina is
Sokoto Kano is in the East |
| 67. Kaduna ko makwabta
mutane dangimu | 67. Kaduna our neighbour
our kith and kin |
| 68. An rabu mu can da
sai halwa mun yi | 68. We were separated
hermit like we became |
| 69. Su ne dai kudunmu
mun so dai juna | 69. Now they are south of
us we love each other still |
| 70. A can arewa kun ji | 70. To our North |

mutan Nijar ne fa

The people of Niger

Katsina as the gateway of the earliest Muslim scholars and learning in Nigeria: the case study of *Mahd* literature

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Introduction

Muslim and non-Muslim scholars in the fields of Arabic literary history, Islamic studies, history, historiography, ethnography and sociology, are to a large extent unanimous on that Katsina has been privileged to emerge as the entropot of Hausaland, and as the birth-place of some of the most renowned scholars of Sudani Islam. It also enjoys the grace of serving as diffusing centre for Arabic and Islamic scholarship in Nigeria.

Non-Nigerian Muslim scholars, most especially the Timbuktu scholars of the Masufah Tuareg family of Aqit, the descendants of Muhammad Aqit b. Umar b. Ali b. Yahya al-Sanhaji, at the apex of which was Ahmad Baba al-Timbuktu (d.1627 C.E), the author of the *Nayl al-Ibtihaj* printed in the Tatriz of the Dhibaj of Ibn Farhun, had contributed immensely to the growth and development of Arabic and Islamic learning in Katsina. The State, likewise, attracted the celebrated alim (scholar), Muhammad b. Abdul Karim al-Maghili (d.910/1504) who taught the Qur'an and Fiqh (jurisprudence), and in the end became a legendary figure in the Arabic and Islamic literature of the state. Equally important were the Mandigo missionaries locally known as Wangara or Wangarawa. The groups first settled in Katsina and taught for many years before proceeding to their various destinations. Aida al-Tazakhti, a pupil of al-Maghili was appointed a judge (qadi) after settling in Katsina and taught for many years. He remained there until his death in 1529 C.E. The city also attracted to itself the celebrated Makhluaf al-Bilbali al-Marrakushi (d.939/1553).

Katsina is not just only a consumer, but also equally a producer of top Muslim scholars who are respected internationally for their Arabic and Islamic literary output.¹

With special regard to Madh literature, the strategic location of Katsina has afforded it the opportunities of drinking first from the fountain of knowledge of the Sufi scholars who were exponents and transmitters of this special area of Arabic poetry. Above all, the people of Katsina still believe, despite the abundance of historical evidences, that the most celebrated *Madh* (panegyrist on the Prophet Muhammad) in the Sudanic regions, Abu Zayd Abdur-Rahman al-Fazazi, the author of the *Ishriniyat* (Twenties) died and was buried in Katsina. His work enjoys the widest circulation in West Africa and the Maghrib after the Qur'an.²

The approach chosen for this discussion is to provide a short background to the history of Madh work, the *Ishriniyat* in particular, produced by the state, as well as those from outside the state who benefited the city with their store of knowledge will be examined. Finally, the prominence of Katsina State in 'western' scholarship in addition to its hegemony in Arabic and Islamic literary efflorescence this country will be discussed.

Muslim scholars connected with the introduction of the Madh literature

Background Information:

Madh sometimes rendered as *Madh*, is simply translated into English as panegyric, eulogy or praise. It remains Madh if composed in honour of the Prophet Muhammad, whether during his life time or after his death. In all other cases, if composed after the death of the *mamduh* (one praised) it is referred to in Arabic as *ritha* or *marthiyah* (elegy or trenody). With particular reference to the panegyric of the Prophet Muhammad, it is the Almighty Allah Himself and His Angels that had first praised him before enjoining the act upon the Muslims: *Wa innaka la ala Khuluqin azimin* (You stand on an exalted standard of character). *Innaka ala siratin mustaqimin* (Indeed, you are on a straight path). *Anta hillun li adha'l balad* (You are a solution to the problems of this city). More importantly: *Inna-Laha wa Mala'ikatahu yusalluna ala Naniyy. Ya 'ayyuhal-Lathina 'amanu sallu alayhi was sallimu tasliman.*

Meaning:

Indeed (the Almighty) Allah and His Angels do celebrate invocation of blessing on the Prophet, O! you who believe, invoke blessing and peace on him intensively.²²

Thus, the praise of the prophet Muhammad by Muslim poets began during his life. Kaab b. Zuhayr, composed his famous panegyric in A.H. 9 on the Prophet (Banat Suad, Suad has departed), which saved him from the death penalty for his satire of the prophet, Hassan b. Thabit (d. ca. 40/659) was the official "court poet" to the prophet. In fact, innumerable Muslim poets, both in the Eastern and Western part of the Islamic Empire have praised the Prophet before and after, but none of them has been able to reach the level which Abu Zayd Abdul Rahman al-Fazazi has obtained in this endeavour. Hence the reason for choosing his work — *al-Ishriniyat* — which the scholars of Katsina origin are destined to promote and propagate.

Reasons for the special attention on al-Fazazi's Madh - the Ishriniyat

Al-Fazazi, a Muslim scholar and mystic who had served as secretary to a number of Arab princes in Spain and Morocco, composed his Madh in Cordoba (Qurtuba) in the year 604/1207-8. Born ca. 510/1145 and died in the year 627/1230, al-Fazazi originally gave the work *al-Wasa'il al-Mutaqabbalah* (the Acceptable Means), but it soon acquire the designation al-Ishriniyat (the twenties), because of the number of lines in each ode. At same later period a certain Abu Bakr b. Muhib wrote a takmis on the work, that is, he added three half-verses before each verse of Abu Zayd al-Fazazi, and so created a work containing of about 580 stanzas, each of which contains five hemistichs. The whole work is commonly referred to in Nigeria as the Ishriniyat, and the two components are never recited or printed separately. The work is always chanted and spoken of as though it is written by one single poet.

Nearly all Muslim scholars who had contributed to the spread of the knowledge of the *mahd* work under discussion are in some ways connected with Katsina. Ironically, the two leading scholars who are also principal agents in the diffusing of the knowledge of the Ishriniyat are of Katsina origin: Ibn al-Sabbagh (Hausa: Dan Marina (d. 1651) and Dan Masanih (d.1667).

Among the major reasons one may advance for the ulama's interest in the Madh, particularly the Ishriniyat is that al-Fazazi skilfully chose pilgrimage (hajj) as the pivot for his work. The hajj, as far as Muslims in West Africa are concerned, is found over the years to be the most effective force for strengthening religious awareness, and for developing universalism and brotherhood among Muslim nations. It is the hajj, of all the pillars of Islam, that reinforces the concept of Tawhid (belief in the unity of God) and displays it in a practical way.²³ Finally, the Prophet Muhammad in whose honour the Madh is composed deserved the respect because, so far, he was the only Prophet of Allah who had successfully combined prophethood with statesmanship.

As previously established, if Allah Himself could establish the exercise and declare it an important assignment on Muslims, it is therefore a rewarding venture. In addition, al-Fazazi has himself declared that the praise of any other patron than Muhammad (the Mukhtar) is a waste of intelligence.²⁴ Muslims in Nigeria found the Ishriniyat the best Madh on the Prophet, and its application is to all aspects of life. Brockelmann remarks that the work has made al-Fazazi an 'apostle' of Islam in the Sudanic region.²⁵ Lippert, quoting the *Tarikh as-Sudan* says that the work has received repeated recognition and that its circulation (in the Sudan) approaches that of the Qur'an.²⁶ Above all, the Madh contains all verses in the Qur'an except four.

Timbuktu Scholars on the Madh in Katsina

The contribution of the Timbuktu scholars to Arabic and Islamic learning in Nigeria cannot be over-emphasised. Many of them made pilgrimage to Mecca and spent some time in Egypt on the way, learning from such scholars of the day as al-Suyuti and al-Nuwayri on their return to Timbuktu they carried with them textbooks and wrote commentaries on them to aid their students. The return route of such scholars to Timbuktu often lay by way of Hausaland and sometimes they preferred to settle there for a period to teach in Katsina and Kano. A good example was Ahmad Baba's grandfather, Ahmad b. Umar b. Muhammad b. Aqit (d. 991/1495) who taught in Katsina and Kano on his return from the pilgrimage to Mecca around 1487 CE. 27 Another Timbuktu scholar, Makhluf al-Balbali was a jurist and a pupil of the great uncle of Ahmad Baba, Abdullah b. Umar b. Muhammad Aqit (1463-1548), at Walata. The Faqih Aqib al-Ausumani likewise,

visited Katsina, taught there before leaving for Marrakush. He died in 940/1533 after returning home.

When Ibn Muhib, the first commentator on al-Fazazi's work visited Agades, he is reported to have made his work available to Muslim scholars there before calling at Katsina. Another commentator of the same Madh work was the father of Ahmad Baba (1522-1583) whose effort in the text is described as a masterpiece. He visited and taught in Katsina for a while. Najib Al-Ansumani, a brother of Aqib al-Ansumani upon leaving Agades stayed in Katsina. He studied in Timbuktu, but was originally from Agades. He was later a pupil of al-Maghili and As-Suyuti. He made available to Muslim scholars in Katsina his commentary on the *Ishriniyat* which Shaykh Nasiru Kabara describes as outstanding. His work, titled *An Tariqat al-Maslahat* is available at the private library of Sheikh Nasiru Kabara in Kano.²⁸ Sultan Bello in his *Infaq al-Maysur* confirms the work, but refers to the author as hailing from Takadda, hence his nisbah al-Takaddawi.²⁹ He is reported to be alive in 1005/1597 when they *Nayl* of Ahmad Baba was completed.

***Madh* commentator of Katsina origin**

Katsina has produced Madh commentators of the highest calibre, particularly on al-Fazazi's work. Experience has shown that it is not just a natural or common issue that the convergence of scholar-poets on a place must produce poets of that descent. Katsina is unique in this respect.

Ibn Sabbagh (Hausa: Dan Marina)

His full name was Muhammad al-Kashinawi. He was probably a pupil of Ahmad baba al-Timbuktu. He was described as the teacher of Dan Masanih (d. 1667), another popular commentator on the *Ishriniyat* to be discussed later. Dan Marina was a noted jurist and an accomplished scholar, whose presence in Katsina was a great blessing to the state in general. About him, Hunwick says:

The direct result of these scholarly contacts with Hausaland was the growth of an independent tradition of Arabic scholarship which first showed itself in Katsina in mid-seventeenth century. The first writer we know is a certain Dan Marina (Ibn Sabbagh d.c. 1655), whose interest lies in the fact that he wrote poem in praise of the Sultan of Bornu Ali, in

which he celebrated the Sultan's victory over the Jukun (Kwararafa) of the Benue Valley.³⁰

Bivar and Hiskett referred to him as a great scholar in their studies on the Arabic literature of West Africa before the Jihad in 1805 CD and cited three major works among his several works:

- a. *Sharh ala Ishriniyat li Abi Zayd al-Fazazi.*
- b. *Mazjarat al-Fityan* - a qasidah containing injunction to the young.
- c. Ode in praise of Amir al-Mu'minin Ali, Sultan of Bornu, and in the censure of the Kwararafa.³¹

According to the Shaykh Nasiru Kabara of Kano, the commentary of Dan Marina is titled *Buzugh al-Shamsiyah(?)*, a copy of it is available in his private library. Sultan Bello remarked that the work is not well-known because it was given a kind of restricted circulation. What is indisputable about Dan Marina is that he was a fore-runner of the scholastic achievements of Katsina, be it Arabic prose or poetry.

Shaykh Dan Masanih's Efforts

A pupil of Ibn Sabbagh (Dan Marina) Abu Abdullah b. Muhammad b. Masanih b. Ghamrahu b. Muhammad b. Abdullahi b. Nuh al-Barnawi al-Kashinawi (d. 1078/1667) was a force to be reckoned with the Arabic and Islamic literary achievement of Katsina State. His commentary on the *Ishriniyat* of al-Fazazi titled *al-Nafhat al-Anbariyah fi halli al-faz al-Ishriniyar* was completed in 1049/1640

It was Dan Masanih's *Anbariya* that spurred Shaykh Gibrima into action to produce his *Nawafih al-Itriyah*, a popular abridgement of the former. Shaykh Nasiru Kabara declared to me that he was encouraged by the works of Katsina scholars, Dan Marina and Danmasani in particular, to produce his own commentary: *al-Futuhat al-Yaqiniya fi sharh al-Ishriniyat*, which is the 8th known commentary on the text in the Sudan.³²

The commentary of Shaykh Dan Masanih is extant in several manuscripts and its discussed extensively by Hiskett and Bivar.³³ There is a copy at the Bayero

University Library in Kano. Another copy is microfilm at the University Ibadan Main Library. The work has not been published.

Legendary Accounts of Katsina's Achievement in Madh Literature

Several legends are carved around al-Fazazi.³⁴ The very relevant one in this respect was narrated by Alhaji Bala Maiyafe of the blessed memory. According to him, al-Fazazi came to Katsina on his way from Mecca where he had performed the hajj. Since it is customary in the country that whenever an important Muslim guest arrives in a city he should first get in touch with the Imam or his *na'ib* (deputy), al-Fazazi was taken to Dan Masanih's house. The guide invited him to enter, but the poet refused. He preferred to sit outside under a tree until Dan Masanih came out to receive him.

When Dan Masanih was informed of the strange behaviour of his guest, he quickly came out and received al-Fazazi where he found him chanting from his work (the *Ishriniyat*). The poet stopped and greeted Dan Masanih and they both entered into the guest room. After observing their *Asr* prayer, they came out and sat together in the shade of a big tree to exchange ideas. At this juncture al-Fazazi told Dan Masanih that he considered his journey from Morocco and Mecca to Katsina as being in Mecca. To this, Dan Masanih replied: "We are in Mecca", they both then saw the Ka'abah in front of them on the spot.³⁵

A corollary to this legend is the aspect that al-Fazazi demanded that the tree under which they were both sitting be cut down to enable them count up the number of its leaves. Dan Masanih said that it was unnecessary and simply told him the figure. Despite the fact that al-Fazazi approved Masanih's figure as correct, the tree was cut down and its leaves were counted and the total was found to be as Dan Masanih had stated. Al-Fazazi explained to the Muslims in Katsina that his insistence on having the tree cut down was to convince them that his host was a saint and blessing of Allah to them both in learning and charismatic powers.

The belief that al-Fazazi died and was buried at Dan Masanih's quarters in Katsina is still upheld by many Muslims. My research into this aspect reveals that the simplest way a researcher can make himself an enemy to a people is to regard their belief as fabricated nonsense. If a legend of this nature is transmitted and has

received a unanimous acceptance by Muslim scholars in Nigeria, the only thing a researcher can do is to be extremely careful in interpreting it.

According to this legend, when al-Fazazi died in Katsina, Muslims assembled in a large group for a funeral prayer on him. After the prayer was over, two men bent down to lift up the bier adhered to the ground. More than fifty strong men tried, but in vain; the more the reinforcement, the more difficult the task. At that point, one of the Muslim scholars who had studied the deceased Madh very meticulously remembered the prophecy of al-Fazazi and advised that the bier be left alone for a while because the poet was still holding conversation with the Prophet Muhammad. They all agreed with his view and were patient for a few minutes. When they tried it again, they lifted it up very easily and carried it to where he was laid to rest.

Both Alhaji Bala Maiyafe of Kano and Shaykh Ja'afar of Katsina (both of blessed memory) were unanimous on this legend and they both cited the following stanza as where al-Fazaai had prophesied the event.³⁶

The world has become too narrow for me despite its ox wide extent.
The condition of my soul has become worse because of my long distance.
Nothing else, save closeness (to the prophet) can give it joy.
The cure for my sickness (if achievable) is visit to Medina.
I would still hope for it, even though lying on the bier.

Conclusion

The facts and reasons advanced so far in each aspect of this discussion are probably adequate enough to support the claim that Katsina was home to many Muslim scholars, not only during the pre-jihad period, but also in the succeeding years until the colonial conquest. That Islam had tremendously shaped the past and present of the state generally. That Katsina as the entrepot of Hausaland attracted Muslim scholars from Morocco and Timbuktu, particularly those of them on the return from the pilgrimage (hajj) in Mecca and visit to Medina. The city of Katsina is blessed with accomplished scholars in various fields of learning, e.g. Arabic poetry, prose, medicine, astrology, astronomy, numerology, mathematics, jurisprudence, etc. Any Muslim scholar from outside Nigeria who has in one way

or another made any impact on Arabic and Islamic learning must have passed through Katsina at least with a short stay.

Muslim scholars who had left indelible mark on Arabic literature in Nigeria, particularly in the Madh were nearly all descendants of Katsina. Examples of Ibn Sabbagh (Dan Marina) and his pupil Dan Masanih are cited for illustration. The first writer to emerge in the growth of Arabic scholarship which began in Katsina in Hausaland generally was Dan Marina. He was also the first Nigerian commentator on the Madh work of al-Fazazi. His talent in the panegyric was never restricted to Madh ar-Rasul (panegyric on the Prophet). Rather, he praise deserving patrons outside his tribe or clan. Likewise, the legendary accounts on al-Fazazi and his Madh work testify to our claim that Katsina is unique in her hospitality and excellent treatment of the itinerant Muslim scholars.

Above all, the belief that al-Fazazi made his Madh work available to Dan Masanih despite that we knew him as a pupil of Dan Marina attest to their respect for, and interest in al-Fazazi and his Ishrinayat. The poet is also believed to have died and was buried in Katsina at Dan Masanih's quarters. If at this stage of our literary history of Arabic literature, a poet who died about seven hundred and sixty-two years ago in Spain could still be accepted as having his grave in Katsina, the state's interest in the Madh literature deserves to be studied on a monographic perspective. As far as Arabic and Islamic studies are concerned, the scholarly tradition of Katsina which appears collapse with the rise of Sokoto in 1807 has not been properly redeemed, even though certain scholars believe that it has gained fresh impetus with the establishment of Katsina Training College in 1921.

Notes

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3. M. Hiskett. "Hausa" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol.3, p.276.
4. F.R. Rodd. *The People of Veil*, London (1968), p.292.
5. Muhammad al-Hajj. "A Seventeenth Century Chronicle on the Origins of Wangarawa". *Kano Studies*, Vol.19, p.11.
6. A.A. Batran. "A Contribution to the Biography of Shaykh Muhammad b. Abd al-Karim al-Maghili al-Tilimsani", *JAH*, Vol.14, No.3, 1973, p.390.
7. Von Julius Lippert and Mischlich, "Beitragzur Geschichte des Mohammedanism in den Hausaladen (MSOSB) Berlin Universita, p.225-242.
8. R.S. Rattary, *Hausa Folklore, Customs, Proverbs*, New York, 1969, pp.10-16, Batran op cit, p.391.
9. *Ibid*, p.394.
10. Muhammad Bello, *Infaq al-Maysur*.
11. Al-Hajj, op cit, p.10.
12. Trimmingham, op cit, p.131.
13. J.S. Trimmingham. *A History of Islam in West Africa*. Oxford University Press, New York (1962), p.131.
14. al-Qur'an 68:4; 34:43; 33:56; 33:21.
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16. Abu Zayd al-Fazazi: *al-Wasail al-Mutaqabbalah (al- ishriniyat)*, Cairo (n.d) harf stanza.
17. R.A. Raji. "The Ishriniyat: Its Origin and Importance in Nigeria". *NATAIS*, Vol.2, No.4, December, 1973, p.26.
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19. J.O. Hunwick. "A Source for the Biography of Ahmad Baba al-Timbuktu (1556-1627) BSOAS, Vol.27, pp.583-5.
20. My personal interview with the Shaykh Nasiru Kabara in February 1981 at Kano.
21. Muhammad Bello. *Infaq al-Maysur*. Edited by C.E.J. Whitting, Luzac and Co. Ltd., London (1952), p.15.
22. J.O. "Ahmad baba and the Moroccan Invasion of the Sudan" *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol.2, No.3, (1962), pp.311-326.
23. D.H. BiVar and M. Hiskett. "Arabic Literature of Nigeria to1804: A Provisional Account", *BSOAS*, Vol.25 (1962), pp.104-149. SEs also Ali Abubakar. *Al-Thaqafat al-Arabiyah fi Nijiriya*. Cairo (1972), pp.176, 45, 102, 161, 188 for the importance of Katsina. See again, Shehu Ahmad Sa id Galadanci, "Harakat al-Lughah al Arabiyah wa Adabuha fi Nijiriya, Dar al-Mu arif, Beirut (1966), pp.73-75.

24. My interview with Shaykh Nasiru Kabara at Kano in February 1981. he has in his possession all previous commentary works on the text.
25. Bivar and Hiskett op cit, pp.104-149.
26. R.A. Raji "The Significance of Legends on people's Religious Psychology: The Case Study of al-Fazazi Among Muslims in Nigeria" ALORE (Ilorin Journal of Humanities), Vol.2. (forthcoming).
27. R.A. Raji, "The Influence of the Ishriniyat op cit, pp.33-42.
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The place of Katsina in the development of imaginative literature in Northern Nigeria

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In Northern Nigeria (now split into sixteen States), Katsina, like Zaria, Borno, and Kano, were all famous centres of Islamic learning before the advent of British colonisation. Probably due to this rich history of learning, Katsina took the lead in the entrenchment of the western style learning, as well as literature in Northern Nigeria, albeit against an Islamic backdrop. Thus, the account of the beginning of literature in Northern Nigeria, whether in Arabic, Hausa and, to a lesser extent, in English, may be complete without mentioning Katsina. The chapter is an assessment of the place of Katsina in the development of imaginative literature in Northern Nigeria.

