

Oyelade: " The Lanage Movement of Nigeria."

April, 1970.

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Title: The Lanase Movement of Nigeria.

Dept: Institute of Islamic Studies

Faculty of Graduate Studies & Research.

Degree: M.A. Thesis.

Abstract.

The thesis aims at studying the background, the process of development and the effect of the Lanase movement upon the Yoruba Islam. The thesis aims further to study the various problems which the movement is facing because of the changes taking place in Nigeria today. Among these are the rise of Nationalism, secular education, religious liberalism and female emancipation struggles.

Having being greatly influenced by the puritanical movement of the early 19th century in Northern Nigeria, Sumonu Akanbi Lanase became convinced that God commissioned him to restore to the Yorubas of Ibadan pure Islam which was made impure by compromising both with pagan practices and the Ahmadiyyah liberalism. However, instead of taking up a holy war (Jihād), as the case of the North, Lanase sought to achieve his goals by teaching and by public defence of his claims. The Lanases became separated, still struggling to purify Yoruba Islam.

**The Lanase Movement of Nigeria.**

By

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and  
and Reserch in partial fulfilment of the  
requirement of the Master of Arts  
Degree.

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Date: April, 1970

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### A C K N O W L E D G M E N T .

It remains only for the author to acknowledge his indebtedness to many scholars. It is obvious that such a work as this must rely upon the labours of scholars in many branches of Islamic studies. In the nature of the case it has been practicable to mention a few names, those to whom a specific debt is owed or those in whose writings students will find especial help upon particular topics on West African religions. The author's gratitude goes to Professors E.G. Parrinder, Bolaji Idowu, J.S. Trimingham, E.A. Ayandele and H.J. Fisher. Acknowledgement is also gladly made of the generous help in the arduous tasks of both proof-reading and helpful suggestions given by Professors Charles J. Adams, H. Landolt, D. Little, and Miss Susan White. Finally the author wishes to express his deep appreciation of the assistance which has been given to him by the staff of the Pierre Benignus Study Center, Ibadan, especially to the Reverends John Crossley and T.A. Akinlade for their indispensable work of collecting the Lanase sources and to Rachel Awele Oyelade, the author's wife, who typed this work. The work has been most demanding to all, but they all enjoyed it.

E.O. Oyelade.

# TABLE OF transliteration.

## Consonants.

Arabic  
Characters

English  
Transli-  
teration

Arabic  
Characters

English  
Transli-  
teration

ب

b

ص

s

ت

t

ظ

ḏ

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th

ط

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خ

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ك

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ر

r

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ز

z

م

l

س

s

ن

m

ش

sh

هـ

n

ا

al- regardless  
of the following  
consonant.

و

h

ʿ initial: unexpressed.

ء medial & final: ʾ

ي

w

y

## Vowels

Short

Long

ah (final)  
at (construct  
state)  
Diphthong

ا a

آ ā

او aw

و u

و̄ ū

اي ay

ي i

ي̄ ī

ي̄ iy (ī in final  
form)

و̄ uw̄ (ū in final  
form)



D E D I C A T E D

T O

N A T H A Y O A L A D E .

## I N T R O D U C T I O N .

The Yoruba understanding of Islam sees Islam through the spectacles of traditional customs and practices. The efforts of the Muslims to incorporate various tendencies resulting from the influences of Islamic liberalism of the Ahmadiyyah Movement of the third decade of the 20th century did not better the situation. The Lanase Movement represents an attempt to break with local customs in many respects. However, the problems which the Lanases face are not those of doctrinal or dogmatic systematization, but rather are social problems. The early Yoruba Muslims were concerned with the social relationship of the believer to Islam. They knew very little about Kalām (theology). For them Islam is the religion that changes their names, dresses and certain modes of behavior as its outward manifestation and the observance of the prescribed prayers as its inner representation. Islam, therefore, was much more a social phenomenon than a doctrinal undertaking. Brief reflection into the Yoruba culture will show that the Yoruba approach to religion has been social, only in very recent years do we have theological tendencies.

The Yorubas are known for their many objects of worship. The usual number is 241. The version of worship is not the same. However, everyone of them may be traced to certain relatives, kinsmen,

especially some ancestors. Through these gods, the family and the community would achieve blessings and protection- thus the gods and goddesses become the indispensable factors for preserving social and family solidarity. Through them the norms of the society are developed.

Among such people, a new religion can be tolerated provided its adherents are prepared to remain within the traditional religious obligations. It is common to hear such expression as "Igbagbo ko pe ka ma sin orò ile eni Imale ko binu s'awon ara orun." (Christianity does not stop a man from worshipping the "oro", the cult of one's home; Islam is not against those in the heavens). The occasion for using this expression arises when a Muslim or a Christian begins to overlook, or deliberately refuses to contribute his quota to the traditional religious ceremonies. Those who do their part faithfully receive such prayers and praises as, "omọ baba re l'ò se, ē se omọ ale; baba re na yio gbe o, awon ara orun yio ti o l'ehin; oju ko ni ti o. (meaning, 'You are the son of your father, you are not a bastard; your father will bless you; the people in the heavens will stand behind you, and you will not be ashamed).

The matter is not always simple. In many cases where persuasion, traditional mode of prayer and praise fail, violent methods are employed in order to preserve the family ties. In this context, the Lanase Movement takes very special significance. This thesis is an

attempt to describe and interpret how the Lanasees sought solutions to the problems with which they were confronted.

The first chapter describes the religious environment in which the Lanasees are working. The second chapter describes the rise and spread of Islam in Ibadan, an influence through which Alfa Lanase received inspirations for his movement. The third chapter describes the spread of the Lanase Movement and its final triumph as a revival movement, claiming divine commission. Chapter four describes the teachings of the movement, namely, as a method of establishing the Lanase concept of "pure Islam", and as a means of illustrating the extent to which Islam in Ibadan had accommodated pagan practices. The fifth chapter describes the present activities of the Lanase Movement: consolidation, spread and problems. The sixth chapter is the conclusion. In this chapter the role of Lanase Movement is evaluated in relationship to similar movements in West Africa and other parts of the Muslim World. The movement is evaluated in terms of its objectives and also in relationship to problems in Nigeria today.

ii.

x.

## CHAPTER ONE.

### I. BACKGROUND SURVEY.

#### (a) The Birth of Ibadan.

The city of Ibadan, the capital of the Western State of Nigeria is a rapidly changing city. It is not a very ancient city, nor was it established on any old foundations. It was established something over a century ago by refugees from Oyo, the old capital of Yorubaland, and from Ife, the sacred city of the Yorubas which is the legendary site of the creation of mankind.

The story is told that at the beginning of the century, Fulani Muslim invaders from the North swept on their horses into Yoruba country and soon captured the capital of old Oyo and sent fugitives flying overland. These run-away people sought help, especially from Ife. Ibadan, then a forest, was chosen as a settlement. A chief called Lagelu came from Ife to establish himself as head of the refugees and the outlaws in Ibadan forest. This settlement soon became a great city with sixteen gates and seventy blacksmiths' shops as legend will have it. But the city was destroyed by combined armies from other towns. The reason alleged was that the people of Ibadan revealed to women the mysteries of the Egungun masqueraders.

Lagelu and his family sought refuge for their lives and fled to another hill, which legend says opened its sides to shelter them.

This is known as "Oke 'badan" (the hill of Ibadan). This hill is celebrated during the annual festivals. Things were no longer easy; the Chief and his family lived a primitive life, going naked and feeding on wild fruits and snails. After a long-while, Lagelu moved to the site of the present town, of which he is considered to have been the first Chief, or Olu'badan. At his death he was buried on the Hill of rescue. The town gets its present name "Ibadan" because cultivation was first begun on the planes of the hill, thus "Ibadan" is the corrupted form of "Iba" or "ẹba-ọdan", (at the side of the field; or 'the shed in the field') The hill is now covered with cocoa and palm trees. (I)

(b) Religion in Ibadan.

The Yorubas in Ibadan, as in other parts of Western Nigeria, are keenly religious. They believe that religion brings into a community solidarity and prosperity. The influences of traditional religion on the community are markedly noticeable even when people accept new faiths. The conversion trend has been either towards Christianity or Islam. The former represents a type of liberalism which when added to the fast spreading modernization tendencies of the Ahmadiyyah Movement is presenting a far-reaching challenge to the Lanase Movement.

(I) Traditional Religion.

(a) The goddess of the Hill of Ibadan:

She is popularly known as "Atage Olomu oru", (Atage, owner of breasts like 'oru' pot). She is said to have two huge breasts, like large water-pots, each of which can conveniently feed sixteen children at a time. Women recognise her as the mother of fertility and they go to her shrine to pray for children. The shrine is described as consisting simply <sup>of</sup> two large pots at the foot of a tree and some small bricks like stones, all in the open air. Here women place cola-nuts as they pray at any time of the year. However, for the annual festival, a bull is sacrificed.

The priest is called, the "Ab'oke", (worshipper of the hill). He worships the goddess in his house every five days, just as other priests do for other cults. The members of his family usually join him in worship whilst it is the job of the women to keep the shrine clean. The Ab'oke also receives women wanting children for special prayers. Such women take with them kola-nuts, pigeons, fowls or a white cloth as offerings. In the past the annual festival offerings are said to have included each of various things: fish, mice, snails, fowls, pigeons, with sixteen goats and four cows. Presently, in addition to the bull offered annually, the Ab'oke also demands two goats, eight fowls, fish, snails, mice and pigeons; part of which is used by the Ab'oke and his family, the remainder being shared among his visitors in the feast. The Ab'oke goes visiting homes and collecting gifts, consisting mainly of beans and cola-nuts. (2)

Ojo describes this festival, which occurs towards the end of March as being "as momentous as the size of the town" itself. (3) This is no exaggeration even today. The Ab'oke in consultation with the Olu'badan decides and officially announces the date, perhaps two weeks in advance; it is of course a public holiday. Most markets and shops are shut to escape the risk of being looted; women found in the markets are liable to assaults. In the past, no food was cooked, no fire was lit in the town. To begin the festival, the Ab'oke offers a preliminary sacrifice in his house, and on the eve of the festival, he sends a representative to the "Hill" who will pass a night there in perfect nudity like Lagelu supposingly having fun with the goddess of the hill, receiving in return blessings for his people. At dawn a bull is sacrificed. On the return of the delegate, or as in the olden days, the Ab'oke himself, the Ab'oke goes round the important compounds collecting his gifts and offerings prayers. He shows the feature of a woman: he braids his hair into a central comb and wears a woman's turban. Women joyfully prostrate themselves before him, and he, in return, touches them muttering blessings over them. Any compound in which he sees fire is prosecuted, but after his departure fire may be relit. (4)

The Yorubas believe in metempsychosis or reincarnation. For them this is a "normal process to those who have lived well." The same soul, but not the same spirit returns. A very common way



to console the bereaved is by repeated "Baba o ku, nse lo parada," (Father did not die, he only moved away, or he changes himself.) A male child that resembles its grandfather is called "father comes again" (Babatunde), a female child is called (Atiba). A girl who is born soon after the death of its grandmother is called "mother comes again," (Yetunde or Iyabo). Similarly, children born on the feast day are called 'Aboke is come' (Aboke de). (5) They are said to have come from the goddess's large family.

It is not a quiet festival. Bands of people roam the town singing licentious songs and brandishing images of crude sexual representations; even children hold sticks with hair stuck to them. It is not sure exactly why this free disrespect of sex occurs. Could it be a means of invoking the blessings of the goddess of the Hill since her first worshipper lived a semi-naked life as a symbol of sacrifice and devotion? Be that as it may, there are many participants. Many groups of women sit on verandas and in public shelters shouting at the passers-by. Many join in dances, although not with the intention to participate in pagan rites. In fact large numbers of Christians and Muslims are attracted to the dancing and rejoicing: a good old national custom! Why not share in rejoicing? Oke'badan festival is a living phenomenon, and its appeal may continue to enjoy some popularity since it is essentially connected with providing children to barren women.(6)

(b) The Sango- Thunder God. (Shango).

Just as in all other communities, the Ibadan natives are noted for their worship of the "Thunder God". Legend has it that this deity, named Sango, was the fourth king of the Yoruba people at Oyo. It is said that he ruled over all the Yorubas including Benin, the Popos and Dahomey. Evidences of his power are still noticeable in the present day cults of the Yoruba people. Shango was a tyrant and his people not only deposed him but also expelled him. He was disappointed both by his beloved friends and particularly by his beloved wife. He was so depressed that he committed suicide at a place called Koso.

There were two reaction to this action of Shango. His friends, guilt-bound, escaped to Bariba to study magic so that thunder and lightning could be used by their late king and friend. On their return, thunder strokes were said to fall on houses and people, presumably Shango's enemies. After much investigation, these friends attributed the catastrophe to the anger of Shango. Since then they have assumed the roles of intercessors known as "Mogba", (advocates) and priests. The emblems of worship representing Shango are certain smooth stones shaped like axe-heads, and commonly taken for thunder bolts. The second <sup>wife</sup> started out willing to share in the fate of her husband when he was expelled. But at a place called "Ira", her home town, she decided to remain behind. The news of her husband's

suicide, however, was too great to bear. She followed the example of her husband. As thunder and lightning are attributed to Shango, so tornados and violent thunder storms, rending trees and levelling high towers and houses, are attributed to Oya. The river Niger bears her name.(7)

In Ibadan, the best known of all Pagan temples is that of Shango at Agbeni. Ironically enough, it is located on the main street almost next door to the Methodist Church. Every fifth day, the Thunder God is worshipped. Six other temples are scattered throughout Ibadan. The significance of this cult will be seen more clearly in relationship to the Lanase Movement.

(c) The Ancestor - Oduduwa.

The cultural origin of the Yorubas is traced to a single ancestor whose name is Oduduwa. The Yoruba man feels very proud to be called 'omọ Oduduwa' (Oduduwa's son). It is no wonder, that that Yoruba Nationalism finds its impetus in him. In Ibadan, there is for him an important temple called 'Gbegbekunegbe'. The priest, a man of middle age, normally dressed in white, usually stays at the temple for special festivals. Some young women dedicated to its service go there at five day intervals for cleaning the temple. The devotees are not to drink palm-wine, and sacrifice may include snails, goats, or even a cow.(8)

It is interesting to note that the Oduduwa cult, more than

anything else, fosters cultural solidarity and identification. It soon became the foundation of a Yoruba National Society; 'Society of the sons of Oduduwa' (egbe omọ Oduduwa). (9) This society incorporates all Yorubas of all religions. Professor Bolaji Idowu explains the reason for its primacy. The Yorubas believe that Oduduwa was a beloved son of Olodumare (God) who was sent to create the earth and was made the first ruler of Ife where he died in peace and was deified. It is noticed that, even though the political import of Oduduwa has coloured the activities of the societies arising from him, the religious obligations were never undermined. Shrines, especially that of Ife, are regularly visited. Again the effect of this will be seen in the chapter on the Ianaṣe Movement. (10)

(d) Other Deities.

Several other deities have coloured the life of the people of Ibadan. Some of these will be mentioned later in detail. The farm god (Orisa Oko) had the largest temple near Igbo market. The images in the temple represent "twins," (Ibeji). Ibadan hunters also patronize the God of Iron (Ogun). The blacksmiths are his particular servants. Six temples are well known in Ibadan. There is also Orishala, the great god. He aided the supreme God in his acts of creation. Worshippers must abstain from alcoholic drinks and from tobacco. If any of the taboos are broken, death or deformity may result in children. Yemoja is especially the goddess of children. (11) (II)

## (II) CHRISTIANITY.

It is approximately 118 years since the first Christian missionaries arrived in Ibadan. In the city there are at work not less than nine different denominations supported to some degree by foreign church aid. All mission schools and colleges have their chapels. Church buildings are widely spread throughout the city. One is amazed at the alternate sounding of Church bells on Sunday mornings. The Churches are of two types: the organized Foreign Mission Churches and the Indigeneous Native Churches. The former are sub-divided into Roman Catholics and Protestant Missions, while the latter has wider range of divisions some of which are described as "Faith Healing Churches" and others as "Spiritualists".(12) (A brief sketch about these Churches is given in Appendix C). (13)

Although it is not necessary to discuss the spread of Christian organizations in detail for the purposes of this thesis, it is important to note that the influence of the Church among the Yoruba of Ibadan is a striking phenomenon. On Sundays, the streets are packed with worshippers during various hours throughout the day. Perhaps more marked is the fact that the social life of the community is highly affected by Christian influence spreading out through Mission schools, hospitals and bookshops. Christianity is also spreading its influence into government circles resulting in much emphasis being placed on education in its liberal form: i.e., mixed

education for boys and girls. In this case all children, regardless of their parents' religious faith are required to attend the free government primary school. The result is kind of religious interaction which provides for the children a stimulus to investigate the validity of the faith of their parents.

The Lanase Movement, though scarcely influenced in the initial stages by Christian Movements, has now begun to expose its way of life to cherished Christian friends. It is to be expected that the Lanase group will not be exposed to a greater impact of the Church through schools and medical enterprises. To what extent will they be affected by the Christian teachings which places emphasis on the self-identity of women in matters of choice of partners and freedom of movement? Will modernization be the solution? These are the concerns of the immediate future.

### (III) THE RISE AND SPREAD OF ISLAM.

The first contact of the Yorubas with Islam is regarded as accidental. The story began during the Fulbe revolution of the early 19th century when "Afonja, a northern ruler rebelled (1817) against his overlord, the Alafin of Oyo, and invoked the aid of one Alimu, a Pulo Mālam from Sokoto, and Sologberu, a Muslim Yoruba Chief. Alim, in response, imported bands of Fulbe and Hausa into Ilorin (a northern Yoruba town) and with their assistance Afonja made

himself independent. Alimu died in 1831, but his sons, especially 'Abd al-Salāmi, set to work to carve out positions for themselves. Too late Afqija discovered his mistakes in encouraging Hausa and Fulbe mercenaries to enter Ilorin. He attempted to destroy them, but he was killed and 'Abd al-Salāmi became military chief and founder of the existing lines of amirs of Ilorin. He warred with successes against the Alafin, compelling him to abandon his capital and to withdraw southwards to found the existing Oyo. But after the death of 'Abd al-Salam (1842) the expansion of the new state was modified and the Fulbe, who had seemed under the energy of the founder capable of driving through to the sea were compelled to expend their energies in continual warfare with Ibadan and other states until the British occupation of Ilorin in 1897." (14)

Although this story points to a definite incident, it seems that the Hausas and the Fulbes knew and had some relationship with the Yorubas prior to this encounter. The great sultan Mohammed Bello of Sokoto, recounting the history of the founding of the town and Empire of Sokoto in the first decade of the 19th century included in his work: "Infaku'l Maisuri" what seems to have been known about the Yorubas. Unfortunately his account does not tell us how Islamization began during this decade. (15)

The Yoruba country was geographically fascinating to the sultan. He describes it in these words: "The country of the Yorubas is

extensive and has streams and forests and rocks and hills..... In the land of Yoruba are found the birds green in colour which are called Babaga in Arabic and which we call Aku. It is a bird which talks and it is beautiful." (I6)

It seems that the relationship began with the growth of the slave trade on the West coast of Africa. It was alleged that the Yorubas took some part in helping to sell slaves, some of whom were Muslims, to the slave buyers whom the sultan referred to as Christians—no doubt a reference to foreign European slave traders. He noted: "The ships of Christians come there. (Yoruba land). The people of Yoruba catch slaves from our land and sell them to the Christians, so we are told. I mention this to stop people selling Muslim slaves to them because of those who buy them. Harm will result from this!" (I7)

From these citations it may be deduced that the efforts of Muslims to carry the Jihād to the "Southern seas" as seen during the reign of Afonja (1817) were also due both to the tremendous wealth of the South, a fact which is, even today, the reason why many northerners settle in the south acting mainly as middlemen between the Southern and the Northern traders; and to the specific need felt to prevent export of Muslim slaves through the southern sea ports.

