CHAPTER EIGHT

KUNDI SUBCULTURE IN THE ISLAMIC SCHOLARSHIP OF ILORIN EMIRATE: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

BY

ISMAIL OTUKOKO SALIHU

Abstract

The production, preservation and transmission of knowledge and practices relating to the making of "medicines" and provision of health services are universal cultural traditions. Among Muslims, such phenomena have long historical antecedents that dated back to the early period of Islam and have survived up to the present. Among Nigerian Muslims, *Kundi* subculture relates to aspect of knowledge production, preservation and provision of remedies to health and other conditions. It specifically relates to the production and transmission of Arabic/*Ajami* manuscripts dealing with information on various aspects of the Muslim's everyday life, including solutions to various human problems. Thus, *Kundi* represents an individual Muslim's or family manuscript repository for what has come to be termed as the 'efficacious Muslim prayers', 'charms', 'amulets', 'magical therapeutic recipes,' etc. Popularly known as "*Nakali*" or "*Asiri*" among the Ilorins, *Kundi* is also an important source of traditional African herbal/medicinal solutions preserved in Arabic modes. This paper examines the *Kundi* subculture in Ilorin—a Muslim community which derived her dynamic tradition of Islamic scholarship from various Islamic traditions and its multi-ethnic configuration. As a widely acknowledged regional centre of Islamic learning and Arabic manuscripts production in Nigeria, Ilorin's *Kundi* reflects the important role, which Ilorin and her religious scholars played in indigenous knowledge production, transmission, and preservation. As part of its 'invisible library', the Ilorin's *Kundi* repositories provide a veritable source for a study of the documentation of knowledge on both the Islamic/Muslim and traditional African herbal remedies to problems.

Keywords: *Kundi*, *Nakali*, *Hantu*, Manuscripts, Culture, Knowledge Production

Introduction

The religious scholars (‘*ulamā*) play various roles in Muslim societies. Two of these which are reflected in the *Kundi* subculture, are their roles as teachers and healers. With regards to the former, *Kundi* is an aspect of knowledge production and preservation that were (and, to a considerable extent, are still) parts of traditional Islamic scholarship in Ilorin and among Nigerian Muslims. As healers, *Kundi* is part and parcel of the activities and practices involved in the production/provision of ‘medicines and other healing devices and services. In both, *Kundi* has to do with manuscripts, produced in Arabic and *Ajami* scripts, relating to diverse issues and solutions to various human and societal problems. However, a survey of extant literature on such manuscripts reveals a common perception and generalization about the contents of *Kundi* and other similar ‘books’ as essentially collections of recipes for making so-called “Islamic” or Muslim “charms”, “talismans”, “amulets” and “magic squares”.

Furthermore, scholarly attention on *Kundi* manuscripts in Nigeria appears to be a recent development and is limited in scope. Bunza’s study of the *Kundi* book legacy in Northern Nigeria, for instance, examines the traditional techniques of preserving, restoring and documenting Hausa medicinal manuscripts. It focuses on such issues as the paper, ink, styles of writing, historical origin, samples of, and medicinal purposes for which *Kundi* was produced.[1] In another similar study of Arabic manuscripts of precolonial Northern Nigeria, Umar Mukhtar describes the contents of such manuscripts mostly produced by some of the prominent leaders of the Sokoto Jihad,[2] while Jawondo’s examination of the uses of *Ajami* in knowledge production in Ilorin only notes the use of *Ajami* in the documentation of important local medicines in the emirate.[3]

This paper explores the history, change and continuity of the *Kundi* subculture in Ilorin. It draws its primary data from what has been described as “the invisible library” of the Ilorin,[4] which includes Arabic/*Ajami* manuscript collections in *Kundi* ‘book’ form at the Centre for Ilorin Manuscripts and Culture, Kwara State University, Malete, personal collections and other recipes examined during field work. Other information used included oral evidence and some existing works on *Kundi* and Arabic/*Ajami* manuscripts generally.[5] From the example of Ilorin Emirate, the paper argues that *Kundi* is not just ‘a source’ or ‘corpus of Muslim

"magic", "talismans", "charms", and "amulets"; that, contrary to the negative perspectives that those terms have evoked, it represents an important source of knowledge and information not only about Islamic/Muslim health, 'medical' and healing devices, 'technologies' and services but, to a considerable extent, also about indigenous African herbal solutions and treatments, albeit preserved in Arabic/*Ajami* scripts.

Ilorin city, the headquarters of the Ilorin emirate and now capital of Kwara sState, is in the North-Central geopolitical zone of Nigeria. Situated on latitude 8° 30° north and longitude 4° 35° east, Ilorin is reputed to have been founded between the 16th and 17th century. By the early 1800s, it witnessed socio-political developments that transformed her into a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural Muslim polity. An important aspect of that transformation was the Islamic movement, started by a renowned cleric, Alimi, in the late 18th century. This culminated in the establishment of the Ilorin emirate in c.1824. The history of Ilorin and of that transformation is well-known.[6] Sequel to the religious transformation, Ilorin came to be known as "*Ilu Àáfà*," meaning 'City of Religious Scholars.' This epithet has a dual meaning and historical significance for the city.

On one hand, '*Ilu Àáfà*' could be taken to be a synonym for "*Ilorin Garin Alimi*," which means 'Ilorin the Town of [*Àáfà*] Alimi.' This is in reference to the role of Shehu Alimi in the religious transformation that has defined the history and identity of Ilorin and thus an acknowledgment of the cleric as 'the founder of the Islamic Ilorin.'[7] On the other hand, the epithet '*Ilu Àáfà*' describes Ilorin as the 'city of religious scholars and preachers.' This is in reference to and reverence for the city's rich tradition of Islamic scholarship and the fact that, in the aftermath of the Alimi-led religious transformation, major preoccupations of the Ilorin have been religious worship, scholarship, and propagation of Islam.[8] The *Ilorins* are, therefore, generally regarded as *Àáfà*. As "*Ilu Àáfà*", their city has been widely acknowledged as 'a scholarly community' and 'a regional centre of Islamic learning and Arabic manuscripts production.' In Ilorin's, the concept of *Àáfà* or religious scholars include preachers, teachers, propagators of Islam, mystics, ascetics and healers, all of who are in one way or another associated with the *Kundi* subculture.

Conceptual Clarifications, Structure and Composition of *Kundi*

The word, "*Kundi*" has been given different linguistic and operational definitions. To Bunza, the term was probably "of Arabic origin or of one of the Berber dialects of North Africa" and, in agreement with Bargery's conception, *Kundi* is "a packet, or bundle of small sheets of paper especially such as is carried in a pocket with notes of the components of various charms, portions."[9] Reichmuth sees *Kundi* as the Yoruba term for "magico-therapeutic recipes" while Raji explains that "the famous name for any manuscript written in Arabic is '*tira*'" while "a collection of such manuscripts is referred to as '*Kundi*.'"[10] Apart from "t*ira*" or "*tia*," *Kundi* is also used synonymously, among the Yoruba and the Ilorin, with other terms like *Nakali*, and "*Sirru*" though each of these terms refers to an aspect of *Kundi* and its subculture.[11]

In the *Dictionary of the Hausa Language*, *Kundi* (plural: *Kundaye*) is defined as "a book" while "*dan Kundi*" means "a small book."[12] Thus, the word *Kundi* appears to have been derived from *Kunda*, which is defined to mean "a charm placed in a field."[13] This suggests that *Kundi* was probably originally meant, in Hausa, to refer to "a book of charms". This may explain why it has come to be generally conceived of as "a book of recipes for making charms, amulets and talismans" or simply as a "Book of Talisman and Prayer."[14] Accordingly, the Muslims' perception of the Qur'an as 'a source of healing,'[15] and a tradition that describes it as "the best of all medicines"[16] must have influenced its description as "*Kur'ani babban Kundi*" meaning "Qur'an is the biggest *Kundi* indeed."[17]

Operationally, *Kundi* has been variously conceived as "a small book containing small sheets of paper"; "a pocket dictionary of some important materials" and "the traditional technique of preserving medicinal or magical treatise for charms".[18] The latter is closely related to the idea that *Kundi* represents "a local system for the care and preservation of each set of manuscripts"—such manuscripts being "a rich source of cultural heritage" of the people.[19] Bunza also submits that "*Kundi* is a small note book for any serious students and indeed a library for senior scholars for the preservation of their special [Arabic/Islamic] documents".[20] Based on these considerations, a typical *Kundi* could therefore, range from "a small notebook", to a "library", depending on the scholar/collector, it could contain between a few folios to as many 250 and 500 pages/folios or more. Indeed, a versatile

scholar/student could have several collections of *Kundi* (see plate 1 below) in his 'invisible library.'

Furthermore, functioning both as 'archives' and 'library,' especially for 'secret' materials relating to personal and community health and wellbeing, *Kundi* is part and parcel of the intellectual and cultural baggage that usually accompanied the introduction and spread of Islam. Such baggage consists of Islamic literacy, Arabic language and education, manuscript production, invention of *Ajami* writing, and various elements of the Islamic/Muslim 'medicine' making culture. Thus, rather than being just "magic manuals" or "accumulated stocks of remedies and prayers used in talisman", *Kundi* could best be described as "a corpus of knowledge" (as Handloff describes similar 'books')[21] which has close connection with Islamic scholarship.

