PERSPECTIVES ON KANO

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Edited by:
Abdalla Uba Adamu
Ibrahim Ado-Kurawa

Jama'ar Inuwar Kano (Kano Foundation)

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Manuscript Learnability and Indigenous Knowledge for Development – The Kano Hausa Ajami in Historical Context

Abdalla Uba Adamu
Department of Science and Technology Education
Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria

Introduction

The learning capacity of a society shapes, to a large degree, its economic, political, and cultural destiny. This is the case because learning is a central element in the reception, interpretation, transformation and sharing of experience. A society's learning processes are the nerve centers of its adaptive capability, and allow it to learn from the past, engage the present, and imagine the future. Whether one is talking about economic growth, the preservation of cultural heritage, social problems, citizenship, the acquisition of new knowledge, the degradation of the environment or about rights and responsibilities, one is ultimately talking about learning. The use of the term "learning", in contrast, to words such as schooling or education, for example, is in this context, deliberate. It is meant to convey the notion that learning occurs whenever and wherever people encounter experience, and engage in its reception, interpretation, transformation, and communication (Morrison 2001).

The central core of learning is *literacy* which, viewed in a narrow sense, is the ability to comprehend and produce

natural language in its ***written*** form. A broader definition of literacy encompasses functional notions of literacy as tied to the ability to use both written and spoken language to accomplish specific problem-solving and communicative tasks arising in the workplace or in conducting transactions within everyday institutions of the community (Venezky, Wagner & Ciliberti, 1990).

In the literacy domain, there is a long tradition of statistics gathering by scholars; however, because of changing definitions of literacy, and the dearth of accurate data in the educational measurement field, the data on literacy have long been open to question and debate. I want to add to this debate by widening the scope of literacy, so long as we accept literacy to mean the ability to ***read*** and ***write*** coherently.

There are many definitions of literacy. Yet all of them fasten on the ability to understand printed text, and to communicate through print. Most contemporary definitions conceptualize literacy in relative rather than absolute terms. They assume that there is no single level of skill or knowledge that qualifies a person as "literate"; but rather that there are ***multiple*** levels and kinds of literacy (e.g., numeracy, technological literacy). In order to have bearing on real life situations, definitions of literacy must be ***sensitive to skills*** needed in out-of-school contexts, as well as to school-based competency requirements. In this regard, a better definition of literacy is as provided by Unesco (in Chapman and Czerniewska, 1978):

> A person is literate who can with understanding both read and write a short simple statement on his everyday life...A person is functionally literate who can engage in all those activities in

which literacy is required for effective functioning of his group and community.

Moreover, most definitions of literacy have traditionally included calculating skills as part of a broad definition of literacy yet often these have been limited primarily to the four arithmetic operations. It is now widely assumed that numeracy assessment should encompass a broad range of skills, thought processes, and background knowledge (formal and/or informal). Numeracy enables interpreting, acting upon, and communicating about, mathematical information in a wide range of everyday or work-related contexts. What is more, it is needed for effective functioning in a world of amounts, prices, weights, distances, and so forth. Thus literacy and numeracy are now considered to be at the center of the educational goals not only of children in school but also youth and adults in need of further education.

Historically, it was possible to make an arbitrary distinction between those who had been to school and those who had not; this was especially obvious in the newly independent countries of the developing world, which were just beginning to provide public schooling beyond a relatively small elite. Those who had been to school were labeled as "literate." However, this situation has changed dramatically. While there are still millions of children and adults who have never attended school, in even the poorest countries of the world the majority of the population in the two youngest generations (up to about age 40 years) has received some schooling. While this leaves open the serious question of the level of literacy of this perhaps minimally-schooled population, it nonetheless points to a world with a much more

variegated landscape of literacy skills, levels of achievement, and degree of regular use.

The invention of devices for representing language is inextricably related to issues of literacy; that is, to issues of who can use the script and what it can be used for. Thus *competence with written language, both in reading and writing, is known as literacy.* When a large number of individuals in a society is competent in using written language to serve these functions, the whole society may be referred to as a literate society. Although the uses of writing reflect a host of religious, political, and social factors and hence are not determined simply by orthography, two dimensions of the script are important in understanding the growth of literacy: learnability and expressive power.

Learnability refers to the ease with which the script can be acquired, and expressive power refers to the resources of the script for unambiguously expressing the full range of meanings available in the oral language. These two dimensions are inversely related to each other. The ease of acquisition of a script is an important factor in determining whether a script remains the possession of an elite or whether it can be democratized, that is, turned into a possession of ordinary people. Democratization of a script appears to have more to do with the *availability* of reading materials and of instruction in reading and the perceived relevance of literacy skills to the readers. Even in a literate society, most readers learn to read only a narrow range of written materials; specialized materials, such as those pertaining to science or government, remain the domain of the elite who have acquired additional education.

Historically, the rise of cities coincided with the development of a script suitable for serving bureaucratic purposes. Later, the scientific and philosophical tradition that originated in classical Greece and that prevails in the West to this day developed along with the alphabet. Thus unarguably, alphabet was a decisive factor in the cultural development of the West. At the same time, rise of literacy and the decline of "orality" in the later Middle Ages were fundamental to the cultural flowering known as the Renaissance in 14th century.

What is interesting is that up until this point, literacy was still deeply implicated in orality for one simple reason. Written documents were still read out loud and vocalized. Things were written down in order to be reproduced as speech at a later point. Silent reading was next to impossible because the Greeks and most ancients used *scriptura continnua* - no spaces, no punctuation. These graphic units were invented by European monks during the period that we now call the "Dark Ages," around 600 CE, in the British Isles. Again, spaces and punctuation seem like a small, almost meaningless innovation, but they allowed people to read silently and privately to themselves, without even sub-vocalizing. What modern people today know as "reading" did not exist before this time. As Steven Mizrach (1998) says, those small marks made a very big difference.

Reading and writing, thus existed in the European Middle Ages (476 to 1453), but they remained restricted activities, largely limited to the clergy and the medieval 'schoolmen' who tirelessly copied and re-copied Aristotle. The peasantry and most of the populace still lived by orality, although they did have what Illich calls "lay literacy," (in Olson & Torrance 1991:102) which was an awareness of the existence and

importance of books and deference to the authority of written documents, even if they themselves could not read them. Some had "sub-literacy," which was the ability to read a church inscription or two, without full mastery of written Latin or written forms of their own vernacular. Literacy remained an elite privilege, and until 1500 CE, most likely not more than 10% of the populace in Europe could read or write.[1]

What changed was the arrival of Gutenberg's printing press and movable type in about 1455. Until Johannes Gutenberg's invention, the only way to reproduce text was copying by hand, a laborious task left mainly to monks in their monasteries. The printing press made books a mass commodity, and for precisely that reason, literacy became a mass phenomenon. Standardized typefaces made reading an easier activity, because readers no longer had to deal with the idiosyncrasies of another person's handwriting. The errors so frequently made by scribal copyists were eliminated, and thus thousands of people could have access to the same, presumably error-free "standard edition" of a text (Provenzo, 1986).

Whereas oral language is learned quite independently of whether it is taught or not, literacy is largely dependent upon teaching. While some local or indigenous scripts are taught relatively informally by parents or someone who knows the script very well, widespread or universal literacy is dependent upon schooling. Indeed, in many societies schooling and literacy have become almost synonymous. Schools in such diverse places as Sumer and China developed concurrently with the development of a full writing system and were concerned primarily with teaching first adults and later children to read and write.

Further, there is a general belief that literacy leads to logical and analytic modes of thought, general and abstract uses of language, and critical and rational thought. In politics, literacy is said to be necessary for governments to function adequately and provide individuals with social equity. *Literacy produces people who are innovative, achievement-orientated, productive, politically aware, more globally aware, and less likely to commit crime, and therefore more likely to take education seriously.* The common popular and scholarly conception that literacy has such powerful effects as these constitutes what Graff (1979) refers to as a "literacy myth" (Banya 1993 p. 163, emphasis added).[2]

The broader definition of literacy given in this paper holds that there is a fundamental connection between language and communication on the one hand, and everyday cultural activity on the other. In order to participate in such everyday activities, individuals must interpret the cultural and social demands of their communities and use language to participate effectively in cultural and social activities. This perspective on literacy emerges from a consideration of the social and cognitive roles that language and communication play in people's lives. This approach to literacy is especially useful for better understanding of how community members adapt to social environments involving multiple cultural perspectives and multiple languages.

Thus any indigenous community that has non-Roman script as part of its indigenous knowledge base is capable of creating a new world of literacy for itself in order to communicate its indigenous knowledge capabilities.

From Orality to Scripturality...

As psychologists and anthropologists were searching for the key to unlock the secrets of the mind, others were worrying about the mind of a man who lived thousands of years ago. Literates had been enjoying the epic poems of Homer for over two thousand years. With the growing conviction that Homer was illiterate came the nagging question, how could such technically complex poems be composed without writing? Were these poems actually composed by a "primitive" mind (Egan 1993:15)? Linguists interested in the technology of writing theorized about writing's effect on primitive thought: attention turned to the preliterate world.

To help describe this world, the term "orality" was coined on the analogy of "literacy" in the hope that this new term would avoid the implications of failure inherent in the term "illiteracy." Unfortunately, as Thomas (1992:7) points out, the term is prone to vagueness. It should mean relying entirely on oral communication rather than written. Orality, however, is idealized in the "noble savage," and has become more than a descriptive tool. Orality now implies a whole mentality or worldview. This idealization has led some to conclude that "oral culture is innocent, pure, and natural, uncorrupted by the written word . . ." (Thomas 1992:7). As orality is contrasted with literacy, the question arises, what is literacy? Many different levels of literacy exist. The ability to read a label or fill out a form does not automatically imply an ability to comprehend complex texts. "The tendency to treat literacy as if it were a monolithic skill may be a modern fallacy" (Thomas 1992:8-9). Modern fallacy or not, literacy is seen by many as having a major effect on cognitive processes.

