Islamic Publications in Nigeria

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Introduction
Arabic language literacy in what would later become Nigeria is at least nine hundred years old, having been introduced to the kingdom of Kanem before the 1080s. This Islamic literacy in Arabic continued to spread slowly throughout most of the northern region of Nigeria, reaching Yorubaland in the southwest before the nineteenth century.

The Spread of Literacy
With the spread of literacy came the trade in and production of books. There was even some export of books from West Africa, specifically Qur’ans from Bornu, which were prized in the Middle East for their calligraphy:

However strange it may appear, each kafila leaving Bornou for Fezzan . . . carries several copies of the Koran, written by the Bornou fighis (clerks), which will sell in Barbary or Egypt for forty or fifty dollars each. The Arabic characters are also used by them to express their own language: each chief has one of these fighis attached to him, who write[s] despatches from his dictation with great facility.

West Africa was thus part of the zone of literate communication in the Old World. More specifically, it was part of the world of Islamic literacy, and it was a fully participating member of that world. Publishing with modern means of mass production was introduced from the opposite corner (the south-west) of what would later become Nigeria. The first newspaper in Nigeria was published in Romanised Yoruba in the city of Abeokuta in the nineteenth century. This newspaper represented Christian missionary efforts to proselytise Nigeria. Thus, until very recently, literacy in Nigeria was a monopoly of two of the great monotheist religions: Christianity and Islam. Arabic language literacy is common among Arab Christians in the Middle East; however, in Nigeria and in West Africa at large, the Arabic language and Arabic script literacy have been associated almost exclusively with Muslims. By the same token, until after independence, almost all English language and Roman alphabet schools were run by Christian missionaries. Secular publications also began in the south, with Nnamdi Azikiwe publishing his West African Pilot in Lagos, and the famous Onitsha market literature of pamphlets achieved international attention. Nigeria’s most famous writers of the English language, Wole Soyinka and Chinua Achebe, were also from the south, largely because northern authors such as Abubakar Imam and Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa preferred...
to write their books in Hausa, a language that is not widely spoken outside west Africa.

The fact that Christian missionaries introduced modern printing techniques to what is now Nigeria should not be taken to imply that Muslims in precolonial Nigeria were not interested in developing modern printing techniques. When Captain Hugh Clapperton of the Royal Navy visited Sokoto in 1824, the leader of the Sokoto Caliphate at that time, Sultan Muhammad Bello (d. 1837), asked him about newspapers. Clapperton had been using them as packing materials for his expedition and showed them to the Sultan, whose wish to promote education and literacy gave rise to this interest in modern methods of disseminating knowledge.5

Printing and Mass Publication
It was not until the colonial period that the old tradition of Islamic literacy was combined with the modern methods of reproducing writing that so interested Bello. Most studies of publishing in Nigeria have concentrated on the role of the government, especially the Publications Bureau, in promoting modern mass production of literature in that country.6 One of the few exceptions, Mervyn Hiskett’s A History of Islamic Verse,7 noted that in addition to agencies of the colonial government, poets would sometimes publish privately and that Sufi ‘fraternities’ (tariqa) would often subscribe to such publications as a form of pious alms (sadaqa). However, Hiskett did not consider the implications of this fact.

A sampling of publications available in markets in northern Nigeria shows that the private sector took much of the initiative to promote modern methods of publishing. These publications were also a product of the trans-Saharan book trade, for the shifting of northern Nigeria’s trade to the coast with the coming of the railroad did not end trade with the Middle East; it just re-routed it by the ocean rather than overland through the desert.8 Islamic Africa is not just a consumer of ideas and publications that are produced elsewhere. It is a major producer of Islamic thought and publications that interact with the world outside of Africa. In fact, general studies of Islamic thought in West Africa were a prominent genre of publication.9