The chapter commences from the appreciation of the seventeenth century Islamic and pre-colonial literary activities of Dan Marina and Dan Masani. It then proceeds to show that the advent of colonialism and the advanced western style literature it engendered, in Northern Nigeria, through Katsina, continued to manifest the influence of Islam, Katsina and the North generally. Therefore, in discussing the place of Katsina in the literary schemes of the British colonialists, it is necessary to begin from the literary attainments of seventeenth century, pre-colonial Katsina.

All forms of written creative activity in Katsina, were antedated by Orature. Thus, the rise of literature in Arabic and its indigenised variant, *Ajami*, came, generally in the wake of the decline of orature and the socio-economic and political order which proposed it up. As a result, the introduction and spread of Islam and literacy in Arabic, marked the beginning of the re-orientation from orality to literacy.

By the seventeenth century, Islam and Islamic culture had pervaded much of Katsina. As the account of a traveller reveals:

In fact, Katsina, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of our era, seems to have been the chief city of this part of Negroland, as well in commercial and political importance as in other respects; for here the state of civilization...seems to have reached its highest degree, and as Hausa language here attained the greatest richness of form and the most refined pronunciation.¹

The traveller, Heinrich Berth, betraying his racial arrogance at the advances attained by Katsina, reluctantly noted further that he 'could scarcely have expected to find in this out of the way place a man not only versed in all the branches of Arabic, but who had even read (may possessed) a manuscript of those portions of Aristotle and Plato which had been translated into or rather Muhammadanised in Arabic'.² Against this background, it was not surprising, therefore, that it was actually from the seventeenth century Katsina that one of the earliest, significant and recorded instances of imaginative, poetic compositions emanated in Northern Nigeria.³ That seminal poetic composition, in Arabic, come from the pen of Dan Marina.

Muhammad al-Kashinawi Ibn al-Sabbagh (Dan Marina), who died c.1655, was among the first generation of poets and literary critics in Nigeria. One of his compositions included *Mazjarat al-Fityan*, ('Admonition to Young Men').⁴ Although, the poem has been criticised by Hiskett as not more than 'a little Arabic jingle'. 'Admonition celebrates Islamic learning and urges young men to take to the arduous, but rewarding quest for knowledge. The poet, himself manifests his versatility in the myriad branches of Islam and concludes by submitting himself as a model to willing young men. In addition, Dan Marina had also written a poetic eulogy on the victory of the Muslim King, Mai Idris Aloomo of Bornu against the non-Muslim, Kwararrafa Jukun in the Benue valley. Some stanzas from the poem read:

Ali has triumphed over the heathen, a matchless triumph in the path of God.

Has he not brought us succour? Verily, but for him Our hearts have never ceased from dread of the unbelievers, narrow had become to us the earth pressed by the foe, till Ali saved our children and their children yet unborn.

He drove back to their furthest borders the army of the Jukun, and God scattered their host disheartened. I heard that Ali, the Amir al-Muminin, went to the land of the heathen and there lay in wait for them.

Further to al-Kashinawi's laying of the foundations of creative writing in Katsina, he also manifested admirable critical abilities. For instance, he wrote a commentary on the poetry of the Moroccan, al-Fazzazi and titled it *al-Wasail al-Mutaqabbala* (Ishriniyyat). Dan Marina's pioneering efforts in the area of imaginative writing and its criticism, were subsequently consolidated by his pupil, Abu Abdullah Muhammad b. Masanih b. Ghormahm b. Mohammad b. Mur-al-Barnawi al-Kashinawi (Dan Masani), who lived from 1595-1667.

Dan Masanih boosted the Arabic writing culture generally, with his eight treatises on jurisprudence and Islamic conduct. His main contribution to imaginative/critical literary activity in Northern Nigeria was in his exegesis of al-Fazzazi's *al-ishriniyyat* ('The Twenties'). Lest the full significance of Dan Marina and Dan Masanih to the development of literature in the North be under-estimated, probably on account of their non-Katsina extraction, a researcher had discovered that:

The Hausa nicknames of these two scholars, and a number of legends associated with them, as well as the fact that respect is shown to their tombs of Katsina, show that they were closely linked with Hausas and their culture.⁶

Evidently, therefore, the literary activities of Dan Marina and Masanih, confirms Katsina's integration into the Islamic and Arabic cultural milieu; while the poetic and critical works served as models and stimuli to other scholars, within and out of Katsina. And naturally, the seventeenth century literary activities in question here, are similar to the Katsina literary works of the British colonial generation, particularly at the levels of content, images and the concern with good character. The issue of good character leads us to the consideration of the literary schemes under the British colonialists.

The opening of the Katsina College in 1921/22, the first post middle school institution in Northern Nigeria, was to prove crucial, not only to the growth of

literature, but also to politics, the civil service and education in general. Designed in the mould of 'a classic form of British education', Katsina College was the sanctuary for the nurturing of western values and skills and the fountainhead from which most Western education would spring from the North.⁷ Also in view of the need to train the 'natives' in colonial administration, the authorities were determined to instil, in a rigid, authoritarian environment, the values of work ethics, leadership and responsibility. In a speech to declare open the College, Governor Sir Hugh Clifford warned that:

"When foreign learning is acquire... men... are tempered to turn their backs upon their own customs and traditions, to neglect their religion and to lose respect for those who are older and wiser. Any student who displayed such traits was liable for dismissal since the College was also intended to teach "the way good Mohammadans should live, the good manners, good behaviour and of the courteous department without which book learning is of little worth".⁸

Apparently, the 'customs', and 'traditions' Clifford had in mind did not include the study and teaching of Orature or the practice of composing and criticising literature in Arabic or Fulfulde, Hausa or Kanuri, Ajami. These cultural practices, which antedated colonialism, were left out of the Katsina College curriculum, thus, compelling the students to associate high culture with the coloniser only. What the curriculum stressed instead was English, with up to nine hours per week of teaching at least till 1931; Hausa and Arabic were extremely marginalised. For example, the teaching of English, particularly spoken English, was the most prominent aspect of the College's curriculum. Inculcating proper British upper middle class accents and usage to the extent that some Katsinawa referred to the college as *Makarantar Turanchi*.⁹

As part of the strategies of manipulating the minds of the students to be more favourably disposed towards the British and the maintenance of the established colonial order the college itself founded a magazine. It was first called *Katsina Training College Magazine* (KTCM) and later *Katsina Higher College Magazine* (KHCM), when the attempt to streamline higher education in the Northern and Southern protectorates in 1929-30 led to Katsina college becoming Higher College, Katsina.

Co-ordinated by one of the British Lecturers at the College, the circulation of the magazine was directed at British officials, students and graduates of the college. Entirely dependent on subsidies from colonial agencies in the North, the magazine was not devoted to the cultivation of literary skills among its contributors, thus, denying it the significance other magazines had in other places and in similar circumstances. The majority of contributions from the College students and graduates, such as Nuhu Zaria, Hamare Zaria, Bello Kano and Sani Siyudi were mostly on the virtues of colonial rule, its education, agriculture or the whole civilisational mission of the British in Northern Nigeria. Writing good English and being typically anglophile:

"Spectators at a Katsina soccer match were 'savages' because they dressed in only goat skins. Before the British conquest, the North had been a 'sleeping country'. Its people were 'primitive' and only slowly becoming 'civilized'. Opponents of education for girls were viewed as 'fanatics' and like thirteenth century Europeans".¹⁰

In the context of the Katsina College set up, virtually no provisions existed, within or outside the curriculum, for creative writing activities most relevant to the experiences of the students in their communities. When students or graduates of Katsina College were not writing for the College journal, they contributed to another organ of the Empire, the irregularly published Hausa newspaper, *Jaridar Nijeriya Ta Arewa*.

The paper started in 1931 as a trilingual (Hausa, Arabic and English), only to revert to Hausa by 1934. The publication of the *Jarida* was subsequently discontinued, also on account of poor patronage. The Katsina College graduates such as Ahmed Metteden, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Abubakar Dokaji and Kashim Ibrahim, all contributed articles to *Jarida* mostly in English. The causes of the failure of the college magazine and the *Jarida*, largely had to do with the fact there were no efforts to relate the enterprises to the socio-cultural milieu in which the college and the *jarida* were all located. This, of course, is in addition to the extremely low level of *boko* literacy and to the culture of not reading outside the curriculum. It is significant that from the experiences with the Katsina college magazine and the *jarida*, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and Hunu Zaria later emerged as writers of fiction. The contributions of Katsina College staff and a students to the development of literature in Northern Nigeria was further solidified when they

took part in the literary competition organized by the Zaria Literature Bureau, then an arm of the Ministry of Education.

The 1933 literary competition organized by Rupert East became virtually a Katsina College affair. Although several entries were received, the ones which attracted prizes and got published, were entries by staff and graduates of Katsina College. In addition to the obvious reasons of supplying reading matter in the schools, the British decided to induce a literature for the North, to facilitate efficient exploitation of the colony.

One of the winning authors, Bello Kangara, the Walin Katsina, submitted his entry, *Gandoki*, while he was teaching Arabic and Islamic Studies. A very pious man, he used to run Arabic/Islamic classes in the evenings at his residence for interested Katsina College pupils. Abubakar Imam, his younger brother, was among the regular attendants at the lessons.

Written in a thrilling and captivating Hausa language, *Gandoki's* central narrative recounts the career of a warrior-adventurer, whose name provided the title of the novel. *Gandoki* flees Hausaland in the wake of the British colonial invasion and returns to discover and loud their civilising needs. This is a familiar theme for staff and students of Katsina College with its Anglophile atmosphere.

The other winning entry by Abubakar Tafawa Balewa is *Shaihu Umar*. Apparently, Tafawa Balewa drew considerable stimulation from Islam and Katsina College in creating particularly his central character, Shaihu Umar. Some of the values celebrated by Balewa in *Shaihu Umar*, include perseverance, piety and the liberating effects of Islamic education on good characters. Sparing the British colonialists from negative portraiture,

"the novella idealizes Hausa family life, and is set against a western Sudan background in which remote and shadowsihly defined Europeans are progressively establishing their rule... slave traders are not drawn as vicious characters, but as typical human beings... slavery is a fact of life, accepted as part of the society described, Islam enjoins kindness to slaves and encourages their manumission.¹²

Perhaps, the most successful writer unearthed by the East contest was Abubakar Imam. He became a native of Katsina in 1922 with his admission into the Katsina provincial school. He enrolled at the training college five years later, graduating as a teacher in 1932, on the eve of the contest which was to shape his whole life.

Imam's intercourse with creative writing and the colonial administration, began, when as a teacher, he conducted translation and interpretation work for the Katsina resident, of court records and proceedings involving those languages he knew intimately - English, Arabic, Hausa. Imam also served as the Secretary, Katsina Provincial Advisory Board. Imam's extremely witty and entertaining entry, *Ruwan Bagaja*, won a prize in the competition and commendations from the organiser. Rupert East's letter to Imam, in the form of advice was 'I think you have got the gift of writing, and there is no reason why it should not be a very profitable hobby for you'.¹³ This letter was a sort of provisional appointment letter to Imam, because not long after it, East wrote to the Governor and Emir of Katsina, Muhammad Dikko and got Imam seconded to the literature Bureau, for a few months.

Imam spent about six months in 1936 at the Literature Bureau during which time he wrote the three volumes of *Magana Jari Ce*. These volumes, intended as reading material in the school system, were very successful and well-received. Patterned on the structure of *A Thousand and one nights* and *Alfulaila wa Laila*, the lucidity of the narration and the familiarity with the setting and atmosphere, turned the volumes into classics. Not too long after this success, Imam was asked to prepare a less difficult reader, *Karamin Sani*. He wrote them into two volumes in Katsina. This was because East had relocated the Literature Bureau to Katsina to enable him get the services of Imam. The volumes of *Karamin Sani*, set in Katsina, also depended on Imam's friends and associates for characters as it did for *Magana Jari Ce*. As one of his bosom friends testifies:

It was during his teaching career that Imam started writing books in Hausa like *Ruwan Bagaja* and *Magana Jari Ce*, *Karamin Sani Kukumi* and many others. It makes me laugh whenever I read any of these books because most of the characters were either children or servants. There were times when he wrote a lot of the stuff right in our midst before or after meals.¹⁴

This prolific graduate of Katsina College was destined to bring more prestige and fame to Katsina, when he was required to shift, in nineteen thirty eight, to Zariya permanently as the Hausa Editor of the newly established Hausa the title of *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo*. Further to suggesting Imam's pioneering work in the area of journalism and literature as Editor is yet to be equalled, the pervasiveness of Imam, moral uprightness, propriety and the versatility of his language and imagination is a tribute to his Katsina roots.

Since Imam was the only Katsina College graduate participant in the nineteen thirty three writing contest who continued to write after his first work, he remained an important inspiration for others to want to compose. He created columns in *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo* for building writers and critics.

The paper has attempted to show the centrality of Katsina, particularly, in consideration of the beginning of literature in Arabic and Hausa. As it did in the pre-colonial times, Katsina continued to provide the fertile ground for the growth of literature, in the colonial times. The fact also is that Imam, having been largely integrated into the ways of Katsina, remains a heritage cherished by writers before and during colonialism. Consequently, even though seemingly assimilated into the colonial mores, generally speaking, the graduates and indigenou staff of Katsina College, remained faithful to Islamic culture in their writings. The relatively problematic colonial efforts at encouraging creative writing in Northern Nigeria, need not be blamed on the Nigerians associated with it.

Recommendations

1. All material relating to the history of creative writing in Arabic or Ajami from the earliest times ought to be collected, translated, edited and published. Arrangements could also be effected with interested researchers to undertake detailed exegeses of such collected works.
2. All materials relating to the artistic and cultural activities of Katsina College ought to be documented and widely published. These materials are to include all issues of the Katsina Training College Magazine, diaries and recollections of staff and students.

3. Abubakar Imam is an institution in the literary history of Katsina. There is an urgent need for locating all the personal papers and files of this author and of other authors, too, keeping them in a specialised library in Katsina for the use of researchers. For example, the manuscripts, correspondences and diaries of creative writers of Katsina State origin ought to be in the possession of the Bureau.
4. The first editions of the classics by Imam and other writers.
5. The Bureau needs the statistics of all its creative writers, living or not along with detailed record of work, interviews, etc.
6. There is need to encourage creative writing and critical activities at all levels of education as well as support organisers of workshops, conference on literature.

Notes

1. Heinrich Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol.1, London, Frank Cass, 1965, p.178.
2. Heinrich Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, Vol.2, 1849-1855; London, Frank Cass, 1965, p.506.
3. See Abba Aliyu Sani, *The Beginnings of Literature in Nigeria: Examples from Pre-colonial Borno and Hausaland*, *Work in Progress*, No.7, pp.98-109.
4. See A.D.H. Bivar and M. Hiskett, 'The Arabic Literature of Nigeria up to 1804: A Provisional Account', *Bulletin of School of African and Oriental*, XXV, Part 1 (1962); M. Hiskett, Material Relating to the State of Learning Among the Fulani Before their Jihad', *Bulletin of the School of African and Oriental Studies*, XIV (1967), iii.
5. Thomas Hodgkin, *Nigerian Perspectives: An Historical Anthology*, London, Oxford University Press, 1975, p.178.
6. Stanislaw Pilaszewick, 'Literature in the Hausa Language', in B.W. Anderzejewski et al (ed), *Literatures in African Languages: Theoretical Issues and Sample Surveys*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p.208.
7. John Paden, *Ahmadu Bello Sardauna Sokoto*, Zaria, Huda Huda, 1986, p.85.
8. J. Hobbard, *Education Under Colonial Rule: A History of Katsina College - 1921-1942*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973, p.107.
9. Ibid, p.137.
10. Ibid, p.374.
11. The Two Other Entries Were East and T. Wusasa: *Jiki Magayi* and Muhammadu Gwarzo's *Idon Matanbayi*.
12. Trevor Clark, *A Right Honourable Gentleman: The Life and Times of Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa*, Zaria, Huda-Huda, 1991, p.27.
13. Abdulrahman Mora (ed), *Abubakar Imam Memories*, Zaria, N.N.P.C., 1989, p.24.
14. Ibid, 253.
15. See my *The Contribution of Abubakar Imam to the Growth of Literature in Northern Nigeria, 1935-1950*; forthcoming in *Literature in Nigeria*, to be published by Malthouse Press, Lagos.

SECTION IV

Islam and history of learning in Katsina State from the Jihad to the colonial conquest: the case of the *School Tsohuwar Kasuwa*, Katsina City

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Introduction

Islamic influence expanded in every direction in Hausaland and beyond from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and gained considerable ground. Islamic learning began to gain ground. This was the period when a group of well-versed Muslim scholars began to emerge not only in Hausaland, but throughout the Sudan. They began to found schools in order to teach Islamic education. This was the time when Katsina became the real centre of Islamic knowledge in this part of the world with indigenous scholars of international repute.

This was also the time when Katsina established strong relationship with Fezzan which was under domination of the Ottoman Turks (al-Misri, 1977). By the end of the end of the eighteenth century, the Ulama of Katsina and others in Hausaland and beyond were not only engaged in teaching and preaching Islam, and expanding it, but were also teaching preaching a "purer" form of Islam because the scholars had realised that Islam as practised in Hausaland was not a "pure" one. A lot of local customs and beliefs had found their way into Islam. The scholars accused the rulers of doing nothing to correct the wrong. The activities of these scholars led to the great Jihad which was declared on Tuesday, February 21, 1804. This Jihad, which is popularly known as the Sokoto Jihad, led to the over throw of the centuries long existing system, and the subsequent establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate which was the largest political unit in West Africa in the nineteenth century, and which lasted until 1903 when it was conquered by British colonial forces.

In the present day Katsina State area, the Jihad campaigns came to an end when the *Birni* was captured after a long siege and the last pre-Jihad Sarkin Katsina was forced to abandon the capital and move to Dankama area where he committed

suicide by throwing himself into a deep well at the end of 1807 (Ford and Kaberry, 1971:93). Malam Umaru of Dallaje village near Bindawa, became the first post-Jihad Emir of Katsina. The Emir and other Jihad leaders in Katsina State area such as Malam Umaru Dumaya, Malam Muhamman Na Alhaji, Alhaji Umaru b. al-Mustafa, Malam Sambo b. Ashafa, Dangi Yusufu of Daura area and others, were first class scholars in their own right. However, there is no evidence to suggest that they maintained the schools they established after the successful overthrow of the pre-Jihad central government of Katsina.

What is clear is that Shehu Usmanu Danfodiyo instructed each Emir to establish a proper Islamic government based on the shari'a. The leaders of those administrative units were not addressed as Emirs. They were called *modibo* or *malams* for their learning and piety. They handled judgement of cases amongst their people and led the prayers. They also taught in their leisure time. However, the Emirs of Katsina had to fight the expelled Katsina pre-Jihad royal family who relocated themselves in the Northern province of Maradi and Tasawa and appointed new Sarkin Katsina, established rival government with headquarters at Maradi. There, they collaborated with the defeated rulers of Gobir based at Tsbiri and the kingdom of Damagaram based at Zinder and continued to raid and plunder their former domain throughout the nineteenth century. Perhaps, that might explain why the Katsina State area Emirs could not find schools of their own. However, we know that Islamic scholarship continued in Katsina and Katsina maintained its leading position as an important centre of learning throughout the nineteenth century.

Learning in Katsina 1807-1903

Preliminary investigation reveals that centres of Islamic education were numerous in Katsina State area in the nineteenth century despite the political upheavals which disturbed the area. Some of the learning centres were established since the times of Muhammad b. Abdal-Karim al-Maghili (1503), Muhamman b. Ahmed al-Tasskti (d. 1529), Abu Abdullahi Muhammad b. Massani (1595-1667) and his contemporary, Muhammad b. Sabbagh. However, for the discussion in this chapter, the following learning centres were identified both within the Birni and outside:

1. The Hambali School

2. The School of Darma
3. The School of Tsohuwar Kasuwa
4. The School of Karkarku near Daura
5. The School of Zangon Daura
6. The School of Baure
7. The School of Kuntaru (also in Daura)
8. The School of Matallawa near Dutsi
9. The Schools of Yan Doma, and Kusada
10. The Schools of Matazu and Kurkujan
11. The School of Birnin Kogo
12. The Schools of Yandoto and Yankuzo

(a) The Hambali School

Many of the *malams* of this school have become *alkalis* of Katsina. The school was founded by Muhammad Gigama who was said to have migrated from Mali in the very distant past. After his death, Muhammad Dan Kundi took over as the head of the school. Muhammad Hambali who seemed to be the most famous in the family became the head, and the school was named after him. He had three learned sons, Ali, Dalhatu, and Mahmud each of whom opened a school after the death of Hambali. The first two each became *Alkali* of *Birnin Katsina* one after the other. The last was made the *Limamin Juma'a* (Imam of Friday congregation prayer). The Hambali school is still operating in Katsina.

(b) The School of Darma

The school was established long before the time of Shehu Usmanu Danfodiyo by Sheikh Abubakar. After the death of the founder, his son Muhammad Maimasallaci became the head. The school is still functioning at Darma Ward, Katsina city.

