

CHAPTER FOUR

AFRO-ISLAMIC MUSIC EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

4.1 Islamic music education in Nigeria

This chapter discusses the introduction of Islam to the geographical area now known as Nigeria and the influence of Islam on music education in some of the Nigerian provinces.

4.1.1 Islam: the root(s) of Islamic music education in Nigeria

Islamic educational system is grounded in Islam. 'Islam' is an Arabic word that signifies 'peace' or 'submission' (Rudolf, 1978: 117). It is a religion that stands for a commitment to surrender one's will to the overriding will of Allah. One who submits to the will of God, according to the teachings of Mohammed, is a Muslim. 'Islam and knowledge can be said to be synonymous, not so much because of Islam's emphasis on knowledge and respect for human intellect as for the practical step it takes in making the search for knowledge obligatory on every Muslim, male and female' (Bugaje, 1997: 80). This is because Islam makes no distinction between religion and social life. As a religion, Islam includes everything that one does, and is not composed of a few rituals. Islam is a complete way of life concerned with every facet of life of its followers. Every Muslim thus, often strives to become a good and devoted follower by learning the Koran as the first thing.

The *Koran* itself, derived from Arabic word meaning 'reading' is a revealed precept on how to live in a community of believers (*jamma*). To a Muslim the *Koran*, as Diop puts it, 'is the sum total of all that existed, past, present and future, the whole universe' (Diop cited in Katsina, 1997: 37). This is because the *Koran* not only sets out the basic principles of life for the Muslim but also urges the Muslim consistently to acquire more knowledge. The first revelation of the *Koran* is concerned with learning, reading and writing. Some of verses of the *Koran* read:

In the Name of the Lord who created man from a cloth. Read thy Lord is most bounteous. Who teaches by the pen, teaches man that which he knew not? (Holy *Koran*, 96: 1-5), and say: My Lord! Increase me in knowledge (Hk, 20: 114).

Thus, learning is made mandatory on all Muslim. Dagama says, 'acquisition of knowledge is an obligation upon every Muslim' (Dagana cited in Lawal, 1997: 70). Islam as a religion of learning, thus, places a very high premium on education, essential purpose of which is to prepare individuals for life within a *jamma* (community).

The *sharia* (traditional Islamic law) is also important not only because it provides guidance for religious and civic duties but also for every aspect of individual and social life. *Sharia*, meaning the broad path which all Muslim are supposed to follow, is based on four main foundations: the *Koran*, the *hadith* literature (the recorded deeds, and utterances of the prophet Mohammed not directly and manifestly reflected in the *Koran*), *qiyas* (analogy), and *ijma* (the consensus of the learned and spiritually wise within the Muslim community).

The Islamic oriented policies are based on *sharia* principles. It places high premium on both scholarship and learning. It asserts that the truth can be pursued and the *ummah* mobilized to establish an Islamic socio-cultural order. Indeed, it was this kind of policy on scholarship and learning that enabled Islamic civilizations to grow from the time of Prophet Muhammad, through the Umayyads, the Abdassids, the Fatimids, the Ottoman empire to the Sokoto caliphate. In Islamic civilizations, the world is almost invariably apprehended religiously. Religion governs the day-to-day lives of the believers, and Allah is the sole determinant of things. There is no God but Allah and Mohammed is messenger or prophet.

The Islamic life is based on five pillars of Islam, which are the religious duties of, and ethical demands on believers. These include the profession of the *shahadah* (Islamic faith), the *salat* (statutory daily worship), the *sakat*

(compulsory alms tax), the *sawn* (Ramadan fasting), and the *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca which a Muslim should perform at least once in a life time, but preferably yearly) (Rudolf, 1978: 118). Spiritual concerns and rituals permeate life activities as well as socio-political order. Much authority is vested in the Islamic scholars and missionaries. The mosque, *Koranic/Kuttals* schools and the Islamic law courts remain the most important socio-religious institutions of Islam.

Religion is at the heart of Islamic education. Secularization is anathema to religious ideals in Islam. Islamic policy encourages the development of education by individuals, community and state. Education is seen as what enables individuals to study their religion well and know what Allah demands of them in order not to drift away from the true path. 'All knowledge' Halstead (2004:524) says, 'has religious significance and should ultimately serve to make people aware of God and of their relationship with God'.

Art functions for integrating the believers with the vital force of Allah and for identifying the believers with their Islamic community. The essence of the musical art is mainly to interpret only human experience religiously. Hence musical art functions simultaneously to improve and reflect the quality of Islamic way of life and to worship, honour and praise Allah and to proselytize Islam. In an Islamic context, Mahmoud Saleh suggests that educational policy should lay emphasis on the following general aims of education.

The purpose of education is to have the student understand Islam in a correct comprehensive manner, to plan and spread the Islam creed, to furnish the student with values, teachings and ideals of Islam; to equip him with the various skills and knowledge, to develop his conduct in constructive directions, to develop the society economically, socially and culturally, and to prepare the individual to become a useful member in the building of his community (Saleh, 1986:19).

Reagan (2000:667) puts Saleh's ideas in another way by saying that 'the purposes of (Islamic) education are three: *ahdafjis miyyah* (physical), *ahdaf rhyyah* (spiritual) and *ahdaf' aqliyyah* (mental). Taken together the Islamic educational policy sought to educate and assimilate professed Muslims (no matter their nationality) into Islamic culture. C.N Ubah identifies five basic values that Islamic education teaches each believer in order to achieve the purposes:

those acts which from the standpoint of faith were obligatory (*wajih*). Those which are recommended (*mandub*), those which were merely permitted (*mubah*), those which were reprehensible (*makruh*), and those which were absolutely forbidden (*haram*) (Ubah, 1977: 123).

In the Islamic tradition, any subject or skill to be taught or learnt has its attendant 'dos' and 'don't'. This is because Muslims are only educated in subjects, which contribute to the spiritual and moral upliftment of humanity and inculcate humility by recognition of Allah as the creator and custodian of knowledge. That is to say, purposefully, Islam and Islamic education link the good society with the godly society. Music, in the various ways it might be islamically defined, is an integral part of Islamic education. It is subjected to Islamic educational policies. The orthodox Muslim, therefore, seeks for and acquires music education only for the sake of Allah and uses it to serve humanity with the purpose of worshipping and getting the pleasure of Allah and His reward.

4.1.2 The evolution of Afro-Islamic music and music education in Hausaland/Northern Nigeria

The introduction and spread of Islam and Islamic scholarship in Nigeria have been well documented (Trimingham, 1959, Ajayi and Espie, 1965). According to these sources, Bornu has the oldest history, in terms of Islamic practice, among all Muslim communities in Nigeria. Islam, a product of trade and commerce with North Africa, got to Kanem-Bornu during the reign of Umme Jilmi (1085-1097) towards the closing decades of the eleventh century. The Muslim king of Kanem and his successor, Dunama (1097-

1150) were said to have made repeated pilgrimage to Mecca and even built a hostel in Cairo (Egypt) for the welfare of Sudanese pilgrims and students. In no time, Kanem-Bornu Empire became a centre of Muslim culture with several Muslim institutions and an Islamic political facade with strong ties to the rulers of Tunis.

Bornu, in the fifteenth century, led by a number of energetic *mais* (kings) superseded Kanem and made some parts of Hausaland vassals to Bornu. During the sixteenth century, Bornu had close relations with foreign powers such as Ottoman Turkey and Sharifian Morocco (Martin, 1977). Kanem-Bornu lasted as an independent state that kept on influencing Hausaland until the end of the nineteenth century when the British incorporated it into the Nigerian colony.

Neighbouring the Kanem-Bornu was a vast territory simply called *kasar Hausa* - the country of Hausa language. The first inhabitants of the territory were the Hausa groups called the Maguzawa (Turaki, 1999:13). During centuries of migrations and assimilation *kasar Hausa* has expanded in all directions to encompass non-Hausa people especially the Zabarma/ Djerma and the Fulani/Fulbe who entered the territory and settled. On the ability of the Hausa to assimilate others, Adamu observes:

Throughout history, the Hausa ethnic unit has shown itself as an assimilating ethnic entity and the Hausa language, a colonizing one to the extent that many people who were not originally Hausa and did not use the Hausa language later became Hausa through assimilation (Adamu, 1978:2).

Sutton sees the Hausa's ability to assimilate others not only as a cultural process but also as an ecological one:

Being Hausa implied belonging to a wider, more open and receptive system, rural indeed but not rustic, one in which the countryside could support and interact with semi-urban centres where markets gradually developed and political power was increasingly focused...Hausaness was thus a rejection of the rugged hills and backwoods with their small archaic

and very local tribes and myriads of old separate languages, such as have persisted in the Jos Plateau and in the "middle belt", in fact all around the south-eastern and southern borders of Hausaland (Sutton, 1979: 183).

This ecological perspective lends credence to the wide geographic spread of the Hausa along the vast northern savannah belt. From a geo-political perspective, the Hausaland was strategically situated between the Sahara desert and North Africa, to the north; and the forests and west coast to the south. Its open savannah made travel much easier and encouraged the development of agriculture and trade.

The term Hausa as the ethnonym for the people has appeared in the written sources only since the sixteenth century (Turaki, 1999:40). Until that time, the people of the territory were simply known by the names of their particular cities and kingdoms like Katsinawa, Gobirawa and so on. Before the establishment of autochthonous cities and kingdoms in Hausaland, there were several centres serving religious and political purposes. Bala Usman identifies Dala, Gwauron Dutse (in Kano), Kufera, Madakarch and Turunku (Zazzau) among the ancient centres of religions and political influence in Kano and Zazzau (Usman, 1974:34). These centres served as rallying points for bringing the people together for festivals, ceremonies and provided the foundation of the corporate form of the Hausa musical tradition (Kofoworola, 1988:70).

Thus, from the earliest time, the Hausa communities recognized no political authority but it found a unifying force in the religious beliefs of the *iskoki* (spirits) 'which are some of the active beings which directly influence human affairs' (Usman, 1974:38). The *bori* adept refers to the spirit world as *jangare* and it is believed that 'each supernatural spirit which resides therein is inviolable as a force through which forms of life crises could be solved' (Besmer, 1973:15). Among the circles of adept in Kano, Besmer says, *Sarkin Makada* (the chief of drummers) is a 'leader in the spirit world

followers invoke regularly in performance' (Besmer, 1973:16). *Bori* music was performed to achieve communication with the *iskokiland* to enhance the audience's appreciation and pleasure in such 'life-crisis events such as namings and weddings' (Besmer, 1973:16).

Between the tenth and the eleventh centuries, *kasar Hausa* witnessed the growth of many independent states such as Kano, Katsina, Daura, Gobir Zazzau (Zaria), Zamfara and Kebbi, which were bound together by a common language and (musical) culture and linked by trade routes. These states were independently established as *Habe* dynasties. The *Habe* dynasty began in Kano at about the eleventh century when Bagauda became the first *Sarki* (king), marking the establishment of the *sarauta* system in Hausaland (Burdon, 1972:22). The last kingdom was established in Zamfara at the beginning of the sixteenth century (Mahadi cited in Kofoworola, 1987:2).

The Hausa's successful effort to establish the *Habe* dynasties would appear to have been due to some extent to increasing contact with the outside world and to the introduction of novel instruments of coercion. Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, the *Kano Chronicles* records that shields, iron helmets, coats of mails and guns were introduced into Hausaland (Palmer, 1928:32) by traders from North Africa. These instruments enabled the Hausa to vest political authority in the hands of some hereditary rulers who established the coercive powers of the government in many states, such as Kano, Katsina, Daura, Zazzau (Zaria), Gobir, Zamfara, and Kebbi. The growth of these states was further stimulated by outside commercial cultural and religious contacts.

The establishment of the *Habe* dynasties in Hausa states led to the development of centralized authority, administrative machinery and judicial institutions. Walled cities were built and palaces were constructed where the kings reside. The cities with centralized administrative organizations served as a nucleus of power under which settlements near and far not loyal to the

king were subdued. They were developed into some kind of centres of trade and commerce where different kinds of materials were brought from long distances for trade transactions. It seems musical instruments were part of material carried from long distances for trade transactions in Hausaland. The royal courts bought some of the musical instruments like *tambari*, *kakaki*, *kaho* and *kuge* and made them part of the exclusive regalia of the *Sarki's* office.

Habe royal courts became the centres of authority with the *Sarki* (king) as the custodian of the central authority. Royal music was developed as an essential part of the political machinery of the *Habe* dynasties. *Rok' on fada* (state ceremonial music) emerged as a symbol of state power as some musical instruments were reserved for the exclusive use of the royalty. Imported *tambari* and *kakaki* became the most prestigious of the royal musical instruments that confirm the central placement of the *Habe Sarki* within the political hierarchy of his kingdom.

There were also chiefs in addition to the *Sarki*. The chiefs were representatives of 'some distant ancestor of family around which the clan developed... the clan heads belong to such which were known for their specialization on particular kind of trade or craft-guild that existed in all the socio-economic system of the people's organization' (Kofoworola, 1987:25). The chief in charge of royal music performances was an integral part of the political structure of the *Habe* dynasty. Describing one of the major divisions of the central administration of the *Habe* dynasty in Katsina, Bala Usman writes:

Within the palace was also the *Tamburan* Katsina, the head of the royal drummers who played on the ancient *Tambura* (Kettle drum) on special occasions; and various court artistes like the *Makadan Taushi* (small kettle drum players) *Makadan Kotso* (players of open hourglass drum), *Masu Kakaki* (head of *kakaki* players), *Masu algaita* (head of reed pipe players and the *Sarki Mahaukata* (royal jester) (Usman, 1974: 80).

Central to the establishment and the consolidation of the dynasty in Hausa states was organized warfare system. The Hausa chieftains used warfare to establish their authority over a wide expanse of territory. They were constantly at war with the aborigines on their borders to ensure a steady supply of booty as well as human resources in form of slaves. The *Habe* dynasties developed martial music not only 'as an important realm of their political machinery but also as a pre-determined practical measure to provide reason and justice to whatever inarticulate sense of injustice is registered on the body politics through such military action' (Kofoworola, 1987:29).

The major musical instruments utilized in course of active military service to the royalty were *Tambari*, *Kuge* and *Kaho*. These were used as means of rallying together a strong support of the military requirement of the royalty in times of warfare. Of these musical instruments, *Tambari* was the most important. *Tambari* was usually beaten wherever there was a warfare crisis to make 'a formal declaration of war and a symbolic demonstration of the fearlessness of the people to face the war... Soldiers also took *Tambari* to war and "its capture marked a symbolic record of warfare achievements of any royal kingship"(...). The *tamburi* of the *Emir* of Bauchi's palace are said to have been captured from the Borno warrior during the inter-ethnic warfare of the former time (...). The *tamburi* is exclusive regalia of the *Sarki's* office. Again, the royal musical instruments were used to communicate messages to the royal personage. *Kakaki* is played as a form of herald to the aristocracy and the common people concerning the *Sarki*. One of the most common translations of the sound of *Kakaki* is "*Gashi, gashi a fill*" which means "Here is he, behold the king" (Kofoworola, 1987: 32, 34).

The use of the musical instruments reinforces the central position of the *Sarki* in the political structure of the *Habe*. With the establishment of the *Habe* dynasties, the Hausa society became stratified according to cleavages of wealth, privileges and status corresponding to the distribution of power and authority. The society was polarized into the '*sarakuna* (chiefs) and *masu sarauta* (office holders) on the one hand, and the *talakawa*

(subjects, commoners), on the other' (Smith, 1959:24). The socio-political stratification in Hausa society was based on a lineage or descent system.