A legitimate question to ask is what factors led to the rapid spread of Islam amongst the Yoruba peoples? Since the Yorubas knew



Islam through Muslim conquests, one might have expected a serious resentment of the alien faith. As can be seen from the list of the Imāms of Ibadan up to the time of the active period (1935) of the Lanase Movement, most of the Imāms were northerners. (see Appendix D) Opinions of observers can be considerably multiplied, but only a few will be cited here.

According to Parrinder, 'it is admitted by Muslims (Yorubas) that one reason for the rapid spread of their faith was the magic practised by the Hausa teachers. Qur'ānic texts are still widely used by all manners of people, either on pieces of paper or wrapped up in amulets as charms for self-protection. Diviners reveal the past or claim to predict the future, as to the pagan diviners of Ifa, but by using mystical figures and texts from the Qur'ān. Much of the magic and medicine practised would doubtless be reprehended by some orthodox Muslim groups, but they have proved potent means of attracting pagans into the fold in Nigeria. (18) Afolabi Ojo observed that 'altogether Islamic doctrine was more appealing and acceptable to the traditional Yoruba. There were in it many supports for their mode of living. For instance, Islam sanctioned polygamy: the adherents could marry as many as four wives. The Yoruba had for a long period practised polygamy because, in the main, a man required many hands on his farm, a reason why wealth had always been reckoned in the number of wives and children, rather than in any other way.'

Furthermore, he explains that 'Islam was rather indifferent to the structure of the home. It did not dogmatically advocate a change from the extended family into nuclear families.' (19)

Trimingham according to his findings seeks to prove that the factors which enhance the spread of Islam includes the internal disunity of the Yorubas; the converts, after the Fulbe conquests (1817. f), served as agents to their pagan brethren. He also shows that Western impact was beginning to upset traditional life so that traditional culture was becoming sophisticated. The hierachical nature of the Yoruba social and political life was congenial to spread of Islam. Aside from all of above conditions, Islam was easily Africanized. (20)

While there are vast evidences to support all the above opinions, the fact that genuine converts went from village to village preaching cannot be underestimated. It should be remembered that the Yorubas were early in contact with the outside world. A need for change was widely felt; and a sense of loyalty filled the minds of early converts, whether to Christianity or to Islam. It was not easy to leave the religion of one's ancestors for a new one. Converts had to go through all kinds of difficulties, including tortures, designed to stop them from embracing the new faith. Consequently, both Christian and Muslim preachers were so aware of these difficulties that the converts had to be given many months of teaching, gradually helping them to sever themselves from the traditional fetters. This slow process was more adopted by Muslim leaders and teachers.

However, while doing this, a wide range of compromises was accepted by the teachers. The Imāms, most of whom were from the north were more interested in keeping their converts than in severing them abruptly from their family ties and obligations. They allow the continuity of many pagan rites under the umbrella of Islam, hoping that with the passing years Islamic education would eliminate those un-Islamic practices. As may be seen with the rise of the Lanase Movement and their final separation from the Muslim majority to form a distinctive body, the daily life of the Muslim was controlled by various traditional practices, then accepted as integral parts of true Islam.

## F O O T - N O T E S.

CHAPTER ONE.

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Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. 12f.
2. Ibid., p.11f.
3. G.J.A. Ojo, Yoruba Culture,  
University of Ife and University of London Press, 1966, p.162.
4. Parrinder, op.cit., p.14-17.
5. E.G. Parrinder, West African Psychology,  
Lutterworth Press, London, 1951, p.123f. The entire chapter 10  
is devoted to the problem of reincarnation in West Africa. The  
subject is also discussed by Professor Bolaji Idowu.  
Vide: E.B. Idowu, Olodumare, God in Yoruba Belief,  
Longmans, Green and Co, Ltd., London, W.I. p.123f.
6. Parrinder, op.cit., p.16f (2).
7. S.Johnson, The History of the Yorubas,  
Lowe and Brydone Ltd, London, N.W. 10, 1956, p.36.
8. Parrinder, op.cit., pp.21-23.  
"According to a tradition, many descendants of Oduduwa were  
commissioned as Obas (Kings) to rule over far-flung indigenous  
lands. As a symbol of their authority and also of their link  
with Ile-Ife they wore crowns with beaded fringes."

Vide: Ojo Yoruba Culture, (footnote 3), p.126.

9. F.A.O. Schwarz Jn, Nigeria,

The N.I.T. Press, Cambridge, 1965, pp.67-70. The 'Egbe omo Oduduwa' was founded by Chief Obafemi Awolowo while studying in London in 1945, and was formally organised in Nigeria his return in 1948, a kind of Pan-Yoruba organization. It was intended to "unite the various clans and tribes in Yoruba land" and to accelerate the emergence of a virile, modernized and efficient Yoruba state with its own individuality in the Federal State of Nigeria. To achieve this, the Egbe will encourage the study of the Yoruba language, culture and history. It aims at achieving a national unity by encouraging other ethnic groups in Nigeria on similar ties, indispensable for Federal solidarity.

10. Bolaji Idowu, Olódùmarè, God in Yoruba Belief.

London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1966, p.22f.

11. Ojo, op.cit., p.165.

The great importance which the Yorubas attached to having children made the worshipping of "Yemoja" (the deity mother of all rivers and fishes) almost county-wide. It is identified with having innumerable children. The temples are now scarcely found near rivers. There is one behind the king's market in Ibadan. The priestesses and the worshippers believe that the goddess comes out of the sea during the festival to bless women with children.

12. J.D.Y. Peel, Aladura, A Religious Movement among the Yoruba,

- Oxford University Press, 1968.
- I3. Parrinder, op.cit., (2) pp.86-132.
  - I4. J.S. Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, Clarendon Press, 1959, p.201. (For a more detailed study of the rise and growth of the Yoruba Kingdoms, Vide: Robert Smith, The Kingdoms of the Yorubas, Methuen and Co. Ltd, 1969).
  - I5. E.J. Arnett, The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani, University Microfilms inc., London, Undated, p.16.
  - I6. "Aku" is the Hausa name for 'parrot'.
  - I7. Arnett, op.cit., p.16f.
  - I8. Parrinder, op.cit., (2) p.195.
  - I9. Ojo, op.cit., p.187.
  20. Trimingham, A History of Islam in West Africa, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1962, p.231.

## C H A P T E R   T W O

### THE LANASE MOVEMENT.

#### Islam in Ibadan.

Islam is said to have been introduced into Ibadan prior to the accession to office of Oluyole who became military leader in 1836. (1) The first Imām was said to have been from Sokoto, far to the north of Nigeria. He was named 'Abdullah. He was nicknamed "Igun," (Vulture) because of his lean appearance. Such a designation may have expressed the resentment of the non-Muslims who feared that traditional religion was threatened. After 'Abdullah, most of the Imāms had a northern origin. The first six were foreigners, and often their children succeeded them.(2) (See Appendix D).

The Muslims in Ibadan were for a long time orthodox in discipline,(3) and sought to guard their children from the liberal influence of the Ahmadiyyah Movement, already making remarkable impact among the Muslims of Lagos. To conserve their tradition they uphold the Māliki Code of law for life and practice. However, earlier than 1953, the city was being influenced remarkably by Muslim societies. At the time of the development of the Lanase Movement (1935-1954) there were groups like the Ansar al-Din, 'Helpers of Religion' which was introduced into the town in 1937 with the definite aims of fostering education and improving the status of Religion. The Nawāir al-Din Society, 'the Light

of Religion', came to the city in 1943; its aims being to promote education and to teach the Qur'ān. The Tijāniyah group in Ibadan seeks to mobilise the concept of Islamic Brotherhood.

The Tijāniyah order is said to have been founded in 1791 by the Berber Aḥmad al-Tijānī. The Tijānīs took the initiative to spread the order (Tarīqa, a mystical brotherhood) on the West Coast of Africa. The Tijānīs are said to have stressed insistently the communal worship of the dhikr (circle), performed publicly and in the mosques. The Tijāniyah seek exclusive allegiance: its members are said to reject a dual affiliation of any sort. Some of the devotees claim that the Tijāniyah order is the last of the orders, as Muhammed was the last of the Prophets. The Tijāniyah order could have been introduced to Ibadan from Northern Nigeria since the amīrs of Kano were in most cases Tijānīs.(4) Trimmingham observed that the order "spread by peaceful propaganda and has acquired a considerable following in Northern Nigeria, Kanem, and Bagirmi." However, in 1853 Ḥajj 'Umar began a series of proselytizing expeditions which aimed at spreading the Tijānī allegiance among both Muslims and Pagans, and brought vast regions between Senegal and Niger under his control. It was through this latter impact that Northern Nigeria became highly influenced by the Tijāniyah orders. This period coincides also with the time when there were movements of northern Muslims down to the south of Nigeria.(5)

The Aḥmadīyyah Movement was opposed to the Tijānīs. The Aḥmadīs accused the Tijānīs of revering their founder as a prophet alongside



Mohammad, an "incongruous objection for an Ahmadi." The Ahmadi's are to play an important role as a reform movement in Nigeria. Their rejection of the Tijānī exclusivism is understandable when contrasted with their attempt to introduce into orthodox circles various aspects of social and political modernization. The concept of the 'best here and now' cannot be compatible with the concept of a 'transcendent bliss' which is beyond physical manifestations. (6)

On the 8th of April, 1921 when 'Abd al-Rahim Nayyar', the first Indian missionary in West Africa arrived in Lagos, Nigeria, his first desire was to convene a meeting the Muslim leaders who had invited him in order to present the principles upon which the Ahmadiyyah activities would be based. His presentation indicates that a certain amount of autonomy would be exercised in West Africa even though such autonomy might conflict with certain positions held in India. He stated four points of difference from the orthodox positions. Let us look into these closely. First, that they will recognise no Khalīfah (7) outside the law of the land where they live, that is, they do not look to the Hijaz, Afghanistan or Turkey for their spiritual Khalīfah. (8)

A brief historical survey of the development of the movement may help to emphasize the significance of the above declaration. The Ahmadiyyah sect was founded at Qādiyān in the Punjab by Mirza Ghulām Ahmad (1839-1908) who claimed to be the promised Messiah and

Mahdī who was to come after the Prophet Muhammad. It was not long before he was branded by orthodox Muslims as an heretic and impostor. In 1914, a group associated with Lahore broke away, asserting that Ghulam Ahmad was only a mujaddid or a 'reformer' and not as he claimed, a prophet after Muhammad. (9) This dissident group called itself the Ahmadīyyah Anjumān-i-Ishā'at-i-Islām, or 'Society for the Propagation of Islam.' It claims to be orthodox because it keeps out of politics. But since the formation of Pakistan (1947) the Qādiyānis have become of considerable importance in political life. This led to a new orthodox reaction and the denial that they are Muslims.

Nayyar's declaration not to recognise any Khālīfah outside the law of the land where they live was a measure to avoid frictions and rivalries which the Ahmadīs had experienced after the death of their founder. In 1914, Mahmud Ahmad was elected Khālīfah. His rivals were Kamāl-al-Dīn and Muhammad 'Ali. The party of Muhammad 'Ali decided against the Khālīfah preferring a committee as a governing power. They claimed that Ghulam Ahmad should be regarded only as a 'reformer' not a prophet. (10)

Secondly, Nayyar declared that the Mahdī-Messiah was not to be a warrior, but one who came to a spiritual kingdom; he had appeared in Panjab already. (11) This declaration has two purposes: the first is to assert the validity of the Messiahship of Ghulam Ahmad, the

founder; and the second is to avert any confusion which might arise from the orthodox expectations of a Mahdī whose main mission was to carry out a holy war (Jihād). It was said that Ghulām himself rejected all the traditions which suggest blood and war.(I2)

Thirdly, Nayyar aimed at detaching from Islām customs which are not justified by the Qur'ān. (I3) Mahmūd Ahmad translated Qur'ān Surah 2:2 as follows: "This is that promised Book which is referred to in previous scriptures. There is no room for doubt in it, for it guides the righteous to still higher levels."(I4) Ghulām Ahmad himself once declared, "the treasures of the Holy Qur'ān are inexhaustible, and as the wonders of the Book of Nature are limitless, and each succeeding age discovers fresh properties and new virtues in nature; the same is the case of the Word of God, so that there may be no disparity between God's Work and His Word."(I5)

Fourthly, Nayyar announced that the Ahmadīs will acknowledge not only the Prophets: Jesus, Moses, and others but also all holy men.(I6) Consequently, they are not opposed to other creeds, for no one can accept Muhammad without accepting Jesus and others. This position results directly from Ahmadī teachings concerning prophethood. First, they teach that the prophets receive special divine protection. This is to ensure the safety of Ghulām and his successor, Mahmūd Ahmad who were threatened by the orthodox Muslims. This is illustrated by their teaching that Jesus did not die on the cross. "God would

not permit such indignity to come upon a prophet. Although God allowed Jesus to be scourged and spat upon, and even nailed to the tree, He then rescued Jesus and let him flee safely away in disguise." Secondly, they teach that prophets are free from sin, and therefore perfect. This teaching is to serve two purposes, namely to protect the prophets from charges of moral weakness. For example they hold that the event recorded in Exodus 32 and 12 Samuel II) in the Bible where Aaron made a golden calf and David committed adultery can only be interpolations into the text by enemies of these prophets. The second purpose is to reduce the unique status of Jesus to an equality with all other prophets, "for all, not only one, are perfect; and this perfection reaches the climax in Muḥammad."

They render the word 'Ummī (Q.VII.157) as "the Immaculate One," not the "illiterate" or "of the common folk" as other translators render it. The Ahmādīs finally teach that prophethood continues after Muḥammad. (17) This position set the orthodox violently against them.

How did they arrive at this doctrine? It appears very radical and in conflict with the traditional claim that after Muḥammad, prophethood was brought to a close. The approach is semantic. They translated al-'akhiratī (Q.II.4) "the Hereafter" as "what is yet to come," i.e. further prophets. The Fātiḥah prayer: "guide us in the straight path" is taken by Maḥmūd Aḥmad as supporting this claim. (Vide. Q.XI.34). More over they claim that Ghulām Aḥmad is directly referred to in the promise of Jesus that someone will come after Him.

(Q.IXI.6). They further claim that the word "seal" in the phrase 'Khātām al-Nabīyyīn' (Q.XXXIII.40), does not mean "last", rather it means that which validates all subsequent prophets, like a ring or ornament. How can Muhammad be an effective "Seal" if the wax of continuing prophecy is not provided? Aside from these re-interpretations of words and phrases they also employed a mystical explanation by their doctrine of fanā'fi-al-Rasūl, self-annihilation in the Prophet. Ghulām Ahmad is described as completely identified with the Prophet so that he became a perfect reflection of Muhammad. Muhammad Ahmad described his father in this words: "Adam the perfect physical man, Muhammad, giver of the perfect law, Ghulām Ahmad perfect interpreter and propagator of the law." Will the Ahmadīs expect another prophet after Ghulām Ahmad? According to this teaching, nothing hinders them from doing so. (18)

Nayyar closed his speech by expressing the goal of Ahmadī activities in West Africa. He came to "make them (West African Muslims) recognize their own weakness and the good their rulers are doing for them, so that instead of looking to other kingdoms and wasting their time in useless agitations, they might set their own house in order, thus making the Muslims obedient to the law of God and man, peaceful citizens of the empire." (19) By 1941 the Ahmadīyah influence spread from Lagos to Ibadan. That year, a mosque was founded. (20) Since then three more missionaries have visited Nigeria founding schools and



### **OLOGBE ALHAJI SUNMONU AKANBI LANASE**

Eniti o da Egbe Lanase Akabirul Islamic Society silẹ Ti o se opolopo Wasi ni Oke-Ofa nibiti O ti nsọ fun wa pe oranyan ni ki a aha Obinrin, ki a ma kirun, ki a ma gbawẹ, ki a si ma yọ Saka, ati ki a lẹ si meka ti a ba ni agbara. O pa ipo da ni ojo Alaruba 14th April 1954, ki Olurun ma se alekun iyonu fun won. Amin.

The Founder.



laying the foundation stones of mosques. By now, Ahmadi schools and mosques are well spread in the city. As will be seen later, the Lanases have to face the challenge of this rival Muslim group.

(a) Lanase's Life Story.

Alfa Sunmonu Lanase's birth date can only be deduced. He returned to Ibadan after spending about forty-five years in Northern Nigeria, in 1935.(21) He went to the North perhaps around the age of ten. He would then have been born sometimes between 1880-1890 A.D. This dating is especially interesting because it makes Lanase a product of the various changes which brought Islam into the Yoruba country. He also witnessed the various attempts of traditional religion to suppress the infiltration of foreign religions which might attempt to disrupt the traditional family allegiances. Further more, he was born at a time when slavery was known amongst the Yorubas. As Dr.Ayandele observed, "the Egba remained until 1891 slave-holders, slave-dealers and slave-hunters."(22) This whole period is sometimes referred to among the Yoruba as the time of "Sunmomi", or of the inter-tribal wars which spread panic everywhere because of the raidings of slave-dealers who exploited and incited these wars. His time was also widely permeated by missionary activities. Most of the major foreign missions especially the C.M.S. (Church Missionary Society), the Southern Baptist, the Methodist,

the Catholics, the Anglican were already influencing the Yoruba communities.

(b) Educational Career.

At an early age, Alfa Sunmonu Lanase did not attend school. With his parents he worshipped an oracle called Bāyeni. (Perhaps similar to Shango, God of Thunder). (23) He was so attached to his family that his determination and sincerity began to manifest themselves, even as a boy. He was faithful in the family worship even as a boy. However, the decision of his father to settle in the city of Zaria in Northern Nigeria brought the family into contact with Islam.. Alfa Lanase's father converted to Islam, a religion he had much despised while in Ibadan. He also became interested in obtaining an Islamic education for his son. As a result, Sunmonu Lanase was enrolled in the Qur'ān school. Already he had shown his capability to learn by the fact that he spoke the Hausa, Fulani and Nupe languages fluently within a very short time. Our sources remark that he advanced considerably in Arabic studies in the North. (24) Even though they could not describe the scope of this education, it is possible to describe it from what Trimmingham has gathered. In the North, the aim of Arabic education is training of clerics, and there are many schools for this purpose.

In the early stages of Arabic education, the teachers considered their work as an act of piety, though this did not rule out gifts



received from parents or guardians. Most teachers supplemented their teaching with other work like farming, trading and artisanship such as leather design and wood carving. Most of the schools have one teacher for all the grades. There are two main grades, distinguished in Hausa as the "Makarantar allo", "tablet school" and "Makarantar ilim," "law school." In the first, the children are taught to recite the Qur'ān without understanding. The second embraces all other further studies, for example the rituals of the performance of the various prayers, occasional offices like conducting funeral services; exposition of the Qur'ān texts and sometimes the study of a law book will be included in the scheme. The popular law book highly esteemed in Northern Nigeria is the 'Mukhtasar' of Khalīl. This sums up the Mālikī Madhhab. (code). (25)

(c) Character Appraisal.

Alfa Summomu Lanase was highly honoured both among the Hausas and the Yorubas. In the North he was very much loved by the natives; he spoke their language with such perfection and was so well integrated into the society that for a long time there was fear that he might never return to his home. However, through the influence of one Alagba Ajala he was persuaded to return home. In 1935 he was back in Ibadan.

No sooner had he entered the city than people began to gather around him for religious studies. They also went to him to settle

their various religious and domestic disputes. Muritala Lanase described his father in these impressive words:

"His behaviour was good to his wives and he gave adequate instructions and chastisement to his children. He always gave the right judgments, and he always paid his debts."

Alfa Lanase was the father of eight children, two females and six males; all of them are now Muslims. It was not long before his influence began to spread in the city mosque; parents began to send their children to his Arabic school. It was through these early activities that he became aware of the trends among his people to see Islam with the spectacles of paganism, while on the other hand, they were embarrassed by the liberal movement which had begun to spread its influence in West Africa since the beginning of 20th century.