The connection between Islamic religious scholarship, the provision of healing services, and the *Kundi* subculture has a long antecedent in the history of Islam. This was informed by three reasons. First, since the time of the Prophet of Islam, with whom orthodox Islamic 'medicines,' healing and 'medical practice' began, Islamic scholars (usually described as 'heirs of the prophets') have been the custodians of the knowledge of the Qur'an and Prophetic traditions upon which such subculture was based. Secondly, in addition to such knowledge, some religious scholars are also believed to possess certain mystical powers or those forms of esoteric knowledge used for the widely believed 'efficacious Muslim prayers' or the production of 'medicines' and other devices used for healing or providing solutions to diverse problems.[22] The third reason was that the '*ulamā* also possessed the literary skills necessary for the documentation and transmission of such knowledge or 'secrets' as used in the treatment and healing of members of their communities. Thus, from earliest time, Islamic clerics have always combined religious scholarship (teaching and writing) with religio-spiritual and herbal healing practices. The Qur'an, Hadiths, and other Arabic/Islamic writings, which make up the '*Kundi*,' always formed main items in the intellectual and missionary baggage of the *'ulamā*.

Plate 1: Typical *Kundi* 'Books'[23]



The sheets of paper that make up a typical *Kundi* (see plate 2) are "a combination of many things very much unrelated."[24] Such folios contain information about various recipes for solutions to different problems ranging from personal to societal, spiritual to mundane. Traditionally, *Kundi* folios are not usually paginated; some "pointers" known in Hausa as "*Matashi*" (a word or more written at the left corner of the foot of a page)[25] are used to indicate the first word/words with which the writing continues on another page/folio. Usually, the folios do not provide information about their author(s), owner(s), or date of production/copying; only some meticulous collectors do indicate such pieces of information about particular recipes and such may be pointers to some events in the health history or spiritual experience of the copyist.

Plate 2: Sheets of *Kundi* Folios/Recipes



Generally, each *Kundi* recipe may be 'titled' or introduced as "*Dawā'u*" (i.e. 'medicine,' freely translated into Yoruba as "*Oogun*") or "*fā'idah*" (pl. *fawā'id*: i.e. 'benefits' or 'value'). Usually, the introductory terminology is followed by statement of the specific use(s)/purpose(s) for which a *Kundi* recipe is meant. In some cases, the purpose(s) is known through the contents of the recipes. Therefore, inside a typical *Kundi* are terminologies that indicate what the recipes are meant for such as *Fa'amu* (Ar. *Fahm*) and '*Ilhamu* respectively for knowledge or 'understanding' and inspiration'; *Irisi* (Ar. *Hirz*) for 'Defensive/Protective' purposes, especially against 'malicious forces' like the 'Evil Eye'; *Katali* (from Ar. *Qatl*: 'killing' or 'fighting') and *Ihlaki* for 'spiritual fighting,' both 'offensive' and 'defensive'; *Firāku* (Ar. *Firaq* or 'separation') used for initiating a division between individuals; *Māni'u* and *Akadi* (from Arabic: *'Aqd*, meaning 'lock' or 'knot') for 'prevention/restriction of action' or locking up things (like the Yoruba's devices like *Agadagodo* or *Akaaba* used for similar purpose(s).

Other recipes in a *Kundi* may fall under the 'Prescriptive' or 'Therapeutic,' for the purpose of treating/healing specified ailments.[26] In this connection, there are specific "Islamic"/Muslim and local herbal recipes for issues/problems ranging from barrenness, general bodily health ("*Quwwat-al-Jazadi*"), male erectile dysfunction ("*Quwwat-ad-Dhakari*" or "*Ale*" in Yoruba), irregular menstrual cycles ('*wa man arada al-khaidah*'); stomach ache, headache, cough, and sight problems, to success, prosperity, among others. The components of the recipes, therefore, reflect various devices and 'technologies'—the "Islamic medicine-making technologies" to use Macruzzi's phrases—and those appropriated from contacts with non-Muslims. The devices can be divided into two broad categories.

First, the *Du'ā* meaning "general supplication" or "liturgical form of prayer".[27] They include repetition of names of Allah, the recitation of Qur'an chapters/verses, and prophetic sayings, or recommended prayers known as "*Al-Du'ā' al-Ma'thūr*" or "prayers offered up by the prophet that have been handed down in the traditions".[28] Others are *Ruqa*/*Ruqya* (Islamic "liturgical incantations and recitations"), and '*Hutuba*' (from *Khutbah)* or 'devotional' recitations/other prayers prepared by religious/Sufi leaders. Prayers/recitations in this sub-category come under various names/titles such as "*Ya Batuta*", "*Sansani*", "*Dimyatii*", "*Kulli 'Iradah*", "*Saifii",* "*Jaljalūti*", "*Kandayasu*", "*Jalmami-Jalmami-Kandu*", "*Sirru Ayyuba*", "*Shams al-Ijabah*", "*Hayyu Dāfi'u*", and "*Imam al-Madrasat*",

among others.[29] Most of these prayer texts are for recitation, though they may be prepared as "drinkable *Ruqya*". Other devices inside the *Kundi* include formulae or acronymic codes ('*Ọpa*') such as the popular "*AḤaMu SaQaKu HaLaᶜU YaṢu*" in which each of the 11 syllables represents the first letter of the 11-line acrostic poem meant for self-protection.[30] There are also textual devices including Qur'anic writings on paper or other materials, *Hatumere* (*'Hatimi'* or *Khatim*), usually described as 'magic squares' and 'esoteric designs' all of which Yoruba Muslims usually call *"tira"* or *"tia."*

The second category are the *Dawā'u* or 'medicines' (textual, liquid and herbal). They include texts of Qur'an verses and chapters, Allah's names and prophetic prayers, usually written with edible local ink (*tadaa*) on wooden slates (*Walā)* and sometimes, on stone tablets or metal boards, etc. The writings on wooden slates, known as *hantu* among the Ilorin and Yoruba Muslims (*rubutu* among the Hausa), are washed and drunk, or used to cook food or other items to be eaten. There are also herbal medicines including 'orthodox Islamic' ones, and those adopted/adapted or developed by Muslims based on their cultural environment or contacts with other cultures. These may be in powdery forms including *Turare* (incense)*, Agunmu* ('ground or powdered herbs') and *Āsa* (snuff) or in soluble forms such as *Agbo* (herbal 'juice' or syrup) or *Ipara* ('herbal ointment').

The contents of the *Kundi* recipes, therefore, may be purely Islamic/Muslim's or purely traditional/local medicines or a combination of both. Similarly, the language of documentation may be purely Arabic or *Ajami* (Yoruba, Hausa, Nupe, etc. in Arabic script) or a combination of both. The choice of script may depend on the author or source of the prescriptions therein. However, while purely Islamic/Muslim prayers and medicinal recipes are always written in Arabic, purely local herbal medicines are often written in Ajami script. Depending on the problem, each *Kundi* recipe folio(s) contains three to four 'parts' or 'sections.' First, there is an introduction, which tells what the recipe is all about, i.e. *du'ā* (prayer, invocation, etc.), *dawā'u* ('medicine'), or *fā'idah* for specified problem (general or specific). The second part, the recommendation, gives (i) prayers to be said or written for application; (ii) other texts to be written with or without *ingredients* known locally as '*gari tira*' and made into textual or drinkable devices or (iii) other devices including herbs and medicinal plants/roots to be prepared and administered. The third section gives the 'procedure(s)' for preparation and

application of recommended 'medicine' or 'solution.' The fourth section contains 'warning' or 'caution' on the use, misuse or circulation of the recipe.

Kundi Subculture in Ilorin in Historical Perspective

The *Kundi* subculture in Ilorin predated the establishment of the emirate and had been influenced by various elements. These included the cultural environment within which the settlement was located, various traditions of Islamic scholarship and the multi-ethnic character of the emergent Ilorin emirate. Culturally, Ilorin's cultural environment was situated within the Old Oyo Yoruba cultural environment. As a border settlement in the region, and because of the circumstances of its history however, Ilorin's culture has been a hybrid of cultural aspects from diverse groups that came to inhabit the city over time. These included the Baruba, Fulani, Hausa, Kanuri, Malians, Nupe, Sudanese, and Yoruba, among others. Accordingly, Ilorin's cultural environment is multi-ethnic; the city has been 'a melting pot of peoples and cultures.'

Within the Old Oyo Yoruba region, the people were generally reputed for their propensity for charms, amulets and talismans; they are noted to have these devices for virtually everything.[31] Up to its collapse in the 19th century, members of the Old Oyo's political and military elite were either 'fond' of, or 'famous' for, charms; each had his own medicine-making men.[32] Indeed, the Yoruba sought or made charms for various purposes, which included detaining *Abiku* children from returning to their company, protecting their empire, particularly its capital city, from destruction by warfare, ensuring victory in battles, escaping danger at battlefronts, making money, and ensuring perpetual youth, among others.[33]

Furthermore, the crisis situation in Yorubaland from the late 18th through to the end of the 19th century provided opportunities for amulets and charms and their makers to thrive in the region.[34] It is widely acknowledged that Islamic clerics were not left out in the production of those devices as well as prayers to meet the increasing demand by Yoruba warriors and their military leaders. Because of their perceived high efficacy, the devices produced by Muslim clerics were "highly valued" and "highly prized" among Yoruba warrior elite.[35] Like the Yoruba's diverse range of *Oogun*, the Muslim's *Kundi* also contains various kinds of devices for different purposes including those related to success in warfare and other endeavours. It was within these cultural and historical contexts that Islamic clerics

and their *Kundi* subculture flourished in the Ilorin region prior to and since the establishment of the emirate.