The musical arts in Hausa tradition were made to reflect the stratified structure of the society. Consequently, two patrons of the Hausa music emerged: the aristocracy and the commoners. Two main categories of music performing groups also emerged. These include the court musicians group, which belong to the aristocracy, and the non-court musicians group, which was patronized by the *talakawa*. Music performance was developed into a form of tradecraft hereditary family tradition. This brought about the obligatory relationship between the musicians who perform for aristocratic patrons and those who perform for the social guilds, such as those for butchers, traders, hunters, blacksmiths, hunters and long-distance traders (*fatake*).

Organized clientage system was also introduced into all aspects of the Hausa socio-economic organization. The clientele system 'provides for patronage, economic security and involves the exchange of protection for personal loyalty and obedience' (Whitaker in Turaki, 1999:25). The system is based upon mutual socio-economic benefits between unequal persons. Its social function rests on its ability to exercise influence in proportion to the rank and position in the socio-political hierarchy. In this system of partnership of unequal, an influential official enjoys the allegiance of less influential persons below him/her and owes allegiance to a more influential person above (Whitaker in Turaki, 1999:26). The clientele system enables a partnership relationship between the patrons and their client-musicians and has led to a situation whereby most Hausa musicians are hardly fully free to stand on their own except they associate with a powerful lineage in the community.

As *Habe* dynasties were being established, Islamic influence came to Hausaland from many directions and by many means such as the pilgrim traffic, trade relation with North Africa and Western Sudan and the political

influence of Songhai and Bornu (Trimingham, 1968: 132). The introduction of Islam which placed Hausa states on the path of development along Islamic lines according to the *Kano Chronicle* was during the reign of Ali, who was later known as Yaji (1349-85) (Palmer, 1928: 104). Hiskett suggests that cultural influences from Bornu may have reached Kano as early as the thirteenth century (Hiskett, 1984: 160). Doi maintains that:

Islam came to Hausaland in the early 14th century through traders and quiet scholars. About forty Wangarawa traders are considered to be the persons who first brought Islam to Kano during the reign of 'Ali Yaji', who ruled Kano during the year 1349 -1385. A mosque was built, and the Imam, the Muezzin and the *Qadi* were appointed (Doi, 1972: 2).

Adamu says that:

The spread of Islam into the region of Hausaland had for some time now been associated with the arrival of the Muslim Wangara traders-scholars in Kano in the middle of the 14th century. Recent researches have, however, suggested a much earlier date and argued that the arrival of the Wangara represented a stage in the Islamization of Hausaland rather than it's beginning (Adamu in Bugaje, 1997: 78).

The real significance of the advent of the Wangara, Adamu argues, 'should at best be taken to refer to the Islamization of the government circles in Kano but not to be regarded as giving an acceptable history of the first arrival of Islam in Hausa' (Adamu cited in Bugaje, 1997: 78). Writing on the Islamization of Kano, Phillips also argues:

In western Sudan, Islamization of the people seems to have preceded that of the rulers, for instance, in Jenne there were already 4200 Muslim scholars when the ruler converted. In ancient Ghana, there were 12 mosques at the time of the Almoravids. Although the conversion of the rulers often accelerated the conversion of the masses, it rarely began it in West Africa. The conversion of the ruler and his court was a dramatic turning point from which date the state may be considered Muslim. But this is a climax of a process of Islamization rather than its commencement (Phillips, 1982: 33).

Due to the absence of written sources, the exact period when Islam was introduced into Hausaland is obscure. However, with what has been stated above, the religion of Islam made its first in road in Hausaland, sometime, before fourteenth century. And, no sooner was Islam introduced into Hausaland than it continued to spread. The spread was by peaceful means (Kani, 1986:47). Such peaceful dissemination of Islam inevitably implicates a high degree of tolerance for mixing of Islam with pre-Islamic ideas and practices in Hausaland.

Furthermore, Hausa's involvement in long-distance trade also helped the spread of Islam. The Hausa contacts with converted Berber Muslims of North Africa and Saharan Tuaregs who had been trading across the Sahara for many centuries paved the way for the gradual assimilation of Islamic culture. Beside the traders, the Muslim clerics also helped to spread Islam. As Levtzion says: 'the merchants were the carriers of Islam into Hausaland while the clerics were the agents of Islamization' (Levtzion, 1986: 29)

Initially, Islam's spread was along the trade routes and Muslim communities developed in Hausa trading towns and cities. As Islam became widespread in Hausaland, *Koranic* schools and mosques were built and Islamic education was introduced. Many Muslim clerics and merchants visited, while some came and settled in major Hausa towns. During the reign of Tsamiam (1307-1343), the ninth king of Kano, the *Kano Chronicle* mentions the introduction of long trumpets in Kano and of a national anthem – *Zauna dai dai Kano garinkine* ("Stand firm, Kano is your city). As Palmer writes:

All the pagans had in the mean time fled, except Makare, Dan Samagi and Dunguzu Dan Dorini. The *Sarki* said to them, "why do you not run away?" They said, "Where were we to run to?" "Praise be God", said the *Sarki*. "Tell me the secret of your god". They told him. When he had heard the *Sarki* said to Dunguzu, "I make you *Sarki Tchibiri*". He said to Makare, "I make you *Sarki Garazawa*". He said to Gamazu, "I make you *Sarki Kurmi*". In the time of this *Sarki* long (trumpets) horns were first used in Kano.

The tune that they played was “stand firm, Kano is your city” (Palmer, 1928:104).

In the time of Dauda (1421- 38) also a refugee Bornu prince with his men and a large number of *mallams* arrived in Kano. ‘Apart from such regalia as horses, drums, trumpets and flags; it seems that the Bornu people also brought with them more sophisticated concept of administration, and it was from that time onwards that Bornu titles such as *Galadima*, *Chiroma* and *Kaigara* came into use in Kano’ (Kofoworola, 1987:32).

The long trumpets mentioned in the passages above were the *kakaki*. The *kakaki*, which was associated with military power in the Hausa states, was introduced and used in Kano in the fourteenth century. Perhaps one of the drums the Borno prince brought to Kano was the *tamburi* (a large kettledrum). The *tamburi*, which to this day is a symbol of sovereignty, might have been introduced into Kano in the fifteenth century. The introduction of such regalia as horse by the Bornu prince has implication for the introduction of the *goge* (one string fiddle) in Hausaland. This is because the horsehair is essential to the making of *goge* strings. The *goge* could be said to have been introduced to Kano in the fifteenth century before it spread to other parts of Hausaland. Later, it became intimately associated with the *bori* cultic practice, which was an integral part of the centuries-old *iskoki* religious systems, the dominant belief system in the pre-Islamic Hausaland.

The integration of Islam into the Hausa society was undertaken mainly by the Muslim clerics. The clerics, many of who were attached to the Hausa chiefly courts and were economically supported by rulers, indulged in providing magico-religious functions first and foremost to Hausa chiefs and to non-Muslims. Consequent upon this royal patronage, a large number of Muslim scholars came to Hausaland from North Africa, the Arab world and Western Sudan. The clerics attached to the chiefly courts were responsible for teaching the borrowed musical instruments that originated in the Magreb to the Hausa court instrumentalists.

The clerics through the Islamic magic, particularly medical magic converted some Hausa people to Islam. The converted Hausa later served as agents in the spread of Islam. Some converts attempted a mixture of the Islamic and the indigenous religious beliefs, which produced a kind of syncretism. However, many Hausa rejected the Islamic religion. As Yalwa says:

During the coming of Islam, many Hausa left Hausaland just to revolt against the Islamic religion. Some of them went north, some of them west. So a lot of Hausa migrated to Mali, Upper Volta, and Ghana. You find a lot Hausa who migrated to those areas just to avoid the acceptance of Islam (Yalwa in DjeDje, 1992: 165).

The reign of three Hausa kings in the fifteenth century who came to power with a clear Muslim identity and threw their weight behind the ongoing process of Islamization in Hausaland (Usman, 1981:121) are noteworthy. These include Muhammadu Korau of Katsina and Mohammad Rabbo of Zazzau who were stated in the kings' list to have been the first Muslim kings in their domains. The third king was Muhammadu Rumfa of Kano, an Islamic reformer, who took bold steps to organize his territory as an Islamic polity.

Of the three kings, Rumfa was the most innovative. He drew his model of government from the administrative legacy inherited from his predecessors and combined it with the influence of foreign courts of Bornu and Songhai. He commissioned al Maghili, a celebrated North Africa jurist of his day, to write for him treatise on how to create an ideal Islamic state in Kano. Al-Maghili composed for him the *Risalat al-Muluk*, a guide on Islamic administration, which is widely known as *The Obligations of Princes*. This treatise explains the juridical basis of an Islamic administration, the duties of a ruler towards his subjects, his responsibilities in the organization of the state machine and in the maintenance of the Islamic religion. Other practices and innovations attributed to his reign include the construction of new palace *gidan rumfa* (new palace), the adoption of *kakaki* (long trumpets) and ostrich-feather fans as symbols of royalty, and the first official

celebration of the Islamic '*lds*' (festivals). Construction of palace, adoption of long trumpets and the official celebration of Islamic festivals show the marked influence of the Bornu and Maghreb courts. Despite Rumfa's Islam reformative actions, Mahadi says:

His policies, activities and life styles could hardly be reconciled with Islamic tenets. Not only did he indulge in excessive luxury, he also introduced and practiced Kame (compulsory acquisition of all first born virgins), owned a thousand wives, and ordered people to prostrate, throw dust on their heads when saluting him (Mahadi, 1978:30).

Rumfa displayed, in other words, the same deep-seated syncretism as his contemporary *Habe* kings. Of the other *Habe* kings of the period, Alkali says:

...the rulers in *Habe* dynasty then worked hand in hand with the officers of the *bori* and their advice was always sought in matters of particular significance to the welfare of the state (Alkali in Kofoworola, 1987: 27).

Thus, the rulers in *Habe* dynasty accepted Islam syncretically. They accepted Islam while at the same time they saw Islam as no obstacle to remaining faithful to their traditional religion and its associated musical practices. The situation of Hausaland by the end of the fifteenth century has been summed up thus:

In all these polities, the late 15th and early 16th century was a period of radical political changes associated with Mai Ali Ghaji in Bornu (c1470-1503); the *Sarki* Kano, Muhammadu Rumfa (c.1463-1499); the first Kanta of Kebbi (c.1513) and the Askia Muhammadu Toure in Shongai (c. 1493-1528). The ideas and the attitudes, which brought about and generated these changes, were made up of elements of the Islamic and non-Islamic outlook on government found in these areas. In general these changes made for the prevalence of a conception of political community incorporating diverse descent, linguistic and occupational groups, round a government standing above all these with sovereign right over defined territory with which the community was closely identified. They produced the ideological climate within which the ...*Sarauta* system emerged

...Hausaland was a largely Islamised population in terms of norms and values and identity, whose rulers were also Islamised but whose legitimacy as a dynasty was based on the *iskoki* belief system. A numerous and self-conscious Muslim intelligentsia existed (Usman, 1981:21, 75).

Thus, just as rulers of *Habe* dynasty used Islam to effect societal transformation, especially state formation, so too they used traditional religious practices to claim historical legitimacy. Hausa, as a people who encouraged innovations, mixed Islam with other practices peculiar to the pre-Islamic way of life as a quest for civilizational synthesis of indigenous and Islamic civilizations.

By the fifteenth century, Hausaland was connected directly with North African states (Lamphear, 1977:86). Direct contacts were through the trans-Saharan trade. The trans-Saharan route which connected Kano and Katsina with North Africa trading towns was established over the years for the purpose of economic, cultural, diplomatic and intellectual relations between the rulers of Hausaland and their counterparts in northern Africa and beyond (Kani, 1997). Because of these relations, Hausaland became the centre of interaction among countless people of the world, from North Africa, and the Middle East to the forest belts on the West African Coast.

The trans-Sahara trade that had been brought about by the introduction of the camel into North Africa in the third century (Lamphear, 1977:87) enabled trade routes to meet in Hausaland. This commerce led to the formation of Hausa trading towns and cities from which Hausa states grew. As the international caravans rested and traded with the Hausa people, much exchange of ideas between the merchants and the Hausa people, often to the benefit of the Hausa resulted. With time many Hausa towns like Kano, Katsina had become home for many foreign settlers, each group bringing into Hausa towns its own culture. Consequent upon the international exchange, there evolved over the years layers of many civilizations upon which social culture of the Hausa towns and cities had come to be built.

Before the jihad, the trans-Saharan trade brought *Habe* rulers immense wealth that enabled them to surround themselves with pomp and pageantry to instil fear and evoke respect. The number of the *Habe* ruler's concubines, courtiers and palace musicians became the determinant of his prestige. The prestige of *Habe* rulers was further enhanced by the presence of courtiers and musicians praising and highlighting their achievements. Dependence of Hausa musicians on patronage usually provided by the paramount chief (*Sarki, Sultan or Emir*), palace officials and chiefs led to the evolution of some sort of professionalism among Hausa musicians.

Over time, many Hausa towns became major commercial centers whose dynasties had adopted Islam. For this reason Muslim scholars found Hausaland attractive as places of residence. Scholars were attracted from North Africa and from older Islamic centers like Walata and Timbuktu. 'Many prominent scholars from Timbuktu visited Hausaland on route to or from pilgrimage. Some of the visiting scholars stayed and taught in Hausaland for some time (Lamphear, 1977:86). There were also several students coming from other parts of Islamic world in search of knowledge in Hausaland. Many Hausa scholars and students too went to other parts of Islamic centers of learning outside Hausaland to study. As Islam became widespread, more *Koranic* schools were built. There was ample influx of scholars to impart the religion. Gradually, Hausaland was transformed into notable centers of learning.

By the time the products of the established Koranic schools graduated, there emerged in Hausaland a class of indigenous Muslim scholars, prominent among who were Dan Masani and Dan Marina (Hunwich, 1997: 212). These scholars were renowned for their contributions to the upliftment of the Hausa society in administration and social life. They also contributed immensely to the literary scene by writing books, teaching and preaching - all aimed at enhancing the standard of Islamic learning in Hausaland.

From its contacts with scholars from Timbuktu, a renowned centre of learning that attained its peak under the Mali and Songhai empires, the Hausa scholars adopted the Islamic culture known as “Timbuktu tradition” (Winters, 1987). Hausa scholars evolved the *Gardi* system of education from the Timbuktu tradition. The adapted system enabled some *mallams*, *Gardawa mallams*, to become professional or career *mallams* who take teaching and learning as full-time occupation. *Gardawa mallams* normally have many students - *almajiri* (immigrants) who learn to memorize the *Koran* under them. *Almajirai* normally migrate from the rural to Hausa towns during the off-farming seasons to learn *Koran* and trade. *Gardawa mallams* lived as wandering and settled teacher catechists. These teachers depended for their living on *sadaqah* (charity). The teacher is one of the eight categories of persons to whom *sadaqah* is prescribed. This reduced the status of an Islamic teacher to that of a mere beggar and he came to occupy a low social status.