(c) The School of Tsohuwar Kasuwa, Katsina City

The ancestors of the founders of the Tsohuwar Kasuwa (old market) school came from Egypt after they had lived in

(XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX p.8 SEEMS TO BE MISSING XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX)

therefore necessary for the present purpose. The chapter will therefore attempt to discuss the school of Tsohuwar Kasuwa Katsina City only.

The School of Tsohuwar Kasuwa Katsina City

This school was established by scholars who came from Egypt through Borno and finally settled in Katsina. What brought them all the way from Egypt to Katsina is not certain. But it cannot be ruled out that they came to Katsina on trading mission. The fact that they first settled near the market is another evidence that the founders of the Tsohuwar Kasuwa school were Kanuri or Arab traders who engaged in trading between Egypt, Borno and Katsina.

The family settled in Borno for a long time, but later one of them, Uthman b. Muhammad al-Bakhri came to Katsina. The head of the family was to be a *hafiz* (reciter) of the Holy Qur'an and a master of Islamic sciences. He lived and died in Katsina. He established no school at all. In the case of this man, it was his son Muhammad Ladan who founded a school around 1823. He was a master of Fiqh, especially the Mukhtasar of Ibn Khalil. After the death of the founder, Malam Ala, a learned member of the family became the Babban Malami of the school.

This famous schools of *Ilm* is still functioning Katsina and every day one sees people from every section of the city going for lesson as early as 6.00a.m. This school of Tsohuwar Kasuwa supplies the bulk of the Arabic and Islamic Studies teachers in Katsina State, today.

(a) Curriculum of the School

The school of Tsohuwar Kasuwa was established right from the beginning for advanced students, that is to say, for those people who might have already completed the Qur'anic school or at least have some basic knowledge of Arabic language. It was never a school for the beginners.

All books of Islamic knowledge are studied and discussed. Books such as *Qawa'idil Islam*, *Al'Ahlari*, *Ashmawi*, *Izziya*, *Arba'un*, *Hadith*, *Risala*, *Durus al-Nahwiyya* and other more advanced subjects are thoroughly discussed.

The school begins as early as 6.00.am. after the morning prayers. The session is for those who have just started this type of schooling. The *dalibai* (students), stay there until around 7.30.am. The majority of the clients are from the environment. It is not usually the head of the school who teaches this first morning session; his assistants do.

By about 7.30.a.m., advanced students would have arrived. They were malams in their own section of the city or villages. Some of them were even Imams. Some students came from far away places like Bauchi, Borno, Adamawa, Zinder, Lafiagi, Bida, Kano, Maradi, and other places. This session was for those who wish to learn *Mukhtasar* of Ibn Khalil. The session continues until 6.00.p.m. It should be pointed out that no student stayed throughout the entire session. As soon as a student had completed his portion, he took leave of the Malam by saying *Alhamdu Lillahi!* It is a typical situation; while some students left, others arrived. In this way, every day, the whole huge volumes of *Mukhtasar* of Ibn Khalil were completed together with the commentaries.

After the Maghreb prayers, and evening meal between 6.30-8.00p.m., a section for variety of light and rather secular subjects would commence. The session was mainly for traders, civil servants, and other people who wished to improve their knowledge with the malam who had no time during the day. Advanced books of Hadith, Tafsir of the Qur'an, Arabic Language and Literature, Falsafa Mantique, poetry, Astronomy, Hasab (Mathematics), Tarikh, Medicine, Muwatta of Imam Malik. Other books studied in this night session are: Taurat, Zaboor and Injil. The night session closed between 10.30-11.00.pm.

(b) Organization of Learning

The school of Tsohuwar Kasuwa was not organized like modern school system with school buildings, furniture, fixed time of opening and closing, and other structures of the western schools. Here, the entrance hall (*zaure*) of the *Babban Malami* (head teacher) was the main classroom of the school. Only the very

advanced students go there to sit not on chairs and tables, but on mats or skins of sheep or goats in crossed legged positions, each student holding a copy of the books or books under discussion. Either the *Babban Malami* read out the text and explained to each individual student the portion or the students read the text and the *Babbab Malami* explained the text and the commentary in Hausa. This method is what the modern educators called individual method of teaching. Every student learned at his own pace and according to what he can master. As soon as a student completed his portion, he thanked the Malam and went out either to his home or to a nearby *Zaure* to go over what he learned from the *Babban Malami* alone or together with another malam sitting nearby for that purpose. This is known as *bita* or study. Some students learned not more than one or two sentences a day while others learned a page or two or even more. The *Babban Malami*, however, was always advised students to learn few lines a day. In addition to the *Zaure* of the *Babban Malami*, other *zauruka* of the ward were also utilized for learning purposes by the assistants of the Babban Malami.

(c) The Economy that Sustained the System

In Islamic law, acquiring and imprinting knowledge is part and parcel of worship. So, the school system is part of the socio-economy of the entire society. Both the teachers and the taught are one. They look the same. They dressed in a similar manner. They spoke the same language. They lived in the same environment. They ate the same type of food. They lived in the same type of housing. They might even have same type of occupation for earning a livelihood. In short, the economy that sustained the entire society is the one that sustained the school and scholars.

The begging culture of the present West African Muslim schools is totally un-Islamic. The begging culture is encouraged by those scholars who were described by Shehu Uthman Danfodiyo as evil scholars (*Mugayen Malamai*). One of the virtues of a good scholar, according to Shehu Uthman Danfodiyo, is an independent means of earning a living⁵.

One of the other ways to sustain schools and scholars in a purely Islamic economy is the *Zakkat*. A portion can be utilized to support indigent scholars by gifts

⁵. I thank Dr. Umaru Malumfashi for this information

(*kyauta*) from the well-to-do in the society and *wasiya* (will) where a muslim can make a will of up to one-third of his estate to support a school or a Mosque; *Sadqa*, that is charity and *waqafi*, that is permanent in support of an institutions such as school, Mosque, etc. The famous al-Azhar University in Cairo is still supported by *Waqafi*, not by the government of Egypt.

The scholars and students of the school of Tsohuwar Kasuwa supported themselves not through begging or Zakkat or gifts, or Sadaqa, or Wagafi⁶ but through trading, agriculture, tailoring, collecting and selling forest resources like grass, fuel, wood, etc. Other ways were working as physical labourers, or as dyers, beaters, tanners. The family of Malam Salga Ibn Muhammad Jari Al-Barnawi al-Kashinawi who established the famous Ilm school of Madabo Ward Kano City, were traders and dyers. It was trade that brought the family from Egypt to Borno and Katsina. It was in Salga that Malam Muhammad Salga was born by a Katsina mother. The family came back to Katsina when Malam Salga was only an infant. It was in Katsina that he started his education. Later on Malam Salga established a school of Ilm in Madabo Ward, Kano City. The school specialized in the teaching of Mukhtasar of Ibn Khalil.

A further illustration example of traders/scholars are the Kumshi family of Katsina. The family originated from Kusada, leaving on trading expedition to Kumashi in modern Ghana. A member of the family became the head of the Hausa community in Zagon Kumashi. Later, the late Emir of Katsina Muhammadu Dikko encouraged some members of the family to return to Katsina to settle. That was the reason why illustrious sons of Malam Sallau, Sarkin Zangon Kumashi returned to Katsina to settle amongst the sons of Malam Sallau. The scholars of Matazu and Kurkujan Are also traders and farmers.

Scholarship is part of worship. It is not for wordly benefit. Some authorities even suggest that any scholar who imparts knowledge and receives some money, will be given nothing in the hereafter by Allah because he had already received his rewards.

(d) Material for Learning

⁶ In fact there is no evidence of the existence of *Waqafi* property in Hausaland. The only *Waqafi* property in West Africa was in Timbuktu which was taken over by the French when they conquered that area at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Books were copied by hand in the nineteenth century in the Muslim world. That was the reason why books were scarce and expensive and some students could not afford copies. But some scholars with good handwriting earned livelihood as copyists. Some students also shared books. There was no need of writing paper during lessons as no note was dictated.

(e) How the scholars viewed themselves

The scholars regarded themselves just like any other member of the larger society. They did not demand any special treatment from the larger society. They were respected by the society anyway, and were given honorific titles of *Malam* which the scholars politely rejected by simply saying *Almajiri dai*.

(f) Graduation

It was the *Babban malami* who will decide the time of graduation of each of the students. If the Malam realized that a particular student is well-versed in a particular field or particular book or books the teacher would one day announce in the presence of the entire students that "From this day malam so and so of so and so is qualified to teach so and so book or books". The *Babban Malami* would issue that graduating student a certificate of authority to teach a particular knowledge. It is known as *Ijaza*.

The *Ijaza* contains the history of the Malam and brief biographics of all those malams from whom he acquired knowledge going back to generations down to the time of the Prophet Muhammad or the Sahaba.

Islamic learning and intellectualism in Katsina outside the Birni: The Yandoto experience

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Introduction

Studies in the origin and spread of Islam in the western and central Sudan are many and varied.¹ Whereas a great deal of these studies focus attention on the process and dynamics for the spread, quite a number of others highlight the role of agencies and institutions in facilitating the diffusion of the religion. One such institutions were Islamic schools, which, apart from promoting Islamic scholarship became great centres of population concentration, commerce and politics. The cities of Timbuktu, Gao, Jenne, Aghades and Borno became famous as, first and foremost, centres of Islamic learning. Others like Kano, Katsina and Zazzau owe their development and fame to the important position they occupied as centres of learning. Timbuktu had the reputation of being the most famous having attained its peak under the Mali and Songhai. It produced eminent scholars and thriving Islamic culture known as "Timbuktu Tradition" for over five hundred years. Its inhabitants in recognition of the significance of their town as a great centre of learning, claimed that there was never a time worship had been offered to pagan gods within its walls".²

Gazargamu from about the mid-17th century became famous Islamic centre throughout Borno Hausaland. Eye witness accounts report that the Mali's court recorded "highly educated Ulama who indulged constantly in learned disputations".³

Birnin Kano had assumed similar role with an emergent Ulama class. Similar developments took place in Katsina particularly after the fall of Songhai, when it became supreme in Islamic learning and home of renowned scholars like Dan Masani and Dan Marina.⁴

Of all these great centres in learning and intellect the least known, but equally significant, was Yandoto. Like Timbuktu, Kano, and Borno, Yandoto was a prominent Islamic centre, but unlike these towns, it received little attention from scholars and researchers.⁵ This seeming neglect accounts for the lack of appreciation of Yandoto and its scholars despite the fact that several scholars in Kano, Zazzau, Birnin Katsina could have their origin traced to Yandoto. In some accounts, Yandoto was reported as abode to one of the three Muslim Universities in central and western Sudan; the two others being Timbuktu and Cairo.⁶ In about the 16th century Yandoto was one of Kano's scholarly neighbours in addition to Birnin Katsina and Birnin Zazzau.⁷

This notwithstanding, we are yet to read any comprehensive work on Yandoto. This chapter therefore is an attempt to highlight the significance of Yandoto as a leading centre of Islamic learning and scholarship in pre-jihad Katsina and draw attention to the need for a wider study.

Methodological limitation

A word or so need to be said on the problems associated with this study. Generally, information seem scanty on the developments in the central and western Sudan before the 19th century. Yandoto suffers from this inadequacy. Secondly, the jihad on Yandoto leading to the burning and destruction of scholarly materials leaves no room for unearthing the pre-Jihad historical and intellectual development of the area. Thirdly, the jihad leaders seemed to have deliberately discouraged study on Yandoto scholars probably because of the general apathy in classifying them as evil scholars. Fourthly, no remnants of uncompromising scholars can be found in Yandoto presently, having decided to migrate than to remain under the tutelage of the jihadists.

Yandoto: The area and its peoples

Yandoto is a small village about fifty kilometres east of Gusau. It is situated on the main road between Gusau and Funtua. Little is known about the origin of Yandoto settlement. Like the old towns in Hausaland, Yandoto had no written history about its distant past and so, this necessitates reliance on oral tradition to reconstruct its history. According to one such tradition Yandoto was founded long before the emergence of Hausa states.⁸ Another tradition went further to claim that Yandoto

was founded before the birth of Jesus Christ and was among the first one hundred and seventy settlements created by God.⁹ Apparently these claims lack corroborative evidence, but the existence of walls and dye pits at Yandoto lay credence to its ancient origin.

Presently, there are three settlements that bear Yandoto. *Yandoto Birni* was founded first, but abandoned due to ecological problems. *Yandoto Ramo* was abandoned after its destruction by the Jihadists. *Yandoto Daji* had since then became the settlement inhabited by the descendants of the great city most of who deserted the territory after its capture by the Jihadists.¹⁰

The origin of the earliest inhabitants of Yandoto is also obscure. However, some traditions maintain that the area was originally inhabited by *Maguzawa* (non-Muslim Hausa).¹¹ We do not know where they came from or the reasons for their settlement in the area. At most this claim can be considered part of the general asstetion that most of Hausaland was originally inhabited by *Maguzawa*. At a later date Yandoto witnessed influx of immigrants of Fulani, Barebari and Adarawa background probably in response to the intellectual position of the area.¹²

However, some sources claim that Yandoto was inhabited by immigrants from Mali and, in fact, the area bore the name Wangara in recognition of their original home in Mali, "which controlled the famous gold bearing region on the upper Niger known far and wide as Wangara."¹³ Furthermore, the legendary Korau of Yandoto who founded the Korau dynasty of Katsina is spoken of as "red, that is, light skinned person usually associated with the colour complexion of the Malians."¹⁴

Yandoto and Katsina: the linkages

No precise date can be given for the commencement of close relation between Yandoto and Katsina peior to Korau-Sanau incident. Even for this event, it seem the evidence available is not clear over the issue of date and characters involved. Usman was swipt in identifying the inconsistencies in the Yandoto Katsina connections and by extension the emergence of Birnin Katsina and its Sarauta system.¹⁶ According to Bath, the first Sarkin Katsina was Kumayau, grandson of the legendary Bayajida. Before establishing his kingdom in Katsina, Kumayau overthrew an older one, that of Durbawa. Later, Kumayau's kingdom was toppled

by Korau who came from Yandoto.¹⁷ In another tradition, Kumayau kingdom was overthrown by one Muhammadu Korau presumably the first Muslim ruler of Katsina. He was also reportedly of Yandoto origin.¹⁸ This inconsistency apart, both versions agreed that Korau came from Yandoto. Thus, Yandoto occupies a special position in Katsina history as home of founder of Katsina kingdom and more importantly, the spread of Islam and Islamic learning. Mohammad Korau being the first Muslim ruler of Katsina and having come from Yandoto is a further testimony to its significance as a centre for learning.

After giving birth to Katsina Yandoto continued to maintain centuries of political and intellectual relations with Katsina as seat of the kingdom. Yandoto became central to the region known as Katsina Laka.¹⁹

Islamic scholarship and the intelligentsia in Yandoto

The major obstacle to a full understanding of Yandoto's scholarly tradition is the lack of survival of their works and the scattering of the uncompromising Ulama. However, intellectual position is acknowledged far and wide to the extent in search of scholarship. There is no evidence to show that any of the principal jihad leaders had studied there. This, however, does not suggest that none of them might have gone there to study considering its scholastic culture and proximity to the centre of Jihadist activities. Moreover, there is evidence that Muhammad Saad, a nephew of Sheyk Usman Danfodiyo, had lived and married at Yandoto before moving to Kwanni.²⁰ What is not clear is whether the Shaykh himself had ever gone to Yandoto to study or preach considering the fact that he had lived in the Zamfara area. Perhaps also, the Jihad leaders had blood relations with Yandoto Ulama. The exact nature of this relationship cannot be ascertained as there is no evidence of inter-marriage except with the Sheykh's nephew. Due, principally, to this inadequacy it is safe to conclude that the relation of the Yandoto scholars and the Jihad leaders was purely intellectual. According to some sources two leading scholars of Yandoto, who also play a tremendous role in the emergence of Gusau, Malam Umaru son of Alhaji Mustapha and Muhammad Sambo son of Ashafas used to frequent Shehu's school at Degel.²¹

The scholars of Yandoto

Yandoto was endowed with numerous scholars, but not much is known about them or their scholarly activities. Two of the most fairly known scholars were Alhaji Mustapha and Malam Abdul-Rahman. Alhaji Mustapha was either born in Baghdad or in the Hijaz, but originally of Fulani background. Little is known about how he came to Yandoto, but probably through the migratory movements in the 17th or 18th centuries he found the Yandoto area attractive and so decided to settle there. Together with his son Umaru, Alhaji Mustapha occasionally returns to the Hijaz to perform the Hajj. In one such trip he was followed to Yandoto by a close associate Malam Andul-Rahman, father of Muhammad Ashafa. In an effort to further cement their relationship Umar's daughter was married to Muhammad Ashafa. The marriage was blessed with a child, Muhammad Sambo, who later founded Gusau.

There were other prominent scholars like Malam Buhari Na Yandoto who was adviser to Sarakunan Katsina. One of his sons, Malam Abubakar became a leading scholar in Kano in the 18th century, whereas the other, Malam Yahaya, found a famous school at Gafai in Birnin Katsina.²³ Other scholars include Alhaji Mustapha Ibn Zangi al-Baqdazi, Malam Halilu, who authored *Lamiyyatus Sagairi* (a poem). Malam Baki al-Barnawi who authored *Balagul Muna*; Malam Dan Madina, the supposed author of *Baru and Bacca*.²⁴ Interestingly, Yandoto had also produced female scholars of repute despite the neglect suffered by women education in pre-Jihad Hausaland. Among the female scholars were Hadiza, Raliya and Umm Hari.²⁵

Ethic and belief system

Here again, there is very little information on whether or not Yandoto scholars had some unique characteristics. The sources available seem to portray them as strict adherent to the Qur'an only. But more than this, they are described as scholars who encouraged innovations often mixing Islam with other practices peculiar to the pre-Jihad Hausa Muslims. If this description is true then it would have formed the basis of the jihadist attack on them.²⁶

However, it is unlikely that scholars of Yandoto were syncretists. Already Yandoto role as a leading Islamic centre had been demonstrated. The Jihad leaders themselves, and acknowledged this position otherwise the Shaikh would not have accepted them as his pupils or even approved his nephew's search for knowledge

there. More importantly, neither the Shaykh nor his son Muhammad Bello ever made such accusation against Yandoto scholars even during the period of hostility.

The Yandoto scholars have been described as law abiding, peace loving and strict believers in predestination. According to them whatever happens is from God, and for this reason they emphasize the need for strictest observance of the tenets of Islam. A true believer is one who does what is required of him and avoid what is forbidden.

There is nothing fundamental that distinguishes Yandoto Islam from the rest of the Muslims, although some authors tried to give a picture of them as syncretists.²⁷ However, the few research works on Yandoto have all agreed on the fact that the contribution of Yandoto scholars to Islamic learning is tremendous. Apart from pioneering the teaching of the Qur'an in a simplified format they were described as the first to introduce the use of *Zaure* as school.²⁸ In a study of their intellectual tradition, Alhassan recorded more than eighty works attributed to them, although some appear suspect.²⁹ Given the long period of Islamic culture and learning that flourished at Yandoto one is bound to ask why the jihad leaders extended their campaigns to the area.

The Jihadists versus Yandoto scholars

To the Yandoto scholars the significance of Jihad in the form of preaching, teaching and enlightenment was not doubt. They themselves were Islamic scholars who indefatigably promoted Islamic learning and scholarship. Therefore, when the Sokoto jihadist asked for their allegiance the scholars of Yandoto could not understand the basis for such request beyond naked display of political opportunism. Why should they be asked to submit to a human being (a mortal) despite their absolute submission to Allah. The scholars, therefore, viewed Shehu's call for submission with disdain and totally rejected it. Only Malam Ashafa and Muhammad Sambo who had been students of the Shehu accepted the call. For doing this, they were expelled from Yandoto.

To the jihadits, the Yandoto scholars were seen as representing an obstacle to the submission of the town as well as surrounding villages and communities in the Zanfara territory. Nadama pointed out the danger and imminent setback Yandoto opposition would create on the jihadist in the Zamfara area:

"At the earlier stage of the jihad the support of the Sarakuna of Zamfara had proved crucial in the trying days of 1804. However, by the end of 1805 some of the towns were becoming increasingly hostile, raising the banner of *tawaye* against the jihadist. If action was not taken against the Yandoto community in good time, the whole movement would be endangered".³⁰

Moreover, since the basis of the jihad as put by the jihadist was to reform Islamic religion, opposition to this reform from leading Muslim scholars like Yandoto would be more dangerous than even a hostile army. This town had to be brought to submission, but since they could not be charged of heathenism the jihadists had to provide justification for attacking it, which they never did.³¹

Towards the end of 1805 Bello led an expedition to Yandoto, but first "camped close to it in order to talk with its scholars. He sent a message to them that:

"If it should prove that we were in the right they should repent and follow us, but if they were in the right then we would repent and leave that on which we were set".³²

The unyielding Yandoto scholars who had never accepted Shehu's superiority and now provoked by an army on their doorsteps determined to fight them sent a reply to Bello:

"We will not talk to him at all, we do not even wish to see him, lest God join us with him and his father Shehu in this world and the next".³³

This rebuff proved too much for Bello's tolerance and so, he marched against Yandoto. Most of the scholars were reported to have fled during the attack and thereafter Bello camped in the town for several days.