The history of private sector Islamic publications in Nigeria is difficult to document. The process was not as centralised as the government printing ventures, and the records kept were not as extensive or centralised, nor have they been as well preserved. Records in private hands are not as available to the public as archival records. There were always many small firms entering and going out of business and many of these were not corporations but individual initiatives; because of this, any thorough research into this history would be an extensive undertaking. However, a limited survey of what was available in some Nigerian markets around the turn of the twentieth to the twenty-first century conclusively demonstrates certain facts about Islamic publishing in Nigeria and the book trade with the Middle East. From the early decades of the colonial period, publications were being produced in the Middle East for distribution in Nigeria, often on contract. In addition, the development of printing in Nigeria involved Islamic publications, despite the greater resources available to missionary and government presses. Finally the importation of general Islamic publications, not only from the Middle East but also from other areas of the Islamic world, has continued throughout the colonial period into post-colonial Nigeria, down to the present day.10

Several matters stand out among those publications studied. One is the variety of
publishers, languages and viewpoints, not to mention authors. The most prominent languages were Arabic, Hausa and English, but it was not difficult to find Islamic publications in other Nigerian languages such as Kanuri, Nupe and even Ibo. The internal Islamic debates that are so contentious in the world today are affecting Nigerian Muslims, of course, and are reflected in their publications, which are sometimes quite acrimonious in their attacks on those holding opposing viewpoints. 11 Ironically, many of the publications dealing with Muslim-Christian relations were pleas for mutual understanding, often written together by pairs of Muslim and Christian authors. 12

This did not mean, however, that publications attacking Christianity did not exist; indeed, some of them were quite extreme. For example, Sheikh Bunyamin Alalaye Banire, (J.P.) wrote Top Secret about Christianity, Ogbonism and other Fetish Religions & Superlative of Islaam (Lagos, Limited, 1996, 347 pages). The South African Ahmed Deedat wrote Combat Kit against Bible Thumpers (Bible Thumpers: Christians like Jehovah’s Witnesses etc. who harass Muslims in their own homes) (Offa, n.d.).

Another notable characteristic of these publications is their ephemeral nature. For example, dates of publication are often missing, which creates difficulties in developing a chronology; researchers have to rely on impressions based on the appearance of the publication, the dates of its cited sources (if any) and other circumstantial evidence. Pamphlets are issued quickly in small runs that go out of print immediately afterwards. Publishers appear and disappear regularly, and many publications do not even list a publisher. Indeed, the question of whether a publication was made in Nigeria or was imported is often a matter of guesswork and the same applies to determining the date.

There are several major publishers producing Islamic books for the Nigerian market and these include the Islamic Publications Bureau, Islamic Education Trust, and Hudahuda. However, small independent presses seem to dominate the market, and this characteristic has grown with the emergence of cheap, computerised desktop publishing. Some of these publishers work for profit and others for da’wa (Islamic missionary work); most are domestic, but some publish overseas (especially in the Middle East and North Africa) for the Nigerian market. 13

The Nigerian Market

The Nigerian market includes local authors and overseas writers, some of whom published in Nigeria while also being popular in other predominantly Muslim areas such as the Middle East, East Africa and elsewhere. Authors who write from Europe, South Africa and elsewhere are also present. Local authors include not only living persons but also famous authors of the Nigerian past, such as Muhammad Bello and his father Usman Dan Fodio (d. 1817). At least one book of unknown origin was not described in Arabic Literature in Africa, the encyclopaedic catalogue edited by John O. Hunwick for Brill, nor was its author listed there. 14

The most popular book was probably the Arabic al-‘Izziyya: the introduction to Maliki jurisprudence written by the famous Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili, often published with a Hausa translation and at times versified in Arabic by local scholars. 15 The most popular category of books would seem to be dream interpretation. It was not uncommon for the writer of this paper to see such books read by fellow travellers in the intercity taxis in which he travelled during his research. 16