Another category of emergent Hausa scholars was the *ulama* who were deeply learned in the science of the *Koran*, the *hadith*, Islamic theology and etymology. The *Habe* rulers as administrators employed some *ulama* as could correspond with the North African Muslim rulers. Those who did not enjoy royal patronage created *jamaat* (autonomous Muslim communities) in the countryside and withdrew with their students from the towns and the centres of power, following an old tradition of Islamic piety (Levtzion, 1986:14). As the *jamaat* grew, slave farming boomed. Islam made inroads into the countryside and won adherents among peasants and fishermen, who had hardly been influenced by Islam before (Levtzion, 1986:16). The *ulama* lived close to the peasants and established patron-client relations with some of them.

As Islam permeated the countryside, *Sufi* ideas and practices, mysticism, ascetism, *baraka* and miracles attributed to saints became rampant in Hausaland. The apolitical group *qadiriyya* became the entrenched brotherhood in Hausaland. The *qadiriyya* promoted concepts such as the

idea of sainthood, divine love, intuitive knowledge, seeking mediumship of earthly spirits, mixing of concoction for the peasants, and control over or transactions with *jinnns*. The group also encouraged the use of *bandiri*, (a type of tambourine), drums and other musical instruments in mosques and elsewhere while performing their rituals. They also sing songs in mosques and chant *dhikr* aloud in congregation (Gumi with Tsigu, 1992: 139). Again, the *Sufi* encouraged the evolution of a version of *bori* worship, which was modified to include some aspects of Islamic culture. *Sufi* ideas and practices were mixed up with the pre-Islamic Hausa way of life.

Consequently, mass conversion to Islam which did not preclude the continuity of the pre-Islamic way of life took place. The brotherhood helped the Islamized Hausa greatly in adjusting their lives to the changing political, social and economic conditions. Most *sufi* scholars' encouragement of innovations (the mixing of Islam with other practices peculiar to the pre-Islamic Hausa) enabled the emergence of the Nigerian Islamic tradition in which aspects of traditional Nigerian and Islamic ways of life were blended very harmoniously.

Between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the successive decline of Ghana, Mali and Songhai as great empires of the west left Hausaland to the east as the main cultural and trade centre of the Sudan (Hogben and Kirk-Green, 1966: 55). The independent states of Kebbi, Kano, Katsina, Zamfara, Gobir, Zazzau and Daura in Hausaland came into prominence as semi-Islamized territories.

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, Islamic influence expanded in every direction in Hausaland and gained considerable ground. Known for their commerce, farming, and cotton and leather industries; for the spread of their language; for the great centres of human activity they have formed; and for the fertility of their land, Hausa people earned widespread fame in the Sudan, the Arab, and Mediterranean and Western worlds. Important personalities like Leo Africans, Major Denham, Captain Hugh Clapperton,

and H. Karl Kuhn and other travellers and scholars visited Hausaland in large numbers. The notebooks of such personalities have become valuable in the historical reconstruction of Hausaland (See Shaw, 1964; Hodgkin, 1960). As Islam became widespread in Hausaland too, Muslim merchants, civil servants, judges, scholars and missionaries came from many parts of the Islamic world to Hausaland in large number. These immigrants contributed a lot to the development of Hausaland as a semi-Islamic territory.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the largest number of immigrants in Hausaland was the Fulani or *Fulbe*. Their first entry into Hausaland is said to have taken place in the second half of the fifteenth century (Palmer, 1928:104.). The Fulani are mostly wandering pastoralists. Their possible home is traced to the northern and eastern parts of Senegal (Azarya, 1978:15) from where they began their eastward movement across the Sudan. Gradually, the Fulani settled themselves among the people of Senegambia, Guinea, Mali, northern Cameroon and northern Nigeria. Azarya (1978:15) says 'their greatest concentration is in northern Nigeria where there live 3 or 4 million *Fulbe*'.

In Hausaland, two groups of Fulani: the *Fulbe Nai* (cattle Fulani) and *Fulbe sire* (town Fulani) are common. The *Fulbe sire* includes the aristocratic families such as the *Torodbe* and the small peasant types of farmers who no longer keep cattle in any large number. The *Torodbe* are Fulani who forsook their pastoral life, settled in various places in Hausaland, mixed with other Muslims and 'together with Berber and Arab clans formed the most learned and respected layer of Muslim religious leaders' (Turaki, 1999: 44). Also known as Fulani *gida* or *azure* in Hausa, the *Fulbe sire* were easily assimilated into Hausa culture because they are Muslims and they use Hausa rather than Fulfulde (Fulani language), except in Adamawa and Gombe. They experienced a process of acculturation through their exposure to a sedentary way of life. But the Bororo, a subgroup of nomadic Fulani

clung to their traditions and remained wandering pastoralists in Hausaland. Hausa culture and Islam less affect this group.

As the Fulani Muslim teachers, scholars and missionaries were being assimilated into Hausa culture through intermarriage, language and Islam, they formed the most powerful instruments of massive Islamization of the Hausa people. Some of them maintained attachment to chiefly courts and exchanged religious services for gifts and sustenance. Others maintained a measure of autonomy vis-à-vis the Hausa rulers by living with their disciples they withdrew away from the towns and centres of power in created autonomous communities following an old tradition of Islamic piety. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Torodbe clerics, called the *Toronkawa* in Hausaland, had noticed that there was political oppression of *talakawa* (peasants) by Hausa rulers. They had also realized that Islam as practiced in Hausaland was not a 'pure' one. A lot of local custom and belief had found their way into Islam. The scholars accused the Hausa rulers of doing nothing to correct the anomalies (See Turaki, 1999).

Consequently as the scholars were engaged in teaching and preaching Islam, and expanding it, they were also teaching and preaching 'purer' form of Islam. The autonomous Muslim communities in the countryside were converted from being centers of Islamic learning to foci of religious militancy. At the beginning the nineteenth century, the *jihad* in Hausaland, spearheaded by the Fulani, began in Gobir and spread to other Hausa states and beyond. The countryside Hausa joined the *jihad* in large numbers showing their discontentment with the Hausa ruling class. The success of the *jihad* paced up the process of the integration of the Fulani and the Hausa

During the *jihad*, the Fulani Muslim clerics and their Hausa followers succeeded in taking over power from the Hausa rulers and became the new rulers. As the new aristocratic class of Fulani and the Hausa emerged, they intermarried, intermingled and became assimilated. Yet, the Maguzawa, a

Hausa group, did not adopt Islam. They kept their Hausa traditions and clung to their traditional religions (Greenberg, 1946). Also, the people southern part of Hausaland, known as the Middle-Belt, which consisted of well over 200 ethnic groups concentrated in Plateau, Bauchi, southern Zaria, Adamawa, Saradauna (Northern Cameroun), Niger and Benue areas, remained non-Muslims.

With the collapse of *Habe* dynasties, the new Fulani-Hausa ruling class incorporated the Hausa states into a new polity - the Sokoto caliphate. The *jihad* brought about the creation of a new urban centre, Sokoto, as a capital and centre for government and Islam. The leaders of the *jihad* sought at all cost to divest Islam of syncretism. By 1809, the Sokoto *jihad* had ended. However, fighting for the establishment of emirates as part of a wider caliphate did not end until 1859 when Kotangora was founded as the last of the twenty emirates of the caliphate. Eventually, the polity that emerged under the Caliph had two capitals at Sokoto and Gwandu.

The caliphate was a vast multi-ethnic state which incorporated many different peoples, traditions and states like Hausa, Fulani, Nupe, Yoruba and innumerable other groups in Bauchi, Keffi, Nassarawa, Gombe, Adamawa and so on. The caliphate, established under governments that recognized a common head and operated one law, the *sharia*, was well beyond the frontiers of Hausaland. Nevertheless, the polity was not located on a continuous portion of land. It contained diverse independent communities and states within its borders. Some of the communities and states that refused to form part of the Sokoto caliphate include Igalaland, Idomaland and the central highlands with its diverse peoples commonly called the Middle belt. The Middle belt's resistance prevented Islam from infiltrating the southeastern part of modern Nigeria especially the Igboland. Nupe and Yorubaland were massively Islamized.

4.1.2.1 Islam in Nupe and Yorubaland

At the peak of the trans-Saharan trade, the main directions of trade were from the north to the south and from the east to the west. While the main east-west trade route from Bornu connected some Hausa states to Gonja, both the north-south and east-west trade routes linked the Nupe communities. Nupe is located in the savannah north (in a transitional zone between the tsetse-fly infested forest area of the south and the non-infested savannah north) where Muslim traders, horses, camels and asses are relatively free from tsetse-fly attack. Nupeland was as such a choice territory caravan traders liked to stay and trade for as long as they desired. As Muslim traders often spread Islam along trade routes, Nupe's trade contacts with Hausaland, Borno, Dendi territory, Songhai and Mali empires exposed the Nupe masses to varying degrees of Islamic influence. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Muhammad Wari who bore a Muslim name reigned as the *Etsu* Nupe (c. 1670-1679) (Balogun, 1980:183). Many of the succeeding *Etsus* (Nupe kings) also bore similar Muslim names. However, it was *Etsu* Jibril (c. 1746-C. 1759) according to Nupe tradition, who was described as the first Muslim ruler. This suggests that earlier *Etsus* were rulers who nominally professed Islam.

The Arabs, the Kanuri and the Fulani Muslim travellers, merchants and scholars were credited with the introduction of Islam to Nupe. In the 1820s, Mallam Dendo became a *jihad* leader who launched a successful *jihad* in Nupe. Nupe thus became one of the emirates of the Sokoto caliphate. Some Nupe *mallams* are believed to have moved further south into Yorubaland to propagate Islam. Nupe also exerted immense pressure on Akoko, and Afemai in the eastern part of Yorubaland to become Muslims.

Islam, according to Samuel Johnson's suggestion, was introduced to Yorubaland late in the eighteenth century. But recent researches by Smith (1965), Gbadamosi (1969), and Balogun (1980) have shown that Islam spread to Yorubaland in the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century, Islam had spread mainly along trade routes, 'not only to the Old Oyo but

also to Igboho, Kisi, Saki, Iseyin, Ikoyi, Ogbomoso, Owu, Ijana, Ketu and Badagry (Gbadamosi, 1969:8). Up to the end of eighteenth century however Gbadamosi remarks that:

...The Muslims in Yorubaland remained only a minority... the Muslims were scattered and their political and social status generally low (Gbadamosi, 1969:12).

By the end of the eighteenth century, Afonja, the *Are-ona Kakanfo*, head of the Calvary force of Old Oyo empire, conspired with Alimi, a Fulani cleric, some Yoruba Muslims, the Fulani and few Yoruba chiefs and staged a successful rebellion against the Old Oyo empire. But Afonja soon fell out with his Fulani allies as he refused to become a Muslim. Afonja was killed and the Fulani emerged as the controllers of Ilorin, and Ilorin was established as an emirate of the Sokoto caliphate. From Ilorin, the forcible incorporation of large parts Yorubaland into the caliphate was less successful. As such, Yoruba Muslims were treated as suspects by their larger and stronger non-Muslim colleagues, the few Muslims were easily intimidated, and some of them fleeing to join *the jihadists* in Ilorin while others who stayed in their respective communities had to be calm even in the manifestation of their faith (Gbadamosi, 1969:79).

From the 1820s onwards, some Yoruba emancipated slaves from Sierra Leone and repatriates from Americas returned 'home'. Most of these arrivals, generally called immigrants, who later fanned out from Lagos to other parts of Yorubaland, were Christians. However, some of them also were Muslims. Gbadamosi observes that:

. . Some had been Muslims before they were taken into captivity; others became Muslims in Cuba or Brazil largely due to the influence of Hausa or Fulani slaves. And quite a number of them had been in Sierra Leone, where, in spite of the strong character of the colony, they had retained their religion, practicing it as best as they could in their unfavourable circumstances ...More important was the calibre, experience and knowledge of these Muslim emigrants which compared well with that of their Christian counterparts. During their stay abroad, many of them

had acquired some skills such as masonry, carpentry, tailoring and baking, and had become relatively wealthy. These emigrants not only reinforced the Muslim community along the coast they also became the catalyst for socio-religious change in Yorubaland. The independent wealthy Muslims earned respectable positions in the Yoruba society. This helped to enhance the status of Islam from the lowly position into which it had been thrown. As these emigrants were familiar with European ways and methods, they played the role, consciously and unconsciously, of torchbearers in the diffusion of European ideas and western education among the co-Yoruba Muslims (Gbadamosi, 1969:54)

Meanwhile, the collapse of the old Oyo Empire had given rise to the independence of some tributary states. The movements of people from the grassland areas (northern Yorubaland) to the sub-tropical zone of the south had led to the emergence of new centres of political activities such as Ibadan, Abeokuta, Ijaye, Ilesa, Ijebu, and Ife among others. Some of these towns strove to assert authority and dominance over other towns. The Yoruba wars that led to the dispersal of the hinterland Yoruba Muslims resulted. After the wars, when the society became more stabilized, people re-established their destroyed cities and towns. The Muslims began to reconstitute themselves into Islamic communities in the major urban centres and from there they took Islam to the neighbouring towns and villages. Some of the leading Yoruba warriors and chiefs also identified with Islam. This conferred prestige on the Muslims. Yoruba Muslims also had spiritual nurture from the itinerant Muslim scholars and preachers from Hausaland, Nupe and Ilorin. Mosques and Koranic schools were built wherever possible and open-air spaces were secured for congregational prayers all over Yorubaland.

In 1851, the first European official interference in the affairs of the Yoruba people had come with the imposition of an *Oba* (king) on Lagos. This was followed by the declaration of Lagos as a British colony in 1861. Between 1886 and 1893, the British administration in Lagos, had engaged in spurious

signing of treatise with several rulers of Yoruba towns in disguise for the “pacification” of the Yoruba interior. By 1900, Yorubaland had become the colony and Protectorate of Lagos.

In all many Nigerian communities accepted Islam and adapted Islamic education place primary significance upon the preservation and transmission of Islamic religious heritage as revealed in the Koran and recorded in the prophetic traditions (*hadith*) and other classic texts. Many Nigerians were converted to Islam by the middle of the nineteenth century but the tendency everywhere was to hold on existentially to both Islamic and indigenous ways of life. The Muslims in Nigeria generally belong to the ruling political, religious and economic elite that remained strongest in the urban centres. The vast majority of peoples in the various Nigerian communities up to the middle of the nineteenth century held tenaciously to their indigenous ways of religious, political, social, artistic, educational and musical life. The indigenous people did not see anything wrong in anybody practicing Islam. Many of them became Muslims mixing Islam with indigenous way of life which produced a kind of syncretism. As Montein notes:

There was mutual tolerance between Islam and African cultures. The pagan, by taking advantage of Islam according to his own concepts, sudanize (sic) it; such that between these two poles, the Islamic and the pagan, there exists an infinity of intermediate states linking them to one another and which, depending on the angle from which they are observed, appear now as the Islamization of the Sudanese and now as the Sudanization of Islam (Monteil in Kizerbo, 1984: 364).

Islam, as a religion and way of life has blended very harmoniously with the social systems of many Nigerian communities, especially in the Yorubaland, Nupeland and Hausaland. The harmonious symbiosis of Islam with the indigenous life style of Nigerians has produced a kind of cross-cultural phenomenon. This has led to a situation in which normative transfer and

normative exchanges are occurring between Nigeria's indigenous cultures and Islamic culture.