Alfa Lanase, after an active life from 1935-1954 in Ibadan and other surrounding towns and villages died on the 14th April, 1954. The memory of his life is still fresh and cherished by both his admirers and his opponents. He won many converts who went forth to establish the movement beyond Ibadan. Today, many of his pupils are highly respected. Now, we shall turn our attention to the Lanase Movement. The next two chapters will be devoted to the factors which inspired Lanase to start his movement, the problems which he faced and the content of his teachings. It would be seen that

although the Lanases gained popularity amongst his followers who gradually increased, the original intension to severe Islam from foreign elements was not attained. This not withstanding, the movement continues after the death of the founder spreading from one community to the other.

## F O O T - N O T E S

CHAPTER TWO.

- I. Johnson, op.cit., pp. 305-307.

"Oluyole kept a large harem, for when he had become great his wives used to seize any good-looking maiden found in the street or market place and bring her to him to become his wife. Hundreds of these he did not even know by sight, his palace being an enormous compound. On his death the relatives and betrothed husbands of these maidens boldly entered his palace and took them away." The above description should illustrate the kind of society into which Islam penetrated, the attitude of women at that time to polygamy, and especially the difficult which any reformer or revivalist must face before changing the society.

2. Parrinder, op.cit., p.201.
3. By "Orthodox" is meant the followers of the Maliki School of Law.
4. Humphrey J.Fisher, Ahmadīyyah,

Oxford University Press, 1963, p.23.

Tijāniyah Movement became a Missionary Movement through the efforts of 'Ali 'Ibn 'Isa (d. 1844), a movement named after the Imām Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Tijāni. (1737-1815). The headquarters was at Temasin (Temehalt). The initiation of Umar Tal (1794/7-1864) was the reason for fast spread in West Africa.

Vide: Trimingham, Islam in West Africa,

Clarendon, Press, 1959, p.97-101.

5. Trimingham, op.cit., p.163.
6. Fisher, op.cit., p.23.
7. Hughes describes "Khalifah" as "a successor; a lieutenant; a vicegerent, or deputy." The word is used in the Qur'ān for Adam, as the vicegerent of the Almighty on earth. (Sūrah.ii.28). It is used in the same sense for David. (Sūrah.XXXVIII.25). In Islam the title "is given to the successor of Muhammad, who is vested with absolute authority in all matters of state, both civil and religious, as long as he rules in conformity with the law of the Qur'ān and Hadīth." Vide: Hughes' Dictionary of Islam, W.H. Allen & Co, 13, Waterloo Place, S.W., London, 1885, p. 263f.
8. Fisher, op.cit., p.98.
9. Ibid, p. 50.
10. Ibid, p. 50.
11. Ibid., P. 99.
12. Ibid., p. 51.
13. Ibid., p. 99.
14. Ibid., p.39.
15. Ibid., p. 40.
16. Ibid., p.99.
17. Ibid., p. 35f.
18. Ibid., p. 37f.

19. Ibid., p. 99.
20. E.G.Parrinder, Religion in an African City,  
Oxford University Press, 1953, p.
21. Muritala Lanase, "The Life of Summonu Lanase, "  
Ibadan, 1969. (essay).
22. E. A. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914,  
Longmans, Green and Co.Ltd, London, W.I. 1966, p.6.
23. Bayeni (Ba ayanni) is sometimes described as a god like Shango.  
Rev. John Crossley, a Methodist missionary in Yoruba land finds  
that this may be "a crown made<sup>of</sup>/cowries" worn by worshippers of  
Shango, especially in visiting a lightning-struck house or person.  
In that case the Lanase's family may belong to the Shango cult.
24. Muritala, op.cit., (Essay) p. If.
25. Trimingham, op.cit., p. 80f.

## CHAPTER THREE.

### I. Establishment through Miracles.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, Alfa Lanaṣe received both his Islamic education and religious inspiration from Northern Nigeria. He lived in Zaria at a time when reform measures were spreading speedily as result of the Jihād of 'Uthmān dan Fodio. (1754-1817). Even though Alfa Lanaṣe did not arrive in Northern Nigeria during the first waves of these reforms there was wide circulation of Dan Fodio's activities. For example, Muḥammad al-Tūnisī, who was said to be impressed by the news of the success of the Jihād wrote of its motives (1810):

"The Falāta accused all other Sudanese of impiety and heterodoxy, maintaining that only by force of arms can they be brought to repentance.... They claimed that they have undermined the foundations of religion, and perverted the rules of Islam by proclaiming illegal and criminal innovations to be legitimate, by shameful customs such as adultery and incest, the use of fermented drinks, passion for amusement, song and dances, neglect of daily obligatory prayers, and refusal to offer tithes for the poor and unfortunate.... These ideas fermented for years in the spirit of the Fulāni and electrified their imagination, until suddenly there arose amongst them one renowned for his

piety and godliness; this was the faqih Zaki (i.e. Dan Fodio), who posed as a reformer and proclaimed the holy war." (I)

Just as Uthmān dan Fodio believed that God had commissioned him both as the mujaddid and the Qutb of his age, so Alfa Lanase, now well-informed about the puritanical movements of the north, felt convinced that God was preparing him for the reforms amongst the Yorubas. It will be seen that Lanase's activities were very similar to the Uthmanic aims, as listed in Muhammad al-Tunusi's description. Lanase believed and claimed that God was on his side to establish true Islam amongst the Yorubas. He claimed further that, as in the case of the Northern Movement Allāh would give him victory over his enemies, and the truth of his intentions would be vindicated. But rather than taking up a Jihād, Alfa Lanase faced his opponents expecting God's intervention. He also faced them in conferences and consultations with what he believed to be the true and pure Islam. Now let us look at the situation in Ibadan when Lanase returned.

Alfa Salami Babalola, a contemporary of Lanase described Islam in Ibadan in 1935 as changed from the despised status which Lanase knew before leaving for the North into a powerful force with tremendous influence and a large following. The community had several Imāms. (see Appendix D) The thirteenth Imam when Lanase returned was Mulli Ayinde Basunnu. Mulli was the son of the second Imām Ismail



Basunna who was a native of Dindi, in Northern Nigeria. He was the Chief Imām during the periods of Lanase's activities. Babaloḡa remarked that the Muslims then accepted many unnecessary compromises, and in his own words: "Sunnah ni won ma npada sodi," i.e. they interpret the sunnah wrongly, (2) evidently to allow for compromises. He further observed that often they ended up with arguments and quarrels which had to be resolved by the King's verdicts.

However, Babaloḡa observed that things were better established; Islām was more attractive. The situation was quite unlike that of several years previously before Lanase left home. At that time the Muslims were regarded as extremely poor, begged for gifts and caused their parents to be upset. By this time the Muslims were very powerful, well-known, and were already influencing many events in the city. Many families were joining the Muslim group and the mosques were packed full by devoted worshippers- this was especially true during the Friday prayers in the central mosque. Many pagan children began to reject the religion of their fathers to join Islam.

Babalḡa further recalled the tremendous powers of the Muslim leaders in the city. In his own words: "no one was able to prevent them from doing anything they so desired because the Olubadan, the King, was behind them", He noted however, that in the exercise of these prerogatives, they tended to be power-drunk rather than desiring to help those who had needs. In fact, people feared that they could

employ magic to kill and harm. Such magic and charm were often presented as by-products of Islam. Even the Olubadan and his men accorded them respect because of fear that they might not otherwise live long.(3) Parrinder has noted that the use of magic had been a means of attracting pagans to Islam. He observed that "some of these practices were adapted directly from paganism; others came from the North and Sudan. Amulets and Qur'ānic texts were used for protection, or for cursing an enemy. Schoolboys used them for passing examinations, or for injuring masters who they disliked. Women employed them to attract lovers, or cure sterility, or combat infant mortality". To what extent these practices have been effective, Parrinder does not say. But the significance of his observations will be reflected as we study the nature of the Lanase movement.(4)

It should however be noted that the use of magic is not limited to Yoruba Islam. It is a phenomenon connected with the spread of Islam throughout West Africa, only re-enforcing the strength of the traditional culture of the African peoples. From Trimingham's observations we see that the use of magic was so prevalent the clerics, instead of totally rejecting its use, redirected it to the way of Allāh. He remarked:

"The cleric therefore, performs his magical functions within the domain of Islam, and his attitude to magic is based out on the method employed (i.e. the purpose determines the rightness a particular magic). He (the cleric) has to decide whether

a practice is lawful (Ḥalāl) or unlawful (Ḥarām)..If a lawful method is employed to cause harm to an enemy the law is not transgressed, but it is, if someone is healed by invoking "jinn". In their endeavour to dissuade people from sacrificing to the spirits, clergy offer protection through Islamic method as opposed to placating them, though useless conditions such as urban life warranted it, it is almost impossible for them to avoid prescribing such offerings".(5)

The legitimate questions to ask are: With this kind of situation in Ibadan, how could Alfa Lanase proceed to call for changes? Where lies his power? Would it not be a great threat to his life even to make any attempt to call for a revival of true Islām that has nothing in common with the traditional pagan religion? One thing he was sure of; he believed himself to be delegated by God to purge Islam amongst the Yorubas, especially, in Ibadan. He started out preaching against various pagan practices already working their ways into the Islamic rituals and practices. He called for conferences of leaders to discuss these matters. (6) It was not too long before opposition mounted against him. He was charged with ulterior motives of selfishness and search for popularity. The immediate reaction of his adversaries was to abuse him and ridicule him in public, trying to reduce his influence. But the story was not that simple. He started winning followers, and the number of converts to his movement gradually increased. While his opponents sought for ways to stop

him, he in turn waited for miracles. His family and relatives were afraid his enemies would harm him in order to get rid of him. Every day, he and his followers prayed for miracles so that their course would be vindicated. His enemies were divided into three groups.

(a) The Pagan Threats.

The pagan people saw Islām as a new coat on the traditional religion. They had a meeting ground with the Muslims, who despite their new faith gave money, food and other support to aid various religious festivals with which their ancestors were connected. Lanase's call for pure Islām threatened these contributions. For example, the Muslim were said to be participating freely in the "Egúngún" festivals, a sight which was abominable to Lanase and his concept of pure Islām. The significance of this festival, is vividly illustrated by the following:

"The Egúngún worship has become a national religious institution and its anniversaries are celebrated with grand festivities. The mysteries connected with it are held sacred and inviolable, and although little boys of five or six years of age are often initiated, yet no woman may know these mysteries on pain of death..... An Egúngún (the Agan) is the executor of women accused of witchcraft and of those who are proved guilty of such crimes as murder, incendiarism and etc." "It is considered

a crime to touch an Egúngún dress in public, and disrespectful to pass him by with the head uncovered. Even a boy Egúngún is considered worthy of being honoured by his (supposed) surviving parents, he salutes them as elderly people would do, and promises the bestowal of gifts on the family."

"This anniversary is the time of reunion among absent friends and relatives. The town then puts on its best appearance, the streets are everywhere cleaned and put under repairs, and the citizens appear abroad in their holiday dress". (7)

It is obvious from the above descriptions why the Lanase movement was considered not only an attempt to destroy the social implications of the Egúngún worship, but capable of arousing the wrath of the deceased whom the Egúngún represents, thus bringing on the community all kinds of repercussions, the fear of which led to these compromises in the first place. The pagans rose to action. They threatened the lives of all the Muslims who listen to Lanase. While the threats mounted, Lanase and his followers waited for miracles.

Majid, one of Lanase's students, recalled that the first thing the pagans did was to place in the Friday mosque "Edun" and Sere - two objects which indicate the coming wrath of "Shango", the god of thunder.(8) This threat should not be regarded as mild. Reference has been made to the history of "Shango" in the first chapter. Such a threat, of course, implied not only the imminent destruction of the mosque, but also that sudden death might be inflicted on the

Lanase family and his followers. The Yorubas fear the wrath of Shango so much "that when it lightnings or thunders, people, especially those who are not sure of their characters, tremble. They salute "the wrath" as Ogiri-giri Ekun a--s--eké. "The terrible, rumbling one, the Leopard that devours the liar."(9) Professor Idowu quoted another more frightening description of Shango's activities,

"O ni 'le ina! A da mo ni'ji! Ina Osan! Ina gun ori 'le fe 'je! Ebiti re firi se gbi!" (meaning: "The Lord of the house of fire. One who causes sudden dread! Noonday fire! Fire that mounts the roof and becomes glaring flame! The murderous weight that strikes the ground with a resounding force!").(10)

On Friday when people gathered to prayer, panic speedily spread. They wanted to evacuate the mosque. Lanase rose in their midst to give advice. He advised his followers to go on with the prayers in the mosque ignoring the objects. While others left, Lanase claimed that nothing would happen to those who stayed. Days and weeks passed by, nothing happened to any one. It was not long afterwards that the objects disappeared. This was for Lanase, not merely a victory, but an inspiration for the furtherance of his cause. Lanase's explanation was that true Islām would withstand the threats of enemies. Prayers of thanksgiving were said to be help frequently in the home of Lanase and many inquirers joined them.

Majid gave another instance of the pagan opposition during Lanase's first 'Id festival. This was a happy occasion for all the Muslims in Ibadan. On their way back from the prayer ground, pagan "turgs" threatened to beat the Muslims as they often had done in the past year. On this occasion, the number of "turgs" was highly increased, and there was real danger as they flooded the path to the 'Id field exchanging insults. The exchange of words dragged on until the Muslims arrived near to the house of Bale Olugbode. Then Alfa Lanase decided to take action. He collected seven stones, perhaps a reminiscence of the seven stones connected with the pilgrimage. He prayed over the stones and started hurling them at the opponents. Majid says that this action was very effective. The pagans became panic-stricken, and the Muslims chased after them, beating and kicking them as they fled. The opponents in turn shouted as they fled: "These Gambaris will not be touchable". (II) (Gambari is the Yoruba description of a northerner). This victory further expanded the influence of Lanase, but equally exposed him to other efforts to stop his influence.

(b) The "Ogboni" Aristocracy.

The Lanase Movement affected another traditional society which had influence among the Muslims as well as other faiths, namely, the "Ogboni Fraternity." Many adherents of various religious groups are

known to be members of ~~this~~ Fraternity. The fraternity is often described as a secret society since much of its activities were never published. Lanase and his followers rejected any Muslim belonging to the Fraternity as an unbeliever. (Kāfir) Again, like the pagans, their reaction was serious. An "Edan Ogboni" (an emblem of the Fraternity) was placed in the home of Alfa Bello, one of the leading comrades, now a backslider. Majid remarked "that any home to which an "Edan" is carried, they (the Ogboni rulers) will scatter it." The news soon reached Alfa Lanase. He went in, ignoring appeals not to go; picked up the emblem and threw it out, breaking it into fragments. The observers knew no one ever to go free having done that.

To explain the importance of this event, let us examine the role of the Ogboni authorities. As Ojo has observed, the background of the Ogboni cult was a notion of Earth as a Spirit, a phenomenon widely spread through out the Yoruba country. In the cult, sacrifices are frequently offered to the land because it yields food, trees and cash crops; in fact it is the giver of most needs for human sustenance. In gratitude for this generosity, the first share of everything produced, directly and indirectly goes back to the land in the form of libations. The task of performing this ritual belongs to the Ogboni Fraternity. This role of intermediary between land spirit and the community gives them much honour.

In many towns, as Ojo noted, especially in the South Western part of the Yoruba country, people were ruled by the Ogboni councils



instead of the chiefs in council. (I2) Here is his description:

"Member of the Ogboni were invariably popular, influential, well-to-do, and in most cases elderly citizens who used the advantage of their wealth and the leisure accompanying it to set themselves up into an intelligence corps, which organised and directed the performance of the legislative, executive and judicial activities of the state. Life-long "ministers of state" were selected from their midst". (I3)

In recent years the Ogboni Fraternity has undergone a reform. Its name was changed to "Reformed Ogboni Fraternity". This change was intended to increase the influence of the cult and to enable all religious faiths to join. The spread was amazing, enlisting Yorubas, Ibos, Hausas, Efiks and Ibibios. By 1951, the Reformed Ogboni Fraternity conclaves numbered 124, including one in London. The Fraternity claims that "it knows no religious distinctions: Christians, Muslims and heathen can come into it and find fellowship. It also claims to make people better fulfillers of God's will than either Christianity or Islam could ever made them because within its fold the initiated would find enlightenment and help in every difficulty which they might bring upon themselves or which the world might impose upon them". (I4)

It was this new powerful<sup>r</sup> fraternity that was at work during the time of the Lanase movement. Though it is not possible to know which group dropped the emblem in Alfa Bello and his comrades into question.

But nobody attended any calls. For weeks relatives and friends expected some kind of victimisation, but nothing happened. This was for Lanase and his followers another miracle further to vindicate their cause. By this time many relatives of Lanase had joined the movement. Pagan converts and wavering Muslims rallied round Lanase. His influence began to threaten the security of other Muslim leaders. They too rose against him.

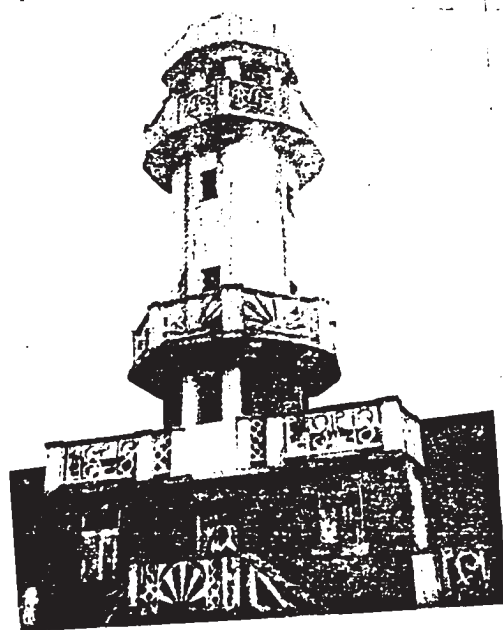
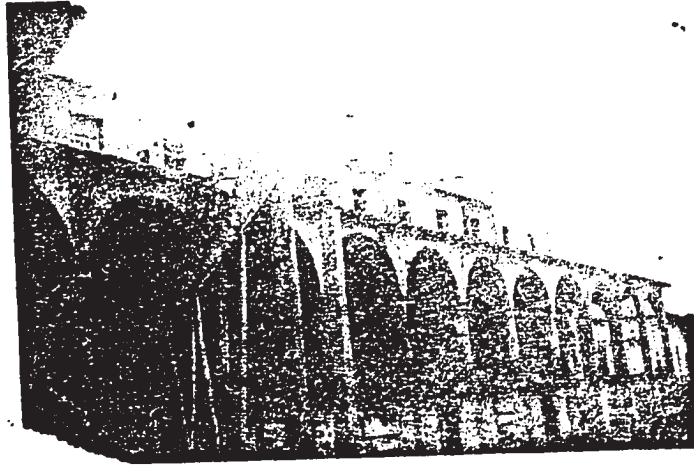
(c) The Muslim Opposition.

Lanase and his followers contended that ignorance had drawn the Muslims into various compromises both in pagan worship and in secret societies. Muritala, one of Lanase's sons, and one of the most active present leaders told of an interesting reaction of the Muslim Leaders. On this occasion, during the imamate of Mulli Ayinde Basunnu, the 13th Imām of Ibadan, the Muslim leaders invited Lanase and his group to the central Friday mosque at Oja Oba (the king's market) to explain the bases of his criticisms and the kind of changes that he expected from the Muslims. His arguments were accepted after a couple of hours in which the new leader turned over various pages of the Qur'ān and Hadīths (traditions). But the angry-displaced leaders only waited for a better chance to express their anger. (15)

The occasion finally came. According to Muritala, the incident took place in the Friday mosque. One of the leaders entered the

mosque to find that Lanase sat in his selected place. He became so angry that he ordered Lanase to evacuate the spot immediately; otherwise the result might be regrettable. Lanase began to explain that such an action is inconsistent with pure Islam. No one has a special space in the mosque; both freed and bond have equal rights in the mosque. But he seemed to find no support. With great reluctance he left the mosque and returned home. Throughout the year, from that incident, he remained at home teaching his students. The reason given is that he disliked to cause misunderstanding in the house of worship. However, during this year of absence from the central mosque he kept hoping that God would prove the truth of his course. (I6)

The last incident which finally established his movement arose when Lanase decided to establish a Friday prayer mosque in his compound. After the first prayer of dedication, the news spread very fast, and opposition rose against having two Friday mosques in the same city. The following day Lanase was summoned to the "Onireke Court." The case dragged on for days. But Lanase supported his claims and action in a way that astonished the magistrate. Finally he was discharged and acquitted on the grounds that there is more than one mosque in other Muslim cities, just as there are more than one Churches in Ibadan. Lasisi Adio the son of Lanase's brother, an eye witness, remarked that this was a serious incident and the victory resulted in



The Lanaşę Mosque in  
Ibaden.

the the successes made by the movement afterwards (see the Lanase mosque on plate)(17)

Alfa Lanase himself died on Wednesday 14th April, 1954. His works and teachings were left in the hands of his children, devoted students and relatives. It is from these that we are able to knit together the substance of the teachings of this fascinating movement. It will be seen from his teachings that even though much of it is not unique, they posed a conflict against various popular practices. One sees Lanase standing firmly to rescue himself and the Muslim community from both the attractions of pagan traditional religion and Islamic liberal influences already spreading among the Ibadan Muslims. What is described as his teachings are therefore descriptions of the bases of his claims and struggles. Nevertheless these were to form the foundations for the later development of the movement. Now let us look into some of these.

