HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND SPREAD OF FRIDAY PRAYER MOSQUES IN KANO CITY, 1978-2016

BY

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MA/ARTS/8012/2015-2016

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES, AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN HISTORY.

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ZARIA, NIGERIA

FEBRUARY, 2020

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, this work entitled "History of the Development and Spread of Friday Prayer Mosques in Kano City, 1978-2016" is the result of my personal effort. All sources of information cited are acknowledged by footnote and bibliography. To the best of my knowledge no such work has been carried out or submitted for the award of degree or any other certificate in any institution.

…… ……

Halilu Saifullahi Date

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that, the work titled "History of the Development and Spread of Friday Prayer Mosques in Kano City, 1978-2016" has been read and certified to have met the requirement of the Department of History, School of Postgraduate Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, for the award of Master of Arts (M.A) History.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my Parents; Alhaji Halilu Abubakar, Hajiya A'isha Usman, and my Uncle Air Commodore Muhammad Sabi'u Ibrahim (MS Ibrahim).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

All praises be to Allah (S.W.A), the most Beneficent and the Merciful for giving me the opportunity to conduct this research. May His infinite peace and blessing showered on his Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W), his family and companions.

I would like to register my profound gratitude to my two supervisors Professor Muhammadu Mustapha Gwadabe and Dr. Salisu Bala for their criticisms, suggestions, patience, encouragement and the tremendous interest shown throughout the period of this study. No doubt your interest and concern made it possible for this study to reach this level of completion. Additionally, I would like to show my deepest appreciation to all the lecturers in the department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, for their advice, suggestions and objective criticisms, throughout the period of my postgraduate work in the department. More specifically I would like to express my appreciation to Prof. Sule Bello, Prof. Muhammad Sani Umar, Prof. Abdulkadir Adamu, Prof. Alkasum Abba, Prof. Mahmud Hamman, Prof. Dahiru Yahaya, Dr. Saleh Abubakar, Prof. Musa Mamman Adamu and Prof. Idris Shaaba Jimada. I will remain indebted.

My profound gratitude also goes to my parents Alhaji Halilu Abubakar and Hajiya A'isha Usman for their support, advice, encouragement and financial assistance. My special thanks goes to my entire family members for their persistent support, advice, love, assistance and prayers towards my success. Same gratitude and appreciation is extended to Air Commodore Muhammad Sabi'u Ibrahim (MS IBRAHIM) for his financial support, fatherly advice, and encouragement.

Librarians of the Northern Historical Research Scheme (NHRS) and the entire Departmental library staff of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria assisted this study in a number of

ways. I remain grateful. I am also grateful to Dr. Kabiru Haruna Isah of the Department of History, Bayero University Kano, for the encouragement, advice, and assistance. My appreciation goes to my course mates; I will forever remain grateful for their company and friendship. In the field of research leading to this work, I am grateful to Mallam Nura Isa Zubairu, Dr. Muhammad Wada, Bakano Abubakar Murtala and all my informants for providing needful information.

Finally, once again I would give my utmost, eternal and infinite gratitude to Allah (S.W.A) and his most beloved Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H)

ABSTRACT

This research is a documentation of the history of the development and spread of Friday prayer mosques in Kano city, 1978-2016. Islam and the establishment of Friday prayer mosques in Kano city have a long history defined by clear objectives guided by rules and regulations. Specifically this study traces the major factors responsible for its development, spread and historical implications on the community in Kano city. It begins with a historical background demonstrating the introduction of Islam and the establishment of mosques in Kano. The sources used in this study are both primary and secondary. More specifically, interviews formed the major source in addition to a number of published and unpublished studies consulted. The study shows the importance of mosque as a center of observance of prayer and learning; of socio-economic activities, and public interaction. It found that though wealthy individuals played important role in the citing of mosques in their respective communities, growing misunderstanding, division and disagreement leading to conflicts only came about when the desire by religious organizations and groups to establish and control Friday mosques and maintain their authority over them manifested.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.U	Ahmadu Bello University
A.D	(Latin word) Anon Domini
A.H	After Hijra (Islamic Calendar)
A.H.K	Arewa House Kaduna
B.U.K	Bayero University Kano
(Ed)	Edited
K.I.L	Kashim Ibrahim Library
M.A	Master of Arts
N.P.C	Northern People's Congress
N.E.P.U	Northern Elements Progressive Union
N.H.R.S	Northern Historical Research Scheme
No.	Number
P.B.U.H	Peace Be Upon Him
Ph.D	Doctor of Philosophy
Pl.	Plural
Sing.	Singular
Vol.	Volume

GLOSSARY

Asr: literally, it means time. In this context, it stands for the evening prayer.

Ayat: (sing. ayah): it could either mean verse of the Holy Qur'an or some parables

Bandir: A basin shaped hide drum (tambourine like drum)

Barbushe: was one of the Kings in Kano

Bid'ah: Innovation. It is used for any novelty in Islam. The term is used to connote any new innovation which was introduced into Islam with the aim of seeking Allah's pleasure.

Da'awah: Inviting people to Islam, Islamic Preaching.

Dagachi: (pl. *Dagatai*) Village Head

Dutse: Hill

Dhikr: The remembrance of Allah. It covers all aspects of worship in Islam.

Du'a: Invocation (prayer) addressed to Allah.

Eid: Muslim feast of the end of *Ramadan* fasting or pilgrimage

Fatwah: A juristic opinion given by an Islamic Scholar on any matter pertinent to Islamic law.

Fiqh: Islamic jurisprudence

Hadith: Saying and the tradition of the Prophet

Hijra: Migration

Imam: (pl. *Imams*) in *Sunni* is the prayer leader and spiritual and temporal leader in *Shi'ah.*

Imamship: Leadership

Jama'ah: Community

Jam'I: Congregation

Jihad: To strive to do things for the sake of Allah/Muslim Holy war

Jumma: Arabic word Friday

Khutbah: Sermon

Maukibi: The celebration of the birthday of *Shaykh* Abdulkadir Jilani

Masjid: (pl. *masallatai*), literally Mosque, is simply a place of worship and meeting place for Muslims

Muezzin: person who call the faithful to prayer at a fixed daily time

Muhajirun: immigrants

Na'ib: Deputy to the Imam

Qadirawa: (sing. *Baqadire*) an adherents of *Qadiriyyah Sufi* order

Qablu: Praying with the hands crossed on the chest

Qibla: (direction) where all Muslims must face when performing prayers

Qur'an : Muslims Holy Book

Ramadan: the ninth month of Islamic calendar during which the Muslims fast

Sadlu: Praying with the hands on the sides

Sarki: (pl. Sarakuna) King: a traditional titled in Western Sudan

Shaykh: literally, an elderly man. It has been frequently used to refer an Islamic scholar

Salaat-ul-Jumma: literally, Friday prayer, is a compulsory prayer offered in congregation weekly in a central Mosque

Tawassul: intercession

Tijjanawa: (sing. *Batijjane*) an adherents of *Tijjaniyah sufi* order.

Ulama: (sing. *Alim*), Islamic scholars

Ummah: Muslim community.

Tawakkul: Absolute reliance on Allah as the creator, nourisher and sustainer of the creatures both human and non-human.

Wazifa: A ritual prayer of the *Tijjaniyya*.

Wilayah: this is *sufi* terminology. It means guardianship or friendship.

Wusul: is a *sufi* terminology. It means spiritual attainment

Yathrib: Madina

Zawiyah: (pl. zawaya): A *Tijjaniyya* Sufi spiritual centre.

Zuhd: self denial, renunciation.

NOTES ON SOURCES

The main source used for this research is Primary source, in the form of oral interviews with an eyewitnesses or active participants in the historical events under study. This is essentially due to the absence of studies of this nature carried out on the area of study. Available studies on this area focused on the history of the establishment of the religion or on mosque in general. A number of interviews were conducted which led to the collection of the necessary information that produced this piece. All the interviews were conducted and recorded in *Hausa* language and preserved on electronic device. In some cases the interviews were not only recorded, notes were taken depending on the choice of the interviewees, because some preferred note taken than being recorded.

The major limitation associated with this source was that the people interviewed actively belong to different socio-cultural and religious sects, which made it one-sided and therefore highly subjective. Another limitation is on the inability of some of the informants to provide the researcher with the exact date of the events, mostly due to failures of memory. This led the researcher into interviewing so many people across the respective divides and comparing notes based on the informations collected.

Another source used in this study is that of the written record. This included published and unpublished documents. A number of published works in form of books, newspaper, and unpublished projects, dissertation and theses were used. They served as a guide in assessing the reliability of information gathered during the course of the interviews.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Islam attaches importance to congregational prayer more than the individual prayer; because of its desire to create unity and universal brotherhood among the adherents of the religion. The aim of congregational prayer is, therefore, to encourage a community whose members regard themselves as equal before God to put in practice such a belief.[1] The weekly gathering and other congregations in Islam i.e. the *Eid* prayers and annual pilgrimage are the strong examples of the nature of unity of purpose, sense of belonging, and co-operation among the Muslim *Ummah*. The term *Juma'ah*, an Arabic word for Friday, is derived from the word *Al-Jam'i* Arabic which means to gather. The Friday prayer (*Salaatul-Juma'ah*) is a compulsory prayer offered in congregation weekly in a central mosque. It is offered in place of *Zhuhr* (noon) prayer. It is an occasion for the assembly of the Muslims of a whole city or town. It gives Muslims the opportunity to meet together to discuss and solve their individual as well as community problems.[2]

The *Masjid* is also an Arabic word for mosque, it simply means a place of worship[3] and a meeting place for Muslims. Mosques (*Masallatai*) are built so that people can perform their ritual prayers in them, because congregational prayer is more rewarding than praying alone. The benefits for praying in congregation made praying in the mosque more commendable than praying elsewhere and this understanding allows Muslim to build mosques. It however,

[1] Muhammad Wada. *History of Imamship of Kano, Circa 1373-1998*. Tunlad Prints & Publishing Coy, Beirut Road, Kano, Nigeria. 2011. P 6
[2] https://www.alislam.org/library/book/salat/friday-prayer/
[3] E. J. Brill. *Encyclopedia of Islam*. Vol. 6, New Edition, E.J Brill Leiden, 1986. P 315.

discourages to have mosques very close to one another in the Muslim community.[4] Furthermore, mosques could be built willingly by anybody and nor should a person's land be seized to build a mosque, unless it is voluntarily given or legally purchased.[5] For example, when the immigrants (*Muhajirun*) arrived at *Yathrib* (Madina), the Prophet negotiated and paid for the site.[6] Evidently, this is a clear testimony that mosque should not be built on lands not legitimately owned or paid for. Thus, the common practice (mostly in Nigeria) of building mosques on any available government land, sometimes blocking water ways or other forms of passages is not acceptable in Islam.[7]

In Kano, since the reign of *Sarkin* Kano Sulaiman b. Adahama (1807-1819), the establishment of any Friday prayer mosque was under the control of the Emir.[8] To establish a Friday prayer mosque the people of the area have to set up a committee to approach the authority for permission. Such request must pass through the office of the ward, village and district heads and finally to the Emir. The Emir will then appoint and send delegates to survey the area in order to make sure there is no Friday mosque within Five to Six Kilometers before he approves of it.[9] Though no Friday prayer mosque built during the reign of *Sarkin* Kano Sulaiman Abahama, the necessary channels were however put in place to ensure control and obedience to the constituted authority.

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[4] Douglas Edwin Ferguson. "Nineteenth Century Hausaland: Being a Description by Imam Imoro of the Land, Economy, and Society of his People". Ph. D Thesis Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973. P. 181-2.

[5] *Ibid,* p. 183.

[6] Muhammad Kyari, "The Establishment and Administration of Friday mosques in Maiduguri Town, Borno State,1976 to C 2000 A.D" Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History Bayero Unversity Kano, 2005. Pp 20-1.

[7] Gwadabe, M. M (et.al.), *Masjid*: Sacred Space in Nigerin Islam, in Biodun J. Ogundayo and Julius O. Adekunle, African Sacred Spaces: Culture, History, and Change, London, Lexington Books, Lanham, Boulder, New Girl, 2019. Pp. 99-110.

[8] Interviewed with Alhaji Abdullahi Lamido Sunusi, 50 years, the District Head of *Dala* Local Government, in Old *Dala* Local Government Secretariat, on 17/11/2016

[9] Interviewed with Alhaji Mai Kudi Sabo, 45 years, the assistant District Head of *Gwale* Local Government, the Assistant District Head of *Gwale* Local Government on religious matters, in Old *Dala* Local Government Secretariat, on 18/11/2016

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This study is about the History of the Development and Spread of Friday Prayer Mosques in Kano City, 1978-2016. Since the reign of *Sarki* Abdullahi Bayero (1926-52) when the Kano main Friday mosque was reconstructed, it remain the only mosque in Kano city where Friday prayers were said. By 1969 Kano experienced, for the first time, the construction of additional Friday prayer mosque. Though not in the city, but it was on record the second mosque established by the authority, after all due processes were followed. Indeed the establishment was in response to increase in population, emergence of new settlements and the distance away from the mosque in the city. The establishment of a Friday Mosque has no problem if it is done to address issues to do with development as the case of the second mosque located in the Sabon Gari area. In the case of Kano city the problematic came about when new ideas about the interpretation of the religion started to filter into the society from about 1978, against traditionalist (mostly Sufi). Though such differences have been in existence even among the Sufi adherents, but were not as serious to cause separation of mosques. The adherents of the new ideas challenged the traditionalist to have introduced into the religion practices that are outside the religion. Indeed they went ahead and condemned such practices as unbelief and therefore should not be accepted in Islam. This, according to this study, is what initiated disagreement and the need for additional Friday prayer mosques, which explains the proliferations of Friday prayer mosques in Kano city since 1978.

Friday prayer mosques are not supposed to belong to any group, because of the ideas of bringing Muslim community together to worship every Friday.[10] The emergence of organization

[10] Interviewed with Malam Usman Makwarari, 77 years, Head of *Qadiriyyah* of *Makwarari*, in *Dandago*, AlKali Buhari Daura road, on 03/02/2017. Note, the 1804 *Jihad* leader stated clearly that mosques should not be spread and if there are many mosques, Friday prayer should be said in one of the mosques, because the aim of Friday prayer is

based Friday prayer mosques has created divisions and conflicts in Kano.[11] This new development constitutes a major threat on the unity of Islam and Muslims. This research is therefore aimed at documenting the forces and processes that produced this outlook.

To address these challenges, this study addressed the following research questions.

i. What factors led to the proliferation of Friday Prayer Mosques in Kano city within the period of this Study?
ii. When did Friday Prayer Mosques in Kano city start to bear group identity?
iii. To what extent did the organizational based Friday Prayer Mosques created division among the Muslim community of Kano city?

1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this study is to explain the history of the development and spread of Friday Prayer Mosques in Kano city from 1978-2016. It is conducted to achieve the following objectives:

To historically trace the development and spread of Friday Prayer Mosques in Kano city;

To discuss the forces and processes behind the proliferation of Friday mosques in Kano city;

To bring out the effect of the spread of Friday prayer mosques in Kano city;

1.4 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Friday Prayer is a weekly congregational prayer for Muslims, it is performed every Friday. Since the introduction of Islam in Kano and the establishment of Friday Prayer Mosque in 1359, Friday Prayer Mosques were only located in very few places. Indeed, for a very long period of time there was only one Friday mosque for the whole of Kano city. From 1969 to 1991

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to bring Muslim together, for detatails see the book wrote by *Shaikh Usman Dan Fodio* "*Ihya al-Sunnah wa Ikhmad al bidi'a*".

[11]Kabiru Haruna Isah, "Islamic Groups and Sacred Space in Kano: Contesting the Control of Tudun Murtala Juma'at Mosque, 1986-1993". An article published by Arewa House Journal of Historical Studies. 2015

a lot of Friday mosques were built in Kano, but in the city there was only one Friday Mosque, until 1992. From 1992-2016, Friday prayer mosques increased to ten in Kano city. So far no study explains the reason and impact of this development on Islam and Muslims in Kano city. Studies on the history of mosques in Kano are mostly concern with the history and development of mosque in general. This created space for this particular study which concerns an explanation of a particular type of mosque and in Kano city. It is to explain the forces and processes responsible for the development and spread of Friday mosques in Kano city 1978-2016.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research traces the transformations in the development of Friday Prayer Mosques in Kano city. It explains the factors responsible for its spread, and how that has shaped the society. In the process, it has brought out the factors responsible for the development and speedy spread of Friday Prayer Mosques in Kano city. This study has added value to the existing works through objective investigation, documentation and analysis of sources available for the purpose of historical reconstruction. It is therefore an additional literature on the question of the development and spread of Friday prayer mosques in Kano in general and Kano city in particular.

It documented historically the number of Friday Prayer Mosque in Kano city and the religious activities that are taking place in each, aside the prayers. The study also shows the spread of Friday mosques, ownership, the existing divisions and disunity among the followers.

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

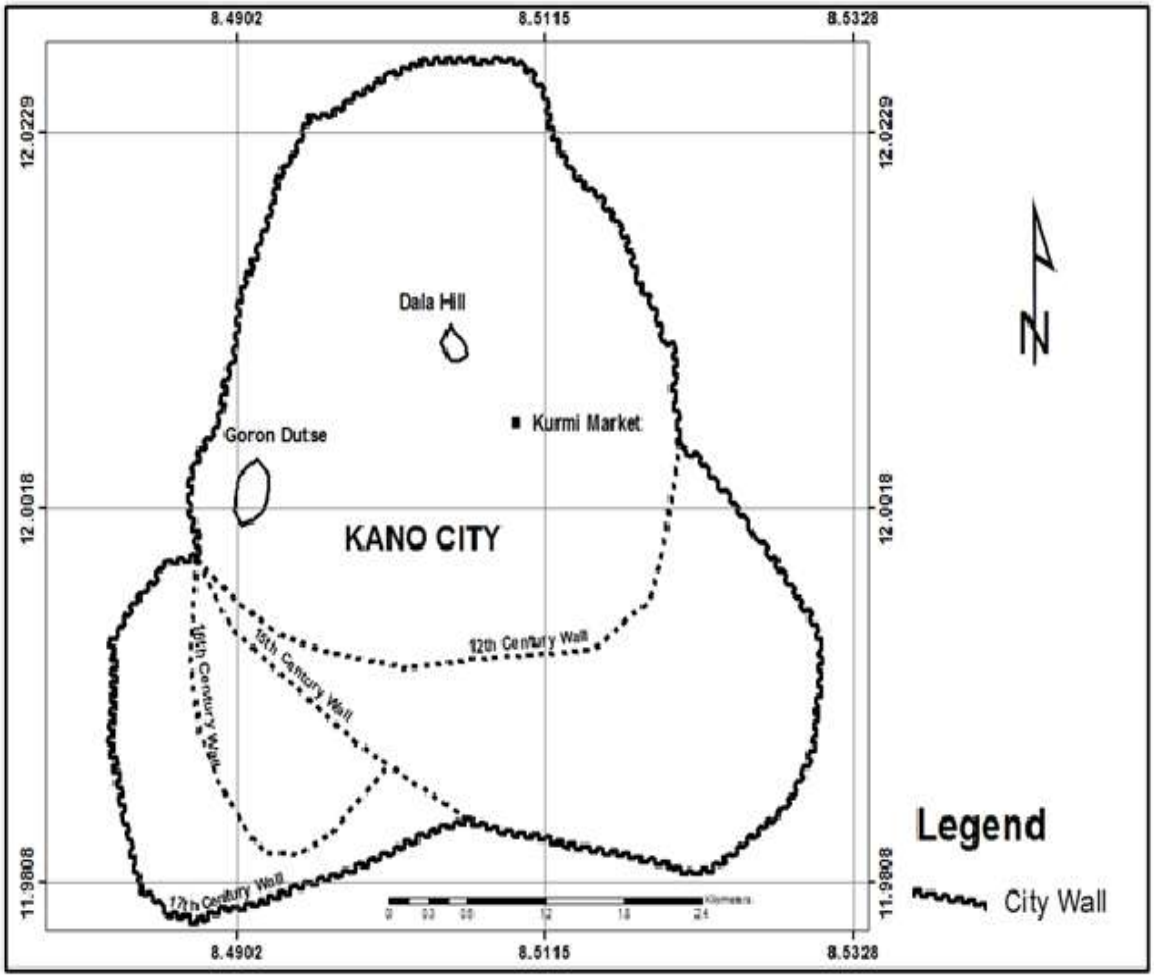
This study is a documentation of the History of the Development and Spread of Friday Prayer Mosques in Kano City from 1978-2016. This study begins from 1978 and terminates in 2016. The date 1978 marked the period of struggle for influence and identity contest between

different scholars in Kano and the emergence of religious organizations that indirectly influenced the establishment of Friday mosques in Kano in general and Kano city in particular. The date 1978 also denotes the emergence of religious groups or sects which created or intensified conflict among scholars in Kano with each trying to sustain and get more adherents than the other groups. The period 2016 on the other hand, which is the terminating period for this study marked the period when this phenomenon reached its peak, during which state policies on the establishment of Friday Mosques were violated. Indeed Friday Mosques started to bear group identity and by implication creating the basis for disunity among the Muslims in the City. This has evidently contradicted the main objectives of the establishment of such mosques.

The area of study is Kano, which is an important urban center in West Africa due to its being a commercial as well as a center of Islamic learning and politics. Kano emirate is geographically located between latitude 10°30cN and 13°N and between longitude 7° 40' and 10°35'E. The biggest and most important town in the Kano Emirate is Kano city, which made up the capital of the Emirate.[12] The term "city" refers to a large and permanent settlement bigger than the town;[13] Kano city is found within the city walls and gates erected at tactical points to control and regulate access into the city.[14]Kano city is largely inhabited by the indigenous people of Kano, all the most important traditional cultural institutions are housed within the walled city: *Kasuwar Kurmi* (the traditional market), the main Friday congregational Mosque, and the Emir's palace. Our Kano city of consideration comprised of the wards that defines the city in the period of study.

[12] John N. Paden. *Religion and Political Culture in Kano,* Berkery: The University of California Press, 1973, P. 14
[13]https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/. See also, Muhammad Uba Adamu. *Confluence and Influence: The Emergence of Kano as a City-State*. Kano, Munawwar Book Foundation, 1999, p. 4.
[14] Muhammad A. Liman, & Yusuf M. Adamu. "Kano in Time and Space: From A City to A Metropolis", in M.O. Hambolu (Ed), *Perspectives on Kano-British Relations,* A Gidan Makama Museum Kano Publication, 2003 P 146-8

Kano City Walls



Source: Adopted from Muhammad A. Liman,"A Spatial Analysis of Industrial Growth and Decline in Kano Metropolis…: p.38.

The subject of this study is therefore to document the increase in number of the Friday prayer mosques in Kano city and explain the forces and processes behind it. What appeared interesting and relevant is that though divisions and disagreement among Muslim groups in Kano predated 1978, but bitter division that led to establishment of identity based mosques only started by 1978.

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW

In an attempt to achieve the objective of reconstructing the history of the development and spread of Friday prayer mosques in Kano city, various sources were consulted. No doubt there are historical works on mosques in Kano, indeed some of such works have even been published, but there is none on Friday prayer mosques in Kano city.