There emerged Afro-Islamic forms of education. The music education aspect is markedly attentive to pious musical socialization and acculturation. Acculturation here is about cross-cultural musical transfers, the collision of one system of values with another; and at times, an interaction between whole civilizations.

4.2 The Afro-Islamic music education in Nigeria

From the nineteenth century, the islamization of Nigeria has been continuous until the present day. Islamization is a process of converting people religiously into Islamic ways of life. The Islamic education plays a great role in the islamization of Nigeria. But the indigenous arts have been more resilient despite the invasion of islamization forces. Some indigenous music styles and types practiced as structural components of traditional cultural activities have remained and modified by Muslims. The *Koranic* school remains a powerful force for the islamization of the indigenous music forms

4.2.1 The *Koranic* school and music education

One of the most influential institutional changes Islam has brought is the *Koranic* schools. The researcher's observation of socio-cultural life in Islamized Nigerian communities reveals that the *Koranic* school is part of the socio-economic life of those who profess the faith in Islamic. *Koranic* schools are located in mosques, private houses or premises set aside for the purpose. The *Koranic* school is always established nearby and operated at convenient times so as not to interfere much with the people's source of livelihood. Essentially, the *Koranic* school educates Muslims on the proper methods of recitation and memorization of the *Koran*. The *mallams* or *alufa* (teachers) in Hausa and Yoruba respectively own traditional *Koranic* school in most Nigerian communities. The *Koranic* school is open on Saturdays to Wednesdays in three shifts: morning, afternoon and evening, with holidays

on Thursdays and Fridays. In Yorubaland it was observed that the *alufa* may have assistant(s) or may be assisted by his older students. Male *alufas* are most commonly found.

Children between the ages of 5-15 years are normally admitted to the *Koranic* school. If a child comes from a scholarly family he could study under his father, brother or other relation. Otherwise, he is attached to any *alufa* chosen by the parents. At the 'primary' level, children are taught to recite the *Koran* basically in a singsong pattern by rote beginning with the shorter chapters of the *Koran*. The child starts to learn by memorizing the first ten *suras* (or verses of the *Koran*), beginning with the *fatiha*, the first *sura* (Kamoru Usman, 2003: pc). The shorter chapters of the *Koran* are usually those normally required for daily prayers. Generally, the *Koran* is divided into sixty parts (*esus*), each of which contains a number of chapters. The longer chapters are learnt as time goes on, as the child grows (Taofik Atanda, 2003: pc).

In the *Koranic* school, the *alufa* cantillates to the *omo ile kewu* (the pupils) the verse being learnt, while the *omo 'le kewu* repeat it after him. This pattern is repeated several times until the *alufa* is satisfied that they have mastered the correct method of the cantillation. At times, the *alufa* withdraws while the pupils, on their own volition, continue to repeat the verse being memorized. The *alufa* might come in again to link the verse being learnt with the previously memorized ones. In this way, the pupils are gradually inducted into 'singing' the whole chapters of the *Koran* by heart.

A pupil carries to the school a wooden slate on which the current chapter being learnt is ink-written by the *alufa*. He/she is introduced to the art of spelling and writing the *Koran*. Learning to translate the *Koran* follows thereafter. It is also possible for Muslims to pick up a few translations of the *Koran* unconsciously at *waazu* (sermons) or during other religious ceremonies – contexts in which *Koran* is chanted. Otherwise, the ability to recite and read the *Koran* without necessarily understanding it is deemed

unproblematic. Mazrui and Magaw's comparison of *Koranic* chanting with Italian opera singing by an American is illuminating.

The *Koran* is sometimes read in a manner comparable to an American opera singer singing Verdi in the original Italian. The singer needs not understand every word or every phrase of a particular song though he or she must at least capture its mood (Mazrui and Magaw, 1975: 225).

Less emphasis as such is put on understanding the *Koran* at this stage because Arabic is not used in everyday life of most Nigerian Muslim communities. The focus is on how to recite the *Koran* properly. Just as Muslim parents encourage their children to attend the *Koranic* school to learn the cantillation of the *Koran*, so too they encourage them to participate actively in the daily prayers and other events of the Islamic community. This intensive experience in the *Koranic* cantillation forms a basic tool of Islamic music education in promoting Muslims' interest in Islamic religious singing, especially the young ones. Learning the cantillation of the *Koran* lays more emphasis on the art of reciting it thereby reinforcing believers' interest in Afro-Islamic choralism.

At the advanced level, it was observed that adult students attend *Koranic* school at times convenient to their own daily schedules. The *Koranic* schools as such have no fixed time for opening and closing. Each student comes with book(s) of study. The duration of study is not scheduled. It depends on the individual's ability and commitment. In a typical study time, the *alufa* recites the text and explains it to each student or the student recites the text and the *alufa* translates, explains and comments on it in vernacular. Thus, individual method of teaching is followed. Every student learns at his own pace and according to what he can master. Studies generally include the science of the *Koran* such as *trafseer* (explanation or interpretation of the *Koran*), *asbabal nuzul* (reasons or causes for the revelation of *Koranic* verses) and *al-nasikh wal-man* (the abrogating and the abrogated verses of the *Koran*). The student studies the four recognized methods of singing the *Koran*. A student may train to be a:

1. *Qari* singer if he knows the *qira'a*'s method of simply reciting or reading the *Koran* cursorily;
2. *Tali* chanter if he can observe the rules and regulations of the *tajweed* method;
3. *Muattil* reciter if he can follow *tilawa* - recitation with inflection of the voice from memory; and
4. *Mujawwid* chanter if he is capable of adopting the *tartil* method of psalmodising (from memory) (Atanda Taofik, 2003: pc).

Generally, 'those who recite the *Koran* without observing the rules and regulations of *tajweed* are regarded as 'bad' chanters' (Taofik Atanda, 2003: pc). Atanda says this is so because *tajweed* is considered the most proper method of reciting and memorizing the *Koran*. The *tajweed* method involves rhythmical delivery, accentuation of long and short syllabus, observance of pauses in the embellishment of the voice and psalmodising of the *Koran* (with or without text).

The undefined duration of study as a form apprenticeship enables the students to specialize in the proper methods of reciting and memorizing the whole content of the *Koran*. It makes learning to perfect the student's religion, rituals acts and respect for the *alufas* and *mallams* a lifelong pursuit. In the process of learning, students are free to move from one teacher to another. The extent to which the teacher is patronized depends on the degree of satisfaction he gives to the students. A student may simply attach himself to his teacher until he completes his studies (Kamoru Usman, 2004: pc).

Students are required at certain stages to make offerings or sacrifices ranging from common food to money, prayer mats, chickens and rams (Taofik Atanda, 2004: pc). These are to be used for prayers for better understanding and more retentive memory. While studying under their *alufa*, the older students accompany their teacher to his preaching ground - usually in front of a big mosque or a busy and conspicuous part of the street

(Kamoru Usman 2004: pc). There, the students are put in situations in which they apply the knowledge of musical resources and procedures of Afro-Islamic culture they have acquired. As they treat the audience to music performance, mostly in praise of the Prophet, the students sharpen their creative abilities.

At the height of Islamic education is the music education of the scholars at the level equivalent to a University. Here lies the primacy of music learning and scholarship in contributing to the positive progress and change of any society. However, although there are many places in Nigeria that command immense Islamic scholarly respectability, evidence abound that none is known to have been involved in the intellectual study of music. This inability of Muslim scholarship in Nigeria to build on the achievements of earlier successes of the scholarship of Islam in music of the first ten centuries of the emergence of Islam in the Islamic world (see Halstead, 1994) has hampered Islamic music education in Nigeria from contributing effectively to the advancement of Nigerian Islamic communities' civilization. Muslim scholarship in Nigeria has been more dominated by the studies of Islamic sciences, like *figh* (jurisprudence), *hadith* (prophetic traditions), *tasawwuf* (mysticism), *balagha* (rhetorics), *nahw* (syntax), *fawhid* (theology), Arabic and Islamic literature. So, at best, pious Muslim scholars in Nigeria have been more involved in teaching and learning of the cantillation of the Koran to the younger generation. Much research work remains to be done on Afro-Islamic music education in Nigeria.

Many of the traditional *mallams/alufas* in Nigeria are *sufi*. They belonged, until the twentieth century, mainly to the *sufi* orders of the *qadiriyya*. This *tariqa* (ministering to the spiritual growth of the individual) in Nigeria has traditionally accepted practical musical activity in Islam. Against the incessant criticisms of the Muslim fundamentalists, the *qadiriyya* scholars educate themselves and others in the use of drums and songs in mosques and elsewhere while performing their rituals. The *qadiriyya* scholars are well-known as good writers of verse in Arabic and some Nigerian languages

like Hausa, Fulfulde and Yoruba. They also give and receive training in reciting or chanting their poems with musical instruments. Their poetry has always been on themes like panegyric, elegy, satire, vainglory, idyll (scenic description), love, reflection on life, admonition, supplication ascetism, mysticism, appreciation, and apology, story-telling and didactic subjects. Oseni says, 'over eighty percent of the literary works in Arabic by Nigeria writers are in verse' (Oseni, 2002:3). The *qadiriyya* scholars' abilities to write Islamic verse in Arabic, in vernacular languages and in the Nigerian secular song tradition have enabled them to use their poetic outpourings to synchronize Islamic literature with indigenous Nigerian (musical) culture (Hunwich, 1997: 210 -222). This has led to the emergence of numerous poet-musicians in Nigeria.

A music type associated with the *qadiriyya* brotherhood is the *bandiri* music and dance performance. *Bandiri* is a tambourine-like, single-headed drum, musical instrument of Indian/Arabian peninsula origin. *Bandiri* music and dance performance is staged in the mosque, every Thursday night, during *dhikr*, during *maukibi* (*qadiriyya* procession), as well as during the commemoration of the birthday of Sheik Abdulkadir al-Jilani, an Islamic Sheik of Baghdad Iraq, founder of the *tariqa*. The birthday is usually celebrated on the 12th day of the month of *rabiuthani* - the fourth month of the Islamic calendar. *Bandiri* music is also performed by another *tariqa* – *salamiyya* in Nigeria.

As the recognized custodian of the *bandiri* music and dance performance, the *qadiriyya* brotherhood inducts their members into its musical way of life for a lifetime. Although orthodox Islamic and Muslim not only see music performance in the mosques and elsewhere in the name of Islam as un-Islamic, as an innovation in religion which violates the Islamic tradition and teachings, the *qadiriyya* have continued to use the practice to relate music and religion to the Nigerian cultural life.

The *Koranic* school schedule is quite flexible. When the pupil is old enough to learn a trade, the hours of schooling are reduced; especially the afternoon session may be cancelled for him so that the child may be able to learn a trade or craft (including music) during breaks from *Koranic* study. Break periods are also utilized in learning the master's composed religious poems and songs. There, the students acquire how Afro-Islamic musical resources, ideas and ideals are traded. The teacher too is free to declare a holiday if he has to attend to some religious obligations, like naming ceremony, away from home. Children who are from families that provide community-wide musical service are allowed to follow their parents to musical engagements, with or without permission, without any dire consequences to their studies.

In all, learning the cantillation of the *Koran* could be accomplished within a few years after which enthusiastic students embark on advanced studies of one kind or another in order to become a scholar. Learning to be a Muslim scholar terminates with the issuance of *ijaza*. *Ijaza*, as a 'license' to teach, is given by an *alufa* to his cantillation worthy students. The *ijaza* contains the history of the *alufa* and brief biographies of all those *alufas* from whom he has acquired knowledge, going back to generations down to the time of the Prophet. The *wolimat*, a graduation ceremony, takes place once the Muslim has gone through the 'primary' level or becomes a scholar.

Thus, the most obvious observable sign of Islamic influence in Nigeria since the nineteenth century has been the prevalence of Islamic religious chants. They are chanted in Arabic and recited in imitation of the orthodox Islam *tacbir*. From hearing and overhearing the cantillation of the *Koran* from the mosques, the *Koranic* school and other events of Muslim life as well as the call to prayers five times daily from the mosques non-Muslim Nigerians living within Nigeria Muslim communities have had to gradually and unconsciously internalize some of the idiomatic expressions of Islamic religious music. The chants however have ultimately remained surface phenomena despite the fact that the cantillations form an integral part of

Nigeria Muslim's repertory. Vocal music in most Nigeria Muslim communities has however assimilated the new techniques of Islamic cantillation which brought about profound changes to the vocal styles of the pre-Islamic music era.

Koranic education had by the end of the nineteenth century become largely a basic element of social status for many Muslim communities in Nigeria. It has made Islamic chants a part of public knowledge in Nigeria, and enabled Nigeria Muslims to complement Islamic chants with a rich oral culture of religious poetry and praise in local languages. It has empowered some Nigeria Muslims to model their song-poems in Arabic and Nigerian languages on the traditional Nigerian sung-poetic form.

4.2.2 Islamic preaching and music education

The Muslim scholars train not only to be teachers of the *Koran* but also its preachers. So, just as students learn under their *alufa* to chant the *Koran* in order to teach its proper cantillation, so too they learn to present the *Koran* as a kind of Arabic narrative prose in order to preach and evangelize with it. Islamic preaching, (Arabic: *waa'zu*), traditionally involves verbal narration - an amalgamation of simplistic interpretations of the *Koran* and at times common wisdom and mythological saints, sinners, angels and *jinn*s. Islamic preaching is traditionally done in mosques and open spaces in Nigerian towns and villages. The authority to preach is said to be 'derived from the *Koran* which enjoined all Muslims to call (people) to the way of Allah' (Taofik Atanda, 2003: pc).

The researcher's observation among the Yoruba reveals that *iwaasu* (Islamic preaching) is moulded in such a way that the traditional Yoruba narrative techniques were adapted and intermingled with the Islamic forms of oratory and preaching to encapsulate Islamic ideas. This, in turn, serves as bedrock for 'the development of religious songs and tales and also to a dialogic and theatrical style of giving narratives' (Abubakre & Reichmuch, 1997: 195). A literature reveals that right from the nineteenth century

Nigeria, a public oratory culture had emerged in which stories, motifs and sayings derived from the *Koran* and from other Arabic and Islamic sources were injected into Yoruba historical traditions and legends in music performance (See Abubakre and Reichmuth, 1997: 195). Abubakre and Reichmuth give a vivid description of the phenomenon of preaching among the Yoruba Muslims:

Preaching can indeed be seen as the oldest phenomena of performing arts among Muslims in Yorubaland. The preacher and his team, which included several recitators, singers, and sometimes-even musicians, would enter into close interaction with their audience. The listeners would be attracted by his reputation, his voice, and his powers of oratory, which would be judged by his narrative devices and by the strength and validity of his message. They would participate by responses ranging from identifying with a hero in a narrative to answering direct questions from the preacher and joining in singing. Purposive preaching was also sometimes conducted for a new ruler where episodes encouraging good governance and the avoidance of religious wavering were equally popular. The tendency of these kinds of preaching was to create a situation of mimesis through tales and their theatrical presentation by the orator, which thus contributed to the development of dramatic performance. Preaching at this stage was drawing from existing folktales in Yorubaland whose topics were adapted and Islamized to give them specific moral implications. Topics from the classical *adab* literature were also used for this purpose. A good number of such tales came into circulation among the Yoruba Muslim community. To encourage the diffusion, those preachers who were versatile enough in Arabic recorded them in written versions and kept them for further use (Abubakre and Reichmuth, 1997:195).