## F O O T - N O T E S.

CHAPTER THREE.

- I. J.S. Trimingham, A History of Islam in West Africa, Oxford University Press, London, 1962, pp.195-198.
2. The word "Sunnah" refers to the traditions from the Prophet Moḥammad - a record of some of the practices of the Prophet. The word itself literally means "a path" or "a way," "a manner of life". All traditional law is divided into (i) Sunnatu-l-fi'il (what Muḥammad did), (ii) Sunnatu-l-Qawl (what Muḥammad enjoined), (iii) Sunnatu-l-Taqrir (that which was done or said in the presence of Muḥammad, and which was not forbidden by him. Those things which the Prophet emphatically enjoined on his followers are called Sunnatu-l-huda (Sunna of Guidance); and those which are not emphatically enjoined are called al-Sunnatu-l-za'dah (Superogatory Sunna).  
Vide: T.P. Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, p. 622.
3. Salami Babalola, Islam in Ibadan, Ibadan, 1969. (Babalola is not only a contemporary of Lanase, he was also present during the Muslim oppositions. He accused Lanase of trying to obtain his daily bread at the expense of other Muslims before him. He finally became an admirer of the

Lanase movement, though not a follower.

4. Parrinder, op.cit., p.80f.

5. Trimingham, op.cit., p.II2f.

6. Muritala Lanase, The Life of Sunmonu Lanase,

Ibadan, 1969. (essay). Muritala explains that Lanase had many invitations that he had to turn down a lot of them. The Muslims at Oke-Ofa Atipe under their leader Alfa Nasiru pleaded with Lanase to preach for them. After a year, he accepted their call. He served them for fourteen years. Most of his encounter with Muslims in Ibadan fell within these years.

7. Johnson, op.cit., p.30.

Professor Bolaji Idowu discusses the relationship between the egunguns and the spirits of the deceased.

Vide: Bolaji, op.cit., pp.I92-I94.

8. Majid was the most beloved student of Lanase. The student-teacher relationship was so deep that Lanase happily bore the wedding expenses of Majid. "Edun" is the thunder-bolt. It is axe-shaped stone which Shango worshippers claim to be Shango's weapon for knocking down his victims. The "sere" is a Carrot-shaped small gourd used for invoking shango's anger.

9. Idowu, op.cit., p.93.

10. Ibid., p.95.

11. The reference to 'Gambari' is interesting. The sixth Imam of

Ibadan was Sulayman Gambari, a native of Kano, a city in Northern Nigeria. The Hausas from the North are called 'Gambari' by the Yorubas of the South. What the Pagans were saying was that the Muslims have become Hausas by accepting Islam. Similar expressions can be heard frequently in areas where Christianity just entered through a white Missionary. For example, the Hausas will use 'Dan Bature', son of white man, to describe a new convert to the Christian faith.

- I2.. Ojo, op.cit., p.212.
- I3. Ibid., p.120.
- I4. Idowu, op.cit., p.212.
- I5. Muritala, op.cit., (Essay).
- I6. Ibid., (Essay).
- I7. Ibid., (Essay).



## C H A P T E R   F O U R .

### 2. Establishment through Teaching.

In various respects as seen earlier, the Lanase became convinced that God was on their side. They ~~were~~ convinced that their movement cannot be destroyed. However, they felt they needed to spell out the content of their beliefs before other Muslims in order that their followers and their opponents might fully grasp the true nature of Islam. These teachings represent their struggle to redeem Islam from both Pagan and Liberal influences.

#### (I) The Role of the Family.

##### (a) The Purdah (veiling).

The Muslims of the time of Lanase may have been influenced by both Christian and Pagan beliefs that women do not need to cover their faces when they go out, or go to the markets. It is likely that they were influenced also by the fast spreading Ahmadixyah liberalism. Alfa Lanase was vehemently opposed to this kind of what he regarded as unwholesome indulgence. All good Muslims should advise their wives to wear the Purdah whenever they need to go out in the evenings. This practice is very popular among the Hausa Muslims of the Northern State of Nigeria. Since Lanase himself became a Muslim there, his

position is not strange. But beyond his nothern experience is his own understanding of the Qur'ān. He quoted Sūrat al-Nūr- Chapter of the Light (24:29/30-31).

"Say to the Believers that they cast down their eyes and guard their private parts; that is more innocent for them; Allah is aware of what they work."

"Say to the believing women that they cast down their eyes and guard their private parts and show not their ornaments, except so far as they (normally) appear, and let them throw their scarves over their husbands or their fathers or the fathers of their husbands, or to their son, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or the sons of their brothers, or the sons of their sisters, or their women folks, or those in their possession, or male followers who have no desire, or infants who have not got to know about the privy part of women; and let them not beat their feet so as to let the ornament which they conceal be known; turn penitently to Allah as a body, O ye believers, mayhap ye will prosper." (I)

What is the meaning of the phrase "except so far as they appear?" (Illā mā zahara minhā). The Lanase group object to the liberal interpretation of the above phrase to mean that Muslims women are only to cover their necks down to their breasts, excluding the head and the face. The Qur'ānic requirement, they explained, is that the

Muslim women should cover themselves from their hands to their breast only allowing enough open space for the eyes. To avoid any complications in doing this, they hold that women should cover themselves completely using transparent cloth or a face-net to allow clear sight.(2) This action is based on sūrah al-Ahzāb Chapter of the Confederates: (53:59).

"O Prophet, say to thy wives, and thy daughters, and the women-folks of the believers, that they let down some (part) of their mantles over them; that is more suitable for their being recognised and insulted; Allah is forgiving, Compassionate."

Another area in which the Lanase group sought reform is in supervising the movements of Muslim women. The city of Ibadan is a great center of commerce. Villagers come every day to the city to sell their farm products. Women meet and make friends; they sell and buy the needs of the family. It is not easy to restrict the movement of women. The city, as shown in the first chapter, plays host to many festivals every year. Thus it is always a busy city. No doubt when Lanase and his group began to claim that such free unrestricted movement of Muslim women is un-Islamic, the objection of the opponents was serious. Alfa Muritala Lanase, his son, recalls the repeated visits to the home of the chief Imām, Mulli at Opo Iyemoja to defend their position. The claim is very firm:

"It is compulsory for all our members to accept the Harem.

Also our daughters should preserve their virginity. These are compulsory likewise for all the Muslim."(3)

Alfa Bɔlaji Akewukewe represents liberal thinking, a type of thinking with Ahmadiyyah orientation. In several ways, Bɔlaji tries to show that the Muslim women are not expected either by the Qur'ān or the Hadīth to stay in-doors. Of course, he has no objection to a mutual agreement between husband and wife which keeps the wife indoors. Speaking of the case referring to the wives of the Prophet, he said that the word "WAQURNA" means "respect for oneself". So that WARQURNA FI BUYŪTI KUNNA should be translated "respect yourself in your houses." He refers also to another misleading translation of the word "TABAJNA". This should not be "they should not go out", rather, he says, it means "they should not show their beauty to man." He further made reference to Sūrah 33 ayat 59 which suggests how women ought to dress outside to avert play acting and assaults. Let me quote Bɔlaji's conclusion:

"An important factor that can limit the going out of a woman is that she has to obtain permission (to go out) from her husband; a woman has no right to go anywhere that is displeasing to her husband. In this way, the time spent at home will be greater than that spent outside, but he should not hindered her from going out completely; if the husband forces her to stay indoors, he should not lie against God by saying that God forbids her going out, rather he should confess that it is his imposed will not to allow her out. If the woman is satisfied, both of them will proceed to keep the contract; if she disagrees

she will look for a way to put aside the heavy burden with an understanding that it is all against the disapproving will of her husband." (4)

The Lanase group considers this type of liberalism as a defilement of the sanctity of womanhood. They accept Sūrah 33 ayat 33 as a clear injunction; and it should be taken literally: "Remain in your houses, and do not swagger about in the manner of the former paganism; observe the Prayer and pay the Zakat; and obey Allah and his Messenger." When Muritala, (Lanase's son) was asked whether this verse means that the wives of the Prophet should not even trade, travel or to fetch water, etc. He answered 'yes'. He explained that if they went out more eyes would see them than those which the Qur'ān stipulates could see them - especially if they were to be trading. When asked whether it is proper for women to participate in the Pilgrimage; he answered, 'yes' because the Pilgrimage is good for both male and female. In fact, there were some of their women who had taken part in the Pilgrimage. (5) It has been suggested that the use of the Purdah and the Harem are two of the main distinctive features of the Lanase Movement. They are so marked that when a person speaks of the validity of the Purdah and the Harem he is referred to as 'Omo Lanase'; (son of Lanase) a kind of amusing remark!

The Lanase group adds a fascinating note to their reform in regard to the question of the relationship of the husband to his wife. In the Yoruba traditional religions, the woman is considered very weak,

always under the care of the husband. In many cases she is only to implement the orders of the husband. She looks towards the husband for all "good" and "shelter" as if there were nothing she could contribute to the progress of the husband. Professor Bôlaji Idowu remarks: "It is the responsibility of the Yoruba man to give protection to the weaker sex. When men and women walk together, the woman should be allowed to go in front and the man behind her so as to afford her protection and defence should there be a sudden danger. In any crisis, women should be sheltered, afforded the first chance of escape, if need be. It is mean and immoral to outrage a defenceless woman." (6)

The Lanase group holds that while they accept this traditional position of women, there should be a colouring of reciprocity in the relationship. This is achieved however, not by working on the farm as the traditional setting expects. When women work on the farm the Lanase claim, it is a sign that such women are bound in the sufferings of the traditional past. When they accept the religion of Islam, they are freed from hardship; they become free; but then they have to stay at home as haremites. (7) It should be noted that during the forties and early fifties, most Muslim women worked with their husbands on the farms. No doubt, confinement of the women at home while men work on the farm would be considered by other Muslims (the opponents of the Lanase) a humiliation to the men. The Lanase group

claim that reciprocity is possible even in the home. They refer to the Qur'ān 2:228, with the phrase; "If they wish to set things right, and in reputable dealing they have the same right as is exercised over them...." Even though the setting is in regard to the problem of divorce and remarriage, the principle is mutual reciprocity. Alfa Muritala Lanase explains: "As it is right for the husband to treat his wife well, so the wife should treat her husband well, doing good, one's not greater than the other's." (8)

(b) Marriage Ceremony.

Although the Lanase accept the traditional setting of Marriage contract by the parents, they advocate the elimination of certain practices which came to be included in the Muslim marriage system. One of these old practices is that "when a bride was followed to the bridegroom's house, at a crossroad (orita-meta), they will stop; there they will perform a special ritual.(9) A big bowl will be provided filled with water. In it will be put Kola nuts (obi) and other articles. (10) These are meant to ward-off the Devil and bring prosperity to the new family. Then the water, after various prayers have been offered, is poured on the feet of the bride. The Lanase group object to this practice. However, this practice is attractive even today, since it is believed that it helps to eliminate the initial fears connected with a new wedding, fears resulting from the

threats of old suitors, clannish enmities and the diabolical activities of evil men.

The Lanase also stood against another practice. In the traditional wedding, the bride is given a special bath. It is not clear whether this was done to purify her for her new home, or simply to initiate her into the marriage community. She will wear around her waist colourful beads; she will stand on a special spot in the compound provided for the ritual. The latest married woman of the extended family will perform the ritual. The author himself, when he was a small boy, watched such occasions with his mother. He recalls that during the process, the bride felt reluctant to undress before the women surrounding her. The implication seems to be that the women are witnesses to her privilege to act freely toward her husband, thus making her a recognised member of the marriage community. At other times the male members are allowed to witness the occasion. As the water is poured on her, each time, the audience will shout 'Iyawo ye, Iyawo ye! (The bride is sound and healthy). The author witnessed another wedding with a Muslim influence. After the washing, relatives of the husband (the husband is expected to be absent when his wife is brought to him) were singing the following chorus:

"E ba wa mu 'yawo wa, Annabi l'ai be yin o".

"Give us our wife, we beg you by the Prophet."

(Wedding is a family concern). After all this, the bride was given beautiful dresses to wear, usually from the first wife where the occasion is a second marriage; otherwise she wears the dresses of



the mother-in-law. After the wife is taken to her room, the ritualists will sing the 'good-bye' song and depart to their different localities. The objection of the Lanase group is based on the fact that such a practice defiles the sanctity of marriage itself. It also ignores the Qur'ānic injunction that married women are not to expose themselves in any circumstance, except to specific people.

Perhaps more serious is the Lanase's objection to any festival which include dancing and drinking of wine. At their weddings they will have plenty, in terms of food, to share with their friends, but it is against Islam to drink wine and dance.(II) This view is quite radical when one remembers that through these two media every social ceremony is expressed among the Yorubas. An occasion where drink and dance are eliminated is considered a failure by many families, especially those who are of pagan orientation. The gods and the goddesses are appeased by pouring the libation of drinks, wine, and through dancing. It is however, easy to explain the Lanase rejection of dancing. Believing as they do that Muslim women ought not to exhibit their beauties publicly (the ceremonies include the display of ornaments, costumes and movements) the prohibition of dancing is perfectly logical.

Let us look at their reason for refusing wine. They believe that God disapproves the drinking of wine; it will dissuade believers from the path of Allāh. They explain that when a person becomes a

drunkard, he can not think, nor can he put right the process of his life. He easily falls prey to immoral acts which may even involve his kinsmen, say his daughter. However, paradoxically, Muritala explains that there are some values in drinking wine. He says that "drinking wine drives away evil thoughts, drives away unhappiness, heals the sick and makes a person feel really healthy. In the past the Muslims in Ibadan used to drink, and when they become drunk, they would like to participate with the pagans in their worship of the Idols". "God, the King, has given the law that we should not drink wine." (I2) The reference to this assertion is in the Sūrah al-Mā-ida (5:93): "Satan simply wishes to cause enmity and hatred to fall out amongst you in the matter of wine and maisir (gambling) and to turn you away from the remembrance of Allah and from the Prayer; so are ye going to refrain? Obey Allah and His Messenger and beware; but if ye turn away, know that our Messenger is only responsible for clear proclamation."

When asked how drunkards would be punished in heaven (Judgment Day), Alfa Muritala Lanase explains that the punishment commences from the present life. The good Muslim should disown such a person and not regard him as a Muslim in any sense. (This is very like the Khawārij position). Of course, the punishment in heaven is greater. A drunkard will not be permitted to enter into Paradise; as soon as he gets to heaven he will be cast in to Hell. Muritala explains that

this will deprive the drunkard of taking part in the 'drinkings' allowed to the children of Paradise.(13)

A study of the historical development of the prohibition of "wine" (Khamr) in Islam will help us to understand fully Lanase's position. "In the days of Muhammad, the Prophet, the people of Mecca and Medina used to indulge in drinking wine as often an occasion offered itself, so that drunkenness often became a cause of scandal and of indulgence in a second vice, namely, gambling, which together with wine, incurred Muhammad's condemnation." The prohibition was however gradual. In Qur'an, Sūrah 16:69 wine was praised at first. Muhammad's attitudes changed because of the consequences of wine, (Q.S. II 216) but this was not a final prohibition since some people were said to go to prayers after drinking wine. However, the revelation which put an end to drinking came very soon. Sūrah V.91/92 made an end to drinking: "Satan seeketh only to cast among you enmity and hatred by means of strong drink and games of chance and to turn you from remembrance of Allāh and from (His) worship. Will ye then have done".

Afterwards, several utterances in the Hadīth (Tradition) rejected wine. All madhāhib (school<sup>s</sup>/of law) including that of the Shī'ah have regarded wine as Harām (forbidden), and the wine-trade is not allowed. Bukhārī and Imām Muslim in their collections recorded: "He who drinks wine in this world without repenting it, shall not drink it in the

other world." Muritala Lanase quoted this saying as support of his claim. However, an important question was raised. What is wine?.

Bukhārī recorded an incident in which 'Umar (the second caliph) is represented delivering a Khutbah (Sermon) which was meant to settle the question of what wine is. According to his son, 'Abd Allāh, 'Umar said, "wine has been prohibited by the Qur'ān; it comes from five kinds of fruits: from grapes, from dates, from honey, from wheat and from barley; wine is what obscures the intellect." Spirits are also classed as wine by all the madhhabs except the Ḥanafīs. The Ḥanafī school will allow wine, nabīdh, when taken in moderation for medical reasons. (14) The Lanases based their argument on the Mālikī law.

#### (c) POLYGAMY.

Alfa Bɔlaji Akewu-kewe indicates that much confusion has arisen from attempts to understand the implications of Sūrah al-Nisā' IV, ayat 3: "If ye fear that ye may not act with equity in regard to orphans, marry such of the women as seem good to you, double, or treble or fourfold - but if ye fear that ye may not be fair, then one (only) or what your right hands possess; that is more likely to secure that ye be not partial....." Some hold that God did not suggest any limits. In Bɔlaji's experiences some people claim "mẹjọ" (eight) "mẹsan" (nine) "mẹwa" (ten), and may be increased to "mẹdogun" (fifteen) "mẹdogbon" (twenty five) up till "mẹtadilogorun" (ninety seven)!" The principle is to have the prefix "mẹ" in the counting. Some others add that slave girls may increase the number even higher. There is

a third group, completely liberal, who hold that Allāh approves of one wife only. This group will exclude any of their member who has more than one wife from the mosque; will not conduct naming ceremonies for the offspring of polygamous marriage ceremonies. Bōlaji's own reaction is that the Qur'ān gives no indication of how people should be punished if they have more than one wife. In his own words, "God assigns to all sins in the Qur'ān the punishment which will be allotted to the persons found in those sins, but to the sin of having more than one wife.... God does not mention the kind of punishment to be meted to the transgressors in the Qur'ān.... It is not right for anyone, because of self-will, to break the community of the Muslim by giving judgment which is beyond our assignment."(15)

It is in this context that the Lanase group provide an answer. They teach that while the Qur'ān allows the limit of four wives, it does not make it compulsory. If a man has one wife and he is satisfied to the point that he would not be tempted to commit adultery with other women, he will inherit Paradise. If a man exceeds the limit of four then he is no longer a good Muslim.

When asked whether it is possible for a man to be "equal" in treatment of four wives, Muritala Lanase explains that this is possible only with regards to "gift" and expression of good will". He admits that it is impossible to love four women equally; but

whatever the ~~graduations may~~ be, as long as no evil intention is planned against any of them God will not be displeased. (I6)

(d) DIVORCE.

The Sharī'ah, recognises three ways by which divorce is made possible. The first is by Repudiation, (ṭalāq) which means the husband has the right to end the marriage by unilateral act. However, such repudiation can be retracted either expressly or by implication. For example, a husband's kissing his wife will imply that he ~~wants~~ her back. This right stands until the expiration of the wife's "iddah". (I7) Secondly, there is a divorce by Mutual Consent. This takes the form of an agreement - known as Khal' of Mubara'ah. If the married couple agree between themselves that the wife should go, for example without paying any consideration to the husband, that is Mubara'ah, "free from each other". But where the wife buys her freedom in return for an agreed "price" and the husband consents to this, it is known as Khal' divorce. A third type of divorce is by judicial dissolution. It is most often awarded on the grounds of impotence, failure to maintain, neglect, cruelty or in cases where the husband suffers from incurable infection of contagious disease.