According to Thompson (1998), Eric Havelock provides one of the best accounts of the effects of literacy on human thought. Beginning with the evolutionary theory of Darwin, Havelock points out that the human capacity for language brought society into existence. With society came culture. The term "orality" was employed in two senses: that of hearing and speaking. Writing added the sense of vision. Literacy produced changes in society, but these changes came to a point of crisis with the introduction of the Greek alphabet because of its "superior efficiency." Vision was offered in place of hearing as the means of communication and as the means of storing communication. "The adjustment that it caused was in part social, but the major effect was felt in the mind and the way the mind thinks as it speaks" (Havelock 1986: 100).

Further, as argued by Thompson (1998), literacy wiped out the pressure to store language in memorizable form. As humans no longer needed to spend energy memorizing, their psychic energy was released for other purposes. There was a push to record their thoughts as well as epic poetry; but it was no longer necessary to record these thoughts in story form so that they could be retrieved from memory. The removal of the narrative pressure brought a choice of subjects other than people. Abstract thought, which had existed to a limited degree in orality, brought with it the ability to treat topics as a subject of discourse. "As language became separated visually from the person who uttered it, so also the person, the source of the language, came into sharper focus and the concept of selfhood was born" (Havelock 1986:113). As readers composed a language of theory, they realized they were employing new mental energies of a different quality from

those employed in orality. Pressure arose to give this mental operation a separate identity. These mental processes became known as the intellect (Havelock 1986:115).

Havelock's premises are extensions of the theories of Jack Goody and Walter Ong. Goody, on field trips in Africa, had recorded the language and observed the social behavior of some nonliterate societies. Although these societies had contact with literacy through Islam, Goody minimized Arabic's influence. According to Goody and Ian Watt, literacy radically affected culture. They eloquently described the transmission of cultural elements as "a long chain of interlocking conversations between members of the group. Thus, all beliefs and values, all forms of knowledge, are communicated between individuals in face-to-face contact" (Goody and Watt 1968:29). The "savage mind" had been "domesticated" through literacy because such written tools as the list, the formula, and the table could be used in problem-raising and problem-solving (Goody 1977:162).

Ong lists specific characteristics of thought and expressions in primarily oral cultures. He believes that thought is additive rather than subordinate, aggregative rather than analytic. It is redundant, traditionalist, and close to life. It is sometimes antagonistic, sometimes filled with praise. It is empathetic, homeostatic, and situational rather than abstract (Ong 1982).[3]

On the other hand, another researcher, Jiajie Zhang, points out that writing, like beads on an abacus, is an external representation that serves as a cue to retrieve items from memory. External representations serve other functions besides that of memory aids. Diagrams, graphs, and pictures can affect decision making and problem solving. According to

Zhang, external representations need not be re-represented as an internal mental model in order to be involved in problem-solving activities. These representations can directly activate perceptual operations. Thus, in concert with the internal representations, external representations facilitate problem-solving behavior (Zhang 1997:180-187). This does not mean that the basic cognitive processes change, but that new resources enable the cognitive processes to work more efficiently. Writing, as an external representation that facilitates memory and problem solving, can also inhibit communication (Olson 1996:100). Body language, for example, is an important key to communication. Oral communication one-on-one facilitates personal relationships and aids in socialization. Those who rely on writing for memory have difficulty negotiating in cultures where oral methods such as proverbs are the tool of choice for expressing cultural wisdom.

Thus I argue that moving from orality to scripturality in all societies creates bases for ***recording*** information and consequently, ***using*** the information as a means of social advancement. However, even though literacy provides access to more information, it is the culture that determines what it will do with that information.[4] For instance, Western culture uses literacy to advance its values of science, rationalism, and secularism. Other cultures, such as Japanese, Chinese, and Korean, though highly literate, value social relations and holistic concepts (Choi, Nisbett, and Smith 1997). West African "nonliterate" communities share these same Asian values and have used traditional nonliterate methods to teach them to their children for thousands of years.

This paper pursues a yet broader notion of *literacy*, as that

which refers to the general semiotic ability of individuals to interpret and to act upon the world within cultural and social communities (for a discussion of relevant perspectives, see Scribner 1979, and Wertsch 1991). The paper situates its arguments within the framework of existing indigenous forms of literacy using the Arabic alphabet – ajami – among the Muslim Hausa of northern Nigeria – a script that was introduced since about 1320. It further argues that Education for All, as a century old concept among the Muslim Hausa of northern Nigeria has been possible through the learnability of the script.

Scriptural Inheritance

In the 7th century, Arabic, immortalized in the language of the Holy Qur'an, and Islam became inseparable. As Islam spread through North Africa, then through the Iberian Peninsula and eastwards from the Arabian heartland to the heart of Asia, the tongue of the Arabs rapidly spread as a part of the new religion. In a few decades, it became a leading world language and the intellectual medium which united most of the civilized world. Soon enough the Arabic *script* began to be adopted by the languages of the people who had been converted to Islam in much the same way the English Roman script in Imperially controlled lands, and Cyrillic in Soviet sphere became used as bases for literacy (Salloum and Peters 1996, Salloum 2001).

The spread of Arabic script was quite rapid. Within a few centuries, Kurdish, Persian, Pashto, Turkish, a number of tongues in the Indian sub-continent and languages like Berber in North Africa and Spain began to utilize the Arabic script. Its embracement by a great number of non-Arab Muslim tongues

formed a cultural boundary which demarcated the Islamic world from other lands.

Later, a good number of the Malayo-Polynesian dialects, the vernaculars of the Muslim peoples in West and East Africa, some of the languages of Central Asia, the Indian sub-continent, and a few Slavonic tongues in Europe, adopted the Arabic script (Salloum and Peters 1996, Salloum 2001). Table 1 summarizes the languages using Arabic script either continuously or at one stage or other in their intellectual history.

Table 1: Languages and Regions using Arabic Script.[5]

S/N	Language	Country
1.	Azerbaijani	Azerbaijan
2.	Bakhtiari	Iran
3.	Balochi	Pakistan
4.	Balti	Pakistan
5.	Farsi	Iran
6.	Fulfulde	Guinea, Niger, Nigeria
7.	Gilaki	Iran
8.	Hausa	Nigeria, Niger, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Benin, Cameroon, Chad, CAR
9.	Hindi	India
10.	Indonesian	Indonesia
11.	Ingush	Russia (Chechen)
12.	Iranian	Iran
13.	Jahanka	Senegal, Guinea, Gambia
14.	Jawi	Malaysia
15.	Kanuri	Nigeria
16.	Kashmiri	India
17.	Kazakh	Kazakhstan, Russia, China
18.	Kenuzi-Dongola	Egypt, The Sudan
19.	Kirghiz	Turkey, Russia, Mongolia
20.	Kyrgyz	Kyrgyzstan, China, Mongolia
21.	Kurdish	Iran, Iraq

S/N	Language	Country
22.	Kurmanji	Turkey (Latin) Syria, Iraq, Iran
23.	Maha	Somalia
24.	Malay	Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia
25.	Malayalam	India (Kerala)
26.	Mandinka	The Gambia, Senegal, Guinea Bissau
27.	Mwani	Mozambique
28.	Nobiin	The Sudan
29.	Parsi-dari	Afghanistan, Iran
30.	Pashto	Afghanistan, Iran
31.	Punjabi	India
32.	Qashqai	Iran
33.	Sindhi	India, Pakistan
34.	Somali	Somalia
35.	Sonrai	Niger
36.	Sulu	The Philippines. Indonesia (Kalimantan), Malaysia (Sabah)
37.	Tagdal	Mali
38.	Tajik	Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia
39.	Takestani	Iran
40.	Tamasheq	Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso
41.	Thaana	Maldives
42.	Turkish	Turkey
43.	Turkmen	Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Iran, Iraq
44.	Uyghur	China
45.	Urdu	India, Pakistan
46.	Uzbek	Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan
47.	Western Cham	Cambodia,Vietnam,
48.	Wolio	Indonesia (Siluwesi), Malaysia
49.	Yakan	The Philippines, North Borneo,
50.	Zamra	Niger

The use of the Arabic script was well established in all Muslim lands until contested by the Spanish Reconquista and later by modern colonialism in Asia and Africa (Salloum 2001). Table 2

shows the dates Arabic script stopped being a major force in the education of indigenous communities in colonized lands:

Table 2: Checking the Growth of Indigenous literacy
(after Haywood and Nahmad, 1965).

Language	*Country*	*Date*
Change by British Colonial Administration:		
Hausa	Ghana, Nigeria	After World War I
Swahili	Kenya, Tanzania	After World War I
Malay	Malaysia	After World War I
Change by French Colonial Administration		
Bambara, Malinke	Senegal to Ivory Coast	After World War I
Teda, Tanuchek	Chad, Niger, Mali	After World War I
Change by Dutch Colonial Administration:		
Malay	Indonesia	After World War I
Change by National Administrations:		
Serbo-Croatian	Yugoslavia	c. 1890
Turkish	Turkey	After World War I
Albanian	Albania	After World War I
Change By U.S.S.R. Colonial Administration:		
Kazakh	Kazakhstan	1927
Adharbayjani	Adharbayjan	1922—1937 (Latin Since 1937)
Kirgiz	Kirgizistan	1927
Tadjik (Farsi)	Tadjikistan	1940
Tatar, Bashkir	Tatar Asian Soviet Socialist Republic	1927
Turkic	Turkmenistan	1940(Latin 1928—1940)
Uzbek	Uzbekistan	1930(Latin 1920—1930)

With the European conquerors came missionaries and colonial administrators who, in the main, looked with disfavor on the Arabic language and its script. They reasoned that by doing away with the Arabic alphabet, the language of the Qur'an would become incomprehensible to the people, dividing them from their brother Muslims, and their control. A typical example of this scriptural sacrilege by colonialism was recounted by Rustamov (1999),

> As a child, I remember how excited we used to be when visitors came to our village. One day I was sitting on our balcony when suddenly I saw seven men galloping up on horses. No one knew what they wanted. We learned that they were government leaders.
>
> They told us to gather at the village square because they had something to tell us. "Everybody bring your books and dump them in a big pile in the middle of the village. Bring all your books from your homes. Don't hide a single one of them. If you do and we find out, we'll put you in jail. Bring all your books by 5 o'clock today. Then we'll make a big fire and burn them." We couldn't believe his words. What? Burn our books?! But we loved our books. Why burn them?...
>
> Azerbaijan was not free like it is today. The new government that ruled over us wanted us to read books that were written with a new alphabet. They didn't want us to read the Arabic alphabet anymore because our Holy book, the Koran, was written in it. The Koran is for Muslims like the Bible is for Christians or the Torah for Jews. The government didn't want us to read the Koran and practice our religion anymore. They didn't want us to believe in God anymore. But other books were printed in Arabic as well-not just the Koran. We had used the Arabic alphabet for 1,200 years. We had poetry books, literature books, science books but it didn't seem to matter-we had to burn them all.