This review begins with the study by Muhammad Sani Zahradeen titled "The Place of Mosques in the History of Kano". The study discusses the history of mosques, their functions and importance in the life of Muslim community of Kano. Zahradeen looks at how mosques were established at different periods in Kano Metropolis.[15] He asserts that the importance of mosque goes beyond the congregational prayers; it serves as a school for the community, but also as mobilization and celebration center. Zahradeen acknowledges that as a result of increase in population in Kano owing a number of factors including increase in birth rate, migration of people due to opportunities as a result of the establishment of industries, so many mosques were built in Kano Metropolitan to cater for the growing worshippers.[16] Zaharaddeen's study therefore focuses mainly on the history of the establishment and place of mosques in Kano Metropolis. This made it strikingly different with this study which is about the development and spread of Friday prayer mosques, and covering a more contemporary period, 1978-2016. Indeed this study looks at the religious and social activities of the selected mosque as well as other factors that led to proliferation of the mosques beyond population increase, which Zaharaddeen mentioned. This study benefitted enormously from the pioneering effort by Zaharaddeen; so broadly Zaharaddeen's effort has made the study of mosques in Kano richer and less challenging. By

[15] Muhammad Sani Zahradeen, "The place of mosques in the History of Kano." An article published by Bawuro Barkindo, *Studies in the History of Kano*, Heinemann educational books, Nigeria, 1983. P. 57
[16] *Ibid*, pp 62-3

concentrating on mosques in general, it gave chance for new researches, which this study benefits from.

The second document reviewed is a MA thesis by Auwalu Anwar titled "Struggle for influence and identity: The Ulama in Kano, 1937-1989". This study found the document to be significant particularly when it looked at some of the initial divisions and disagreements that engulfed the Muslim community of Kano, i.e. the issues of *Sadlu* and *Qablu*. This understanding, as well discussed by Anwar, provided information that support this study when it shows how divisive the Kano community was at the pre 1978 period, even though they were all from the *Sufi* background. Indeed the study further shade light on the emergence of religious organizations, which also justified the claim of this study, and added that competition ensued between the organizations represented by *Sufi* brotherhoods and the anti *Sufi* organizations.[17] Anwar's study has no doubt provided the ideological leaning of this research. It created the historical and intellectual backing for this study but limited itself to the struggle for influence and identity by the *Ulama*, particularly between the *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah Sufi* brotherhoods. This created space for this study which aimed at addressing the outcome of the contest between not only the *Sufi* adherents, but also looking at other emerging organization represented by *Jama'tu Izalatul Bid'a wa Iqamatus Sunnah* (JIBWIS) in Kano city.

The next document reviewed is a PhD thesis by Kabiru Haruna Isah titled "Islamic Groups and Sacred Space in Kano: Contesting the control of *Tudun Murtala Juma'at* mosque, 1986-1993". He argues that the struggle for ownership and control of Mosque is not a new phenomenon, it has been happening in other parts of the world. He maintains that in the case of

[17]Auwalu Anwar, "Struggle for Influence and Identity: The Ulama in Kano 1937-1989", M.A Dissertation, Department of History, University of Maiduguri, 1989.

Kano it is a new development, it is mostly between *Salafi* and *Sufi* adherents.[18] The focus in the study by Kabiru is on the struggle for ownership and control carried out by the *Ulama* (scholars) in Kano metropolitan, with particularly reference to *Tudun Murtala* Friday mosque. This study confirms our concern by acknowledging that there exist a contest among Muslim groups in Kano. His documentation of the extent of the disagreement further support our effort which argues that it led to Muslims disagreeing to pray behind some other Muslim worshipers, leading to the emergence of identity based mosques. In Kano city, this particular development supported the spread of Friday prayer mosques, which this particular research is concerned with.

Ibrahim A. Jawondo PhD dissertation titled "The Place of the Mosque in the History of Ilorin Emirate 1823-2000" provides useful information on the history of Islam and mosques with particular reference to Ilorin Emirate. He discusses the administration of mosques and critically analyses how the Ilorin Central *Juma'at* Mosque has been administered. Emphasizing on mosque administration and its relevance, he traces the factors responsible for the gradual degeneration of the influence of Ilorin Central Mosque. This includes the effect of colonial conquest, participation in politics, and proliferation of religious groups due to desire for political influence and financial gain.[19] Jawando's study is of equal relevance because it also informed us about the influence of group differences in the proliferation of mosques. Though not within the same location and period of study, it however ascertain that factors as that of political differences do led to the establishment of mosques, including Friday prayer mosques.

Muhammad Kyari in his PhD Dissertation titled "The Establishment and Administration of Friday Mosques in Maiduguri Town, *Borno* State, 1976 to C. 2000 A.D," studied Friday

[18]Kabiru Haruna Isah, "Islamic Groups and Sacred Space in Kano: Contesting the Control of Tudun Murtala Juma'at Mosque, 1986-1993". An article published by Arewa House Journal of Historical Studies.
[19] Ibrahim A. Jawondo, "The Place of the Mosque in the History of Ilorin Emirate 1823-2000". Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History Usman DanFodio University, Sokoto, 2005.

Mosques in Maiduguri town. He looked at the processes of the establishment and method of administration of mosques in Maiduguri. Kyari attributed to population growths as the major factor that led to proliferation of Friday prayer mosques in Maiduguri but also acknowledge the role of differences, which he define as group sentiment.[20]This further supports our effort that inaddition to population growth, the factor of differences in perception also contributed to the proliferation of Friday prayer mosques. Such disposition is no doubt an impetus to this study.

In summation, researches on the history of mosques in Kano and mosque as an institution in general have been conducted by scholars and this research has benefitted from their findings. What remain unexplained is the recent developments which produced increase in number of Friday prayer mosques in the city of Kano. Existing studies limited the explanation to increase in population and expansion of Kano. This study is hypothesizing that there are other reasons responsible, especially the recent developments that created identity based Friday mosques in Kano city. It is on this context that this study found relevance.

1.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A theory is define to mean a supposition or a system of ideas intended to explain something based on general principles, independent of the phenomenon to be explained.[21]Theory arises from a combination of observation and reflection, from research and from pondering the results of that research. In historical studies theory, and indeed the very processes of research are governed by assumptions and conventions of the age and society in which that research and reflection takes place.[22] On this recognition this study acknowledges the relevance of theory and adapted the Conflict Resolution theory in examining this development.

[20] Muhammad Kyari. "The Establishment and Administration of Friday Mosques in Maiduguri Town, Borno State, 1976 to C. 2000 AD". Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History Bayero Unversity Kano. 2005.
[21] www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/theory
[22] Arthur Marwicle. *The Nature of History*. Macmillan Press LTD, 1970, p 143.

Conflict Resolution theory was propounded by John Burton, who calls for the adoption of a human needs approach. He argues when an individual or group is denied its fundamental need for identity, security, recognition or equal participation within the society, protracted conflict is inevitable. To resolve such conflict, it is essential that needs that are threatened should be identified and subsequently restructuring of relationships or the social system take place in a way that needs of all individuals and groups are accommodated.

Conflict in our context is defined as a disagreement resulting from incompatible demands between or among two or more groups. Conflicts are as a result of disagreements that lead to tension, within and between people. Conflict Resolution is the process used by groups in conflict to reach a settlement. This process may include method as diverse as contest, battling, conciliation, facilitation, mediation, and negotiation.[23] In Kano city, beginning from about 1978, religious groups emerged and took opposing views on issues of the teachings and practice of the religion. As a consequence to that was witnessed the establishment of mosques and the division of followership based interpretations represented by the groups.

1.9 METHODOLOGY

This is about how data is sourced for the writing of the thesis. Primary and Secondary source materials were used during the course of this research. As such the effort had to comb all the available libraries and archives in search of data. The major source of information for this research was Oral interviews. This was conducted mostly in Kano city with Imams of the various mosques, the traditional rulers, Islamic scholars, community members and the adherents of the various divisions within Islam. Information derived from this source provided the background on which this study strengthened its position. This is important because of the need to corroborate with other sources available in order to analyze and assess, verify and interpret the findings for

[23] Maurer, R.E. *Managing Conflict: Tactics for School Administrations*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. P.1

historical documentation.[24] Also consulted are other forms of primary source materials found in the archives; the National archives Kaduna and the Kano State History and Culture Bureau archives provided great assistance.

Secondary sources in the forms of published and unpublished works academic researches; other academic researches in the forms of articles, journals and projects, which are available on internet, private and public libraries were also used and have assisted greatly. These documents were found in libraries such as Kashim Ibrahim Library (KIL) Ahmadu Bello University (A.B.U), Zaria, Northern History Research Scheme (NHRS) Library A.B.U. Zaria, Undergraduate Library Department of History A.B.U Zaria, Islamic Studies Departmental Library ABU Zaria, Geography Department Library ABU Zaria, History Department Library and Islamic Studies Library at Bayero University Kano, Arewa House Kaduna (AHK), Kano State History and Culture Bureau and Mambayya House Library, Bayero University Kano. Information from these sources was carefully evaluated, assessed before use, with a view to establishing reliability and authenticity of the documents.

1.10 CONCLUSION

Friday Prayer Mosque is one of the most important Islamic institutions, yet it took decades before Kano city, with its huge population and expanse, enjoyed the presence of more than one, located at the center of the city.Every Friday the people of Kano gathered at the Kano central mosque to pray and to also benefit socially, economically and politically. With the emergence of religious groups and organizations particularly from 1978, Friday mosque started to grow in number and also serving as symbol of group identity in Kano city. This chapter

[24]Usman Y. B., "*Assessment of Primary Sources*", *Beyond Fairly Tales: selected Writings of Dr. Bala Usman*, Abdullahi Smith Center for Historical Research, Zaria, 2006 p. 1.

examined this phenomenon and justified it as the main factor behind the spread and proliferation as well as divisions among Muslims on possession of Friday prayer mosques in the city.

CHAPTER TWO

INTRODUCTION OF ISLAM AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FRIDAY PRAYER MOSQUES IN KANO CITY, 1359-1992

2.1 INTRODUCTION

According to historical records, Islam in West Africa flourished through trade relations and interaction between the Arab people and the people of other cultures. The city in West Africa is the primary center for the itinerant scholars from North and East Africa. The spread and growth of Islam came as a result of the interaction between Muslim Arabs and the West African people. This brought some permanent socio-cultural changes and progress in the region. It is important to note that, Islam is a religion that encourages the search for and spread of knowledge. This became a sort of encouragement for the Africans whose desire for knowledge, to read and write as well as to keep records when the need aroused.[25] Islam is said to have been introduced into Kano by the *Wangarawa* merchants in the second half of the fourteenth century. There is however some indication that Islam had reached *Hausaland* through contacts with Bornu much earlier.[26]

With the introduction of Islam in c. 610 AD., the mosque became the venue or place for worship and Islamic studies among Muslims. The first place of worship in the history of Islam for Muslims is the *Masjid Haram* in Mecca. The *Haram* surrounds the *Ka'aba* (house of Allah), serving as *Qibla* (direction) where all Muslims must face when performing prayers. The *Ka'aba* is therefore one of the sacred structures in Islam. It unites all Muslims in the world, whether Sunni or Shiite, without an iota of ambiguity, to a common *Qibla* for the purpose of the worship of Allah. In fact, the *Haram* plays the most important role of housing Muslim worshippers

[25] M.O.A Abdul. *The Historical Origin of Islam* (with some reference to West Africa), Islamic Publications Bureau Lagos Nigeria, 1973. P. 125
[26] *Ibid*, P. 119

performing the annual pilgrimage (Hajj).[27]The first mosque built by Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H), *Masjid* Quba in *Madinah* in 622 A.D, served as the first school, community hall, and court of law. Mosques have therefore, social and political importance in Islamic societies. Historically, *ka'abah* was the first place of worship that attracted adoration and respect of the Muslims. The second Mosque was that of Madinah which was constructed immediately after the *Muhajirun* arrived in the city of Madina in 622 A.D. Since then mosques were built from *Ka'abah,* the *Masjid Aqsa,* the *Masjid Quba* and the *Masjid Al-Madinat* in different continents and countries. In Africa the First Mosque built was that of old Cairo (Al-Fustat) by Amr ibn al-As (one of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the conqueror of Egypt for Islam in 641 A.D. The second one was *Qayrawan* Mosque built in Tunisia by Amr ibn al-As.[28]

However, it is not clear when the first Mosque in Kano was built. Available information suggests that it must have been after the conversion of Sarki Yaji into Islam in 1359. The Mosque that was built by *Sarki* Yaji was therefore the first mosque, located at *Anguwar Juma*. The ward was named *Juma* ward because it was the only mosque in Kano where *Juma'at* (Friday) prayer was said.[29]This Mosque is said to have perhaps been located at the site of the present day *Madabo* Mosque, near *Dala* Hill. It provided Kano rulers with the opportunity to restrain the influence of traditional religious practices on the people.[30] The second one was built in 1494 during the reign of *Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa*.[31]Notwithstanding, the first major development in the history of mosque in Kano was the rebuilding and extension of the Kano

[27] Gwadabe, M.M. and Kyari, M. *Masjid*: Muslim scared space of worship. Being unpublished paper, P.3
[28] Abdul'Aziz Mamuda, *"*A History of Kurnar Asabe Juma'at Mosque 1973-2003*."* M.A Dissertation, Department of History, Bayero University Kano, 2015, P 1
[29] Alkali Husaini Sufi, *Mu san Kan mu*, Kano: Printed by Mai Nasara Press, 1993. P. 302
[30] Muhammad Wada. *"*The History of the Imamship of Kano in the 19th and 20th centuries*"* M.A Dissertation, Department of History, Bayero University Kano, 1998 Pp 29-30
[31] Hadiza Musa Gwadabe. "A History of Kano Central Mosque*",* B.A History, Department of History Bayero University Kano, 2010, Pp 32-3

central mosque during the reign of *Sarki* Abdullahi Bayero 1926-1952. It was at this time that the present stone built mosque replaced the old one built of mud.[32]

2.2 The Introduction of Islam in Kano and the Establishment of Friday Prayer Mosques 1359-1952

The presence of Islam in West Africa is of considerable antiquity, dating back to the 8th century A.D, or even earlier. It was said that, Islam penetrated into the entire parts of West African sub-region through the extreme Western parts of the area i.e. from al-maghrib al-aqsa. Smith argues that, Islam could also have penetrated into some parts of West Africa through the Lake Chad region independent of that of the extreme part of North Western Africa. There are also reasons to believe that Islam had reached the Central regions of West Africa, specifically, Hausaland through the Central Sahara regions.[33]

Historically, the exact time when Islam was first introduced into Kano was not known.[34] It is generally accepted that the religion of Islam made its first inroads into *Hausaland*, sometimes, around the fourteenth century. The arrival of Islam to *Hausaland* is, to a large extent, attributed to certain migrant group called the *Wangarawa* from Mali.[35] Islam was said to have been introduced into Kano by the *Wangarawa* in the second half of the fourteenth century.[36] But linguistic evidence has suggested that early influences of Islamic faith came from the East, through Kanem and Borno.[37]

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[32] Muhammad Sani Zahradeen. "*The place of mosques*…" Pp 61-2.
[33] Abdullahi Mahadi. Islam, Rulers and Society in West Africa to C. 1804 A.D, File No, 259. History Department Library, A.B.U, Zaria. Pp. 1-2.
[34] C.N. Ubah, Aspects of Islamic Impact on Pre-Colonial Kano. File No. 48. History Department Library, A.B.U Zaria. P. 1
[35] A.M. Kani, "The Rise and Influence of Scholars in Hausa Land Before 1804", in Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya (Ed), *Kano Studies*: *Bayero University Journal of Savanna and Sudanic Research*, Vol. 2, No. 2. 1981. P 129.
[36] M.O.A. Abdul, *The Historical Origin of Islam* (*with some reference to West Africa*), Islamic Publications Bureau, Lagos, Nigeria, 1973, p. 119
[37] Adamu Mohammad Fika. "*The Kano Civil War and British*…", P. 6

However, the earliest records of the construction of mosques in Kano dates back to the fourteenth century when Islam was said to have been introduced by the *Wangarawa*. The *Wangarawa* having introduced the religion, Islam, in Kano, influenced the establishment of mosque. This was in line with the tradition of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H), where he built mosque in Madina after the Hijra (migration). The significance also lies in their effort to promote the spread of Islam in Hausaland. In the 14th century, they had established themselves in several parts of Hausaland, notably Kebbi, Gobir, Katsina and Kano.[38]

2.2.1 Sarki Ali Yaji (1359-1385)

Historically, migration and movements of people from one place to another in search of means of livelihood has been part of human activities. The migration of *Wangarawa* into Kano from Mali was as a result of political and economic development as well as the persistent crisis in the area. As a result of this crisis, development were shifted towards the eastern periphery of the empires – Timbuktu, Gao and Jenne, where the rulers of Mali were not in the position to effectively control them. Hausaland and Takedda were also pulling away trade just as they were doing to Kanem.The rulers of Mali also launched several attacks in order to arrest the situation. Many scholars and traders from Gao were said to have left for Timbuktu and probably also Hausaland.[39]

The role of traditional rulers in the development of Islam in West Africa was remarkable. Islam played an important role in the emergence of powerful rulers. The emergence of powerful and famous rulers whether in Mali, Shonghai, Katsina, Kano, Borno and elsewhere in the Sahel and Savanna regions in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, was very closely associated with the

[38]Abdullahi Mahadi. "Islam, Rulers and Society in West Africa…" P. 8 details See Muhammad Kyari, "The Establishment and Administration of Friday mosques in Maiduguri Town, Borno State, 1976 to C 2000 A.D" Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of History Bayero Unversity Kano. 2005. Pp 20-1.

[39] B.M. Barkindo. "Kano relation with Borno early time to 1800" in Barkindo (ed) *Kano and Some of Her Neighbors,* Zaria: A.B.U Press. 1989, p. 149-50

introduction of Islam into the States.[40] In 1343 *Tsamiya* the *Sarki* of Kano was killed by Usman Zamnagawa, who in turn was succeeded by Yaji.[41] The eleventh *Sarki* of Kano was Yaji (1349-1385), called Ali. He drove the *Sarkin* Rano from Zamma Gaba, went to Rano and reigned at Bunu two years. Then he moved to *Kur* together with the *Ajawa* and *Worjawa* and *Awwa*, he stayed there.[42] Therefore, *Sarki* Yaji was considered the first *Sarki* of Kano to accept Islam and he gave instructions that people should pray and build a mosque.[43]

The reign of Yaji was considered as the first period of Islam in the history of Kano. In Yaji's time the *Wangarawa* scholars came from Mali and brought the Islamic religion, he warmly received them. Abdurrahman Zaite was their leader, others were Yakubu, Mandawari. They numbered about forty in all. When they came they advised the *Sarki* to observe the five daily prayers and he complied. As a result of this, Gurdumus was appointed as *Imam*, and Lawan his Mu'azzin. Mandawari was appointed as the *Imam* of all the *Wangarawa* and chief *Imam* of Kano, and Zaite was their Alkali (judge). Auta cut the throats of whatever flesh was eaten. With this development, the *Sarki* gave orders that every town in Kano country should observe the five daily prayers and they did so.[44] One might argue that, Kano was declared Islamic state since the reign of Yaji contrary to the saying that it was declared Islamic States during the reign of Muhammadu Rumfa.

Furthermore, with the conversion of Sarki Yaji dan Tsamiya (1349-1385) to Islam by a group of missionaries from Mali, the first Mosque was built beneath the then existing

[40] *Ibid, p. 9*
[41] S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A preliminary Survey of their Historical Traditions*, London: Oxford University Press, 1966, P. 188
[42] Norah Latham. *The Heritage of West Africa*, London: Hulton Educational Publications, 1964. P. 23
[43] Muhammad Sani Zahradeen. "The Place of Mosques…", P 58
[44] J.S. Trimingham. *A History of Islam in West Africa*, London: Oxford University Press, 1962, P. 131

pagansacred tree known as *Shamus*.[45] The first mosque was built in 1359 when *Sarki* Yaji became fully devoted to Islam. This mosque was located at *Unguwar Juma* (*Juma* ward), the area was named after the Mosque, i.e *Juma'ah* Mosque ward this is the evidence that the Friday prayer mosque was built in Kano during the reign of Sarki Yaji. This ward is perhaps located to the north of *Madabo* ward near *Dala* Hill where the then *Habe* rulers lived.[46] However, during the reign of *Sarkin* Kano Kaneji (1390-1410) who reverted to the worship of idols, the mosque was not demolished or abandoned and the Muslims continued worshipping there.[47]

However, after the mosque was established in *Juma* ward and five daily prayers were being observed in the mosques, *Sarkin Garazawa* began to oppose the decision made by *Sarki* Yaji. The *Garazawa* and his followers would come and defile the mosque and covered it with filth, when the Muslims had prayed and gone back to their homes. As a result of this, *Dan Buji* was appointed to patrol the mosque with armed men from morning to evening. *Garazawa* and his followers tried to win *Dan Buji* and his followers, he refused together with some of his men, but some followed them. When the defilement of the mosque continued *Sheshe* and Fa-Mori announced that, 'there is no remedy against the pagans except prayer', and the people agreed. They gathered one Sunday night in the mosque and prayed from sunset to sunrise. Their prayer was answered. The leader of the pagans and all the people who participated in the defilement of the mosque and their women were struck blind. After that the pagans were all afraid and Yaji dispossessed the chief of the pagans from his office saying to him, 'Be thou chief of the blind.'[48]

[45] Hamman Tukur Sa'ad. "Continuity and Change in Kano Traditional Architecture", in B.M. Barkindo (ed), *Kano and some of her Neigbour*, A.B.U Zaria Press, 1989. P. 63
[46] Alkali Husaini Sufi, "*Mu San Kan Mu*…" 1993. P. 302
[47] Hamman Tukur Sa'ad, "Continuity and Change…" p. 63
[48] J.S. Trimingham. "*A History of Islam in West Africa*…" 1962, p. 131.

2.2.2 *Sarki* Muhammad Rumfa (1463-1499)

During *Sarki* Yakubu (1452-1463) there are records of a considerable *Fulani* and *Wangara* influx from Mali that settled in Kano city. They brought religious books and many of them were passed on to Bornu. Many Kanuri people came to settle in Kano and the city's trading prosperity increased further. Yakubu was succeeded by his son Muhammad Rumfa. Rumfa, one of the greatest emirs of Kano; 'he can have no equal in might, from the time of the founding of Kano until it shall end'.[49] The reign of *Sarki* Rumfa was a turning point in the history of Islam in Kano. It was also regarded as the second phase in the Islamization of Kano. Even though the religion had already existed in Kano for at least one hundred years before the beginning of this period, the impact of his reign on the socio-political scene was of considerable importance.[50] *Sarki* Muhammadu Rumfa was influenced by Al-Maghili to made changes on the socio-political and religious sectors in Kano.