Aftermath of the conquest

The Yandoto scholars not only challenged the authority of the Shehu, but more fundamentally, the legality of the jihad. To them the Shehu had no right (moral or

theological) to force them to submit to him. Not only were they Muslims and their territory Islam, their town had the reputation of being a famous centre for Islamic learning. What then, was the justification for waging jihad against them? The attack on Yandoto was unjustified, especially because the people of Yandoto were never accused un-Islamic practices like the people of Borno who were accused of:

- (a) Making sacrifices to trees and other objects at certain specific places.
- (b) Failure of free born women to cover their heads.
- (c) Taking bribes by officials.
- (d) Falsification of judgements by law court.
- (e) And embezzlement of property of orphorus by officials.

Even in the case of Borno, el-Kanemmi emphatically rejected that such acts, which he considered as acts of disobedience (*ma'asiya*), (enough to) constitute unbelief and hence justify jihad against the people of Borno.³⁴

The attack on Yandoto much more than that on Borno, was a political and intellectual issue further than religious one. Because the two incidents were similar, el-Kanemi found it expedient to refer to the jihadist attack on Yandoto during his intellectual controversy with Bello. One of his accusations against the jihadist was that they had been guilty of destroying Islamic books at Yandoto:

We see among you a thing which every Malam rejects. You are destroying books; you are scattering them in the roads; you are throwing them in the dirt. But the name of God is on these books and you know that he who throws the name of God in the dirt is heathen.³⁵

Bello rejected the charges in a reply to el-Kanemi:

You say you see among us a thing which every *Malam* is opposed to; let me inform you, el-Kanemi, I went out on an expedition and captured one of the Katsina towns...I saw papers being blown about by wind. They were falling into the dirt. I endeavoured to pick them up, till I was weary for they were so many. So I returned and was vexed all day. Then I gathered the people together... they said the cause of what had been done was a quarrel that arose over the spoils of war. They further said that if anyone had intentionally thrown these papers away, he could only be one of the lowest of our people and if we had seen him we would have... punishEd him severely.³⁶

Notes

1. The following are few of the literature on Islamic in western and central Sudan Trimmingham, J.J., *Islam in West Africa*, London, 1966; Lewis, I.M. () *Islam in Tropical Africa*, London and Clark, P.B., *West Africa and Islam*, London, 1982.
2. Kani, A.M. "The Role of the Sokoto Caliphate..." World Seminar on Impact of Nationalism on the Ummah, London, August 1985, p.3.
3. Adeleye, R.A. "Hausaland and Borno 1600-1800", in Ajayi, J.F.A. and Crowder, M. *History of West Africa*, Vol.1, Second Edition, Longman, 1979 (reprint).
4. Ibid. See also Paden, J.N., *Religion and Political Culture in Kano* (Berkeley: University of California Press) and Hiskett, M. An Islamic Translation of Reform in the Western Sudan from the 16th to the 18th century: *BSOAS*, XXV, 1962.
5. So far I have known only two "direct" studies on Yandoto, These are: (a) Alhassan, H *Su Wanene Malaman Yandoto?* A paper presented at International Seminar on Intellectual Tradition in the Sokoto Caliphate and Borno. Centre for Islamic Studies, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, June 1987. (b) Chafe, S.S., *The Relationship Between Yandoto Scholars and Sokoto Jihadists*, B.A. Islamic Studies Project UDUS, 1988, The Works of Usman, Y.B. *The Transformation of Katsina: 1400-1883. The Emergence of and Overthrow of the Sarautu System and the Establishment of the Emirate*, ABU Press, 1981 and Nadama, A.G., "Urbanization in the Sokoto Caliphate: A Case Study of Gusau and Kaura-Namoda", in Usman, I.B. (ed) *Studies in the history of the Sokoto Caliphate*, Zaria, 1979.
6. Hunwick, J. "Ahmad Baba and the Moroccan Invasion of the Sudan" *JHSN*, 2, 1962. See also Yandaki, A.I., "Islamic Scholarship and Revivalism in Hausaland in the late 18th and early 19th centuries: A Prelude to the twentieth century Revivalist tendencies". PG Seminar, History Department, UDUS.
7. Last, M., "Beyond Kano, Before Katsina: Friend and foe on the Western Frontier", Second International Conference on the History of Kano, Bayero University, Kano, 1985, p.2
8. Alhassan, H., op cit.
9. Ibid.
10. Oral Information, Malam Habib Alhassan, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, March 28, 1992.
11. Alhassan, H. op cit see also Chafe, S.S., op cit.
12. Alhassan, H. op cit In addition Yandoto was described as "a junction town of trade routes passing to the various areas of Hausaland", Na Dama, A.G. "Urbanization in the Sokoto..." in Usman Y.B. (ed) *Studies in the History...* p.148, It had also been described as a fertile land conducive for agricultural production see, Chafe, S.S. *The Relationship...* op cit.

13. On this issue see Ajayi, J.F.A. and Crowder, M., History of West Africa, Vol.1, p.191 and Usman, Y.B., *The Transformation...* p.12.
14. Ibid.
15. For a detailed description of the origin of Katsina's Sarauta system viz-a-viz Korau - Saana "contest" see, usman, Y.B. *The Transformation...* p.10-34.
16. Ibid, p.11.
17. Ibid, p.11.
18. Yandoto at one time lived under the supervision of Katsina represented by Madawakin Katsina based at Yandoto. See Chafe S.S. *The Relationship...*, p.8, see also Na Dama, A.G. *Urbanization...*, p.148.
19. Gusau, M.S. and Gusau, M. *Gusau Ta Malam Sambo*.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Usman, Y.B. *The Birnin Katsina in Cities of the Savannah*, n.d.p.
23. Alhassan, H., *Su Wanene...?* p.6. Alhassan listed thirty Scholars attributed to Yandoto.
24. Chafe, S.S., "*The Relationship...*", p.
25. So far as I know, the Yandoto scholars had not been accused of any wrong doing by the Jihadists. However, their alleged closeness to the Sarakunan Katsina could have earned them the wrath of the jihadists. According to Nadama, a section of the Yandoto community had established a modus vivendi with Katsina ruling class, who had repressed the Jama'a. Nadama op cit, p.148-150.
26. Alhassan, H. "*Su wanene...?* p.7-8.
27. Ibid.
28. It appears to me that some of these works attributed Yandoto scholars are simply imaginary. Some do not exist in any form and/or are associated with sooth sayers and magicians.
29. Na Dama, A.G. in Usman, Y.B. "*Studies...*", p.150.
30. See Note 26. The Jihadist hostility to Yandoto could have arisen due to its special ties with Borno, Sokoto's traditional rival. See Johns, H.S. *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*. Or because of their classification as venal scholars (Ulama al-su') one of the three religious categories of people identified by the jihadist. See Minna, M.T.M., *Sultan Muhammad Bello and His Intellectual Contribution to the Sokoto Caliphate*. PhD. Thesis University of London, July 1982, p.222.
31. Arnett, E.J., The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani being a paraphrase and in some parts a translation of the *Infagul - Maysur* of Sultan Muh'd Bello, p.87.
32. Ibid.
33. Minna, M.T.M., p.200.
34. Arnett, E.J., p.102-103.
35. Ibid, p.107.

Contemporary Islamic learning in Katsina: the contributions of *Riyadhul-Qur'an Islamiyyah* school

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Introduction

The last quarter of this century has marked a period of vigorous endeavour for the pursuit of Islamic Religious Knowledge by small children, youngmen and women alike, not only in Nigeria, but also in all other parts of the Muslim world. This is being undertaken in privately owned, governmental and religious organizational institutions of learning.

Katsina town is historically one of the centres for the pursuits of both Islamic and western education. This chapter is limited to the role of Katsina city as a contemporary centre for the proportion of Islamic education. For such a purpose, one of the several institutions of learning within the town is going to be reviewed. This is *Riyadhul-Qur'an Islamiyyah* school, which is situated at Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida Way.

The choice is made due to the fact that there is no other rapidly growing Islamiyyah school in Katsina that supercedes it. Moreover, it is the only school with easily obtainable records and accessibility for enquiries. Revealing information concerning this institution such as its historical background, ideological basis, current status, organizational structure, academic activities and achievements would re-affirm the continuous role of Katsina as a centre for learning. It is also hoped that this information would help parents who want a qualitative Islamic education for their children would make a more informed choice if deciding to send them to this institution. This equally applies to adult men and women yearning for Islamic education, since there are classes for elderly students within the school. As no institution or organization would exist without being confronted with problems here and there, some of the major problems affecting the management of the institution will be highlighted, with the aim of providing towards solving them.

Historical background

The founding father of this school is Sheik Mallam Yaqub Musa Kafanchan. It started in 1984 in a garage within the Sheik's residence, with only eight students; three females and five males. Thus, the school started operating with only one class and another teacher along with Sheikh Yakub Musa himself. This first site is located just opposite the present site of the institution. At a later period some individual volunteered to build the school (as it now exists) at a cost of more than one million Naira, comprising of classes, dormitories and offices. Even though the school is affiliated with **IZALATUL BIDI'A WA IQAMATUL SUNNAH** organization, it welcomes and train all students from anywhere and with any ideology. The name of this school was derived from one of its ideological basis (as stated below), "**RIYADHUL-QUR'AN**" literary means the *Garden of al-Qur'an*.

Ideological derivative of the institution

The institution was primarily established for training and educating students on the proper methods of recitation along with memorization of Holy Qur'an. This becomes necessary because in this age, a lot of Muslims are reciting the Qur'an without observing the rules and regulations of *Tajweed*. It is hoped that students from this institution would serve as agents for the preservation of al-Qur'an (as promised by Allah), wherever they might be. Other studies on the science of the Qur'an such as *Tafseer* (explanation or interpretation of the Qur'an), *Asbabal Nuzul* (reasons or causes for the revelation of Qur'anic verses) and *al-Nasikh Wal-mansukh* (the abrogating and the abrogated verses of the Qur'an) are being taught.

The second ideological principle is that this school was established on the solid foundation of *salafiyyah*, that is, on the footsteps of all believing Muslims that are following the guidance of al-Qur'an and Sunnah of prophet Muhammad (SAW) from the time of his predecessors (the rightly guided caliphs) to date.

Current status of the school

The school now has 26 classes with 40 teachers and a total number of 1,600 students. One could observe the rapid expansion of this school which started in less than a decade with only one class of eight students and two teachers. Another

interesting thing is that boarding students in this institution were drawn from all states of Nigeria; north and south, east and west. There are also students from neighbouring Republics of Niger, Togo, Cameroun, Ghana, and Mali. The day students are mostly from the town and surrounding villages. Apart from academic activities the school has a play ground, books for library usage, a television and video sets for education and entertaining students. The school organizes educational visits to sister schools, famous learned men and government establishments such as Radio and Television stations within and outside Katsina State. The school also encourages students to participate in Qur'anic competitions. As stated earlier, from its inception the school was established to train students on the recitation, memorization of the Holy Qur'an, but at a later period the executive committee of the school saw the need for changing its status to that of an Islamiyya school where all subjects dealing with both Islamic Religious Knowledge and western education can be taught.

In view of this development, after graduation students from this school would be equivalent to secondary school leavers, eligible for diploma courses in sharia and Islamic studies. The name of the certificate to be obtained has not yet been decided by the executive (at the time of this international seminar). It is interesting to note that a permanent site was allocated to this school at Women Teachers' College layout. All plans for building complexes were completed by architects with estimates amounting to millions of Naira. The foundation laying ceremony is expected to come up at the end of 1992, subject to promise for financial aid made by a team of delegates who visited and assessed the institution from Saudi Arabia.

Organizational structure of the school

This refers to the administrative set up of the institution for distribution of responsibilities. The bureaucratic pattern of this institution, which is similar to that of any contemporary public or private organization is commendable. The school is controlled by a Director, who is the overall head and Chief Executive, to whom the burden of managing the institution lies. He is assisted by the Assistant Director. There is a school Secretary who is concerned with all school affairs, handling all documents and correspondence between the school and other places. There is the overall Headmaster who is responsible for all academic activities of the institution. Since the school has three shifts, the Headmaster is assisted by three Assistant Headmasters for the morning, afternoon and evening classes. The

school has a Bursar who is also the Registrar. He is responsible for all financial dealings with institution. There are welfare masters for the male and female students. There is a Head or Director of Works, with an assistant Head of Works who are responsible for any kind of work to be done in the institution. There is also a staff secretary who is specifically concerned with all matters pertaining to the staff of the institution. The kitchen health masters are responsible for the feeding and health care of students. There is also a school dispensary which is managed by the school dispenser. There is a school Librarian in-charge of the library, the store-keeper and the games mater with an assistant gemas master. For moral upliftment of students the school appointed a *Tarbiyya* (Discipline) master, and a prayer master whose responsibilities include seeing that students perform prayers correctly and at the state times. Among the junior staff are the cleaners, the barbers, the watchmen, cooks, drivers, tailors and bathers. These categories of staff are essential for the institution. School teachers were employed for all subjects being studied, with heads appointed for every subjects.

For better administration of the school committees were established, the highest committee being the Executive Committee with the Director as the Chairman and other members drawn from within and outside the schools. This is the steering body of the school. Other committees are the employment, promotion and discipline committees, the curriculum committee, the examination committee, the staff cooperation committee, the executive committee, the seminar committee, the health committee and the subjects committee.

Academic activities

In order to maintain its good standard, the executive committee of the school takes extreme precautions when employing teachers. Employment is made after advertisement in the media with a very serious interview on candidates. Those found to be satisfactory are initially given probational offer of employment before being confirmed, subject to their practical abilities. There are two kinds of teachers; the part-time who are being paid on hourly basis and the full-time teachers with a monthly salary tht is equivalent to governments scale.

Concerning students' enrolment, young children from the age of 6 years and above are admitted at the beginning of each session. Parents have to buy and fill an application form for admission into the school, after which they pay

boarding/tuition fees for boarding or tuition fee only for day students. Students could also be admitted on transfer from other Islamiyya or primary school, but before being Accepted they have to pass a special interview. Because of the high standard of this school, the Director has informed me that after the interview most of the students on transfer are finally placed in a lower class than that of their former schools.

Adult students are comprising of male and female adults as well as housewives, who attend as day students at times convenient to their own daily schedules. There is no defined duration of study for this category of students. This is because their goal is to specialize in the reading and memorizing of the whole contents of the Holy Qur'an. The duration therefore depends on the individual students' ability and commitment. Thus some students have to be taught from the beginning owing to the Arabic alphabets, while others might be far ahead of that before joining the school.

In the case of small children, the duration is of 6 years from class one to six, however children under the age of six without any Arabic background are first taken to the nursery section before joining the Islamiyya/Primary section. A session lasts for a period of one year, running concurrently with the calendar of students attending western education schools. In each session, the school opens from Saturdays to Wednesdays in three shifts daily; morning, afternoon, evening. A variation could be noticed with that of schools offering western education where the teaching starts on Mondays and ends on Fridays.

Since the school runs both Islamiyya and western type of schooling system concurrently for the younger pupils, all subjects taught in the Islamiyya and Primary sections fall within its scope. Thus subjects like Qur'an, Hadith, Fiqh, Islamic History, English, Arithmetic, Health Science, Social Studies and Hausa, among others, are taught to the students.

Other academic activities within the institution include organizing academic quizzes and competitions in the recitation of Qur'an. Competition for Qur'anic recitation are organized first between students in each class. The winners from each class would then compete among themselves finally to select the best among them who would represent the school at local government, state, national as well as international competitions.

Fund raising

Apart from boarding, tuition and registration fees from students at the beginning of every session and term the school has no other constant means of fund raising. Currently (1992) fees are specified for students as follows:

Application form:	N10:00 (for all applicants)
Registration:	N20:00 (per session)
Boarding/Tuition:	N825:00 (per term)
PTA:	N5:00 (per session)

Days students

Islamiyyah/primary:	N60:00 (per term)
Islamiyyah section only:	N45:00 (per term)

However, the school receives meagre amount of voluntary donations from individuals. It also receives donations of books and other learning materials from national and international organizations such as Habib Bank Nigeria, the OIC, the Islamic foundation, and World Muslim League. The school does not receive any aid from Katsina or any other State Government, which is very much called for. Currently the school has a J5 Peugeot bus, which was donated suprisingly without any request by one of the parents of the students from Hadejia, Jigawa State. This has minimized the problems of transportation.

Contributions and achievements

Even though the school was principally established to be Islamic, as time went on there arose an awareness by the executive committee (coupled with greater demands from parents) to introduce western education side-by-side with the Islamic; thereby moving the institution in line with the contemporary age of learning. This effort was viewed firstly as a means of educating the students in both ways of learning for their own advantages, and secondly as a means for checking and contracting the bills brought by the existing popular system of western education, especially through the method of importing it among Muslims.

The school offers many religious community services. These include running evening classes at various locations in the town, running vacation classes for

students who attend western education schools during their holidays, making religious sermons through the local radio and television stations, religious discussions for women in the radio station for educating those at home and organizing activities so as to teach the general public some religious obligations practically such as *wudhu* (ablution), *sallat* (prayer) and *Hajj* (pilgrimage).

Riyadhul-Qur'an is the only Islamiyyah school with an established school building in Katsina State town and with the highest number of students from within and outside the country. It was visited by many distinguished Islamic scholars from within and outside the country, among them was Sheikh Abubakar Mahmud Gumi who issued certificate of recommendation for the school. The school also has a letter of recognition from Jama'atu Nasr Islam. It was also visited by a team from Katsina State Ministry of Education for accreditation.

It is worthy to mention that many students from this school won first and second prize position in Qur'anic competitions organized locally and nationally. Apart from those eight students who started informally, the school has not yet graduated any student at the time of writing this. The first set are expected to graduate at the end of the 1992 academic session. It is hoped that they will be first set to continue with secondary school stage of the institution.

Problems confronting the school

One of the major problems affecting the management of this institution is financial. We have seen how fast growing the school is, nevertheless, solely dependant on tuition and boarding fees from students as the major source of income. This does not augur well for the progress of the institution. This problem generates some other problems associated with the welfare of students, such as over population, which results in inadequate classrooms and dormitories.

Another problem is the present site of the school. Even though it is well constructed, the location presents a danger for accidents due to its being on the busiest street of the state capital. A new and more convenient site has been acquired, but the problem remains the same, due to fact that there is no money to develop it as quickly as possible.

Academically, the school faces the problem of inadequate teachers for Qur'anic sciences. More teachers are required in these subject, but at present most of the teaching staff are proving to be more competent in Hadith, Islamic history and other subjects. However, this problem is being minimized by using intelligent and adult students within the school for teaching those are on part-time basis, so that there are less number of staff in the morning shift because most of them are in their respective working places during this period and more in the evening when they had finished their normal classes and are free for extra activities.

Administratively, because of its expansion and bureaucratic advancement, the school also faces the problem of office accommodation. Furthermore there is lack of formal training for most of the key administrators.

Another problem is that some of the boarding students, especially those from far places, have a tendency to overstay in school during vacations, which causes additional financial burden to the school in terms of their feeding. I suggest that this could be solved by demanding for extra charges from parents of such students for any number of days to be spent by a student in the school during vacations.

Proposals for solutions to some of the problems

In view of the aforementioned problems the following recommendations could be put forward for their solutions. Since one of the major problems is financial, efforts have to be made for uplifting the financial stand of this growing institution. This effect, a call is to be made to the rich, within and outside Katsina State, for voluntary donations in cash and kind. The rich people should remember that it is only this kind of spending that would benefit them in the hereafter, as any believing muslim is called upon to do. The government, especially the State Ministry of Education, should come to the aid of this school. It is being hoped that with the establishment of Islamic education Bureau in Katsina State there is going to be a better future for this and other Islamiyyah schools. Whenever enough fund is realized the new and more convenient site could be developed soonest for better management.

In order to solve the problem of staff shortage in the morning, more emphasis should be laid on employing permanent staff (rather than many part-time teachers) whether it would warrant for going outside the state for recruiting them. This also

couldn't be possible without realizing enough funds. The problem of shortage of teachers in Qur'an could be solve through wider advertisement with assurance for better conditions of service to willing applicants. The problem of office, dormitory and classroom accommodations for staff an students could be solved whenever the schools if transferred to its permanent site, after which formal training of administrative staff would follow gradually. These solutions are dependant, once again on how soon the institution would be able to raise enough fund. Here a suggestion is made for the institution to Seek for financial aid from international Islamic organizations such as the Islamic Development Bank (IDB), the World Assembly for Muslim Youth (WAMY), the World Muslim League (WML), and the Islamic Foundation (IF). The management of this growing institution should find ways of generating money internally no matter how small, such as by opening a bookshop and a provision store for sales to students and the general public at subsidized rates. In the bookshop not only books, but other things like Islamic posters, tape cassettes for the recitation of Qur'an and video cassettes of films and public lectureS by reknown Islamic scholars (nationla and international) could also be sold.

Conclusion

Riyadhul-Qur'an Islamiyyah school is a model for emulation. The combination of Islamic and western education within it is very much commendable in this contemporary age. It is hoped that students from this school would be in a better position to represent Islam and Muslims anywhere in both character and learning. Current status of the school re-emphasizes the role of Katsina town as an Islam, i.e. educational centre. If other Islamiyyah institutions could be runned in the same way as Riyadhul-Qur'an, the present situation of "Almajiri System" in the Northern States of the nation (which is causing social unrest to the very young students as well as the general public) could be arrested. This is because in Riyadhul-Qur'an the meagre amount of money received from boarding students in being used for taking care of their welfare, contrary to other students where nothing is received from the parents, but pupils are left alone to continuously face the problem of learning.

This paper was compiled as a result of interview with the Director of the school, the school administrative Secretary, students, and assessment of available written documentS. Thanks to the Director in person of Sheikh Yakubu Musa Kafanchan and the School Secretary, M. Muhammad Kabir Kado who had given me the most due cooperation.