However, long before the colonialists came to Asia and Africa, the language of the Qur'an was already under attack. Spain banned Arabic soon after the fall of Granada but the Moriscos, former Muslims forcibly converted to Christianity, continued to secretly use the Arabic script. Even though they had forgotten Arabic, they wrote, until their expulsion from Spain in 1609, in ***Aljamiado*** - Spanish written in the Arabic script. After their banishment the Arabic alphabet disappeared from the Iberian Peninsula (Chejne 1983).

Swahili has a long tradition of literary production, and poetry has been written in Swahili since at least the middle of the 17th century. It draws on Arabic, Persian, and Urdu literary sources. Though Swahili was originally only written in Arabic script, Latin script became more popular in the mid-19th century, and has since become standard. The oldest surviving Swahili epic is the Hamziya, which was written by Sayyid Aidarusi in Arabic script in the old Kingozi dialect in 1749. Bwana Muku II, the ruler of the island of Pate, off the coast of present-day Kenya, commissioned the poem.[6]

Literacy in these linguistic clusters therefore extended beyond the ability to read and write in English. *It includes the ability to use a non-European script to express thoughts fluently and effectively in indigenous communities.* However, in colonial communities, this was actively discouraged, and Romanization was forced into the school system that in a very large way contributed to the "literacy problems" of West Africa and Asian Muslim communities.

Islam and Education Western Sudan

In the eighth century of the Christian Era, two currents of Kharijism flourished, namely, Ibadism (which survives today in the Maghrib: at Mzab in Algeria, at Djerba in Tunisia and at Djebel Nafusa in Libya, as well as in Oman and in Zanzibar), and Sufrism. These currents, which had remained highly democratic since their establishment in Arabia, came into contact with, and subsequently merged with, the tradition of clan-based democracy of the Imazighen (as the Berbers call themselves) of North Africa (Rey 2001).

Thus, by the eighth century of the Christian era, the scientific and technical achievements of Greece and Persia had been reformulated and developed by this current of Islam established in the Maghrib, as well as in Oman at the same time. But whereas access to knowledge in the highly hierarchical society of ancient Persia, and even in the limited democracy of Greece, was reserved for an elite, the Ibadites made knowledge available to all, with a concern to provide widespread education that would not occur again in human history until after the French Revolution. A transition may thus be said to have occurred from an initiatory conception of knowledge to a universalist conception. Indeed, the Ibadites would soon abandon the offensive Holy War as a means of disseminating their doctrine, opting instead for education as a way of spreading knowledge (Rey 2001).

By the end of the eighth century, the doctrine was crossing the Sahara and would lead to the development in Black Africa of the only version of Islam that would be known there for centuries and that would accompany the expansion of the Soninke, and later the Malinke, diasporas, which Arabic speakers refer to as Wangara and which is today known as

Dyula. Dyula Islam, codified in the fifteenth century by al-Hajj Salim Suware, may be regarded in its main lines as a legacy of Ibadism and indeed, one of the main Islamizing Wangara-Dyula groups, the Saghanogha, was Ibadite in the mid-fourteenth century, according to Ibn Battuta *(Gibb 1929 p. 322).*

The emergence of this universalist, rationalist current of Islam south of the Sahara was so close in time to its establishment in North Africa that we cannot but conclude that the starting-point of the road of universalist rationality is the North Africa-Muslim West Africa nexus, and that this movement began in the eighth century of the Christian era (Rey 2001).

From early on, Islam emphasized two types of knowledge, revealed and earthly –i.e., revealed knowledge that comes straight from God and earthly knowledge that is to be discovered by human beings themselves. Islam considers both to be of vital importance and directs its followers, both men and women, to go and seek knowledge. For Muslims, the Qur'an is the perfect word of God, sacred and therefore cannot be changed. It should be memorized from start to finish. Once a person has memorized it, he/she must reflect on these verses and have a detailed understanding of its meaning and interpretation over the lifetime. A person who has mastered it would carry the knowledge of Islam in his/her heart and spread the word to the ones who encounter him/her. According to Islam, seeking earthly knowledge is also important because earthly knowledge compliments the knowledge revealed by God in the Qur'an and helps Muslims to live productive and good lives in this world.

After the death of the Prophet, when Muslims faced situations for which no answer could be found in the

revealed knowledge of the Qur'an and the Prophet was not there to guide them, the Muslim scholars sought answers in the sayings and practical life of the Prophet. This led to the development of traditions of following the *Sunna,* the knowledge of deeds of the Prophet and *Hadith,* the sayings of the Prophet. The mosque continued to be the center of learning even after Prophet's death. This mosque based understanding and acquisition of knowledge worked very well for the Muslims of the Arabian Peninsula because the tribal traditions combined with the teachings of the Qur'an were sufficient to govern the lives of people who spoke the same language and had the same cultural background.

However, as Islam expanded to other regions and came into contact with other indigenous traditions and languages, it became necessary to create a cadre of Muslim experts who would develop sophisticated writings and textbooks on *Fiqh* - Islamic jurisprudence, *Sunna* – Prophet's traditions, *Hadith* – Prophet's sayings, and *Tafsir* - the interpretation of the Qur'an, to cater to the needs of non-Arab Muslim populations. Thus began the tradition of *Madrassa,* the center for higher learning the initial purpose of which was to preserve religious conformity through uniform teachings of Islam for all.

The first known Madrassa is said to have been established in 1005 by the Fatimid caliphs in Egypt. This Madrassa taught the minority Shi'ite version of Islam. It had all the ingredients of an educational institution. It had a library, teachers for different subjects were appointed and students who were admitted were provided with ink, pens and papers free of charge. An interesting fact about this Madrassa is that a catalogue of inventory of this Madrassa prepared in 1045 revealed that it had 6500 volumes on different subjects,

including astronomy, architecture and philosophy (Anzar 2003).

When the Sunni Muslims conquered Egypt, they revamped the Shi'ite version of Islam in this Madrassa and replaced it with the Sunni version, destroyed the books and manuscripts that seemed contrary to their version of Islam and preserved the volumes that related to the earthly knowledge. A huge number of books were taken to Baghdad where a Seljuk Vizier called Nizam-ul-Mulk Ḥassan Bin Al-Tusi, established the first organized Madrassa in 1067 (Anzar 2003).

In the new Madrassa established by Nizam-ul-Mulk two types of education were provided: scholastic theology to produce spiritual leaders, and earthly knowledge to produce government servants who would be appointed in various countries and the regions of the Islamic empire. Later, Nizam-ul-Mulk established numerous Madrassas all over the empire that in addition to providing Islamic knowledge imparted secular education in the fields of sciences, philosophy and public administration and governance. Nizam-ul-Mulk is considered to be the father of the Islamic public education system He himself is the author of a renowned book (among early Muslims) on public administration called *Siyasat Nama* (the way to govern)(Haqqani 2002).

The direct antecedent of both Islam and Islamic education in Hausaland were Dyula scholars and merchants. Dyula, Malian Malinke word for "trader", represents a practice of a people, originally from Mali, but spread to many towns, rather than a tribe. The towns, as identified by Ivor Wilks included Kong, Buna and Bonduku in the Ivory Cost (Cote d'Ivoire), Bobo-Dioulasso and Safane in Upper Volta (Burkina

Faso), and Wa and Bandai Ghana. However, those who specifically refer to themselves as Dyula prefer to locate their origin in Mali, i.e. Malinke and Soninke. The spread of these people to other regions earned them the general sobriquet of Dyula. They also refer to themselves as "Wangara", a term which refers to merchants who move from town to town. The Dyula, or Wangara had been Muslims right from their dispersion from the Mali. It is their itinerant mercantile tradition that made it possible for them to spread or intensify Islam in the areas they settle.

In these areas, the Dyula send many of their sons and some of their daughters to school which they established themselves. As Ivor Wilks (1968) further explained,

> granted, that is, that schools are available and that the family is able to maintain its economic viability without the full-time labour of its children. Between the ages of approximately 6 and 14 years the pupils acquire an elementary knowledge of Arabic based upon the recitation and copying of the Qur'an...A talented and well-taught pupil will rapidly acquire a command of Arabic, and his early teens may be studying grammar and syntax, and reading, for example, basic works of Maliki law such as Risala of Ibn Abi Zayd Al-Qayrawani. Only a minority of students will achieve such progress, of course, but many will leave school able to read and write Arabic even if imperfectly.

It is this itinerant Dyula tradition that brought Islam to Hausaland as early as 1320 to Katsina, and under specific group of Wangara merchants, to Kano in about 1380. In this regard, it seemed to have been agreed by historians that Islam came to Hausaland, or more directly to Kano, via Dyula merchants. The date of arrival is in contention. The *Kano Chronicle* (written 1883-1892) dated it to the reign of the 11th

ruler of Kano, Sarki Ali (also called Yaji due to hot temper as a child, and who ruled from 1349-1385). In Rupert East's introduction to the Hausa version of the *Kano Chronicles, Hausawa Da Mawabtansu,* he somehow dated the precise arrival of the Wangarawa merchant clerics to 1380 (East 1933, p. viii).

However a diary of the Wangara clerics, *Asl Wangariyyun,* written about 1650 indicated the arrival of a Wangarawa group under the leadership of Abdul Rahman Zaite in Kano during Sarki Muhammad Rumfa (1463-1499). The diary was uncovered by Muhammad Al-Hajj in 1963 and was published in *Kano Studies* (Al-Hajj 1968, Lovejoy 1978).