Kundi Subculture in Ilorin: From the Pre-Emirate Era to the Present

By c.1800, there were various Muslim groups and Islamic scholars in the Ilorin area although it is not possible to determine when Islam was introduced into the region or which group was responsible for such. Similarly, given the strong connections between Islamic scholarship and the *Kundi* subculture, the earliest possible date for the advent/practice of the latter in the Ilorin area is difficult to establish. What is fairly certain is that the earliest Arabic/Ajami manuscripts for *Kundi* purposes must have been taken there and kept by Muslim traders and scholars from any of the possible sources for the introduction of Islam into Yorubaland. These included Muslim traders from Mali (some of whom had reportedly settled in Agbaji area before 1800);[36] or immigrants from Nupeland, Hausaland and Kanem-Borno, who were traders and scholars and had been agents of Islamisation in Yorubaland. These could well have settled in the Ilorin region by the 18th century.

By the early 1800s, elements from those Muslims groups had settled in the Ilorin area particularly at Oke-Suna. The latter is suggested to have been one of the earliest Muslim settlements or "the first organised Islamic centre in Yorubaland".[37] Available evidence suggests that Oke-Suna, located on the outskirts of Ilorin, was probably established as a religious monastery (*ribat*).[38] It grew into an exclusive Muslim trading settlement and a refuge for many Muslims who fled the troubled Oyo Empire from the late 18th century and others from places like Kanem-Borno and Hausaland.[39] Among these settlers were Muslim priests, amulet-makers, and diviners.[40] Before Shehu Alimi's arrival, the good luck and success charms and amulets of scholars of Oke-Suna were believed to be highly efficacious, superior to local traditional ones, and indispensable in undertaking any venture and thus, highly valued and highly priced.[41]

It has been explained that it was the "extra power" that Muslim clerics like Abdullahi At-Tahir (popularly known as Solagberu) and Alimi could supply through their "*Asiri*" that made Afonja to cultivate friendship/alliance with them.[42] That Solagberu had "Koranic students" at Oke-Suna suggests the existence of an Islamic education system, which aspects included the learning, documentation and

use of *Kundi* recipes. There were also other prominent scholars of diverse origins at Oke-Suna.[43] Thus, being a community of Muslim scholars, priests and diviners, it is perhaps to Oke-Suna that available pieces of information on the earliest beginnings of *Kundi* subculture in pre-emirate Ilorin may be traced.

Presently, one such evidence of *Kundi* subculture is a dated copy of *Dalail-al-Khairat* (see Plate 3 below) brought by Ilyas b. Hamid Maikabara, ancestor of the Mekabaras, a scholarly family of Kanuri descent. According to a family source, the copying of the popular prayer book, originally authored by al-Jazuli (d. 870 AH/1465 AD) was completed on 2 April 1736 (as indicated on the text) as part of the preparation for the journey from Kulumfardo (in Kanem-Borno) to Oke-Suna.[44] Most of the manuscripts of the Mekabaras were reportedly lost during the destruction of Oke-Suna in c.1825-26.[45] In addition to the surviving copy of *Dalail-al-Khairat*, other evidence, including family manuscript repositories from other scholarly Ilorin families whose ancestors had resided at Oke-Suna, strongly indicates that the copying and keeping of *Kundi* materials were not unknown at Oke-Suna.



Plate 3: *Dalail-al-Khairat*, dated 1736, from Ile Mekabara, Ita-Kudimoh, Ilorin.[46]

Furthermore, by the early 19th century, such Muslim clerics as Muhammad Bangana (aka Malam Dendo, though based in Nupeland but also sojourned in Ilorin) and Salihu bn Janta or Shehu Alimi (active in northern Yorubaland since late 18th century) were renowned for their religious knowledge, piety, spiritual powers and services. While the nickname "*Dendo*" is explained to have been derived from "*dan Yan Dondo*," meaning "the man on whose shoulders hang all sorts of bags containing different herbs,"[47] *Alimi*, on the other hand, was derived

from Salihu bn Janta's unrivalled knowledge of Islam. Both scholars are associated with the offering prayers and making of various devices for those who needed their help or services and for these, they were sought by prominent rulers and chiefs in their quests for success in political and military engagements.[48]

With reference to Shehu Alimi, 'the founder of the Islamic Ilorin', it is apparent that he used such Islamic devices as prayers and *Ruqya* to heal people and for military success. Sulu, for instance, reports that at Oyo, Alimi prayed on the head of a lunatic girl from Iyalode's household and that she was 'perfectly cured.'[49] Sulu also reports that Alimi had "a bag of Koranic writings" (apparently a leather bag called *Gakafa* in Hausa, used in keeping the Qur'an and other valued manuscripts including *Kundi* folios),[50] and that among many that flocked to Ilorin after Alimi's final settlement were those who "came for talisman."[51] There are also indications that, in addition to purely Qur'anic texts and other Islamic devices used by scholars of Oke-Suna, Alimi and possibly other clerics in parts of pre-emirate Ilorin, there were others who were knowledgeable in the preparation of herbal medicines and charms.[52]

With the establishment of the Ilorin emirate in c.1823-24 and emergence of Islam as a dominant force in the socio-political life of the nascent Islamic community, Islamic scholars had to attend to various spiritual and mundane problems, including those related to health issues, of members of the community.[53] As Jawondo notes,

> The Muslim scholars became involved in the search for spiritual and natural healings to some of the diseases that were rampant in their locality such as malaria fever, headache, dysentery, chicken pox, smallpox, infertility, and infant mortality. Other areas of focus included psychiatric treatment, bed-wetting and seeking leadership position (like Oba, king) and wealth.[54]

In the process of searching for natural healing and thus fulfilling their role as healers, Islamic scholars explored, adapted, and appropriated local herbs and medicines that were considered useful and beneficial to the community. For instance, during the historic Eleduwe/Worukura War of c. 1835/6, a fatal wound sustained by prince Shitta (later second Emir of Ilorin) from the Baruba's poisoned arrows was treated with herbal medications produced by one Baale or Ayelegun.[55] Also, a Balogun Gambari reportedly used his knowledge of herbal medicines to

provide an effective cure for an epidemic that threatened the city during the 19th century; other members of the traditional elite are also reported to have possessed 'supernatural powers' or "ostensibly knowledgeable in the preparation and application of herbal concoctions."[56]

The above developments indicate that certain traditional herbs and charms were accommodated and used from the early period of the emirate and that healing devices/cures from both Islamic and traditional African cultures co-existed side by side during the first half of the 19th century—a period that witnessed the influx of various groups of immigrants and asylum seekers into Ilorin. By the 1860s, when the emirate had consolidated, a process of Islamisation was begun by Emir Zubair (reigned c.1861-1868) who embarked on a general purge of the emirate of all symbols and elements of paganism. The purge had involved, among others, the burning of all *juju* (*tsafi*) houses and the prohibition of idols.[57] In spite of the purge, individuals, including members of the ruling class, still acquired and/or possessed both the Islamic 'medicines' and local herbs and charms, which were used at individual and communal levels.

Throughout the 19th century warfare, the Ilorin leadership and military made use of a combination of devices including Islamic/Muslim prayers for military victory ("*Da'wat al-Jaysh*"). These devices, which were prepared by the Islamic scholars using materials from the Qur'an and other Islamic texts (among others), were meant for various purposes such as individual self-protection, victory over their enemies, and preventing unwanted guests or "enemies" of the state from infiltrating their camps or city.[58] In addition, whenever situations warranted, certain herbs and charms (especially those obtained from non-Muslims) considered beneficial to the community but which might have contained some unlawful ingredients had to be "Islamised" to free them of elements forbidden to be used as food or 'medicines' by Muslims and then incorporated into the *Kundi* subculture.[59]

Different processes were involved in the "Islamisation" of indigenous herbs/charms, methods and practices for the benefit of the individual or larger society. First, there was the documentation of indigenous knowledge of herbs, plants and their uses using Arabic, the language of Islam, and/or *Ajami* scripts. The documentation also involved the retention of such knowledge in their unedited, original contents as well as in the 'edited' or 'purified' versions. The latter involved another process of purging some local herbs and 'medicines' of various

elements and components, which are considered unlawful (or *haram*) based on Islamic injunctions and their replacement with other items within the category of lawful (*halal)* foods and drinks.

It is important to note that the processes of 'purging' and 'Islamisation' were not limited to herbal medicines or medical practices alone but cut across various aspects of the culture of the Ilorin such as pre-Islamic places of worship, oral poetry and songs and other cultural aspects of the various ethnics that had settled at Ilorin before and after the emirate was established.[60] Thus, such purely local 'medicines,' healing and treatment or protective devices indigenous to any of the ethnics that were known to be un-Islamic were purged of their unlawful elements. However, some *Kundi* 'books' or sheets still contain recipes that show ingredients, procedures or aspects that are un-Islamic. A possible explanation for this could be that the original owners of such herbs/'medicines' who wanted to preserve their knowledge for posterity had engaged a scholar/student knowledgeable in Arabic/*Ajami* script to document the information unedited. This is in view of the fact that until well into the 20th century, Arabic/*Ajami* remained the only known means of written documentation in the emirate.