Preaching, here, is conceived within an ideological position of the preacher as master-musician-teacher who uses music as pedagogical vehicle for discharging a sacred mandate - the propagation of Islamic ethics and values - which in many ways do not detract from the aesthetic demand of the traditional Nigeria story-telling genre. Preaching turns out to be stories told in dramatic form by means of music. It becomes a way of constructing

alternative moonlight narratives, and an alternative way of arousing social consciousness.

The preacher becomes a craft person who uses his ability to combine interest in ideas and people. The craft person is used here instead of craftsman because it comes closer to the Yoruba word *oni*, which means, person. *Oniwaasu* is the Yoruba word for the person who preaches. As a verbal craftsperson he sets himself the task of artistically experimenting a blend of Yoruba and Islamic oratorical genres in music performance. As he preaches he effortlessly combines entertainment with education, and uses the contexts of preaching to extend the frontiers of Islam to accommodate African thought patterns through the cultivation of mastery of music making in himself, his students and his audience. Constantly interacting the traditional Yoruba – Islamic musical principle in preaching, the Islamized Yoruba music scholars adapt Yoruba narrative techniques to Islamic forms and idea; use the context of preaching in appropriating the *Koran*; in developing musical performance with religious inclination; in preparing future musicians of such religious songs and tales and in sharpening the musical acuity of their audience.

4.2.3 Life rites and music making in Islamized Nigerian societies

As soon as a wife informs the husband that she is pregnant, rituals concerning birth begin. The husband contacts an *alufa* to prepare protective charms and amulets to drive away evil spirits and *jinn* who may want to take the place of the nascent good child, and from then on, the woman wears the prepared amulets. The amulets or *hantu* may be prepared for the woman to drink. *Hantu* is made of *Koranic* inscription on slate washed with water (Taofik Atanda, 2003: pc).

When the baby eventually arrives, shout of *Allau akba* rends the air. Neighbours come and sing songs of praise to Allah and rejoice with the lucky woman who successfully delivered a baby. Naming ceremony takes place on the eight day of the birth of the child. An invited *alufa* and his

entourage perform Islamic religious rites in the morning. According to the Islamic practice, the child's hair is neatly shaved and buried. The shaved baby is brought and given to the *alufa*. The *alufa* recites *adhan* into the baby's ear and proclaims the baby's names into his ears before announcing the names to the hearing of all. The parents of the child and other well-wishers give money for prayers for the child to the *alufa* who chants relevant passages from the *Koran*, prays and invokes blessings on the child. Most often recited passage is the verses used in blessing Ibrahim in the *Koran*. Sacrificial ram may be killed. Sermon is preached to remind the parents of their duty over the child's circumcision, nature, and care, attendance at Koranic school and the essence of home education. Food is given to those in attendance and taken round to well-wishers in the community (Kamoru Usman, 2004: pc).

The researcher observes that during naming ceremonies when the *alufa* leaves, merriment begins. Music making involving singing of religious songs rends the air for the rest of the day. Afterwards, the child begins to absorb the techniques of chanting the Koran as he is strapped on the mother's back to the daily prayers and Islamic ceremonies and festivals. Before he begins the *Koranic* school older people around introduce him to Yoruba childhood songs, games, tales, moonlight plays and informal chanting of the *Koran*. At about the ages of 5 or 6, the child attends the *Koran* school from home (Kamoru Usman, 2004: pc). As the Yoruba say: *ati kekere ni 'male tii komo re laso* (it is from childhood that Muslims teach their children how to murmur (chant)).

If the child is born into a family that is mandated to maintain a musical tradition, the child begins to serve his apprenticeship in his father or mother's group, the family or relative's group (Taofik Atanda, 2004: pc). This is because, among the Nigerian Muslim communities, being Muslims does not deter a family from taking up the family tradition. Among the Hausa, for instance, the child begins to attend with the group the weekly ceremony that takes place at the district head's house, on Thursday nights, when the

Muslim Sabbath starts. This affords the child the opportunity to learn how to celebrate the district head's Office, ancestry and power in set terms. He attends *jumat* services on Friday afternoons where he begins to follow the cantillation of the Koran and the call to prayer that is done five times daily from the mosque's minaret. If he belongs to the family that makes music for the Hausa royal class, he begins to learn how the performance of *tambari* is used in validating the esteem of the office of the royalty. He learns how *kaho* and *kakaki* are used for royal communication. He begins to learn how other instrumental and vocal genres are used to praise the Emir in terms of decent, religious piety, military achievement, administrative expertise and generosity on the eve of Sabbath day, at *sallah* and on such special occasions which may be termed palace ceremonies. If the group the child belongs to is not attached to the royalty, the child learns how to make music for the commoners. Most often, this is not based on any hereditary pattern. From the group the child is attached, he/she learns how the traditional music groups achieve aesthetic integration (See Smith, 1959).

4.2.3.1 Wolimat ceremony

(Kamoru Usman, 2004: pc) says that 'when the child graduates from the *Koranic* school, *wolimat* ceremony is performed'. He describes '*wolimat* as consisting of ceremonies and rites that are performed during and after the completion of the whole *Koran*'. 'In the course of learning the *Koran*', he says, 'some minor ceremonies are performed when the child gets to *sarah al-fil* (chapter 105) of the *Koran*'. On this occasion, the child and his parents provide some food items for the *alufa* and other pupils in the school. Another ceremony comes up when the child gets to recite *the surah al-ala*, which is called the completion of the first *eesu*. *Eesu* refers to the division of the Koran into sixty portions. Each portion contains a number of chapters. For this ceremony the pupil procures a hen or cock for sacrifice. After the sacrifice of the offering, the fowl is cooked and shared to the pupils and some other people in the neighbourhood (Kamoru Usman, 2004: pc).

While the child is learning the *Koran*, especially at off-farming season, he is encouraged to learn a trade. During breaks from study, children who are not old enough to learn a trade, among the Hausa, for instance, engage in begging with songs at the houses of local Muslims. Begging, according to Gumi with Tsigá:

was considered quite normal then for young pupils to go into the community and beg for food. In fact, it was often encouraged in the society apparently as a way of instilling humility and discipline among the pupils. Modesty was considered necessary for cultivating the proper learning culture and begging was accepted as an effective way to teach it (Gumi with Tsigá, 1992: 10).

Most *almajiri* beg during their breaks from 11, a.m. to 3 p.m., each day and all day on Thursdays and Fridays when they are on holidays from study. Begging is used in maintaining the *Koranic* school system. The older students consider themselves above begging. This is because the older students now realize that beggars are meanly looked at in the society. Thus, during break from study, they usually learn a trade to become self-reliant and self-supporting and reserve begging for the younger ones. The *Koranic* school system provides the majority of the artisans and skilled workers in Hausaland (See Gumi with Tsigá, 1992: 10).

Among the Yoruba, the researcher observed that learning a trade ends with 'freedom' ceremony. A person, after an attachment period to a master, is declared competent to be on his own. The ceremony takes place in the house or the workshop of the master. On the day of the ceremony, the graduate with his/her people assemble to receive the master's blessings. If the person is graduating from a music master, the other apprentices make music for him round the town.

4.2.3.2 Islamic festivals

Events in the Islamic world follow a lunar calendar containing 354 days. *Sallah*, (Muslim festivals), follow strictly the calendar. There are two most

important festivals in Islam. These are *id-al-fitr* (Yoruba: *itunu aawe*) and *id – al kabir* (Yoruba: *ileya*).

4.2.3.2.1 *Id al-fitr (itunu aawe)*

Id al-fitr is the celebration that marks the end of Ramadan fasts. Ramadan is regarded as the holiest month on the Muslim calendar, when all are required to fast from dawn until sunset. Each day during the Ramadan fasts, Moslem youth make *were* music to wake the faithful up for the early morning meal. *Were* consists of leader-and-chorus vocal music accompanied with instruments. At the end of the thirty days of fasting *id-al-fitr* is observed. However, the preparations for the festival usually begin during the month of Ramadan, especially in the last ten days of the Ramadan fasts. These (last ten) days of the fast are significant to Muslims, as they believe that it was during this period that the *Koran* was sent down for the guidance of mankind (Kamoru Usman, 2004: pc).

On a night of the ten days, (not rigidly fixed), the *lailat al-quadir* (the night of majesty) is celebrated. It is celebrated from night until *suhur* (morning meal) with religious songs. Another celebration takes place on the eve of the festival. Muslims keep awake with music performance to herald the end of the fasting. Among the Yoruba, some *Koranic* schools stage theatrical performances in which some Islamic themes are presented (Taofik Atanda, 2003: pc).

In the morning of the festival, after the morning prayers, believers move to *yidi* (the praying ground) - an open ground usually sited on the outskirts of the town) for communal prayers. Important dignitaries arrive in a procession with their retinue of musicians flanking their mentor. As soon as the Chief *Imam* of the area arrives on the praying ground, the congregations stand up for the two genuflections of *id* prayers. After the prayers, believers disperse, processing through the streets, visiting friends and important dignitaries with music (Taofik Atanda, 2004: pc).

Smith (1957:29) has given a detail description of post prayers – ground celebration among the Hausa. Among the Muslim Yoruba *id al-fitr* songs are congratulatory songs for believers on the successful completion of the month of Ramadan. At home, those who can afford it slaughter a ram or goat and offer their visitors meat, food and drinks (Taofik Atanda, 2004: pc). The festival day affords those who have been making *were* music opportunities to climax their Ramadan music performances.

4.2.3.2.2 *Id al-kabir (odun ileya)*

As soon as the new moon for *dhul-hijja* is sighted, Muslims begin their preparations for the *id al kabir*. This *sallah* is reminiscent of Ibrahim's (Abraham's) sacrifice to Allah. On the day of the festival, Muslims move to *yidi*. The Chief *Imam* buys a good ram that is taken to the prayer ground, leads the prayer and delivers his sermon and *khutbah*. He then slaughters his own ram to show to the believers how ram is slaughtered in the Islamic way. The festival continues at home with individuals slaughtering their rams. Music is used in processing from the prayer ground.

Muslims use music in processing from the prayer ground to their homes. The festival continues at home with individuals slaughtering their rams. On this first day, only the inner parts of the ram are cooked and distributed among the members of family. On the second day, the rest of the ram is distributed, cooked and served with food round the town. Visitors are entertained. In accordance with Islamic culture, the sacrifice of ram is only prescribed for those who have enough means to do so. However, all believers participate in the celebration of the festival (Kamoru Usman, 2003: pc).

4.2.3.3 Ramadan and *ajisaari* music

During the month of Ramadan, Muslim wake up to prepared and eat *sari* (a meal) before dawn. At the earliest time of Islam in Yoruba, Muslims found it difficult waking up for the *sari*. The difficulty often experienced in waking up spurred some Yoruba young men associations to form musical groups for

waking up believers for *sari*. A musical group that wakes Muslims up for *sari* is known as *ajisaari* or *ajiwere*. The music, the *ajisaari* group performs while parading the streets in their community, is called *were*. It is accompanied with traditional Yoruba musical instruments. It has developed into neo-traditional Yoruba music forms like *apala*, *waka*, *sakara* and *fuji*.

4.2.3.4 The *waka* (song)

Derived from Arabic word, *wagja*, which means an incident, a happening or an anecdote, *waka* evolved among the Yoruba, as a Muslim type of song that corresponds in some way to Christian Yoruba hymns. Its evolution satisfies the Yoruba Muslims' need for music in socio-religious activities like naming, wedding, funerals and the return of pilgrims from the Holy land (Mecca). It is also performed during *sallah*. Simply composed with traditional Yoruba philosophical undertone, *waka* lyrics are varied according to the context(s). *Waka* performance usually begins with a vocal recitation of *modiu* (*Koranic* chanting) akin to *adhan*. *Waka* songs feature stories of the life of the Prophet, his admonitions, stories of the *sahaba* (the companions of the Prophet), praise of Allah and His Prophet, general Islamic exhortations, maxims, and stories, motifs and saying derived from the *Koran* and from other Arabic and Islamic sources. *Waka* instrumental ensemble combines traditional instruments like *ogido*, *agidigbo*, *adamo* and *seli* (pairs of circular tin-foil idiophones with jingling metal rings).

Alongside *waka*, there developed *sakara* and *apala* music which are adaptations from *were* music by professional Yoruba artists for entertainment purpose. A contemporary development of Islamized music led to the evolution of *fuji*. Members of the ensembles that play *sakara*, *waka*, *apala* and *fuji* (modern islamized popular music forms) do not often belong to the same families. These have become pop music genres among the Yoruba Muslims. The members are recruited into groups based on musicality or the person's willingness to join the group. Learning in the groups is by rote through apprenticeship.

4.2.3.5 Muslim age-grade groups

In the Nigerian Islamic society, all persons within given ages still constitute an age set as obtained in the traditional Nigeria. Among the Yoruba, almost all Muslim children who attend *quranic* schools at the same time form an age grade. Yoruba Muslim children who performed *wolimat* ceremony around the same period of time most often form Muslim age grade groups who meet regularly on socio-religious issues. Muslim adults too form associations within the Muslim community. Examples of such associations in a Yoruba Muslim community include *Egbe Imam*, *Egbe Agba*, *Egbe Ajijola Anabi*, *Egbe Imole Esin Islam* and *Egbe Iyasuna*, *Egbe Alasalatu*, *Egbe Majekobaje* and *Egbe Omolore*. All these *egbe* (clubs) meet regularly every Friday after *jumaat* service in the houses of members on rotational basis. They learn to make use of music to propagate Islam, to provide a sense identity and unity for individuals who have become Muslims. They serve as contexts for the introduction of Arabic influences, the modification of Nigerian musical forms, and the introduction of new attitudes towards traditional Nigerian music and towards music in socio-cultural life (Taofik Atanda, 2004: pc).

4.2.3.6 Marriage ceremony

After graduation from a *Koranic* school, and learning a trade, a person prepares for marriage according to Afro-Islamic rites. At the *Koranic* school, lessons are given on sex education, marriage rites and obligation according to the tenets of Islam. The *alufa* leads marriage ceremony in Islam after the dowry, which is put at the value of a quarter of *dinar* in gold (about ₦2,000.00 or \$140), has been paid. After solemnization, the ceremony is followed by an elaborate music making in the fashion of African tradition.

The *nyia* (marriage contact) itself was made under Islamic rites but ceremonies both during and after the marriage betray other cultural traits. One such example is the *kalimbo barata* when the bride's friends went into the bush to collect branches from the *akimbo* thorn-tree with which the bridegroom and his best friend were supposed to be beaten. Another was the *kalaba*, the final ceremony of the marriage, which

For burial, the body is wrapped in three pieces of cloth according to Islamic law (Trimingham, 1972: 179), and put in the grave as such with prayers. Gumi with Tsiga notes:

There are no ceremonies to observe during burials in Islam. The religion emphasizes that the dead should be put into the grave with minimum delay after death. Normally, a formal prayer lasting about ten minutes is said, and the body is then simply put in the grave (Gumi with Tsiga, 1992: 113).

Prayers are again said for the dead on the third, the eighth and fortieth day after death. Among the Hausa, musicians are not invited to play music, but musicians can attend the funeral as friends or relatives of the deceased. Religious songs may be sung during the wake keep for the deceased in cases of death at times when burial cannot be performed immediately – for example, the death of a person at evening time when grave cannot be dug. As there are no ceremonies for the dead, several music types associated with burial and funeral rites in the pre-Islamic era in Nigeria have remained extant among the non-Muslim Nigerians.