Other books about various occult matters, including topics popular in the west, were also commonly published. 17 Islamic sex manuals and marital advice in English and Hausa also seemed to be quite popular. 18 At any rate they were prominently sold in many locations, although
the writer of this paper never witnessed anybody reading one in a taxi. Islamic Religious Knowledge (IRK) is an important subject for Muslims in Nigerian public schools, as is Christian Religious Knowledge (CRK) for Christians; consequently, IRK textbooks were another high selling category of Islamic publications. Even university textbooks in subjects other than Islamic studies had an Islamic aspect to them, and were therefore included in this research. The *International Jew* by Henry Ford is a notorious example of anti-Semitic drivel which is said to have inspired Adolph Hitler; it was also commonly sold in many bookstores and market stalls. It is an excellent example of the continuing internationalisation, if not the globalisation, of Islamic discourse. The ‘Publisher’s Note’ (from Tehran) quotes the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, while the ‘Publisher’s Note’ (Zaria) quotes George Washington and Napoleon Bonaparte in warning against Jews, and the ‘Introduction’ by Inamullah Khan, Secretary General, World Muslim Congress (Karachi, 1970) claims that Jews are trying to buy up and destroy all copies. When a book has so many nations represented in its production it is difficult to assign a single origin to it.

At the higher end of the market, hardbound volumes of *tafsir* (Qur’anic exegesis) also sold well, and reflected the competing interpretations of Islam to be found in Nigeria. Two of the most popular were one by Shaykh Abubakar Gumi (d. 1992), an anti-Sufi scholar whose teachings inspired the ‘Yan Izala movement, and one by Shaykh Nasiru Kabara (d. 1996), a leader of the Qadiriyya Sufi order. Such *tafsir* were published not only overseas but in Nigeria. Other topics commonly produced in Nigeria or for the Nigerian market included the basics and classics of Islam and Islamic law, especially with reference to women, marriage, family and gender issues, and Islamic medicine.

Islamic sharia criminal law was applied to most Muslims in Northern Nigeria under British colonialism, but after independence sharia law was confined to personal law. Recently Islamic criminal law has been democratically enacted by several northern states in Nigeria resulting in a publishing boom for books on the subject, not only newly written ones, but reissues of older works on Islamic law.

**The Dynamics of Muslim Nigeria**

Much contemporary Islamic publishing in Nigeria is polemical in nature. As such, it is not necessarily directed towards or against non-Muslims, but rather towards or against Muslims in different Muslim organisations. The traditional rivalry within Islam in northern Nigeria was between two different Sufi orders, or *tariqas*: the Qadiriyya and the Tijaniyya. The Qadiriyya has been the traditionally dominant *tariqa* in the area since the Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio was launched in 1804 with Qadiriyya leadership and support. The first known Tijaniyya presence in the area was a result of the visit of al-Hajj Umar al-Futi (d. 1864) in 1833 on his return from Mecca, where he had been appointed a *muqaddam* of the Tijaniyya. During the colonial and early independence periods most of the sectarian conflict even within the Muslim *ummah* was between the Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya, including competition between the traditional orders and the new, dynamic branches of both orders. Among the important leaders of Sufi orders are such scholars as Nasiru Kabara (d. 1996) of the Qadiriyya and a number of Tijanis, including Shaykh Yahudha of Zaria, Shaykh Abu Bakr al-‘Atiq (d. 1974) of Kano, and Shaykh Ahmad Abu al-Fath (d. 2004) of Maiduguri.

With the coming of independence in 1961 new movements were founded, beginning with the *Jama’atu Nasril Islam* (Society for the Victory of Islam, also known as JNI for short) by the Premier of the Northern Region and Sardauna of Sokoto, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello (d. 1966). Although the JNI...
attempted to place itself above sectarian divisions within the Islamic community, it became heavily identified in the popular mind with the old Qadiriyya establishment. While this perception has been less true since the assassination of the Sardauna in the first coup of 1966, the JNI is still seen by many as the voice of the establishment Qadiriyya. It works closely with the federal and various state governments, even now, to approve textbooks for Islamic Religious Knowledge (IRK) classes in the public schools, and it engages in various Islamic proselytization attempts, or da'wa.