Furthermore, there was the amalgamation and integration of acceptable elements of traditional 'medicines' with the Islamic ones. In this connection, some herbal medicinal solutions are combined with Qur'an verses or other Islamic writings in a single recipe while in some cases some local herbs, 'medicinal' plants, leaves and roots, which were used for certain purposes within the traditional cultural context were incorporated into purely Qur'anic/Islamic texts as 'ingredients' (or *'gari tira'*). This relates to what Marcuzzi calls "a rather arresting amalgam of technologies" that resulted from "the engagement between Yoruba and Islamic medicinal experts, at least since the late 18th century" and more so with the internecine Yoruba warfare of the 19th century, which provided a "competitive environment" for the 'escalation of an economy of medicinal preparations.'[61] This latter process, reflecting the convergence and amalgamation of Yoruba and Islamic technologies and devices, was not peculiar to Ilorin or Yorubaland but typical of various Muslim societies where such social engagements had resulted in cultural borrowings.[62]

Throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, Ilorin continued to develop a culture of health and healing practices based on the use of Islamic and local devices that have

come to be preserved in the *Kundi*. As a scholarly community, the use of Arabic and *Ajami* scripts became a major vehicle through which those 'medicines' and other devices and procedures were preserved in the *Kundi* and passed on from generation to generation either collectively, as family manuscript repositories, or individually as a student/scholar's 'archives' and 'invisible library.' Today, most Ilorin families are reputed to have Arabic manuscripts repositories including those of Kundi recipes.[63]

Traditionally, the production/reproduction of *Kundi* manuscripts was through manual copying by scholars, students, disciples or professional copyists who were trusted and often closely monitored. The circulation of *Kundi* materials was, and is still, however, quite restricted and somehow 'censored' by individual owners. This is because the manuscripts belong to category of documents widely considered as 'Top Secrets' ('*Asiri*') and 'protective weapons' and 'spiritual arsenal.' Given the various purposes for which *Kundi* was and is still used, scholars jealously guarded the free circulation of its materials.[64] Like in Hausa society, in Ilorin also, *Kundi* is "considered a pride and regarded as a strictly personal possession which is never meant for public consumption."[65] Indeed, as Bunza observes, 'it is considered an academic suicide to surrender it to anybody to copy the *Kundi* manuscripts.'[66]

In view of the above, the circulation of *Kundi* was mainly through two main processes namely through inheritance where the concerned *Kundi* is entire family repository or belonged to the head of the family, and, secondly, through the process called "*Nakali*," as stated earlier. Today, the use of modern technologies like photocopying/scanning machines has facilitated easy and quick copying of *Kundi* materials although the kind of social and spiritual feelings attached to, or evoked by looking at, and copying such manuscripts in their 'original' and ancient forms are no longer attached to photocopied ones.[67] To some with conservative perceptions of *Kundi*, the process of using modern Western technologies to reproduce its folios tends to reduce the efficacy of the recipes.[68] In spite of photocopying/scanning, manual copying of *Kundi* folios has continued, although people now make use of modern writing materials (pens, biros, ink) as opposed to traditional local inks (*tadaa*) and pen (*kalamu)*. However, the latter materials continued to be used in preparation of consumable 'drinkable *ruqya'* or 'medicines.'

Traditionally, an Ilorin born start to be initiated into the *Kundi* subculture right from childhood when they begin the process of accumulating materials for their own *Kundi* while learning in the Islamic schools, at both the early stage known as *Ile Kewu Walā*, that is, 'the [wooden] slate school' (Hausa: *makaranta allo*), and the advanced stage known as the '*Ilimi* stage. The latter involved studying various Islamic sciences from which students learn both the exoteric and esoteric meanings of verses of the Qur'an, their application/uses, and the Prophetic medicines to solve various problems. More often than not, Muslim pupils were/are directed to take note of (i.e. write down or memorise) particular Qur'an chapter(s) (*Surah*) and verse(s) (*Ayah*) for specific problems. As Reichmuth notes, the copying and transmission of *Kundi* from generation to generation was one of the aspects of the professional occupation of the *Àáfà* in Ilorin just as "the writing of certain verses for therapeutic and protective uses was also part of the Qur'anic instruction, and providing such text for drinking or as amulets has remained to this day a basic occupation of the teacher".[69]

Usually, young Ilorin Muslims begin the application of the therapeutic uses of such knowledge by writing prescribed chapter/verse or other Arabic/Islamic writings on dyed wooden slates (*walā*) several times or a specified figure with some mystical value such as 11, 33, 66, 99, 111, 313, etc. This is to be washed and drunk for specified number of days or used in preparation of certain concoctions. In this way, knowledge about such aspects of *Kundi* as *Fa'amu* ('understanding'), *Ilham* ('inspiration'), *Muhibbah* ('affection') and *Irisi* ('protection') is acquired. While some pieces of information on such knowledge are transmitted orally and memorised, others are documented in sheets of paper that the student/scholar continue to collect and collate gradually to form his own collection(s) of "secrets" (*Asiri*) or pieces of "important information" (*fa'idah*) that build up to become a *Kundi* 'book.' In this way, "'*ilm al-asrar*" ("the science of secrets") is taught and learnt on a continuous basis. The more advanced and extensive a Muslim student/scholar goes in his studies academically (from teacher to teacher) and geographically (from one part of the city/emirate to another), the more and diverse the secret knowledge he acquires and keeps for his personal use and for use by others in his society. Thus, for many Ilorin pupils and religious scholars, learning "the science of secrets" and the acquisition and preservation of *Kundi* materials were/are life-long processes.

In some cases, a student or an apprentice-scholar may have to devote a considerable part of his schooling/training period to accumulate *Kundi* materials. For some *Sirru* considered highly valued, powerful and efficacious, such as *Ilhamu*, *Katali* or *Ihlaki*, this may involve a process of rendering services known as *Khidmah* to the master scholar or Sufi leader. The period for this may range from days, weeks to months and years during which the scholar or disciple would be involved in such activities as helping to teach younger pupils, writing or copying manuscripts, and running other errands.[70] For some of those considered powerful or dangerous secrets that require some level of maturity and caution, the custodian cleric may have to put the prospective beneficiary of such *Kundi* recipes to some tests in endurance, patience, sincerity of purpose, and perseverance.

Traditionally, it is common in typical *Kundi* manuscripts to see 'warning' for prospective users of certain 'secrets' or recipes not to have doubts about the efficacy and potency of the *Sirru*. Such warning, usually given at the end of the recipe, concerns the total confidence scholars have in the efficacy of the recipes and therefore, involves such statement as '*la shakka fihi, wa man shakka fihi fa huwa kāfir*", meaning "there is no doubt in or about it [i.e. the efficacy of the recipe]; one who doubts this [recipe] is an unbeliever". Apart from this, another form of warning concerns the misuse and circulation of certain recipes, which are considered dangerous. Such warning includes caution not to allow a particular "*Sirru*" to get to the hands of an unbeliever (*kāfir*), a hypocrite (*munafiq*), a hot-tempered individual, an ignorant or a fool (a *jāhil*) or warning that some recipes should never be used before the attainment of a certain age, or against a fellow Muslim, among others.

As already noted, while Arabic is used in documenting the Islamic/Muslim recipes in the *Kundi*, *Ajami* script is commonly used for the documentation of traditional/local herbal recipes and therapies. Perhaps, one of the reasons why *Ajami* is mostly used in documenting the latter is the Muslim's belief in the sacred or "holy status" and "potency" of Arabic as the language of the Qur'an—a status which *Ajami* is not conferred with.[71] In addition, the use of *Ajami* for documenting local herbs and devices may also have been due to the absence of equivalent Arabic names for some of the items in the local recipes. Also, there may be the absence of *Basmalla* (i.e. writing of *Bismillahir-Rahmanir-Rahim*) at the beginning of folios of purely non-Islamic recipes. Typical 'Ajamized' recipes on local herbal medicines either begins with *fa'idah* or *dawā'u*, respectively meaning

"anfani" (benefit) and *"oogun"* (Yoruba generic word for 'medicine'). It is not uncommon to see written at the end of the recipes "he will regain health" or "he will be healed" "in-shaa Allah" ('God-willing').

In Ilorin, there are two major types of local ink used, one for the writing of *Kundi* folios and the other for the preparation of *hantu*, used for prescriptive therapies and treatment of illnesses or other conditions. The local black ink (*tadaa*) is produced from various edible food items. The most popular of such is the *ẹfọ ori,* that is, the leaves of edible *Ori* fruits (*Vitex Doniana*), easily obtained locally and boiled to produce the drinkable *Tadaa*.[72] Other items include maize (*agbado*) and sugar (refined cube or granulated). The *tadaa* is further processed into two main types depending on purposes for which it is to be used. There is what is called the "*tadaa aaye*" (literally 'living ink'), which refers to the original locally made edible ink. This is used in writing Qur'anic verses, names of Allah, etc. on dyed wooden writing boards to be washed and drunk or to prepare other food items. Apart from the ink, another edible material used in writing some category of drinkable *hantu* is honey in which the Qur'an (Q. 16: 69) says there is healing for mankind.

For the general documentation of *Kundi* folios and preparation of textual 'medicines' on paper, the second type of black ink called "*tadaa oku*" ('dead ink') is used. This type is obtained from the addition of little quantity of potash into the "*aaye*" ink after which it is left under the sun for a few moments.[73] Apart from the black *tadaa*, other coloured inks like red, orange, etc. are also used. Red and reddish brown inks are obtained from various materials such as a lateritic stone called *iro*, white kola nuts, and *Safran*, either in its liquid or plant forms. Coloured pens and biros are now commonly used in documenting and recopying of *Kundi* folios. Apart from the dyed wooden writing boards, other materials on which textual recipes are written either for prayers or other applications are plain sheets of paper, stone tablets/boards, metal boards, shoulder bones of animals, etc.[74] On each of these materials, pen made from local materials, or ready-made pen tips made of metals, are used depending on the nature of, and prescriptions in, the *Kundi* recipe.