The Lanase group teach that the right of divorce lies with the husband only. It should be allowed when there exist<sup>s</sup> constant conflicts between husband and wife, or in another case if the wife is not interested in religion. From Sharī'ah teachings, what should happen

in a case where the husband habitually treats the wife very badly? Instead of submitting the case to a court, the Lanases suggest that such a husband should be reported to his family or relatives or even to the "middle man." (18) If he refuses to accept reconciliatory conditions, then the arbitrators have the right to bestow the wife upon another husband of her choice. If reconciliation is acceptable, the wife should let go the past for a fresh start. This solution does not fall under any of the above three categories.

The Lanases encourage the system of "iddah" when divorce becomes inevitable. The husband should abstain from his wife during the following three menstrual cycles. Part of the reason for the 'iddah' is also the necessity to determine whether or not the wife is pregnant. This abstinence again was to give the wife a sign of an imminent divorce. Of course, each month she is expected to give her husband hints of the coming of menses. During those three months, the husband should continue supporting her financially. If she is pregnant, the husband takes care of her until the child has been born and weaned. The Lanases claim that their meticulous adherence to the Islamic law concerning divorce, explains why they experience fewer divorce cases among their followers.(19)

## (II) SOCIAL CONFRONTATIONS.

Not only did the Lanase teach their peculiar doctrines in conferences, they also modified their behavior. It is through changes in their mode of life that their puritanical influences began to be felt. In some cases, like fortune telling, ~~they refused~~ ~~refused~~

to attend the annual conferences at the palace of the king; in other cases like the funeral ceremony, they introduced a fashion of their own. In both cases the result had been positive. The Lanase became attractive as a puritanical movement. Now let us look into some of these activities.

(a) FORTUNE TELLING:

According to Muritala Lanase, one of the early practices of the Muslims in Ibadan was to gather in the palace of the king, Olubadan, to read the signs of the new year, on the last night of the month of fasting. Alfa Lanase was opposed to this practice on the grounds that such is not permitted in the Qur'an. Another reason, perhaps a more serious one, is the fact that the process is always based on pagan practice. (20) The Lanase's position is that "fortune telling is forbidden by God". The fortune teller and the inquirer are unable to find out any hidden thing. No one can know what is hidden except God Almighty. God is the only one that knows all things and who can do all things without seeking any assistants." (21) This position, the Lanases support by both the Qur'an and the Hadith. They quote Surah Luqman 31:34; "With Allāh is the knowledge of the hour. He sendeth down the rain and knoweth that which is in the wombs. But no person knows what he will gain tomorrow; but no person knows in what land he will die; verily Allāh is one who knoweth and is well-aware." They also quote the Hadith which tells of a time when



a man named Hārisu, son of Umar, asked the Prophet, Mohamammed (P.B.O.H.) the following questions: When is the time of the last Judgement? I have planted my seed in my house, when is the sky going to pour down rain? My wife is pregnant, would she bring forth a male or a female? What things shall I do tomorrow? It is in answer to these questions that the above verse came to the Prophet.(22)

It is important to emphasize that this objection to fortune-telling is a very serious one in any Yoruba community. Fortune tellers are highly respected. They control the daily actions of many of their audience. To know the whys of what has happened is to know how to prevent further occurrence of that thing. In every undertaking, to consult the oracle used to be indispensable. Professor Bọlaji Idowu affirms that "the Yorubas are rather impatiently curious about the future or what the outcome of an enterprise may be; and they regard Ifa as a sure and unfailing source of comfort: their faith in it is complete". The reason which he suggests is that the Yorubas believe that Orumila as the oracle-divinity is the one who, through the priest, receives the questions and petitions of devout enquirers and suppliants and vouchsafes the revelations which the priest declares. "It seems absolutely impossible," he declares, "for a Yoruba whose soul is still fettered to his traditional belief to attempt anything at all without consulting the oracle by Ifa." He then proceeds to

enumerate some of the instances: "before a betrothal, before a marriage, before a child is born, at the birth of a child, at successive stages in man's life, before a king is appointed to a civic office, before a journey is made, in times of crisis, in times of sickness, at any, and all times, Ifa is consulted for guidance and assurance. (23)

It should be mentioned that the Lanases do not deny the abilities of the fortune tellers to foretell the future, but they object to any attempt on the part of any man to probe into the future. (24)

Such activity should be exclusively limited to God; nor do the Lanases deny the traditional values of such practice. Whatever those values may be, the Lanase group will make no compromise; it is un-Islamic and none of their members should listen to the voice of the future".

For them, the main purpose of the Qur'ān is to guide the believer with regards to worship and his relationship to others. Some of these duties are again summed up as follows: "We are to use the Qur'ān in the ways God commissioned His Messenger; that we should perform the Salāt (Ki'irun), that we should fast, that we should keep our women indoors, that we do not become liars, that we should not commit adultery, that we should treat our relatives fairly, that we should pay our zakāt, that we should go on pilgrimage if we could..." (25)

Although the Lanase group are opposed to the use of any method of fortune telling, whether derived from the pagan system, or from the Qur'ān, they allow the reading of parts of the Qur'ān for the purposes of prayer in times of difficulties or crisis. They hold that there are books other than the Qur'ān which may be employed for

magical purposes, but they do not claim to have such books. They say that it requires special training to use such books properly. It is suggested, however, that where such practice is undertaken, no oracle may be consulted.

(b) **FUNERAL CEREMONY.**

The Yoruba consider the occasion of death as a time of serious distress, except when an aged man dies, then it is an occasion of real happiness. However, it is not certain what causes this distress: Is it the uncertainty of what happens after life, or some other factor? The Yorubas believe, strangely enough, that the death of an aged person is normal; the occasion should be celebrated by a long day of rejoicing, whereas the opposite is the case when a young boy or girl dies. An aged man returns home, and his children take over his place. Sometimes the aged is described as only "Kneeling backwards" (O fẹhin ti) as if to say he only withdraws, though this time finally. Professor Bọlaji's description of a traditional funeral ceremony is typical:

"During the actual burial, the children and relatives of the deceased gather round, each of them bringing clothes, fowls, or animals.

The body is wrapped in all the clothes which are meant for the deceased person's use in the next life. When the corpse is lowered into the grave, the survivors draw near it, each according to his family status and each usually brings a goat; he offers his gift through the

officiant, asking that the deceased person should accept it, and praying him not to sleep in Qrun (heaven) but to open his eyes wide and always watch after his children, taking good care of them, providing for their needs, and aiding them in their difficulties!"(26)

The Muslims in Ibadan seem to accept this practice and gave it an Islamic colouring. They have also accepted the feasts and ceremonies following the rituals. Such a funeral is not only un-Islamic, but also very expensive. Alfa Lanase faced tremendous difficulties in upholding his objections to such ceremonies against the rival parties. Salami Babalola, one of the students of Lanase, recalls that this was one of the disagreements which had to be resolved at Olubadan's house. Lanase argued that after a man died, no festival of sacrifices, dancing, feasting and material gifts can help him in his grave.(27) This is a direct attack upon both the pagan and the existing practice. Again the Qur'an came to his aid. He quoted Sūrah al-Muzammil chapter of the Heavily Burdened, 73 ayat 20,"..... He knoweth that some of you will be sick, and others beating about in the land, seeking the bounty of Allāh, and others fighting in the cause of Allāh, so recite what is convenient of it, and observe the prayer, and pay the Zekāt, and lend to Allah a good loan; the good which ye send forward for yourself ye will find with Allāh, (that) it is good, and very great in reward; and ask pardon of Allāh, verily Allāh is pardoning, compassionate."

From this verse grows a simple order of service for the dead.

There should be five special activities. First the service should open with an act of "Niyāh" (an act of intention), secondly, there is an act of standing; thirdly, God should be praised four times, "Allāh Akbar," during the first "praise" the hands are raised up and only lowered after the fourth. Then a special prayer will be offered on behalf of the deceased as follows: "We call upon thee, O God, no doubt this dead fellow is thy slave; he is also the son of thy male slave and the son of thy female slave (mother and father). He had witnessed that there is no king except thee; thou art the king; there is no rivalry; that surely our Prophet Muḥammed is thy slave (P.B.O.H.) and he is thy messenger. Thou knowest best all our testimony concerning him (deceased). We call upon Thee O God if he was amongst the good doers, that thou shouldst open the gate of thy goodness (for him). If he was amongst the transgressors, wipe away his sins. We call upon thee, O Lord, let not his reward (good) be forbidden to us, and lead us not into difficulties after his (departure)".(28)

This prayer completes the fourth phase. The Imām leading the prayer now voices the "salām" (peace) in the direction of his right hand. Only followers on the right side will hear him; then he will voice the "salām" to those behind, but no one else should hear him. Then the corpse, (initially washed and wrapped) is carried in perfect silence to its grave. Having been laid there, pieces of sticks are spread over him; then the sticks are covered with both dry and wet

sand. After this every one recites the creed before departure. The dead fellow is left in his grave along with his deeds during his life time. This completes the fifth phase of the burial. The Lanase group believe that three things will stay with the dead man in his grave: (a) the knowledge he acquired while alive, (b) the prayers of his good children, (c) his female daughter who was given away in alms-wedding. The explanation given by Muritala is that the knowledge derived from the Qur'ān is divine and is an eternal source of blessing to the Muslim. In fact, to recite the Qur'ān gives a believer peace of mind and rest of soul after death. The prayers of his good children are sources of blessings because of their faithfulness to the faith of their father. God answers the children's prayers for their father who brought them into Islam.(29)

What happens in the case of alms-wedding? As Trimmingham pointed out, marriage by Gift is widely known among the Khasonke, Songhay, Kanuri, and Hausa, who have introduced it to both the Nupe and the Yoruba. He found several reasons for the practice: the wish "to honour a cleric or seek an alliance with an influential person or even get rid of an unmarried daughter. The father orders his daughter to be prepared for wedding and then announces before witnesses the name of the man to whom she is gifted, or simply names him Muhammad whatever his real name." Then he sends her to him as a form of alms (sadaqa) together with Sadāq, i.e. the dowry which the bridegroom is expected to pay. The Lanases consider this type of alms giving

the highest in value. It is in fact, as they claim, a means of grace when the father dies. The background for this practice is the widespread marriage by contracts well-known throughout Africa. In fact, where friendship between two men is very strong, daughters are sometimes exchanged in marriages. (30)

After this simple order of worship, the Lanase group reject any further ceremony. There should be no dancing, no feasting, no chanting of slogans; everything ends with the burial. From the author's experience, usually, 'after-burial' festivals cost a lot of money. In many cases the bereaved will remain in debt all their lives trying to pay back the loans contracted on behalf of the dead. Sometimes, the matter becomes even worse if the oracle advises that such festivals are pleasing to the deceased and should be repeated every year or every other year. Since people generally fear the power of the "dead", they tend to stage the festivals regardless of the hardships involved. Many families are known to become absolutely poor as a result. The Lanase reform thus not only provides an Islamic burial, but also provides an answer to a frustrating economic dilemma. Incidentally, this trait distinguishes the "Lanase group" from other Muslims in Ibadan and other places where they have branches.

#### (c) NAMING CEREMONY.

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significance of the Yoruba names will help to make clear the problem which the Muslims in Ibadan faced when the Lanases called for reforms. The description given by Prof. Bolaji Idowu is a useful background here. "Every Yoruba name has a character and a significance of its own. No child is given a name without a cause; and that cause is not the bare, inevitable one that a child must be born before it can receive a name! Every one of the names is almost invariably a sentence, or a clause, or an abbreviation of a sentence, which can be broken into component parts. Besides, the name must tell some story, whether it be of the circumstances surrounding the child's birth, the state of the parent's or family affairs when it is born, or a remarkable event in the town or the general world into which it is born. Also, with the Yoruba, name represents character and the essence of personality, as among the Hebrews. It is generally believed that if a person's real name is known it will be easy to bless the person, or harm him by magic."(31)

It is in this light that the ceremony assumes an important rôle among the Yoruba, no matter of what faith: Islamic, Pagan, or Christian. The naming is followed by festivals, sometimes lasting for seven days, in which friends and relatives enjoy feasting, drinking, and dancing. The feasting may extend more days if the child is male. According to the experiences of Lanase, many Pagan rituals were connected with the naming ceremony among Muslims. Therefore after naming, "feasting," in his opinion, makes the wrong even worse;

instead he suggests a simple form of naming ceremony. On the eighth day of the birth of a child all the relatives and the Muslim leaders should gather in the home of the child's father, usually in a sitting room, or an opening, outside the house. (32) A ram should be provided, known as 'aqiqah'! The ram should be flawless one that is healthy, whose ears are unbroken and have not been cut-off by any accident. Again, a ram whose horns are damaged cannot be used until they are perfectly healed. Then the hairs on the head of the child should be shaved after which the Muslim leaders offer prayers of thanksgiving and blessing or blessings on behalf of the new child.(33)

Unlike the existing Muslim and traditional practice, the Lanases claim that the ram is not a sacrifice; rather, it is an expression of thanksgiving to God. This is expressed in the "Khutbah" (short sermon): The Lanase group relate killing of the ram to the killing of the ram during the "Greater Bairam". Both the ram at the naming ceremony and that of the Greater Bairam express gratitude to God, one for God's protection and blessings throughout the past year, the other for God's kindness in providing the new child. Neither of the two is compulsory; only people with sufficient means are expected to provide the ram. The Lanases claim that, the ram has no particular effect on the future life of the new child; its destiny is in the hand of God. Nothing changes that.(34) After the visitors are served a meal, the ceremony is over. This simple ceremony eliminates the jubilation expressed for many days by dancing and chanting songs.

This restriction is understandable, since the women who make up the major part of such jubilation, are not permitted to go outdoors. Of course, it also saves the family a lot of economic embarrassment. The most important reason for this substitute is to express a religious disapproval of the Pagan form of naming ceremony.

(d) WITCHCRAFT.

The Yoruba's belief in sorcery and witchcraft constitutes a major threat to life. Many accidents, cases of sudden death, ill-luck, bad dreams, physical emaciation, sudden blindness, deafness or lameness are attributed to the diabolical activities of the witches. Trimingham points out that the fear of witchcraft greatly increases throughout West Africa as a result of the spiritual insecurity caused by the adoption of Islam or Christianity; and counter-action is an important function of priest and medicine-man. Both Christian and Muslim leaders have to assure their followers of the superiority of their religions over the activities of sorcerers and witches. Two methods have been employed to suppress the activities of the witches. One method is to incorporate medicine-men into the new faith through conversion, so that they now use their knowledge to meet the fears of other new converts. Another method is for the leaders to seek training in the special use of the Qur'ān and other prayer books used in other countries. Both of these methods are used. (35)

Parrinder remarks: "Some of the magical practices are adopted directly

from paganism; others come from the north and the Sudan. Amulets and Qur'ānic texts are used for protection, or for cursing an enemy." (36) It was a serious matter when Alfa Lanase and his small group began to deny the belief in witchcraft. In the first place such a claim endangered the lives of many Muslims because the Muslim leaders who had been engaged in rescuing those who had fallen into the claws of the witches had now to stop working. Such leaders might be offended and in an attempt to prove the validity of their role might compromise with witches and soocerers. Alfa Lanase was warned, but he proceeded to prove his position. He claimed that anyone who believes that witches have powers over their fellowmen, is putting rivals beside God; that is tantamount to idolatry. God, of course, is against anyone who suggests an association with Him.(37) The Lanase went to <sup>the</sup> Qur'ān once again to substantiate his claim.

(Sūrah al-Kahf) the chapter of the Cave. (18:110) says: "I am only a human being like yourselves to whom it is suggested that your god is One God; so whoever looks forward to the meeting with his Lord, let him work righteous work, and let him not give a share of the service of his Lord to anyone."

The implication is that any man is like any other man. Only God is unique, unlike anyone else. He also controls human destiny; it is a violation of the godliness of the one God to assign to any man a part-control of human life. The penalty of such infringement awaits

the offender at the Last Day.

In order to fully appreciate the objection of the Lanases, a brief comment on the African views concerning witchcraft is necessary. It is a common belief that witches are mainly women. The mother passes down her witchcraft to her daughter, but it is not inherited by her sons. Witchcraft will be latent in the girl till she has passed puberty. According to Parrinder, it is very rare to hear of a child witch. In Ghana, he found that women could purchase witchcraft, or obtain it from demons or even the dead. He found also that sometimes women obtain it through some medicinal process added to food. The recipient then gets a craving for human flesh. Though Parrinder found traditions of male witches among the Nupe of Northern Nigeria, 'they are not as powerful as the female witches.'

It is also commonly believed that the witches often organised themselves into companies with fixed number of members. The members and the officials must follow certain strict rules, for example, to keep the secrets of their activities. Parrinder's observation that the meeting is spiritual is acceptable since the body of the witch is believed to remain in bed while her soul travels to their meeting. If anything, however, prevents the return of her soul, then she will be found dead the next day. The meeting takes place mainly at night. Witchcraft is believed to be nocturnal, only possible when her body is asleep. There is some suspicion that witchcraft activities are connected

with dreams. The witch can fly through the air to trouble and beseege the souls of other fellows, the reports of which may be given at the meetings.

Another purpose of the meeting suggested by Parrinder is spiritual cannibalism. He suggested that although physical description of eating the legs, hands and other parts of the body are used, the action is done to the soul of the victim, not the body. Consequently, as the witches devour the "spiritual body", the mortal frame weakens. The immediate signs are pain, paralysis, or impotence. When the heart of the liver of the victim is eaten, he dies. This is why the job of the witch-doctor is considered very important. His job is to seek the witch concerned and to force her to disclose where the soul of the victim was hidden and to recover it by forcing her to recapitulate her powers. Often, the victims are close relatives. Paradoxically, it is the role of the male to combat witchcraft. There are only very few female doctors. The tremendous fear of witchcraft among the Yorubas lead to this common saying: "A man's foes shall be they of his own household." Usually, poor old women, barren women, mothers-in-law, handicaps or any woman who sought this power for defence of her family are often charged with witchcraft. The activity of the witches is more marked in a polygamous home where there is some kind of competition.

Parrinder suggests two reasons for the great fear connected with

witchcraft, namely, the high infant mortality and some neurotics who claim to have been witches. In contrast with this is Evans-Pitchard's blunt denial: "A witch cannot do what he is supposed to do and has no real existence....." Parrinder also referred to anthropologists' description of witchcraft as "illusory". No matter which of these two positions is held, until further investigations are conducted, the threats of witches are important factors of disintegration in African Societies. Often children have to defend their mothers publicly when charged with witchcraft by the witch-doctors. Some of the children, ~~when they~~ failed to exert any influence often fled their homes because of shame. Others may seek means of destroying their mothers by poison or by sending them away into some farms where hunger and suffering could hasten their death. Cases are known where such suspected women are stoned or beaten up in public places, forcing them to confess how many people they have killed, a horrible sight! (38)

What, then, is the implication of Lanase's denial? As indicated previously, the Muslim witch-doctors believe that such denial endangers the life of many converts to Islām since their enemies could easily collaborate with witches to destroy them. It seem that what the Lanases are concerned with is the pre-eminence of God's power and control over human destiny, a destiny which can not be altered by rival powers. If this is so, then Lanase's denial is different from that of Evans-Pitchard. While the Lanases would grant the reality



of witchcraft and its powers, they claim that such power cannot alter God's wishes for his people. What they intend to achieve is a complete boycott of the role of witchcraft by not attributing any event to their action, rather to God's will. However, where the event is confessed by the witch, the Lanases would leave such a witch in the hands of God, not that of the witch doctors.

(e) THE CARE OF THE POOR.