With Islam came a linear view of creation. In Islam reincarnation is anathema: a person is born, lives and dies only once, hence there are laws in the religion concerning every aspects of the believers' life so that they can live their lives once and for all in line with the will of Allah. Islamic music education helps believers to musically live harmoniously lives in this world and prepare them for the life to come. In Islamised Nigerian communities, music making in funeral is rudimentary. However, some communities, especially Yoruba ones have been integrating traditional funeral music with the Islamic chants.

4.3 Islamic policy on music education

The word precisely equivalent to English word, music, does not exist in the Arabic language but the notion of music exists in Islam. Farmer (in Halstead, 1994: 144) uses the terms *taghbir* and *ghina* to set the sacred and secular music apart. While the former refers to the singing of religious

music, the latter is used in the sense of the practical art of (secular) music.

Neubaner, however, notes:

Religious 'music' in Islam is a contradiction in terms because no Islamic language has ever described the reading of the Koran, hymn singing or even dervish dances as 'musiqi, but has used special designations in order to avoid the secular implication of the word (Neubaner, 1980).

In Western Europe, *taghbir* that literally means 'raising the voice' (Farmer in Halstead, 1994: 145) would be easily considered a branch of music because of its structure. There is a general difficulty to equate *taghbir* with music because music in Islam connotes immorality. *Taghbir* deals with sacred texts, and consists of certain kinds of stylized speech and artistic singing that are classified as 'recitation'.

Halstead says, 'the most obvious examples of recited music in Islam include the art of *Koranic* recitation (*quaha*) and the call to prayer made from the minaret (*adhan*)' (Halstead, 1994: 147). Since these cantillations share many characteristics of singing, Nelson suggests that *taghbir* be considered 'not merely as one among many musical genres in the Muslim world, but as the pinnacle of Islamic musical achievement' (Nelson in Halstead, 1994). Al-Faruqi, also suggests that 'if we wish to look for a musical 'Great Tradition' in the Muslim world then it is to the cantillation of the *Koran* and the call to prayer to which we should look to' (Al-Faruqi in Halstead, 1994). *Quaha* and *adha* are an important and inescapable part of everyday life for old and young, men and women, religious and non-religious, in every Muslim country.

Among the Yoruba Muslim, the cantillation of the *Koran* is conceptualized as singing. The Yoruba says: *ise nla, orin kewu* (that is, the singing of *Koran* is an arduous task). Ordinarily, *orin* is a Yoruba word or song. *Kewu* is a translated Yoruba word for the *Koran*. The difficulty Yoruba Muslims experience in memorizing and understanding the sacred texts of the *Koran*

must have led to this assertion. Yoruba regard *Koran* cantillation as *orin* (song). Edward Blyden comments on the role of *Koran* in Africa:

For the Africans the *Koran* is, in its measure, an important educator...They are united by a common religious sentiment, by a reverence and esteem. And even when the ideas are not fully understood the words seem to possess for them a nameless beauty and music, a subtle and indefinable charm, incomprehensible to those acquainted only with European languages. It is easy for those not acquainted with the language in which the *Koran* was written and therefore, judging altogether as outsiders, to indulge in depreciating its merits. Such critics lose sight of the fact that the *Koran* is a poetical composition and poetical composition of the earliest kind... (Blyden, 1967: 6).

The cantillation of the *Koran* texts among the Yoruba seems to possess a nameless beauty and music. Based on these statements, *taghbir* is considered, in the context of this study, as a viable and virile Islamic musical practice, and recognizes it as Islamic music education.

The *sharia* is instrumental in defining, delimiting or sanctioning all areas of Muslim life. It guides the musicians and gives a positive, negative or neutral sanction to them: what they learn, teach and perform and their access to believer-audiences and other socio-religious musical activities. *Sharia* differentiates between *halal* (permitted) or *haram* (forbidden or inadmissible) music, both sacred and secular. All *haram* acts and deeds are actionable in *sharia* court and they may attract *hadd* (prescribed punishment). The making and taking of *haram* music may be a major wrong to the pious Muslim but it is not actionable in courts. There are two approaches in Islam to what is called *haram* music: legal and moral. The legal approach identifies the kinds of musical expression and musical instruments, if any, that may be considered permissible, or admissible. The moral approach considers the potentiality of music to lead believers astray from the true path, and the place of entertainment and sensual enjoyment in the lives of Muslims (al-Garadawi cited in Halstead, 1994: 145).

Halstead (1994) gives two categories of *halal* music. The first category which he suggests might be called the tradition of religious singing or chanting' includes the *Koranic* chant and the call to prayer. Other chants in this category include *talbiyya* (pilgrimage chants) and *takbirat* (eulogy chants including exaltation of God), *hamd* (thanks to God), and *madih* (praise of the Prophet Muhammed). Other suggested chant to be included in this category is *shir'r* (chanted poetry with noble themes) (al-Faruqui, cited in Halstead, 1994). The chants in this category, for the most part, are vocal renderings without instrumental accompaniment.

The second category of *halal* music, Halstead (1994) suggests may be classified as *musiqa*. This includes battle songs and other forms of military music that are meant to spur followers on in battle. Celebration music which is associated with the two main festivals of Islam, *id al-fitr* and *id al adha* are included in this category. Other admissible celebration music includes music made during wedding feasts and those made to celebrate the arrival of a respected guest or return of a loved one. Occupational music, including caravan chants to relieve the boredom of long journeys, work songs, singing to relieve loneliness and lullaby, is an integral part of this category. Most of these music types, Halstead (1994) explains, consist of unaccompanied vocalizations, though the *daff* (small drum or tambourine) is sometimes specifically permitted and larger drums and sometimes, whole bands are permitted at times of battle (Halstead, 1994). Other suggested music types accepted into this category are 'unaccompanied songs whose lyrics are pure and innocent and give positive encouragement to Islamic beliefs and practices or speak of virtuous behaviour or the purpose of human life, the well-being of society and the appreciation of nature' (Halstead, 1994).

In addition, Halstead identifies two particular kinds of *haram* music:

The first is senseless music, that is, song with erotic or suggestive lyrics or songs performed in a sexually provocative manner. The category also includes songs which may be innocent in themselves but which are performed in conjunction with prohibited activities

such as gambling, drinking alcohol, mixed dancing or illicit forms of sexual activity (...). The second prohibited category is music which is specifically related to a religion other than Islam (Halstead, 1994: 140).

Haram music are said to go against the letter and the spirit of the Islamic way of life. Other dimensions of music legally prohibited in Islam, but which Halstead regards as being controversial include all music related to pre-Islamic or non-Islamic origin, all singing accompanied by instruments (apart from those aforementioned permitted ones) and all instrumental music. Invariably, *ma'szif* (the use of musical instruments) is unlawful. Al-Kanadi, while expatiating upon this maintains that the word *ma'azif* covers three distinct things: musical instruments, the sounds of musical instruments and singing to musical accompany-ment (Al-Kanadi in Halstead, 1994:142) and all are regarded as *haram*. The *Shafi's* school of law, one of the four legal schools of Islam, goes as far as suggesting that the theft or destruction of musical instruments was no crime, since such instruments could not be lawfully owned by Muslims in the first place (Farmer in Halstead, 1994: 145). However, Farmer points out, hundreds of treatises have been written to prove the opposite of the illegally regarded, controversial areas of music.

Significantly too, *sufis*, whose main goal is to have direct experience of God or spiritual union or submersion in the divine love, have found the disapproval of many musical forms unacceptable on spiritual ground. Music, *sufis* argue, is a path to God Himself. Thus, although music is forbidden in Islam, there are certain specific exceptions to the rule. These are what guide the formulation of music education policy in Islamic communities. Ambivalence characterizes music education policy in Islamic society generally.

4.3.1 Islamic music education policy in Nigeria

Probably the earliest written legal and constitutional foundation for the conduct of a proper Islamic government in the history of Nigeria is traceable

to Hausa land. In the fifteenth century, al-Maghili, a visiting North African jurist to Hausa land, wrote two treatises for the *Emir* of Kano, Mohammed Rumfa. The first of the treatises, *Tajal-Din fi ma Yajib ala al-Muluk*, commonly called the *Obligation of the Princes*, delineated explicitly for the ruler, the relationship between the ruler and the ruled, the state functionary, the political institutions that maintain the government, division of labour, sources of revenue and the political structure of the state. The second treatise, *Jumla Mukhtasara*, treated specific issues relating to the conduct of justice, anti-Islamic social practices, reform of institutions, and implementation of the *shari'a*. Though Rumfa used the treatises in promoting the Islamic interest, which enhanced his position and consolidated his political base, the implementation of the letters of the treatises for the purpose of control of societal affairs by other *Habe* rulers was minimal.

Another important policy related document was *Al-Siyuti's Risala* to the kings of Takrur, among who was *Amir* Ibrahim Sura, the ruler of Katsina. In *Risala*, al Siyuti gave Sura who was referred to by al-Siyuti as *Sahib Katsina*, (the lord of Katsina) and other rulers in Hausaland and Agades, pieces of advice on state and social conducts and the necessity to implement justice among other things (Kani, 1997:27-28). Furthermore, Mohammed b. al Sabbagh (called 'Dan Masani) was reported to have compiled a book on education in which he outlined among other things the curriculum of education and various branches of Islamic learning (Kani, 1997:29). These treatises which provided the only authority for a Sudanese context are studied by scholars in Hausaland.

Shehu Usman dan Fodio, in his ideals of reviving Islam and setting up an Islamic system of government and social order along lines which he considered to be orthodox, wrote a number of pamphlets and booklets which served as policy directives to his *emirs* on how to administer their provinces according to the dictates of the Islamic law. But as Hunwich observers:

The Shehu was not an Islamic primitivist who wished to restore the kind of situation that had existed during the life of the Prophet and the first four Caliphs. Instead he accepted in full the later organizational development of the Islamic state as part of their essence of the religion; he also accepted the ideas of the *Sufi* (mystic) brotherhoods with their accompanying litanies and cult of saints, through who intercession with God might be sought (Hunwich, 1965:276).

Usman dan Fodio had an ambivalent attitude towards musical practice in Sokoto caliphate. In a representative music related statement Fodio proclaims that:

A drum should only be beaten for some legitimate purpose, such as for calling a meeting; announcing the departure of an army, when it pitches camp or returns home and the like... How much worse, then is what the ignorant people do playing musical instruments for entertainment and singing (Fodio quoted in King, 1980:309).

In Fodio's view, music is a necessity but a practice a devout Muslim should shun. Fodio berates Muslims' involvement in music making for only entertainment purpose. To him, functionalism should be the basis of music making among the Muslims. In line with Fodio's proclamation, the early *emirs*, appointed for their piety, discarded the practice of having courtiers and palace musicians attached to them as *pre-jihad* Hausa rulers practiced it. However, the early *emirs* suffered a loss of prestige when they discarded the practice of having palace musicians. Abubakar observes that.

The prestige of a number of *emirs* was affected by the absence of courtiers and musicians praising and highlighting their achievements. In short, the simplicity of the first emirs and their poverty evoked contempt and cynical comments rather than admiration. Such and similar attitudes from the populace induced the subsequent generation of emirs to greatly compromise the postulations of their predecessors on several aspects of government (Abubakar, 1980:326).

Fodio's restrictions on music did not last with the populace's reaction. It had little legal force and remained largely a matter of recommendation for the establishment of an Islamic state in Hausaland. As the religious fervor of the *jihad* against the pre-*jihad* musical practices did not last, the syncretized Afro-Islamic musical forms continued to flourish after the *jihad*.

Another important Islamic policy document was Sultan Bello's book - *Usul as-Siyasa (Principles of Politics)*. In it, Bello, the successor of Usman dan Fodio, outlines the responsibilities of the *emirs* in the Sokoto caliphate:

The *emir* should lay down for the people of his domain their worldly and religious duties. He should see to the rearing of craftsmen and the encouragement of artisans whom the people cannot do without...He should in addition exhort people to produce food and store food; settle populations in urban and rural areas; build walled towns and bridges; maintain markets and roads, and work for the realization of their general welfare as a whole... build mosques and fill them with prayer and worship; appoint judges and teachers and arrange for the payment of their due stipends; appoint the educators of children and preachers and inspectors of public morals to ordain the right and forbid the wrong; and collectors of the poll tax and investigators of the oppressed and destitute (Bello in Usman, 1997:11).

In Hausa society, music is a craft. The rearing of musicians as craftsmen is one of the responsibilities of the *emir*. The *emir* patronizes the musicians and controls the occasions for the performance of *roko'n fada*. The *emir* builds mosques as fundamentally places of prostration, religious spaces within which believers' converse intimately with God, and provides mosques as institutions for the learning of the cantillation of the *Koran*. The *emir* as religious authority dictates Islamic government policies and influences it. He promotes the production Islamic educators of children and preachers of public morals who use music to give positive encouragement to Islamic beliefs and practices.

In the formulation of Islamic educational policies, references are usually made to the peculiarities of Islam as a revealed religion. Thus, the Holy *Koran*, the only source of knowledge in Islam, is divided into *fard ain* (obligatory to all), and *fard kafiya* (knowledge obligatory on few and sufficient number of people by whom the collective obligation is fulfilled). The first of the two kinds of knowledge is an essential pre-requisite to the second one as it determines the justice to it and the person who seeks it. Islam affirms the 'being' of knowledge rather than 'becoming' or 'coming into being'. Knowledge, in Islam, is subsisting and unchanging. It is perfected in *Koran* as God's words (See Halstead, 2004:524)

Change, development and progress are dictated by the use of knowledge for the attainment of Islamic ideal. Knowledge is to shape the believer's attitude toward God, cosmos, and time, and to relate it to the different stages and experiences of his life. Knowledge is invaluable in fashioning a believer's identity and consciousness. The main aim of education to which music contributes is the production of a good person (Halstead, 2004:524). Music making is considered good if it provides individuals with foundations necessary for the practice of the Islamic faith. Knowing how to recite the *Koran* is as such obligatory on all Muslims. Identified promising *Koranic* students are chosen and prepared to become (clerics) specialists. Only few *mallams* become specialists in the art of *Koranic* recitation and teaching. The ideal that guided the formulation of Islamic music education is the music tradition tolerated by the orthodoxy. Music making is for Allah's sake. However, the Islamic music policy in Nigerian communities was deeply influenced by the indigenous African music policy.

The *emir* is responsible for the production of the musicians who make music for the aristocrats and the commoners. The music however, does not always have a specifically religious purpose. Sometimes, it is tangential to it; at other times, it is far from it. Though Islamic thoughts and practices do permeate the works the musicians create, it is the geographical, political,

economic, technological and social conditions of the pre-Islamic Nigerian communities that dictate the context and content of music making.

4.3.2 Islamic religious and political leadership and music education

In the nineteenth century Nigeria, two types of Muslim leaders emerged. These are the religious and political leaders. Muslim communities, organized on a communal level having the central mosque as pivot, had the *ulama* as the religious leaders. The political leaders were found in the Hausa courts as aristocratic rulers led by the *emirs*.