What caused the confusion was that the name of the leader of the Wangara who arrived during Sarki Ali Yaji's reign some 78 years earlier, bore the same name as the cleric who led by those who arrived in Rumfa's time. He was both identified as Abdul Rahman Zaite in *Kano Chronicles* and the *Asl.*[6]

Yet, as argued by M.G. Smith (1985), when the Wangara clerics arrived during Sarki Rumfa's reign, they found Islam well established; and in any event the *Asl* did not state that the Wangara noted in the diary that they did in fact brought Islam to Kano. As Smith stated,

> In short, Zagaiti's group were not first Wangarawa to settle in Kano and it is thus possible that, as the *Chronicle* records, they were preceded by others who converted the chief Yaji (1349-1385), and assisted him in the conquest of Santolo, the last redoubt of his enemies. (ibid. p. 36)

Subsequent rulers of Kano from Ali Yaji seemed to have been Muslims, further establishing the status of Islam in Kano since the last decade of the 14th century. With Islam present in some

form or other since 1380, a system of education which leapt from Egypt to Mali and eventually to Hausaland via the Wangara merchants gained stronghold, rising to scholastic ascendancy during Sarki Rumfa's reign.

Thus from next 100 years from Sarki Ali Yaji's rule, and especially from 1380, Kano became a veritable center of trade, commerce, diplomacy and scholarship.[8] By 1480, during the reign of Sarki Muhammad Rumfa, a scholastic tradition had been established with a well structured faculty and curricular structure that provided an effective template for the education of a citizen in a society.[9] It was during this period that the Arabic alphabet was adapted to express Hausa thoughts in a form which became universal throughout the Muslim world as *ajami*.

The late Prof. Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya, in his *magnum opus*, *Tarihin Rubuce-Rubuce Cikin Hausa* (1988), narrates that since the coming of Islam to Hausaland from about 11th century up to 15th century, there was no specific evidence to show that there was *extensive* indigenous literature in either Arabic or ajami among the Hausa literati. Lack of evidence, however, is not necessary evidence of lack. Private letters, notes and other correspondences might have existed among the Muslim scholars of the period, since obviously they have a script to enable them to express their thoughts.

The use of both Arabic and ajami, however, became gradual when communications between traditional rulers increased. During such communication, the adaptation of the Arabic script to represent Hausa names became inevitable. For instance, Hausa scholars would easily write Muhammad Rumfa's first name, *Muhammad*, due to its references and occurrences in both the Qur'an and the Hadith and thus their

visual familiarity with its orthography. However, the *Rumfa* portion of the name requires their own invention of using Arabic alphabet to express the Hausa name. Gradually it became increasingly easy to use the Arabic alphabet to begin to express complete Hausa thoughts in what is later to become known as *ajami*. However, Hausa itself was not at the time (and still now) "standardized", so naturally ajami writings began to take on regional and dialectical variations, just like the spoken Hausa, such that ajami writings from different regions are often mutually intelligible.

Thus what subsequently evolved was an intricate system of basic education with a well-orchestrated early learning strategies. Retained were the fundamental divisions of *maktab*, which in Hausaland became "makarantar allo" because the writing surface was *allo*, a wooden slate; and the *madrassa*, "makarantar ilimi" or knowledge school which reflects higher order learning with more extensive curriculum.

The Maktab, or Makarantar Allo

Nowhere was a brilliant educational adaptation to learning psychology applied in the history of education in Nigeria than in the perfection of the methodology of teaching in the makarantar allo. Right from 15th century, it was realized by educational planners that although instruction was to be in Arabic to enable the pupils to deal with the fundamental curricular material at this elementary segment of education, the study of the Qur'an, a technique had to be perfected which merged the Arabic scripturality with Hausa orality aimed particularly at a young learner.

Because these early learning strategies were key points in transition of the Hausa from orality to scripturality, let us look

at them closely. There are three main loose stages in the process of learning in the makarantar allo: *babbaku, farfaru* and *haddatu.*

Babbaku

This stage focuses attention on basic letter recognition and the association of the letter with a mnemonic device that makes it easy for young learners to absorb. This stage is known as Babbaku, and can be equated to either kindergarten or playgroup. A sample of the letters of the alphabet and their associative ajami variants is given in Table 3.

Table 3: Arabic/Ajami Alphabet

Hausanized	Variations	Arabicized	Alphabet
Alu/Alif	ا	Alifun	ا
Alu baki	ـا	Alif	
Ba-guje	ب	Ba-un	ب
Ba	بـ	Ba	
Ba	ـبـ	،	
Ba	ـب		
Ta-guje	ت	Ta-un	ت
Ta	تـ	Ta	
Ta	ـتـ		
Ta	ـت		
Ta-kuri	ـة		ة
Ca-guje	ث	Tha-un	ث
Ca	ثـ	Tha	
Ca	ـثـ		
Ca	ـث		
Jim karami koma baya	ج	Jee-mum	ج
Jim karami	جـ	Jeem	
Jim saɓe	ـجـ		
Jim saɓe koma baya	ـج		
Ha karami koma baya	ح	Haa-un	ح
Ha karami	حـ	Ha	
Ha saɓe	ـحـ		
Koma baya	ـح		
Ha karami mai ruwa koma baya	خ	Khaa-un	خ
Ha karami mai ruwa	خـ	Kha	

Thus in order to create a mnemonic sound association between an alphabet and its visuality, the early makarantar allo teachers linked the letters of the alphabet with a corresponding behavior. For instance, jîm (ج) became jîm *sabe*—the jîm that is out of alignment. Further, sin (س) without dots becomes *sin kekashasshe*—dry *sin*; while *sin* with three dots is *shin mai ruwa* (ش), *sin with water drops* with the three dots iconically representing drops of water; khaa (خ) becomes *ha karami mai ruwa koma baya*, or "lower case "h" turning back, and with a dot." Similar variations are seen with the letter g, or *gainun*.

gainun Gan baki wofi An baki wofi

Baki wofi means empty mouthed, and the mnemonic was used to iconize the letter so that a young learner (besides being amused by the similarity between an open mouth and the empty upper space of the letter) can easily grasp the essential concept of the letter.

The curriculum was of course the Holy Qur'an text, and the letter recognition is started with writing out the *Surat Al-Fatiha* to *Surat Al-Fil* - a total of 11 *suras*. The demarcation to Surat al-Fil was essentially because these eleven *suras* contained the entire Arabic alphabet in them, except one, "z", and even then, that appears in the next surat after Surat al-Fil, Surat Al-Humaza. However, although these last 10 suras (plus the mandatory Surat Al-Fatiha) contain all the letters of the alphabet, some schools also use Ayat 29 of Surat Al-Fat-hi which contain all the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet. The letters of the alphabet are written on the wooden slate, *allo*, initially for the pupil by the teacher or an assistant, but

gradually by the pupil himself as he acquired manipulative skills enough to write out the alphabet himself.

Farfaru

The second stage of the learning process is *Farfaru*, which sees the beginning of vowel and word formation, after the alphabet recognition stage of Babbaku. In this stage, vowels are attached to the letters to form a word. The curriculum for this stage remains the same as the Surats covered in the first stage, only now they have proper vowels and complete words are formed. The teacher reads out the word to the learners, which the latter repeats after the teacher until the teacher becomes satisfied with the pronunciation.

Thus by the time the learner gets to Surat Fil, he is already familiar with Qur'anic Arabic alphabet and words. Also, the fact that these Surats are among the most frequently recited during the obligatory prayers makes it easier to associate the words, the alphabet and the sounds together.

From Surat al-Humaza onwards, it is expected that the learner can now understand the Arabic reading of the Surat and the ones that follow, and the subsequent curriculum is in pure Arabic, with less emphasis on the Ajamized and iconic letter recognition of the earlier stages.

Once the Farfaru state is well articulated—a process that can take weeks—it becomes easier for the pupil to move to the next stage, *Zube*, which entailed learning, reading and writing the Holy Qur'an. The pupil, now a master copier, copies all the 114 suras of the Qur'an on his *allo* segment by segment until he finishes the whole book and masters the art of writing and recitation devoid of mistakes in pronunciation, rhythm, style or penmanship. At this stage, which ends his elementary

education, he graduates in a process called *sauka*, usually marked by public reading of the Qur'an by the pupil from a brilliantly decorated allo, *zayyna*, which becomes his *certificate*, and a proof of academic proficiency.

For many pupils, this marks the end of the basic Qur'anic education, and the process, lasting years, would have certainly make them literate enough to use the Arabic script in any context. This is reinforced by the years they spend painstakingly copying the Qur'an from printed materials to their wooden slates, starting with smaller sura segments until they get to the larger complex ones. The process, as outlined above, goes beyond mere copying; the pupil had to demonstrate to the hearing of the master (Mallam) that he can read, and correctly too, what he has written.

The emphasis is on these early stages is not on the learner understanding the *linguistic* meaning of the Qur'an, since this is covered during extracurricular activities in either the school or the community, particularly during the Ramadan when *Tafsir*, the translation and meaning of the Qur'an is offered by Qur'anic teachers of professorial status. Education at this level at least enables the learner to participate, not lead, in basic Muslim activities and appreciate their significance. In any event, familiarity with the Qur'an during these intensive studies—both scripturally and linguistically—has enriched the Hausa vocabulary with well over 1,025 Hausa words borrowed from Arabic.

Haddatu

A boarding pupil or one within easy reach of the school may continue with his studies after graduation at a higher level with the aim of becoming a *Mallam*. He continues with more

advanced syllabus from a stage called *haddatu*, which sees the beginning of the learning of the Qur'an off-head, as it were, since by now the young learner has mastered enough of the vocabulary to enable him to read the subsequent portions of the Qur'an on his own, although reading in the presence of the teacher. The allo is of course replaced with the printed Qur'an. Once he can commit the entire Qur'an to memory, he moves to the next class, *Tilawa* which is a revision stage and enables him to perfect his mastery of reading of the Qur'an from his memory, rather than from the printed book.

Once he can commit the entire Qur'an to memory, he is expected to reproduce it in the next stage of learning, *satu*, which means entails writing the portion of the Qur'an from memory until he can write out the complete Qur'an—which becomes his dissertation. He is then subjected to *musabaka*—a process in which he publicly submits and reads this dissertation. Once he completes this dissertation to the satisfaction of his examiners, he becomes a *Hafiz*, after which he can either terminate his studies, or go for specialized advanced studies. In any event, he has become a *Mallam*.