The month of Ramadān every year falls within the harvest months in Western Nigeria. People have plenty to eat and to spare. Other traditional festivals fall within these months. At the close of the feasting all capable Muslims are expected to pay their Zakāt al-fitr (zakāt of breaking the fast). Joseph Schacht describes this as an obligatory gift of provisions at the end of Ramadān which according to tradition was ordered by the Prophet in the year 2nd A.H. and fixed as regards the amount. According to the Mālikī law the zakāt al-fitr is obligatory and has to be handed over by every free Muslim for himself and all persons whom he is legally bound to support at latest on the first of the month Shawwal which follows Ramadān. A man is exempted only if he possesses nothing but the bare necessities of life for himself and his family. The recipients according to the Shāf'ī are the same as in the case of the general zakāt's original limitation to the "poor" and the "needy". The Yoruba Muslims, like others around the world, observe this obligation but with peculiar scrupulousness,



feeling that this offering will right the wrong done by involuntary negligence during the month.(39)

It seems there was a misunderstanding about the use of these gifts. Many of them are collected since most people are farmers or at least keep farms. When the Imām and his elders collect the "Jaka" (the Yoruba word for this gift), having deducted what they need for their own families, they proceed to sell the rest. Nothing seems to go to the "poor" and the "needy". The sales often yielded a large sum of money which then raised all kinds of misunderstanding among the leaders regarding its use and whether the leaders should share it.

When Alfa Lanase presented his thesis to the Imām of Ibadan that the money should not be shared by the leaders, he posed a serious threat to the privileges of the Imām and his elders. But Lanase was a bold man, and he proceeded to prove his case that the gifts are not meant to pay the wages of the Imām but should be distributed among those who are poor and the various classes of needy people, many of them suffering because they had accepted the new faith of Islām. In the Yoruba community, the needy include many old people who are related to the Muslim community. Lasisi Adio, Lanase's uncle's son recalls that this teaching was one of the reasons why Lanase and his followers decided on building their own mosque for the Juma't prayer.(40)

(f) EDUCATION OF WOMEN:

A fascinating aspect of the Lanase teaching is that married women

should be given an Islamic education- namely the reading of the Qur'ān and the proper understanding of the role of women in the Islamic community. They are also to learn constantly more about their faith. How can they learn all this if they cannot attend the mosque for prayers and the sermons, or take part in the adult education scheme which new converts can attend? The Lanases charge each husband with the responsibility of training his wives. He is to narrate to his wife the new lessons he has learnt, he is to tell her what constitutes the Islamic conduct. She should ask him questions while he should search for the answers. This kind of responsibility, no doubt, should strengthen ties between husbands and wives.

The Lanases do not concern themselves with the need for secular education for married women. What such women need is religious education about how to say their prayers and how to take care of their family according to the Mālikī tradition. This type of education could be given by the husbands. However, for their children, both males and females, any secular education and scientific pursuit which will not affect the Islamic faith of their children is acceptable. It will be seen in the next chapter that the Lanases have started secular schools of their own. The question which may be better studied in the future is the extent to which they have achieved<sup>a</sup> high level of secular education whilst at the same time they preserve their puritanical struggles.(41)

## F O O T - N O T E S.

CHAPTER FOUR.

1. R.Bell, The Qur'ān: Translated, with a critical Rearrangement of the Surah,  
Edinburgh, T. & T. Clarke, 1937-1939, (2 vols). (All Qur'ānic quotations used in this work are from the above translation).
2. Muritala Lanase, "What We Believe,"  
Ibadan, 1969, (essay).
3. Ibid., (Muritala).
4. Bọlaji Akewu-kewe, Imole Ododo (The True Light),  
Islamic Literature Series, 45, Idumagbo Ave., Lagos, 1965, p.9  
(Bọlaji Akewu-kewe,) not to be confused with Professor Bọlaji Idowu) is a well-known evangelist throughout the Western State of Nigeria. His title 'Akewu-kewe' means one who is expert in both Qur'ān and Bible studies, an indication of his polemical activities both against the conservative Muslims and Christians.
5. Muritala, op.cit., (What We Believe).
6. Idowu, op.cit., p.164.
7. Muritala, op.cit., (What We Believe).
8. Ibid., (7).
9. At crossroads one can find many shrines for wandering and unknown spirits. Articles and groceries for sale are often put at the crossroad trusting that no one will steal them away. If stolen,

then the thief is a victim of the gods and the spirits.

Vide: Idowu, op.cit., pp.127, 162 and 211.

10. In some cases 'Palm Oil' is poured out at the crossroad to avert disturbances during and after the marriage ceremony.

11. This is a reference to alcoholic drinks. Bolaji Akewu-kewe is opposed to any teaching which prevents the use of drumming and singing. He quoted several traditions.

Vide: Bolaji Akewu-kewe, op.cit., p.52. (chapter 53).

12. Muritala, op.cit., (What We Believe).

The sūrah 5:93 also explains the objections of the Lanases to gambling. At the time of Lanase, gambling was not a major problem. Now, it is widely spread throughout Nigeria.

13. Bolaji Akewu-kewe opposes the assignment of any punishment on the grounds that the Qur'ān does not state the type of punishment to be given to a drunkard.

Vide: Bolaji, Imole Ododo, p.51. However Bolaji made reference to two traditions regarding the drunkards. In the first one the Prophet gave the drunkard 40 lashes; the second tradition represents one 'Abdu~~l~~-al-Rahmān as recommending 80 lashes to 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭab, the second Khalīfah.

Vide: Bolaji op.cit., p.207.

14. A.J. Wensinck, "Khamr (Wine)."

Encyclopedia of Islam, Leyden, 1913, pp.849-896, (vol.2).

- I5. Bolaji, op.cit., p.51.
- I6. Muritala, op.cit., (What We Believe).
- I7. Iddah, is a period of time, four months and 10 days in the case of a divorced woman, during which a woman whose marriage has been dissolved is forbidden to contract a new marriage. This provision of the Shari'a is designed first to establish paternity if she proves pregnant and secondly to allow for reconciliation by giving the husband time to reconsider.  
Vide: Journal of the Centre of Islamic Legal Studies,  
Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, (Vol.2) p.11, (footnote 18).
- I8. The middle-man is called Alarina in Yoruba. He is responsible for transmission of messages either from the boy or the girl whose wedding are to be contracted, or from the two families. In future when any misunderstanding arises, the Alarina is often the counsellor. The Malikī law allows the woman to plead her case before the judge if she is badly treated by the husband.  
Vide: Journal of the Centre of Islamic Legal Studies, p.9. (footnote I6).
- I9. Muritala, op.cit., (What We Believe).
20. In his book, Religion in an African City, Parrinder discusses the use of divination and how it is employed by Muslims. Initially, the Qur'ān was used to foretell the future.
21. Muritala, op.cit., (What We Believe).
22. Ibid., (What We Believe).
23. Bolaji Idowu, op.cit., p.77f.

24. In recent years, a well-known friend of the author, J.D.Y. Peel, made a study of "the prayer groups" among the christian churches in Nigeria. His work shows that future probing is one of the main activities of the prayer groups. For these groups foretelling the future, healing the body and soul are inseparable parts of the Christian faith.

Vide: J.D.Y. Peel, Aladure: Religious Movement Among the Yoruba, Oxford University Press, 1968.

25. Muritala, op.cit., (What We Believe)
26. Idowu, op.cit., p. 190.
27. Salami Babalola, op.cit., (Life History of Lanase).
28. Muritala Lanase, "What We Believe about Funeral," Ibadan, 1969, (essay).
29. Ibid., (Essay).
30. J.S. Trimingham, Islam in West Africa, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1959, p.170f.
31. Idowu, op.cit., p.33.
32. Muritala Lanase, "Procedure for Naming a Child in our Movement," Ibadan, 1969, (essay).
33. Ibid., (Essay).
34. Muritala Lanase, op.cit., (What We Believe).
35. Trimingham, op.cit., p.118f.
36. Parrinder, op.cit., p.81.
37. Muritala Lanase, "What We Believe about Witches," Ibadan, 1969, (essay).

38. G. Parrinder, African Traditional Religion,

Hutchinson's Press, London, 1954, pp.122-134.

In Ibadan various large trees are said to be the haunts of witches. Such a tree, a baobab, stands beyond the Igbo market, Parrinder refers to the incident of the arrival of witch-hunters called 'Atingas', from Dahomey and from the Gold Coast in 1951. According to the Nigerian 'Criminal Code' of 1948 both witches and witch-hunters are criminal activities; the aim being to protect innocent people from baseless accusations and persecutions. But many Yorubas frowned at the law since they consider witches as a danger to the society. Witch-hunters, they consider as God-sent men to ransom them from the evil people. The Atingas accused many old women of witchcraft. There were several cases of confession from the accused persons.

Vide: Parrinder, Religion in an African City,

Oxford University Press, 1953, p.53f.

39. J. Schacht, Zakāt al-Fitr, (Zakāt of the Breaking of Fast),  
Encyclopedia of Islam, E.J. Brill Ltd, Leyden, 1913, p.1204.
40. Lasisi Adio, "Life History of Lanase,"  
Ibadan, 1969, (essay).
41. Muritala Lanase, "On the Education of Married Women,"  
Ibadan, 1969, (essay).

## C H A P T E R   F I V E .

### I. Lanase Movement Today.

In the four previous chapters we have attempted to study the conditions under which the Lanase Movement came into being. We have seen that because of their conviction in God's commission to them they had won a victory over their opponents. However, they were not successful in rescuing the Muslims in Ibadan from the influence of the traditional religion of the Yoruba pagans and of liberal movements such as the Ahmadiyyah. Instead the Lanases attained a distinct status, separating themselves from other Muslims, worshipping in a separate Mosque of their own. This separation is not intended to mean that the Lanases have lost their early ideals. On the contrary, their hope is to achieve their goals by demonstrating, through their own organization and life, what true and pure Islam means. It is in this context that we can now proceed to study what is happening to the movement at present.

#### (a) Organization:

The first duty undertaken by the followers of Lanase was to give a title to their movement. The name adopted was "Lanase Akabirul Islam Society." Then they established their headquarters at E4/I52, Arẹmọ Street, Ibadan. They chose also a motto which can be freely translated as "An adult who seeks to prevent a youth from baking cake



is fetching water with a basket."(1) This proverb means that any attempt to obstruct their movement will eventually fail. In the same meeting two other actions were taken. Al-hajj Kasumu Summonu, Lanase's oldest son was elected as the first Imām after his father. Alfa Muritala Lanase, another son was elected the secretary-treasurer. This completed the first phase of the organization.

A second step was taken when, in order to safeguard their rights, the Lanases obtained a government certificate to become a registered body.(2) In Nigeria, the law requires any organization or movement to be registered under a distinct name. The name chosen should be distinguished from other names or titles. Clear identification allows the action of an organization to be followed and evaluated in terms of the impact within the society as a whole. The certificate procured by the Lanase permits them to purchase property, such as land and buildings. It also allows them to publish their activities in magazines and newspapers if they so desire. Furthermore, the certificate allows them to apply for grants in support of their schools. "The 1882 ordinance introduced a system of grant-in-aid based on good organization, discipline, and enrolment as well as the principle of 'payment' by results."(3) By 1912 as many as 91 mission schools were reported to be receiving grants. However, with the establishment of Muslim schools both in the North and in the South in the twenties, the grants were extended to such schools.(4) According to the Sydney

# IHLAUL ISLAM SOCIETY

MOTTO: AGBALAGBA TO NI K'OMQ KEKERE MA DIN AKARA, AGBON NI YIO MA FI FON OMI

## 1969 CALENDAR 1969

### OLORIRE



#### ALHAJI IMAMU KASUMU SUNMONU

Arẹmọ Alhaji Lanase niyi Eniti o gba ipo Baba re lowo eniti o ti nlo bo lati igbati Baba re ti pa ipo da. Ki Olurun jeki Omọ rere gbẹhin wa Amin.

"A KI SỌ OKO PA EFON"

### PUBLIC HOLIDAYS

New Year's Day	Jan.	1
Good Friday	April	4
Easter Sunday	April	6
Easter Monday	April	7
Republic Day	Oct.	1
Christmas Day	Dec.	25
Boxing Day	Dec.	26

### AKIYESI PATAKI

Gbogbo Enyin obi, e jeki omọ yin mọ amọdaju lori esin Islam. E mu omọ yin wa si Modrasa ti ijo Lanase Aremo, awon Oluko Modrasa ti o ni eko ijinle nipa sisọ Larubawa dada o ti wa fun omọ yin ni Mosalasi ti Lanase Ibadan.

### MUSLIM IMPORTANT DAYS

Iherẹ Awe	Nov.	21/22	1968
Lailatu Quadri	Dec.	28	"
Itunu Awe	Dec.	20/21	"
Odun Ileya	Feb.	26 & 27	1969
Ojebi Anqbi	May	29	"

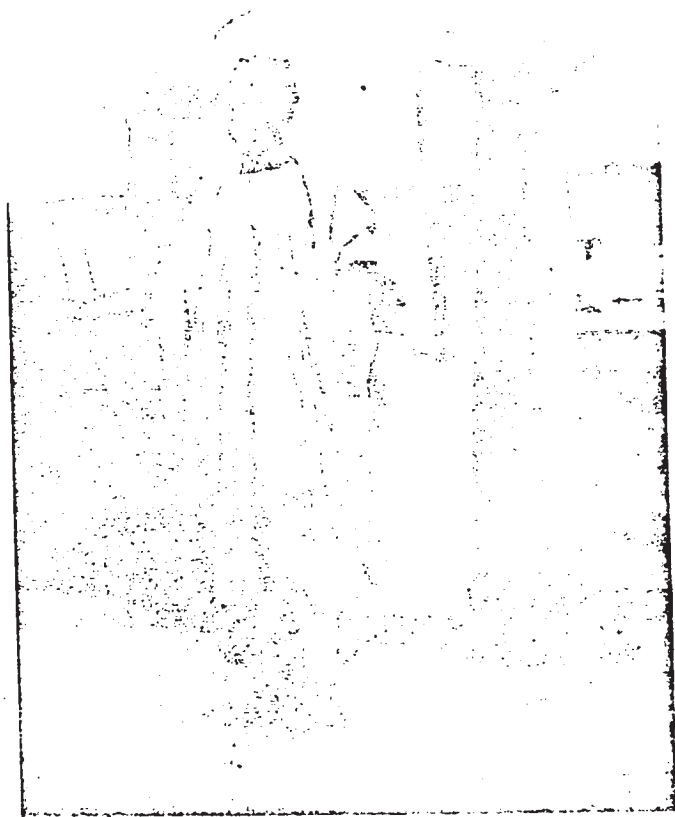
Printed by

Ihukun-Olu Printing Press

E1/405 Labiran Street,

Ibadan.

The front page of the almanac with the Imām.



Alfa Muritala Lanase  
The secretary-treasurer.

Phillipson Report of 1948, grants were given on a wider scale in respect of management, staffing, premises and equipment of schools and institutions.(5) It should be mentioned here that "the Phillipson Report" accepted the primary education system conducted by the voluntary agencies and the Native Administrations as part of a national system. One effect of the report is that primary education becomes 'a national responsibility with the ultimate objective of establishing a universal, compulsory and free system up to and including secondary education, the cost being shared between the Government and the local authorities through taxation and local rates'.(6) In the Western State of Nigeria, primary school education is free and compulsory. The Lanases, like other private agencies undertaking education, have access to these privileges. By this registration also, the Lanases acquire the rights of winning converts and of opening branches throughout the country.

The third step in their organization was to define the functions of their officers. Al-Hajj Kasumu, in addition to leading the prayers as the Imām, is also the chairman of the Movement. He leads delegations and presides over the conferences. The content of these conferences is not disclosed to the public. Alfa Muritala Lanase, the secretary-treasurer, sends information to members whenever there arises a special need to meet for some purpose or discuss a forthcoming festival. Muritala also handles the finance. Most of the available money comes

as gifts from members at home and abroad. The other important source of income is the educational programmes. These sources will be discussed later.

(b) Education.

The Lanase group believe that both Islamic and Western education is important for the future of their movement. This is very strange since in their puritanism they suspect every modernistic trend as a threat to their aims. On the contrary, Alfa Muritala Lanase declared:

"All education that is valuable for the children should be given to them provided they will not be prevented from their faith. All types of education are valuable for those who are Muslims. Arrangement is going on presently to enable our children to study secular subjects and Arabic. This is the type of education we think fit for our children."(7)

Modern education was first carried out in Christian Mission schools where children, in addition to the study of the Bible, also studied the "three Rs", Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. The intention was to produce men and women who could eventually go into professions like the Clergy, Nursing and Teaching. With the coming of the Ahmadiyyah Movement in the twenties, similar trends began to show in Islamic Education.(8) There were popular trends since the Muslims were already afraid that their children would be converted to Christianity through the Mission-Schools. Many parents for a long time sent their

children to Qur'ān Schools to prevent any Christian influence. The children however, were anxious to go to the secular schools because they wanted secular jobs that were both lucrative and popular. The Ahmadiyyah schools were the first answer to this demand among Muslims. It is logical, therefore, that the Lanases should advocate modern secular education. The Lanases also fear to send their children either to Mission schools, or to the Ahmadīyah schools. In the former, it is the fear of proselytizing, and in the latter, it is the fear of excessive liberalism which causes the Lanases to avoid these institutions. Their educational programme is presently very minimal. Alfa Muritala, the spokesman of the movement, mentions that they are in contact with schools in Cairo from whence they hope to obtain teaching assistance. It seems, since their educational programme is still in its formative stage, that not much help has been obtained. They claim to have received Arabic literature to use in their schools but as yet have not received personnel or financial help. Aside from many Qur'ān schools which they operate in Ibadan, they have secular schools in Ade-Ekun and at Akunko, both in the Western State of Nigeria. In these schools they have a growing number of pupils and teachers.

As we noticed earlier, education, at least at primary level, is free and compulsory in Nigeria. This is the result of the Phillipson Report of 1948 which received full implementation in the fifties.(9) The principles were that (I)" grants-in-aid should be directed to



facilitating a satisfactory balance between the senior and primary parts; (2) that there should be a division of cost between the public revenues and the localities served; (3) there should be zonal adjustment of the local contributions; and (4) the commitments of approved voluntary agencies should be defined at fixed intervals." (10)

In the Western State of Nigeria the Government assumes major responsibility of maintaining the schools by paying the teachers' salaries, gives grants for buildings and school supplies. As a result of these aids the Lanases have been relieved from heavy financial burden. The responsibility of the parents to provide the basic needs of the pupils, for example, clothing, food and a small money allowance for games etc. also makes things easier for the Lanases. The school operator's duty is to recruit the children every year, making sure that the largest number belong to the group of his choice, especially if the operator is a private agency. In this way he ensures that the children of his own religious community are given the first chance.

(c) Expansion.

The Lanase Movement has spread beyond the city of its founder. Separate branches are found in other towns. There is a branch in Oyo. This town is about thirty miles north of Ibadan. Its contact with Islam dates as far back as the latter part of the nineteenth century. As one of the earliest communities exposed to Northern puritanical movements of that century, it becomes a strong Lanase centre.

Another branch is located in Ogbomosho, a town sixty miles north of Ibadan, whose people are noted for being widely spread throughout the country, and especially for their trade interests in Northern Nigeria. Because of this exchange of trade they have been long familiar with the puritanical movements of the North. This made the Muslims of Ogbomosho highly receptive to the Lanase movement. The movement exists also in Ede. This town is noted for the worship of River deities and crocodiles. It is not clear what makes the Lanase movement attractive to the Muslims there. The only suggestion given is that this is a reaction against the great influence of pagan worship. The movement has another branch in Oshogbo. This town was originally a military outpost built to prevent the people of Oyo from easily penetrating into Ekiti.(II) The Ekiti-Oyo wars took place during the middle of the 19th century. Islam spread to Oshogbo through commercial contacts rather than missionary activity. So that the puritanical impact would have been essentially lacking. The desire to break Islam away from materialistic outlook of highly commercialized community makes the Lanase Movement attractive.