Kundi Subculture in Ilorin Today: Continuity and Change

In spite of the adoption of modern health services and medicines and the relegation of traditional health and healing technologies and devices to the status of "alternative" or "unorthodox", the practice of keeping and using *Kundi* recipes

among Muslims has continued. One of the reasons for continuity is the non-condemnation of the acquisition and preservation of such knowledge and materials that are beneficial for personal and societal wellbeing (*alaafia*).[75] Thus as "a corpus of knowledge" relating to health and other human affairs, the culture of keeping and updating *Kundi* has continued in Ilorin both as part of individual scholar's 'invisible library' and as family heritage. In some cases however, the survival of individual/family's *Kundi* repositories is being threatened by the acquisition of Western education and inadequate acquisition of, or exposure to, Arabic/Islamic education. Today, some Muslims who do not know or understand the historical, cultural, and 'medical'/medicinal value of *Kundi* either willfully destroy them or show no concern for their preservation. This attitude has exposed volumes of *Kundi* to attacks and destruction by individuals who now dismiss *Kundi* and its subculture as "*bid'a*" (innovation) or "*haram*" (unlawful).

Unlike in the past, modern writing tools and technologies are enhancing the copying and circulation of *Kundi* manuscripts. The labour and time usually spent on manual copying are no longer there at least for those who have embraced modern trends. There are however, those who still continue to cherish the manual copying of *Kundi* manuscripts and who would not want to subject their folios to perceived 'corruption' or 'pollution' by technologies considered 'un-Islamic innovations.'

Another reason why *Kundi* culture continues within the fast changing modern society is the fact that patronage continue to exist for the use of "alternative" therapies and health services. There are still people who do not have complete reliance on "orthodox" medicine and its technologies and services. One of the explanations for this is the observation that 'neither [the Islamic] healers nor their clients share [the] opinion that Western medicine might seem to pose a threat to non-scientific practices.'[76] Thus, there are people who have various personal, health or social problems, which they still believed could be addressed through the use of *Kundi* recipes.

Furthermore, there are occasional cases when "orthodox" medical practice was considered 'insufficient' to handle seemingly 'non-diagnosable' ailments or when patients 'failed' to respond to orthodox medical treatment. In such cases, patients or their relatives are usually counseled to 'go and sort it out domestically' or through traditional means ("ẹlọ fii ẹsẹ ile tọọ"). Such counsel, in local parlance

and cultural context, is understood to mean a referral to 'alternative medicines' such as local herbal and 'religio-spiritual' solutions.'[77] This kind of situation is enhanced by the widespread belief in the existence and effects of various evil or malicious forces such as the 'evil eye,' witches, wizards, sorcerers, etc. in causing illnesses and diseases, among others. Against these kinds of forces, Islamic and other cultural healing and protective devices are believed to offer effective antidotes and remedies. For the Muslims, the *Kundi* has remained the main 'corpus of the knowledge' used for producing and providing such antidotes in their varieties.

Furthermore, there are today, as it was historically, various other categories of people who patronise scholars who make use of *Kundi*. These vary across societies but include men and women, students, scholars, footballers, businessmen/women, politicians, political leaders, ministers, artisans and other professionals[78] who had one reason or another to seek the services of Islamic scholars in general and those specialist service providers called "*Jalbists"* or "*Àáfà Onijalabi*". In Hausaland for instance, the usage of textual amulets and talismans was reported to be prevalent in the rural areas while waning in the cities and that women, followed by fans of European football clubs, form 'the majority' of those who still patronise "Talisman scholars".[79]

Like in other Muslim societies, there are among Nigerian Muslims today, a number of individuals who have adopted the provision of "alternative" healing and treatment as a profession and who specialise as full-time professional alternative healing and health service providers. For such "Islamic" scholars, *Kundi* continues to be the bedrock upon which their religio-spiritual consultancy and related services (known as *Jalbu* or *Jalabi*) rely. These, therefore, continue to make use of *Kundi* for 'commercial' purposes. This trend is opposed to the traditional system where service provision was not a major means of earning a livelihood although it was then an additional source of revenue to scholars engaged in it. It needs to be stressed that, in spite of the widespread belief in the potency and efficacy of the Muslim prayers and other devices, and the fact that possession of effective *Kundi* attracted various categories of clients (including non-Muslims), the Ilorin Islamic scholars did not engage in "medical evangelism" or the use of their *Kundi* 'medicines' and therapies for proselytization.

In spite of its antiquity and resilience, the survival of the documentation and preservation of manuscripts aspect of *Kundi* culture in modern time is facing some threats both globally and locally. Part of this relates to the adoption of Islamic puritan ideology and some elements of extremism by some scholars and Muslims. Today, there are some Muslims who condemn everything about *Kundi* and other related ancient Islamic and Arabic/Ajami manuscripts as *bid'a* or 'innovation' and/or as vestiges of a "pagan" or syncretic past that must be destroyed. Recent events in Mali, Syria, Iraq, etc. where thousands of Islamic and Arabic manuscripts were indiscriminately destroyed are instances of this development. Traces of similar developments are becoming noticeable in Ilorin and in other Muslim communities in Nigeria.

Furthermore, there is the issue of corruption of service-providing aspects of *Kundi* subculture being perpetrated by different categories of individuals within the Muslim community. First, there are some so-called "Malams" who lay claims to some Islamic knowledge but in their desperation to get rich quick, have variously introduced those forbidden elements that had been filtered from certain local/traditional medicines, added what were not originally associated with Islamic health practices and engaged in purely un-Islamic ritual practices and activities under the umbrella of being called "*Àáfà*".[80] Secondly, there are also individuals who are purely herbalists, though they do not lay claim to Islamic knowledge but are aware that the Ilorin's Islamic and cultural environment abhors "pagan" herbal practices, thereby parade themselves as "*Àáfà"* or "Malams" (*Jalbists*) in order to attract clients. Such now increasingly get involved in rituals and practices alien to the traditional Ilorin *Kundi* subculture. A number of such practitioners normally advertise their trade on signboards or 'Business Cards' as "Alfa" or "Alhaji" although with some adding "*Ajawe s'aanu*" to reflect that they deal primarily in traditional herbal practice and the likes. These new trends only help to provide justifications for those who brand *Kundi* and similar Arabic or *Ajami* manuscripts and its associated culture as *Bid'a* and are therefore bent on destroying them.

Conclusion

The historical exploration of Ilorin's *Kundi* subculture shows evidence of continuity and change within a cultural tradition that has long historical antecedents among Muslims. The *Kundi* subculture in Ilorin constitutes both religious and cultural practices among a unique community of Muslims of diverse

ethnic and cultural backgrounds. As part and parcel of Islamic scholarship in general and a particular process of knowledge production and preservation in particular, the *Kundi* constitutes a mine of knowledge and information. Thus, it is not only useful as sources for an exploration of Muslims' religious and cultural practices, but also those aspects of traditional herbal healing practices, which, being either considered non-repugnant to the teachings of Islam or already filtered of its obnoxious, un-Islamic elements, had come to be appropriated by Muslims who had to live within a cultural environment that was hitherto essentially un-Islamic. The processes of filtration, appropriation and documentation involved "Islamisation" and "Ajamisation" of traditional herbal medicines and medicine-making technologies belonging to the indigenous cultures of various groups of people that make up Ilorin community at least from the late 18th to the early 20th century. Like the role played by Arabic and *Ajami* in knowledge production and transmission, the role of the *Kundi* in the preservation and transmission of knowledge and information about orthodox Islamic religious and traditional health sciences and medicines cannot be overemphasised. This calls for more research to unlock the mines of information buried in the *Kundi*, a typical example of 'the invisible library of the Ilorin'.

Endnotes

1. Bunza, Aliyu Muhammad, "Kundi Book Legacy in Pre-Colonial Hausa." Paper Presented at the International Conference on preserving Nigeria's Scholarly and Literary Traditions and Manuscripts, Arewa House, Centre for Historical Documentation and Research, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, March 7-8th 2007.

2. Umar Mukhtar Bunza, "Arabic Medicinal Manuscripts of Pre-Colonial Northern Nigeria: A Descriptive List," *Annual Review of Islam in Africa*, Issue No. 11 (2012), 92-96.

3. Jawondo I.A., "The Role of Ajami Script in the Production of Knowledge in Ilorin Emirate since the 19th Century," *Ilorin Journal of History and International Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011), 175-190; Reichmuth Stefan, "Literary Culture and Arabic Manuscripts in 19th-Century Ilorin," in Graziano Kratli and Ghislaine Lydon, Eds., *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade: Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa*, 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 213-249.

4. Reichmuth, "Literary."

5. I am grateful to the following individuals for their invaluable assistance during field work: Prof. Moshood Jimba, Director, Centre for Ilorin Manuscripts and Culture (CIMAC), Kwara State University, Malete; Malams Ajao Surajudeen and Elias Abdul-Ganiyu, both of Ẹlẹyẹle Compound, Kuntu, Ilorin; Imam Ambali Abdus-Salam Alase, Chief Imam, Abu Sa'd Central Mosque, Gaa Saka; Barrister Saka Iliasu, An-Nur Chambers, Ilorin; Imam Yusuf Olatunji al-Malawy, Mallam Yusuf Hamzat, Kuntu, Ilorin, and my brother, Engineer Ibrahim Olayinka Otukoko.