Islamic groups opposed to Sufism also appeared in the independence period, beginning with the ‘Yan Izala, more formally known as the Jama’at Izalatil Bid’a wa Iqamatis Sunnah (Movement for the Removal of Negative Innovations and for the Establishment of Orthodoxy). Various Muslims, including a retired army imam named Isma’ila Idris, founded this movement on February 8, 1978 in Jos, Plateau State. The ‘Yan Izala almost immediately attracted not only many members among western educated young Muslims but also sometimes violent opposition from supporters of the traditional Sufi orders, particularly for their policy of establishing separate mosques; this has earned them such epithets as Wahhabi and Khawarij from their detractors. After a split in the 1990s between a Kaduna-based faction and a Jos-based one, Izala has recently re-united in a much-publicised reconciliation between the two factions. Although the split had generally led to a decline of the movement, its influence is still considerable. Their activities involve mostly oral preaching, so they have fewer publications than the Sufi orders or the JNI.

The ‘Yan Izala were inspired by the teachings of Shaykh Abubakar Mahmud Gumi (1922-92), an influential Islamic scholar who was one of the first Islamic scholars trained in the colonial school system, and the former Grand Qadi of Northern Nigeria. Although he was involved with the creation of the JNI in the early 1960s, he gradually broke away from the traditional tariqa leadership, especially after the breakup of the Northern region in 1967. He was viewed with favour by the ruling circles of Saudi Arabia, who helped encourage the accusations of Wahhabism levelled at his followers; in 1988 the Saudi government awarded him the King Faysal Prize.

An even more recent and controversial Muslim group is the Shiites founded by Malam Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, a Muslim scholar and activist from Zaria. The group was inspired by the success of the Shiite Islamic revolution of 1979 in Iran. It seems to be a well-funded group which enjoys close relations with the government of Iran. Under the military governments of Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha this group attracted much attention for its militant attempts to provoke an Islamic revolution and impose Islamic sharia criminal law (northern Nigeria already had Islamic personal law). With the successful adoption of Islamic sharia criminal law by democratic governments in several northern states, as well as a better understanding among northern Nigerians of the differences between Sunni and Shia Islam, the group has suffered a decline, but still actively publishes, especially in English and Hausa. Their Hausa newspaper Al-Mizan is especially well-known.

Even more groups have appeared lately, and the publication of propaganda and polemics serve far better than mere market forces could have done, to fill Nigerian bookstores with Islamic publications. For example, the Supreme Council for Sharia in Nigeria (SCSN) headed by the physician Datti Ahmed has opposed the vaccination of children against polio on the grounds that the vaccination is an American conspiracy against Islam. There are also said to be followers of the volatile ‘Yan Tatsine movement who led several armed revolts in the 1980s. This group rejects modern inventions such as wristwatches and even Northern Nigeria has been part of the Islamic world for centuries and has been involved in intellectual exchange with other parts of that world for an equally long time.
shoes, so they do not publish, although they are far from illiterate. Other Muslims have questioned this group’s Islamic nature, but the fact that the group originated in an Islamic intellectual milieu, as an Islamic sect that rejected the hadith, seems beyond dispute. More recently, the Ahl as-Sunna lil-Da’wa wa’l-Jihad ala Minhaj al-Salaf (Association of the People of the Sunna for Preaching and Combat), known to the media first by the nickname ‘Nigerian Talebs’ and, more recently, by their Hausa nickname ‘Boko Haram,’ has emerged in a dramatic crescendo of attacks. The group does not publish, but is very active on the internet, with many of the lectures of its original leader Mohammed Yusuf (d. 2009) and many of the speeches of its new, secretive leader Abubakar Shekau, available on YouTube. Undoubtedly other groups will continue to emerge.