> "Among the innovation of Muhammadu Rumfa credited to the influence of Al-Maghili were the extension of the city walls, the appointment of eunuchs to public office, the introduction of *kulle* or purdah for women, the celebration of *id-al-Kabir*, the custom of parading the unmounted horses for the emir, the destruction of the tree worshipped by the traditional believers and the construction of a mosque on its site, the appointment of *Qadis* to run sharia courts and the building of city market"[51]

The second Friday prayer Mosque was built during the reign of Rumfa in 1494. Before he built this mosque he used to observe his prayers at *Unguwar Juma* Friday mosque because it was the residential area of the King in those days which was later relocated to the *Wudilawa*. After its relocation he built Friday mosque, it was said that, this mosque was located in the eastern part of his house , and was sited between *Kofar Nassarawa* and the "N.A. *Yaro*" or "N.A. workshop",

[49] S.J. Hogben & A.H.M, Kirk-Greene, "*The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A preliminary Survey*…" P. 190
[50] C.N. Ubah, "Aspects of Islamic Impact on…" P. 3
[51] Bawuro M. Barkindo. "*Kano Relations with Borno Early Times to C. 1800*…" P. 154

i.e. the present Kano Urban Water Supply Office. He built the house of the *Imam* and *Mu'azzin* near the mosque. After the completion of this mosque the *Sarki* asked one of his servants to announce to the people that, Friday prayer will henceforth be observed in the new mosque. *Malam* Abubakar who was the *Imam* of the mosque led people in prayer, in his first sermon he cited one of the *Qur'anic* versed says:

"*Wa annal masajida lillahi falaa tadúu maállahi ahada'*'[52]
Meaning "*and the places of worship (mosque) are for Allah (alone), so invoke not anyone along with Him (Allah).*"[53]

It is important however to note that, by the time *Shaykh al-Maghili* arrived in Kano during the reign of Rumfa, Islam had already been embraced by some people.[54] Therefore, *Al-Maghili* further instructed Rumfa to build another Friday mosque whose minaret that should stand on the site of the sacred tree *Shamus*. *Shaykh al-Maghili* left his children in Kano and travelled to Songhai, among them were Isa (*Sidi Fari*) for whom he left his Holy *Qur'an*, rosary, sword, kettle, staff and scales. The Sidi Fari dynasty has continued to provide the *Sharifs* of Kano and has kept the family heirlooms.[55]*Muhammad Abdal-Karim Al- Maghili,* an Algerian scholar, was the most important driving force in influencing Rumfa to embark on his reform.[56]

2.2.3 *Sarki* Abdullahi Bayero (1926-52)

During the reign of *Sarki* Muhammad Zaki Dan Kisoki (1582-1618) the site of the main Mosque was changed from the location chosen by Muhammadu Rumfa. However, on the order of *Sultan* Muhammad Bello (d.1837), the Mosque was rebuilt on the original foundation by

[52] Alkali Husaini Sufi, "*Mu san Kan Mu*…" p. 303-4.
[53] Q: Surah 4: Verse 3.
[54] A.M. Kani, "*The Rise and Influence of Scholars*…", P. 132
[55] S.J. Hogben & A.H.M, Kirk-Greene, "*The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A preliminary Survey*…", P. 191
[56] Bawuro M. Barkindo. "The role of Al-Maghili in the reform of Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499) of Kano: A Re-Examination", in Ibrahim Yaro Yahaya (ed), *Kano Studies: A Bayero University Journal of Savanna & Sudanic Research,* New Series Vol. 3. No. 1. 1987/88, P. 85

*Sarki*Sulaiman b. Abahama (1807-1819), a *Fulani* ruler after the *Jihad*. The *qibla* (direction) of the mosque was re-adjusted during the reign of *Sarki* Abdullahi dan Dabo (1855-83). The mosque was demolished in the 1940's by the Emir of Kano, Abdullahi Bayero (1926-52). The present oriental looking Kano Central Mosque was modeled after a Mosque Abdullahi Bayero saw in the Sudan on his way to Mecca. This action encouraged a number of influential and wealthy individuals to demolish traditional Mosques and replaced them with concrete structures whenever the opportunity arose.[57]

The establishment of the Emirate System of government saw the relocation of the central mosque for the second time from its former site chosen by Muhammadu Rumfa (between *Kofar Nasarawa* and the present Kano Urban Water Supply Office), to the present location. *Zahradden* has identified two factors which accounted for this development. One was to bring the mosque closer to the Emir who was both the political and spiritual leader and secondly to have a definite break away from the pre-*Jihad* period. The later reason appears to be more convincing because the early period of the *Jihad* was immediately accompanied by systematic application of *Shariah* and rejection of many things which appeared to be contrary to Islamic injunctions. The Kano leadership might have perceived the old mosque as sanctuary where Allah was not worshipped as was supposed to be. Therefore by relocating the mosque to a different location it was assumed that, all un-Islamic practices that might have been associated with it could be brought to an end.[58] Evidently, according to Alkali Sufi, the present Kano city mosque was built during the reign

[57] Bawuro M. Barkindo (ed), "*Kano and some of her*…" P. 65.
[58]Muhammad Wada, Kabiru H. Isa. "The proliferation of Juma'at Mosque in Kano…"P 12

ofthe first *Fulani* Emir Sulaiman b. Abahama (1807-1819), because of the adjustment of *qibla* (face for prayer) by Shehu Dan Fodio's brother, Abdullahi Gwandu.[59]

The first major development in the history of Mosque development in Kano during the twentieth century was the rebuilding and extension of the Kano central mosque during the reign of *Sarki* Abdullahi Bayero (1926-52). The present stone built mosque replaced the old one built of mud. The Emir, the Kano community, as well as the colonial government contributed generously to the building.[60] A small committee consisting of scholars and policy makers was formed headed by Sir Muhammad Sanusi (the then *Chiroman* Kano). Alhaji Alhassan Dantata was appointed as treasurer. The Emir personally donated (£7,000.00) seven thousand pounds. Alhassan Dantata initially donated (£1,000.00) one thousand pounds and then gave another (£400) four hundred pounds on behalf of his family. He additionally donated (£1,000.00) one thousand pounds. Alhaji Muhammad Goda donated (£100) one hundred pounds, to mention but a few. The construction was supervised by the Provincial Engineer. Mr. W.A Dow. The mosque was formally opened in February 1951 by Emir Abdullahi Bayero in the presence of Nigeria's then Governor General, Sir John Macpherson and Emirs from other Emirates.[61]

2.3 The Functions of the Mosque in Islam and the People of Kano

Throughout history, the mosque has served as a centre for education, legal procedures/judiciary court, counseling, life-cycle celebrations, public communication, and political mobilization. Mosques have over the past many centuries also acted as public institutions, medical schools, hostels and universities. Before the advent of modern

[59] Alkali Husaini Sufi, "Musan Kan Mu…" p. 304. Noted see also, Halil Ibrahim Sa'id. Revolution and Reaction: The Fulani Jihad in Kano and its Aftermath, 1807-1919, unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Michigan, Department of History, 1978. P. 159

[60] Muhamma Sani Zahradeen, "The place of Mosque…" p. 61.

[61] Muhammad Sa'id El-Nafaty. New Trends in Mosque Architecture of Post-Independence Nigeria: A study of Regional Impacts on Kano Mosques (1960-2010). Unpublished Ph. D Thesis, Department of Institute of Science and Islamic Researches, Sudan University of Science and Technology, 2013, Pp. 146-7

transportation, mosques were seen as a gateway for traders. As a centre for intellectual activities, the mosque may act as a forum for political ideas that seems to challenge major contemporary problems like corruption, inefficiency and nepotism that engulfed many modern states. The mosque also served as a meeting place and a focus for socialization within the Muslim community.[62] It is important to maintain that, mosques can be used for other religious spiritual practices; it does not in any form affect its sacred function.

2.3.1 Mosque as a Spiritual Centre

The primary function of the mosque as a centre of observance of prayer is more important in Islam.[63] Prayer which is second in the hierarchy of the pillars of the religion is believed to be a means of purifying the souls of the Muslims and of keeping them away from the evils of the world. Besides, it is believed to be a distinguishing factor between the Muslims and the non-Muslims. Other activities were carried out in the mosque include the reading of the Holy *Qur'an*, supplication and retreat (*Itikaf)* for meditation about God through His attributes and the litanies of the different mystically inclined religious brotherhoods such as the *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah*. The spiritual retreat as well as the translation of the Holy *Qur'an* is said to be common among the Muslims especially during the *Ramadan* fast.[64] In the case of the Kano, *Itikaf*, reading and translation of the Holy Qur'an, litanies were carried out in some of the mosques.

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[62] Sean E. Pratt. "A Flood, Friday Mosques and the Formation of Local Identity: Hausa Polics and the Impact of Ethnographic Fieldwork in Village Divided, Maradi (Niger)". *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 22, No. 2, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23818780 (2000/2001), Accessed: 16-04-2016.

[63] Esposito, J.L. The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Modern Islamic World, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. P.143

[64] Ibrahim A. Jawondo, "The Place of the Mosque in the History of Ilorin…" P 69

2.3.2 Mosque as a Centre for Educational Development

Education was an important part of the transmission, creation, and consolidation of a worldview that placed the teacher, the student, and the materials in their proper cosmological relations.[65]

> "The teacher's place of teaching should be the *Masjid* (mosque) which is better than the home or the school. This is in order to ensure that all people benefit, since the mosque is their meeting point, unlike the home or the school which are attended only by those who want to read. This is also in conformity with the (practice) of the predecessors. (May Allah be pleased with them)."[66]

The Mosque is seen as the first and original Islamic Institution throughout the Muslim World. The first Mosque built by Prophet (PBUH) in Madinah served as a centre for educational exhortation and studies in Islamic theology. The Prophet (PBUH) did this through the conveyance of God's messages, clarification of their meanings through sermons, lectures and addresses. Some institutions of learning like University of Damashq in Syria, Al-Azhar University in Egypt and Islamic University of Bahawal of Pakistan started as Mosques. About the late 4th and the beginning of the 5th Islamic century, teaching and learning became formalized and extended out of the Mosque. For instance, there was the rise of *Maktab* (private lesson) and *Dar al-llm* (house of learning) built by *Shii* government in Cairo, *Bayt-al-Hikma*, *Da ul Kutub* and *Nisamiyya*.[67]

Islamic learning also started in the Mosque in West Africa before schools were established. Still teaching and learning took place in both. For instance, the great Friday mosques of Ghana, Mali, Songhai, Borno, Sankore, Timbuktu and Jenne were the major training centers

[65] Abdulkader Tayob. *Islam in South Africa: Mosques, Imams, and Sermons*, University press of Florida, Gaines, 1999. P.28

[66] A.M. Gada, A Short History of Early Islamic Scholarship in Hausaland, Department of Islamic Studies, Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto, 2010, P. 94

[67] Ibrahim A. Jawondo. "The Place of the mosque…" P. 71-2

for the clerics, other Muslims and their children. In the Nigerian Regions, various *Jihad* leaders established one type of Mosque or another which served as social, educational and religious centers. People gathered to study books from *Shaykh*Usman Danfodiyo, Abdullahi Fodiyo and Muhammad Bello in their Mosques.[68] In the case of Kano Mosques, the annual tafsir sessions are still being held during the Month of *Ramadan*. The birth day of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), commonly called *Maulud*, is also celebrated in some of them. *Sufi* litanies are also recited in some of the Mosques as well.[69] In the case of the Kano city mosques, lectures and seminars were carried out in some of the mosques occasionally.

2.3.3 The Mosque as a Nerve Centre for the Socio-Economic Development of Kano

Islam is a religion that covers every aspect of life at individual, communal and international levels. The Mosque brings together all the social strata of the society to a common venue on equal terms. Therefore, all social barriers are automatically removed as people stand in rows shoulder to shoulder to offer *Salah* (prayer) behind a single leader, the *Imam*.[70]*Al-Nadwi* further explains: "Nowhere is the majesty of the Lord more manifested than in the Mosque. It is here that no special privilege is enjoyed by anyone; the master and the servant, the ruler and the ruled and the rich and the poor are all alike." It brings together Muslims of diverse cultural backgrounds and makes them feel at home regardless of their differences.[71]

However, the Mosque also served as a hospital. According to *Mishad*, the Prophet used the Mosque as a hospital during emergencies such as treating the wounded and sick. For instance, it was reported in one of the tradition (*Hadith*) of the Prophet (PBUH), Sa'ad bin Mu'az, one of the companions of the Prophet was nursed in the Mosque. There were several

[68]*Ibid* P. 73
[69] Zahradeen Muhammad Sani, "The place of Mosques…" P. 62
[70] Muhammad Sa'id El-Nafaty. "New Trends in Mosque Architecture of Post-Independence Nigeria…" P. 203
[71]*Ibid*, P. 204

cases of nursing of sick the women by Rafida al-Aslamiya also in the Mosque. *Awsis* (perhaps a tribe) was acknowledged by Pedersen that they tended their wounded in the Prophet's Mosque.[72]

The Mosque also served as a place for the solemnization of marriages as it was reported to have conducted during the lifetime of the Prophet and it continued after his demise. Some people are of the view that, the marriage ceremonies were conducted in the Mosque in order to give it the needed publicity. According to Samb, in Senagalese any marriage conducted without the involvement of the Mosque is invalid. Many other important notifications and notices were declared in the mosque. The Mosque had also been used for oath taking because an oath taken in the Mosque was particularly binding. This belief must have been arrived at because of the belief of the Muslims that the Mosque is a house of God.[73] In the city of Kano, Friday mosques are also used for performing marriage contracts as well as naming ceremonies.

Furthermore, since the lifetime of the Prophet, Mosque served as a centre for reconciliation between or among disputing friends, families, tribes and conflicting parties among Muslims or between Muslims and Christians or Jews. These situations are usually listened to and tried in the Mosque. Decisions are made and laws are given out from the mosque. Apart from that, Prophet discussed important matters and dispensed justice at a special place beside the *Ka'abah* named *Dar al-Nadwa*. In Islam, staying to receive people who pay condolence visits in the Mosque is said to have been practiced. It was said that, in some places particularly Persia, it was the tradition of the family of the deceased to stay in the Mosque during the day for three days to receive condolences.[74] In Kano, disputes between or among Muslim friends and families were resolved in some of the mosques and the tradition of the family to stay in the mosque to receive condolences was practiced in some of the mosques.

[72] Ibrahim A. Jawondo, "The Place of the Mosque in the History…" p. 73.
[73] *Ibid*, P. 74
[74] *Ibid*, p. 74-5.

Beside all the above mentioned events, the celebration of the Prophet's birthday and that of the mystics such as *Shaykh* Ahmad Tijani, Abdul-Qadir, Sanusi and others was done in the mosque. During these occasions, several poems and songs of praise would be sung in honour of the Prophet (PBUH) and the *Shaykhs*. It is important however to note and stresses that all of these social activities took place in the mosque because Muslims believe that all activities performed in the mosque with pure intention of keeping Islam and the *Ummah* (community) are acts of *Ibadah* (worship) and thus receive the blessing of Allah.[75] The annual celebrations of the Prophets' birthday and that of Shaykh Ahmad Tijani and Abdulkadir are still being practiced in some of the mosques in Kano.

Furthermore, the mosque served as a *Zakat* (obligatory Tax) collection centre since the early period of Islam, especially during the *Caliph* period of Umar b. Khattab to the time when Islam spread widely across the length and breadth of the world. *Zakat* is the third pillar of Islam that requires Muslims to give a certain proportion of their wealth in charity annually. Able and willing Muslims may give voluntary charities at any time in the mosque. Since mosques form the centre of Muslim communities, Muslims both give and collect *Zakat* in the mosque. That was the practice of the Prophet. The Mosque thus served as a distributing centre.[76] Mosque also used as a centre for sharing inheritance among the legal heirs. It also performed state functions like turbaning the Muslim leaders and remembering them in prayers (supplications).[77]

[75] *Ibid*, p. 75
[76] Kabiru Haruna Isah, "The Challenges of the Mosque as a Centre of Mass Mobilization… *"* p. 164.
[77] Ibrahim A. Jawondo, "The Place of the Mosque in the History…" p. 75.

2.3.4 The Mosque as an Institution for Political Development

It was inherent in the character of Islam that religion and politics could not be separated. Islamically, the *Imam* of a Friday Mosque is the leader and chief administrator in terms of politics and religion.[78] The weekly sermon (*Khudba*)[79] delivered by the *Imams* in the Mosques on Friday has become a useful instrument in socio-political agenda right from the introduction of Islam. It was used by nationalist movements during anti-colonial struggles (in South Africa), and then by postcolonial states for legitimizing and justifying development, modernization, or simply for power. The sermon provides an audience; it is symbolic, and an impressionable means of sending messages to the general public. It is a public platform for a leader to make a weekly statement and an occasion for people to listen to some words of wisdom, admonition, and remembrance.[80] In Kano, the *Imams* of Friday prayer mosques are used sermon as a medium through which the public are enlightened and information is passed to the general public.

According to G. Von Grunebaum, in Hausaland the Friday Mosque and Market were the main institutions. They served as the focal points in the developed city or town. The Friday Mosque as the spiritual center is in general appropriately placed along the main road for itinerant scholars. The palace of the ruler or the official residence of his deputy was built closed to the Friday Mosque. The Friday mosque is the political as well as the religious center of the settlement.[81] The Kano central mosque was positioned in Kano city and the Emir palace was built closed to the mosque.

[78] Brill Leiden. "Encyclopedia of Islam…" Pp. 346-8.
[79] Sermon is a religious discourse or statement issuing by the *Imam* on the Friday in the mosque.
[80] Abdulkader Tayob. "Islam in South Africa…" P.1
[81] Douglas Edwin Ferguson. "Nineteenth Century Hausaland: Being a Discription by Imam Imoro of the Land, Economy, and Society of his People". Ph. D Thesis Department of History, University of Califonia, Losangeles, 1973.P. 164

In Nigeria, during the *Sokoto Jihad* (1804-1809), the Mosque was the safest meeting point for the *Jihadists*. The *Jihadists* converged there to design and discuss strategic plans for war and to take some important decisions, review and assess their plans. In the same vein, after the establishment of the *Sokoto caliphate*, mosques remain the reference point. For example, when *Chaliph* Abubakar Atiku (1837-1842), the second *Caliph* of Sokoto Caliphate, died, Muslims were summoned in the Shehu's mosque under the leadership of Khalil b. Abdullahi b. Fudi to choose *Caliph* Aliyu as the third *Caliph*. And when he was later found wanting in the leadership of the *Caliphate*, a meeting was held in the same mosque to guide him aright.[82] In Kano, during the reign of Emir Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1846), the mosque was used as center for mobilisation and recruitement of military as order by the *Caliph* Muhammadu Bello (1817-1837).[83]

2.4 The Development of Religious Movements and the Emergence of Intellectual Discord among the Ulama in Kano City

Historically**,** in Nigeria the background of Muslim groups, sects and orientations were very complicated. The *Qadiriyyah Sufi* order which was believed to be the oldest group in Islamic *Sufi* brotherhoods in Kano and West Africa in general, participated in spreading Islam in that area as a result of the *Sokoto Jihad* in *Hausaland* in 1804, that was led by *Shaykh* Usman Dan Fodio who was also believed to be a follower of the *Qadiriyyah*. The *Tijjaniyyah* order came to Nigeria later and established itself in Kano, because it was accepted by the *Madabawa Ulama*, and also some of the ruling class during the reign of *Sarki* Muhammad Abbas (1903-1919).

[82] Ibrahim A. Jawondo. "The place of the Mosque…" P. 71
[83]Kabiru Haruna Isah, "The Challenges of the Mosque as a Centre of Mass Mobilization… "P. 170

Muslim identity and thought in Nigeria were derived from the *Sufi* brotherhoods of *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah*, primarily as a result of the historical role of the *Kanem-Borno* and *Sokoto Caliphates* in the spread of Islam in the 19th century. In the 20th century the *Sufi* orders and the *Izalatul Bidia'a wa Ikhamatis Sunnah* (People Committed to the Removal of Innovations in Islam); commonly called *Izala*, are the two dominant contemporary Muslim sects struggling for influence and identity.[84] The significance of these movements was that, the issue of who was a Muslim and who was not had re-emerged once more in Islamic history. The substance of the debate was based on the type of religious practices and the rituals that were performed by Muslims as part of the religion.[85] This issue became serious during the twentieth century among followers and a reason to separate mosques as well for accusing non-belief on each other. With this development however, the conflicting scholars struggle for influence, identity, ownership and control of Friday prayer mosques in Kano.

The *Qadiriyyah Sufi* Brotherhood in Kano

The *Qadiriyyah*[86]came to Borno, located in the north east of the country, through the Sahara trade during the 12th and 13th centuries. After the *jihad* of *Shaykh* Usman Dan Fodio (1804) who was the member of the *Tariqa*, it was established as the dominant *Tariqa* in the Sokoto *Caliphate*. The *Qadiriyyah* order contributed to the expansion of Islam in West Africa. The *Qadiriyyah* affiliation helped the *Jihadists* around *Shaykh* Dan Fodio during the war. Dan Fodio himself introduced many followers to the *Tariqa*, Abdullahi, Dan Fodio's brother, as well Muhammad Bello, his son, were members of the *Qadiriyyah*. All of the *Jihad* leaders and *Emirs*

[84] Boko Haram: Islamism, Politics, Security and the State in Nigeria. By Marc-Antoine PA@rouse de montelos. 44575728-boko-haram-islamism-politics-security-and-the-state-in-nigeria.htm, retrieved on 22nd Jul, 2017.

[85] Auwal Anwar. Struggle for Influence and Identity: The *Ulama* In Kano, 1937-1989. M.A. Dissertation, Department of History, University of Maiduguri, 1989, P. 16

[86] There are a lot of literatures on the *Qadiriyyah Sufi* order some of these works included the work of Roman Loimeier. The writings of Nasiru Kabara (Muhammad Al-Nasir Al-Kabari), *Sudanic Africa*, Vol. 2 (1991), published by Brill, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25653195, Accessed: 16-07-2017. Asif Folarin Ahmad. The *Qadiriyyah* and its Impact in Nigeria, unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1986

sent or appointed after the *Jihad* were also followers of *Qadiriyyah*. In Kanoemir Sulaiman was appointed to be the leader and *Imam.*[87] By the time Sultan Muhammad Bello died, the *Qadiriyyah* was at its peak. It was the brotherhood that had the total control and monopoly of almost all the *Imams*, Judges, and scholars in *Hausaland*. With this development, one can easily say that the substantial population of *Hausaland* could be regarded as having followed the *Qadiriyyah* doctrine.[88]

Before Nigeria's Independence, the *Qadiriyyah Sufi* order started transforming in Kano. It achieved tremendous success few years after the independence of Nigeria in 1960. Before the independence, the *Qadiriyya* in Kano relied heavily on the writings of the earlier scholars of the movement particularly the *Jihadists*, as the major sources of its doctrines. The leaders who reformed *Qadiriyyah* in Kano were highly creative writers, like the Fulani *jihad* writers. *Sheikh* Nasiru Kabara who was among the contemporary *Qadiriyyah* writers, were concerned with connecting classical Islamic thoughts to local circumstances. The newly reformed *Qadiriyyah* followers had the same interests to expand the movement. The reorientation and reforming of the movement were achieved by the establishment of new links independent of Sokoto and the old allegiance. *Sheikh* Nasiru Kabara did not only produced literature to reform *Qadiriyyah* in Kano but revived an interest of the works of *Jihad* leaders and introduced works on *Qadiriyyah* from the Arab world.[89] With the emergence of reformed *Qadiriyyah* under the leadership of *Shaikh* Nasiru Kabara independent of that of the popular one in Sokoto, traditional scholars of *Qadiriyyah* in Kano described him as an "innovator" (bidi'a) and considered him as a threat to popular belief of the the *Tariqa*.