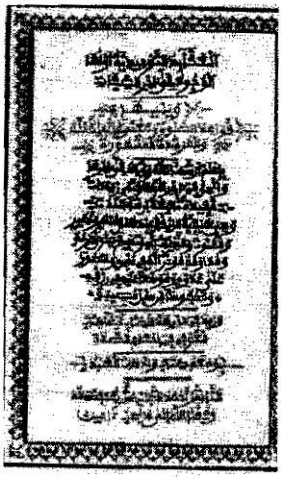
The Madarasa: Makarantun Ilimi—Life Long Learning

In the next stage of Qur'anic learning, the student proceeds to *Makarantar Ilimi* – School of Knowledge, an advanced form of learning the effectively distinguishes the *karatu – rote learning and recitation* of the makarantar allo – and the *ilimi*, application of knowledge, stage of the Madarasa. In the *Makarantar Ilimi*, often comparable to a further education and extending up to university, since it has no actual limit, the student begins studying Islamic books.

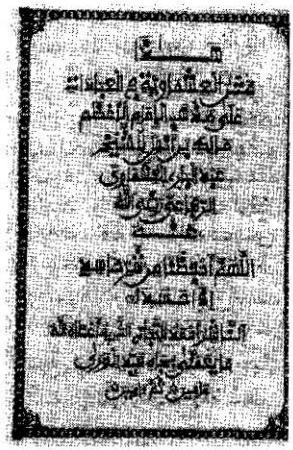
Studied in group settings, usually at night to free up the student during the day to earn a living. Consequently students at this level are often absorbed into the labor market—shoe shiners, petty trading, manicure, bus conducting, fruits selling, housekeep, waiters in restaurants low level messengers in privately owned organizations, etc—during the day, and scholars at night.

There are three broad "faculties" in the Ilimi school, defined by the list of books each "faculty" has as recommended reading. Readings of these books are done in most cases concurrently.

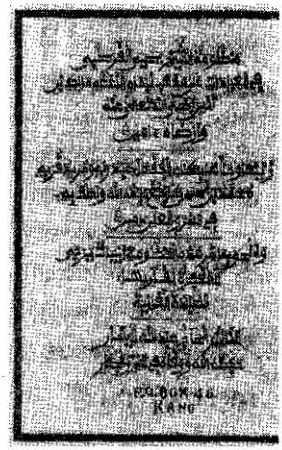
The first cluster of books (at least 10) is based on *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence). Some of the recommended books in this "faculty" include a virtual encyclopedia of rules and regulations of Tauheed (oneness of Allah) called *Qawa'idi*, of unknown authorship but allegedly written by one of Yan Doto scholars based around Zamfara/Katsina axis before the 1804 jihad of Dan Fodiyo, *Al Akhdari* (Sheikh Allama 'Abdu'r-Rahman al-Akhdari), *Qurdabi* (Yahaya Al-Qurtubi), *Ishmawi* (AbdulBari Al-Ashmawiyyu Al-Rufaiyyu), *Nathmu Muqadimaati ibn Rushd* (Ibn Rushd), *Iziyya* (Abil Hasni Aliyu Malikiyyi Al Shazaliy), *Risala* (Muhammad 'Abdullah ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawani), *Askari, Mukhtasar Allamatul Khalil* (Sheikh Dhiya'ul Deen Khaleel bn Ishaaq Al Maliki). A sample of these books as sold in Kano markets is shown in Plate 1.



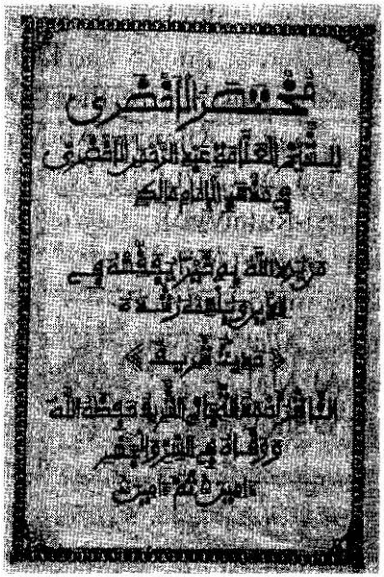
Qawa'idil Islam, Anon



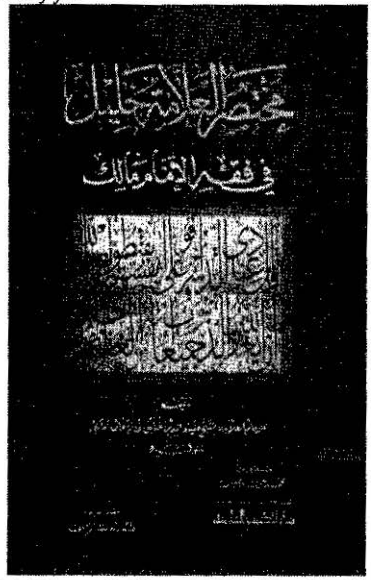
Ishmawi of AbdulBari Al-Ashmawiyyu Al-Rufaiyyu



Qurtubi of Yahaya Al-Qurtubi



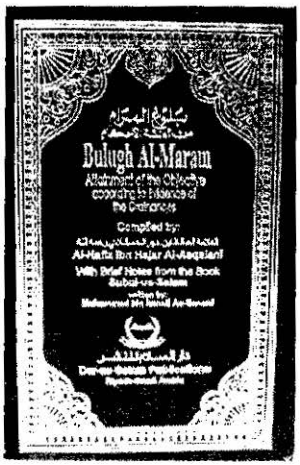
Akhdari of Sheikh Allama 'Abdu'r-Rahman al-Akhdari



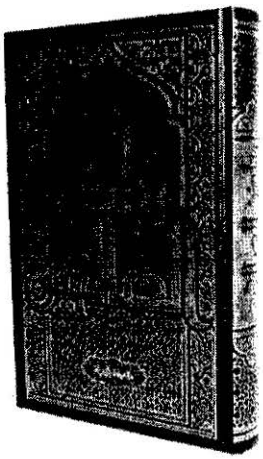
Mukhtasarul Allamatul Khalil of Sheikh Dhiya'ul Deen Khaleel bn Ishaaq Al Maliki

Plate 1: Jurisprudential Beginnings of Ilimi Schools, Northern Nigeria

The next faculty is that of Hadith studies. Books in this faculty (also at least 10) included *Arba'un Hadith* (forty Hadith collection of Imam Al-Nawawi focusing on general guidance for pious living). Books read in conjunction or earlier than *Arba'un Hadith* include *Majmu'ul Baharain* (Kamal Deen Adamu Na Ma'aji, about 1980s, Kano region). Others include *Lubabul Hadith* (Abdul Rahman bn Kamal Al Suyuti), *Mukhtarul Ahadis* (Hashimi), *Bulugul Maram* (Ibn Hajr al-Asqalani), *Riyad As-Salihin* (Abi Zakariya Yahya ibn Sharaf al-Nawawi), *Muwatta* (Malik). The next stage is that of pure specialization in which there are at three different routes and Hadith scholars. These included *Sahih Buhari, Jami'us Sageer* (Suyuti), and *Tajj*. Plate 2 shows some of these recommended texts.



Bulugh Al-Maram of Al Haafidh Ibn Hajr Al-'Asqalani

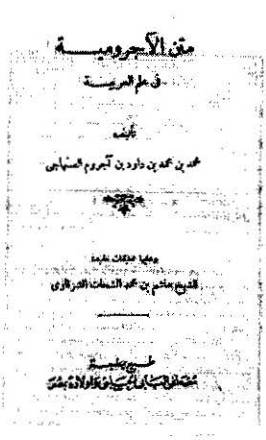


Riyad As-Salihin of Abi Zakariya Yahya ibn Sharaf al-Nawawi

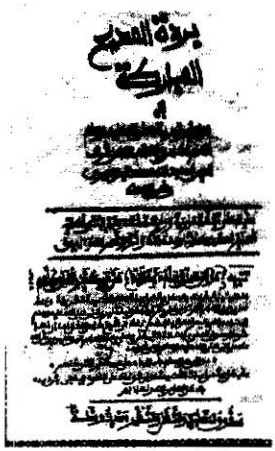
Majmu'ul Baharain of Kamal Deen Adamu Na Ma'aji

Plate 2: Delving further into the Islamic curriculum

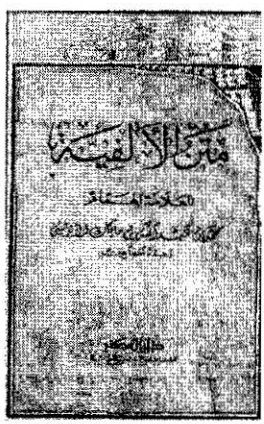
The third learning faculty is devoted to Arabic grammar, lexicon, poetry and fiction. Grammar and Lexicology includes books such as *Ajuruma* (Hashim bn Muhammad Al Shaqawi), *Matnil Qadri*, Mulha, *Ibn Duraid, Lamiyya, Alfiyya* (Muhammad bn Abdulbaqi bn Malik Al'andalusi) *Hisnul Rasin* of Abdullahi Fodio), poetic works such as *Hamziyya* and *Al-Burda* (Sharaf al-Din Muhammad al-Busiri), *Ishriniyat* (Abi Bakarim Muhammad bn Malikiyyi bin Al Fazazi),) *Badamasi, Tantarani* (Anon), *al-Maksura* (Abu Bakr Muhammad b. al-Husain Ibn Duraid) *Daliya* (Abi Abdullahi Muhammad bn Nasiril Dar'i), *Shu'ara* and a fiction work, *Muqamat Al-Hariri* (Badi' al-Zamdn al-Hamadhdni). Some of the textbooks are shown in Plate 3.



Ajuruma (Hashim bn Muhammad Al Shaqawi)



Al-Burda (Sharaf al-Din Muhammad al-Busiri)



Al-Fiyya (Muhammad bn Abdulbaqi bn Malik Al'andalusi)

Plate 3: Linguistic and poetic elegance in Makarantun ilimi textbooks

Tafsir is the final stage of the scholastic learning. Tafsir al-Jalalyn of al-Mahalli (d.1459) and al-Suyuti (d.1505) was used.