The movement spread also to smaller towns like Ife, Ilo, Akufe, Gbekun and Araromi (I2) However few their members, the Lanases are easily recognizable as a distinct group in each town. They hold to their conceptions of Islamic faith and practice it meticulously, and they are respected for this. Three outward characteristics distinguish —



them: (1) they maintain separate mosques for Friday prayers and annual festivals and celebrate ‘Id separately; (2) they keep their wives indoors. If the wives need to go out, they do so at night, covering themselves except for the eyes which are exposed through a transparent cloth or net, (3) they will not accompany their funerals and weddings with dancing and drinking, and every form of feasting is eliminated from the funeral service.

It should be mentioned at this juncture that the above practices are the requirement for membership. Having accepted these principles together with the declaration of Islamic faith: "I witness that there is no God but God and I witness that Muhammad is the Apostle of God", one can become a member of the Lanase Movement. The Imām of the community, having performed the prayer of dedication, commissions the new member to convert others. Almost, invariably, throughout the Western State, a family which follows the principles above has been exposed to the Lanase movement. Usually the first convert is the husband who in turn seeks to convert his wife, many times employing all possible pressures to keep her indoors. Sometimes persuasion is more effective, in which case the woman is promised both religious and material benefits.(13)

However, the relationship between the provincial branches and the central office in Ibadan is not very well defined. As will be seen later, missionaries are sent out by the Lanase Headquarters in Ibadan

to visit the other branches. Their main duty is to teach new converts and to help families having problems of adjustments. On the other hand, occasional delegation is sent to Ibadan where certain questions are very pressing and need administrative action, e.g. the laying of a corner stone for a new mosque. The central office asks for financial assistance from member - branches as the need arises. However, the relationship is voluntary and cordial. There are no compulsory financial commitments, and each branch may claim autonomy without any fear of opposition from the central office.(14)

(d) The Lanase Cult.

The Lanase group have a special obligation to their funder, Alfa Sunmonu Lanase. Every year the followers in Ibadan visit his tomb for special prayers, especially during 'Id al-Fitr. Prayers are held for him that God may forgive his failures while on earth and bless all the followers that he left behind. During this special visit, the story of the great achievements of Alfa Lanase is related by the person who gives the sermon (Khutbah). Afterwards, various persons request prayers for him depending on how Lanase had influenced their lives. At a later point, members begin to put their own needs before God, asking Him to meet these needs because of the faithfulness of His late devotee. Muritala explains it in these words:

"When God favours someone, He blesses his followers.

Whenever our people return home afterwards, God usually

provides for their needs. (5)

This is exactly the Ṣūfi cult of saints. Besides the Lanase hold great respect for the Ṣūfis and describe them as "those who fear God and are deep in the understanding of Islām, people of the right path." (I6) From our study, we have noticed that the Lanase Movement, though puritanical in nature, is not a Ṣūfi movement. This Ṣūfi element is therefore an accident. They do not own any Tarīqah<sup>h</sup> and they do not claim any Silsilah (I7) There are three possibilities for this influence:

(I) The role of the dead in the Yoruba traditional religion.

The burial of a dead person opens a new type of relationship with the family and relatives. "When the corpse is lowered into the grave, the survivors draw near it, each according to his family status and each bringing an animal victim, usually a goat: he offers his gift through the officiant, asking that the deceased person should accept it, and praying him not to sleep in Ọrun (Heaven or Paradise), but to open his eyes wide and always look after his children, taking good care of them, providing for their needs, and aiding them in their difficulties." (I8) For the Yorubas, the dead is still living, and he maintains the role, sometimes a greater role than he had while here on earth. In this traditional practice, the family, and sometimes a whole community visit the tombs of the dead to ask for new year's blessings and protection.

(2) Another possibility of influence, is the case of an Ijebu woman

recorded by Parrinder. The town of Ijebu-Ode is about forty miles, south of Ibadan. The life of this woman (her name not given) was so holy that when she died and was buried, people visited her tomb and were blessed in various ways. Until now, many who claim to have been honestly sick tell how they were healed by praying at her tomb.(19)

(3) The most likely influence on the Lanase is that of the Tijāniyyah sainthood. Although Trimmingham contends that the Negroes did not respond to the idea of saints as did the Moors, he accepted that certain tombs are highly respected and occasionally visited. After the death of Ahmad b. Muhammad at-Tijānī (1737-1815) 'Alī ibn 'Isā (d. 1844) as the head of the Zāwiya<sup>h</sup> tarīq<sup>h</sup> at Temasīn (Tamehalt) is credited with initiating the widespread missionary activity of the movement, consequently Zāwiya<sup>h</sup>s are found in Shinqit, western Adrar, Senegalese Futa, Timbaktu, and Segou. They also spread to Kane, Bornu and Waday in Northern Nigeria. Among those whom Trimmingham credited with miracles are the "jihad-leaders like 'Uthmān dan Fodio and especially al-hajj 'Umar, and a few present - day clerics such as Shehu Fanta Mādi Kaba (1878-1955), 'the sharīf of Kankan', who achieved a great reputation in Western Guinea.(20) Since the Lanase movement originated from Northern Nigeria, the tendency to attribute equal honour to Alfa Lanase cannot be underestimated. Just as God raised 'Uthmān dan Fodio for the Hausas, al-hajj 'Umar b. Sa'id for the Tokolors, shehu Fanta Mādi Kaba for the people of Guinea, so God raised Alfa Lanase

for the Yorubas. These men are considered as possessing a certain amount of Barakah by their adherents.

(e) Communication.

The conduct of any organization requires a sufficient and adequate means of communication. The Friday prayers provide special liaisons among the members of the Lanase movement. Those who live on the farms go into the city on Thursday night. After prayers forthcoming activities are announced to the worshippers. They also maintain a systematic mailing system to adherents in other surrounding towns. As shown earlier, Muritala Lanase, secretary general is the person in charge of this activity. Where there are no postal stations, travelling agents are sent out to give verbal reports or take letters along for distribution. Some of these agents are also missionaries who support themselves through gifts collected during their visits. Members of near-by villages also help in the distribution of information. In this case, it is purely voluntary. The missionaries, usually students of the Imām Sunmonu and Muritala, are commissioned to perform special duties in the provinces: weddings, annual festivals, funeral ceremonies and naming ceremonies. Often on their return to Ibadan, they will take along free will offerings to promote the movement. Muritala mentions that they hold conferences throughout the year as occasions require to discuss the problems facing the movement. (The details of these conference are still undisclosed). Regular records are not being kept as yet.

(f) Finance.

How do the Lanase make their money? First of all, the "Lanase group" put great emphasis on voluntary labour. This cuts down the labour expenses when houses, mosques and repairs are needed. They raise money in three ways: (a) by voluntary donations: During Friday prayers and other annual festivals, followers bring donations to the mosques to express their gratitude to Allāh. This is completely voluntary. Muritala explains why: "we do not force any one to contribute money in the mosque, only those who are capable of doing so bring money themselves. If we make people to bring money, it will become a matter of shame for those who are incapable, and they may quit attending the prayers....."(21) One should not underestimate the importance of this method. The Yorubas are a very religious and generous group, and voluntary givings are wrapped up with their concept of gratitude to the "gods" they worship. No matter what the difficulty one is passing through, the very fact of one's life calls for gratitude. It is a common phenomenon for devotees to fetch water and wood for money just to pay a tribute to the "god" they worship. Professor Bolaji Idowu observed: "The Yorubas abhor ingratitude which they, therefore, show in their dealings with the "being" whom they believe to have conducted their destiny prosperously. So an offering of money, ornaments, animals, fowls, or vegetables, is made in thankfulness for favour received."(22)

(b) The second method of raising money is through fees collected from

pupils attending their Arabic schools. In the secular schools, as indicated earlier, primary education is free. The government maintains the schools by providing the basic needs. Unlike the first method which is voluntary, this is compulsory. The fees are charged according to grades.(23) (c) In addition, the Lanases increase their income by the sales of their calendars. They encourage adherents to buy them and send copies to friends. This is the first known publication by the movement. (24)

## F O O T - N O T E S,

CHAPTER FIVE.

1. All of their writings have this motto and title.
2. Muritala Lanase, "Our Method of Child Education, " Ibadan, 1969. (Essay).
3. Otonti Nduka, Western Education and the Nigeria Cultural Background, The Caxton Press (West Africa) Ltd, Ibadan, 1965, p.28.
4. Ibid., Pp.26-27.
5. Ibid., p.76.
6. L.J. Lewis, Society, Schools and Progress in Nigeria, Pergamon Press, Ltd, Oxford, 1965, Pp.49-50.
7. Muritala Lanase, op.cit., (essay).
8. Nduka, op.cit., Pp.26-27.

As Nduka pointed out Muslim Qur'anic and secular primary schools had started in Northern Nigeria prior to this period. It has been estimated that in 1913 there were 19,073 Qur'an schools with an attendance of 143,312 pupils. In order to meet the needs of the rapidly developing administration, secular Native Administration schools were opened in both Muslim and the non-Muslim areas.

Vide: Nduka, op.cit., pp.26-27.

9. Lewis, op.cit., p.49.

For details about the development of universal free primary education in the Western State, see Nduka, pp.116-117.



- I0. Lewis, op.cit., p.49.
- II. Robert Smith, Kingdoms of the Yoruba,  
Methuen & Co. Ltd, London, 1969, p.54f.
- I2. Muritala Lanase, "The Spread of our Movement,"  
Ibadan, 1969, (essay).
- I3. Compare this with Lanase concept of the Harem and Veil in chapter 4. X
- I4. Vide: Muritala's discussion on finance in this chapter.
- I5. Muritala Lanase, "Regarding Prayers at the Tomb of Alfa Sunmonu  
Lanase, "Ibadan, 1969, (essay).
- I6. Ibid., (essay)
- I7. Tāriqah means "a path." This is the term used by the Sūfīs to  
describe their religious life. Silsilah is literally "a chain."  
It is used for the line of succession in any religious order,  
traced either to some religious leader of reputation, or to the  
four rightly guided Khalifahs, or to the Prophet himself. It is  
also used to describe an unbroken tradition.
- I8. Bolaji Idowu, op.cit., p.190.  
  
Compare this with the role of the ancestor as described by  
Parrinder.  
  
Vide: Parrinder, African Traditional Religion,  
Hutchinson's University Library, London, 1954, pp.57-66.
- I9. Parrinder, op.cit., p.72.
20. J.S.Trimingham, Islam in West Africa,  
Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1959, pp.97-98.

21. Muritala Lanase, "How We Raise Money,"  
Ibadan, 1969, (essay).
22. Idowu, op.cit., p.122.
23. Muritala Lanase, op.cit., (essay)
24. Ibid., (essay).

### C O N C L U S I O N .

In the light of the fore-going description of the Lanase Movement, it is now possible to embark upon an appraisal of the Movement. Several questions readily pose themselves: (i) Where do the Lanases fit into the Nigerian society in which there are complex forces? (ii) In relation to other movements in Islām, to what extent does the Lanase movement compare to any of these? (iii) What is the distinguishing contribution of the Lanase Movement in Yoruba community today?

In order to answer the first question it is better to discuss each of the forces separately. The first of these is the rise of Nationalism. The beginning in Nigeria has been dated back to the 30's when Herbert Macanley and his colleagues began to rally their communities together to ask for "better salaries from the government, better prices for agricultural exports and for high education." (I) However, in Southern Nigeria several Nationalist organization are at work. As already seen in the first chapter, the "Egbe Omo-Oduduwa" and the "Reformed Ogboni Fraternity" aim at mobilizing the Christians, the Muslims and the Pagans to work together for the common good of their society. In 1957, a similar movement was formed by Muslims called the "National Muslim League". It was formed as a politico-

religious party with a chief aim to demand more Muslim schools from the government of the Western State. However, the party soon opened its membership to non-Muslims, and changed its name to the "National Emancipation League". They, infact, contested the Federal Election of 1959.(2) As a result of the puritanism of the Lanase group any of the above movements is incompatible. The followers at present claim no affinities with any political movement.

This separation limits the involvement of the Lanases from the rapid social-political changes of the country except in one respect, namely, education. As we have seen, the Lanases see no evil in secular education provided it does not attempt to destroy the religion of the pupils. But they are not fully aware of the social problems inherent in this. Two forces are already at work: (a) The rise of free, universal and compulsory primary education in Nigeria exposes children to various sources of information on a large scale. But with this becomes what L.J. Lewis describes as "a process of mass enlightenment".(3) The implication is that those who have been exposed to education would know their rights and fight for them. A short story might illustrate this problem. Yahaya Muhammad tells of a girl named Dije in Wase Emirate in Northern Nigeria who appealed to the Emir on the grounds that her father rejected the boy of her choice whom she loves. "When the Emir", after investigation, "realised that the girl's man was very suitable, he then asked the Native Authority's Councillor

for Education to act as her marriage guardian." (4) Since this event in 1959, Wase girls won the right of choice for themselves. In the Western State the younger generations are making greater demands for freedom in every respect. It is very difficult at the present state of the Lanase Movement to see to what extent they can maintain the ideals of their movement in the face of this trend. Nevertheless, a serious tension can be suspected.

(b) Primary school pupils are facing the alarming upward surging of unemployment, now country wide. The problem of what to do with these children now creating increasing social problems was considered by the Federal Ministry of Education in 1960. The essence of the recommendation is to regard primary education as the starting point of an "educational pyramid" which should include post-secondary education, (5) not just as a requisite for seeking jobs. We have seen that several schools operates in Nigeria: Mission schools, Ahmadīyah schools, Government schools etc. None of these is in considered safe by the Lanases. The choices are only two. Either they will send their children into one of the above ones, or build their own secondary schools. In terms of financial pressures on private agencies, and the need to get children into higher schools without delay after primary education, the former choice seems easier.

(c) Another observation can be added. The Lanases emphasize the need for secular education as we have noted. But this calls for the use of English text books and exposure to Western influence. They also place

heavy premium on Arabic Language in their madrasah. For example, in their public announcement which appeared in their 1969 almanac, we read the following:

"To all parents, let your children be sound in Islamic religion. Bring your children to the Madrasa belonging to the Lanase Aremo. The teachers of the Madrasa who speak perfect Arabic are ready to teach at the Lanase mosques in Ibadan."(6)

What we have here is a situation in which a child is exposed to two systems of education and two cultural influence at the same time. This situation is likely to become a source of tension. It will be interesting to see how this may be resolved.

A second force at work is that of religious liberalism. With the growing influence of modernization comes the influx of foreign literature. Many of the old beliefs are being questioned at school and at home. The Ahmadiyyah institutions excel in distributing liberal Islamic literature. An example of such literature was published by Naseen Saifi, the Ahmadiyyah missionary in Lagos, entitled, "Women in Islam." In this booklet, in answer to Miss H.F. Cox's question: "Where else, outside the Muslim World, are women shut up in a harem having to wear a cloth over their face continually and never seeing the fresh air and sunshine," the missionary answered: "shutting up the women in the harems has nothing to support itself from Islamic injunctions. Not a single verse of the Holy Qur'ān and Hadīth (Tradition) can be quoted to bolster this practice, if it exists in any house."(7) This statement is very

radical if seen in the context of the ideal practice in Pakistan where the Ahmadīs consider seclusion as "not only a means of protecting Muslim honour in untrustworthy surroundings, but a permanent ideal." (8) Sayfī explains away veiling in similar terms by accepting modest dressing as equivalent of veiling. (9) The point to note here is that since the above position is similar to the already existing Christian and Pagan practice, more so most Muslims from whom the Lanase broke away do not practice seclusion, the women in the Lanase community are faced with a very serious social problem. This problem becomes more complex when the girls receive higher education.

Another example of the spread of liberal literature is that published by Ḥājj Bolaji Akewu-kewe, entitled "Imole Ododo" (The true Light). In this book the author claims that women should be admitted into the mosques to worship with men. He claims that women were always welcomed in the mosque during the life time of the Prophet. From the Muwatta of Imām Malikī Muhammad is represented as saying "do not prevent women from attending the mosque for worship". In Muslim's Sahih, 'A'ishah the wife of the Prophet is reported to have frowned upon the laxity of the women in the mosque. (10) The Lanase, as we have noticed, will not allow women into the mosque.

The second question is to what extent does the Lanase Movement compare to other movements in Islām? We have seen that the movement has been inspired indirectly by the 'Uthmān dan Fodio movement (d.1817)

in Northern Nigeria. However while dan Fodio undertook a jihād as a means of purifying the corruptions which the religious leaders of his community brought into Islām,(11) the Lanāṣeṣ seeks to rescue Islām from the Pagan and liberalist tendencies by protests and teachings. The Lanāṣeṣ Movement is also similar to the Wahhābīyah in eighteenth century Arabia. Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (1703-1787) and his group sought to purify Islām by calling for "a return to classical Islām." However, while Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb "perceived syntheism in the excessive reverence paid to saints and their tombs, as well as in prayers addressed to sacred trees and stones", (12) an unforgiveable sin, the Lanāṣeṣ see it in the compromises with ancestor worship, a result of the lack of adequate knowledge of true Islam on the part of the Muslims in the Western State. Both the Wahhābīs and the Lanāṣeṣ relied on the classical law as their plumb measure. Whereas for the Wahhābīs it is the Ḥanbalī version, "stripped of all innovation developed through the intervening centuries," (13) for the Lanāṣeṣ it is the Mālikī version rescued from the traditional pagan practices. Further more just as the Wahhābīs advocate the meticulous practice of the Qur’ān and the Sunnah, "not as a pure idea" but "as implemented" in the on-going community; (14) in the same way Lanāṣeṣ take these sources as the bases of their practices and as means of answering the objections of their opponents. There is another similarity between the Wahhābīs and the Lanāṣeṣ. They are not Ṣūfī movements. Infact "Wahhābism in general disapproves of Sufism." (15) But that notwithstanding there are links or influences



of Sūfism in both. Muḥammad Ibn al-Wahhābī himself was a Sūfī. The Lanāṣes, on the other hand, almost exalt Lanāṣe their founder to the state of a Sūfī saint. There is one difference to be mentioned. While the Wahhābīyyah has a vigorous political element, the Lanāṣe movement is still non-involved in the politics of Western Nigeria. The movement concerns itself with religious and social matters which their "pure Islām" demand. It is not possible, in the light of the present study, to suggest that this separation of the temporal from the religious is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the movement. However, when one considers the speed of changes in Nigeria since the last decade, the difficulty of maintaining such a separation becomes intensified. This leads us to the third question.

It remains for us to assess the role of the Lanāṣe Movement in the Yoruba community today. Since the inception of the twenties, as we have seen, the Yoruba community have been undergoing various phases of modernization; secular education, economic autonomy and political self-expression. But religious modernism is also increasing. The Ahmadiyyah movement aims at adapting Islām to meet modern challenges and variety of specific Africa needs like Universal secular trainings for Muslim boys and girls in co-existent schools. The Orthodox Muslims of Ibadan with whom the Lanāṣes parted also going through various adaptations to meet the political challenges and social demands of fast developing nation. What one gets is a more compromising orthodox

view on many issues. This phenomenon gave the Lanases the sense of urgency with regard their commission. But the desire to modernise also extends to the traditional religion. We have seen in our study that the 'Ogboni cult' has been reformed to become the "Reformed Ogboni Fraternity." As Professor Idowu pointed out "any of the cults, or an amalgam of several cults, may be dressed up in a new garb or be given a new shape to bring it "up-to-date".(I6) He gave two impressive illustrations. One example was the founding of a church called "Ijọ Orunmila" -"The Church of Orunmila" whose god is Olodumare and his son, Orunmila the mediator, exactly in the same way as Jesus is to God. The liturgy of the church is patterned after the Christian one "with specific liturgy directed to Olodumare." This church is widely spread and encouraged by some educated thinkers. This brings in the second illustration. Mr.A. Fagbenro-Beyioku (In 1943) gave an inspiring lecture entitled Orunmilaism the basis of Jesusism in which he employed dedicated effort to suggest that "Orunmila, the oracle divinity was the prophet of God to the Yoruba (or rather, the Africans), even in the same way as Jesus Christ was the Prophet to the Jews; and, moreover, Orunmila was of a higher status than Jesus Christ in as much as the latter derived from the former".(I7)

The tendency to modernise every type of religion among the Yoruba is, therefore, very well marked. This tendency however leads to limitless compromises and artificiality which play heavily on the heritages of

each of the religions. It is in this context that the Lanaşes consider their role as very important and indispensable for the safety of Islām. In one way they see themselves a "mirror" which consistently reveals what true and pure Islām ought to be; in another way they see themselves as "yeast in the dough" giving strength and vitality to the faithful believers who are dedicated to the course of Islām. It is in this respects that one can say the same thing of the Lanaş Movement as Professor Smith said about the Wahhābīs that "their shift from the existent to the essential, from the actual to the ideal, from what the Muslims have made of Islām to what they ought to make of it, was and has remained cogent and vitalizing, even liberating."(18)

## F O O T - N O T E S.

CONCLUSION.