[87]Ben Amara, Ramzi. The *Izala* Movement in Nigeria: Its Split, Relationship to Sufis and Perception of Shari'a Re-Implementation, Ph.D. Thesis, Bayreuth University, 2011 *Pp*. 97-8
[88]Anwalu Anwar. "Struggle for Influence and Identity…", P. 22
[89]Ashiru Tukur Umar. "A History of Jama'atul Tajdidul Islamy in Kano 1994-2007". Unpublished M.A thesis, Department of History Bayero University Kano 2011, P. 23

The *Tijjaniyyah Sufi* Brotherhood in Kano

The *Tijjaniyyah*[90] became an influential *Sufi* order in West Africa especially after the *jihad* movement of al-Hajj Umar against the French colonial expansion in the mid-1850s. In Nigeria, the advent of the *Tijjaniyyah* is related to al-Hajj Umar's visit to the country, although some views confirmed the presence of this *Sufi* order in Kano and Borno as early as the time of Aḥmad al-Tijani, the founder. Umar Tall contributed to the spread of the brotherhood as he initiated many people into it. During his stay in Sokoto, he seemed to have initiated Muhammad Bello to the *Tijjaniyyah*. However, this claim is still controversial. Furthermore, the initiation of many people to the *Tijjaniyyah* in different parts of the north (especially in Zaria, Kano, Borno, and Sokoto) contributed to its spread.[91]

By the time *Tijjaniyyah* was introduced in Kano, it became very acceptable and popular, as a result of some of its leading *Ulama* such as the *Madabawa*, who came to be identified with it. The consolidation of *Tijjaniyyah* became more apparent in Kano with the conversion of the ruling dynasty during the reign of *Sarki* Muhammad Abbas (1903-1919). Since then its strength and influence have always been increasing considerably.[92] However, in the 19th century and even during the colonial era, the *Tijjaniyyah Sufi* brotherhood faced serious threats in Kano, within the members of the movement on one hand and the *Qadiriyyah* movement on other hand. The dispute was between the *Salgawa* and *Madabawa* school of thought with the movement and the struggle for influence and identity between the *Tijjaniyyah* and the well-established *Qadiriyyah.*

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[90] There are a lot of literatures on the *Tijjaniyyah Sufi* order some of these works included the work of Salisu Bala. History of Origin Spread and Development of *Tijjaniyyah Sufi* Order in Hausaland: The Case of Zaria city, circa, 1831-1933. *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 20 (2011), http://www.jstor.org/stable/41857184 Accessed: 16-07-2017. Nasiru Musa Ziyara. Khalifa Sheikh Ishaq Rabi'u, Nasiru Musa Ziyara publisher Kano, 1995. Patrick J. Ryan. The Mystical Theology of *Tijani Sufism* and Its Social Significance in West Africa, *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 30, Fasc. 2 (May, 2000), Published by: Brill. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1581801, Accessed: 16-07-2017

[91] John N. Paden. "Religion and Political Culure…" *pp.* 80-1

[92] Auwal Anwar. "Struggle for Influence and Identity…", P. 22.

The *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah Sufi* orders are both parts of *Sufism.* "*Sufism* is the mystical dimension of Islam based on the esoteric understanding of the *Qur'an",* and the goal of each *Sufi* is to emulate their saints, in order to show their level of commitment and to observe the same rituals and practices performed by their saint.[93] The *Qadiriyya,* founded by *Sheikh* Abdul Qadir al-Jilani (1077-1166), was the first *Tariqa* in Nigeria between 12th and 13th centuries. The *Tijjayyah,* which was second *Tariqa,* was founded by *Sheikh* Ahmad Tijjani (1735-1815) and its spread was attributed to the *Jihad* of Al-Hajj Umar.

2.4.1 The Development of Intellectual Discord among the *Sufi* Brotherhoods in Kano City 1950-1970

It is important to note that, the period between 1937 and 1970 marked a turning point in the intellectual history of Kano, because the leaders of the two Brotherhood movements, the *Qadiriyyah* and the *Tijjaniyyah,* seemed to lose their track as a result of the rising opposition and the increasing tension at all fronts. In view of this, the leaders appeared to have concentrated all their attention and activities on issues not central to the primary objectives of their movements. Religious teaching, preaching the doctrines of Islam, scholarship, learning and Islamic literary activity among the *Ulama* were not the main focus within these movements. They devoted themselves to the conduct of the rituals relating to prayer, performing death rites and other social activities of the Muslim community. With regards to the prayer, for instance, there emerged some major differences on such issues, like *Qablu*[94] and *Sadlu*[95].[96]

The crisis led to the breakup of the *Tijjaniyyah* movement into two antagonistic groups in the 1930s, under the leaderships of the *Madabawa* and the *Salgawa* scholars. The *Madabawa*

[93] Sufism in Nigeria-NavigatingNigeria.htm, retrieved on 22nd Jul, 2017.
[94] Praying with the hands crossed on the chest
[95] Praying with the hands on the sides
[96] Auwal Anwar. "Struggle for Influence and Identity…", p. 25-6.

Ulama in alliance with *Qadirawa* scholars opposed the *Salgawa* School for its rejection of *Sadakokin Mutuwa* (funeral alms, charity) and other related rituals. The *Salgawa* were also attacked for showing their preference and the subsequent adoption of the practice of *Qablu*, instead of the more familiar *Sadlu* which was regarded as the popular choice of scholars of Borno and *Hausaland* since the introduction of Islam into those areas. With the demise of Muhammad *Salga* and the appearance of *Shaykh* Ibrahim *Kaulaha* around 1938-51 that showed preference to *Salgawa* school of thought, the crisis in the *Tijjaniyyah* became even more pronounced, leading to a crack in the *Qadiriyyah* movement. This was as a result of the rise of *Shaykh* Nasiru *Kabara* with his revitalization programs which appeared independent of the more acknowledged leadership of the movement in Sokoto.[97]

Shaykh Kabara started his revitalization campaigns in the *Qadiriyyah* movement. He introduced the celebration of the birthday of *Shaykh* Abdulkadir Jilani (*Maukibi*), the founder of the order, and the use of *Bandir* (Tambourine like drum) to attract more attention. His attempt to revitalize the *Qadiriyyah* along these lines brought him into conflict with other leaders of the movement, but particularly those who were from the Sokoto aristocracy. They regarded him as an innovator (*bid'i*) and a threat to their position. The differences between *Shaykh* Nasiru *Kabara* and other leaders of the movement, on one hand, and the non-*Salgawa* followers of the *Tijjaniyyah*, on the other, did not prevent them from uniting to oppose *Shaykh* Ibrahim *Kaulaha* and his followers.[98]

The debate among scholars on the status of *Qablu* and *Sadlu* seemed to be of concern, because of the constant clashes among ignorant Muslims, which some occasionally led to bloodshed as a result of differences of opinion on the issue. Some of the followers refused to

[97] *Ibid*, Pp. 26-7.
[98] *Ibid*, Pp. 61-2.

pray behind an *Imam* who stood with arms uncrossed, and the position of arms at prayer became an even clearer sign of brotherhood allegiance. The attempt to establish the actual status of the practice of *Sadlu* and *Qablu* led to the emergence of four different groups. There were scholars who held the view that, the practice of *Sadlu* was Sunnah and while that of *Qablu* was *bid'a*. The second groups were of the opinion that, only *Qablu* was Sunnah and *Sadlu* was *bid'a*. The third group believed that both *Qablu* and *Sadlu* were Sunnah and could be both practiced interchangeably. Members of the last group recognized both practices as *Halal* (lawful), but insisted that, it is *Makruh* (reprehensive) to observe the practice of *Qablu* in *Sallar Farilla* (obligatory prayer). According to them, it is better if one could restrict it to *Sallar Nafila* (optional prayer).[99]

The *Sufi* dispute over hegemony and followers within the Muslim community took on a political dimension during the 1950s. This can be seen through the debate on the identification of many *Tijaniya* youths with the political party, Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), and the reaction to that by Ahmadu Bello'sNorthern People's Congress (NPC) as well as by other religious leaders. The *Tijjaniyyah* leader *Shaykh* Ibrahim Niasse tended to pray with *Qablu* while *Shaykh* Nasiru *Kabara* preferred *Sadlu*. This became a political issue among adherents and a reason to divide mosques as well as for blaming *kufr* (non-belief) on each other during the 1950s and 1960s. The discourse consisted of finding proof for each point of view in the tradition of the Prophet. This controversy was used by *Sardauna* Ahmadu Bello in his political program. The political leader tended to condemn *Qablu* and distanced himself from Ibrahim Niasse as well from the NEPU. This pragmatic choice reflects Bello's interest in avoiding any obstacles blocking his political agenda of "one North". The *Qablu-Sadlu*-controversy came to an end in

[99] *Ibid*, P. 69, for detail See Peter Clarke, Islamic Reform in Contemporary Nigeria: Methods and Aims. *Third Worldly Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No.2, Islam and Politics, 1988, Pp. 519-538. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3992655. Accessed: 08-08-2017 13:29 UTC.

the mid-1960s. In the following years it became a minor issue particularly with the appearance of *Shaykh* Abubakar Mahmud Gumi as an opponent to the *Sufis* and *Sufism*.[100]

The rivalry between the *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah* was largely due to their struggle for influence in Northern Nigeria. Both brotherhoods attempted to attract more followers. Over time both developed two different indications of identity. The *Qadiriyyah* was (and is) related to the Sokoto *Caliphate*. This gave it the opportunity to be in the centre of events. The *Qadiriyyah* was the *Sufi* order associated with the state. It was then the order of the political elite within the NPC. The *Tijjaniyyah* was presumed to be a symbol of rebellion against established structures and a symbol of opposition. The link between *Tijjaniyyah* and the NEPU is intelligible. The ideology of the party and its founder (Aminu Kano) was based on criticism of the elites in the North as well as of the authority of the Emirs and the colonial administration. No wonder that NEPU was perceived as a symbol of opposition in the North as was the case with the *Tijjaniyyah*.[101]

However, the bone of contention in the period 1937 and 1970 was based on the interpretation and understanding of Islamic religious practices and social behavior of the community. As a result of this, the scholars of the *Sufi* brotherhood movements, the *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah* during this period struggle for influence and identity in Kano and to have more followers. Despite the fact that, there were issues raised on the actual status of *Sadlu* and *Qablu* that led to the refusal of some of the members of the *Sufi* orders to pray behind the *Imam* that practiced either *Qablu* or *Sadlu*. During this period, one interesting point to emphasize was that, there was no Friday mosque built in Kano city, because the *Khutba* sermon delivered in the Kano central mosque has never reflected its' *Imam* preference to either *Qadiriyyah* or *Tijjaniyyah* Brotherhoods.

[100] Ramzi Ben Amara. "The Izala Movement in Nigeria: Its Split, Relationship to Sufis…" p. I04
[101] *Ibid,* p. 107

2.4.2 The Emergence of Religious Organizations and the Struggle against *Sufi* Followers 1970-1991

The emergence of more religious organizations marked the end of *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah* discord. Because of the numerous challenges posed by religious organization, like the *Izala* the *Sufi* adherents found it necessary to unite in order to face common threats to their survival. In the mid-1960s there were a lot of developments that were carried out in Nigeria. Nigeria got its independence during this period, followed by the death of the Ahmadu Bello *Sardauna* of *Sokoto*, and also the outbreak of the civil war. It was also in this period Muslims in Nigeria witnessed the emergence of new religious organizations like *Izala* in 1978, and the emergence of *Jama'at Tajdid al-Islamy* in 1995 which splitted from Muslim Brothers.

By the time the leaders of the *Tariqa* movements were busy fighting among themselves, the questions being raised by people, followers and non-followers alike, became very difficult for them to answer. This led to the emergence of new ideas, and the rise in scholarship, learning, and the search for knowledge. At this point in time, Kano witnessed the rise of the 'liberal' scholars who made some impact and with the help of party politics, carried people away with them. These new ideas and challenges received impetus from certain important influences which were taking shape in Kano. During the Second World War, the pilgrimage route from West Africa (via Tripoli) along the Mediterranean was closed. The over-land route from Kano to Khartoum, however, remained open and several Muslim leaders in West Africa visited Kano en route to Mecca. On the eve of independence in the late 1950's, the pilgrimage became one of the major activities which brought the Muslims of Northern Nigeria into contact with the rest of the world. The establishment of an airport in Kano greatly contributed in exposing the *Ulama* to new

Islamic literature and ideas, which were mainly coming from Sa'udi Arabia, Pakistan, Egypt, Sudan and other Muslim countries.[102]

The *Jama'atu Izalatu Bid'a Wa Iqamatus Sunnah* in Kano

The criticisms against the *Sufi* Brotherhoods which later led to direct attacks on the doctrines of *Sufism* were initially started by *Shaykh* Abubakar Gummi. He carried out his condemnations with utmost tact and caution and in a very systematic manner too. Shaykh Gummi first began by giving some words of *Nasiha Ga Musulmi* (advice to Muslims) against what he termed the 'inherent evils' associated with the teachings of some 'traditionalist *Malamai*.' He later picked the *Tariqas* one after the other for an assessment and exposure. The teachings of *Shaykh* Abubakar Gummi against the *Sufi* Brotherhoods led to the rise of some strong resentment against the *Sufi* doctrines, which later culminated in the emergence of *Izala* organization.[103]

The *Izala* movement was officially launched in 1978 in Jos, Plateau State and it later came to Kano in the same year. It is an Islamic movement which believes in one God and his messenger Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) like other various Islamic movements. The *Izala* started to have an influence in Kano as a result of the preaching of *Shaykh* Isma'ila Idris who was one of the prominent leaders of the group and also the founders of *Izala* movement as well as the leader of the Jos *Izala* branches. Before the emergence of the *Izala* group in Kano, already there were some Islamic groups in existence, notably *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah*. There were also some groups who were neither *Qadiriyyah* nor *Tijjaniyyah*, and some from those groups were those people who accepted the ideas of *Izala* when it was first introduced to Kano.

[102] Auwal Anwar. "Struggle for Influence and Identity…" P. 28, for detailed see John N. Paden, "Religion and political culture in Kano…" p. 106
[103] Auwal Anwar, "Struggle for Influence and Identity…" p. 195

The *Izala* movement having established its influence in Kano started mobilizing their followers and preaching the ideas of the organization by criticizing some ideas of other Islamic movements, particularly *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah*. The activity of the *Izala* in the early 1978s brought serious upheavals and division among the Muslim *Ummah* in Kano State. It was reported that, some of those preachers included the following, *Malam* Lawan Abubakar, who was the former secretary of *Ulamah* of the *Izala* in Kano, *Malam* Kawu Iliya and *Malam* Abdullahi Ishaq *Garangamawa*. The preaching started in Kano Metropolis at Brigade Quarters in the residence of a former driver and one of the first *Ahlul-Sunnah* in his time known as Kawu Ilyasu, who died in 2006.[104]

The *Izala* used some few places in the city and outside the city called '*Majlis*" which served as schools and mosques, before the movement started to build its own mosques. Those places continued to serve as their schools and mosques up to 1990. After the tension relegated in 1991-1992 *Izalah* started to build mosques for prayers and for imparting knowledge to their students in the *Islamiyyah* schools attached to their mosques.[105] Some of the centers and schools identified with the propagation of *Izala* Islamic ideas were established by *Sheikh* Abdullahi Pakistan, *Sheikh* bn. Usman, *Sheikh* Ja'afar Mahmud Adam. The children and the wives of the members were taught Islamic education in the schools.[106]

The grounds, on which the followers of *Izala* regarded it as *Haram* (unlawful), for any follower of a *Sufi* order to lead the other Muslims in congregational prayers, were the same with those on which *Shaykh* Abubakar Gummi made an earlier attempt to invalidate the doctrines of *Sufism* in the light of *Sharia*. The reasons advanced by the *Izala* organization to back up its

[104] Abba Musa Gammo, History of Some of Jama'ah Izalah Al-Bid'ah wa Iqamah as Sunnah Institutions in Kano Metropolis (Schools and Mosques). Unpublished B.A Project, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano, 2006, p. 25
[105] *Ibid*, p. 49
[106] Ashiru Tukur Umar. "A History of Jama'atul Tajdidul…" P. 46

claims, were largely based on the assumption that, since *Sufism* is an 'alien' philosophy to Islam, and the *Tariqas* that emerged out of it constituted an 'established' form of 'deviation' from the laws of *Shari'a*, then, a follower of any *Sufi* Brotherhood (*Dan Darika*) is a '*Kafir*' (unbeliever).[107]

With the formation of a circle of younger *Izala* leaders in Kano, who were perceived as partially independent from the national leadership of the movement, was the fruit of their attempt to relatively soften the believes that had been maintained by the traditional leadership of *Izala* since its foundation in 1978, that all the followers of the *Tijjaniyyah* and the *Qadiriyyah* were "*kafir*" (unbelievers). The issue of contestation is the legitimacy of praying behind an *Imam* affiliated to a *Sufi* order, which early position considered by the traditional *Izala* was that this action was prohibited, due to their understanding of the status of a *Sufi* as that of a '*kafir*' (unbeliever), the young Kano leaders were open to consider the followers of the *Sufi* orders as mere *mubtadi* (innovators), and therefore to allow praying behind them though only under certain circumstances, like the unavailability of the *Izala Imams* to pray behind.[108]

The *Jama'atu Tajdidul Islamy* in Kano

Jama'atu Tajdidul Islamy (Society for Renewal of Islam) or simply abbreviated as JTI is an Islamic group that emerged in Northern Nigeria during the mid-1990s. This group and its main figure Abubakar Mujahid broke away from Ibraheem Zakzaky and his *Shi'ism* project. *Shaykh* Mujahid himself taught at Aḥmadu Bello University of Zaria. The group seems to have its leading personalities in Zaria, Kaduna, and Kano. The group played a crucial role in framing the *Shari'a* project. *Shaykh* Mujahid being close to Zakzaky was deeply influenced by the latter.

[107] Auwal Anwar. "Struggle for Influence and Identity…" Pp. 250-1.

[108] Andrea Brigaglia, A contribution to the History of the Wahhabi Da'wa in West Africa: The Career and the Murder of Shaykh Ja'far Mahmoud Adam (Daura, ca. 1961/1962-Kano). *Islamic Africa*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2012), Pp. 1-23. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42636189. Accessed: 15-04-2016 20:05 UTC

He travelled to Iran after the revolution of 1979. The fact that Zakzaky "converted" to *Shi'ite* doctrine resulted in a split from Zakzaky, as well as from some former followers. The lecture given by Zakzaky on January 7th, 1994, led to the division of the group with nine people including *Shaykh* Mujahid splitting from Zakzaky. The bone of contention in this lecture was Zakzaky's open declaration of his adoption of the *Shi'ite* doctrine. Consequently, those people formed JTI and declared its own *da'awa* based on the *Qur'an* and within *Sunni* Islam.[109]

The idea of founding the JTI took shape in January 1995. The Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt was used extensively as a model. Shaykh Mujahid was the Director General and Ustaz Amin was his deputy. The goals of JTI can be summarized in six points: having an individual Muslim obeying God; creating a Muslim house on the basis of Islamic education; development of an Islamic Society; development of an Islamic State on the basis of the *Qur'an* and *Sunna*; making the Islamic revival a reality; and re-establishment of the Islamic *Caliphate*. The JTI actively supported only the *Ulama* who accepted their doctrines and beliefs and established schools dealings with Islamic thought and Arabic language, and preaches in villages in the mosques and open places.[110]

In Kano, Malam Ahmad Sha'aibu gathered followers and explained to them the reason behind the broke away from Zakzaky and the formation of the new movement under the leadership of Malam Abubakar Mujahid, at their state headquarters at *Indabawa* quarters, in the city of Kano. The Kano headquarters of Zakzaky located at *Kofar Dan agundi* quarters was transformed to *Attajdid* Newspaper. Another property of Islamic movement which used to serve as an Islamic center and school called *Fudiyya* was seized and transformed, and the name was

[109] Ramzi Ben Amara, "The Izala Movement in Nigeria: Its Split, Relationship to Sufis…" Pp. 138-9.
[110] *Ibid*, P. 139-40.

changed to *Usmaniyya* schools. The JTI continued propagating its ideas through *da'awa* activities to which it tends to invite all Muslims without excluding any specific group.[111]

The new organizations major forces to contend with at the time were perhaps the two established Islamic Movements of the *Qadiriyyah* and the *Tijjaniyyah*. Because of this reason, the teaching and ideas of most of the new organizations appeared to be all out to discredit and in some cases destroy the doctrines and proponents of the traditional movements. In this regards, the doctrines of the two movements came under severe criticism, and the attacks were coming from within and outside. The traditional inter and intra *Tariqa* crises now shifted to that of confrontation between the *Qadiriyyah* and the *Jijjaniyyah* on the other hand, and the rest of the new movements on the other.[112]

Generally speaking, the new organizations completely hold a different view, from the *Sufi* brotherhood movements in various ways. While the main objectives of all the *Sufi* orders are primarily aimed towards the 'indoctrinating' of their followers with their sectarian doctrines and ideas, the new religious organizations on the other hand, appeared to be very liberal, accommodating and broader in outlook. Another noticeable feature of the new organizations is that, while the brotherhoods are largely mystical in their individual and collective approach to religious and worldly issues, they, on the contrary, proved to be very practical and straightforward. In other words, one could say that, the main difference between the 'traditional' movements and the 'new' organizations was that, while the former seemed to be more interested in the propagation of their peculiar beliefs and the search for new disciples from among the Muslim communities, the latter appeared to be more concerned in teaching the Muslims about

[111] Ashiru Tukur Umar. "A History of Jama'atul Tajdidul…" P. 82
[112] *Ibid*, P. 42

the basic principles of their faith. They also show much concern in expanding the frontiers of Islam. More over their organizational structures are more formal and defined.[113]

As mentioned above, the emergence of religious organizations in Kano changed the socio-religious setting, because the scholars during the period between 1970 and 1991 struggle for sacred space in Kano. The *Izala* organization as a result of its belief that it was unlawful to pray behind the *dan tariqa,* they started to build mosques in Kano in 1992. The struggle to establish Friday mosque in Kano metropolis by new organization indirectly influenced the spread of Friday mosques in the city of Kano, because the second Friday mosque was built in 1992 at Koki by the *Tijjaniyyah*, when the *Izala* started to build mosques in Kano Metropolis (1991-1992). With this development, the *Sufi* brotherhood movements the *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah,* on one hand and the new organizations on the other hand, struggle to establish Friday mosques in Kano city to show their influence and identity.