6. For accounts of the origin of Ilorin and the religious transformation of the early 19th century, see, among others, Balogun, S.A. "Historical Significance of Ilorin—A Preliminary Survey," *Confluence, An Academic Journal of Kwara State Council of Arts and Culture* 1, no. 1 (1978), 7-25; Sulu, M., History of Ilorin, Typescript: Rhodes House, Oxford, 1953; Jimba, S. Iwe Itan Ilorin (Ilorin: Jimba Books Production, 1990); Onikoko, S.A.T., *A History of Ilorin Emirate* (Ilorin: Sat Adis Press, 1992); Jimoh, L.A.K. Ilorin: The Journey So Far (Ilorin: Atoto Press, 1994); Hermon-Hodge, H. B., Gazetteer of Ilorin Province, London: Allen and Unwin, 1929; Saliu H. A. and I. A. Jawondo, "Ilorin emirate: its people and politics," in S.A. Jimoh, ed. Ilorin: Centre of Learning (Ilorin: Jimson Publishers, undated), 1-20.

7. O'Hear Ann, "Elite Slaves in Ilorin in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 39 (2), 2006, pp. 247-273; Reichmuth Stefan, "A Sacred Community: Scholars, Saints and Emirs in a Prayer Text from Ilorin", Sudanic Africa, 6, 1995, pp. 35-54.

8. On the contributions of the Ilorin scholars in these areas, see, for instance, Jimba, M. M. & Salihu, O. I. (eds.), *'Ulama' al-Imarah (Scholars of the Emirate)*, Volumes One and Two, publications of the Centre for Ilorin Manuscripts and Culture, Kwara State University, Malete. Cairo: Dar Al-Fikr Al-Arabi, 2015 and 2019; Jimba, M.M. (ed.) Arabic Manuscripts in the Ilorin Emirate. Malete: Kwara State University Press, 2019.

9. Bunza, "Kundi."

10. Reichmuth, "Literary"; Raji, R.A., "Tangled complexities: Muslim-Christian relations and the issue of the Arabic language in Nigeria," Inaugural Lecture, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, 28th February, 2015.

11. *Nakali* (from Arabic *Naql*) is often used to refer to each or all of the manuscripts or recipes in a Kundi; it is, however, explained to literally mean 'report, transcription, copy, transfer, etc.' and therefore to the process through which *Kundi* folios are, with the permission by the owner, copied and/or transferred by/to another person to keep or use. "*Sirru*" (Ar. singular; pl. *Asrar*) or "*Asiri*" (literally meaning 'secret' in Yoruba) refers to a recipe or the entire

book of recipes; so referred to because of the perception and treatment of the recipes as 'Top Secrets' that should be hidden from unauthorized gaze, use or copying. Ordinarily, "*Sirru*" (secret) and "*'ilm al-Asrar*" ("science of secrets") are different from "*Sihr*" (magic) and "*'ilmu s-Sihr*" ('science of magic'), which the Qur'an describes as being taught by the devil (Qur'an 2: 102; 20: 69). Balogun, M. A., "Syncretic Beliefs and Practices among Muslims in Lagos State, Nigeria; with particular Reference to the Yoruba-Speaking of Epe", PhD Thesis, College of Arts and Law, School of Philosophy, Department of Theology and Religion, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, 2011, 353; Jimba, M.M. (Arabic Unit, Department of Language and Literary Studies, KWASU, Malete), interviewed by author, June 30, 2015; Ambali A. Alase (Imam, Abu Sa'd Central Mosque, Gaa Saka, Ilorin), interviewed by author, June 6, 2015.

12. Charles, H. Robinson, *Dictionary of the Hausa Language*, Volume 1, (Forgotten Books; originally published 1913, Cambridge University Press, 3rd edition, revised and enlarged, 2013), 209. "*Boko*", the popular Hausa word for book is apparently a Hausanized form of the English word.

13. Charles, Dictionary, 209.

14. Khalid, N.W., "Encoded Ajami: Talisman and the Preservation of Arabic "Spiritual Medicine" in Hausa Society," in Ibrahim Y.Y. et al, Eds., Arabic/Ajami Manuscripts, 281-303.

15. Based on Qur'an 7: 82, which reads: "We send down (stage by stage) of the Qur'an that which is a healing and a mercy to those who believe," although spiritual rather than medical healing is said to have been originally meant.

16. Bashar, S. and Omar, Said, *Greco-Arab and Islamic Herbal Medicine: Traditional System, Ethics, Safety, Efficacy and Regulatory Issues* (New Jersey: John Willey & Sons, Inc. 2011), 22.

17. Description credited to Muhammad Shata Katsina. See Bunza, "Kundi."

18. Bunza, "Kundi."

19. Asmau G.S., "Arabic Manuscripts Heritage: A Neglected Source of History of Nigeria," in Ibrahim, Y.Y., et al, Eds., Arabic/Ajami Manuscripts, 24-60.

20. Bunza, "Kundi."

21. Handloff, "Amulets."

22. This was among the factors that attracted some West Africans to Islam during the early period of its introduction and spread in the sub-region. Handloff, E. R., "Prayers, Amulets, and Charms: Health and Social Control", *African*

Studies Review, vol. XXV, nos. 2 & 3, June/September 1982, pp. 185-194; Abu Alfa, M.S., *The Islamic Slave Revolts of Bahia, Brazil: A Continuity of the Nineteenth Century Jihaad Movements of Western Sudan* (Sankore, Institute of Islam in Africa Studies, Pittsburg, 1998),17.

23. The images of the Kundi 'books' are taken from the collections at the Centre for Ilorin Manuscripts and Culture, Kwara State University, Malete, 2015.

24. Bunza, "Kundi." See Plate 2 below.

25. Among the Wolof, the pointers are called joxoñ. Fallou, N. "Murid Ajami Sources of Knowledge: the myth and the reality," in Maja Kominko, Ed., From Dust to Digital: Ten Years of the Endangered Archives Programme (Cambridge UK: Open Book Publishers, 2015), 331-375. Assessed online. http://dx.doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0052.

26. Moshood M. Jimba, (Director, CIMAC, KWASU, Malete) interviewed by author, June 30, 2015; Surajudeen Ajao and Elias Ganiyu (Malams, Ẹlẹyẹle Compound, Kuntu, Ilorin) interviewed by author, June 25, 2015.

27. Handloff seems to have considered "prayers", "amulets" and "charms" as "forms" of "talismans".

28. Thomas, *Dictionary*, 101.

29. Ajao Surajudeen, Hamzah Yusuf, Elias Ganiyu, and Saka Iliasu, interviewed by author, June, 2015.

30. Dr. Moshood M. Jimba, interviewed by author, August 2, 2015.

31. Olutoye, O., and Olapade, J. A., "Implements and Tactics of War among the Yoruba," in Adeagbo Akinjogbin, ed., *War and Peace in Yorubaland 1793-1893* (Ibadan: Heinemann (Nig.) Plc., 1998), 199-218; Alanamu Temilola, "Indigenous Medical Practice and the Advent of CMS Medical Evangelism in *Nineteenth-Century Yorubaland," Church History and Religious Culture*, 93 (2013), 5-27.

32. Johnson, S. *History of the Yorubas from the earliest times to the beginning of British Protectorate* (Lagos: C.S.S. Bookshop. 1921, Rpt. 1976), 180-181.

33. Johnson, *History*, 136-7, 150-2, 166-7, 174-5, 178, 180-2, 184, 298, 340, 349.

34. Marcuzzi, M. "Writing on the Wall: Some Speculations on Islamic Talismans, Catholic Prayers, and the Preparation of Cuban Bata Drums for Orisha Worship", *Black Music Research Journal*, Vol. 31. No. 2, Fall 2011, 209-227; Olutoye and Olapade, "Implements"; Adefila J.A. and Opeola S.M., "Supernatural and Herbal Weapons in 19th century Yoruba Warfare," in Akinjogbin, (ed.) War, 219-230.

35. Atanda J.A., "The Fall of Old Oyo: A Reconsideration of Its Cause," *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria* V, 4 (1971), 477-490; Law, R.C.C., *The Oyo Empire c.1600-c.1836: A West African Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 257; Danmole, H.O. "The Frontier Emirate: A History of Islam in Ilorin", unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1980, 18; Abu Alfa, Slave revolts, 61.

36. Na'Allah A., "Dadakuada: The trends in the Development of Ilorin Traditional Oral Poetry," (B. A. English Long Essay, University of Ilorin, 1988); Danmole H.O., "Integration in a Nigerian Society in the Nineteenth Century: The Ilorin Example," *Africa Revista do Centro de Estudos Africanos*, USP, S. Paulo, 12-13, 1 (1989/1990), 25-42.

37. Danmole, "Frontier"; Oseni Z.I., "Arabic and Islamic Scholarship." Ilorin: Centre of Learning, edited by Jimoh (Ilorin: Jimson Publishers, undated), 44-74; Hasan, and Jawondo, "Ilorin Emirate."

38. Archaeological artifacts and ongoing fieldwork in parts of what was Oke-Suna indicate that it must have been a very ancient settlement. See for instance, Otukoko, S. Ismail, "Ilorin Potsherd Pavements and the Reconstruction of the Culture History of a Frontier City: The Historical Significance of Some Neglected Artifacts," *West African Journal of Archaeology* 44, no. 2 (2014), 21-52.