Conclusion
There has been a continuous development of Islamic literacy in Nigeria from before the nineteenth century up to the twentieth century and beyond. Northern Nigeria has been part of the Islamic world for centuries and has been involved in intellectual exchange with other parts of that world for an equally long time. In the recent past, important scholars such as the Sufi Shaykh Yahuza Zaria and the anti-Sufi Shaykh Abubakar Gumi have been fluent in Arabic and have travelled widely in the Middle East, where they spread their own teachings and were influenced by other scholars whom they met there. The disputes between these scholars and others in Nigeria should thus be seen not just as local disputes fuelled by local conditions but as part of larger disputes within the Islamic world, which they, as scholars, are a part of. Other scholars from around the Muslim world have had their works published in Nigerian editions, while Nigerian scholars have had their Arabic works published in the Middle East. The African continent has a higher percentage of Muslims than any other continent, and while its generally low population makes it a relatively small part of the Muslim world as a whole, the large numbers of Muslims in sub-Saharan Africa have for many centuries played an important role in the Muslim world as a whole, including in the intellectual development of Islamic civilisation. Their intellectual life cannot be studied in isolation from its Islamic context.

Furthermore, in contrast to previous studies of the development of modern publishing in Nigeria (including this writer’s own studies), we must recognise the great importance of the private sector and individual initiatives in creating the modern publishing industry in Nigeria, including Islamic publications. When there were no printing presses in Nigeria other than the few used by the colonial government, Nigerians contracted with publishers in the Middle East to produce books for the Nigerian market, continuing the relationships created by the trans-Saharan book trade. Most of these publications seem to have been produced in Egypt or Lebanon, which have long been the main centres of the Arabic publishing industry. Muhammad Bello’s famous history of Islamic West Africa, Infaq al-Maysur fi Ta’rikh Bilad al-Takrur, was published privately in Arabic in Cairo in 1964. Shehu S.A.S. Galadanci’s history of Arabic literature in Nigeria was likewise published privately in Arabic in Cairo.

With the introduction of privately-owned presses in Nigeria, the mass production of Arabic and Islamic writings has become much easier. There are still scholars who copy books by hand in the traditional way, of course. This writer had no difficulty in purchasing a manuscript copy of Bello’s Infaq al-Maysurin Sokoto Market, together with a traditional manuscript case, or gafaka in Hausa, to keep it in. Nevertheless, photocopying has become much more common, and the addition
of computerised word processing and desktop publishing has made the production of written documents almost as decentralised as it was in the nineteenth century, although it is of course vastly more efficient. Nigerian governments, military and civilian alike, have been well-known in Africa for their generally liberal and tolerant attitude towards publishing, even of periodicals opposed to government policies. Nigeria, including northern Nigeria, is also connected to the Internet, and hardcopy Islamic publications have even been taken from the Internet, a medium of communication which shrinks the globe to an even smaller size than it has ever been before. In the twenty-first century, Nigerian Islamic publications will undergo another revolution which perhaps will be even greater than the one they underwent in the twentieth century, but these publications will continue to be part of the Islamic intellectual world and will participate actively in Islamic discourse, as they have for centuries.

Notes
1 A previous version of this paper was read to a staff seminar at the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria on 6 September, 2004. Another version was presented to the conference Arabic and Arabic Script Literacy in Africa (National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, 18-19 February, 2005, co-organized by the author and Akira Usuki of the National Museum of Ethnology) as “The Emergence of Modern Islamic Publishing in Nigeria.” Another version was presented to the AFLANG Project, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, on 14 February, 2004 as “Islamic Publishing in Nigeria: the view from Sokoto Market.” The author is grateful to all those who offered comments and corrections. All errors of fact or judgment are, of course, entirely the fault of the author.

The author would also like to thank the Islamic Area Studies Project (principal investigator SATO Tsugitaka) section III (principal investigator USUKI Akira) for fieldwork support of an expedition to collect Islamic documents in northern Nigeria. This research was carried out, using that support, over a period of two months in the summer (rainy season) of the year 2000. The basic method was to visit the various marketplaces and bookstores in several of the major cities of the region, buying as many books, pamphlets and other publications as were available. A limitation of the research was that it was aimed at Nigerian Islamic publications, and therefore more general, imported Islamic publications were overlooked in favour of publications either by Nigerian authors or for the Nigerian market. Fortunately there was no shortage of such publications.