2.5 The Essential Factors Responsible for the Development and Spread of Friday Prayer Mosques in Kano City

Historically, since independence and more specifically from the first half of the 1960s, socio-economic, religious and political factors have inspired the *Ulama* (scholars) to play a more prominent and powerful role in the establishment, development and spread of Friday prayer mosques in Kano in general and Kano city in particular. Their roles have been characterized primarily by their attempts to win more members to their site. This development had some positive and negative impact on the Muslim community.

[113] Anwal Auwar. "Struggle for Influence and Identity…" P. 85

2.5.1 Political Factor

There were numerous clashes between *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah* in the North during the 1940s, for example. Notably, the British turned a blind eye to the *Masu Sarauta's* use of Native Authority police and resources to arrest *Tijjaniyyah* leaders and destroy *Tijjaniyyah* mosques. The conflict between the *Tijjaniyyah* and the *Qadiriyyah* came to a head with the formation of the overtly pro-*Tijjaniyyah* Kano Peoples Party in 1963. Further, the period of Northern Peoples' Congress rule under the *Sardauna* Sokoto during the late 1950s and early 1960s was to see a continued attempt to consolidate the authority of the *Masu Sarauta* via the use of religious legitimacy built around the image of the *Qadiriyyah* and the Sokoto *Caliphate*.[114]

The politicians and former military government functionaries also engaged in mosque building venture in Kano and other parts of Northern Nigeria. Historically, the Premier of Northern region, Sir Ahmadu Bello *Sardauna* of Sokoto, was one of the earliest politicians who built mosque for public use. He built Sultan Bello mosque in Kaduna where he and his ministers used to pray.[115] In the city of Kano, the military and civilian governors provided land for the establishment of Friday mosques.

2.5.2 Religio-Economic Factor

The ideas found in the writings of earlier scholars like Ibn Taimiyya and Muhammad bn Abdulwahab who were very critical of *Sufism*, became well understood and accepted in the early 1950s, by some of the local scholars. On the other hand, important books of *Sufism* which explain the doctrines of the *Qadiriyyah* and the *Tijjaniyyah*, such as *Gunyatul Dalibin*, *Jawahirul*

[114]Jonathan Reynolds. Good and Bad Muslims: Islam and Indirect Rule in Northern Nigeria. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (2001), Pp.601-618, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3097556. Accessed: 08-08-2017 09:33 UTC.

[115] Muhammad Wada, Kabiru H. Isa. The proliferation of Juma'at Mosque in Kano Metropolis: A Historical Perspective. Being unpublished paper presented at International Conference in honour of Professor Muhammad Sani Zahradeen. 2015. P. 19-20. Details see Joseph A. Kechichian, The Role of the Ulama in the Politics of an Islamic State: The case of Saudi Arabia. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1986), Pp. 53-71. http://www.jstor.org/stable/162860. Accessed: 16-04-2016 13:35 UTC

Ma'ani, and *Yaqutatul Farida*, were equally competing with the others. At this point, some questions were raised and commentaries made on the actual status of *Tariqa* in Islam. Although people appeared divided for and against these new ideas which mainly came from the Arab world and Northern Africa, they did actually make some impact on the Muslim population in Northern Nigeria.[116]

The Arab world was by this period also experiencing some new development in its history characterized by the emergence of various religious movements such as the Islamic Brotherhood in Egypt, the renewal of support for the *Mahdiyya* (a movement founded by Shaykh Muhammad Ahmad) in the Sudan, and more fundamentally, the waves of the *Wahabiyya*movement in Sa'udi Arabia. On the other hand, the number of pilgrims and merchant scholars coming in and out of Kano increased considerably. The implication of this development was that the *Ulama* of Kano came face to face with this turbulent history of the Middle East and North Africa. As a result of this development, many of the *Ulama* in Kano were influenced by the ideas they came into contact with.[117]

Also, International Islamic organizations played pivotal role in providing fund for the purchase of land and construction of mosques in both rural and urban areas of Kano. *Al-Muntada Islamic Trust*, a London based non-governmental organization, has been at the forefront of sponsoring mosque building and *Salafi* (*Izala*) activities in Kano. In recent time, *al-Furqan* Islamic organization also emerged on the religious landscape of Kano and built one of the biggest and most decorated mosques in Kano with splendid Middle Eastern architecture. This mosque is called *al-Furqan* mosque and is located in Nassarawa Government Reserved Area (GRA) with Dr Bashir Umar as its *Imam*. The location of this mosque in itself explains the huge

[116] Auwalu Anwar. "Struggle for Influence and Identity…" P. 32
[117] *Ibid*, P, 33

amount of money spent in the acquisition of land upon which it was constructed. There is also Kuwaiti Ministry of Religious Endowment that built mosques in Kano and their prominent project was the building of *Da'wa* Mosque in collaboration with Saudi religious body, *Dar al-Iftar*, managed by *Shaykh* Ben Baz. This mosque is located in Suleiman Crescent and controlled by the leader of *Da'wa* Group *Shaykh* Aminuddeen Abubakar. Thus, the foreign donation to the mosque building contributed to the constant rise in the number of mosques in Kano which in turn intensified the competition and contestation for the control of religious spaces.[118]

Another important factor responsible for the spread of mosques in Kano was the huge investment in mosque building by wealthy and businessmen among whom are *Shaykh* Isyaka Rabiu, Alhaji Sanusi Dantata, Alhaji Sani Marshal, Alhaji Sani Buhari Daura, and many others. They built mosques perhaps to get influence in their society and continuous blessing and prosperity in their businesses. Most of the mosques built by this class of merchants were Friady mosques and handed over to the community. However, the appointment of *Imam* in such mosques created conflict between followers of *Izala* and *Sufi* orders. Each group would try to impose its *Imam* so that they could control the religious space.[119]

2.5.3 Social Factor

Historically, Kano witnessed rural-urban migration especially from late 1960s, as a result of the Nigerian development plan of 1974. This development has led to the increase in the population. With the population growth, it became clear that a single Friday mosque for the entire Kano area was grossly inadequate to accommodate the needs of numerous worshippers particularly those coming from the eastern part of the city. Thus, after *Fatwa* was sought and given by the *Ulama*, Emir Ado Bayero gave an approval for donation to be demanded from

[118] Muhammad, W., Kabiru H, I., "The proliferation of Juma'at Mosque in Kano Metropolis…" Pp. 13-4.
[119] *Ibid pp 19-20*

individuals and organizations aimed at the construction of *Waje* (outskirts) mosque. The decisive role played by the Emirate leadership made the endeavor to record a huge success because Muslims from the city and metropolis donated generously to this important course. In order to portray the all encompassing nature of the mosque as belonging to all and sundry and to deemphasize sectarian differences, the Emirate council organized a well attended foundation laying ceremony and Muslims from various leanings graced the occasion. To maintain the emirate hold over this new mosque, the Emir appointed a pious and well respected Shehu Waziri Gidado as its *Imam* in 1969.[120]

With this development, outside Kano city, there were five main Friday Mosques, in the *Fagge* and *Sabon Gari* quarters. The first one was the Yoruba Mosque located at 39, Church Road, *Sabon Gari* which was built by the Yoruba community between 1919 and 1920. The mosque served as a center of unity for the Muslim Yoruba of Kano with the exception of those who profess the *Ahmadiyyah* faith among them. There was also another Mosque in *Sabon Gari* that caters for all other ethnic groups, Yoruba, Nupe, Igala, and Ebira. Other mosques included the Kurna Asabe Mosque (built by a Kano business man, Alhaji Sani Marshall) in 1973, the Murtala Muhammad Mosque in 1976, the Bayero University Mosque (built through communal contribution) in 1987, and the other one behind the Federal Government College, along Zaria Road.[121]

In the history of Nigeria, no settlement can boast of readily available and accurate population figures due to certain circumstances and Kano is no exception. As a result one has to rely on population estimates from European travellers' accounts such as Clapperton (1824), Henry Barth (1857), Staudinger (1885) and Montev (1891). Kano city was thought to have had a

[120] *Ibid*, Pp. 20-1
[121] Muhammad S. Zahradeen. "The place of Mosques in the…" Pp. 61-2.

population of about 75,000 inhabitants or more in the 16th century. It is also estimated to be between 30,000 to 40,000 inhabitants in 1824. Similarly, when Barth came to Kano in 1857, he estimated the population at 30,000.[122] According to the 1991 and 2006 census figures, Kano city was said to have had a population of at least 1.2 million inhabitants.[123] The demography of Kano city becomes healthy for scholars to justify the need of more Friday mosques, because Friday prayer is starting with twelve people and above.

According to some interviewees[124], the increase of Friday mosques in Kano city during this period was as a result of the insecurity bedeviling Northern Nigeria. The people of Kano troops to the Kano central mosque every Friday to perform their prayer. This was meant to benefit socially and economically, because it was only on Friday that many people congregate and interact with their old friends particularly the aged 'ones. After the prayer people would sell and buy products in the mosque. Nevertheless, the attacks carried out by *Boko Haram* in Kano around 2012 led to the ban on "*achaba"* business in the state. Having realized that, the *Boko Haram* targeted the gathering places. It became necessary to approve the establishment of more Friday mosques in Kano. In 2014 Kano central mosque was also attacked. As a result of these developments; the Emir of Kano approved the upgrading of *Sheshe* five-daily-prayer mosque in Kano city into Friday mosque, in order to reduce the number of people attending the prayer at Kano central mosque.

It was important to note that, despite the fact that many five daily prayer mosques were transformed into Friday mosques in Kano. The historical *hijrah* mosques established in the

[122] Liman, M.A. "A Spatial Analysis of Industrial Growth and Decline in Kano Metropolis, Nigeria", Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of Geography, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2015, P. 43.
[123] File in the National Population Commission Kano State, a long Sokoto Road, Kano State. I can't clearly state the file number, because I was denied accessed to their archives, despite several visit to the Commission. But the information is true, he hold the file while calling the figures.
[124] Muhammad Sani Ashir, Zikirillahi Usman Makwarari, and Haruna Sadisu Baban Saddi

19th century approved by *Shaikh* Usman Dan Fodio and *Shaikh* Abdullahi ibn Fodio's effort on *qibla* (direction) of the mosques were not transformed into Friday mosques. These *hijrah* mosques of *Yolawa, Wudilawa, Galadanci, Jalli* and *Dambazau* were not upgraded into Friday mosques, due to some reasons. Firstly, the *hijrah* mosques were related directly with the *Jihad* and traditional leaders. For instance, the *Yolawa* mosque was related to Madakin Kano, *Wudilawa* mosque to Makaman Kano, *Galadanci* mosque to Galadiman Kano, *Jalli* (*Yakasai*) mosque to Jakadan Kano and *Dambazau* mosque to *Sarkin Bai* of Kano.[125] Secondly, these mosques were under the leadership of the Emir of Kano, and that some of the *Imams* of the *Hijra* mosques were appointed by the Emir. According to the *Imam* of *Jalli* Mosque, the first *Imam* that was appointed by the Emir in the mosque was *Alkalin* Kano Dikko during the reign of *Sarki* Muhammadu Bello (1883-1893).[126] Thirdly, *Hijra* mosques were very close to the Kano central mosque.[127] The last reason appears to be more controversial, because one might argue that, the *Sheshe* five daily mosque that was also very close to Kano central mosque was upgraded to Friday mosque in 2016.

2.6 Conclusion

The *Wangarawa* scholars who came from Mali were believed to be responsible for the introduction and spread of Islam in Kano during the fourteenth century. With the introduction of Islam in Kano in 1359, and having realized the importance of Friday prayer, one Friday prayer mosque was established for the whole of Kano in order to avoid the fragmentation of the Muslim community. The importance and functions of the mosque led scholars to struggle for the sacred

[125]Interviewed with Alhaji Muhammad Yola, 83 years, the *Sarkin Fadar Walin* Kano, at his house in *Aikawa* along Yola, on 22/10/2019

[126] Interviewed with Alhaji Hadi Yusuf *Imam*, 69 years, the chief *Imam* of *Jalli* Mosque, at *Jalli* mosque, in *Jalli* (Yakasai), on 26/10/2019

[127] Interviewed with Malam Muhammadu Ibrahim, 60 years, the Ward Head of *Kan Karofi*, at *Jalli* mosque, in *Jalli* (Yakasai), on 26/10/2019, Note, this point of view was inconformity with that of Alhaji Muhammad Yola and Alhaji Hadi Yusuf.

space in Kano. The *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah Sufi* brotherhoods attempted to explain some of the religious practices and rites, this development brought out some changes in the *Tariqa* movement in Kano. The emergence of new organizations has led to the re-emergence of the question of "who is the Muslim and who is not". This dispute became so serious during the twentieth century among the adherents. Many struggled to come up with a reason to separate mosques as well as accusing non-believers on each other. Since then, the scholars have continued to struggle for influence and identity in Kano in general and Kano city in particular. As mentioned above, factors such as political, socio-religious and economic were responsible for the development and spread of Friday mosques in Kano city.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF FRIDAY PRAYER MOSQUES IN KANO CITY, 1992-2012

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the introduction of Islam and establishment of a Friday prayer mosque in Kano around 1359, there was only one Friday Mosque for the people of Kano city up to 1991. This chapter discusses the major factors that were responsible for the establishment and development of Friday mosques in Kano city from 1992-2012. It highlighted the extent to which this development still affects the geographical location and historical background of the people that inhabit the area under study. Also, it examines the methods followed in establishing Friday mosques in the city of Kano during the period under study. The brief history of the *Imams* (Islamic scholars) and their contributions towards the development of Islamic education particularly in Kano city are also highlighted.

In the year 1992, *Koki* Mosque, located in the northern part of the city was upgraded to Friday mosque. *Dala* Mosque, located in the western part of the city, was also recognized as Friday mosque in 2011. In another direction, another Friday mosque, *Ashabul Khafi*, was established in 2012. People from the Western and Southern parts of the city begin to observe their prayers there. One interesting point here was that, each one of the mosques under discussion directly belonged to a different religious groups. This will therefore help us to have a clear understanding of the ideological differences of the scholars behind the major groups in Kano (*Qadiriyyah, Tijjaniyah* and *Izala* groups).

3.2 *KOKI* FRIDAY MOSQUE 1992

Koki Friday Mosque is located at *Koki* quarters along *Sarari* road. This area shares boundaries with *Abbatuwa* and *Fagge* quarters on the east, *Sarari* quarters on the west, *Kofar Mazugal, Daganda* and *Daurawa* quarters on the north, and *Bakin Zuwo, Ganari, Zangon Barebari* as well as *'Yan Awaki* quarters on the south.[128] The *Hausa* people that inhabited the area are mostly businessmen. The area was blessed with learned scholars like *Malam* Abdullah Uba Fantiya, *Malam* Sha'aibu Dan Ciyako, *Malam* Gwani Dan Zarga, and *Malam* Inuwa *Imam* of *Zawiyya, Malam* Saddiku Inuwa *Imam* of Koki mosque, and *Malam* Muhammadu Bature Inuwa to mention but a few.

Historically, the origin and establishment of *Koki* ward was derived from two accounts, the name *Koki* originated from a name of a woman from *Zaitawa*, who settled in the area prior to the advent of the colonialists. She decided to build a house near the *Chediya* and then began her commercial activities with traders from neighboring areas. As time went by, this commercial activity attracted the attention of the people in the city. And, they subsequently began to move and even settle in the area to live together with *Koki*. The first man to settle in the area was called *Dan* Sarki Mai *Taba*. He built a house next to *Koki*'s house. During the annual *Durbar* (*sallah*) festival, *Koki*, together with the people in the area, would gather outside to praise the passing emir and his entourage on their way to *Fanisau* quarters. This was during the reign of, the late *Sarkin Kano Maje Karofi* (1855-83). Since then, people began to call the area *Koki*, and many more people moved to establish their settlements in the area.[129]

[128] Fieldwork, Note: was referred as the field trip carried out by the research to re-examine the geographical location of the area, on 01/02/2017

[129] Interviewed with Alhaji Ahmad Sanda, 68 years; the Ward Head of *Koki*; at his resident in *Bakin Zuwo*, on 27/09/2017

Another tradition suggested that, the *Koki* ward derived its name from a tree called *Kokiya* that scattered all over the place. During the reign of *Sarki* Abdullahi Maje Karofi (1855-83), the emir's place was overcrowded. Because of this, the emir said to the people that, they should move to the area (*Koki*), because *Koki* area was unoccupied and was a bush. When people arrived at the place, they discovered that *Kokiya* trees were all over the area. They cut-up the *Kokiya* trees and built houses. As a result of this, more people gradually continued to arrive at the place to settle and began to call the area *Koki* from the name of the tree *Kokiya*.[130] It was argued that, the name of *Koki* ward was not likely to have derived its name from *Kokiya,* because something was missed from the name. As a result of this, it is likely that *Koki* ward derived its name from a woman called *Koki.*

The Establishment and Development of the *Koki* Friday Mosque

The land on which this mosque is built was acquired from *Sarki* Abbas (1903-1919). It was given to a renowned billionaire, *Alhaji* Alhassan Dantata. He built an exceptional five-daily-prayer mosque there. In 1990, his family members wanted to expand and convert it into a Friday mosque. They approached the emirate and requested for a permission to convert the mosque. They were directed by the late Emir *Alhaji* (Dr.) Ado Bayero to follow the tradition, i.e. to obtain the consent of the residents of *Sarari* and *Koki* wards. Upon obtaining the consent, which was welcomed with massive celebration from the residents, the construction work began in the same year. *Alhaji* Sanusi Dantata, *Alhaji* Aminu Dantata and their elder sister later donated their warehouses to be included as part of the premises of the new mosque.[131]

[130] Bashir Nasiru Aliko Koki. "History of Koki Ward 1945-90" Unpublished B.A Project, Department of History Bayero University Kano. 2004. P. 53

[131] Interviewed with Alhaji Hassan Sunusi Dantata, 68 years, businessman, at his resident in Koki, on 29/09/2017; for details, see the work of M. S. El-Nafaty, "New Trends in Mosque Architecture of Post-Independence Nigeria..." p. 157.

According to my informant, people have been using this mosque as a five-daily-prayer mosque for over sixty-seven years. *Malam* Habubakar Mahim Kalarawi was appointed as the first *Imam* of the five daily prayers.[132] The movements and migrations of the people within and outside Kano led to population increase in the area. Due to distance however, people found it difficult to attend the Friday prayer at the Kano Central Mosque. Having realized this difficulty and coupled with the population increase, they deemed it right to transform the mosque into a Friday mosque. In 1992, having followed the due process, they were allowed to start the Friday prayer in the mosque, and it thus, became the second (*Juma'at* mosque) in Kano city. The mosque was opened by the late Emir of Kano, *Alhaji* Ado Bayero, and it was named *Alhaji* Alhassan Dantata Friday Mosque.[133] It was decided to call the mosque as (*Koki* mosque), because it was located at *Koki*.

The Administration and Management of the Mosque

According to the *Imam* of the mosque, the mosque was established and maintained by *Alhaji* Alhassan Dantata. After the mosque was expanded by his family members and transformed into Friday mosque, *Alhaji* Sanusi Dantata and *Alhaji* Aminu Dantata took over the maintenance of the mosque. Police officers patrol the area every day. Some of the officers would come in the morning and some in the night, they usually park there car around the mosque. There are some organizations that use to come every Friday like the Red Cross and Scout. They, too, offer helps in supervising and assisting people who come to pray.[134]

[132] Interviewed with Alhaji Hassan Sunusi Dantata, on 29/09/2017
[133] Interviewed with, Malam Aliyu Salihu Turaki, 45 years, Koki Chief Imam of the Mosque and also chairman of the Kano city Imams, at Koki Friday mosque on 01/02/2017.
[134] *Ibid*, on 10/10/2019

The *Imams* and *Mu'azzins* of the Mosque

After the mosque was transformed into Friday mosque and having successfully passed the screening of the *Shura* Committee (Councils of *Ulama* of Kano), under the supervision of the Emirate Council *Malam* Saddiku son of *Malam* Inuwa *Imam* of *Z*awiya,was appointed to lead the Friday prayer, and *Malam* Aliyu Salihu Turaki was appointed as his *Na'ibi* (deputy). When the first *Imam Malam* Saddiku died, his *Na'ibi Malam* Aliyu Salihu Turaki, was appointed as the new *Imam*. The position of *Na'ibi* became vacant, as a result of which two deputies were appointed. *Malam* Muhammadu Bature Inuwa was appointed as the first *Na'ibi* and also *Malam* Nura Muhammad appointed to be the second deputy in the mosque. The two *Mu'azzin*[135]were appointed in the mosque, *Malam* Aminu Muhammad as the chief *Muazzin* and *Malam* Fadalu *Koki* as his deputy.[136]

The Brief History of the Chief *Imam* of the Mosque

Malam Aliyu Salihu Turaki was born in 1972 at *Koki*, in Kano State. He began his education with *Qur'anic* studies at a *tsangaya* in Kano, (one of the many traditional *Qur'anic* schools in Northern Nigeria). He memorized the entire Holy *Qur'an* at a tender age. He studied *Akhlari*, *Ishmawiy* to mention but a few, with *Malam* Umaru Na Bebeji, *Malam* Idris (also known as *Malam* Babba). His mother was one of his teachers. He traveled to many places in search of Islamic knowledge. He also attended the modern type of Islamic schools (popularly called *Islamiyya*) before proceeding to Primary School. Having finished, he then proceeded to Government Secondary School *Aliya*, Kano.[137]

[135] *Mu'azzin* called Ladan, is the Arabic form called *al-adhan*, (the call to prayer') in the west is called *bilali*, derived from Bilal, the Prophet's negro Muazzin.
[136] Interviewed with, *Malam* Aliyu Salihu Turaki, on 10/10/2019
[137] *Ibid*, on 17/04/2017

The Contributions of the Mosque

It is very important to note that, the mosque has been contributing greatly towards educating the Muslim *Ummah* since its inception to date. Although the mosque belongs to the *Tijjaniyah* brotherhood, during the Friday prayer even those who have different beliefs, ideas and understanding perform their prayer in the mosque. This is as a result of the mutual understanding between the *Tijjaniyah* members in the area and other followers.[138] This became possible because of the nature of the sermon in the mosque.

The mosque had length of eighty five (85) by eighty five (85) estimated by foot, and sixteen (16) lines, and each line accommodate at least fifty (50) people. As a result of this, the mosque had a capacity to accommodate at least eight hundred (800) people inside the mosque excluding those that pray at the compound. It could not be possible to estimate the number of people that pray in the mosque every Friday. Because apart from those that pray in the mosque regularly, on the east there is a butchers market (*Abbatuwa*), some of them pray in the mosque. It is also located at the densely populated areas of *Sarari, Kofar Mazugal, Bakin Zuwo* and '*Yan Awaki*.[139]

The Sermon in the Mosque

The sermons delivered by the *Imams* are always based on the calling of the Muslims to fear Allah and follow the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H), emphasizing on the importance of prayer, unity of Muslims, brotherhoods, relationship, and neighborhood and also to be truthful and sincere in their daily activities.[140]

[138] Interviewed with Alhaji Usman koki, 56 years, businessman, at his resident in Koki, on 27/09/2017

[139] It was the task took by the researcher in the effort to bring out the number of the people that pray in the mosque, this became possible because of the prayer observed in the mosque by the researcher.