The Katsina College: Inception, growth, and impact in Northern Nigeria

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Introduction

A school, no matter its form or content, is usually considered as an important organ of and a prerequisite for the existence of a modern society. Its major tasks include, custodian care (especially of the young), education, and indoctrinating¹ the individual and the perpetuation of the instrumental and normative² requirements of the society. Its educative functions have been the most contentious, since education has not been geared towards meeting the relevant needs and existential realities of the society, especially in the developing countries.³ However, the concept of education seen as a tool par excellent,⁴ in the development process should be:

...the aggregate of all the procedures by which a child or young adult, develops the abilities, aptitudes and other forms of behaviour which are of positive value of the society in which he lives; that is to say, it is a process of transmitting culture in terms of continuity and growth and for the disseminating knowledge, either to ensure social control or to guarantee rational direction of the society or both.⁵

Thus, although schooling is determined by the political and cultural considerations of providers/sponsors (public or non-public), all societies have had one form or the other; as a way of regenerating or socializing itself at all times. Western education, apart from its other peculiarities has been heavily based on literacy; and it has over time been an instrument of the perpetuation of a literate culture - the culture of a few, who had power, wealth and prestige.

When colonized societies took eventual shape, the education that colonialism implanted was to serve the specific predetermined goals of neo-colonialism. In the case of Nigeria, it had facilitated the establishment, consolidation and ascendancy

of the colonial state. This is the base of our discussion of the foundation, growth and impact of the famous Katsina College, in the defunct Northern Nigeria.

Education and Colonialism

It was as a result of the developments associated with capitalism and the industrial and technological changes in Europe, in the 18th and 19th centuries, that the imposition of political control, and the subjugation of peripheral societies became inevitable. In Nigeria, the formal conquest begun in the 1840s, with the annexation of Lagos.⁶ And the peak was reached when Sokoto and Kano were taken-over in 1903.⁷ As the colonial state became a reality one obvious and convenient tool was to be found to ensure the rapid enculturation of the society, so as to generate in it the existence of a peaceful and submissive order in the quest for the need of cheap labour to promote maximum exploitation of human and material resources, to be used in developing metropolitan Europe. Education was used to serve these purposes.

Initially, education was mainly the concern of missions, for they have used it as a weapon of evangelization, especially in Southern parts of Nigeria and the non-Muslim parts of Northern Nigeria. But in the Muslim North, until the Missions "...were ...becoming a thorn in the flesh of both the colonial authorities and the traditional rulers",¹⁰ the state had cared only about the promotion of 'secular education',¹¹ a policy which Lugard had pursued without regard "...government's stringency in financing the education of subject peoples."¹²

Apart from the colonial state's desire to avoid discord through selective spread of western education (with only 15 primary schools, with an enrolment of about 700-800 pupils, early in the 1900 AD, in the whole North),¹³ they had also sought to use education to generate some of the manpower needed for the service of the colonial administration. This was even more pronounced during the threatening economic depression of the 1920s and 1930s,¹⁴ when financial prudence was a first order activity. The exposure of the 'white' to a hostile tropical environment, whose disease system was not as clear to them, nor were they in a position to control, was an additional factor for the resort to education. Some attention was then paid not only to primary and post-primary education, but also to some 'higher' education as well. One of such was the Katsina College.

The Katsina College

Inception and Growth

Islam has existed in the North from about the 15th century AD or even earlier, and it had a comprehensive learning system which seemed to have met society's spiritual and temporal expectations and demands. For this reason, the colonial state has had to treat the matter of spreading western education with 'caution', although beginning from the amalgamation act of 1914, the need for 'educated' manpower was felt most. In fact, Sir Hugh Clifford, the Governor has once commented in 1919 that:

after two decades of British occupation, the Northern Provinces have not yet produced a single native... who is sufficiently educated to enable him fill the most minor clerical post in the office of any government department.¹⁵

It was this and other immediate factors which necessitated increased government interest in public education. The Katsina College was founded as a positive response to this development. Founded in 1922, the College was intended:

to train the teachers for the improved syllabus of the provincial schools... teachers who as (true men) could replicate themselves; teachers who would be future leaders, whose characters would have been sufficiently moulded (to shape society).¹⁶

The location of the College was not by accident. It was deliberate as the Katsina society "...had traditionally been the home of learned and devout scholars",¹⁷ even before colonialism. In fact, according to Clifford,¹⁸

Katsina... was held in high repute... as a seat of learning and piety... (and was also) not as yet so close to the railway and to the commercial centres of Nigeria as to make it unsuitable for that quiet and tranquility and that freedom from distractions which are so necessary for young men who are devoting their lives to study.

All the residents of the provinces in the Region had the same response to the memorandum sent out by the Director of Education, seeking their opinion for the establishment and location of the College,¹⁹ which was to become the 'most advanced' teacher training college²⁰ in the North at the time.

Consequently, the College begun "...with an initial intake of 50 students drawn from all the provinces of the Region."²¹ From then on, it continued to grow in size and scope of activities until it was moved to Kaduna and later to Zaria.

Table 1: List of Some of the Pioneer Students

Name	Region
1. Abubakar Kano	Kano
2. Gidado Katsina	Katsina
3. Ahmed Kano*	Kano
4. Abubakar Kebbi	Sokoto
5. Alhassan Zaria	Zaria
6. Usman Ilori	Ilorin
7. Barau Abuja	Abuja

Source: NAK/SNP.9/1339/1922. Essays on the official opening ceremony of the Katsina College.

*This student read the welcome address presented to the Governor-General, Sir Hugh Clifford, at the colourful official opening of the College on Sunday, March 5, 1922.

But since its early days, the College once described as "...the government's proud schools",²² has been subjected to severe criticisms. For instance:

...it (was) fashionable to see the college as part of a deliberate British attempt to ossify an artificially undemocratic system of social class structures, imposed to perpetuate indirect rule.²³

This and similar attributes may have been the results of the longstanding conception of the 'educated elite' as 'deluded hybrids or collaborators'²⁴ in the colonial processes of the appropriation of human and material resources of the colonies. Surely, the school in colonial society was supposed to produce:

"a class of persons (indigeneous) in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect."²⁵

As a result of this, "The bulk of the society was denied the benefit of any form of education by the State."²⁶ The elites (mainly traditional rulers or their children)... were given no more than enough education to perform such routine functions that promote the benefits of colonial interests".²⁷

Yet for the Katsina College, the certitude of these claims could partly be verified by its leadership; its teaching and learning activities; its calibre of students; its relation with the host community and the general impact of its products on the state, society and economy.

At the peak of the academic and administrative hierarchy was the head of principal having the responsibility of managing the college.²⁸ He was answerable to the Regional Director of Education as other Provincial Education Officers. He was assisted by a Deputy, subject heads, senior and the less senior teachers, some ancillary administrative hands, especially financial officers.²⁹ The students' wings were also headed by seasoned leaders who excelled in character and learning serving as the guardians of the college's rules, regulations and procedures, applied as demanded by school authorities. In this sense, responsibilities were shared and specified among all members of the school community in a most participatory and democratic manner. However, questions are, how have these roles been performed and with which effects?

According to Lugard, the selection of Principals, teachers as other British officials billed to work in the colonies was guided by the principles that:

The whiteman's prestige must stand high when a few score are responsible for the control and guidance of millions. His courage must be undoubted, his word and pledge absolutely inviolate, his sincerity transparent...³¹

Subsequently, those who led the Katsina College, especially in the first decade of (1922-1932) were men, who fitted these principles. the pioneer principals were Mr. G.A.J. Bieneman, then Mr. M.W. Oakes, Mr. Tom Baldwin, and Mr. T.S. Phillips, in succession; people who:

...would in the longrun maintain the super-imposed colonial structure with permanent benefit to the colonizing countries *even after Independence* (emphasis added).³²

In addition to other 'qualitties', serving principals or teachers, were mainly drawn from among officers who have served in the main colonial administratiopn, prior to their engagement in teaching. This was one sign of the enhanced professional status of teachers of the time. Similarly, they mostly had teaching qualifications, the minimum being a Bachelors degree (B.A.) or Diploma in Education. This may partly explain why most of the principals were at once classroom teachers, knowledgeable in their chosen subjects. It was common for most of the teachers of the college to occupy higher administrative posts in the bureaucracy. One famous instance was the appointment of Mr. Gerald Power as the Director of Education in the Gambia.³³

Table 2: List of Some of the Pioneer Teachers of Katsina College

Name	Nationality	Subject taught
1. Mr. Gerald Power	British	English
2. Mr. C.R. Butler	British	English
3. Mr. A.A. Shilingford	British	English
4. Mr. C.E. Whitting*	British	English
5. Mr. E.D. Craig	British	English/History
6. Mr. Evic Mort	British	English/Mathematics
7. Mr. E.E. Nicolson	British	English/Geography
8. Mal. Nagwamatse	Nigerian	Arabic/Hausa
9. Mal. Bello Kagara	Nigerian	Hausa
10. Mr. P.G.S. Baylis	British	English/Mathematics
11. Mr. K.B. Hill	British	Science
12. Mr. S.O. Temiotan	Nigerian	Biology
13. Mal. Yazidu	Nigerian	English/Mathematics
14. Mal. Bello	Nigerian	Religious Instruction
15. Mr. C. Graham	British	History/Geography

Sources:

1. NAK/ADN/440 Annual Report on the Higher College for 1935.
2. Clark, T. A Right Honourable Gentleman, Zaria: 1991.

3. Ahmadu Bello, My Life, Zaria, 1962.

*He later moved to School for Arabic Studies, Kano where he established a Grade II section.

It is interesting to note that even at the earliest phase, some teachers of the college were drawn from the environment. It is gratifying that Malam Yazidu was significantly a teacher of English and Mathematics. This is certainly an attestation of the existence of a mutual interaction between 'town and gown'.³⁴ Yet the dominance of the British teachers only show the determination to further the colonial enculturating processes although the law of 'unintended consequences of learning'³⁵ may serve as a check on the possible damage of the British mental colonization. Yet the discussion on teachers is significant since 'no education system can rise above the quality of its teachers'.³⁶ But this by no means underplays the importance of a school's students or of its programme.

The student population of the college was always drawn from the defunct Northern provinces, usually from among the best products of provincial schools and from the ranks of practicing teachers. The selection is done through an intense and stringent set of criteria. For example, each Provincial Education Officer was required to fill in an 18-question form attesting the indigeneity physical and intellectual capacities, as well as the future promise of each candidate.³⁷ Once recruited, the students undergo training for a duration, and at a level commensurate with their previous pre-entry academic or employment status. In 1935, the college had four types of programmes, namely

1. Higher College - for 2 years (for the training of teachers who had been working prior to their admission);
2. Middle Upper VI (equivalent to the Southern Provinces middle IV);
3. Middle Lower BI (equivalent to the Southern Provinces Middle V); and
4. Middle Lower V (equivalent to the Southern Provinces Middle IV).³⁸

At this time, the total number of students in the college was 52 and was distributed in the provinces as indicated in Table 3.

Table 3: Distribution of Students of Katsina College in 1935

Province	Number
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1. Adamawa	03
2. Bauchi	03
3. Borno	12
4. Ilorin	05
5. Kabba	01
6. Kano	02
7. Katsina	04
8. Niger	08
9. Sokoto	08
10. Zaria	06
Total	52

Source: NAK/ADM/440, Annual Report on the Higher College, Katsina for 1935, 00. 3-4.

Although the distribution was not 'even' enough, yet no province was left out completely in the years of the college's existence. Perhaps, it was only the selection procedure that may have hindered the changes of some. But merit took precedence over undue regard for geo-political balancing. And since admission was restricted to Muslim areas only, this was an aspect which attracted the comments and condemnation of many. For instance, Sir Ahmadu Bello had said:

...I see now that this was, perhaps, a fault; it might have been better to have had more varieties of men in the college.³⁹

The range of the core subjects taught was restricted to English, Mathematics, Science, History, Geography, and Religious Instruction.⁴⁰ In addition, there were what had been called 'physical and moral welfare' activities, including health and sanitation, agricultural and horticultural undertakings, games and physical drill.⁴¹ These kept both the pupils and the teachers busy in a boarding system. At the onset and until 1933, when formal examination was introduced "...a general assessment of work and effort was agreed by the combined teaching staff over the whole of the students time at the college".⁴² For this reason:

Once they were in the college, all faced the same spartan environment of boarding school usage regardless of their physical maturity or social pretensions (and) huts, classrooms and staff quarters, all were built of thick, cool mud with thatched roof.⁴³

And once assessed, the students had certificates graded as follows:

1. 94-100% - 1st Class
2. 76-93% - 2nd Class
3. 50-55% - 3rd Class
4. Under 50% - a failure ⁴⁴

This may appear rather unscientific, and to a great deal too stringent. But since emphasis was on 'character' not mere learning, except the need for proficiency in English, the gradation may well be justified, except that the measures of assessing 'character' may be more subjective than objective. The proficiency in the English language that was mandatory seems indicative of the urge to further colonial dominance over other languages. And the linguistic competence about which 'British visitors have frequently commented'⁴⁵ was "...built by the rigours of instruction that often... reduced (some) to tears".⁴⁶

The tone of the school order was also high to frighten many a fragile Northern pupil. Thus, "slackness was not tolerated, whether at work or play."⁴⁷ By 1928, there were six compound-like houses (hostels): namely, Arewa (North), Kudu (South), Gabas (East), Yamma (West), Illila and Hankaka'.⁴⁸ The purposes of the house system were "...to give a corporate team spirit and teach the boys to work as team, one unit in competition with other units".⁴⁹ The responsibility of the maintenance of each student was on his provincial authority, which pays his school fees, in addition to which all students received thirty shillings (equivalent of three Naira in 1992) a month to cover the other expenses.

The students also undertook teaching practice exercise, in the provinces and also engaged in tours, visits and excursion, meant to broaden their social and political horizon as they are partaking in intellectual training. For these and more, all financial charges went to the students' provinces of origin, although the school cared to organize and supervise all curricular and extra-curricular engagements, intended to promote the emergence of 'model teachers' for service to society.

By the 1950s, a lot changed about the college especially with the additional teacher training colleges opened in Bauchi and other provinces. In fact some of the new colleges were specifically for the training of female teachers. There were now two categories of subjects - compulsory and optional. The compulsory subjects were:

practical teaching, principles and methods, physical and health education (theory), physical and health education (practical), English Language, English Literature, spoken English, Arithmetical processes, elementary practical mathematics, history and geography. The optional subjects were also divided into Groups 1 and 2. Under group 1, there were handicrafts and drawing and under 2, were Religious Knowledge, Hausa, history of Islam, and Mathematics.

The Impact

The quantification of the impact of such a college may not be possible given the paucity of adequately documents information. In this exercise, there are basic questions which need to be raised. One, who did the college serve - the local community or the interests of the colonialists? Two, did the college serve the two contradictory blocks of interest all at once? and three, which of these is feasible?

Admittedly the college was established by a colonizing power, to instrumentalize its consolidation. Yet several unintended results accrued in favour of society. Firstly, the quality of teaching and learning (which may constitute a significant part of what may count as the standard), was considerably high. For the linguistic competence of its products many of their foreign teachers "...took an inward (intrinsic) pleasure (and) ...in the successes of (those) who were moving socially upward".⁵⁰ Secondly, 'discipline' as an attitude of mind, was another impact that was positive in its various ramifications. This could in part explain the prevalence of 'disciplined' provincial schools in the 1950s. In fact, it is lack of this basic ingredient today which in part renders schooling less meaningful. Thirdly, it was also doubtless that:

The college has produced an amazing list of college 'old boy' Ministers, Emirs, and prominent party or Native Administration leaders; the men who were to fill public life in the Northern Nigeria of the 1950s, and to challenge the assumptions of the Southerners who owed their early education in the 1920s to 1940s to the Christian Missions.⁵¹

This account by a colonial officer, was again confirmed by the assertion of the Sardauna that it is also true that:

...at least three quarter of those who held office as Minister of the Federation or of the Region, or as Chairman of members of Boards of various kinds have been ex-students of Katsina College.⁵²

In fact, the following table provides some corroborative details of some of the Prominent Northerners Who Trained at Katsina College

Table 4: List of some of the Prominent Northerners who trained at Katsina College

1. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa	Bauchi	Prime Minister, Nigeria
2. Sir Ahmadu Bello (Sardauna)	Sokoto	Premier, Northern Region
3. Alhaji Shehu Ahmed (Madaki)	Kano	Deputy Speaker, Regional House
4. Alhaji Mohd. Ngileruma	Borno	Rep. of Nigeria at U.N.O.
5. Alhaji Aliyu Makaman Bidda	Niger	Regional Finance Minister
6. Alhaji Isa Kaita	Katsina	Regional Minister, Education
7. Alhaji Hassan Abuja	Abuja	Makaman Abuja
8. Alhaji Nuhu Bamalli	Zaria	Regional Minister
9. Alhaji Musa 'Yaradua	Katsina	Minister for Lagos
10. Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora	Sokoto	Prominent Civil Servant

Sources:

1. Ahmadu Bello, *My Life*, Zaria, 1962.
2. Clark, T. *A Right Honourable Gentleman*, Zaria, 1991.

Another significant impact was that of fostering solidarity and cohesion, among Northerners (although this has posed a permanent threat to Federal expectations). According to Sir Ahmadu Bello:

...the friendships we made then have gone on through the years *unbroken* and indeed *unchanged* and there has been quite an *unusual solidarity* between us (emphasis added).⁵³

The crop of elites produced by the college were many and most have played leading roles in the political life of the North and Nigeria. Thus, one direct and verifiable impact of the group is to be found in the monumental achievement of the Northern Regional and Federal Governments under Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa until the coup of January 15, 1966. Such include the establishment of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, although it

is gradually becoming Northern giant located in the North and managed by southern Nigeria educated elite. And this control goes with benefits which may not favour the North or its peoples. The government also established the Broadcasting Corporation of Northern Nigeria (BCNN), which is now Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN). Some have said the influence of this organ especially in promoting northern political cultural interests, have been immense. Others, however, claim that the Radio only succeeds in breeding and escalating sectional tension and acrimony.

The *New Nigeria* Newspaper was also founded by the Northern Regional government of the Katsina 'old boys'. It, like the BCNN, came to protect and promote the interests of the Region and its peoples. Whether its activities up till the moment have helped or hindered progress, remains an open question. The Bank of the North and the Northern Nigeria Development Company (NNDC), had their roots in the Regional government of the Northern elites. These two have had and will continue to make their impact on the economy and society. But whether the greater interests they protect and promote are those of this tiny exploitative class, is a subjective matter, which may be debated for a long time to come. The prosecution of a mass literacy campaign (*Yaki da jahilci*) in the 1950s was also another major success recorded by the regime. In a region with an illiteracy rate of over 90% among its over 35 million people, the programme helped considerably in popularizing the need to support the acquisition and participation in western education. And it promoted political attitudes and opinion among the people. There were similar achievements at the Federal Government level also.

Perhaps, about the most noticeable impact of the college was the retention of political power in the North perpetually. But two questions which usually arise on this area: one, whether this promotes equity or equilaterianism in political power sharing; and two, whether the ordinary citizens have benefitted from it all or they simply wallow in poverty, disease, and social inequality and still relish the dream of power being in the hands of their people, a sort of 'false consciousness'. Generally, it would be possible to posit that if life in the North and Nigeria, was better in the 1950s and 1960s, when the ex-students of Katsina College had made greater positive impact on the state, society and economy than otherwise. Yet the manner of the January 1966 coup, which reduced the leaders of government to mere sectional champions, and the rather indifferent response of the Northern peoples to the wanton manner of the assassination of these leaders, leaves a lot of

doubt about whatever conclusions may be reached on the relationship between the ex-Katsina student leaders of the North and the people.

Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter is only preliminary and tentative in the face of the current shortage of documented evidence on the Katsina College; its inception, growth and impact. This knowledge gap is unhealthy. It will, therefore, be a challenge to the future historical researchers to undertake extensive work on the subject. Otherwise, it will remain impossible assess a colonial institution which has considerably affected the life and times of our people.

Notes

1. The Deschoolers, especially their leading advocate Ivan Illich in his *Deschooling Society* London: 1970, have labelled negative its assigned functions. In fact, they seek its de-establishment, since in addition, it has turned out to be a divisive institution, promoting a select number of skills and imposing the culture of the dominant class over others, and generally a drain on the scarce resources of society.
2. For further details on the functions of the school, see: M.D. Shipman *The Sociology of the School*: Longman, 1975.
3. For an informed account on 'Relevance' in education, see J.A. Akinpelu, *Relevance in Education*. An Inaugural Lecture, University of Ibadan, 1985.
4. See Section 1 of the Federal Government of Nigeria, *National Policy on Education*, Lagos: NERC Press, 1991.
5. A. Babs Fafunwa. *A History of Education in Nigeria*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974, p.17.
6. For more information, see: T.N. Tamuno 'British' Colonial Administration in Nigeria' in O. Ikime ed. *Groundwork of Nigerian History*. Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1980.
7. Tamuno, 'British Colonial Administration in Nigeria', in Ikime ed. *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1980.
8. See: Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, London: 1974.
9. J.F.A. Ajayi, *Christian Missions, 1841-1891*, London: Longman, 1966.
10. S.O. Osoba and A. Fajana 'Educational and Social Development', in Ikime ed., *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, p.572.
11. Ibid
12. Ibid, p.573.
13. Ibid, p.572.
14. A.G. Hopkins *An Economic History of West Africa*, London: 1976.
15. Joe U. Umo, 'Political Economy of Nigerian Education, 1960-1985' in Tekina N. Tamuno and J.A. Atanda eds. *Nigeria Since Independence: The First 25 years* Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1989, p.84.
16. Trevor Clark, *A Right Honourable Gentleman: The Life and Times of Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa*, Zaria: Hudahuda Publishing Co., 1991, pp.14 and 16,
17. Clark, *A Right Honourable Gentleman*, p.14. This was corroborated by a memorandum from the Acting Director of Education, Northern Region to the Colonial Secretary on the need for the College. See: NAK/SMP.9/977/1919, p.7.
18. Quoted in Ahmadu Bello *My Life*, Zaria: Gaskiya Corporation, 1962, p.28.
19. See: NAK/SMP.9/977/1919, p. 8. In fact the Resident Sokoto wrote "Katsina would be an excellent site".
20. Bello, *My Life*, p.26.