All materials gathered during the course of the research have been deposited with the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku), Osaka, Japan. The publications cited in this article represent only a small fraction of the publications gathered for the Islamic Area Studies Project during a stay lasting a few weeks in Nigeria. In addition to publications, a large number of audio and video cassettes were collected, including two complete oral tafsir (interpretations of the Qur’an) by competing authors. The staff of the Area Studies Center at the Museum were kind enough to produce a bibliography of the materials collected.


8 For example, there is an anonymous offset printing of an old manuscript (Beirut, n.d.) very faded and yellow.


10 Among the classics of Islamic West Africa that have been published by modern means, either in West Africa or in the Middle East, are the following: (1) an Arabic Tafsir of the Qur’an by ‘Abd Allah b. Muhammad Fudi (Dan Fodio), Diya’ al-ta’wil fi ma’ani al-tanzil (mentioned in Hunwick, Arabic Literature, p. 93); (2) Anonymous, Dala’il al-Shaykh Uthman b. Fudi (Sokoto; Alhaji Muhammad Dan Ige Tsmiyyar Yaro, n.d.), photo offset of old-style manuscript (mentioned...
in Hunwick, Arabic Literature, p. 83); (3) Muhammad Bello, Kitab Tanbih al-sahib ‘ala ahkam al-makasib (A 12-page photocopy of a traditional manuscript, written by Bello Kofar Atiku Malai, Sokoto, printed by Malam Buda Dutsin Assada, (Sokoto, n. d.) and mentioned in Hunwick, Arabic Literature, p. 141); (4) Muhammad Bello, Sard al-Kalam (Sokoto, 1989/1409) (a photocopy of an old manuscript with marginalia, mentioned in Hunwick, Arabic Literature, p. 137-8); (5) Uthman b. Fudi (Dan Fodio), Fassarar Ilya’as Sunnati wa Ikhmadul Bid’ati, translated by Muhammad A.B. Kwairanga, (Kano, n.d.) facing Hausa and Arabic pages (mentioned in Hunwick, Arabic Literature, pp. 62-63); and, (6) Shaykh Uthman b. Fudi, Kitab nur al-albab (mentioned in Hunwick, Arabic Literature, pp. 50-51).

This item has traditional calligraphy with European-style Arabic page numbering in another hand. There is no date or place of publication indicated and the cover is from a 1996 voters’ registration form.


Among the modern works by West African scholars published in Arabic outside West Africa are Uthman Braima Bari, The Roots of Islamic Civilization in Western Africa (Kano [printed in Cairo], 2000), 431 pages, ISBN 977-279-291-5; and others mentioned below.

For example, Abdul Qader Audah wrote a book titled Islam between Ignorant Followers and Incapable Scholars (Lagos, n.d.). Dr. Fathuddin Sayyed Muhammada Koya, M.A. (al-Azhar), Ph.D. (jos), a member of the Department of Religious Studies, University of Jos, as well as a Missionary of the Saudi Arabian Government (Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Awqaf and Printing), wrote a book titled Islam and the Ahmadiyya Movement (Bauchi, 1995). Isma’il Sheikh Ibrahim Mai Jalalaini wrote Ko Ka San Tabu Haram Ce a Addin Musulunci [did you know that tobacco is forbidden in Islam?] (Kano, n.d.). Abdur-Raheem Adebayo Shittu, Esq. (Barrister at Law) wrote A Critique of Dr. Adekilekun Tijani’s Handbook of the Tijaniyyah (Shaki, 1999), 218 pages. The book was dedicated to the ‘Yan Izala movement, among others. That movement is strongly opposed to such Sufi orders as the Tijaniyya.


Shaykh Abdul-Rahman al-Rufa’i, Nazm muqaddimat ibn Rushd (n. d., n. p.).

Alhaji Muhammad Daura, Izziyiya dare da fassarar cikin Hausa (Zaria, n.d.).