[140]Interviewed with, *Malam* Aliyu Salihu Turaki, on 10/10/2019 and Malam Baballiya Ibrahim, 40 years, Businessman, at the mosques premises in *Koki*, on 11/10/2019

The prayer in the mosque starts at 02:00 pm, every Friday but due to some circumstances, five minutes will be added and it would not exceed 02:05 pm. The *Imam* would climb the *Minbar* at exactly 01:30 pm, and then *Ladan* would call the prayer. The *Imam* would start the sermon in Arabic language that would last for ten to twelve minutes and translate it to indigenous language (Hausa), for twenty to eighteen minutes, and prayer start at 02:00 pm. According to him, the wisdom behind the translating the sermon in Hausa was that, many people do not understand Arabic language, so it became necessary to translate the sermon to pass the information.

The Socio-Education Activities in the Mosque

The mosque served as a center for learning because people (children and adults) have been taught in the mosque. The educational activities carried out in the mosque include, the session carried out between *Magrib* (sunshine) and *Isha'I* (night) prayers by the *Imam* of the mosque, and he would teach his students the Holy *Qur'an* in the mosque after which they would recite the daily *Tijjaniyah* w*azifa* (litany).[141] Some of the Islamic books taught in the evening at the mosque include: *Luggatul Arabia* (Arabic language), *Hadith*, and *fiqh*. There are other occasional activities carried out in the mosque. These include: special lectures for the purpose of enlightening Muslims during the month of *Ramadan* (fasting period) and in the month of *Rabi'ul Awwal* (Islamic month). Others include marriage contract and naming ceremony.[142]

[141] Waẓifa is especially practiced by Tijaniyya adherents in Nigeria. It consists of a daily rememberance of Allah through reciting "la ilaha illa Allah" (there is not God but Allah"), 100 times, ṣalat al-Fatiḥ (a special Tijani praise to the prophet Muhammad pbuh), and *istighfar* (seeking forgiveness from Allah) 100 times;
[142] Interviewed with Kabiru Muhammad 30 years; Student; at the mosque premises in *Koki*, on 27/09/2017

3.3 *DALA* FRIDAY MOSQUE 2011

Dala Friday Mosque is located near the historic monument of *Dala* Hill in the western part of Kano city. This area is bounded by *Kabawa* quarters on the south, *Kantudu* and *Makafi* quarters on the north, *Makwalla* and *Shirawa* quarters on the east, and in the west by *Gworen Dutse*, *Madigawa*, and *Rijiya Biyu* quarters.[143] The area is inhabited by *Hausa* and *Fulani* people, and their main occupation is trade, though some of them prefer blacksmith work. *Dala* is blessed with many Islamic scholars. These include *Malam* Husaini Sadauki, *Malam* Sani Dala, *Malam* Usman Abubakar, *Malam* Dan-Babace Habibu, Malam Abba Na Ta'ala and *Malam* Musdafal Bakari *Malam* Makwarari to mention but a few.[144] The name of this area is derived from the first settler in *Dala*, as it was reported in the Kano Chronicle. He came to this land, and built a house on the *Dala* Hill. There he lived with his family. Their arrival to Kano brought about not only some innovations in the entire religious activities in the area but also in the socio-political aspects of the people in Kano.[145]

The Establishment and Development of the Dala Friday Mosque

The *Dala* Friday Mosque was built on a land purchased by Alhaji Ali Sabon Kudi popularly -known as Alhaji Ali Maiwake in 1983. In the first place, he built it as a Friday prayer mosque to ease off the long journey people had to take to attend Friday prayer at the Kano central mosque. Later on, the mosque was opened as a five-daily-prayer mosque.[146] As there was another Friday mosque belonging to Sheikh Isyaka Rabi'u (of *Tijjaniyah*) in *Goron Dutse*) in the western part of this mosque, he decided to hand it over to *Shaykh* Nasiru Kabara (head of the

[143] Fieldwork, Note: was referred as the field trip carried out by the research to re-examine the geographical location of the area,on 03/01/2017
[144] Ahmad Maje Karofi, "Kano Garin Albarka [B]…" Pp. 165-66.
[145] Muhammad Ubah Adamu, "Confluence and Influence…", P. 16
[146] Interviewed with Malam Salisu Sani, 47 years; Businessman; at his resident in Dala, opposite the mosque, on 24/09/2017

Qadiriyyah). Nasiru Kabara appointed an *Imam* that would lead the prayers and supervise the activities in the mosque. *Qadiriyyah* adherents[147] in the area began to carry out their Islamic activities in the mosque.[148]

However, the people responsible for the mosque seemed to have failed due to some reasons. Firstly, some people are of the opinion that, it was largely because the philanthropist, Alhaji Ali Maiwake, who built the mosque, was having some economic setback which made him unable to continue taking the responsibility of the mosque.[149] Secondly, it was as a result of the negligence of the *Imams* that was assigned to lead the prayer in the mosque and some of the *Qadirawa* in the area.[150] The first reason appears to be more convincing because, in Kano city, any person who built a mosque will be the one to take care of it, like, *Koki, Alkali Buhari Daura, Sharif Bala* Friday mosques, but under some circumstances one can hand it over to a particular organization or group in the community. Nevertheless, most of the mosques under community care tend to lack proper maintenance, while those under individual or organizational care tend to be well maintained.

The *Dala* Mosque was established for the observance of prayers, has turned into something else. It became a center for all sorts of criminal activities in the area, a gathering place for thugs, for example. They would come with dogs during the day or night, and sometimes even sleep there. They used the mosque as a hideout, whenever they attacked people. Having received complaints from the community members, Alhaji Ali decided to close the mosque in order to

[147] As a result of mutual understanding between the *Qadiriyyah* and the *Tijjaniyyah* groups, *Tijjaniyah* adherents also pray with the *Qadiriyyah* adherents. In the same mosque also, *JTI, Izala, Ahlussunnah* and *Shi'a* adherents, all pray, before the controversy.
[148] Interviewed with, Malam Musdafal Bakari Yusuf Makwarari, 45 years, the Chief Imam of Dala Friday Mosque, at his resident in Makwarari, on 08/02/2017 08:02:25 Pm.
[149] Interviewed with Malam Mustapha Sani Muhammad, 21 years; Student; at his Office in the Dala Friday Mosque, on 24/09/2017;
[150] Interviewed with Malam Musdafal Bakari Yusuf Makawarari, on 27/10/2019

stop the anti-social acts. The mosque remained locked for some years before a group of youths in the area decided to restore the religious activities in the mosque.[151]

In 1988, the Muslim Brothers in the area whose desire to propagate and promote Islam decided to meet Alhaji Ali Mai Wake because they had the beliefs that, if the mosque was allowed to remain like that, everyone in the area would be held accountable in the day of judgment. They met with Alhaji Ali and requested to be given the responsibility of taking care of the mosque in the same year. Alhaji Ali agreed to hand them over the mosque because of his desire to see people pray there and for the mosque to serve its purpose. He gave them a carpet to be used in the mosque; they washed and cleaned the mosque and also provided microphone, repaired the wiring.[152] But Malam Musdafal Bakari had a contrary view that, it was Alhaji Ibrahim brother of *Zannan* Kano one of the members of the mosque committee, they met and the committee agreed to hand over the mosque to them.[153] Unfortunately, this decision would turn the mosque into a ground of insult, clash and counter clash between the *Qadirawa* and Muslim Brothers simply because he had handed over the responsibility of the mosque to another group.

According to Malam Mansur, after the mosque was ready for use, the Muslim Brothers decided to call the *Imams* to continue leading the prayer. The *Imams* returned and the activities continued for quite some times before they abandoned the mosque again. In the period between 1994, the Muslim Brothers decided to take full control of the mosque; because the *Qadirawa* followers prove indicated they could not take care of the mosque. The *Qadiriyyah* adherents, in

[151] Interviewed with Malam Mustapha Sani Muhammad, on 25/09/2017;
[152] Interviewed with Malam Usman Abubakar popularly known as Shehu Mansur, 50years, Teacher, at his school in *Unguwar Dabai*, on 03/11/2019
[153] Interviewed with Malam Musdafal Bakari Yusufu Makwarari, on 27/10/2019

particular, replied, saying "how could it be possible for a woman to marry two men", meaning the mosque in question belongs to them.[154]

In 1995, the conflict emerged between the *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah* adherents on one hand and between the Muslim Brothers and *Izala* groups on the other,[155] due to the reasons that, there was a rumor that Muslim Brothers became Shi'a members, because its national leader *Shaikh* Zakzaky had declared his allegiance to Iran and adopted *Shi'a* ideology. As a result of which the members of Muslim Brothers in the area made it clear that, they had broken away from the Muslim Brothers and they were Members of *Jama'atul Tajdidul Islamy* (JTI). Second, there was conflict between the members of *Tariqa* and *Izala* in Kano in general and in Kano city in particular, because of the *Izala* move to propagate their beliefs and ideas in the community. Fortunately Malam Mansur who was a member of the *Izala* group was appointed as the *Imam* and began to teach in (the mosque) Islamic books.[156] The *JTI* together with *Izala* members said that the mosque does not belong to *Qadiriya* adherents anymore, because of what they called their negligence.[157]

It is important to state here that, the struggle for ownership and control of the *Dala* Mosque between the *Qadiriyyah Sufi* order and the *JTI* and *Izala* group went on for almost six years. According to Naziru Ahmad, such conflict was not supposed to happen within the community, because such conflict even between members of the same family could be very destructive. The youths would insult and defile their elders. Brothers and sisters, and colleagues might not even greet one another.[158] When the conflict over the mosque persisted, the issue was

[154] Interviewed with Malam Mansur, on 03/11/2019
[155] Here, the *Tijjaniyyah* adherents backed the *Qadiriyyah* to reclaim the mosque, while the *Izala* members backed the *JTI*; the mosque turned into an Izala mosque after Malam Mansur became the *Imam* of the five daily prayers.
[156] Interviewed with Malam Mansur, on 03/11/2019
[157] Interviewed with Usman Abdullahi Yakub, 34 years, Students, at his School near Dala Hill, on 25/09/2017
[158] Interviewed with Naziru Ahmad Zubair, 50 years, businessman, at his resident in Dala, on 10/02/2017

taken to the local government secretariat and even to the police headquarters at Bompai. The local government secretary summoned the conflicting parties and reminded them that they were all Muslims of the same family. He emphasized on the need to be brothers' keepers. The conflict came to an end when the conflicting parties agreed to use the mosque at different time. Peace was restored in the area based on this consensus, eventhough there was no written agreement. As a result of this, the *Qadiriyyah* adherents, *JTI* and *Izala* adherents perform their Islamic obligations in the mosque in separate times.[159]

In 2011, the *Qadiriyyah Sufi* order in its attempt to regain its ownership and control of the mosque approached the authority to upgrade the mosque into a Friday mosque.[160] The *Qadiriyyah* took the issue to the Emir, explaining that the people of the area were having difficulties in attending Friday prayer at the Kano central mosque and *Goron Dutse* mosque. Because many people particularly the elderly ones, pray *Salatul Juma'a* at home due to distance. The Emirate Council, having agreed with these reasons, allowed the *Qadiriyyah* group to start the Friday prayer in the mosque.[161] According to *Malam* Mustapha Sani, *JTI* and *Yan Izala* (*Izala* adherents) were not involved in the process; they just saw people gathering on Friday to say the Friday prayer. Another conflict emerged. In order to maintain peace in the area, *Malam* Mansur quickly called his followers to order. Since then the *Qadiriya* was leading Friday prayer while the *Izala* was leading five daily prayers.[162]

The Administration and Management of the Mosque

The mosque was built and maintained by Alhaji Ali Mai Wake for quite some times and after his death between the periods 1989-1990, the two groups take the administration and

[159] Interviewed with Malam Mansur, on 03/11/2019
[160] Interviewed with Malam Salisu Ibrahim, 35 years; businessman, at his resident in Dala, on 24/09/2017
[161] Interviewed with Malam Musdafal Bakari Yusufu Makwarari, on 08/02/2017
[162] Interviewed with Malam Mustapha Sani Muhammad, on 24/09/2017

maintenance of the mosque. The mosque relied heavily on the contributions made by individuals and the members of mosque committee. Whenever there was urgent need for something in the mosque, the committee members would make their contributions to solve the financial problems or provided what the mosque needs, but because of some circumstances they seek contributions from congregate on Friday. Therefore, every Friday there would be people assigned by the mosque committee to go round with boxes in order to seek for contributions from anyone among the congregate who are willing to make his own contributions. Because of this, the mosque was on serious financial problems; its sources of income were very scanty, sometimes the money generated on Friday could not even be used to buy fuel for the generator of the mosque. Another challenge was that, the microphone used was insufficient to convey the sound every Friday prayer.[163]

The mosque had a borehole inside the compound as a source of water, which provides water for people to perform their ablution. It had two bathrooms and toilet in the southern part of the mosque. The mosque was using generator in case of power outage. There were committees established to look after the mosque, they would come early to clean the area before prayer start and also to offer help in assisting people who came to pray, and supervise their belongings up to the end of the prayer.[164]

The *Imams* and *Mu'azzins* of the Mosque

After the mosque was transformed into Friday mosque, and having successfully passed the screening of the *Shura* Committee (Councils of *Ulama* of Kano), under the supervision of the Emirate Council *Malam* Abba Na Ta'ala was appointed as the chief *Imam.* The two (*Na'ibi*) deputies were appointed, *Malam* Musdafal Bakari Yusufu Makwarari as the first and *Malam*

[163] Interviewed with Malam Musdafal Bakari Yusufu Makwarari, on 27/10/2019
[164] *Ibid,* on 27/10/2019

Mujittapha as the second *Na'ibi.* Malam Musdafal Bakari was the first to lead the Friday prayer in the mosque in spite of his being the first *Na'ibi. B*ecause of this reason however, attention would be given to him. The three *Mu'azzin*[165]were appointed in the mosque, *Malam* Mustapha as the first *Mu'azzin*, Malam Auwal secretary son of Sani Kutama as the second and Malam Maikudi Sarki as the third deputy in the mosque.[166]

A brief History of one of the *Imams* of the Mosque

Shaykh Musdafal Bakari was born at *Makwarari* in the city of Kano on September 15, 1972. His father *Shaykh* Makwarari was a well-known person in Kano and contributed greatly towards the development of *Qadiriyyah*. According to him, he studied the Holy *Qur'an* from his father when he was young. When he grew up, his father took him to one of his friends, *Shaykh* Ibrahim Mai Gareji from whom he memorized the entire *Qur'an*. He also studied other Islamic books like *Hadith*, *Risala,* and *Ishmawiy*, to mention but a few.[167]

The Contributions of the Mosque

The *Dala* Mosque contributes greatly towards educating the Muslim *Ummah* since its inception to date. Although the mosque belongs to three religious groups (*Qadiriyyah, JTI* and *Izala)* the *Qadiriyyah* adherents still lead the Friday prayer. During the Friday prayer even those who have different beliefs, ideas and understanding perform their prayer in the mosque. This is as a result of the mutual understanding between the *Qadiriyyah* members in the area and other followers, particularly *Tijjaniyyah* adherents. This became possible because of the nature of the Friday sermon in the mosque.

[165] *Mu'azzin* called Ladan, is the Arabic form called *al-adhan,* (the call to prayer') in the west is called *bilali,* derived form Bilal, the prophet's negro Muezzin.
[166] Interviewed with Malam Musdafal Bakari Yusufu Makwarari, on 27/10/2019
[167] *Ibid,* on 08/02/2017

The mosque had length of forty three (43) by twenty eight (28) estimated by foot, and eight (8) lines, and each line accommodate at least thirteen (13) people. As a result of this, the mosque had a capacity to accommodate at least one hundred and four (104) people inside the mosque excluding those that pray at the compound. It could not be possible to estimate the number of people that pray in the mosque every Friday. Because apart of those that pray in the mosque regularly, the mosque located at the densely populated areas of *Dala, Kabawa, Makwalla,* and *Shirawa*.[168]

The Sermon in the Mosque

The mosque in question attracts different people to pray, due to the style of the Friday sermons delivered. This is because the sermons delivered by the *Imams* are always based on the calling of the Muslims to fear Allah and follow the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H), emphasizing on the importance of prayer, unity of Muslims, brotherhoods, relationship, and neighborhood and also to be truthful and sincere in their daily activities.[169] The *Imams* of the mosque adopted the tradition of rotation, in order to give room for an each *Imam* to make his contributions every Friday. For instance, if Malam Abba Na Ta'ala leads prayer this week, the following week would be by Malam Musdafal Bakari and followed by Malam Mujittapha. According to Malam Musdafal Bakari, he said that there was a time when *Malam* Salihu Sagir Takai (Kano State governor aspirant) prayed in the mosque, and encouraged him to continue with the style of his sermon because it would bring people together.[170]

The prayer in the mosque starts at 1:30 pm, every Friday but due to some circumstances, five minute would be added and it would not exceed 1:35 pm. The *Imam* would climb the

[168] It was the task took by the researcher in the effort to bring out the number of the people that pray in the mosque, this became possible because of the prayer observed in the mosque by the researcher.
[169] Interviewed with Malam Musdafal Bakari Yusufu Makwarari, 08/02/2017 and also with Malam Aliyu Salisu, 35 years, Businessman, at the mosque, on 25/10/2019
[170] Interviewed by Malam Musdafal Bakari, 08/02/2017-27/10/2019

Minbar at exactly 1:00 pm, and then the *Ladan* would call the prayer. The *Imam* would start the sermon in Arabic language that would last for ten to twelve minutes and then translate it into Hausa, for twenty to eighteen minutes, and prayer start at 1:30 pm. According to him, the wisdom behind the translating the sermon in Hausa was that, many people do not understand Arabic language, so it became necessary to translate to pass the information.[171]

The Socio-Education Activities in the Mosque

Educationally, the *JTI*, *Qadiriyyah* and *Izala* groups have agreed to reschedule their timetable to avoid further conflicts. The *JTI* used the mosque occasionally; sometimes they would come to spend the whole night praying. In the beginning of the first month of the Muslim calendar i.e *Almuharram*, they used to organize lectures. And also in the *Ramadam* period they used to organize *Iftar* (breaking fasting) ones in the month, where they would intived their members from near and far. Sometimes their local and state meetings were held in the mosque. The *Islamiyyah* section was opened and Malam Ibrahim was assigned to supervisor the activities, it went for quite sometimes before he abandoned the school.[172]

In is important to note that, the *Qadiriyyah* followers are using the mosque every Friday to recite the *Mikadi* (one of the *Qadiriyyah* books)[173]. The recitation comes after the Friday prayer was observed and on Tuesday, *Hallara* gathering. In *Ramadan*, other books taught include: *fiqh* on Thursday and *Hadith* on Friday.[174]

Also, after each *Subh* (sunrise) prayer *Malam* Usman –an *Izala* adherent, and the *Imam* that leads the five daily prayers in the mosque, would teach *Hadith*. Then on Thursdays and Fridays there would be special class for everyone with any Islamic book be it *Qur'an*, *Hadith*, or

[171] *Ibid,* 27/10/2019
[172] Interviewed with Malam Mansur, on 03/11/2019
[173] It consists of a weekly remembrance of Allah featuring the recitation of "*la ilaha illa Allah*" (there is no God but Allah);
[174] Interviewed Malam Musdafal Bakari Yusufu Makwarari, on 08/02/2017

fiqh to study. Also, in the morning from Thursday to Sunday there would be an *Islamiyya Tahfiz* school section for children by Malam Mustapha Sani.[175] Malam Mansur taught *Sahihul Bukhari* on Saturday and Sunday between 8 a.m and 9 a.m, but now it was only on Sunday.[176] It can be seen therefore that *Dala* Mosque is now jointly controlled by the *JTI, Qadiriyyah* and *Izala* groups.