21. Clark, *A Right Honourable Gentleman*, p.16.
22. Ibid, p.15.
23. Ibid, p.14.
24. For further details, see: E.A. Ayodele, *The Educated Elite in the Nigerian Society*, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1974, pp.9-78.
25. New Cambridge Modern History, Vol.XII, p.215, quoted in Dahiru Yahaya 'The crises of Identity and choice: colonial education in post colonial Nigeria in Adedoja, T.A. et al (1992)(eds). *Issues in Nigerian Education*. Lago, Text and Leisure Publishers, p.2
26. Yahya, 'The crises of Identity and choice'..., p.2
27. Yahya, 'The Crises of Identity and choice'..., p.1.
28. That was a principal with sufficient powers and autonomy to run a school, a situation that could not compare with what happens now, when principals are mere representatives of the bureaucratic machinery, with little or no power over any aspect of the school.
29. Those will be the equivalent of Bursars today.
30. These were the twin grounds of academic awards in past civilizations in the Islamic and Western Worlds. The character component has no weight any longer.
31. For more on the Lugardian perspective, See: N. Konyeaso Onuoha 'The Role of Education in Nation Building: A Case study of Nigeria' in *West Africa Journal of Education (WAJE)*, Vol.XIX, No.3, October 1975, p.443.
32. Yahya, 'The Crises of Identity and Choice...', p.3.
33. Clark, *A right Honourable Gentleman*, p.15.
34. It is useful to have this interaction which is naturally dialectical in essence.
35. It is often found that a school may set goals, which its products do not necessarily imbine. For an insightful discussion of this phenomenon, see: Jack Dennis, *The Social Consequences of Learning*, London, 1986.
36. See: Cerel E. Beeby, *The Quality of Education in Developing Countries*, USA: Harvard University Press, 1968.
37. NAK/179 - Recommendation form for admission to Katsina College, p.58.
38. NAK/ADN/440, p.3.
39. Bello, *My Life*, p.31.
40. See: NAK/ADN/440, p.4.
41. See: NAK/ADN/400, pp.10-12.
42. Clark, *A Right Honourable Gentleman*, p.21.
43. Clark, *A Right Honourable Gentleman*, p.15.
44. Clark, *A Right Honourable Gentleman*, p.21.
45. Bello, *My Life*, p.25.
46. Clark, *A Right Honourable Gentleman*, p.15.

47. Clark, *A Right Honourable Gentleman*, p.16.
48. Clark, *A Right Honourable Gentleman*, p.16.
49. Bello, *My Life*, p.29.
50. Clark, *A Right Honourable Gentleman*, p.15.
51. Clark, *A Right Honourable Gentleman*, p.15.
52. Bello, *My Life*, p.30.
53. Bello, *My Life*, p.31.
54. For further details see: Omolewa, *Adult Education Practice in Nigeria*, Ibadan: Evans Brothers Ltd., 1981, p.38. It will be more useful to read the whole Chapter entitled: 'Literacy Education Efforts' on pp.30-46.

Problems of administering Nomadic Education in Katsina State

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Introduction

The nomadic Fulani are one of the most disadvantaged ethnic groups in the acquisition of formal western education in this country. In order to understand the causes of their educational disadvantage, which poses an administrative problem, it is necessary at this point, to review their historical background briefly, describe their seasonal movement and the involvement of their children in their work roles and to point out the implication of these factors for the development of their education. The structure and location of the schools have presented such administrative problems as steady decline of enrolment and erratic attendance, especially during the dry season when scarcity of animal feed forces the nomads to move away from one area to another where animal feed is available.

The result of poor enrolment and attendance is the merging of classes into mixed class and the transfer of teachers to other schools. The poor enrolment and attendance trends in three selected nomadic primary schools in Malumfashi Local Government of Katsina State do not show that nomadic Fulani hate formal education. Rather they show that the schools established for them do not suit their way of life. To develop an educational system suited to their lifestyle, there is the need to develop, through consultation with nomadic parents, the aim of their education which reflect their needs and aspirations.

The cattle Fulani were said to have migrated to the Hausa States and Borno from the West around 13th century AD. Most pastoral Fulani before the Sokoto Jihad could not give a detailed account of their ancestors' social and political life in this part of the country. There are evidence that they lived in rather large and mobile bush encampments in which they were prepared either to defend themselves or flee, depending on the strength of their enemy. As people whose subsistence came largely from their herd, they were less dependent on, and had little contact with, the Hausa rulers prior to the jihad days.

They gained what they wanted through peaceful means of economic reciprocity in local contexts, and carried out their obligation to Muslim States only when they deemed it politically expedient. They participated in state wars usually when this served to extend their rights to grazing grounds, and only rarely for ideological motives. For instance, Hoper (1958)¹ noted that it seemed unlikely that Usman Danfodiyo would have gained a following from among the Fulbe to wage his Jihad were it not for the fact that pastoralists found conditions in Gobir intolerable.

With the victory of the Jihad, the status of the pastoralists changed from a subject people to part of the then elite class of the new state. From the booty of war and tributes from vassal states paid to Sokoto and Gwandu, slaves were available in great numbers. With their slaves occupied both in farming and herding, some of the herdsmen and their children used their leisure time in studying Islamic principles. Apart from the good fortunes the jihad brought to the pastoral Fulani, it also brought along with it much instability which compelled the herdsmen to live in or near walled ancient cities like Katsina. It is, perhaps, during that period that the famous inter-marriage between the Hausa and Fulani began.

Such instability resulted in the restriction of cattle movement which ultimately led to the death of many cattle in the rinderpest epidemics of 1887-91. Twelve years later, in 1903, the British forces took Sokoto, Gwandu and Argungu and pacified the inaccessible areas both within and outside the Sokoto Caliphate. The pastoralists who had not quite recovered from the rinderpest epidemics, welcomed the "relative security" under the British Protectorate and took advantage of that "peace" to disperse in search of better grazing ground, although they dislike the dispossessing of their slaves by the British when their herd was beginning to recover from an unprecedented low level.²

Other major migrations of the Fulani had taken place at different times and for different reasons. For instance, in 1900s many Fulani families migrated to Jos, Plateau, Bauchi, Southern Adamawa and Muri where they found suitable grazing lands. Quite a large number of the Fulani also migrated to other areas as a form of resistance of the British domination. These major movements must not be taken to mean permanent settlement in those localities, but indicate certain geographic areas they carried on their seasonal exodus.

Nomadism

Nomadism has been variously defined to denote "Travelling population, migratory group, itinerant group, wondering people and better still, as members of a tribe that wonder from place-to-place with no fixed home". Going by these definitions, therefore, Nomadism is not peculiar to Katsina State or Nigeria, but a world-wide phenomenon. Examples of these at the international level include English Gypsies, Irish and Scottish, Tinkers, United States migrant workers and American Red Indians, nomads of Australia, Canada, Iran and Somalia.

Their occupations varies, choosing as they do, those most suitable to their survival in any particular country. The Gypsies of England, and the Tinkers of Scotland, for instance, worked as pedlers and metal workers in the past, but had in recent times turned their hands to a variety of occupations in response to the needs of time and place and their occupation varies according to season.³ But the nomads whose mode of life is tied to animals rearing hardly change their occupation according to season. In fact, it is mainly the seasonal shortage of grazing and water that impose a nomadic way of life on the nomadic groups and their animals.

For the Nomadic Fulani, two types of movements were easily identifiable in their efforts to secure grazing ground for their animals whether across local government or state boundaries. These were *split* and *total* movements. In each case, the length of time spent in any given location will depend on the availability of pasture and water, their relationship with sedentary people, and the presence or lack of killer diseases. Wherever animal life and security is threatened in any serious way, their movement away from such areas is fast. In this connection, they have always described their easy dispersal at very short notice as being like "birds which when one is touched, all others fly away".⁴

Children's role

For the nomadic child who is involved in animal herding early in life, educational provision may not be easy. Partly, as a result of scarcity of labour and partly to impart adult interest and enthusiasm to the children of their Camp, children start herding at the age of five years. The degree of herding responsibilities given to children of this age range varies. For example, at the age of five, children are given the task of keeping the calves away from the domestic supply of grains and

when they are six years, they are allowed to tie up the calves in the evenings. Sometimes they are allowed to help in driving the cattle from the camps in the morning to places of pastures, but when the animals settle down to graze, they leave the animals under the care of older relations and return home. It is at the age of seven that boys are considered old enough to spend the entire day with the cattle; thus herding makes it difficult to allow every child to go school. To provide some rest for the children, shifts in animal herding is a regular practice in most nomadic families. Families having than one child encourage shifts in herding. Each herding shift is dependent on the number of children a family has. Families with many children allow two or more children to herd in the morning and they are relieved in the afternoon by equal number of children.

From the preceding accounts, it is clear that the nomadic Fulani, like most itinerant groups, are self-employed and, therefore, can largely determine their own living and work routine. They also find time for social life within the group and children partake in almost all the activities of socialization. The experiences of the nomadic child should be the starting point of any meaningful educational programme.

Identified in the nomadic movements is the involvement of children in work roles. Nomadism, therefore, poses a great problem in making educational and other social provision for nomads. The continuation of nomadic way of life has long been debated, the world over. For instance, in Africa, during the fifteenth international seminar organized by the International African Institute, Ahmadu Bello University (1976), the question of whether the pastoralists should be allowed to continue their nomadic way of life or whether their economic mode of production and societal shortcomings should be corrected by their integration into the framework of the modern state⁵ was the major point of discussion.

Implication for educational provision

The discouragement of nomadism by forced state intervention or by such natural catastrophic phenomena like draught and epidemic are not the best solution to the hazard and disadvantages of nomadic way of life. In fact, such intervention will

destroy the very economic and cultural contribution of the nomadic Fulani towards national development. State intervention by the use of force may mean a total absorption of the Nomadic Fulani into the culture of the sedentary people. Such an assimilation policy is inappropriate for the nomadic Fulani who maintain a strong and stable society of their own despite all the difficulties they face. State intervention should be a gradual planned action by consultation and through the development of relevant educational programme which will eventually enable the pastoralists to realize what is good or bad in sedentarization.

In the implementation of such a scheme, educational authorities in the states where nomads are found cannot fail to feel some anxiety and even anguish for those who are lagging behind educationally. To prevent the continued educational disparity between nomadic and sedentary people, it has become desirable to take positive and specific steps in providing certain level of education for them. The critics of nomadic education should understand that the provision of education for the nomadic is not:

a matter of philanthropy, charity, benevolence or loftiness of spirit, but as a right. Hence... no one can be neglected without thereby creating an impediment to others...⁶

The gradual state intervention through education is essential and preferable because formal education is one of the means of bringing new knowledge to any group of people. For the peasant farmer, including the nomadic Fulani, such new knowledge will include new information on how to improve their social, economic and political life. The development of an educational system suitable to nomadic way of life is, therefore, necessary to ensure progress in every aspect of their life, because the supreme aim of education should not only be to change undesirable attitudes, but also to enable the target group to be responsive to modern ways of life and to retain what is good in their culture.

In practical terms such relevant education should help the nomadic Fulani to understand better how to raise animals through modern methods. Thereby contributing usefully towards modern specialized cattle production based on large scale enterprises, which aims at higher output of meat and milk. Obviously if such education helps the nomads to solve their daily problems, parents will recognize it as a necessity for their children. Now let us look at the brief study conducted in

the three selected Nomadic Primary Schools in Malumfashi Local Government Area to buttress the points so far made.

Methodology

The population from which the sample for this study was selected comprised all the four categories involved in many ways with nomadic education, these were:

- (a) The pupils
- (b) The parents
- (c) The teachers
- (d) Local education officials

The study was focused on three Nomadic Primary Schools in Malumfashi Local Government Area. In all, there are only three primary schools in the area, a total of three members of staff were requested to complete a questionnaire which contained five sections as follows:

- (a) Attitudes of nomadic parents towards western education
- (b) Enrolment
- (c) Attendance
- (d) Location and structure of the school
- (e) Free comments

The attitudinal questions were modelled on a five-point scale of

- A. Strongly Agree
- B. Agree
- C. Undecided
- D. Disagree
- E. Strongly Disagree

The logic behind these structured questions was to provide easy classification and analysis of results as would be discussed in the findings of the study. It must be noted that the questionnaire was only administered to the teachers and Local Education officials; while a short interview was conducted to seven parents and seven pupils of each school. The questions set for the interview were simply based on 'No' or 'Yes'. At the end of the interview session the respondents were given

free hand to say whatever they want, as well as clarify some issues that may appear vague. Informal dialogue was conducted with the Local Education officials to further confirm what was earlier retrieved from filling the questionnaire.

Over-view of the problems

In 1987 when the idea of nomadic education was mooted critics did not give it a chance. One of the reason was its seeming sheer impracticability because nomads are scattered across the country. But nomadic education defied scepticism and has virtually come to stay, although like many Nigerian projects, it is bedevilled by problems which will be discussed eventually.

The 1991 report of the National Commission for Nomadic Education (NCNE) forwarded to the Minister of Education, Professor A.B. Fafunwa, shows that there were 42,386 pupils enrolled in the educational programme in 17 of the old 21 States of the Federation.

A breakdown of the enrolment given by the Executive Secretary of the Commission, Professor Chimah Ezeomah showed that the figure was up from 26,130 pupils on the programme in 1990. The largest increase was recorded in Katsina State where enrolment jumped from 4,875 in 1990, the largest for the year to 11,316.

Niger State registration also tripled from 782 to 2,715 in 1990 jumped to 4,796 and Kaduna also put in three times more, increasing its enrolment of 668 in 1990 to 1,930 last year. Sokoto State too has its share of the increase as its enrolment of 1,422 rose to 2,540. Bauchi State shot up from 2,247 to 3,166 and Borno now has 3,279 up from, 2,420 last year. Plateau State recorded a slight increase from 4, to 4,579 to 4,733. And Benue State's 1,001 figure of nomadic pupils for 1990 also increased to 1,924 by last year. It is, therefore, gratifying to note that the campaign to popularize the programme has yielded some dividend inspite of the problems. Moreso, enrolment alone is not an index of success of any educational programme, unless continuous attendance is recorded.

Ironically, registration of pupils in some states decreased over the 1990 figure indicating that the pupils have probably migrated from those states as is always the case with the nomads. For instance, Oyo State which registered 378 pupils had

only 70 left in 1991. In Ondo State the population also decreased to 226 from 733 registered in the 1990 academic year. Another area problem is the number of school found in the States. For instance, there are five schools to the 70 pupils in Oyo State, six to the 266 pupils in Ondo State. But on the contrary, there are 60 schools to Katsina's 11,316 pupils.

Whereas, Katsina with the highest number of students has 60 schools, former Gongola State (now split into Adamawa and Yobe States) with 4514 pupils about one-third of Katsina's has 81 schools. And like Gongola, Borno has 72 schools to its 3,279 pupils. In all the number of schools has increased from 341 in 1990 to 610 in 1991.

The increasing popularity of the programme equally meant increase in the number of teachers. There are now 1,872 of them nation-wide. Ironically, some States have a disproportionately high ratio of teachers to pupils. For example, states like Oyo, Ondo and Imo with 70:266 and 50 pupils, respectively have 22:20 and 10 teachers in that order. On the other hand, Katsina State which parades over 11,000 pupils has 366 teachers. Gongola State with its 4,000 pupils has 327 teachers. The quality of the teachers is also another problem area. For instance, of the 1,872 teachers in the whole country only 32 had Nigeria Certificate in Education (NCE). Twenty-five have diplomas while 534 others passed Grade II Teacher Certificate.

The poor quality of teachers is not the only problem of the programme. Lack of infrastructural facilities which confronts primary school system in the country is also halting the wheel of progress of the nomadic education programme. Most schools had no permanent structures, 142 schools out of the 610 schools (about 25%) were being run under the shade of trees. The Commission was, in fact, alarmed by the poor state of infrastructures in the schools, when it openly admitted in its report that: classroom structure are generally inappropriate for learning purposes. Where the little are found, the pupils are crammed in small structures in the name of classroom which makes learning impossible. Perhaps, the more disturbing of the programme's problem is that children of varying ages, ranging from four to fourteen or even more, are found in one class. No age barriers are stipulated. The states did not only fail to meet their financial obligation to the scheme; often they are reluctant to disburse teachers salaries and allowances. This, the Commission noted demoralizes the teachers some of whom have started deserting the schools.

The states do more to worsen the problems of the scheme as they fail to implement welfare schemes. In almost all the states, matching grants given in 1989 for welfare schemes have not been used for those purposes. Items included in the welfare scheme include the construction of boreholes, earth-dams and wells which were designed to reduce the rate at which nomads migrate. In a few cases where attempts were made, the jobs were poorly executed with the result that many of the boreholes and the like have no water.

Investigation, according to Wale and Ogenyi (1982) showed that state coordinators are not sufficiently informed about the movement of nomads. Development in the school such as teachers and pupils attendance, pupil health and the general complaints for the nomads are not properly monitored. This situation, the Commission noted "has in many cases led to teachers leaving their schools without the coordinator being informed. This results in payment of ghost staffers. These problems highlighted will be empirically identified in the study conducted. Now let us look at the three selected and only Nomadic Primary Schools found in Malumfashi Local Government Area to buttress earlier points raised.

Findings and discussions

As a result of the favourable attitude shown by some nomadic parents towards formal education, a few of them who practice short range movement and are fairly settled, have sent some of their children to regular schools in order to encourage many more nomadic children to attend school. Malumfashi Local Government Area established special nomadic primary schools: Badawa, Unguwar Maude and Nalalaje. It may be helpful to qualify the term "special" at this point. The three schools are regular traditional schools. They are styled "special schools" because they are exclusively left for nomadic children.

These schools are regular traditional schools in the sense that two of them, Badawa and Unguwar Maude, are old schools which have permanent buildings initially established for secondary children, while Nalalaje is a temporary make shift structure. These schools are located about 10km apart, while Badawa and Unguwar Maude are located about 7-8km from the nomadic camps which form their catchment areas. Nalalaje Nomadic Primary School, which is named after the

Fulani Chief who owns the camp, is located within Gidado Nalalaje camp, although it is meant to enrol nomadic children whose camps are 8km away.

The very structure and location of these schools have presented some administrative problems. These problems have far-reaching consequences for the enrolment and attendance of nomadic children who are deeply involved in animal herding all the year round.

Table 1: Enrolment Trends 1987/88-1991/92

Schools and Seassions	Badawa		Unguwar Mande		Nalaleje		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
91/92	49	31	93	33	23	6	165	120
90/91	10	2	8	6	-	-	18	8
89/90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
88/89	18	2	18	18	-	-	36	11
87/88	4	3	48	48	40	32	92	56
	81	25	167	69	63	38	311	195

Table 1 above shows a steady decline of enrolment from 1987/88 to 1989/90 school year. That was a decline of 68% between 1987/88 and 1988/89 and 1987/88 and 82% between 1987/88 and 1990/91 school year. But there was an increase of 48% between 1987/88 and 1991/92 school year. More boys than girls were enrolled in Badawa in the 1991/92 school year.

Table 2: Percentage of School Attendance Trends 1987/88 - 1991/92

Schools	RAINY SEASON				DRY SEASON		
	Sept % of Atten- dance	Oct. % of Atten- dance	Nov. Atten- dance	Dec. % of Atten- dance	Jan. Atten- dance	Feb % of Atten- dance	Mar. % of Atten- dance

	attained	attained	attained	attained	attained	attained	attained
Unguwar							
Mande							
Class							
I	93	87	87	40	40	25	20
II	0	0	0	25	20	25.5	30
III	93	75	33	33	33	18	18
IV	96	75	45.5	44	9	12.5	12.5
V	93	90	30	25	10	10	10
Badawa							
I	96	100	60	50	55	25	25
II	0	0	0	0	50	30	30
III	97.6	71	27.5	0	31	14	16
IV	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Nalalaje							
I	100	90	90	30	35	35	35
V	60	25	24	20	22	22	22

Table 2 shows that attendance in the three schools over the years seems to be better during the rainy season. The highest attendance recorded for the rainy season was between 90-100% while the highest attendance recorded for dry season, with the exception of the attendance of the seven pupils in Primary V in Badawa who had attended school regularly, was 50% for most of the classes of the three schools. The lowest attendance was 9%.

Attendance trends

The attendance trends was presented in Table 2 and figures 1-3 for the three schools. The figures in Table 2 should not be taken to mean that the attendance was regular. In most cases, children absented themselves from school for a week or more at a time. It was also noted that irregular attendance was evidenced. It was, however, revealed that attendance seemed to be better during the rainy season that during the dry season. Figure 1-3 further confirms that.