Examples of such dream interpretation literature in Hausa include the following: (1) Anonymous, Nazarin Fassarar Mafarki a Musulunci (Latta’fi na daya) (n.p., n.d.); (2) Ustazzu Aliyu Umar Chiromawa, Fassarar Mafarki a Musulunci (volumes 2 and 3 only) (n.p., n.d.); (3) Alhaji Muhammadu Jega (Oga Sai Allah), Fassarar Mafarkin Bishiyoyi da ‘Ya’ Yansu Tsiran da Ganyaye a Musulunci (n.p., n.d.); (4) Alhaji Muhammadu Aliyu Jega, Lokon Kango...
Madawakin Kano (Oga Sai Allah), Hanyar Fassarar Mafarka a Musulunci (200), (n.p. [Kano?], n.d.); (5) Shehu Abdullahi Kabara, Fassarar Mafarkin Soyayya, Aure, Kadi da Ciniki a Musulunci (Kano, 2000); (6) Umar Abdu Saje, Mafarkan Ban Tsaro da M’anoninsa (madaya) (Kano, n.d.); and; (7) Alhaji Muhammad Jega (Oga Sai Allah), Ingantaccen Fassarar Mafarki a Musulunci (Littafi na daya) (n.p., n.d.).


18 Various authors, Islam and Sex according to Qur’an and Hadiths (Lagos, 1418/1997). See, also, Isa Adeniyi, Zina (Unlawful Sexual Intercourse) in the Modern World (Lagos, 1421 A. H.); Muhammad Hashimn, Soyayya da Rayyar Aurun Musulunci [littafi na daya] [love and life in Muslim marriage – volume I] (Kano, n.d.). Some would object to the term ‘sex manual’ when applied to an Islamic publication, but when a book refers to the importance of foreplay and discusses the legality of different sexual positions it is hard to know what else to call it. It should not, however, be inferred that the books in question advocated promiscuity, adultery, or any other sexual act contrary to Islamic law. Similar sex manuals for Christians have reportedly been published in the United States, although this author has not been asked to research them.


For details of Sufi orders and conflict in Kano, with an overview of the general situation, see John N. Paden, *Religion and Political Culture in Kano* (Berkeley, 1973). For an interesting perspective that denounces all ‘sects’ (from Wahhabis to ‘Yan Tatsine, Shi’a, Qadiriyya, Tijjaniyya, etc.) and contrasts them with such “associations” such as the Muslim Students’ Society, the ‘Yan Izala and the Jama’atu Nasril Islam, see Dr. Khamisu Usman Imam, *Choose for Yourself the Path among the Paths* (Jos, 2000).


Among the many sources that deal with Shaykh Gumi, perhaps the most important is his autobiography (with Isma’ila Abubakar Tsiga), *Where I Stand* (Ibadan, 1992, reprinted with corrections 1994). His writings in Arabic are covered in Hunwick, *Arabic Literature*, pp. 551-5. Musa Lawal Funtuwa’s compilation, *Fatwas Abubakar Mahmoud Gummi* (vol. 1) [fatwas of Abubakar Gummi in Hausa] (Zaria, 1986) is also important. Abubakar Mahmud Gumi, *An Analytical Translation of Al-‘Aqida al-Sahihah bi Muwafaqah al-Shari‘ah* (The Right Belief is based on the Shari‘ah) was written in Arabic and translated into English by Dr. M. O. A. Abdul, Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Ibadan, published in Ankara, 1392/1972. It is marked ‘free: not for sale but sponsored and distributed by the Sultan Ibrahim Dasuki Foundation, designed and printed by ESPEE Printing and Advertising Co., Kaduna (Hunwick, *Arabic Literature*, pp. 552-553). Shaykh Gumi’s *al-‘Aqida al-sahiha* was also written in Arabic and translated into English by Ahmad Usman Kauru (Ayana Enterprises, 1997) (see Hunwick, *Arabic Literature*, pp. 552-553).


For example: Anonymous, offset printing of an old manuscript (Beirut, Lebanon, n.d.), very faded and yellow.


The manuscript and its case have both been deposited in the National Museum of Ethnology, Senri Expo Park, Osaka, Japan.