3.4 *ASAHABUL KHAFI* FRIDAY MOSQUE 2012

Asahabul Khafi Mosque is located at *Sani Mai Nagge* (A) area, *Filin Mushe*. The area is bounded by *Hausawa* and *Gwale* quarters on the east, *Sabon Titin Kabuga* quarters on the west, *Dandago, Mandawari, Gidan Kankara and Warure* quarters on the north, and *Gwale* quarters on the south.[177] The area is inhabited by *Fulani* and *Hausa* peoples and trade is their main occupation. There are many learned scholars among whom are: *Malam Shaykh* Aliyu Harazimi, Alhaji Muhammadu Liman, *Malam* Datti, *Malam* mai Rigar Fata and *Malam* Usman Balla to mention but a few.[178] According to my informants,[179] the area used to be an old cemetery in the city which was why in those days it was called *Makara Huta* (there is no need for a bier) because of its closeness to the cemetery.[180] The name *Sani Mai Nagge* was as a result of people who used to come from the city to buy cow milk (*Nonon Shanu*) at the house of *Malam* Sani Mai Nagge, and so it was named after him. Reportedly, the name was derived from Sani, the

[175] Interviewed with Usman Abdullahi Yakub, on 25/09/2017
[176] Interviewed with Malam Mansur, on 03/11/2019
[177] Fieldwork, Note: was referred as the field trip carried out by the research to re-examine the geographical location of the area, on 02/01/2017
[178] Maje Ahmad Gwangwazo. "Kano Garin Albarka [A]…" P. 217
[179] Interviewed with Malam Muhammadu Salisu Yusufu, 83 years, at his resident in Sani Mai Nagge (A), on 01/10/2017
[180] *Ibid*,

SarkinShanun Kano (Traditional title), because of the responsibility given to him by the emir to supervise activities in the area.[181]

The Establishment and Administration of the *Ashabul Khafi* Friday Mosque

It is important to note that, this place was a puddle before the mosque (*Asahabul Khafi* Mosque) was built there. People used to dump refuse there. In the first place, Alhaji Ali Dan Dudu showed interest in the place. Alhaji Ali wanted to build a mosque, so he approached the state government to give him the puddle area to build the Friday mosque. Also, *Shaykh* AbdulJabbar Nasiru Kabara requested the state government to give him the place to build the mosque. According to informants, nobody knew why Alhaji Ali Dan Dudu was not given the place in spite of the fact that he was the first person to make the request. The then State Governor of Kano, Eng. Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso (1999-2003), handed the place over to *Shaykh* AbdulJabbar, in order for him to build the Friday mosque.[182]

Furthermore, the *Ashabul Khafi Warraqeem*, under the leadership of *Shaykh* Abduljabbar Nasiru Kabara solicited for funds to build the mosque. The foundation for the mosque began earnestly through the contributions of their members and other philanthropists. The construction of the mosque was completed in 2012. On January 13, 2012 the first Friday prayer was said there. It was led by the chief *Imam Shaykh* Abduljabbar Nasiru Kabara, in the presence of the then Emir of Kano late Ado Bayero and the *Sultan* of Sokoto, Alhaji Sa'ad Abubakar III. The *Sultan* was purposely in Kano to meet the Emir but as his visit coincided with the Emir's

[181] Interviewed with Aliyu Muhammad Na Baba, 43 years old; the District Head of Sani Mai Nagge (A), at his resident in Sani Mai Nagge (A), on 03/10/2017, He told me that Sani Mai Nagge was his grandfather, and Nagge is a nickname, meaning "cow';
[182] Interviewed with Malam Muhammadu Salisu Yusufu, 0n 01/09/2017

schedules, they went together. The Emir did not postpone the invitation to attend the opening of the mosque. Therefore, he invited the *Sultan* of Sokoto to go with him to pray in the mosque.[183]

Shaykh Aliyulkawwas Nasiru Kabara was appointed by Abduljabbar to be the *Imam* of the mosque and after the death of Aliyulkawwas his son Nasiru succeeded him. *Malam* Nasiru Aliyulkawwas Nasiru Kabara was born at *Kabara* ward, Kano, on October 27, 1997. His father taught him how to read the Holy *Qur'an* and other Islamic books when he was young. After he grew up, his father sent him to *Ma'ahad* Nasiru Kabara Primary, junior and senior secondary school where he obtained his secondary school certificate. He was admitted into Kano State Collages of Arts, Science and Remedial Studies (CAS, Kano) where he obtained an IJMB certificate. As of the time of this research, he is doing his degree program at Yusuf Maitama Sule University (formerly known as North West University), Kano.[184]

The Contribution of the Mosque

This mosque contributed in educating the people of the area. After every Friday prayer, *Zikirin Qadiriyyah* is performed in the mosque, as well as *Qur'anic* recitation.[185] Other books taught in the mosque include *Dala'illul Khairat, Zikirin Riyadul Jannah* and *Mukaddimatul Azifa* to mention but a few. Also, lectures are occasionally organized in the mosque by the leaders of the *Ashabul Khafi Warraqeem Organization* (A.K.W.O.). The A.K.W.O is responsible for organizing and inviting the *Imams* to deliver lectures in the mosque. The lecture is based on educating and enlightening the Muslim *Ummah*.[186]

[183] Interviewed with, Nasiru AliyulKawwas Nasiru Kabara, 20 years, the Imam of Asahabul Khafi Friday Mosque, at his resident in Sani Mai Nagge, on 02/01/2017;
[184] *Ibid*, 15/01/2017
[185] Interviewed with Aliyu Ibrahim, 25 years old, Student; at the mosque premises, in Sani Mai Nagge (A), on 03/10/2017
[186] Interviewed with Aminu Mamuda, 30 years old, Student; at the mosque premises, in Sani Mai Nagge (A), on 01/09/2017

3.5 CONCLUSION

Conclusively, the chapter has discussed the factors responsible for the establishment and development of Friday mosques in Kano city. Such factors, as discussed above, include the increase in population as a result of movement and migration of people into Kano city. The *Koki* mosque was expanded and upgraded to Friday mosque, because of the establishment of new settlements in and around Kano city and due to difficulties people faced when performing their Friday prayer at the Kano Central Mosque. Also discussed is the struggle for ownership and control of Friday mosque like the *Dala* Friday Mosque between the *JTI, Qadiriyyah* and *Izala* followers, and the methods adopted by the conflicting parties to regain their influence and establish their identity in the community. It is in this regard that the biographies and contributions of the *Imams* responsible for the historical development in the area, particularly in relation to the establishment and development of Friday mosques, were briefly discussed for historical documentation.

CHAPTER FOUR

BOKO HARAM ATTACKS AND THE EMERGENCE OF NEW FRIDAY PRAYER MOSQUES IN KANO CITY 2012-2016

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the factors behind the development and spread of Friday mosques in Kano city, especially within the period under study (2012-2016). The *Boko Haram* attacks in Northern Nigeria which was targeting gathering centers, showed how a number of five-daily-prayer mosques were transformed into Friday mosques in Kano. During the period under study, four of these kinds of mosques were transformed into Friday mosques in Kano city. Another one was purposefully built as a Friday mosque. Other factors responsible for this development would be analyzed. However, in order to have a clear understanding of the phenomenon, the geographical location and historical background of the people that inhabit the areas, would also be discussed. In the process, the chapter discusses the brief history of the *Imams* (Scholars) responsible for the development under study, as well as their contributions towards the development of Islamic education in Kano, particularly within the Kano city. The method used in transforming or building new mosques in the areas is also discussed.

4.2 *KOFAR NASARAWA* FRIDAY MOSQUE 2012

Kofar Nasarawa Friday Prayer Mosque is located close to *Kofar Nasarawa* quarters in the north-eastern part of Kano. It is bounded by *Wudilawa* and *Gidan Sarki* quarters on the west, *Unguwar Gini* quarters on the east, *Durumin Zungura* and *Yakasai* quarters on the north, and in the south by *Gandun Albasa* quarters.[187] This area is dwelled by *Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, Yoruba* and *Nupe* peoples. Business is their main occupation. It is blessed with learned scholars like:

[187] Fieldwork Note: was referred as the field trip carried out by the researcher to re-examine the geographical location of the area, on 06/02/2017.

Malam Barau Danbatta, *Malam* Ahmad Mai Doki, *Malam* Mansur Muhammad, and *Malam* Ali Ibrahim Mandawari among others. According to historical records, *Kofar Nasarawa* and the *Nasarawa* ward have a different narration, but share the same background. Tradition has it that, Kofar *Nasarawa* derived its name from *Kofar Nasara*. The *Kofar Nasarawa* was the gate through which Kano warriors would pass after wars as a sign of victory. In another version, *Kofar Nasarawa* ward was proclaimed in the reign of *Sarkin* Kano Abdullahi Dabo (also known as *Maje Karofi*) in 1866. This was during one of his Durbar festivities. He came to the area together with *Sarkin Gini* and directed him to build him a resting house and a five daily prayer mosque. Many people moved and settled with the Emir.[188]

The Establishment and Development of *Kofar Nasarawa* Friday Mosque

According to my informant[189], before the mosque was built they were praying in front of one of their member's shop who sewed clothes since 1981. But for a very long time the place remained as a *Majlis*[190]due to some misunderstanding with the community members and the Emirate. This was because the Emirate did not welcome or even recognize the *Izala* group. Members of the *Izala* group were not allowed to build mosques in the area. Then later the land was given to the *Izala* members by the then military governor of Kano state, Idris Garba (1988-1992) to built mosque. They built a mosque through individual contributions, where five daily prayers were performed on daily basis, as well as teaching of Islamic books.[191]

However, due to some reasons, people suggested that the mosque should be transformed into a Friday mosque. Firstly, members of this mosque (mostly students of *Malam* Aminuddeen

[188] Maje Ahmad Gwangazo. "Kano Garin Albarka [B]…" P.59-62
[189] Interviewed with Malam Muhammad Sani Ashir, Chief Imam of Kofar Nasarawa Friday Mosque; in his office at Bayero University Kano, on 06/02/2017; 02:37:12
[190]*Majlis* is a gathering place used by the Izala group when it first emerged in Kano; they used the Majlis as a mosque and school, because they were not allowed to build one in or even out of the city of Kano;
[191] Interviewed with Malam Muhammad Sani Ashir, on 06/02/2017

Abubuakar) found it uncomfortable to say their Friday prayer at any mosque around the area. Many at times, they would either prefer to go as far as *Da'awa* Mosque in order to attend the Friday prayer, or other *Izala* Friday mosques like BUK Friday mosque, *Gadon Kaya* Friday Mosque, *Tudun Murtala* Friday Mosque, or *Al-Muntada* Friday Mosque. Secondly, after the terrorist attacks at Kano in 2012, which the *Boko Haram* took responsibility; members of the mosque suggested the need to upgrade the mosque into a Friday mosque. Thirdly, there was an attempt to upgrade another mosque which was very close to the mosque into a Friday mosque. Therefore, the *Izala* members hastened to transform their own first.[192]

It is important to note that, *Izala* members do not like to join a congregational prayer when it is led by a *dan tariqa* (*Qadiriyyah* or *Tijjaniyah* adherent). This is due to the ideological differences between the parties involved. Hence, they hastened to transform the mosque into a Friday mosque. This was done on January 6, 2012. They did not however follow the usual procedures required for such action. Reportedly, they refused to follow the formalities because they knew that, the Emirate Council would not allow them to transform this mosque into a Friday mosque. Therefore, the Emirate Council did not accept or even recognize the *Izala* and its activities in Kano. The sudden rush to start the Friday prayer in the mosque was due to a rumor that the mosque near the *Izala* mosque, which was old and belonged to *Yan Tariqa* was about to be transformed into a Friday mosque. And, they knew that if *Yan Tariqa* started saying the Friday prayer in their mosque, they (the *Izala*) would not even think of transforming their mosque into Friday mosque. Moreover, *Yan Tariqa* has a mutual understanding with the Emirates Council, which was why they never have difficulties in establishing Friday mosques in and around Kano.[193]

[192] *Ibid*
[193] *Ibid*, 23/03/2017

Having started the Friday prayer, the Emirate Council summoned the *Imam* and some committee members, and ordered them to stop because they did not follow the due procedures. The *Izala* members, however, refused to stop based on reasons that prayers had already started alongside other Islamic teaching activities. Also, they said even if they followed the due process, the Emirate Council would not allow them to upgrade the mosque.[194] Police officers were sent to lock the mosque in order to prevent the *Izala* members from performing prayers in the mosque. The Commissioner of Police summoned the *Imams* and the Committee members of the mosque, telling them that the transformation of the mosque might lead to religious conflict in the area, because the *Izala* ideology differs with that of the community members. The Committee members, however, assured the commissioner that this would not happen from their part because of the understanding they have with the community members. The mosque remained closed until when the case was taken to court. It was re-opened later as ordered by the court, and since then prayers continued in the mosque uninterruptedly.[195]

The Administration and Management of the Mosque

Alhaji Gazali Yunusa Sarina, the mosque committee members, as well as individuals contributed generously to the building of the mosque. And also later contributions were made by individual to build school upstairs. The mosque relied heavily on the contributions made by an individuals and members of the mosque committee. Whenever there was urgent need of something, the mosque committee members would contribute and the *Imam* would make an announcement on Friday, for people to contribute in order to solve the financial problems or provide what the mosque needs. Another source of funds for the mosque was the weekly contributions made during the congregational prayers. Every Friday, there are people assigned by

[194] Interviewed with Malam Shu'aibu Abdullahi Mamman Da, 65 years old, business man, at his resident in Kofar Nasarawa, on 29/09/2017;
[195] Interviewed with Malam Muhammad Sani Ashir, on 23/03/2017

the mosque committee to go round with boxes to seek for contributions from anyone among the congregate who are willing to make his own contributions. Because of this, the mosque committee was thinking on other ways to keep maintaining and to expand the mosque, in order to accommodate the large number of people that converge to pray every Friday.[196]

The mosque had a borehole at the back near an *Islamiyyah* School donated in memory of the late Hajiya Hauwa'u Muhammad Gwarzo, which provides water for people to perform ablution. The mosque had two bathrooms and toilets place opposite the *Islamiyyah* School. The mosque uses a generator in case of power failure. There are committees responsible for securing the mosque. The committee of *Majalisi* was headed by Malam Shu'aibu Abdullahi and Malam Abdul'aziz as deputy, Malam Sani Ahmad secretary and Malam Alhaji Husaini Mai Takalmi as treasurer. The mosque have *Yan Agaji* of *JIBWIS* (*Jama'atu Izaltaul Bid'a Wa Ikamatus Sunnah*) with the office attached to the mosque, they would come early to clean the area before prayer start and also to offer help by assisting people who come to pray, and supervise their belongings up to the end of the prayer.[197]

The *Imams* and *Mu'azzins* in the Mosque

After the mosque was transformed into Friday mosque, the *Imam* of the five daily prayers *Malam* Muhammad Sani Ashir was appointed as the chief. The two (*Na'ibi*) deputies were appointed, Dr. Anas Abbas Ibrahim as the first and *Malam* Ahmad Abbas as the second *Na'ibi*. The three *Mu'azzin*[198]were appointed in the mosque, *Malam* Abubakar as the first *Mu'azzin*,

[196] *Ibid*, on 14/10/2019
[197] *Ibid,* on 14/10/2019
[198]*Mu'azzin* called Ladan, is the Arabic form called *al-adhan,* (the call to prayer') in the west is called *bilali*, derived form Bilal, the prophet's negro Muazzin.

Malam Alhaji Husaini Mai Takalmi Auwal as the second and Malam Ishaq as the third deputy in the mosque.[199]

A brief History of the Chief *Imam* of the Mosque

Malam Muhammad Sani Ashir was appointed as the Chief *Imam* of the mosque. He was born in Hadejia Local Government, (presently in Jigawa State) on May 2, 1962. He studied the Holy *Qur'an*. He was first taught by his father before travelling to many places seeking for knowledge. These places included Borno where he learned the memorization of the Holy *Qur'an*. From Borno, he moved to Kano and attended the School for Higher Islamic Studies Shahuci (Aliya) where he obtained a secondary certificate. He got admission into the Kano State College of Arts, Science and Remedial Studies (CAS, Kano). He later got a scholarship to study at Madina University, where he obtained his degree certificate. He later did his Master at Sudan University. Presently, *Malam* Muhammad Sani Ashir is doing his Ph.D in the same University. He is a lecturer at Bayero University, Kano, in the Department of Islamic Studies and *Shariah*.[200]

The Contributions of the Mosque

The mosque has been contributing greatly towards educating the Muslim *Ummah* from its inception to date. Although the mosque belongs to the *Izala* group, during the Friday prayer even those who have different beliefs, ideas and understanding perform their prayer in the mosque. This is as a result of the understanding between the *Izala* members in the area and the people in the area. This became possible because of the nature of the sermon in the mosque.[201]

The mosque had length of fifty nine (59) by twenty two (22) estimated by foot, and five (5) lines, and some of the lines accommodate at least thirty two (32) and the rows accommodate at least twenty (20) or eighteen people. As a result of this, it can be very difficult to estimate the

[199] Interviewed with Malam Muhammad Sani Ashir, on 14/10/2019
[200] *Ibid*, 23/03/2017
[201] *Ibid*

number of people that pray inside the mosque, but it had a capacity to accommodate at least seventy (70) people, excluding those that pray along road side. It could not be possible to estimate the numbers of people that pray in the mosque every Friday. This is because apart from those that pray in the mosque regularly, there were other *Izala* members coming to pray from different areas in the city of Kano and metropolis.[202]

The Sermon in the Mosque

The *Kofar Nasarawa* Friday mosque attracted different people to pray, due to the style of the Friday sermons delivered. It is based on the calling of the Muslims to fear Allah and follow the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H), emphasizing on the importance of prayer, unity of Muslims, brotherhoods, relationship, neighborhood and general observations of what was happening in the Muslim community. And also sometimes it can be on current affairs with regards to socio-economics, religious and politics. In order to give room for an each *Imam* to make his contribution, each of the *Imams* can lead the prayer in the mosque from time to time. Their sermons would be on calling the Muslims *Ummah* to be truthful and sincere in their daily activities, and also to uphold the tradition of visiting relatives, hospitals, prisons and orphanage to make the contributions. The issues with regards to marriage, upbringing of children, business and politics are discussing in the sermon. And also if there was something happing in the area, the community used to inform the *Imams* in order to preach in support or against it. For instance, there was area that youth used to gather for anti-social acts and the *Imam* was asked to talk about it, and he did, later some of the youth desisted the habit.[203] Recently, the *Imam* drew the attention

[202] It was the task took by the researcher in the effort to bring out the number of the people that pray in the mosque, this became possible because of the prayer observed in the mosque by the researcher.
[203] Interviewed with Muhammad Sani Ashir, on 23/03/2017 and 14/10/2019 and also with Sha'aibu Muhammad, 32 years, student, at the mosque after prayer was observed, on 04/10/2019

of the people in Kano who had influence to seek justice for the alleged kidnapped Kano children and their conversion to Christianity by the Igbo.[204]

The prayer in the mosque starts at 01:00 pm every Friday. But due to some circumstances, five minute will be added and it would not exceed 01:05 pm. The *Imam* would climb the *Minbar* at exactly 12:30 pm, and then the *Ladan* would call the prayer. The *Imam* would start the sermon in Arabic language and translate it into Hausa and the prayer would start at 01:00 pm. According to him, before the arrival of the *Imam* sometimes the sermon would be summarized in *Hausa* and some words of advice will be delivered.[205]

The Socio-Education Activities in the Mosque

The mosque serves as a center for learning because people (children and adults) are being taught in the mosque. The educational activities carried out in the mosque include, every Thursday *Malam* Muhammad Sani Ashir teaches *Minhajjil Muslim*, and on Wednesdays *Malam* Ahmad Abbas, the deputy *Imam*, would translate the *Qur'an*. Also, *Malam* Ibrahim Khalil teaches *Ulummul aqida* and *Ahkamul Jana'iz* on Fridays. The Sunday program is handled by *Malam* Abdalla Usman *Gadon Kaya*.[206] During the rest of the days, other Islamic books are taught in the mosque. These include *Fiqh* and *Hadith*.[207] Friday sermons delivered at this mosque are very interesting because, the main theme is based on current issues that affect the society. This style is adopted to promote the cordial relationship within the community and to avoid any misunderstanding.[208]

Furthermore, marriage contract, passing of information, naming ceremony, and occationally *Sallar gawa* (funeral prayer) are caring out in the mosque. Others activities carried

[204] Interviewed with Mujahid Ibrahim, 29 years, businessman, at the mosque, on 04/10/2019
[205] Interviewed with Malam Muhammad Sani Ashir, on 14/10/2019
[206] Interviewed with Aliyu Isma'il, 30 years, at the mosque premises in Kofar Nasarawa, on 17/03/2017
[207] Interviewed with Malam Ibrahim Sani, 27 years old, at the mosque premises in Kofar Nasarawa, on 17/03/2017
[208] Interviewed with Malam Kabiru Shehu, Head Master, at his resident in Kofar Nasarawa Mubi, on 29/09/2017

out in the mosque, during *Ramadan* period. For instance, contributions would be made for *Iftar*, because many people break their fasting in the mosque. Other contributions are also being made during the *Eid El-khabir* in order to slaughter cows and rams depended on the contribution made, to distribute it to the feeble and the needy people in the area, and some would be taken to orphanage, hospitals and prisons.[209]

4.3 *TUDUN NUFAWA* FRIDAY MOSQUE 2013

Tudun Nufawa Friday Mosque is located at *Tudun Nufawa* ward. *Tudun Nufawa* area shares borders with *Tudun Wada* and *Mazan Kwarai* quarters on the south, *Yan Muruci* and *Jakara* quarters on the west, *Muskwani, Kurmi Market* and *Dambazau* quarters on the north; it shares boarders with *Makwarari* and *Lallokin Lemo* quarters in the east.[210] Traditionally, it is settled by Hausa, Nupe and Kanuri peoples whose main occupation is business. *Tudun Nufawa* is blessed with learned scholars like *Malam* Ramalan, *Malam* Karibullahi Nasir Ramalan, *Malam* Sunusi Abubakar Ramalan *Malam* Abdul Hamid, *Malam* Maitama, *Malam* Awaisu and *Malam* Gama among others. According to my informant, *Tudun Nufawa* area derived its name from *Malam* Muhammadu *Banufe* who was reported to have migrated from *Bidda*, present day Niger State. This was during the reign of the then Emir of Kano, *Sarki* Sulaimanu (1805-1819). The emir gave the area to *Malam* Muhammadu *Banufe* and his people. The area was swampy and mountainous at the time. *Sarki* Sulaimanu and the people of Kano began to call the area "*Tudun Nufawa*", hill of Nupe people, because it was largely occupied by Nupe people.[211]

[209] Interviwed with Malam Muhammad Sani Ashir, on 14/10/2019

[210] Fieldwork Note: was referred as the field trip carried out by the researcher to re-examine the geographical location of the area, on 05/02/2017

[211] Interviewed with Malam Muhammad MahFuz, 64 years old, the Ward Head of Tudun Nufawa at his residents in Tudun Nufawa, on 06/02/2017, for details see the work of Mamuda M. Musa, "History of Nupe Community in Kano" Unpublished M.A Dissertation, Department of History Bayero University Kano.

In another version, during the reign of *Sarki* Muhammadu Rumfa (1463-1499) in his effort to destroy the remnant of traditional religious practices and encourage scholarship in Kano, left the door open to any Islamic scholar who wanted to settle or pay a missionary visit to propagate Islam. The *Sarki* encouraged Islamic learning and allowed entry to scholars, merchant and artisans into Kano. As a result of misunderstanding between Malam Muhammadu *Banufe* and one of the rulers of Bidda, he decided to migrate to Kano during the reign of *Sarki* Sulaimanu (1805-1819). And some of his disciples followed him and together with Malam, they settled at a place very close to Kurmi market and since then, the area became known as *Tudun Nufawa*.[212]

According to Mamuda, it might be agreed that, the *Tudun Nufawa* ward derive its name from Malam Muhammadu *Banufe* because, the various accounts of the historical origin of *Tudun Nufawa* as has been discussed above as well as the people that settled at the area. The first was that, the ward was certaintly founded during the reign of *Sarki* Sulaimanu. And the second was that, since its foundation, the ward has been inhabited by *Nupe* speaking people, from Bidda, presently in Niger State.