1. Otonti Nduka, Western Education and the Nigeria Cultural Background, Oxford University Press, Ibadan, 1965. p.56f.
2. F.A.O. Schwarz, Jn. Nigeria, The Tribes, the Nation, or the Race - The Politics of Independence. Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press 1965, p.51.
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4. Yahaya Muhammad, "The Legal Status of Muslim Women in the Northern States of Nigeria", Journal of the Center of Islamic Legal Studies, (Vol.1, No.2) p.5f.
5. Lewis, op.cit., p.132f.
6. See the plate of the almanac on page 91. The quotation is entitled "Akiyesi Pataki".
7. Naseem Saifi, Women in Islam, Lagos: The Ife-Olu Printing Works, Yaba, 1956, p.8.
8. Fisher, op.cit., p.80.
9. Saifi, op.cit., p.8f.
10. Bolaji Akewu-kewe, Imole Ododo, Ibadan, 1965, p. 26
11. J.S. Trimingham, The History of Islam in West Africa, Oxford University Press, London, 1962, p.195.

12. George Rentz, "The Wahhābīs," Religion in the Middle East,  
ed. A.A.J. Arberry, Cambridge University Press, Vol.2, 1969, p.270f.
13. W.C. Smith, Islam in Modern History,  
Parinceton University Press, 1957, p.42.
14. Ibid., p.63.
15. Rentz, op.cit., p.283.
16. Idowu, op.cit., p.214.
17. Ibid., p.211.
18. Smith, op.cit., p.44.

APPENDIX AThe Nature of Mosques in Ibadan.

"To start with, the groups of Muslims were small and scattered but by the time a chief Imām for a town was appointed, very often a Hausa, Fulani, or Nupe, Islam was well established. Today, in a Yoruba town, there is a central (jimo) Mosque, where the chief Imām of that town administers, and where the main Friday prayers are held, and the smaller mosques, perhaps socially more important. These are very small and there are hundreds in a city such as Ibadan, closely related to the local community, where men may be seen chatting with one another in the evenings. Sometimes these are the endowment of a pious, wealthy Muslim, and are known by his name; thus in Idikan, Ibadan, opposite the large compound of Chief Adebisi, a rich produce buyer, is Adebisi's mosque. The mosque and its congregation are an extension of the chief's social influence. Then there are mosques set up by a mallam, whose imamship will be inherited by his sons. The mosque is known by the founder's name, and is a kind of spiritual clientage to the imām. Then there are communal mosques, just the mosque of the quarter, governed by elders who choose an imām; mosques of the first two types may become like this. Then there are the occasional mosques of the Muslim educational societies such as Ansa-ud-Deen, or those of the Ahmadiyyah movement, which attract a higher social-economic group than the

ordinary ones, and whose imām<sup>s</sup> are more like the clergy of a Christian missionary societies. Except for Ahmadiyyah and the educational societies, the expansion of Islam is different from that of Christian missions. The latter, like Ahmadiyyah, have a policy to cover all areas, and impose themselves where there is no call for them, whereas orthodox Islam spreads along the natural lines of influence in the society. Where there is Islam there has been trade or migration from Muslim areas; mallams tend to go where they will get business and the faithful to receive them."

Vide: Peel, J.D.Y. Aladura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba, P.47 Oxford University Press. 1968.

## APPENDIX B.

### Ahmadiyyah Education In Nigeria.

" Despite this background, and the undoubted spirit of men like Idris Animashaun, to Ahmadiyyah belongs the principal credit for establishing schools without government prompting.

A fillip to Muslim education was given by an unfortunate resolution (never fully implemented) of the Anglican Synod in Lagos in May 1922. It was decided that Muslim children should be excluded from the Christian schools in Lagos; it was said that they 'were debased, untrained and come only to corrupt the morals' of Christian children.

On 11 December 1922 the Ta'lim-ul-Islam school (this is still the name of the Independents' schools, the Loyalists calling their Fazl-i-Umar) was formally opened in the Aroloya mosque. (The Okepopo schism had in part arisen from the measures necessary to finance this school.) In this speech at the opening ceremony, Henry Carr, Resident of the Colony, spoke of the traditional Muslim objections to western education. Forty years before, he had suggested a Muslim school to Shitta Bey, and it had been turned down because the Muslims believed 'it would make their children thieves and liars as Christian boys'. Carr hoped that the Aroloya school would help dispel the fear that education led to lawlessness: rather it was



education without religion which was dangerous.

Some indication of the Muslim resistance to western education may be gleaned from the celebrated case of Miss Thomas, early in 1924. An educated Catholic, aged about 23, she was carried by her Muslim father's order to the home of a pilgrim returned from Mecca, who detained her for three days under threat of forced marriage. The police rescued her. The father and suitor were both charged with deprivation of liberty, and the latter fined 20 pounds. The African Messenger, reporting the case, said that 'among enlightened Mohammedans the preponderance of sympathy' was with the father and suitor. The Messenger agreed that the court had been too harsh. After all, if Miss Thomas had been illiterate, these troubles would never have occurred.

"One begins to fear not only for the weakening of parental authority but also the probable feeling which will be created among Mohammedan parents as to whether there is any sense in sending their girls to school." <sup>1</sup>

Some months later the Ahmadis began work on a separate school building, in Elegbata in Lagos, which was opened early in 1928. There was some government help, but the greater part of the burden was borne by the Ahmadis themselves. Carr spoke again here, and particularly commended the Ahmadis for allowing girls to come to the school. This school was not a herald of further Ahmadiyyah progress, for attention was distracted by the Jinadu division of 1932,

60

1. African Messenger, 28 September 1922.

and then by Hakim.

In 1929 the Ansar-ud-Din, now the largest Muslim educational society in Nigeria, began its first school. In 1917, about the same time that the Nigerian branch of Ahmadiyyah was established, an orthodox society was founded with the hope of setting up a Muslim school in Lagos. This society founded in the 'Mohammedan Unrest'. Its aspirations were taken up again in December 1923, when the Ansar-ud-Din was inaugurated.

There was never an official connexion with Ahmadiyyah, but some of pioneers of the Ansar-ud-Din, particularly Boonyanin Gbaje-Biamila (or Qasim), who was general secretary of the society for fifteen years, had had a strong Ahmadiyyah affiliation. It is hard to learn why these people left Ahmadiyyah: it is said that they could not withstand orthodox persecution; that their connexion was not in fact as close as it seemed; even that Boonyanin, wishing to be a member of the Ahmadiyyah school committee, was excluded because of his talkative nature, and therefore began his own group.

Declining an affiliation with Ahmadiyyah, the Ansar-ud-Din has consistently and effectively refused involvement with any Muslim party or sect. Another problem remains, whether it can avoid becoming a sect itself. Zakāt is collected by the society; prayers are said in the schools, even funeral prayers. On the other hand, there is no separate mosque or chief imām, the charge that it

is moving towards sectarianism.

The first school, begun in 1929, was completed within two years. In 1942 another was begun, in Okepopo. Five chief imāms attended the ceremony, not including the Ahmadis however. The first sod was turned by a distinguished company of ladies, all of whom had contributed to the society's educational enterprises. Further building was supplemented by the incorporation of already existing schools.

After Hakim's departure, the Ahmadis suddenly returned to the school scene. In 1948 the Independents opened a co-educational high school in Lagos. They had retained control of the Elegbata school, which is today the largest Ahmadiyyah school in West Africa, a primary school, with 44 teachers and 800 pupils. Fewer than one in five of the teachers are Independent. The Loyalists, who had lost not only this school but also the central mosque in Ojo-Giwa street, built a new mosque in the same street, and in 1949 started a school within the mosque. This school, with 300 pupils, continues today. In 1953 the Loyalists opened a second primary school in Ilaro.

The introduction of universal primary education in the Western Region, in 1954-5, was a great blessing to all these societies. By this scheme, the Loyalists have gained a further seven primary schools, which, with one from the federal authorities and two of their own work, make a total of ten. The Independents have been more vigorous, and now possess fourteen primary schools and five

post - primary. Most of the Ahmadiyyah schools are in or near Ibadan, Lagos and Benin; greatly outdistanced by the orthodox. The Ansar-ud-Din alone, which is only one of several orthodox bodies, although it is the largest, has over 200 primary schools and nineteen post-primary.

At the suggestion of the Council of Muslim School Proprietors (of which Martin was president at the time of his death), a government committee in 1958 considered the place of Arabic and Islamic teaching in the new programme, and a syllabus was drawn up. This is limited in scope, for there is general agreement that to teach three languages extensively, English, Arabic and vernacular, would overtax both schools and pupils. The Council has accepted this view, in effect relegating Arabic to the Religious Knowledge class once a day, but has stipulated that the teaching of the Qur'ān in Roman script be introduced.

The primary education programme has made it clear that Muslim education is severely hampered by shortage of staff and resources. If the new schools were to have been distributed in proportion to already existing schools only 5 per cent would have been Muslim. The council was offered a further 10 per cent, but was unable to take advantage of this preferential treatment: in 1959, only 447 out of 6,708 schools, less than 7 per cent, were Muslim.

A partial answer to the basic need for more teachers may be

the Muslim Teacher Training College, an inter-denominational undertaking which started in 1958 near Lagos. Considerable Colonial Development and Welfare help has come, and each participating agency has been asked to contribute 200 pounds. Saifi is the chairman of the college committee, and an Ahmadi has come from Pakistan to be headmaster. In 1959 there were two Ahmadis and two Christians in a staff of four, with 54 pupils, twelve of them girls. The Loyalists hope to establish their own religious school for teacher training, as well as a secondary school, but these projects seem hampered by a lack of coherent planning.

The Ahmadiyyah schools in the Benin area may be described separately here, for they illustrate the tension between sectarianism and education, and also the sterner resistance of northern Islam to innovation. About 1930, a small group called the Muslim Brotherhood Society formed around an immigrant Ijebu trader in Benin. It is said that they took membership from Lahore, after seeing the Islamic Review, and that a missionary from Working visited them. A school was begun, supported by the whole Muslim community (which scarcely exceeds 2,000), on land given by the King of Benin. By 1945 government assistance had become necessary, but could only be gained through some voluntary agency. Sulaiman, the Ijebu, chose Ahmadiyyah. The school became Ahmadiyya and remains so today despite orthodox objections: a flourish<sup>i</sup>ing institution with 22 teachers and about 600

pupils. The orthodox built a second school in protest. Hakim visited Benin City several times, but Sulaiman's connexion had been with Martin, and Benin City has been steadfast in the Independents' camp. There are only a handful of Loyalists there, while the Independents have a fine mosque and a congregation of 150.

Agbede, not far from Benin, is an outpost of northern Islam. The Agbede orthodox sent a young teacher to Lagos, to study with Hakim: this was done at the suggestion of European Educational Officer, neither he nor the Agbede people realizing what doctrinal risks were involved. The teacher returned a convinced Ahmadi; thus destroying the whole investment made in his theological training, for orthodox suspicion is so strong that he is allowed to teach only English.

Jegbe is a small villiage on the fringe of Agbede influence. For a time it appeared that the Benin example might triumph, but orthodoxy was too strong. A Muslim school had been opened there in 1944, all the local orthodox sharing in the expenses. It fell into financial and staffing difficulties, and, on the advice of an Education Officer, affiliated itself with the Independents. In 1952 government grants began, and a trained teacher was supplied. The Ahmadiyyah school manager in Benin City looked after the school; the Ahmadiyyah missionary there came visiting once a month. But the Jagbe people were dissatisfied with their position, and in 1955 were allowed to break away without losing the benefits of government aid.

The staff of the school, who had become Ahmadis, returned to orthodoxy. There is still an Ahmadiyyah mosque in Jagbe, and a small congregation."

Vide: Fisher, H.J., Ahmadiyyah, A study in Contemporary Islam on  
the West African Coast, Pp. 172-177, Oxford University  
Press, (1963).

## APPENDIX C

### The Christian Church in Ibadan.

#### (I) Anglican Church:

The German missionary, the Rev. David Hinderer, employed by the Church Missionary Society, was its first pioneer based in Abeokuta. With determined efforts, after staying in Ibadan for three months, he managed to win some converts. In 1854 a church was built on the outskirts of the town, at Kudeti. The first ordination took place in 1865. The biggest of the several churches which spread through the city is St. James's. In 1952, the Anglican diocese of Ibadan was formed, and the first bishop was the veteran Right Reverend A.B. Akinyele.

#### (2) Roman Catholic Church:

Historically the Roman Catholic mission is said to be the oldest in Nigeria, although not in Yoruba country. The missionaries first entered Benin in 1515, having been sent from Portugal. But because of ill health, despite successes, the work was abandoned about 1688, only to begin again in 1869. This time French missionaries were in the fore-front. Ibadan received its first missionary, Father Jean Chause, in 1895. A church, now called "Oke Padi" (Padre's Hill) was built.

#### (3) Methodist Church:

Methodist has the credit of being the first to enter the Yoruba



country; It has, now, the second largest of the Protestant communities in Ibadan. Through the influence of liberated slave who became Christian in Sierra Leone and had returned to Abeokuta, the Methodist Church came into being. Thomas Birch Freeman entered Nigeria on the 23rd September, 1842. In December, he was welcomed in Abeokuta by Chief Shodeke, who also donated a site for a church. But several efforts to find a station in Ibadan failed owing to various circumstances. Only in 1891 was the Rev. C.B. Macaulay stationed in the town. Today there are several churches in Ibadan, and the superintendent in Yoruba - the right Rev. Aluke.

(4) Baptist Church:

The Baptist churches representing the missionary work of The American Baptist Mission are supported by the Southern Baptist Convention of United States. The first Baptist Missionary, the Rev. Thomas John Bowen landed in Nigeria on August 5, 1850. The first missionary to reside in Ibadan came to the town only in 1948. Presently, the Nigerian Baptist Convention is autonomous.

(5) Salvation Army:

The Salvation Army has recently been introduced into Nigeria. Colonel Souter was the first to arrive in 1920, and the following year a post was established in Ibadan. Since then other posts have been founded in some other towns and cities of the Western State.

(6) Apostolic Church:

The Apostolic Church of Nigeria is an off-spring of the Apostolic church in Great Britain. It came to Nigeria in 1930. Because of the emphasis on healing by faith and the need for conversion, the Apostolic Churches especially in Ibadan, are spreading fast.

(7) Church of God:

This church is presently attracting more members. It was introduced through an European Missionary in 1920.

(8) The Seventh Day Adventist:

The mission was brought to Nigeria in 1914 by Pastor Babcock from the United States. It soon found its way to various cities. In 1926 it entered Ibadan. Unlike other churches that worship on Sundays, the Seventh Day Adventist churches worship on Saturdays; The Adventists have distinguishing prohibitions; gold adornments and trinkets are not allowed, nor are cards, theatres and cinemas, and all forms of dancing. They are non-combatants in war, though they profess not to be pacifists.

(9) Jeovah's Witnesses:

These people, related to the 'Watch Tower Movement', were very active in Nigeria during the second World war. They were charged with anarchist teachings and were banned. But the movement soon

resumed. In Ibadan they now hold large meetings in what they call "the Kingdom Halls." Propaganda work is carried on by visitation and distribution of their literature. Translation work has also begun, especially in Yoruba language.

(b) Indigenous Churches:

The scene of the church life in Ibadan not only reflects the activities of foreign missions, but also remarkably, the impact of the indigenous churches- founded by native efforts. 'The International Missionary Council, at Tambaram in 1938, regarded the development of separatist churches as a serious problem in many parts of Africa and suggested remedies.' The phenomenon in Ibadan and other Yoruba cities, tends to suggest that these churches want to co-operate with the established churches. For the purpose of survey it will be sufficient just to mention the varieties of them very briefly.

(I) The United Native African Church:

The first movement was in 1890 in Lagos by Mr. Blyden from Liberia. A second attempt came through the efforts of Mr. W.E. Cole, a retired Nigerian postman in 1891. In 1891, a coloured minister of the Apostolic Missionary Church of America came to ordain ministers of this new African Church. This Church arrived in Ibadan in 1912, and attracted dissidents from the Anglican, Methodist, and Roman Catholic Churches.

(2) The African Church: (Incorporated)

This Church was founded as an expression of resentment against the C.M.S. Committee who refused assignment of the much cherished Bishop Johnson to Lagos, so claims their record. The church came into existence on the 22nd day of December, 1901. The Ebenezer African Church was introduced into Ibadan in 1914.

(3) United African Methodist Church:

The emblem of this church is the fish, (Eleja - the fishmanger) because its first church was built near fish - market in Lagos. The church came to Ibadan in 1923.

(4) Unity African Christ Church:

This church broke away from the United Native African Church, in 1903. It was not long before it found fertile ground in Ibadan. They use the Anglican prayer and hymn-book.

(5) Prayer - Healing Churches:

Ibadan is noted for its numerous prayer - healing churches. (owners of prayer.) They are of different kinds and belong to various denominations. Each Church has a pastor or a prophet who believes in prayer that heals. A Prophet can start his own church if also directed by the Holy Spirit through some kind of vision. One such noted prophet was Zaccheus who is said to have come from Ilesha to Ibadan and ~~was~~ now living in the church yards ministering

to those who are sick and to the barren. Even physical deformities are said to be restored or put right. For example, restoring eye-sight to the blind is said to be common. Their names are as follows:

- (a) Christ Apostolic Church;
- (b) The Prayer-Church (Aladura).
- (c) The Sacred Cherubin and  
Seraphim Society.
- (d) The Holy Folk of Christ.

The above abstract is taken from G.Parrinder, Religion in an African City, London: Oxford University Press, 1953.

APPENDIX D.

The Imāms Of Ibadan

- 1st Imam: Abdullah (nicknamed "Gunnugun").
- 2nd Imam: Ismaili Basunnu, native of Dindi.
- 3rd Imam: Jibrila Kifu, native of Bornu.
- 4th Imam: Tijani Afasegbojo, origin unknown.
- 5th Imam: Garuba Alagunfon, native of Ilorin.
- 6th Imam: Suleiman Gambari, native of Kano.
- 7th Imam: Abdullah Basunnu, son of 2nd Imam.
- 8th Imam: Yesufu Knakoju, from Ogbomoshe.
- 9th Imam: Lawani Kifu, son of 3rd Imam.
- 10th Imam: Aruna, Omo oba (prince) from Oshogbo.
- 11th Imam: Ajagbe Afasegbojo, son of 4th Imam.
- 12th Imam: Bello Inakoju, son of 8th Imam.
- 13th Imam: Muilli Ayinde Basunnu.

Mulli was the grand son of the second Imam and the chief Imam at the arrival of Alfa Lanase in Ibadan.

## A P P E N D I X E.

Lugard's Memorandum on Secular Education in Nigeria,1914

"Lugard's education programme ideally would have brought about a transformation of rural economy and would have modernized village life to the level of rural life in contemporary Europe. Village schools, he said, should be introduced all over the country. Peasants will be taught the three R's up to standard three level, so that they might understand government legislation and the proceedings of the so-called Native Courts he was establishing. They were to be given simple instruction on rotation of crops, manuring, marketing and cultivation of cash crop economy. Promising children in the rural school should be given higher technical education on scholarship. The towns should become centres of literary education to produce the much-needed qualified clerks. Scholarship were to be given to clever but poor boys in secondary schools and the children of chiefs should be specially encouraged to go to secondary schools, 'with a view to improving the next generation of school rulers.'"

(The above resumé is given by Professor E.A. Ayanda,  
University of Ibadan, Nigeria).

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