Madrasa scholars, reflecting various ages of learning, Zinder, Niger Republic

The most distinguishing characteristic of this stage of learning is that it need not occur in the same place. A student can move from school to another, attaching himself to a scholar who specializes in one aspect or other of the broad curricular offerings of this stage of life long learning.

Further, although the learning has a specific structure, nevertheless it also uses the liberal "course unit" system in that a student can combine studies of books from across the faculties, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Curricular Concurrency in Ilmi School

	Madrasa Specializations		
S/N	**Fiqh**	**Hadith**	**Grammar and Syntax**
1.	Qawa'idi	Arba'un Hadith (40)	
2.	Ahlari	Arba'un Hadith (40)	
3.	Ishmawi	Lubabul Hadith (400)	
4.	Qurdabi	Lubabul Hadith (400)	Ajuruma/ Al-Burda
5.	Ibn Rushd and Ibn Ashir	Mukhtarul Ahadis (2000)	Matnil Qadri/ Ishriniyat
6.	Iziyya	Mukhtarul Ahadis	Mulha/

		(2000)	Badamasi/Tantarani, Daliya
7.	Risala	Bulugul Maram	Mulha/
8.	Askari	Riyadal Salihina/Muwatta	Alfiyya/Shu'ara
9.	Mukhtasar, etc	Buhari or Jami'us Sageer or Tajj	Hisnul Rasin/Muqamat

This system of learning is the same across the Muslim world, perhaps with slight modifications as to the types of books studied. For instance, an account of the system in Central Asia reveals that most of the children who entered the *maktab* were able to at least read. There, in the *maktab* schools, in addition to reading and writing, children were taught elementary arithmetic, history, and geography. These *maktab* schools were held mostly in mosques, though often private homes were also used. *Maktab* schools could be considered to be much more secular and were usually taught or rather supervised by a well-established scholar who employed several assistants. Some *maktab*, usually in large urban centers, even offered courses in grammar, poetry, physical education, manners, and famous proverbs. In some *maktab* more than one thousand students were enrolled (Nakosteen 1963 p. 38).

In a similar way, the madrassa school of Central Asia also echo those of Hausaland, and was also divided into three periods. The first period, the *adn*, took a minimum of three years and sometimes took up to ten years for completion. During this period, the first books which the students studied were *Bidn* (Know!), which explained Arabic grammar in Tadzhik, and *Nisb al-subiyn* (The portion of young), which was an arrangement of Arabic words and their equivalent in Tadzhik in poetry form. Memorization of these two books

was required in the Madrasa. The Islamic catechism was taught in *Av'ili'ilm* (The beginning of science), and Arabic etymology was taught in *Mu'izz,* (name of the author of the book). After the student mastered these two books, he was taught Arabic syntax from *Avmil* (lit. workers) and a detailed commentary on it from *Sharhmull.* Learning of logic was taught from a thirteenth-century book called *Shamsyah* and a commentary on this text (*Hshia'Qutbby MullQutb*) was also studied. The *and* period ended after the mastery of a religious document called *'Aq'idNasaf,* or The beliefs of Nasaf.

The middle period, or *ausat,* started with the reading of Tanzb, a text on scholastic philosophy. This was followed by the study of natural science and metaphysics contained in a text called *Hikmat al-ayn* and a study of religious treaties in a book called *MullJall* (the author's name). Generally, mastery (memorization) of these three books ended the middle period. During the last period, which was called *'al,* the course of study was divided into two branches: *Mas'ala* (lit. Problem) and *Mushkilt* (lit. The difficulties). The first branch dealt with Islamic law and other legal aspects, while the latter dealt with general theological study. For a career as a *mudarris* or a *qz,* mastery of both branches was necessary. But most of the students took only one branch of the program. Those who chose general theology, for example, after finishing the *Mushkilt* text, started reading the *Tavzih* (interpretation of the Qur'n), Ahdith, and *Mushkati Sharf* and *Tafsrqz,* two commentaries on the Qur'n. By the middle of the nineteenth century, about 130 different texts were used in the Central Asian *Madrasa* (Beka 1966, pp 187-188).

This system of education—introduced in or earlier than 15th century and modified along the centuries, and a template

for *Indigenous Knowledge base* of the Muslim Hausa —persists to date and provides the primary contact of the Hausa learner with a formalized literary curriculum. At the beginning of the introduction of this system, this created a desire to innovate and experiment, with the result that a scholastic community became formed, and a means of communication between people became facilitated by the simple fact that they have mastered the alphabet and can now communicate their thoughts in Arabized Hausa, or ajami.

The literacy base became empowered with the increasing trade and religious contact between the Hausa and Arab traders. In the Kingdom of Kano, for instance, The Kano Chronicle recorded that during the reign of the king Yakubu (1452-1463),

> ...the Fulani came to Hausaland from Mele, bringing with them books on Divinity and Etymology. Formerly our doctors had, in addition to the Koran, only the books of the Law and the Traditions. The Fulani passed by and went to Boruu leaving a few men in Hausaland, together with some slaves and people who were tired of journeying. At this time too the Asbenawa came to Gobir, and salt became common in Hausaland. In the following year merchants from Gwanja began coming to Katsina; Beriberi came in large numbers, and a colony of Arabs arrived. Some of the Arabs settled in Kano and some in Katsina. (Palmer, 1908, pp. 76-77).

Thus the Islamic Education system introduced by the Wangara clerics and perfected along Egyptian models by the series of visiting scholars to Hausaland in general, and Kano in particular. Subsequent scholars included Ahmad . Umar b. Aqit, Abdul Rahman Suqan b. Ali b. Ahmed al-Qasar, Muhammad al-Tazakhti, Mukhluf b. Ali b. Salih al-Bilbani,

and the most notable of them all, Abdul Karim b. Muḥammad al-Maghili al Tilimsan (d 1504), who helped to develop an emirate "constitution" for Kano during Sarki Rumfa's reign (Mohammed and Khan 1981 p. 117). Each of these brought more books and perfected the learning system of Hausaland.

Such intense scholastic activity of course further led to an enriched Hausa vocabulary, such at least 1/5 of Hausa words, from 1750-1960, are directly Arabic in origin. These loan words cover not only religious activities, but also day-to-day affairs, objects.[10] Again this further enhanced the vocabulary acquisition of the Hausa, and since the *Babbaku* and *Farfaru* stages of learning are compulsory early childhood education programs, a literacy base therefore existed even among those who did not go beyond the Babbaku and Farfaru stages of their curriculum.

This system sustained itself effectively throughout the Muslim Northern Nigeria right through to the Islamic and intellectual Jihad reforms of Shehu Usman Dan Fodiyo which started in 1804. As John Hunwick noted,

> A real revolution in Arabic-Islamic writing took place in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, associated with the reformist Fulani scholars Shaykh 'Uthman b. Muhammad Fodiye (or Fodio, d. 1817), his brother 'Abd Allah (d. 1826), and his son Muhammad Bello (d. 1837). Between them they produced over 300 works in prose and verse as well as dozens of occasional poems. In addition to writing in Arabic, Shaykh 'Uthman also wrote poetry in Fulfulde, some of which was translated into Hausa by his son 'Isa. His daughter Asma'u was also a poet in both Arabic and Fulfulde... The reformist triumvirate, who founded a large state based on Sokoto, wrote in most of the Islamic disciplines: *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *tawhid* (theology),

> *tasawwuf* (Sufism), *tafsir* (Qur'anic exegesis), *Hadith* (Prophetic traditions), *lugha* (Arabic language), *adab* (manners), *wa'z* (paraenesis), *tibb* (medicine), and *ta'rikh* (history), often, in fact, writing works that crossed these disciplinary boundaries (Hunwick 1997).

It is of course instructive that the Fulfulde and Hausa poems were written in *ajami* script — the scholarly script then available to all students and teachers throughout Muslim Northern Nigeria. Thus before the end of the 20th century, an intellectual and scholastic tradition based on Islam existed among the Muslims of Northern Nigeria. For according to Alhaji Mahmud Koki,

> In those days if a man wanted to send a letter, he has to come to a Malam. And people used to do it a great deal, for if a man had a message to send, and he merely sent a servant, it might be that the servant would not give the full message correctly...It was from Zaria that the practice of writing in Hausa with some skill spread. Because sometimes when they wrote in Arabic, they might use language that the reader at the other end would fail to understand. And that was why a District Officer in Zaria had the bright idea — in fact he made it an order — telling people to stop writing in Arabic, seeing that it was not our language. (Alhaji Mahmud Koki, in his own words as narrated to Neil Skinner in 1967. Alhaji Mahmudu Koki was born during the Kano Civil War (1893-94) and died in 1976).

The Colonial Interregnum

The northern Nigerian Emirates were subjugated by the British Colonial administration in 1903. Without great resources at his control, and facing an often hostile population, Lugard began to build an administrative staff of

Africans and Europeans. He devised the system of indirect rule which was adopted in Northern Nigeria (and subsequently imitated elsewhere) in order to take advantage of the existing Caliphate system of government and its legitimacy. However, he still faced the problem of choosing a language of administration, and of training clerks who could use that language. Lugard's decision to use Hausa as the language of his administration was to help spread Hausa even more widely within Northern Nigeria than it had previously been, but most importantly, to provide the colonial machinery with a communication system with the natives. As noted by Nikolai Dobronravine (2002),

> Arabic remained the major written language of Islamic West Africa until the early 20th century. For political and other reasons, the colonial government of Northern Nigeria tried to get rid of Arabic supplanting it with Hausa (boko). Hausa written in Arabic script soon became the major medium of communication between local Muslim rulers and the British officers who did not understand Arabic. F.W.H. Migeod, a colonial officer interested in Arabic-script Hausa writings, described the situation as follows: "As to correspondence in these Mohammedan countries, if a native is writing to a European, and knows that the latter is acquainted with the local language but not with Arabic, the local language will in all probability be used. Many of the letters addressed to political officers in Northern Nigeria are of this nature. One Hausa chief will not, however, correspond with another in his own language, but will invariably use Arabic."