Rainy season (September-November) as used here must not be understood to mean a period of comparatively rain fall. It is used here to mean a period of comparatively abundant supply of grass immediately after months of rainfall. Grass is fairly easy to obtain near the camps of the nomads and children spend less time in herding their animals. During this period, many of them were able to go to school.

The dry season (December-March) is a period of real drought when grass is dry and in most cases burnt up. And because animal feed is difficult to obtain, children spend longer hours looking for it. The movement trend was from the camps to the "fadama" wet valleys. As such, during the dry season, fewer children go to school.

Callaway (1973) has observed the possibility of introducing an alternate year intake of children into schools on the grounds of sparse settlements and problem of walking long distances to school during hot and rainy season. The effects of these two problems on enrolment, he envisaged, will be a total possible yearly intake of only twenty pupils each year to a rural school.⁷ However, judging from the enrolment and attendance trends of the schools studied, especially Lalaje which enrolled the first batch of pupils in 1978/88 school year, the alternate - year intake will not ensure regular attendance and increased bi-annual enrolment because the problem of the nomadic children was not that of sparse settlement, but that of the involvement of children of primary school age in herding all the year round. Therefore, a better alternative which takes cognizance of their occupational role must be considered in order to ensure increased enrolment and regular attendance.

Apart from structuring these schools on the pattern of regular schools organized for sedentary children, the schools are operated on a regular school basis where children leave home around 7:00 am and return home around 1:30 pm. Parents are unwilling to allow their children to attend distant schools for long hours leaving herding tasks for them alone.

The consequential effect of irregular attendance is the marging of classes into one mixed class in all the three schools, and because of an insufficient number of children, teachers are transferred to other regular schools. Another effect of erratic school attendance is that nomadic children learn less. This means that the aim of their attaining functional literacy and numeracy is not easily achievable.

From the above discussions of poor enrolment and irregular attendance, some people may ask: where is the justification, that the cattle Fulani parents show a positive attitude towards formal education? Why don't the cattle Fulani children stay in regular schools like everyone else? The answer to these questions is partly contained in the positive attitude shown by nomadic parents and partly contained in the report of the committee set up to review poor enrolment and irregular attendance in the schools established for nomads in the Ningi Experiment, Bauchi State.

The report stated "The Fulani do not hate western education, but the system which does not favour them" (Baraya, 1979). The regular school system "does not favour them". Therefore, absenteeism and erratic attendance at regular schools show that the answer to the second question is "because they are not like they should be given special consideration in providing the schools they want."⁸ If an educator wants to learn about them he has to fit in with the timing of their lives and it seems easier for such an educator to adapt himself than to expect sudden changes from them.

The problem created by irregular attendance and delinquent enrolment means that the type of school established for nomadic children in the Local Government does not meet their needs. It has, therefore, implications for the development of alternative strategies for their children's education to ensure increased enrolment, regular attendance and to satisfy their needs and aspiration.

Aims of Nomadic Education

The aims of nomadic education should be spelt out in terms of their relevance to the needs and aspiration of both the individuals and the society in terms of their adaptability to the changing world. The short-term aims of such education, should be to acquire basic functional literacy and numeracy and use these skills to deal with the rudimentary functions affecting the social, economic and political life of the recipient. A number of questions in the interview schedule were concerned with getting the nomadic parents to communicate what could be achieved through education. It is necessary to give them the opportunity to indicate what they expect

from such education because as participants in their cultural activities, parents know the needs and aspirations of their people.

Findings on the aims of nomadic education held by Local Education Authorities (LEAs) and nomadic parents reveal interesting areas of agreement and disagreement. This was further attested in another study by Ezeomah (1979). They both want the children to learn the skills of reading, writing and computation. The Local Education Authorities and the nomadic parents hoped that the child would apply these skills to their work roles and their social and political life in order to improve their life-style and to be able, eventually, to contribute to the world knowledge of their culture.⁹ They also agreed, in the second instance, on some of the down to earth achievements closely related to the traditional ways of life such as training nomadic children in school to be able to grow grass and provide water for their animals, and finally to keep their surroundings clean.

Areas of disagreement between Local Education officials and nomadic parents emerged in the perception of what education is ultimately concerned with. These areas touch on such actual work roles as training nomadic children in school to take up appointment in government offices, industry and commercial houses, and to become good herdsman who are knowledgeable in animal diseases and how to cure them. Nomadic parents see education essentially as a means of enabling their children to become "good" herdsman. This is an unambiguous goal of education closely related to their whole way of life. Local Education official, on the other hand, tend to think in terms of a different future for nomadic children. The aim of education to produce workers for public and private sector or to join the civil service is once more related to the purpose of the Local Education officials. However, a local leader of the MEYATTI ALLAH Cattle Rearing Association perceived the whole aim of nomadic education as an attempt to change the way of life of the nomadic people, although by a gradual process. He, therefore, cautioned that any attempt that does not take cognisance of their social, economic, political and cultural, particularities is bound to fail.

The nomadic way of life of the pastoralist constitutes a great problem in providing education for them. Therefore, anything that can be done to discourage nomadism must be supported by government officials as indicated by the investigation. Over the years attempts have been made to settle the Cattle Fulani. The Agangara Fulani Settlement scheme of 1951 was one of such attempts. This attempt could

not succeed when the Cattle Fulani realized that provision of grazing land and water was not part of the aim of the education.¹⁰

Another implication of the desire to discourage nomadism by the government officials is that nomadic children will be taught curricular contents which have no relevance to the nomadic way of life in school. The curricular content of the schools provided for nomadic children in Malumfashi Local Government Area supports this.

Studies show that 70% of the books are illustrated with examples that reflect the cultural background of the sedentary people and have little relevance to the nomadic way of life. If the nomadic parents do not see the relevance of the school curriculum to their life-style, they will not support the enrolment and attendance of their children to those schools.¹¹ The question to ask at this juncture is: Can aims of nomadic education be determined by a survey of opinions? In formulating aims, we are more or less dealing with value judgements and these cannot be decided from statements of facts. Statements of what the aims ought to be should come through a dialogue in which matters of justification are not neglected.

Need for consultation on Nomadic Education

This investigation reveals that Government Education officials in Katsina State were unaware of the necessity of consulting nomadic parents on such important matters as educational aims, the type of schools and teachers. The issue of educational objectives may appear philosophical, however, its consequential outlook on the general administration of the educational programme is quite glaring. This explains why Local Education officials in the state had asked nomadic children to attend regular schools, especially in Malumfashi Local Government Area along conventional lines. Underlying the government officials' stand on not consulting nomadic parents may be the concept of a gradual change of the nomadic life style through schools for sedentary children.

Nomadic parents were not consulted in making educational arrangements for their children because Education officials considered their ideas to be archaic. This is borne out by the remarks made by many Education officials when asked in the interview why nomadic parents had not been consulted on the education of their children. They had asked back: "What do they know about schools and education

generally?" A second possible explanation is that the education officials were unaware that through consultation with nomadic parents, they would gain an insight into the problems confronting the nomads, their needs and aspirations. As a result of the lack of proper insight, the provision of regular schools for the nomads was based on speculation on what the education officials thought would be acceptable to and appropriate for the nomads.

The implication of making education decisions in Malumfashi Local Government Area, for instance, without consulting nomadic parents is that the expectations of Cattle Fulani parents of what formal education should do for their children in terms of how to attain the goals - were not met. The failure to meet the expectations of the pastoralists through regular school provision explains why there had been rapid decline in school enrolment and erratic attendance in the conventional schools established for nomads in Malumfashi Local Government Area. (see Table 3).

Because nomadic parents' preferences run counter to the intentions of Government Education officials, a conflict situation has developed. This is one of the causes of the confusion on how to educate the nomads effectively. The Cattle Fulani are not sufficiently integrated, socially and culturally into the management of either Local or State Government affairs. Therefore, a realistic strategy for providing what will be acceptable to and appropriate for the nomadic people lies in finding out, through consultation, what they want for their children.

On the types of schools and teachers to be provided for nomadic children, interesting areas of agreement and disagreement also emerged from presenting the same questions to the nomadic parents and government officials. On the use of regular schools for nomadic children, a significant difference was found between the preference of government and nomadic parents. While government officials preferred the use of regular schools for nomadic children, nomadic parents did not. Rather, nomadic parents preferred schools built on their camps (ruga) and schools that move with herders.

The responding officials from the Local Education Department (LED) and the nomadic parents tended to agree on the use of visiting teachers to teach nomadic children. Nomadic parents preferred the use of visiting teachers for their children for two reasons: In the first place, they are accustomed to the visiting Koranic

teachers who visited their camps to teach them Islamic education. Three of such "Mallams" were seen in the Fulani camps during the period of this study. Secondly, and, perhaps, of more importance to the parents, they wanted the teaching of their children to take place in their camps.

The doubt of the Local Government Education Authorities on the use of visiting teachers to teach nomadic children were not without reasons. In the interview with one Education officer on the problem encountered in staffing the schools provided for the nomads, he said that most regular teachers were unwilling to teach in nomadic schools, for reasons best known to them. He remarked further; it is very difficult getting teachers to teach in the nomadic schools in Badawa, Nalalaje and Unguwar Maude, let alone getting teachers to teach in the camps (*ruga*).

The trend that seems to run through the findings in this section is the consistency of the demand of the nomadic parents for the school system suited to their way of life, while government officials wanted regular schools and teachers for nomadic children, the parents wanted schools built on their camps, schools that move with herders in which residential or visiting teachers teach.

As was discussed earlier on, under the aims, for nomadic education, there were similarities in some of the aims held by the government education officials and nomadic parents. Similarities were found in training nomadic children in schools to enable them to read, write and compute, to be able to grow grass and provide water for animals. But the methods for achieving these aims preferred by government education officials and nomadic parents, for the most part, were different.

As a result of the differences existing between the nomadic parents and government education officials, the conflict situation discussed earlier on persists. Such a conflict strengthens the reasons for rapid decline of school enrolment and sporadic attendance in the separate schools established for young nomads in Badawa, Nalalaje and Unguwar Mande in Malumfashi Local Government Area.

As long as the conflict continues, Nomadic Fulani parents in the Local Government Area will continue to regard formal education as a frightening and alienating process. Their fears were expressed in unequivocal terms by nomadic Fulani elders, clearly indicated that they did not like the schools provided for their

children because of the long distances of the schools from their camps and the long hours their children spent in school each day. One of the elders bluntly stated; the rest of the members of their families had become slaves to their children who attended school because they did most of the herding job while the children who went to school did little or no herding. The elder condemned the pressure being exerted on them to enrol their children into regular schools and demanded that they should be allowed to send one child to regular school every two years.

The first aim of nomadic education should be to provide what the parents and their children want rather than what education authority thinks they should have. Let educational provisions for the pastoralists be relevant in terms of the procedure and in terms of the means of attaining them. What the nomadic parents and their children want can only be known through consultation with them.

Conclusion

From what was discussed in this study, there appears to be an overwhelming relationship between poor enrolment and erratic attendance in Badawa, Nalalaje and Unguwar Maude, nomadic primary schools in Malumfashi Local Government Area, and the failure by government education officials to consult and involve the nomadic community both in determining the aims for their education and the procedure for implementing their school system. The aims of nomadic education must not only evolve from the needs and aspirations of the nomads, but also be geared towards producing the ideal self, intended to be developed within the cultural setting of the nomadic Fulanis.

Action regarding nomadic education must be taken and progress made step-by-step, not just through ministerial decision or administrative decrees, but by consulting the nomadic community, so that all those involved in the future of their children's education are brought together and carried along with the movement. The development and application of a nomadic education strategy requires a powerful mobilization of mind and will uniting the efforts of many people. This is all the more, necessary in that it is probably true that only the person who has helped prepare for change will be able to accept it without much hesitation. It is only when this is done that the problem of administering nomadic education can be minimized not only in Katsina State, but the country at large. The idea of

setting up special units in-charge of research and development activities of nomadic education at Jos, Maiduguri and Sokoto is laudable, however, shortage of funds has adversely affected the activities of these units. These centres should have been established long before launching nomadic education scheme, so that the necessary mobilization, research and consultation could be done before establishing nomadic schools. Typical of underdevelopment, the centres were established well after the programme had taken up. Problems in the education sector cannot be treated in isolation of the larger society, hence the solution lies with all of us.

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Education, Society and Progress in Katsina State: Past, Present and the Future

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Kano State

Introduction

The most important task and aim of education, and by extension, any school system anywhere, is to deliberately modify and manipulate the conditions in which learners, whether young or old, and their descendants will live. It is a conscious effort to fashion out a better future from the experiences of the consolidated past, and an exploration of the living present. According to King (1965), it is these that give momentum to the future and condition it. Thus, the enterprise of education not only involves the commitment of funds, buildings, teachers and children's lives, but also the future quality, dignity and honour of society and generations yet unborn.

In view of the above, the aim of this chapter is to afford a social stock-taking and reckoning for the future, particularly now when the pace of change is so fast everywhere that some coordination or phasing of development has become an unescapable duty for all. In Katsina State, especially, the change from a rural agricultural to an urban business/industrializing economy is coming so fast that its impact is being felt in all aspects and modes of life. These changes have also brought with them the diverse problems of people in transition from one of life to another. People, young and old, rural and urban, skilled and unskilled, literate and illiterate feel this impact and are coming to realize and seek security in education.

On its part, and considering the new demands staked on it, education has metamorphosed from an informal venture previously jointly undertaken largely by the home and the society at large, through voluntary and peer group organization, to a formal institutionalized enterprise. Today it is provided as a necessary service by a expanding range of public employees. It is publicly designed, regulated and financed state activity. All efforts, as we were told, were made and are still being harnessed to incorporate all children in the process of education, to prevent the

waste of talent, to set social priorities for the benefit of future generations, to safeguard the national economic and social well-being of the people, and to justify public expenditure on its purpose. It is these efforts, thus, far, which this paper intends to review against the social and educational history backgrounds of Katsina State. As pointed out earlier, the intention is not to itemize the chronological history of educational development in the State, as it suffices to just say that the sequence of events has already been attended to by manifest and remarkable changes.

People and society in Katsina State

Notwithstanding, the prominent feature of modernization brought about by the numerous socio-political, and economic developments, reforms and re-organizations, the boundaries of Katsina State have remained unaltered since 1934 when Katsina Emirate was carved out from the former Zaria Province, and the boundary was adjusted to include Daura Emirate which was excised from the then Kano Province. Thus, Katsina Province emerged in 1934. State creation in 1967 put Katsina and Zaria Provinces together to form old North-Central State which in 1975 was changed only in name to former Kaduna State (Eleazu, 1988). New political developments in 1987 carved out the old Katsina province, as it existed from 1934 to 1966 comprising of Daura and Katsina Emirates, to create the present day Katsina State.

Devoid of conceptual and historical controversies, the people and society of Katsina State are predominantly Hausa/Fulani, especially in the rural areas which form the bulk of the State. In the major urban centres which are now Local Government Headquarters there are strong presence of other Nigerian tribes drawn to the area mainly for reasons of trade and commerce. Thus, according to Usman (1978:55), the Katsina society is "an amalgam of racial/ethnic groups" for which the term Hausa/Fulani is used to "obscure the complexities of the relationship of the various dimensions of communities such as descent, and language (and religion) territoriality..." However, diverse these communities are, Usman continued, the Islamic religion enjoys a nearly total hegemony over the beliefs, norms, values and tradition of the people. The shariah and the Sunnah are the established bases and framework for social conduct and their observance and practical application to life form an important part of the fabric of social existence. This does not, however, preclude or ignore the presence of pockets of other

minority religious groups such as Christians, animists and pagans (locally called *Maguzawa*).

Like other Nigerians, the people of Katsina State are in the main, settled on farms, in villages, towns and cities. The cities and villages around them form and represent 'a whole spectrum of types of settlements (ranging) from the Birni (city) to the Tunga (farm settlement)". The cities and towns are the centres of administration, commerce and civilization. Communities are generally cohesive or organized in a now fast fading age grade system which is reflected in the conduct and distribution of all social roles in the traditional context. The major differentiation between the city folks and village dwellers is a running consciousness in the former displaying and feeling more cultured and civilized than the rustic folks from, or in the village (Usman, 1978).

Farming is the major occupation of the people. Other supporting occupational engagements include petty trading, black-smithing, hunting, tanning, dyeing, construction, meat processing, animal rearing, scholarship and a host of others. These occupations are still prevalent in the cities and, as much more, in the rural areas where they are still considered as strong economic activities which whole and distinct families specialize in. For so many of these occupations membership is by family inheritance through the generations. So much recognized are these occupational groups that they are a part of the traditional administration as tools of social control. Thus, every occupational group has a recognized head with an official title given by the Emir, District or Village head, as the case may be, like Sarkin noma, Sarkin Kasuwa, Sarkin Maharba, Liman, Sarkin Pawa, Sarkin Fulani, Sarkin Aska, etc. In the rural areas particularly, these officials, to date, serve numerous responsibilities and attend to the maintenance of standards in their professions, regulation of trade and crafts, taxation and discipline. They are, according to Usman (1978) agents of the local chief as well as representatives of corporate business.

Extended family system is the norm in Katsina State as is typical of African societies generally. The family is a social as well as educational institution from where character training, social identity, trade/craft and some aspects of religion are learnt. A person's family, especially among boys, considerably influences, though not rigidly, the friends he makes, societal expectations of his conducts and behaviour, the occupational career he grows to practice, his social status and

prestige. Hence the overall educational growth of the child in the traditional context, according to Fafunwa (1974), was the responsibility of parents, siblings and other members of the community. "Everyone wants him to be sociable, honest, courageous, humble, persevering and of good report at all times". Children learn by imitation, observation, participation and experiencing. The process of learning forms a natural part of growth: playful in style, informal in orientation, complex, and continuous without being exacting.

The Islamic factor

Islam, as religion and way of life blended very harmoniously with the social system of Katsina State communities. According to Clarke (1982) Muslims constituted about 95.2 percent of Katsina province population as per 1931-52 estimates. This overwhelming acceptance of the religion may not have necessarily been achieved through militant jihad. Essentially, it came about because of the religion's incorporation of most aspects of the African way of life. Hence, the advent and practice of Islam and the Islamic education system confirmed the traditional cultural and socialization patterns of Katsina people; in addition to the introduction of literacy and prohibition of paganism and pagan practices. Thus, by 1964 there were about or more than 4,553 Qur'anic schools with an approximate students' population of 62,763 or 14.83% of total Qur'anic students in the whole of Northern Nigeria (Paden, 1973:58). In the same period also, continued Paden, there were about 344 ilm schools (equivalents of secondary schools) in the province with more than 4,088 students; being exceeded only by Kano, Sokoto and Bornu provinces. In particular, Katsina was noted for its specialization in Arabic grammar. Hence "the Malam class (Islamic teachers) was probably the first group in Northern (Nigeria) pluralistic society to be linked by transethnic loyalties" (1973:58).

The harmonious symbiosis of Islam with the traditional life style of Katsina people was made much easier by the fact that Islam emphasized learning as a sacred duty the value of which is intrinsic to human nature. Also the adoption of Islam and the fluency of the learned in Arabic language facilitated lucrative trading contacts with North Africa and other Muslim countries, while Katsina, at one time, according to Hiskett (1984) exceeded Kano as a centre of trade and scholarship. Muslim scholars also provided the crop of viziers, advisers, judges and councillors in the courts of the Emirs. To the ordinary people they serve not

only as counsellants and teachers, but also as spiritual healers and advisers (Paden, 1973; Bray, 1981; and Clarke, 1981). Thus, they enjoy a lot of prestige, especially that their life style, in quality of the people they live with (Hiskett, 1984). Also in recognition of the differences in the socio-economic strength of their clients Koranic school teachers:

receive a small payment in cash or in kind from each child according to the wealth of his or her parents. Normally, this is five to ten kobo per week, though children from poor families learn free of charge. The pupils also perform manual tasks for their teachers on his farm or in his household... the schools operate in public places (and) there is much receive interchange and the Mallam may frequently break off the receive the respect of a passer-by or to offer counsel (Bray, 1981:55).

Thus, Islam and the Mallams feature prominently in the socio-economic and political life of communities and people of Katsina State. Hence Muhammad, quoted by Espito (1980:191) observed that at the confluence of Islamic and traditional African education:

...character training, etiquette, craftsmanship, selling and buying, agriculture, weaving, dyeing, and animal husbandry were aspects of the education of Muslims as well as the animist. The oral literature of both pregnant with symbols, parables and tales which were transmitted and interpreted by elders.

Western education

The introduction of western (Euro-Christian) system of education followed the superimposition of a colonial system of government and educational system onto the pre-existing emirate and the Afro-Islamic education system of the indigenous people. It is worth noting that the events as they unfolded and prevailed in Katsina of old did not happen independent of other emirates and communities in Northern Nigeria, as least.

From 1903 when the British colonialists assumed power they preserved and strengthened the traditional emirates along side a parallel system of government of their own. So also in the latterly introduced colonial education system they

neglected and marginalized the indigenous Islamic school system to the background.