4.3.2.1 The *ulama*: *sufi* scholars

The *ulama* as Islamic religious leaders are Muslim scholars who are enjoying a distinct prestige of their own as custodians of Islamic culture because considerable premium is placed on education in Nigerian Muslim communities. *Ulama* as a body of intelligentsia provide the society with the world-view based on Islam, and make the pursuit of Islamic ideals and value their prerogatives. Muslim scholars are traditionally paid no fees but they receive state encouragement by way of presents out of the *zakkat* occasionally given to them by political leaders, and unofficial support by way of *sadaqah* presented to them from time to time by the parents of their pupils. The *ulama* are respected for their dedication to learning, loved for their distance from power and corruption and socially recognized for their identification with the aspirations of the ordinary people in the midst of whom they lived. *Ulama* represent the conscience of the society and beacon of hope in the Islamised Nigerian communities.

Two categories of the *ulama* are identifiable in literature. There are the scholars who encourage innovations, often mixing Islam with other practices peculiar to the non-Islamic Nigerian society. There are *ulama* that continually seek a return of Nigerian communities to the pristine values of Islam as enshrined in the *Koran* and the *hadith* of the Prophet. *Ulama* belong to two main *sufi* orders in Nigeria: the *qadiriyya* and *tijaniyya*. *Sufi ulama* are 'recognized as the force which has kept the spirit of Islam alive in

Nigeria' (Winters, 1987: 182). The *sufi* scholars are the brain behind the entrenchment of the indigenous Nigerian view of Islam 'as a dynamic force which can be used to better mankind' (Winter, 1987:182). They give unflinching support to all manifestations of popular Islam in Nigeria that tolerates variant practices and encourages *bid'a* (innovation).

Sufi scholars have encouraged innovations associated with marriage, burial and funeral, birth and naming ceremonies, and the observance of customary ritual associated with the installation of traditional rulers. They have also encouraged the cultivation of Islamic literature such as *madh* (panegyric, eulogy or praise of the Prophet and elegy or threnody composed after the death of the (one praised). These innovations are deemed by the non-*sufi* scholars to have assumed a material dimension. Other innovations of the *Sufi* scholars include the chanting of *dhikr* aloud in congregation, the use of drums and songs in mosques and the use of *bandiri* and other musical instruments to go into ecstasy.

The *sufi* scholars among the Yoruba issue charms and amulets to musicians to enhance their performance, for memorization and recall of copious passages, and to ward off evil ones at the context of performance. They also show liberality in allowing semi professional Yoruba drummers to practice other professions. The activities of the *sufi* scholars have led to a mixture of the Islamic and traditional Nigerian music, which produced a kind of syncretism - Nigerian Islamic music.

4.3.2.2 The fundamentalist *ulama*

The other breeds of *ulama* are those who promote orthodoxy by emphasizing the derivation of all social and moral codes from strict Islamic law. With less attachment to the royal court, these breeds of *ulama* seek a 'purer' form of Islam because, as they claim, Islam as practiced in Nigeria is not a 'pure' one. They seek to prevent or correct deviations from the established Islamic practice.

An aspect of non-Islamic customs and practices found in Islam that the *ulama* have always had to contend with is music. Those who beat drums in mosques in their views are infidels. Makers of instrumental music are godless Muslims because instrumental music is associated with 'pagan' practices and sensual entertainment. For instance, fiddlers, among the Hausa, are disdainfully regarded in orthodox Islamic circle, because they are associated with *bori* spirit possession, entertainment and praise. Events and ceremonies like naming and wedding that interweave Islamic and traditional practices are viewed as negative. Ceremonies with elaborate music making are considered ostentatious and slipping into materialism. Dancing is abhorred because it encourages mixing of the opposite sex. Islamic authorities barred women from public music making because it is considered unfitting for the pious. Young girls must make music publicly veiled.

Fundamentalist *ulama* revere Islam's official position on music making. They have explored Islamic musical traits less systematically. They cherish *Koranic* chanting and the call to prayer, both of which require learning a set of cantillation methods, and frown seriously at music performance and study. Fundamentalist *ulama* wage fanatical wars against all Nigerian indigenous beliefs and practices and relentlessly coerce believers to renounce and denounce their indigenous musical life. Inevitably, musical practices associated with aspects of traditional life that are considered to be for infidels have almost entirely vanished, especially in Northern Nigeria where Islamic fundamentalism predominates.

Despite this position, *bori* music (the practice of spirit veneration with music), which conflicted with the central Muslim tenet, has continued obtrusively in Hausaland. The fundamentalist *ulama* have enabled the cultivation of Islamic and Arab aesthetics of expression such as ornamentation, vibrato, mellisma, vocal nasality as well as the use of declamatory vocal delivery and the use of tense vocal delivery in vocal music. They also helped in the propagation of love for certain musical

instruments of Middle East and North Africa origin in Nigeria. These musical traits have been identified in *waka* and other Islamized vocal forms (Euba, 1971; Vidal, 1977). Some instrumental genres that reflect Islamic influence in Nigeria are the *kakaki*, *bandiri*, *goge*, *alagita* and *tamburi* that are use in Nigerian music.

When the *Habe* dynasties collapsed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the fundamentalist *ulama* formed the core of the Muslim reformers who took over the control of the Hausa states from their *Habe* rulers. Some of the *ulama* were formerly in the employment of the *Habe* rulers as men of God, preachers, scholars, teachers, traders, advisers and medicine men. When the *ulama* overthrew the *Habe* rulers, they formed and ran governments in accordance with Islam. A central government, Sokoto caliphate headed by a caliph (supreme head of the faithful) was established. The title *emir* was adopted as the formal designation of the provincial chief executive. *Sarki*, the official to the rulers of pre-jihad *Habe* states, considered un-Islamic, was dropped and replaced with *emirs*. *Emirs*, as rulers in big urban centres, combined religious and political leadership. Religious leaders began to wield secular powers.

About twenty autonomous emirates were set up in the Sokoto caliphate. The emirates were given free hand to solve their socio-cultural problems using Islam as the basic ideology. The *emirs* tried to abandon indigenous way of life. The new emirates distanced themselves from living in an ostentation fashion in big palaces filled with women, courtiers and palace musicians. The first *emirs* sacked the musicians in their courts. This evoked contempt and cynical comments from the populace (See Abubakar, 1980:326). Such attitudes from the populace induced the later generation of emirs to revive and adopt the pre-existing institutions. The pre-existing institutions that had been operative for centuries which people were accustomed to maintain that:

A ruler should be surrounded with pomp and pageantry to instil fear and evoke respect. The

resources of the land should be centered on him and these could be disbursed to maintain the loyalty of subordinates. The prestige of a ruler was to some extent determined by the number of his concubines, courtiers and palace musicians (Abubakar, 1980:326).

Thus before the end of the nineteenth century, the emirate governments had to give royal patronage to aristocratic music making due to social pressures. *Roko'n fada* (ceremonial music), purely based on the playing of musical instruments to entertain the royalty and the people, re-emerged and became a symbol of power and source of prestige in the caliphate. Most *roko'n fada* musical instruments like *tambura* (the state drum) and *kakaki* (the long state trumpet) have their origin in the Maghreb. These two musical instruments could only be played in the presence of *emirs*. The less important instruments include indigenous ones like the *farai* (a horn made of bamboo and wood), the *kaho* (a roan antelope horn), *ganga* (a double-headed snared drum), *ganga algaita* (small double membrane drum played with *algaita* and a foreign derived instruments called *algaita* (a reed instrument). These instruments are used to perform some unverbilized, epithetical texts known as *take* (call tunes) which are traditionally used to celebrate an office rather than the office holder or the patron.

Roko'n fada has re-emerged as music that make many of the emirates' people feel alienated from their society because it relies heavily on borrowed musical instruments. The musical aesthetics upon which it is based is another source of alienation. King notes that:

rokon fada remains, as in the 19th century, a symbol of traditional power. As such, it is as opposed to change as the power that bred it. It is still largely dominated by instruments of external origins, and with its highly functional role maintains itself apart from the mainstream of musical developments. This separation, particularly in musical aesthetics, has led to the rejection of state ceremonial music by large sections of the society, who see its instruments as the symbols of the authority they serve rather than hear them as makers of music (King, 1980:309).

Hereditary musical specialists are continually recruited and educated to perpetuate *rok'on fada* despite its alienating tendencies and conservatism. The aristocratic Hausa musicians inherit their craft from kinsmen and are compelled to pursue it as a career from childhood. Royal musicians undergo some kind of formal training from master royal musicians so that they can perfect their area of specialization although the family tradition controls the establishment of the various aristocratic bands. They train to perform *roko'n fada* regularly in front of the *Emir's* palace on such occasions like *yamaci* or *sara* (the weekly statement of authority on Thursday), the celebration of the Islamism's *ids* (festivals) in which the *Emir* rides in procession to and from the prayer-ground, and *nadin saraunta* - the installation of emirate officials including that of, the emir himself. Other occasions for *roko'n fada* include the reception of august visitors to the *emir's* palace, the arrival and departure of the *Emir* from a journey together with the celebration of weddings and births within the royal personage or their clients or dependants in the palace. Just as the aristocratic musicians learn to dress to match the moods of the special occasions and reflect the social status of their patrons so too they learn to limit the versatility of their creative inventiveness according to the ideological objectives and purpose of their bond.

Politically significant persons of the emirates often have their personal band whose formation is influenced by such facts as 'the historical traditions of a particular court, the patronage; the financial sponsorship of the royal personage and finally the inherent hereditary factors in the continuation of the family trade-craft of the performing arts' (Kofoworola, 1987: 55). The formation of each band varies from one royalty to another. In the formation of each band, the type of instruments, the number of musicians, the style and content of the presentation are pre-determined by such factors as historical tradition, hereditary ideology, and conservative social situations which seriously tend to constrain aesthetic liberty.

4.3.2.3 Court praise singing

Yabon sarakai, the art of praising the emirate official in song, is an integral part of the Hausa political structure from time. It is produced as integration of the vocal praise songs with the instrumental performance. Its main musical instruments include *taushi*, *kotso*, *banga*, *jauje*, *gangar saraki*, *farai*, *gangar algaitar*, *туру* and *kalangu na sarki*. Court praise singers' bands are institutionalized 'to sing the praises of the aristocracy; to recall to memory the achievement and glory of their genealogical lines of descent and to encourage them to measure up to that standard' (Kofoworola, 1987: 77). The band is usually big since it involves various cadres of craft specialists such as instrumentalists, lead and chorus singers, and *sankira* (praise shouters). In a court praise singers' band, although the instrumental is important, emphasis is usually on vocalization as the main vehicle of communication. Songs focus on the following five major attributes of the aristocracy: religious piety, descent, military accomplishment, administrative capability and generosity.

Maroka (a praise singer) learns how to present his songs in dignified forms; in a way that resembles a poetic recollection of past events in tranquillity. The appointment of the court *maroka* is not necessarily hereditary; it is often based on proven musical ability. A *maroka* in a court is a professional devoting his life to the art of political praise singing. What the apprentice learns is how to praise political office holders 'at set times and in set terms, praising the title, the virtues; and the lineage of the individual' (Smith, 1957: 30).

The attachment of praise singers' team to a patron depends on the remuneration. Generally, *maroka* bands playing to emirate officials are relatively independent and freer to praise-sing other persons who are willing to give gifts in return for the *maroka's* services. *Maroka* teams that attend the *Emir's* palace are more attached to the court because of the *Emir's* generosity as a powerful patron. Apart from praising a patron, *maroka* might undermine the authority of his/her patron's rivals by exposing and ridiculing

their shortcomings. *Roko* is rarely directed at the Islamic religious leaders and *Koranic* scholars, because Islam frowns at it. Praise is due only to Allah and His Prophet in Islam. *Maroka's* arts are curtailed as they only hire out their services to the distinguished leaders in their community primarily for gift giving. The patron owns the performance and the *maroka's* freedom of opinion is considerably restricted. In the *emir's* court, *maroka* has no other business than to sing the praises of the ruler and to herald distinguished visitors to his presence. Other distinguished individuals in the emirate hire the services of acknowledged *maroka* to inspire them to action, to proclaim their merits to the public, and to enhance their image.

The *maroka* band in the court is hierarchically organized to reflect the social hierarchy among the aristocracy of the Hausa society. Titles such as *Galadima*, *Makama*, *Turaki* and *Wambai* are used to distinguish various artistes of a court group in terms of the status of each member of the group (Kofoworola, 1987:57). Court musicians wear rich costumes that reflect their ranks and the status of their patrons. David Ames observes:

Court musicians and farm drummers ranked somewhat higher than the others and this seems to be reflection of the exceptionally high rank of their patrons, since the ruling aristocracy, *Koranic* scholars and farmers respectively, had the highest rank of all, with wealthy merchants being a close fourth (Ames, 1974: 18).

Despite the close affinity between the court musicians and their patrons, musicians among the Hausa, 'are traditionally considered to belong to a low social status and by custom, a member of the aristocracy would not allow his/her child to marry, be friendly with or, worst of all, become a musician' (Ames, 1968: 84). Perhaps with the exception of the court musicians who are wealthy because they combine gifts from patrons with a secondary occupation, most members of the Hausa community regard musicians and music profession with disdain. If a fiddler, the aversion is complete. 'Many Hausa parents would disagree to give their daughter's hands in marriage to a fiddler. Many non-musicians would refuse to eat in the same bowl with

musicians or lodge in the same dwelling' (Ames, 1974: 155) with them. To large extent, most musicians in Hausaland are disdainfully regarded.

This attitude results from a rigid doctrinal approach to Islam that sees music as product of the devil, and the musician as a devilish person. Hence, musicians suffer marginalization from those who are in the positions of authority and power. Musicians are treated like second-class citizens. As part of Nigeria Islamic heritage, the self-respect of the musician becomes dependent upon the status of his patron, not upon his own creative attainment. Only the aristocratic musicians have full-time music vocation. Commoners' musicians rarely have patrons who support them with adequate finances, and are only obliged to make music for a gift from their patrons. The fact that musicians in Islamized Nigerian society have to seek the support of rich and powerful patrons in order to survive has led to a deep-rooted conviction that musicians are beggar-like. Musicians are often compared and equated with the *almanjari* - the *Koranic* students who beg, and are regarded as beggars in Hausa society. Musicians are stigmatized by a perceived association with musical activities that are construed as counter to an orthodox Muslim way of life. This is the reason why modern music education has not taken root in the northern part of Nigeria.

4.3.3 Islamic policy of submission to the will of Allah and the Hausa musicians

One of the fundamental Islamic principles by which Nigerian Islamic society is governed is the submission to the will of Allah. It is upheld that Allah owns music and music making is for Allah's sake. Music is created by divine inspiration, and musicians are conduit for Allah's inspired music. Musicians' recognition of their own musical weaknesses in the face of Allah's sufficiency is the first step in the establishment of good relationship between pious musical persons and the Godhead.

This principle has made many Nigerian Muslims to abrogate not only personal musical responsibilities to the self but also to the other selves.

Many Muslims hold the belief that few people are born with Allah's musical endowments, and those musically endowed owe their creative inventiveness to dependence on Allah. They are expected to be pressed into service of the less musical. Most Nigerian Muslims who deem themselves less musically endowed as such have attitude problem to personal social musical events. The Islamic principle of submission to the will of Allah has left many Nigerian Muslims without the ability to use music in a meaningful way with and among their people.