39. Johnson, *History*, 194; Jawondo, "Ajami"; Reichmuth, "Literary."

40. Adelowo, E.D. "Imperial Crises and their Effect on the Status of Islam in Yorubaland in the Nineteenth Century," *JHSN*, 11, no 1-2 (1982), 128-137.

41. Atanda, "Fall"; Danmole, "Frontier", p. 18, 34; Adelowo, "Crises."

42. Sulu, M., History; Atanda, "Fall"; Danmole, "Frontier," 34.

43. Reichmuth, S. and Razaq D. Abubakre, "Ilorin and Nupe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" in John O. Hunwick (comp.) *Arabic Literature of Africa, Volume II* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995); Reichmuth, "Sacred Community"; Adisa-Onikoko, A History, 2-3; Jimoh, Ilorin, 9-10, 52; Alhaji Ahmed Yusuf Mekabara (head, Mekabara Compound, Ita-Kudimoh, Ilorin) interviewed by author, 2013. For a history of Oke-Suna, see Sulaiman, O. Taofeek, "History of Oke Suna in Ilorin, Kwara State", unpublished B.A. Long Essay, Department of Religions, History and Heritage Studies, Kwara State University, Malete, 2020.

44. Ahmed Yusuf Mekabara, interviewed by author, 2013. Reichmuth notes that the Arabic manuscript is "the oldest dated Arabic text" so far identified in

Ilorin and "provides a strong testimony to the presence of people of Borno origin in Oke-Suna." Reichmuth, "Literary." See also Reichmuth, "Sacred."

45. On the destruction of Oke-Suna, see Jimoh, Ilorin, 70-74.

46. Photograph of the manuscripts was taken by the author in 2013 with the permission of the custodian, Alhaji Yusuf Mekabara, head, Mekabara family, Ita-Kudimoh, Ilorin.

47. Idris Aliyu Alhaji. 1998. Political Change and Continuity in Nupe Land, Ibadan: Caltop Publications Nig. Ltd., 1998, 24.

48. Balogun S., "Gwandu Emirates in the 19th Century with Special Reference to Political Relations, 1817-1903", unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, 1970, 61, 142; Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer*, 65; Danmole, "Frontier", 44.

49. Sulu, M., History of Ilorin, Typescript: Rhodes House, Oxford, 1953. Another account reports that the healing was at Ogbomoso. See Aliyu O. I., *Jamaa of Sheikh Alimi and the Fulani Dynasty in Ilorin*, Ilorin: Ayo Aliyu Printing Works, 2003, 7

50. Bunza, "Kundi".

51. Sulu, History. According to Sulu, when, on arrival at Ilorin, the 'bag of Koranic writings' was hung on a dead Apẹ tree, the latter "came to life and (sic) immediately and produced fresh leaves."

52. For instance, there was Doshe, a Nupe warrior in Afonja's army, who was 'knowledgeable and skilled in the preparation of charms and herbs.' He was later appointed as leader (i.e. first Balogun) of the Gambari troops in the Ilorin emirate army. Jimoh, *Ilorin*, 357.

53. Jawondo, "Ajami"; Ambali Alase, interviewed by author, June 6, 2015.

54. Jawondo, "Ajami."

55. For providing the "great cure", Ayelegun was rewarded with the title of "Imarat al-Jaysh Yoruba" (i.e. 'Balogun Yoruba'), later Balogun Alanamu. Sulu, M., History; Jimoh, *Ilorin*, 101, 370-371.

56. Danmole, "Integration"; Jimoh, *Ilorin*, 364, 370-71, 396.

57. Ikokoro, *Ta'lif*, Chapter 4; Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer*, 70; Hogben, S.J. & Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A Preliminary Survey of their Historical Traditions* (OUP, 1966, Reprint 1993).

58. Johnson, *History*, 266; Ikokoro, *Ta'lif*; Hogben and Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 291; Danmole H.O., "Crises, Warfare and Diplomacy in Nineteenth Century Ilorin." In *Warfare and Diplomacy in Pre-Colonial Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Robert Smith* edited by Toyin Falola & Robin Law (Madison, 1992), 40-50. Samuel Johnson reports an incident involving Emir Momoloso (1891-1895) and some scholars who had requested him to make provisions for them to prepare some devices to prevent the British Governor of Lagos, Sir Gilbert Carter, from visiting the city in 1893. Johnson, *History*, 628

59. It is explained that such a process was justified based on the prophetic tradition that: "that which benefits people is not forbidden" as reported by Bukhari. See The Translations of the Meanings, Vol. 7, "Bābu As-Sihr," Chapter 49: "Should a bewitched person be treated?" 363-4. On instruction to use medical treatment but to avoid unlawful things, see Hadith Numbers 3861, 3862, 3864, and 3865.

60. One of the earliest indications of the process was the building, in the 1820s, of one of the first Friday Mosques in Ilorin on the site where a "pagan" shrine had stood. Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer*, 64; Hogben and Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 287; Reichmuth Stefan, "Imam Umaru's Account of the Origins of the Ilorin Emirate: A Manuscript in the Heinz Solkën Collection, Frankfurt," *Sudanic Africa* 4, (1993), 155-173; Jawondo I.A., "Ilorin Heritage and its Contemporary Relevance: A History of the Premier Ilorin Central Mosque, 1880-2011," *VUNA Journal of the Department of History and International Relations*, Veritas University, Abuja, (2014), 234-246. On a similar process of 'filtering' or 'purging' with respect to the Ilorin's pre-Islamic oral poetry, see Na'Allah, "Dadakuada", 12-13.

61. Marcuzzi, "Writing."

62. Marcuzzi, "Writing"; Hassan, "Indigenous" There are also arguments that some aspects of Yoruba religious practices such as divination were greatly influenced by Islam. See, for instance, Abdul, M.O., "Yoruba Divination and Islam", *Orita* 4, 1, (1970), 17-26; Abimbola, W., "The Literature of the Ifa Cult." In *Sources of Yoruba History* edited by Saburi, O. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 41-62; Ryan, Patrick J., *Imale: Yoruba Participation in the Muslim Tradition* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978); Matory L.J., "Rival Empires: Islam and the Religions of Spirit Possession among the Oyo Yoruba," *American Ethnologist* 21, No. 3 (1994), 495-515.

63. Jimba, M.M. "Ilorin Emirate Manuscripts: An Ancient Islamic Treasure Between Challenges of Extinction and Prospects of Survival." *AL-FIKR: Annual Journal of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, University of Ibadan, 20 (2008), 66-75; Jimba, Arabic Manuscripts in the Ilorin Emirate.

64. Imam Ambali Alasẹ, interviewed by author, June 30, 2015; Imam Yusuf Olatunji and Malam Ajao Surajudeen (Eleyele Compound, Kuntu, Ilorin) interviewed by author, June 06 and 10, 2015); Moshood. M. Jimba, interviewed by author, June 10, 2015.

65. Khalid, "Ajami."

66. Bunza, "*Kundi*."

67. Imam Ambali Alasẹ, and Malam Ajao Surajudeen, interviewed by author, June 12, and 30, 2015 respectively.

68. Imam Ambali Alasẹ, interviewed by author, June 06, 2015.

69. Reichmuth, "Literary.

70. Dr. Moshood M. Jimba, interviewed by author, 2015.

71. Fallou, "Murid"

72. Reichmuth, "Literary"; Alhaja Saratu (producer of local ink, Onitada Compound, Popo Giwa, Ilorin) interviewed by author, August, 7, 2015; and Ajao Surajudeen, interviewed by author, July 10, 2015.

73. Malams Eliasu Ganiyu and Ajao Surajudeen, interviewed by author, 2015.

74. Malam Ajao Surajudeen, interviewed by author, 2015.

75. Imam Ambali Alasẹ, interviewed by author, 2015.

76. Handloff, "Amulets."

77. Among the Dyula in Bondoukou, Ivory Coast, clients reportedly "consider western practitioners to treat symptoms while the Karamokos (Islamic scholars) eliminate causes." Handloff, "Amulets."

78. Handloff, "Amulets;" Khalid, "Ajami."

79. Khalid, "Ajami."

80. Balogun, "Syncretic Beliefs," 166, 282-283.

Works Cited

Abdul, M.O., "Yoruba Divination and Islam", *Orita* 4, 1, (1970), 17-26.

Abimbola, W., "The Literature of the Ifa Cult." In *Sources of Yoruba History* edited by Saburi, O. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 41-62.

Abu Alfa, M.S., *The Islamic Slave Revolts of Bahia, Brazil: A Continuity of the Nineteenth Century Jihaad Movements of Western Sudan* (Sankore, Institute of Islam in Africa Studies, Pittsburg, 1998)

Adefila J.A. and Opeola S.M., "Supernatural and Herbal Weapons in 19th century Yoruba Warfare," in Akinjogbin, (ed.) *War*, 219-230.

Adelowo, E.D. "Imperial Crises and their Effect on the Status of Islam in Yorubaland in the Nineteenth Century," *JHSN*, 11, no 1-2 (1982), 128-137.

Ahmed, Yusuf Mekabara (head, Mekabara Compound, Ita-Kudimoh, Ilorin), Oral Evidence; interviewed by author, 2013.

Ajao, S. (Malam, Ẹlẹyẹle Compound, Kuntu, Ilorin), Oral Evidence; interviewed by author, June 25, 2015.

Alanamu, T., "Indigenous Medical Practice and the Advent of CMS Medical Evangelism in Nineteenth Century Yorubaland," *Church History and Religious Culture*, 93 (2013), 5-27.