Characteristic of Muslims' resistance of colonialism worldwide, according to Ayandele (1979) the introduction of western education met with stiff resistance in the emirates of Northern Nigeria. Muslims were very suspicious of the whiteman's intentions, intolerable of his person-whom they regarded as a belonging to the class of mermaids, and completely opposed to his religion of Christianity. True to their suspicion also, in the early periods of colonization, education was a complete preserve of the Christian Evangelical Missions was central to the development of education... it emphasized their view of the proper Nigerian citizen, forcible conversion of 'pagans' and elimination of Islam" (Ayandele, 1979:286). But the Muslims' resistance was tough and stout to the extent that by 1920, after the first world war, "there was not a single Northern Nigerian who was sufficiently educated (in the western system) to fill the most minor clerical post in the office of any government department" (Ayandele, 1979:256). According to Tafunwa (1974:72):

Muslim education in Nigeria was retarded not because the Muslims were unprogressive or because their religion was opposed to formal education, but because 'education' in those days tended to mean Bible Knowledge, Christian ethnics, Christian moral instructions, geared to produce Christian who could read the Bible... Christian clerks, Christian artisans, Christian carpenters, Christian farmers, Christian husbands and wives, and Christian Nigerians. When the Christian missions started converting animists and a few Muslims, the majority of parents barred their children from attending the 'free Christian schools' for fear of conversion.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to outline the historical development of education in Northern Nigeria and in Katsina State in particular. Suffice it to say that apart from the sons of chiefs school which was opened shortly after the Kano experiment, in 1921 Katsina Teachers' College to be opened as the first post-primary institution to be commissioned after the first World War in Northern Nigeria. The success of this exertion of subsequent impact it had on the peoples attitude to, and the expansion of education were remarkable. According to Bray (1981), the most notable factor that accelerated the acceptance of western education among Muslims was the employability of its products in the modern

government of the colonialists, and subsequently in trade, commerce, and other business ventures. With enrolment slated mainly for the sons of chiefs and the high in the society, western education maintained the traditional status quo (Muhammad, 1980) which to date, much has not been redressed. This was made clear by the colonial Governor of Northern Nigeria, Sir Hugh Clifford (1919:25) when in 1920 he said:

In the Northern Provinces there has been until recently a certain tendency to regard education of the local population with some uneasiness and suspicion, as a process likely to exert disintegrating and demoralizing effect upon the characters of those who are subjected to it; and where this feeling has been overcome, a further tendency is observable to regard education too exclusively as a handmaid to administration... (Esposito, 1980:192).

Thus, the acceptance, toleration and pursuit of western education among Northern Muslims was spearheaded by the aristocratic class.

However, the rate of demand for such educated people increased astronomically as the pace of change and modernization also became accelerated by socio-economic and political development within and outside Nigeria. Some of these factors include the economic depressions of the 1930s which forced the colonial administrative machinery. Thus, local training programmes were instituted for the natives to take over non-sensitive posts. In lamentation, the Sardauna (1962) observed that the demands for western training had increased far beyond supply and that Muslims were suffering severely from lack of sufficient educated people to fill the available posts, whether in government series of commissions were constituted at different times and their reports and findings formed the basis for many reforms of the education system. Reluctantly, but progressively, combined with a rigorous campaign for enlightenment involving the traditional rulers who, occasionally, but severally, had to use force, enrolment figures swelled, the number of schools increased, adult education campaigns and lessons took off; thus, setting a new epoch in the history of educational development in Northern Nigeria. The success of this was spectacular and exemplary in Katsina where, according to Bray (1981:50) "the Emir of Katsina launched one significant (adult education) project involving 20,000 adults..."

The latest and most revolutionary educational reform which sought to provide education to every child in Nigeria was the Universal Primary Education (UPE) launched in 1976. As a common knowledge, no statistical data may be required to confirm that the take-off of the UPE was monumental. However, figures from the Federal Ministry of Education (1979) revealed that in Kaduna State, for example, enrolment in primary grade I rose from 51,800 in 1975/76 to 281,100, in 1976/77; showing an increase of 442%. The number of primary schools in the same period (1975/76-1976/77) catapulted from 863 to 2,558; showing an increase of 196.4% (Bray, 1981:82-83). The impact and consequences of this mammoth, ill planned and therefore poorly executed, though well-intentioned project is what further aggravated the fragile romance between western education and the muslim society of Katsina and elsewhere today.

Society in crisis: Education on sickbed

The seed of social crisis were sown in our society from the day direct rule was introduced. Duality banished uniformity in all aspects of life as can readily be seen in our systems of administration, education, businesses, agriculture, transportation, housing, town planning, dressing, language, and to some extent, even in religion if we care to be sincerely critical of ourselves.

Education and social life

In social life, whereas Islamic education has been able to achieve a smooth fusion with the traditional life of the people, western education did not. It stands out distinct from the reality of the people. Its exclusive concern with the material world gives rise to the belief that the key to success must lie in a materialist conception of the world. The challenge posed by the west in its advertisement of science and technology as the talisman for progress has put traditional societies in the defensive. Hence secularization of education and the illusion created in the mind of the muslims that such education could be adopted without a concomitant change in the existing social structures, value system, morality, and belief has dissipated in the face of our headlong drive to modernize and to uproot traditional life wholesale. Our development has become a poor and monstrous caricature of the west as evidenced by our intellectual, political economic, technological and cultural dependency and imitation; which totally sum up to expose us as culturally retarded.

More explanation is needed here for the understanding of the sceptic. There is nothing un-Islamic about improving the lot of the wretched muslim peoples everywhere. There is nothing un-Islamic about rescuing them from the merciless grips of poverty, hunger, illiteracy and cultural squalor generally. The Islamic emphasis on spiritual upliftment is not a sacred mandate for muslims to tolerate or even contemplate, let alone delude themselves into a life of lethargy, inertia, isolation, despondency and dependency. The Qur'an is clear about this that: "Varily, never will God change the condition of a people until they change it themsevles" (13:11). The Islamic commend here is for people to strive, struggle and work hard for a just society imbued with a morality that prevents the abuse rather than inhibit is not a hollow and atheist call for the perpetuation of material development for its ownsake, for conquering nature and subjugating the environment, or for living a life of crass individualism, shallow religioisity and insatiable material aggrandisement. Thus, in Islam progress, change, and development pre suppose as much change in the soul of man as these require a restructuring of his institutions. The paradox of muslims ideological experiences, is that they hanker after material flamboyance by whatever means of their disposal, obstinate of justice as per their training secular western schools, and yet maintain a veneer semblance with Islamic identity in their ritual behaviours (Manzoor, 1986; Davies, 1986; and Shaker, 1986).

Education today

Deriving from the above is the negative impact this ideological dualism meets on society and its institutions. Education suffers the greatest, and from thence trickles down so parvasively to justify the saying that no society rises above the quality of its education.

Teachers

In as much as no society towers above the quality of its education, so also, no education rises above the quality of its teachers. Unfortunately, the situation of teachers in our society today is not anything to boast about. The attitude of teachers to their "profession", and the Reciprocated attitude of society towards teachers and teaching was summed up by a survey research finding on secondary school student's career aspirations in Kaduna State, that none of them wanted to be

a teacher (Aboki, 1981). It is no wonder then that school at all levels from pre-primary to the university suffer from high teacher turnover and desertion. One needs not go into the litany of reasons for this, but the proportion of it is so staggering here in Katsina State that, according to Ahmed (1991), 94% of the certified graduate teaches in his research sample contemplated leaving teaching for other jobs because of the poor service conditions of the profession. In the same research, also 87% they are in teaching only because they have got no other job available to them. Hence they are everready to abscond if given the chance.

With these little evidences, one is safe to conclude that teachers are a frustrated lot of people who have no 'respect' in the eyes of the society poor models to their students, necessarily, but unthetically engaged in the teaching service. Teaching by implication, has now become a thankless job, a transit career and an anthem. For reasons of time and space, no mention is made of the quality of teachers as well as their quality.

The Students

These are the beneficiaries of the education system. Here in Katsina State, they are diverse and differentiated by many factors and characteristics such as locational differences (rural-urban), school type and grade, socio-economic background, sex and other qualities. Sequel to these variations in their individual characteristics, and for the purpose of this paper, our analysis of them would be limited to their academic performance and the rate of school drop outs.

Dropouts

This is a sad phenomenon that bedevils all school systems everywhere. Students dropouts of school for varieties of reasons. The concern here is quality of the educational system. Currently, there are no official dropout statistics from Katsina State school system. However, post-primary school enrolment figure from 1988-90 are as follows:

Table 1: 1988-90 Post-Primary School Enrolment in Katsina State by Sex

Year	Boys	Girls	Total
1988	43,914	8,367	52,281
1989	31,394	8,763	8,157
1990	35,656	17,318	52,974

Source: Statistics Division, MOE, Katsina, 1991.

The above statistics show a general increase in enrolment, especially among girls, whose total population, within one year (1989-90) doubled from 8,367 in 1988 to 17,318 in 1990. As for boys, a fluctuation is shown between 1988 and 1989 figures which recorded a total difference of 12,520 or 28.5%. The reasons for this was not made clear by the Ministry of Education. However, in 1990 the enrolment of boys expanded from 31,394 in 1989 to 35,656 in 1990. The Ministry, for reasons best known to the officials, uses massive increases in enrolment to cover up greusome high droout rate as subtly betrayed by the differences between 1988 and 1989 figures for boys wherein a 28.5% differential was observed. (We hope the Ministry would consider this lapse and close the gap so as to help future educational planners).

As for the primary school's, a Task Force Report for Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (1991) put the dropout rate for nation's primary schools for the year 1987, 1988, and 1989 as 51.7%, 50.4%, and 47.1%, respectively. On the average, the current rate of dropout form primary schools in Nigeria is 49.7%. The report says:

...an average of about 48% of the ontrants (to primary schools) leave the primary school system before actual graduation year; 16% do not move from primary 5 to primary 6; and 38; do not get to primary 5. (FME, 1990).

Katsina State could not have reported a less that the national rate of dropout in primary schools judging from the observation gleaned from the three years' post-primary school enrolment figures. Carried further, Dansarai (1989:7) observed the attendance of day secondary school students in the defunct Kaduna State and reported as follows:

Attendance was very poor in all rural post-primary day schools with a daily average of about 60-140 students per school (at the most in areas that constitute the present Katsina State).

Consistency of attendance was also very poor (for individual students) as more than 80% were habitual truants, regular absentees... especially in those areas that make the present Katsina State).

Over 90% of all rural girls terminated their educational career at the completion of primary school because their parents would not allow them to commute daily to other distant village to attend school).

Attendance records for boys...used to fluctuate with seasons...(being most poor in the rainy and harmattan seasons).

As for post-primary and other tertiary institutions, nothing is known about their dropout problem. This, however, does not make them free from the scourge.

Academic Performance

This is another difficult area to assess due to the absence of statistical data to support any claim. However, if the statistics of applications for admission into universities received by Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board (JAMB) from its creation and take-off in 1977/78 and 1986/87 session, is acceptable as an indices of achievement, then one can say that the combined effort of Kaduna and Katsina States extremely below expectation. Between 1977/78 to 1989/90, there was not a single year when the proportion of applicants from Kaduna and Katsina States amounted to 2.0% of the national total of JAMB applicants. And for the whole of the ten years in question the combined number for these two States was 23,941 as against Anambra State's 24,866 for only 1983/84 session.

The same pathetic picture reveals itself when one looks at the statistics of provisional admission into Nigerian universities made by JAMB from 1978/79 session to 1989/90, i.e. eleven consecutive years. With due gratitude to the quota system which JAMB employs against the persistent complaints of the southern states, it was only 1981/82 session that the combined strength of Katsina States

managed to get 5.6% or 601 positions out of 10,736, of the total national university enrolments. Ironically and unfortunately, the subsequent years fall short of the 1981/82 peak in the following fluctuating manner:

Table 2: JAMB Summary of Provisional Admissions to Universities for Defunct Kaduna State: 1981/82-1987-88

Year	National total	Defunct Kaduna State	Percentage
1981/82	10,738	601	5.6%
1982/83	22,015	547	2.5%
1983/84	26,691	958	3.6%
1984/85	27,482	513	1.9%
1985/86	35,163	916	2.6%
1986/87	39,915	1,112	2.8%
1987/88	36,456	1,154	3.2%

Source: JAMB Headquarters, Lagos, 1992.

In fact, the combined total for the whole eleven years under consideration, Katsina and Kaduna recorded a total of 7,757 admission compared to 8,464 for only Oyo and Anambra States in 1985/86; or 10,033 for Imo and Bendel States in 1986/97 session only. When Katsina State alone was singled out in 1989/90 session it secured a paltry 379 positions out of the national total of 41,700; which amounted to only 0.9% of the total figures. Of these, one wonders how many would graduate, excluding the dropouts, the repeaters and those who did not even care to register after they had got the admission letters. Norwithstadning, the automatic scholarship which the State Government grants.

Looking at the above, some questions must certainly disturb the mind of observers such as: What is the rate of post-primary school graduation and the quality of students' performance? How well do the thousands of remedial Students from Katsina Polytechnic and other higher institutions who annually repeat the Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination (SSSCE) perform? What fate befalls the hundreds of children of Katsinawa who school and graduate in States other than Katsina State? And yet...

Educational reforms in Katsina State

Reforms in education are changes usually directed at school in order to boost their performance either in terms of the quality of students' academic achievement, or for improving students' attendance and school discipline, or the introduction of new or removal of stale courses, or any other policy change perceived as relevant to the dynamism of education.

In Katsina State, any such reforms have been made and no doubt, more are in the pipeline for implementation. Significant ones already implemented include the UPE programme of 1976; the deboarding of schools in 1979 and the subsequent years; the changes in school calendar; the introduction of the 6-3-3-4 system; the re-boarding of girls and the conversion of some selected schools for reboarding of some male Senior Secondary School (SSS) students; and the introduction of rural boarding schools. Most of these reform efforts were aimed at improving students' school attendance and changing the negative attitude of the people towards western education which unemployment of school leavers and hard economic conditions have managed to rekindly and reawakened now, after the cosmetic roman which the economic abundance, opportunities and expansion of the late 1960s and 1970s had managed to forge. The problem has not been solved yet, especially in the rural areas where lessons have continued to be attended by less-than-half-full class at day schools. The emptiness of classrooms symbolize not only wastage of resources, but also defiance on the part of the people and government desperation.

The failure of government sponsored educational reforms is that they based on the elitist conception of western Education and school system as necessarily positive for modernization, progress and development, and for individual career advancement. Such elitist between the agents of change representing the government and a category of the population whose members feel openly alienated, deprived and contemptuously disregarded. This misconception, according to Comb (1988), makes educators concentrate their reform efforts on things rather than on people. Hence buildings, gadgets, the school calendar and physical infrastructure are emphasized; forgetting that education is a people business the genuine inculcation and acceptance of which depends on the active mobilization of people, using relevant agencies. The secret of the success of previous mobilization excercises of the 1940s and 50s could easily to inferred from

the visitor's books entries of such old schools like Katsina Teachers' College which display the great concern shown by community leaders of those days in the daily activities of schools in their domains. Contrasted with late and present day entries one wonders if over our community leaders and society's opinion moulders know of the presence of schools behind their compounds. This neglect of schools by the pace-setters of society gives credence to the sorry-state of classroom conditions in our schools; and to the indifference of education supervisors and other officials involved in maintaining and improving the enterprises. The custodians of the peoples' beliefs, values, norms and culture must be seen to be directly involved in public education which, more than any thing, works mainly to influence leaners' and societal values, norms, beliefs and trend of change (Dansarai, 1991).

Society as Educator

The instant a child is born, education begins. Before he starts formal schooling, he would have already acquired a sense of self, group and personal identities, and a value of his and others social worth. He acquires a great deal of skills, knowledge and interpersonal interaction techniques such as speech, some street wisdom, physical skills and other relevant orientations characteristic of his social upbringing.

According to Grambs (1978), out of school education is a continuing process. During out of school hours, which is more time that any student spends at school, children interact with their families, peers, the mass media and many other sources of information and influence which "educate" them and help mould their character. Contradictions often to occur between school lessons and those which the external society teaches. Especially in a dualized social system like that of Katsina, school lessons often bear little similarities to out-of-school experiences as most children live in families and neighbourhoods where all adults do what the school says no one should. In such state of contradiction whose expectation should the child fulfil? Is it this economics teacher who profounds the benefits of interest in banking or those of his islamic teacher who denounces usury in the religion? Should the child dedicate himself to the pursuit of high examination scores or take to the Sports Commissioner's pleas to youth to participate and boost sports? Is it his teachers promotion of the virtues of scholarship, which benefits are always

delayed, or the larger society's emphasize and craving for immediate material success?

The mass media is an important out-of-school influence and youth educator. More than ever before, the electronic media in particular, and then followed by the print media, have drawn away the attention of youths from school lessons. Youths respond more religiously to their lessons on dressing, music, dance, and even the cultivation of motivation and personal identification. More often than not, and unfortunately for schools, the lessons from the mass media contradict school teachings. The mass media undermine virtues which, though they will show as good in the end, are, however, sensationally unrewarding, practically boring and even contrary to the philosophy of youthfulness. Youth is associated with fun, liquor, roughness, parties, alluring clothes, anti-tradition, and a vibrating, outgoing personality in perpetual search for adventure and self-gratification. Schools on the other hand, teach responsibility, decorum, steadfastness, hardwork, school and learning are routine, tedious, unpleasant, and devoid of adventure (Okon, 1988).

Guidance and Counselling: Absence for

There is obvious absence of enough and qualified guidance and counsellors in Katsina State schools generally. The overall reasons for this that no deliberate effort was ever made to train enough counsellors for the schools. The net result now is that many students, of all sexes and schools generally irrespective of home and family background, abilities or geographical location, are ignorant of the purpose of their education. They do not have any clear idea of why they go to school or how long they should stay schooling in their lives. They have no idea of where of what they will study. They cannot tell what kind of job they should look for or might get if they leave school. They completely lack the knowledge of subjects and academic disciplines required to qualify one for specialization in a particular career. They mostly have never received any useful guidance or counselling on which to base their decision: neither from the teachers and nor from the parents who are often equally ignorant like their children.

According to Okon (1988) such uncertain condition of mind about the future fosters planlessness, confusion, and heedless ambitiousness among youths. It is the duty of school counsellors to help youths learn decision making and problem

solving skills; and also to liaise with parents and employment agencies for the benefit of students.

The Future

The foregoing is a scratch analysis of what today is in relation to education and society. From thence we are able to recognize that the crisis of education in Katsina State today is one of whole hearted commitment from the people, of neglect from certain quarters, of poor students performance, of mass student dropout, of contradiction between the expectations of school and those of the larger society, of students ignorance and lack of deliberate guidance and counselling.

The contention of this paper is that the present generation of adults have nobody, but themselves to effect changes for the benefit of their progenies. No great society can happen and no civilization emerge if childhood is ignored. In fact, the easiest way to commit societal suicide would be to deprive children of spiritual, emotional, intellectual and physiological nourishment. Children must, therefore, be prepared for their expected challenges of adulthood.

Hence for future reform efforts in education to succeed in Katsina State, the following practical suggestions may be considered:

1. Education must be made acceptable to the religious beliefs of the people. It is the only way people can accept to pursue it for its own make. Thus, integration of Islamic and western education is hereby recommended with all seriousness in order to create a balance between the demands of this and the other worlds philosophy of life which the fusion between Islamic and traditional African socialization achieved. Let us not forget that the pursuit of Afro-Islamic education is still much in vogue among the majority citizens of Katsina State, in fact even much more prized and pursued.
2. In pursuit of the above, it becomes necessary that we look inwards to our local occupations with a view to reactivating, supporting and encouraging them. Modern technology and technical education are important, but their practical application in our underdeveloped society is limited. They are capital intensive which the economy cannot sustain now or even acquire in substantial quantity.

Unemployment will continue to bedevil the society with all its accompanying social problems if our education keeps on singing a fairy tale. The whole concept of "Transfer of Technology" is telling us nothing, but to sleep and do nothing since everything we want has already been fabricated somewhere; that is let us have no initiative, no knowledge, no growth and no independence.

3. This paper contends that it is not a coincidence that it is our society's subscription to the vogue of transfer of technology that led some leaders to neglect public schools. Now tht hard economic realities have proved us wrong then the need arises for us to use education and schools to sleep away this social mess. Let us collectively reactivate the honour of teachers, the esteem of schools, the pride of scholarship, the sacredness of knowledge, and the leadership of scholars with a view to ensuring the progresS of society. These necessarily call on the government to improve the condition of service for teachers, to decisively arrest the current economic decay, to denounce and trounce corruptioin and mismanagement and regulate the behaviour of youths.
4. Press censorship, especially of the mass media is important so that morality and social consciousness imbue its practice. Yellow journalism and the tendency of the mass media to exploit the exuberance of youths should be made criminal offences and therefore punishable. It is not and cannot be an excuse under human rights to allow self-seekers to pervert and corrupt the mind of youths in the name of fun or entertainment.
5. Government should train professional guidance and counselling personnel as per the requirements of the National Policy on Education.
6. The curriculum operation and processes of schools should be modelled in such a way as to emphasize career training in our traditional occupations using the apprentice system. In as much as literary should be made compulsory for all, the conduct of classroom lessons should also be made flexible, regular and highly individualized as it is in the Islamic education system. Verification must not be based on a single mass examination as doing so encourages malpractices, dropping out and unwarranted competition. A detailed study of the Koranic school system which bears all these features is hereby recommended for indepth study, modification and adaptation, because it is an acceptable school system that perfectly dances the rythms of our social drums.

Conclusion

For a closing statement, the saying of the famous Iranian scholar, Ali Shariati, rightly applies here. He said, as quoted by Shaker (1986): What comes into existence after doubt, anxiety and agitation has value: Belief after unbelief (Inquiry, 1986:44).

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