The Muslim musicians believe they can do everything through Allah's endowments: they can feed their children, support their families and thrive by rendering loyal and selfless services to all, especially to the political authorities, which hold their power by the leave of, and in trust, for Allah. They received training in using music for the expression of Islamic self and identity whether they are paid a regular salary or given handsome gifts and occasional allowances such as a woman, a horse, or a portion of land on which to farm by their patrons.

Music making in the emirs' courts is predominantly 'anti-women' in attitude and form. Women are given a second-class role, if any role or position at all. *Taken sarauta* is made mostly by men. The invincibility of and lack of women in royal music leadership roles makes the value of women's creative inventiveness go unrecognized and un-affirmed. There develops a culture in which Muslim men and women do not musically flourish and grow equally. A reason for this seems to revolve around a belief among the Islamic hardliners that it is impossible to balance the cares of child-rearing with the rigors of professional musical life and the rough-and-tumble of the music making enterprise.

Music making in islamized Nigerian communities as such takes a male-centred view more so as the islamization of Hausaland has led to the emergence of the marriage of purdah-type. A devote Muslim man does not permit his wives to participate in public music making and a devout female

is not expected to take part in public music performance unveiled. Women who performed music publicly unveiled are regarded as sexual temptresses rather than human beings. In traditional Nigeria, women performed on stage without causing a stir. For the Muslim hardliners, the home provides the only medium through which women could involve themselves in musical engagement. In the harem, Muslim women mainly make music about themselves and a popular instrument type associated with it is *shantu*. Music making in the home front enables most Muslim women to nourish their children in Afro-Islamic musical traditions and imbue them with the ideas and actions that shape their feelings about musical activities, ambitions, and attitudes that are deemed appropriate and inappropriate for pious males and females. Devout Muslim women mainly validate their personhood at the margins of the harem. In cases where Muslim women are allowed to excel the result has been prolific. A case in point is the emergence of Salawatu Abeni as *waka* queen among the Yoruba.

4.3.4 Islamic policy of doctrinal generosity and the Hausa musicians

Sadaqa, the voluntary giving of alms (gifts) to the poor and the needy, constitutes one of the five pillars of Islam. Generosity of the believers is stressed as a part of Islamic education marked preoccupation with pious socialization. It is obligatory on the high-status believers to be generous to those below them, and persons who are subordinate to the givers receive gifts. Muslims believe that the giving of alms for the benefit of the societies' less fortunate purifies the earning of the donor.

The *emirs*, the bureaucracy of ranked, titled officials, the wealthy merchants and their households become an important base in the political, social and economic organization of Hausaland upon massive islamization of the Hausa societal life. They provide patronage for the less influential persons (commoners) below them and protect the clients as long as they are obedient and loyal to them. One of the rules of social decorum is that the patrons should be generous to their clients. Musicians form a large body of clients in Hausaland, and they are patronized by both the aristocrats and the

commoners. This makes it mandatory that they learn the techniques of using music to create situation in which possible patrons must give gifts generously. Freelance Hausa musicians for example have had to acquire the skills of how to change from praise to blame when they evaluate the character of their patrons as generous, stingy or skinflint. Okpewho writes about the Hausa *maroka* that:

Besides those *maroka* who hire out their services to the distinguished leaders in a community, numerous wandering *maroka* accost passerby on the street and offer to sing and play for them. *Maroka* may stop strangers and begin to sing their praises, pointing out their outstanding beauty even when this is not true, all because they expect a gift; when that gift does not come and the stranger walks away in disregard, the *maroka* may change their tune and tell the truth (Okpewho, 1992: 29).

As part of their music education process, freelance Hausa musicians have had to acquire the skill of how to change from praise to blame if the expected gift fails to come. The *maroki's* art of blaming patrons when expected gifts fail to come led the northern regional government in 1960 to enact 'The Beggar Control Act' that legislatively tried to check musicians to avoid abusive language in their songs. The Act charged musicians not to be excessively greedy when asking for gifts and enjoined patrons to complain less when musicians ask for gifts. This is in view of the fact that Islamization of Hausa society has coerced the Hausa musicians to seek the support of patrons to assure themselves of a livelihood and patrons to give musicians gifts to preserve their social status. The Act itself reveals that musicians are regarded beggar-like in official reckoning.

Though music making irresistibly draws Hausa musicians and patrons to each other, patrons keep their musicians in subordinate positions because they receive gifts. Musicians in Hausa society as such are regarded with little honours and are equated with beggars because both are receivers of gifts. But it is the socio-economic frameworks created by Islamization of Hausa society that compels musicians to receive gift. It is little understood

that although both (beggars and musicians) seek the support of the rich and powerful patrons in order to survive, musicians perform music to mediate relationships and suit specific interests while beggars do not. Beggars provide no service but depend on chivalry. Hausa musicians therefore are ascribed beggar status based on superficial similarities alone and a flagrant disregard for the fundamental differences beneath the surface.

With the establishment of Islam in Nigeria, there arose cultural conflict which Hunter (1991: 41) simply defines as 'political and social hostility rooted in different systems of moral understanding'. The conflict is rooted in the two worldviews (traditional Nigerian and Islamic) that are at play in Islamised Nigerian society. The worldviews feature competing views of morality in which each side wants its understanding of morality to become the cultural norm.

In the 'new' Islamic belief system, adherents commit themselves to an externally, definable, and transcendent authority. They respect the ultimate binding of the *Koran*, and the *hadith* as the sources of moral authority, as timeless and absolute. The traditional Nigeria society reposes trust not in the imported Islamic authority but in its historically rooted and socially validated belief system as the sources of moral authority. Traditional Nigeria has a strong dose of moral orientation which reflects in most of the things people say or do in life. Music making enhances the sustenance of indigenous socio-moral life. But in the orthodox Islamic worldview, music is held to constitute danger to leading the Islamic way of life. Among the traditional Nigerians, their holistic orientation to the understanding of reality makes music integral in subtle ways to what they do keep alive. These are the views of those on the extreme ends of the two emergent worldviews in the Islamized Nigerian communities.

While the effects of the *jihad* lasted, many Nigerians within the caliphate were forced to line up on one side or the other of the worldviews. Some Nigerian Muslim converts accepted the idea of a moral mandate to abstain

themselves from all forms of public and secular entertainment in order to check moral degeneracy and be identified as Muslims. Others clung to music making as a way of life and preferred being regarded as 'unbelievers' because they did not accept some of the stricter Islamic tenets. For example, some fundamentalists still believe that to go to any secular music performance is to break God's law, but most Nigerian Muslims recognize that Allah does not command an across the board avoidance of all forms of secular music making. Most Nigerian Muslims invariably occupy the middle ground wherein a wide spectrum of musical values and perspectives is at play leading to ambivalent moral commitments.

Since the *jihad*, the majority of those who rule the Northern Nigeria are those who commit themselves to an Islamic view of moral authority. This base of morality gives rise to a predictable position on music as a social issue. The ruling Muslim class assumes officially that God commands an across the board abstinence from all forms of non-Islamic music making viewed primarily as entertainment. Some passages are exegeted from the *Koran* and the *hadith* to give music a subordinate social status; to assign musicians subordinate positions. The marginal role of music in society and the subservience of musicians are said to be *koranically* and morally mandated. But the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence - *Maliki*, *Shafi*, *Hanifa* and *Hambali* – are in agreement that there is nothing wrong with music provided it does not keep a believer away from *ziken* (remembrance of Allah).

There are as such some Nigerian Muslims who taint music with moral negativity and others who have not reached the preposterous conclusions that music together with music profession in and of itself is problematic. As it is, both sides are arguing from a standpoint of experience and emotion rather than interpretation of those problematic *Koran* passages. Different groups of Nigerian Muslims have read and will always read Islamic scriptures differently, from their own particular perspectives to buttress their own positions. But the interpretation of exegeted text is done solely by the

religious/political leaders who form the dominating social class. Musicians are rarely involved in the scriptural interpretation of Islamic texts. It is undertaken only by the powerful in the Islamized Nigerian society – the clerics - that consciously and unconsciously continued to give musicians and the music they make prejudicial treatment. A challenge today is how music and musicians can be treated with greater respect in Islamized Nigerian society.

4.4 Islamic music education and indigenous music education systems

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Islam conceived as a total package including a system of religion, a system of law, a system of education, a relatively bounded musical system (*koranic* recitation) as well as various musical instruments had been well established. Its vision of education was consequently an outgrowth of vision of Islamic society. Over the centuries of its implantation in Nigeria, Islam has become integrated into the religious, social and cultural life of Islamised Nigerian communities without a total break with the past. This enabled the persistence of pre-Islamic elements.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Islamic education had become largely a fundamental element of social status for many Muslim communities in Nigeria. *Koranic* education recitation had become an important aspect of Nigerian Muslim life. Musicianship training existed for those who wanted to become music specialists after their *koranic* education. Muslim musicians continued to make music a powerful factor in the fashioning of Nigerian Muslim identity and consciousness.

In Islamic Nigeria, indigenous and Islamic systems of music education co-exist and complement each other. Through processes of give and take between the two systems, each conditioning the other, Nigerian music with marked Islamic identity has emerged. This has resulted from complex interplay between indigenous and Islamic cultures, music performances and musicians that have shaped and are shaping the creation and re-creation of

Islamic music in Nigeria. Islamic music in Nigeria may be conceived as the sum total of music whose development is unswervingly linked to Arab civilization, Middle East and North Africa. It is that music which developed in Nigeria – a country farther located away from the centre of the Muslim world – that is characterized by integration of indigenous and Islamic musical thoughts and practices. It constitutes an indigenized Islamic knowledge system in the musical arts in Nigeria.

Indigenous and Islamic musical thoughts and practices have become part of the innate sensibilities and intuitive knowledge of Nigerian Muslims through informal and systematic but non-centralized processes of enculturation. As such Islamic music in Nigeria has not only been designed for daily living, it has also been accommodated to the most important social events – births, marriages, festivals and even funerals of Muslims within Nigerian Muslim communities. Nigerian musician members of the community of believers (the *umma*), who have been imbued with indigenous socio-musical knowledge rationalization never to be mere passive recipients of foreign phenomenon including Islam, have shaped the religion and its associated musical practices whenever and wherever necessary to fit local needs and situations. They were indigenously educated to make traditional idioms, conceptual rationalisations and presentational conventions their models while informing their performance-composition with Islamic thoughts and practices. The harmonic co-existence of the two systems of music education (indigenous and Islamic) enables the emergence of Islamic music in Nigeria which conforms to the basic forms and conventions of indigenous Nigerian concepts of the musical arts.

In Islamised Nigerian communities, music and music education serve differentiating as well as mediating and integrating functions. Islam brought in a relatively bounded musical system intact (quranic recitation) as well as various musical instruments. These have served to create and reinforce certain basic differences between Muslim and non-Muslim Nigerians. But by far, Islamised Nigerian music and music education have served more

mediating and integrating than differentiating functions. It has shaped the believers attitudes toward God, cosmos and time and enabled them to relate music to the different stages and experiences of their life. Although Islamic music and music education in Nigeria, may serve to distinguish Muslims from non-Muslims neighbours, yet it has become part of the prevailing social structure that provides important patterns of common musical cultures for Nigerian Muslims and non-Muslims.

The adoption of Islam with its austere, formalistic legalism has impacted greatly on the development as well as the decline of certain genres of indigenous Nigerian music. Regarding the latter, several drumming and dancing traditions, particularly those associated with indigenous religions, power and initiation societies have faced the wrath of the Islamic fundamentalists who continued to suppress not only the indigenous Nigerian culture but also wage an unrelenting war against indigenous music in the Islamised Nigerian communities. Drumming, for instance, has been vigorously opposed by Islamic fundamentalists for several reasons. The fundamentalists assert that it is closely associated with the spirit manifest tradition that conflicted with Islamic prohibition of such kinds of practice; that spirit manifests donning masks represent ancestral spirits or deities which is in direct conflict with Islamic doctrine that there is no other God but Allah. The fundamentalists claim that spirit manifest is associated with drumming and dancing which are related to the realm of world pleasures that divert believers from a religious life. The Islamic fundamentalists maintain that wherever there are spirit manifests traditions there are always drums that accompany their outing, mediate their actions and stimulate dancing – intermingling of sexes. But certain kinds of drums were allowed in Islamised Nigerian societies, notably those used for military purposes. String and wind instruments were also scorned and condemned by the Islamic fundamentalists, at least in part because of the contexts in which they were played - especially in the context of *bori* performance.

However, the *jihadists* efforts to reshape Hausa musical practice have had limited long term impact. Old musical practices have continued obtrusively. Despite the vehement attacks of the Islamic fundamentalists on spirit manifests, drumming and dancing in Islamised Nigerian societies are still primarily associated with Muslim people, especially in Yorubaland. Islamised Nigerian musicians have been able to trim their musical sails to accommodate the Islamic winds. Islamic mysticism, known as *sufi*, which not only allows music but recognises its spiritual power, has allowed the mixing of Arabic and indigenous music cultures. Several Nigerian Muslim musicians are still devoting years to perfecting their music as craft, for they must not only be well grounded in indigenous Nigerian music but they must also live a life of service to both indigenous Nigerian and Islamic communities. Most Nigerian Muslims are educated to live Afro-Islamic musical way of life which is lifelong.

Despite most professional musicians low status in Islamised Nigerian communities, Muslim and indigenous Nigerian musicians have collaborated to give indigenous Nigerian music and its Islamised forms a continuity and an up-date while striving for social relevance. Deriving its contents, theories and methodology from the indigenous Nigerian and Islamic musical heritages, Islamic music education in Nigeria is part of a wider movement which cuts across several countries. Islamised music in Nigeria is the result of astonishing accommodation, a blending of Islamic/Arabic aesthetics of artistic expression and indigenous Nigerian music heritage which has been internationally acclaimed for its exquisite creative originality and uniqueness, robust artistic content and peculiar aesthetic quality.

Islamised Nigerian music as such is a vivid reminder that Islam and Nigerians have made something of each other that is enduring – a testament that has something to say not only about the Nigerian genius for adaptation but also about the adaptability of Islam to Nigerian environment. But it lacks the literary knowledge that is needed to research and propose for it a modern cultural integrity in systematic or theoretical musical creativity

and practice because the ruling class are not favourably disposed to modern music education which can make this possible.

Some parts of the country not affected by Islam continued to musically educate themselves without exception in the traditional way. Those Nigerians continued to see music from the indigenous African perspectives. Music education continued to occur in a holistic social context that developed the importance of each individual as a contributing member of the social group; to sustain a wholesome life process, and to propel the vibrant human-cultural integrity that characterizes the African as a human group. It remained a communal avenue for the acquisition of skills, attitudes, knowledge and understanding and a process which involves the transmission of cultural knowledge, values and beliefs through 'listening', 'watching' and 'doing' (Akinpelu, 1974). The focus remained on values and identity that were developed through the learner-self's relationship with other selves, music and the community. Africa's philosophy, modes and models of music education remained intact in un-Islamized Nigerian provinces.

Later, another foreign religion – Christianity came to compete and contest with Islam for Nigerian adherents. It also introduced its own music and system of music education. Colonial administration and Christian missions collaborated in the establishment of European form of music education with the missions coming to set up and run, to a large extent, music educational institutions in non-Muslim areas. As colonial administration in Nigeria gave some formal recognition to the Muslims' cultural and religious interests, indigenized Islamic music education in Nigeria continued to develop, it even expanded into other parts of Nigeria where Muslims came to settle anew in the colonial period.