Aliyu, I. A. 1998. *Political Change and Continuity in Nupe Land*, Ibadan: Caltop Publications Nig. Ltd., 1998.

Aliyu O. I., *Jamaa of Sheikh Alimi and the Fulani Dynasty in Ilorin*, Ilorin: Ayo Aliyu Printing Works, 2003.

Al-Malawy, Y. O. (Imam, Ilorin), Oral Evidence; interviewed by author, June 06 and 10, 2015).

Ambali A. Alase (Imam, Abu Sa'd Central Mosque, Gaa Saka, Ilorin), Oral Evidence; interviewed by author, June 6, 2015.

Asmau G.S., "Arabic Manuscripts Heritage: A Neglected Source of History of Nigeria," in Ibrahim, Y.Y., *et al,* Eds., *Arabic/Ajami Manuscripts*, 24-60.

Atanda J.A., "The Fall of Old Oyo: A Reconsideration of Its Cause," *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria* V, 4 (1971), 477-490.

Balogun S., "Gwandu Emirates in the 19th Century with Special Reference to Political Relations, 1817-1903", unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, 1970.

Bashar, S. and Omar, Said, *Greco-Arab and Islamic Herbal Medicine: Traditional System, Ethics, Safety, Efficacy and Regulatory Issues* (New Jersey: John Willey & Sons, Inc. 2011), 22.

Bunza, A. M., "Kundi Book Legacy in Pre-Colonial Hausa." Paper Presented at the International Conference on preserving Nigeria's Scholarly and Literary Traditions and Manuscripts, Arewa House, Centre for Historical Documentation and Research, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, March 7-8th 2007.

Balogun, S.A. "Historical Significance of Ilorin—A Preliminary Survey," *Confluence: An Academic Journal of Kwara State Council of Arts and Culture* 1, no. 1 (1978), 7-25.

Balogun, M. A., "Syncretic Beliefs and Practices among Muslims in Lagos State, Nigeria; with particular Reference to the Yoruba-Speaking of Epe", PhD Thesis, College of Arts and Law, School of Philosophy, Department of Theology and Religion, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, 2011

Bunza, U. M. "Arabic Medicinal Manuscripts of Pre-Colonial Northern Nigeria: A Descriptive List," *Annual Review of Islam in Africa,* Issue No. 11 (2012), 92-96.

Charles, H. R., *Dictionary of the Hausa Language, Volume 1*, (Forgotten Books; originally published 1913, Cambridge University Press, 3rd edition, revised and enlarged, 2013), 209.

Danmole, H.O. "The frontier emirate: a history of Islam in Ilọrin", unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 1980.

Danmole H.O., "Integration in a Nigerian Society in the Nineteenth Century: The Ilorin Example," *Africa Revista do Centro de Estudos Africanos,* USP, S. Paulo, 12-13, 1 (1989/1990), 25-42.

Danmole H.O., "Crises, Warfare and Diplomacy in Nineteenth Century Ilorin." In *Warfare and Diplomacy in Pre-Colonial Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Robert Smith* edited by Toyin Falola & Robin Law (Madison, 1992), 40-50.

Elias G. (Malam, Ẹlẹyẹle Compound, Kuntu, Ilorin), Oral Evidence; interviewed by author, June 25, 2015.

Fallou, N. "Murid Ajami Sources of Knowledge: the myth and the reality," in Maja Kominko, Ed., *From Dust to Digital: Ten Years of the Endangered Archives Programme* (Cambridge UK: Open Book Publishers, 2015), 331-375. Assessed online. http://dx.doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0052.

Handloff, E. R., "Prayers, Amulets, and Charms: Health and Social Control", *African Studies Review*, vol. XXV, nos. 2 & 3, June/September 1982, pp. 185-194.

Hermon-Hodge, H. B., *Gazetteer of Ilorin Province*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1929.

Hogben, S.J. & Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A Preliminary Survey of their Historical Traditions* (OUP, 1966, Reprint 1993).

Iliasu, S. (Barrister, Ẹlẹyẹle Compound, Kuntu, Ilorin), Oral Evidence; interviewed by author, June 25, 2015.

Jawondo I.A., "The Role of Ajami Script in the Production of Knowledge in Ilorin Emirate since the 19th C.," *Ilorin Journal of History and International Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011), 175-190.

Jawondo I.A., "Ilorin Heritage and its Contemporary Relevance: A History of the Premier Ilorin Central Mosque, 1880-2011," *VUNA Journal of the Department of History and International Relations*, Veritas University, Abuja, (2014), 234-246.

Jimba, M.M. “Ilorin Emirate Manuscripts: An Ancient Islamic Treasure between Challenges of Extinction and Prospects of Survival.” *AL-FIKR: Annual Journal of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies,* University of Ibadan, 20 (2008), 66-75.

Jimba, M.M. & Salihu, O. I. (eds.), *‘Ulama’ al-Imarah (Scholars of the Emirate*), *Volumes One*, publications of the Centre for Ilorin Manuscripts and Culture, Kwara State University, Malete. Cairo: Dar Al-Fikr Al-Arabi, 2015.

Jimba, M.M. & Salihu, O. I. (eds.), *‘Ulama’ al-Imarah (Scholars of the Emirate*), *Volume Two*, publications of the Centre for Ilorin Manuscripts and Culture, Kwara State University, Malete. Cairo: Dar Al-Fikr Al-Arabi, 2019.

Jimba, M.M. (ed.) *Arabic Manuscripts in the Ilorin Emirate*. Malete: Kwara State University Press, 2019.

Jimba, M.M. (Arabic Unit, Department of Language and Literary Studies, KWASU, Malete), Oral Evidence; interviewed by author, June 30, 2015.

Jimba, S. *Iwe Itan Ilorin* (Ilorin: Jimba Books Production, 1990).

Khalid, N.W., “Encoded Ajami: Talisman and the Preservation of Arabic “Spiritual Medicine” in Hausa Society,” in Ibrahim Y.Y. *et al*, Eds., *Arabic/Ajami Manuscripts,* 281-303.

Law, R.C.C., *The Oyo Empire c.1600-c.1836: A West African Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

Marcuzzi, M. “Writing on the Wall: Some Speculations on Islamic Talismans, Catholic Prayers, and the Preparation of Cuban Bata Drums for Orisha Worship”, *Black Music Research Journal,* Vol. 31. No. 2, Fall 2011, 209-227.

Matory L.J., “Rival Empires: Islam and the Religions of Spirit Possession among the Oyo Yoruba,” *American Ethnologist* 21, No. 3 (1994), 495-515.

Na’Allah A., “Dadakuada: The trends in the Development of Ilorin Traditional Oral Poetry,” (B. A. English Long Essay, University of Ilorin, 1988).

O’Hear A., “Elite Slaves in Ilorin in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries”, *International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 39 (2), 2006, pp. 247-273.

Olutoye, O., and Olapade, J. A., “Implements and Tactics of War among the Yoruba,” in Adeagbo Akinjogbin, ed., *War and Peace in Yorubaland 1793-1893* (Ibadan: Heinemann (Nig.) Plc., 1998), 199-218.

Onikoko, S.A.T., *A History of Ilorin Emirate* (Ilorin: Sat Adis Press, 1992); Jimoh, L.A.K. *Ilorin: The Journey So Far* (Ilorin: Atoto Press, 1994).

Oseni Z.I., “Arabic and Islamic Scholarship.” *Ilorin: Centre of Learning*, edited by Jimoh (Ilorin: Jimson Publishers, undated), 44-74.

Otukoko, S. Ismail, “Ilorin Potsherd Pavements and the Reconstruction of the Culture History of a Frontier City: The Historical Significance of some Neglected Artifacts,” *West African Journal of Archaeology* 44, no. 2 (2014), 21-52.

Raji, R.A., "Tangled complexities: Muslim-Christian relations and the issue of the Arabic language in Nigeria," Inaugural Lecture, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, 28th February, 2015.

Reichmuth, S., "Imam Umaru's Account of the Origins of the Ilorin Emirate: A Manuscript in the Heinz Solkën Collection, Frankfurt," *Sudanic Africa* 4, (1993), 155-173.

Reichmuth S., "A Sacred Community: Scholars, Saints and Emirs in a Prayer Text from Ilorin", *Sudanic Africa*, 6, 1995, pp. 35-54.

Reichmuth, S., "Literary Culture and Arabic Manuscripts in 19th-Century Ilorin," in Graziano Kratli and Ghislaine Lydon, Eds., *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade: Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa*, 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 213-249.

Reichmuth, S. and Razaq D. Abubakre, "Ilorin and Nupe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" in John O. Hunwick (comp.) *Arabic Literature of Africa,* Volume II (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).

Ryan, P. J., *Imale: Yoruba Participation in the Muslim Tradition* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978).

Saliu H. A. and I. A. Jawondo, "Ilorin emirate: its people and politics," in S.A. Jimoh, ed. *Ilorin: Centre of Learning* (Ilorin: Jimson Publishers, undated), 1-20.

Saratu Alhaja, Onitada, (producer of local ink, Onitada Compound, Popo Giwa, Ilorin), Oral Evidence; interviewed by author, August, 7, 2015.

Sulaiman, O. Taofeek, "History of Oke Suna in Ilorin, Kwara State", unpublished B.A. Long Essay, Department of Religions, History and Heritage Studies, Kwara State University, Malete, 2020.

Sulu, M., History of Ilorin, Typescript: Rhodes House, Oxford, 1953.