When Hanns Vischer took over as the Director of Education and established the first western school, he ensure further that ajami was not to be taught in any government school. His

main arguments against using ajami were articulated in his position paper written in March 1910 where he stated, inter alia,

a. I take it that there can be no doubt at all that there is no idea of keeping the native permanently in a state of tutelage and that the objectives of the Government must be that outlined in B. Granted this I have no hesitation at all in recommending that the Government should confine its efforts entirely to spreading the knowledge of writing in the Roman character for the following reasons:

b. By encouraging the study of the Arabic Alphabet the government would be actually assisting in the propagation of the Mohammadan religion.

i. The Arabic alphabet is suited to the Arabic language but is essentially unsuited to represent graphically the sounds of any other language. An English or Hausa word can nearly always be spelt in two or three different ways in Arabic character and it is hard to say which of these ways is right. (In point of fact when they write "Ajami" (i.e. Hausa in Arabic character) the Mallamai do frequently spell the same word in different ways in the same page.)

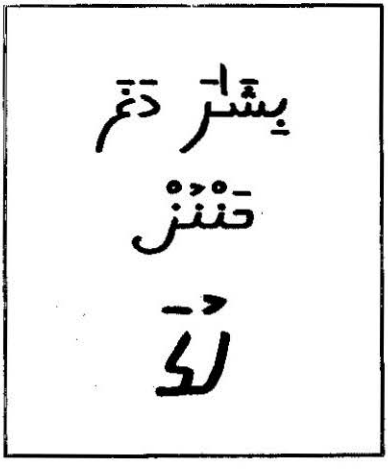
ii. The Roman alphabet can be acquired by a Mallam in about a month, and by a boy who does not know Arabic in about two months. It takes the later more like two years to learn the Arabic character. (The rapidity with which small boys at Sokoto have learned to read Hausa in Roman character has astonished me).

iii. It is very expensive to print the Arabic character (especially if the vowel points have to be added as is necessary when Hausa is written in Arabic character). The publishing of text books in Arabic character would be difficult and expensive.

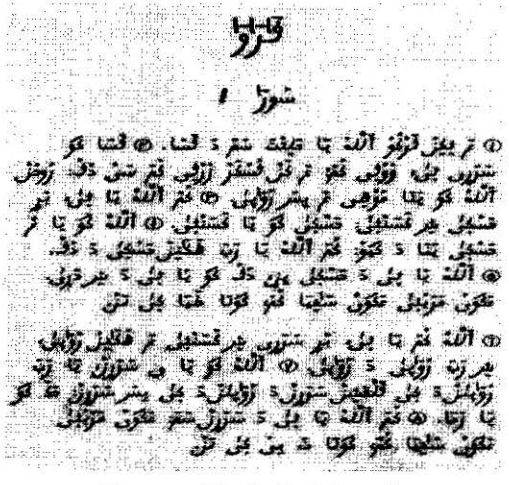
iv. Comparatively few Political officers have mastered the Arabic character (the running hand).[11]

Thus with the coming of the British colonial interregnum from 1903, the scriptural ownership of the Muslim Hausa was eroded. Those who acquired education through the Islamic education medium became relegated to the background and in Nigeria's development literature became labeled "illiterate". Those who acquired the new Roman-based literacy gained ascendancy and became leaders of thought and development. Romanization became the new panacea for development, while the development needs of millions of Muslim Hausa who became educated daily through the maktab and madrassa systems were ignored.

The Christian Missionaries, however, were quick to seize the opportunity of the widespread nature of ajami script among literate Hausa and soon enough provided a series of reading materials, especially various aspects of The Bible in the script. Examples are given in Plate 4.



Bushara Daga Hannun Luke (The Gospel of St. Luke)



Farawa – The Book of Genesis

Plate 4: The Holy Bible in Hausa © United Bible Society 1932

Further, in 1971 the CMS, Wusasa published an ajami guide – Ka Koya Wa Kanka Karatun Ajami (published by NNPC) which is a primer on reading ajami – an effective way of enabling newly converted Hausa converts into understanding the Bible already translated into ajami.

It was only in 1985 that Sheikh Muhammad Muttahki al-Kashinawi was able to publish an ajami translation of 11 Suras of the Holy Qur'an. This was published in Syria, and is not easily or widely available. In fact it seemed to have been done as an experiment in literary studies; for there was no further follow-up. It is thus ironic that the Christian Missionaries were more adroit in taking of the literary base of the literate Hausa and translated the Bible into ajami. Hausa Islamic scholars, however, were soon enough busy trying to translate the Qur'an into *Roman* Hausa. According to Andrea Brigaglia (2005 p. 428),

> The first Nigerian ever to write a complete translation of the Qur'an into Hausa was, in 1979, the well-known ideologue of Islamic reformism and leader of the 'anti-Sufi' organization *Izàla*, Shaykh Abù Bakr Ma'mùd Gumì (1922-1992). His translation, published thanks to the initiative of the Saudi Kingdom, provoked the reaction of the leading authority of the Qàdiriyya Sufi order in Kano, Saykh Nàsiru Kabarà (1925-1996), who, during the 1950s, had been one of the teachers of Gumì himself. Kabarà's alternative translation was published in a four-volume edition sponsored by the Libyan Daawa in 1988.

Thus the massive potential readership of the Hausa ajami Qur'an was never explored – further alienating the millions of ajami-literate for whom the Roman translation of the Qur'an was a further barriers to understanding the message of the

Qur'an in their language. This potential of using the Arabic literary antecedent to translate the Qur'an into indigenous languages has in fact proved successful in countries like China, Pakistan and Iran. Plate 5 shows Qur'anic text in Chinese and Urdu ajami.

Chinese Qur'an Urdu Qur'an

Plate 5. Ajami Qur'an in Other Languages

In Nigeria, the ajami itself was often used, again, by Christian Missionaries to reach out to a large number of Muslims – sometimes with tragic results. For instance, a full scale riot broke out in Kano in October 1991 when posters were printed by the organizers of the conference in Hausa ajami script announcing the arrival of the German Evangelist Reinhard

Bonke, for a crusade aimed at ensuring "Jesus for all by the year 2000".[12] Muslims protested the posters and the planned Crusade – which they saw as an attempt to convert them to Christianity by force – especially as earlier in the year, the Military authorities had prevented the late South African Muslim preacher, Ahmed Deedat permission to land in Kano for a public lecture. Over 500 people died in the ensuring ethno-religious conflict. The poster is shown in Plate 6.

Plate 6. Ajamizing Crusade – Poster in ajami announcing Christian Missionary Crusade

Thus the Hausa Muslim scholastic establishment did nothing to encourage the widespread use of ajami as part of public discourse and scriptural ownership among the Hausa – leaving it to Christian missionaries who appreciated the learnability power of the ajami script among the literate Muslim Hausa.

It would seem, therefore, only the Nigerian Central Bank believed in the power of ajami as a literary tool, for it was used to inscribe the various denominations of the Nigerian

currency. Although no specific details seemed to have been recorded as to how the script became adopted, a hypothesis was that Nigerian Hausa Muslims were the only group with an established literary tradition which needed to be reflected in a wholly-Nigerian currency at the time of Nigeria's independence from the British colonial rule in 1960. None of the other ethnic groups in Nigeria had any written indigenous script for its language.

"Hans Solodo Vischer" in 2007

However, in a new era of reform, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) decided to remove the "Arabic" script from the Nigerian currency in new currency notes launched on 28th February 2007. The removal of ajami script on the Nigerian currency reflected the deep-rooted religious divide that is Nigeria, because the Arabic script was seen as religious – and Nigeria is considered a secular country. This equates Arabic with Islam – ignoring the huge number of Arab Christians that exist throughout The Middle East. Plate 7 shows the last stand of ajami script on Nigerian currency.

Plate 7: Farewell to a tradition...Ajami's final stand on Nigerian currency on 28th February 2007

Welcome to the Future – Naira without "Arabic inscription"

The logic of the removal of the what the Nigerian economic establishment call "Arabic inscription" on the Nigerian currency given by the Nigerian Government was premised on using a Roman inscription that is available to all Nigerians (even if in mutually exclusive languages), rather than an exclusive script tied down to a particular religious culture. According to the Governor of CBN, Professor Chukwuma Soludo during a sensitization visit to the Sultan of Sokoto,

> I will also like to inform you that the removal of the Arabic inscription on the notes is not targeted at any group or religion but rather to promote our language and cultural heritage...As you can see, Naira is the symbol of our nationalism and our pride. It is pertinent to let you understand that Arabic is not one of our national languages and it was inscribed on the notes forty years ago because the majority of people then, can read it in the northern part of the country to the detriment of their counterparts in the South (*ThisDay*, 16th February 2007, posted to the web 19th February 2007 at http://allafrica.com/stories/200702190519.html.

It is interesting that a main argument was that the presence of ajami on Nigerian currency was seen to the "detrimental" to southern Nigerians – yet the inclusion of Roman lettering is not seen as a detrimental to non-Roman literate northern Nigerians (especially non-Muslim Hausa).

And while not explicitly stated, the links made by the Nigerian economic establishment with Arabic to Islam seems to be part of a move to "de-Islamize" Nigeria – scoring a point particularly in the way most northern Nigerian States re-introduced Islamic Shari'a in their governance from 1999 lead by Zamfara State, and the earlier issue of Nigeria's membership of the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) in

January 1986. It is not clear where the arguments along the religious lines would end because some significant symbolism of Nigeria is decidedly Christian religious. For instance, the Eagle that characterizes the Nigerian coat-of-arms is

> a symbol of Christ and His Divine nature, of regeneration by baptism; it is also an emblem of St. John the Evangelist. As the eagle can gaze upon the shining orb of the sun with steadfast eyes, so can Christ gaze undazzled upon the refulgent glory of God the Father. (see the full details at http://www.newadvent.org/ cathen/02576b.htm). (See also Klein 2000).

Further,

> Because it soars upward, the eagle is a symbol of the resurrection or ascension of Christ. By extension, the eagle symbolizes baptized Christians, who have symbolically died and risen with Christ
> (http://www.religionfacts.com/christianity/symbols/eagle.htm.

It is clear therefore that ajami can continue to play a very strong role in the provision of the indigenous knowledge base of Muslim Hausa – or indeed any Muslim population ready to use its language in this way to educate its people. What is needed is the move from debate to action.

Ajamization of Knowledge—Plan for Action

To provide effective opportunity of Education for All, the manuscript learnability of the Hausa ajami must be revisited as part of Hausa literary public space. It has to become public because the Islamic scholastic establishment shows no willingness to use this conduit network of literacy in truly educating the millions of literature Hausa Muslims. Education for All has been a regular State policy in Nigerian Hausa

Muslim territories since the 14th century. Ajami was its main connecting tissue. To realise its scriptural power, it is necessary to contemplate the concept of Ajamization of Knowledge.

Let us begin to contemplate the Ajamization of Knowledge Plan for Action with this reminisces from Azerbaijan by Asaf Rustamov (1999),

> So much medical knowledge was lost forever from those books. Azerbaijanis used to know of more than 400 plants that were used for making medicine. People knew how to take the leaves, stalks, flowers, roots and seeds and use them to treat specific diseases. Today we only know of about 50 plants growing in our country that can be used to heal people when they get sick. I don't think we will ever recover the knowledge from those books that were burned so long ago. It was a terrible crime and many generations will suffer for years and years to come.

The basic principle of education is literacy. Literacy is the ability to use a *script* to express a thought, a feeling or a mindset. The Muslim Hausa have been scripturally colonized because policy makers have chosen to ignore alternative ways of educating the citizenry through acquisition of indigenously adapted scripts. The basic literacy for development agenda always rest on the assumption that acquisition of Romanized script is sufficient literacy which will lead to the realization of development agenda. Yet the fact that agencies and policies are still struggling with scriptural literacy, at both formal, non-formal and adult levels is a clear indication of a need to experiment with *existing* alternative literacies and incorporate them in the development agenda.

Yet ajamization of knowledge has proven a difficult concept to accept by policy makers in all these years. No panel, discussion group or position papers have been written on the plan for action if such concept is to be realized.

Ajamization relies on assumptions that since the vast majority of out-of-school children have attended Qur'anic schools and have acquired Qur'anic education to some level, there is every reason to believe that they have acquired the *ability* to read and write in Arabic. In other words, they have *scriptural ownership*. Of course this ability does not translate into being able to speak and understand Arabic as a language; but certainly the Arabic of the Qur'an is accessible to the majority of these learners.

A second assumption is that if secular materials – textbooks, advocacy materials in various aspects of youth endeavor, leisure reading, including labeling of government buildings etc – can be written in ajami, then this vast pool of educated citizens would have access to government thoughts and ideas about the development agenda. To wait until these citizens acquire a Romanized script to be able to understand government policies is to perpetuate the lopsided policies that have always existed in Kano since 1909 which sees education as the exclusive preserve of Romanized literate citizens.

But the most potent application of Ajamized scriptural ownership is in the area of indigenous knowledge. Starting with the assumption that a typical Hausa Muslim owns a script—the ajami script, by the virtue of his conventional Islamic education—then a mechanism exists through which indigenous knowledge and experiences of various peoples in various communities can be shared across the board. Farmers, hunters, health care workers, traders, and other indigenous

professionals can use this script to share their knowledge and experience with others. That way, development becomes possible because it is rooted in a familiar and accepted script.

Of course I am not naïve enough to assume that the process of scriptural familiarity—as acquired in the almost mechanical process of *maktab* education—should be treated on the same platform as scriptural application—the ability to express thoughts using the acquired script.

However, let me go back to some of the earlier concepts I talked about: learnability and expressive power. As stated earlier, *learnability refers to the ease with which the script can be acquired, and expressive power refers to the resources of the script for unambiguously expressing the full range of meanings available in the oral language.* Ajami script has both these qualities. It is easily acquired in a life-long situation of learning; and its expressive power is related to the huge vocabulary of Arabic loan words in the Hausa language.

The consequence of these factors is that basic Islamic instruction has three essential dimensions of practical application and impact in the indigenous knowledge education of the Muslim Hausa today:

- It constitutes an introduction to the technology of writing — and, to a lesser extent, that of numeracy — for a sizable proportion of the population, both men and women, many of whom would otherwise have little or no schooling. Those who proceed far enough to gain fluency in reading, writing and calculating for daily practical purposes. Moreover, literacy in Arabic script has become a point of reference in

many rural and small town settings thought of as largely "illiterate" in Western terms.

- It is training as well for local leadership, since solid Islamic instruction is generally accepted to be an indicator of morality, honesty and discipline and therefore a primary qualification for assuming positions of responsibility.
- In addition, it has always been — and, given recent disaffection with formal schooling, has increasingly become — an avenue for social and economic advancement. Qur'anic school graduates—not tied to "white collar job markets"—are more likely to find employment or apprenticeship with traditional merchants and in informal sector marketing operations.

Nevertheless, perhaps the biggest reason for passive resistance towards putting ajami on the educational agenda is the widely accepted notion that ajami has not been standardized with proper orthography. Even if this is so, a starting point would be to gather all stakeholders and see the extent of the problem. Such gathering will then identify the difficulties and thus provide a road map of ajami usage.

Strategies

The first strategy is to determine the *nature of the problem.* Scriptural ownership goes beyond ajami inscription on a national currency. The script is now removed – as it was bound to be sooner or later; but the spirit of literacy for the Muslim Hausa remains, and therefore must be re-enforced to become part of more possessive public space. Let us begin by a gathering of stakeholders into ajami for education process and see precisely what we are dealing with. The Center for the

Study of Nigerian Languages in BUK held a conference on Ajami the history of ajami before Jihad between December 27-30, 1989. Yet no action plan, policy recommendation or any other strategy came out of this first, and so far, only conference on ajami. Further, a weakness of this conference – as far as ajamization of knowledge is concerned – is that they all focused on the origin and importance of ajami; thus has none of the papers had specific *advocacy* function.

In what I am suggesting as a follow-up, more diverse stakeholders can be gathered to look at the various thematic structures of using ajami as an *indigenous educational strategy*. This will not be in the form of a conference in which empty dry papers are presented, but in the form of an interactive symposium with various groups focusing attention on different aspects of the problem. At the end of this, a clear destination should be discernible which will then be fine-tuned by a select committee of scriptural and pedagogic experts who will then provide a draft action plan on how best to incorporate ajami into mainstream education of both formal and non-formal clients. I would therefore envisage this sequence of events:

1. A pre-workshop conference (maybe for two days with about six or so resource persons) which will provide lead papers on indigenous literacy and development. This is a highly academic process with each resource person tasked to provide explicit recommendations. It will give opportunity for both advocates and opponents to thrash out issues and come up with a commonality. An outcome of this will be a communiqué to provide a roadmap for a workshop to focus on

2. A week-long (Monday to Friday) workshop to translate ideas into action, with brainstorming from various stakeholders; both academic (in Romanized and ajami sense) as well as select audience to come up with a range of blue-prints into the various components of ajamization process. For instance, secondary, women, adult education, social services (labels on Govt. buildings, etc).
3. A select committee to fine-tune the workshop proceedings into implementable action plan for use of indigenous knowledge in education for development agenda.

These strategies may not offer a full solution to the problem on an immediate basis. But they are a beginning. We have to cross the Rubicon of State-enforced illiteracy.

Notes

1. For various historical accounts, see Boyarin, Jonathan, ed. 1993., *The Ethnography of Reading*, University of California Press, Berkeley; Goody, Jack, *The Interface Between the Written and the Oral*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987; and Salzmann, Zdenek, *Language, Culture & Society: an introduction to linguistic anthropology*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1993.
2. Further discussions on literacy in indigenous communities are provided in a sample of works such as Hornberger, N. (1998) *Language Planning from the Bottom up: Indigenous Literacies in the Americas*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter; Baynham, M. (1995) Literacy *Practices – Investigating Literacy in Social Contexts*. London: Longman; Street, B. (ed.) (2001) Literacy and Development – Ethnographic Perspectives. London: Rutledge.
3. See also Kathrine Kveim, 1997. *The World Wide Web - an instance of Walter Ong's Secondary Orality?* MA dissertation, Goldsmiths College, University of London, 1997.
4. For more arguments, supported with field data, about nonliterate orality and literacy, see Thompson, LaNette Weiss, 1998. *The Nonliterate and the Transfer of Knowledge in West Africa*. Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.
5. This table was collated from various language history websites on the Internet.
6. For more details, see Abdulaziz Y. Lodhi (2002) *Oriental Language & Culture Contacts on the Swahili Coast*. Dept. of Asian & African Languages, Uppsala University.
7. For a further deconstruction of the both the Kano Chronicles and Asl, see Ellias N. Saad, "Islamization in Kano: Sequence and Chronology", *Kano Studies*, NS 1 (4), 979, pp 52-66.
8. See, for instance, accounts in Mohammed, A., and Khan, M. B., From Cradle to Grave: The Contribution of Ulama to Education in Nigeria. *Kano Studies* Vol 2 No 2, 1981 pp. 110-145.
9. For a thorough study of this scholastic tradition and its influences, see Hassan I. Gwarzo, The life and teaching of Al-Maghili with particular

reference to Saharan Jewish community, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of London.

10. The study of Arabic loanword in Hausa seemed to have attracted a lot of attention from scholars, some of the more notable being: Baldi, Sergio. *A first ethnolinguistic comparison of Arabic loanwords common to Hausa and Swahili.* Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1988; Greenberg, Joseph, Arabic loan-words in Hausa, *Word* 3 (1947) 85-97; Hiskett, M. 1965. The Historical Background to the Naturalization of Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa. *African Language Studies* 6: 18 -26; Anon. *The Northern Nigerian Code,* Arabic tr. Sokoto 1907.
11. Roman and Arabic Characters: Which Should Be Encouraged by the Government for the Writing of Hausa (NAK) SNP7-4864/1908. "Primer for Teaching the Hausa Roman Character to Mallams" From the Resident, Lokoja 1st October, 1908. Report by Hanns Vischer, Director Education (July 1, 1908) Northern Protectorate, March 2, 1910.
12. For the full details of the riot, see Sani Musa "Nigeria's Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Perspective". Paper presented at The Centre for Conflict Resolution Journalism (The CCRJ) conference, *Peace or Patriotism,* held in Belfast on February 11th-13th 2004.

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