The Establishment and Development of the *Tudun Nufawa* Friday Mosque

The place was an old dispensary center which later the then governor Sabo Bakin Zuwa (1983), decided to transfer it to a larger place than the current place, which was close to the center, so the government abandoned the old one. Then later the place was given to *Malam* Ramalan by the then military governor of Kano State, Muhammad Ndatsu Umaru (1987-1988), for the purpose of establishing a school and a five-daily-prayer mosque. The land was given to

[212] Yusif Balarabe Hussain, "The History of Tudun Nufawa Ward in Kano Municipal Local Government Kano State", Unpublished B.A Project, Department of History Bayero University Kano, 2005. P.3

the scholar to ease the suffering his students were undergoing whenever it was raining season. They found it insufferably difficult to attend the school in his house between *Magrib* (noon) and *Isha'i* (night) prayers.[213]

The construction of the school and mosque began in earnest supported by individuals and group contributions. The earlier contributions were made by Alhaji Zakari Baba who bought land close to the place to include in the mosque and paid the labourers, and also the one made by one of the students of Malam Ramalan; Dr. Sa'idu Madigawa who is an architecture by profession, designed the structure of the mosque. Other contributors included the billionaire, Alhaji Aminu Dantata who gave the highest contribution the sum of one hundred thousand (#100,000), Alhaji Garba A.D Inuwa (*Talban* Kano) provided the doors and windows from his Aluminum company, and Alhaji Sabi'u Bako provided most of the block (*bulu*) in the building. Alhaji Sunusi Dantata sponsored the wiring and he also gave some money. Alhaji Baba Sani Buhari Daura son of *walin Daura* bought generator at the sum forty thousand (#40,000). Also, other contributors included: the *Sarki* Ado Bayero, Alhaji Inuwa Wada (*Magajin Garin* Kano), Alhaji Buhari Daura (*Walin Daura*), Alhaji Aliko Dangote to mention but a few. After the completion of the mosque and school at upstair, people began to perform their five daily prayers in it. *Malam* Ramalan later transferred the school into a mosque.[214]

According to the ward head, having considered the population of the area and the fact that there was no other Friday mosque closed to this mosque, members of the community, together with the mosque committee, requested the scholar to lead them to the district head for an approval to transform the mosque into a Friday mosque. This was in 2013. The scholar led

[213] Interviewed with Malam Karibullahi Nasiru Ramalan, 51 years, Chief Imam of Tudun Nufawa Friday Mosque, in his office, on 30/01/2017;
[214] *Ibid,* on 13/10/2019

the delegates to the District Head and finally to the Emir. The Emir considered the request after a special consultation on the matter, and then gave the approval. This was on May 16, 2013.[215] On May 17, 2013, the first Friday prayer was performed at the mosque. A delegate from the Emirate Council joined tens of hundreds of other Muslim *Ummah* and performed the first Friday prayer at the mosque.[216]

The Administration and Management of the Mosque

The school and the mosque were built through individual and group contributions made as mentioned above by philanthropists and some of the students of Malam Ramalan. As a result of this, the mosque relied heavily on the contributions made by an individual and some of the students in the school. Before, the students of the school took the responsibility for providing funds for the needs of both the school and the mosque. Later it was decided to allow other people to make their contributions. That was why on every Friday, for people to make their contributions boxes were provided, there are peoples assigned by the mosque committee to go round with boxes to seek contributions from anyone among the congregate who is willing to make his own contributions.[217]

The mosque had a borehole which provides water for people to perform their ablution. The mosque had bathroom and toilet in down and upstairs, the ones at the down were using by male only while the ones at upstairs were to be use by female only. The mosque was using generator in case if there was no light. The committee members would come early to clean the

[215] Interviewed with Malam Muhammad Mahfuz, 06/02/2017
[216] Interviewed with Abdullahi Mustapha, 45 years old, businessman, at the mosque premise in the Tudun Nufawa, on 06/02/2017
[217] Interviewed with Malam Karibullahi Nasiru Ramalan, on 13/10/2019

area before prayer start and also to offer helps in assisting people who come to pray, and supervise their belongings up to the end of the prayer.[218]

The *Imams* and *Mu'azzins* in the Mosque

After the mosque was transformed into Friday mosque, having successfully passed the screening of the *Shura* Committee (Councils of *Ulama* of Kano), under the supervision of the Emirate Council *Malam* Karibullahi Nasir Ramalan was appointed as the chief *Imam* and *Malam* Sunusi Abubakar Ramalan as the (*Na'ibi*) deputy. Three *Mu'azzins* were appointed in the mosque, Alhaji Nazifi Ahmad as the first *Mu'azzin*, Malam Mujittapha Jibril Shawus as the second and Alhaji Hafizu Ahmad as the third deputy in the mosque. After the death of Alhaji Nazifi Ahmad, the second deputy Malam Mujittapha Jibril Shawus became the first and Alhaji Hafizu Ahmad as the second. As of the time of this research, there were two *Na'ibi* in a mosque.[219]

A brief History of the Chief *Imam* of the Mosque

Malam Karibullahi Nasir Ramalan was appointed as the chief *Imam* of the mosque. He was born on September 19, 1966 at *Mazan Kwarai* quarters, Kano. He started his education with *Qur'anic* studies and other Islamic studies at his father's *tsangaya* (a typical Northern Nigeria type of *Qur'anic* school). The *Tsangaya School* was located at his father's house. He travelled to many places in search of Islamic knowledge. He studied at *Ulumul-Deen* Islamic school where he was taught *Qur'anic* memorization. From there, he proceeded to Government Secondary School Gwale for further education. He also studied at Government Arabic Teachers College, Hadejia. He obtained a diploma certificate from Bayero University, Kano. He also travelled to Saudi Arabia for further studies where he stayed for three years searching for knowledge. Some

[218] *Ibid*
[219] *Ibid*

of the subjects he studied, apart from the *Qur'an*, included *Lugga* from *Malam* Danlami Kurna; *Aksari, Risala* and *Muktasar* from *Malam* Ashiru and *Malam* Inuwa respectively.[220]

The Contributions of the Mosque

It is very important to note that, the mosque has been contributing greatly towards educating the Muslim *Ummah* to date. Although the mosque belongs to the *Qadiriyyah* brotherhood, during the Friday prayer even those who have different beliefs, ideas and understanding perform their prayer in the mosque. This was as a result of the mutual understanding between the *Qadiriyyah* members in the area and other followers. This became possible because of nature of the sermon in the mosque.[221]

The mosque had length of seventy nine (79) by fourty seven (47) estimated by foot, and seventeen (17) lines, and each line accommodate at least thirty (30) people. As a result of this, the mosque had a capacity to accommodate at least five hundred and ten (510) people inside the mosque excluding those that pray at the compound. It could not be possible to estimate the number of peoples that pray in the mosque every Friday. Because apart of those that pray in the mosque regularly, on the east there was traditional market (*Kurmi*), some of them pray in the mosque. It also located at the densely populated areas of *Jakara, 'Yan mota, Mazan Kwarai* and *Makwarari*.[222]

The Sermon in the Mosque

The mosque in question attracted different peoples to pray, due to the style of the Friday sermons delivered, because the sermons delivered by the *Imams* are always based on the calling of the Muslims to fear Allah and follow the teachings of Prophet Muhammad

[220] Interviewed with Malam Karibullahi Nasiru Ramalan, on 30/01/2017
[221] Interviewed with Muhammad Bala Umar, 32 years, businessman, at the mosque premises, on 13/10/2019
[222] It was the task took by the researcher in the effort to bring out the number of the people that pray in the mosque, this became possible because of the prayer observed in the mosque by the researcher.

(P.B.U.H),emphasizing on the unity of Muslims, brotherhoods and to be truthful and sincere on their daily activities.[223] According to Malam Karibullahi Ramalan, he said that since the mosque was transformed to Friday, the Friday sermon was delivered by him and he has never missed to lead the prayer in the mosque.[224]

The prayer in the mosque starts at 1:20 pm, every Friday but due to some circumstances, ten mitutes will be added and it would not exceed 1:30 pm. The *Imam* would climb the *Minbar* at exactly 12:50 pm, and then *Ladan* would call the prayer. The *Imam* would starts the sermon in Arabic language and translate it to indigenous language (Hausa) that would last for thirty (30) minutes and prayer start at 1:20 pm. According to him, the idea behind the translating the sermon in Hausa was that, many people do not understand Arabic language, so it became neccasary to translate for people to benefit.[225]

The Socio-Education Activities in the Mosque

The mosque served as a center for learning because people including children and adults have been taught in the mosque. The mosque in question was initially built as a school and a five-daily-prayer mosque. They started with a primary section before opening a secondary section later as well as *Tahzif* (*Qur'anic* Science School) section. Other activities at the *Qur'anic* School take place between *Magrib* and *Isha'i* prayers. This program gives the adults the opportunity to study and even memorize the *Qur'an*.[226] According to some informants, the *Qur'anic* School for adults is very popular because people attend the school from different places

[223] Interviewed with Malam Karibullahi Ramalan, on 13/10/2019, and Kamilu Musa Ibrahim, 30 years, businessman, at the mosque premises, on 13/10/2019
[224] *Ibid*
[225] *Ibid,* 27/10/2019
[226] *Ibid*,

within the city and Kano metropolitan. The time is convenient for most people.[227] Others activities carried out include *Eid* prayers.

4.4 *SHARIF BALA* FRIDAY MOSQUE 2013

Sharif Bala Friday Mosque is located at *Ayagi* quarters. *Ayagi* quarters shares borders with *Sani Mai Nagge, Warure, Dausayi, Gyaranya* and *Takalmawa* quarters on the south, *Kaigama, Kabuga* and *Mai Aduwa* quarters on the west, *Bakin Ruwa* and *Mai Aduwa* quarters on the north. In the east, it shares borders with *Dandago, Takalmawa* and *Mararraba* quarters.[228] Traditionally, *Ayagi* quarters is inhabited by Yoruba, Hausa, Fulani and Nupe peoples. Business is their primary occupation. There are many learned scholars in the area. These include: *Malam* Sharif Bala, *Malam* Zikirillahi Usman Makwarari, *Malam* Bako Sufi, *Malam* Sharu Lawan, and *Malam* Usman to mention but a few.[229] Reportedly, the area derived its name from Muhammadu Jatau who was sent by the then Emir of Kano, *Sarki* Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1846), to settle in *Ayagi* due to some reasons unknown to him. Muhammad Jatau initially settled in *Kwakwatawa* area before he was told to move to *Ayagi* area. That was meant to attract other people to settle in the area. He was later appointed as the leader of *Ayagi* (ward head of *Ayagi*). Subsequently, people began to call the area *Ayagi*.[230]

In another version, the name of the founder of the ward was Malam Bamalle who came from Ogbomosho. It was said that the Yoruba people who founded *Ayagi* ward were from Ogbomosho and Ilorin and they were all Muslims. It may also be possible that *Ayagi* ward got its name from the reference *Ayagi* which the Nupe people who lived at *Tudun Nufawa* ward of Kano

[227] Interviewed with Nafi'u Aminu Adam, 25 years old; Businessman; at the Mosque premise in Tudun Nufawa, on 29/09/2017
[228] Fieldwork Note: was referred as the field trip carried out by the researcher to re-examine the geographical location of the area on 03/02/2017
[229] Maje Ahmad Gwangazo. "Kano Garin Albarka [B]…" P. 152
[230] *Ibid*, p. 153

made to the Yoruba of *Ayagi*. This was because Nupe people referred to the Yoruba in Nupe language as 'Ayagi' just as the Yoruba in their own language call the Nupe, 'Tapa'. Zakariya'u argued that, the ward of Ayagi was certainly founded during the reign of Emir Ibrahim Dabo possibly between 1819-1820, because the *Ayagi* was inhabited by Yoruba from Ilorin right from the time of its foundation.[231]

The Establishment and Development of *Sharif Bala* Friday mosque

According to my informant[232], the land on which the *Sheriff* Bala Mosque built belongs to Alhaji Sheriff Bala (also known as *Mahiru Bala*). He first built houses for his children on the land, but when the need for a Friday mosque to be built in the area arose, he demolished the houses and began the construction of the mosque in 1989. After the completion of the mosque, *Shaykh* Nasiru Kabara and *Shaykh* Yusuf Makwarari were invited to open the mosque as a five-daily-prayer mosque. In 2013 however, the committee members of the mosque started thinking of the possibility of turning it into a Friday mosque. This was due to the difficulties people faced in attending Friday prayer in the city especially the aged. In addition, prior to this period, when there was no ban on "*achaba*" riders, people had to use the commercial "*achaba*" to attend Friday prayer at the Kano central mosque. In 2012, after the *Boko Haram* attacks in Kano, however, the Kano State Government banned the "*achaba*" business in the state. This affected even the private motorbike owners who used the bikes not for commercial use. They were not allowed to take anybody on the bikes for security purpose. The ban had seriously affected the

[231] Zakariya'u Sadiq Sambo, The Establishment and Consolidation of the Ilorin Community in Kano 1819-1998. Unpublished M.A Dissertation, Department of History Bayero University, Kano, 1998, Pp. 41-2

[232] Interviewed with Malam Zikirillahi Usman Makwarari, the deputy Imam of the Sharif Bala Friday Prayer Mosque, at his resident in Ayagi, on 04/02/2017

people of Kano particularly the aged, women and school children. This ban made it difficult for people to take "*achaba*" to the central mosque.[233]

It was for this reason that Mahiru Bala deemed it necessary to turn the five-daily-prayer mosque he built into a Friday mosque so people could pray without any difficulty. Having known the tradition, he sought for permission from the son of the late emir of Kano (Ado Bayero), Alhaji Aminu Ado Bayero, the then District Head of Dala Local Government, to upgrade the mosque. A delegate headed by *Shaykh* Karibullah Nasiru Kabara made a request to the Emirate to allow his organization to upgrade the mosque in question due to the reasons mentioned earlier. The then Emir of Kano, late Ado Bayero and the Emirate, having considered the reasons forwarded by the leader of the delegate, accepted the request, and in 2013, the mosque was transformed.[234]

Malam Zikirillahi Usman was appointed the *Imam* of the mosque. He was born on April 3, 1977 at *Makawarari* quarters, Kano State. He began his early Islamic education with *Qur'anic* studies. He was initially taught by his father. When he grew up, his father took him to *Malam* Mahiru Bala, father of the mother of Zikirillah, in *Ayagi*, for the purpose of *Qur'anic* memorization studies. According to him therefore, he was taught by both his father and grandfather not only the *Qur'an* but other Islamic books and subjects like *fiqh*, *lugha* and *Hadith*. Owing to this reason, he never travelled to learn from any other scholar. He later enrolled to a primary school with the purpose of catching up with the new ideas of learning. Having completed the primary school, he moved to a secondary school where he obtained a secondary school certificate. Presently, he has a diploma certificate.[235]

[233] *Ibid*, 10/02/2017
[234] *Ibid*, 10/02/2017
[235] *Ibid*, 10/02/2017

The Contribution of the Mosque

A *Qur'anic* school was established in the mosque purposefully for *Qur'anic* studies: recitation and memorization of the *Qur'an*. Students are taught in the school from Saturday to Wednesday[236]. Another section was for adult education. *Malam* Makwarari himself taught*Qur'an* and other Islamic books between *Magrib* and *Isha'i* prayers on Thursdays and Fridays.[237] Other Islamic studies and activities also take place in the mosque occasionally. For instance, there would be *Qur'anic* recitation on the first day of every new Islamic month. People would gather to read the whole *Qur'an* throughout the night.[238] The gathering was first sponsored by *Shariff* Bala. From the time he died (2016) to this day, his son Sharif Auwalu takes over the whole responsibility of the Mosque.[239]

4.5 *DUKAWA* FRIDAY MOSQUE 2013

Dukawa Friday Mosque is located at the center of *Dukawa* ward. This area shares borders with *Zangon Bare-Bari* and *Kurmi market* quarters on the west, *Yan Awaki,* and *Koki* quarters on the north, *Kofar Wambai, Lungun Makafi* and *Chediyar Feru* quarters on the east, and on the south with *Chiromawa* quarters.[240] Hausa peoples are the original residents of the area and *Dukanci* and *kirgi* (hide and skin leather work) is their main occupation. *Dukawa* is also blessed with Islamic scholars like *Malam* Nasidi, *Malam* Bala and *Malam* Tijjani to mention but a few. Historically, the area was named *Dukawa* because of the leather business of the people in the

[236] *Ibid*, 10/02/2017
[237] Interviewed with Isma'il Ibrahim Muhammad, 45 years old, businessman, at his resident in Ayagi, on 15/02/2017
[238] Interviewed with Inuwa Ahmad, 25 years old; Student, at the mosque premises in Ayagi, on 15/02/2017
[239] Interviewed with Malam Zikirillahi Usman Makwarari, on 10/02/2017
[240] Fieldwork Note: was referred as the field trip carried out by the researcher to re-examine the geographical location of the area, on 30/01/2017

area. *Baduku* is the term given to a male person engaged in the hide and skin leather work (*Dukanci business*).[241]

The Establishment and Development of *Dukawa* Friday mosque

Dukawa Friday Mosque was one of the oldest and still existing mosques in Kano city. It was built more than a hundred and fifty years ago.[242] The mosque is popularly known as *Kaulaha* Mosque. It belongs to the grandfather of *Shaykh Malam* Tijjani. The mosque was upgraded into a Friday mosque considering the distance and the fast increasing population of the area in the year 2013. People, particularly the aged, found it difficult to attend the central mosque on Friday. Many even felt reluctant to perform the obligatory Friday prayer. Therefore, concerned community members met with the committee of the mosque to see the possibility of upgrading the mosque into a Friday mosque. They all agreed with the circumstances and then approached the authority through the ward and district head to lead them to the Emir for an approval. The Emir, having considered the reasons presented to him, gave the approval. And, Friday prayers began to be performed in 2013.[243]

Malam Nazifi Gambo Ahmad Darma was appointed the chief *Imam* of the mosque. He was born on April 27, 1966 at *Dukawa* quarters, Kano. According to him, he studied *Qur'anic* recitation and memorization at one of *Tsangaya* schools in the area. He was taught by *Malam* Salisu Ma-JA-baki. He attended the *Islamiyya* school of *Malam* Habu. Apart from the *Qur'an*, he also studied many more Islamic subjects with *Malam* Muhammadu Mai *Shayi* of *Chediyar Kuda* quarters. He also learned from scholars like *Malam* Abdullahi Uwaisu Limanci,

[241] Interviewed with Muhammad Inuwa Hussain, 50 years old; Ward Head of Dukawa; at the mosque premises in *Dukawa* ward, on 30/01/2017
[242] Interviewed with Sani Ibrahim Sadik, 61 years old; a resident of the area; at the Mosque in *Dukawa*, on 01/02/2017
[243] Interviewed with Muhammad Inuwa Hussaini, on 30/01/2017

*Malam*Baba Ashiru Limamin Sharifai and *Malam* Ahmad Gagara Babari Malamim Dare from whom he studied subjects like: *Akhlari, Ishmawiy* and *Lugga,* e.t.c. Apart from Islamic knowledge, *Malam* Nazifi Gambo Ahmad Darma also studied at a *Boko* (Western type of) primary school in 1976. He proceeded to *Sabowar Kofa* Primary School and Government Secondary School *Gwammaja* (G.S.S.G), now known as G.S.S. Dala, where he obtained Primary and Secondary School Certificates in 1986. *Malam* Gambo was also a business man.[244]

The contributions of the mosque

According to an interviewee,[245] the mosque in question contributes immensely in educating the Muslim *Ummah* of the area. After each *subh* (morning) prayer of each day, people would gather in the mosque to perform *Wazifa* (*Tijjaniyyah* litany) after which they would proceed to the house of the *Imam* to study other Islamic books.[246] On Wednesdays between *magrib* and *isha'i* prayers, *Malam Sayyadi* Bashir Tijjani Usman would teach *Kitabul Shifa*, *Riyadul Salihin* and *Risala*. He later handed the program to the *Imam* of the mosque.[247] Also, there was this weekly recitation of *Dala'ilul Khairat* in the mosque as well as lecture sessions for educating and reforming particularly the *Tijjaniyah* members on how to hold on to Islam and live peacefully with one another. These lectures take place on Thursdays or Fridays.[248]

[244] Interviewed with Malam Nazifi Gambo Ahmad Darma, 51 years old; chief Imam of the mosque; at his resident; in Gabari, on 30/01/2017
[245] Interviewed with Musa Buhari Ali, 25 years old; Student, at the mosque premises, on 02/03/2017
[246]*Ibid*, on 02/03/2017
[247]Interviewed with Malam Nazifi Gambo Ahmad Darma, on 30/01/2017
[248]Interviewed with Aliyu Ibrahim, 25 years old; Student and business man, at his resident in Dukawa, on 10/09/2017

4.6 *ALKALI BUHARI DAURA* FRIDAY MOSQUE 2014

Alkali Buhari Daura Friday Mosque is located at *Dandago* ward. The area shares borders with *Hausawa* quarters on the south, *Sani Mainagge 'B'* on the west, *Warure* da *Garangamawa* quarters on the north, and in the east, with *Mandawari* quarters.[249]*Dandago* area is dwelled by Hausa, Fulani and Nupe peoples whose main occupation is tailoring and business. There are many Islamic scholars in *Dandago* quarters. These include: *Malam* Alimi, *Malam* Usman Yusufu Makwarari, *Malam* Na-Annabi Kakan Sharu Mukhtar, *Malam* Danladi Liman, *Malam mai Tafsir* among others.[250] Historically, *Dandago* quarters derived its name from two narrations. Firstly, it derived its name from a man called *Dago*, who is said to be the first settler in the area. He would refer people to find him at his son's house whenever they wanted to see him. And, people began to call the area "house of *Dandago*".[251] In another version, the name of the area came from the son of the King (leader) of *Kofar Dogo* located at *Hauran Shanu* quarters. After the death of the king, his son was appointed the ward head of the *Dandogo* area, and from *Dandogo* people changed it to *Dandago*, because they preferred the latter.[252] The two traditions if companied together, it can simply be observed that, the latter one was not likely to agree than the other, because, if we critically observe, the name of the man "dago" and tittle of "kofar dogo" can be prove that the name of the man was the same with the name of the ward, unlike the name of the kofar dogo where something was subtracted from the name i.e "*kofar*".

[249] Fieldwork Note: was referred as the field trip carried out by the researcher to re-examine the geographical location of the area, on 02/02/2017
[250] Maje Ahmad Gwangazo. "Kano Garin Albarka [A]…" P. 141
[251] Interviewed with Abubakar Sani Dandago, 47years old; Ward Head of Dandago at his resident in Dandago, on 04/10/2017; for detail, see Maje Ahmad Gwangazo; "Kano Garin Albarka [A]…"
[252] Maje Ahmad Gwangazo. "Kano Garin Albarka [A]…" P. 142

The Establishment and Development of the *Alkali Buhari Daura* Friday Mosque

It is important to note that, for over thirty years there had been a five-daily-prayer mosque in the place *Alkali Buhari Daura* Friday mosque built. It belongs to the *Tijjaniyyah* group. The mosque was first built by a man called *Gwadabe Mai Tasa*. This mosque was however demolished by the then Governor of Kano State and Senator, Eng. Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso, as a result of road construction that would link *Dandago* with *Aisami* quarters. The government paid compensation for the houses and the mosque affected.[253] After the demolishing exercise, the space left was not enough for a new mosque to be rebuilt. Therefore, one of the philanthropists in the area, Alhaji Sani Buhari, offered to rebuild the mosque; he bought houses that were close to the mosque, and then rebuilt the mosque and even expanded it. The mosque was later upgraded into a Friday mosque. According to Abubakar, having followed the due processes, the Emir of Kano gave the approval in 2014.[254]

The chief *Imam* of this mosque was *Malam* Usman Yusufu Makwarari. He was born in 1940. According to him, he studied the Holy *Qur'an* from his father at early age. His father later took him to his uncle. He studied *Fiqh*, *Lugha* and *Hadith* before proceeding to study at a primary and a secondary school where he obtained certificates for completing the programs. This gave him a great opportunity to be appointed as the head of *Qadiriyyah Makwarari* branch. Also, he was appointed the chairman of the *Zakka* Commission.[255] Although Buhari Sani Daura appointed *Malam* Yusuf Makwarari as the chief *Imam* of the mosque, the *Tijjaniyah* members did not object to the appointment; after all, the *Tijjaniyyah* adherents were allowed to continue

[253] Interviewed with Harisu Ahmad, 40 years old; member of the Community in Dandago, on 03/10/2017
[254] Interviewed with Abubakar Sani Dandago, on 04/10/2017
[255] Interviewed with Malam Usman Yusufu Makwarari, 77 years old, Head of *Qadiriyyah* of *Makwarari*, in *Dandago*, AlKali Buhari Daura Road, on 03/02/2017

their activities in the mosque. This was possibly due to the long existing mutual understanding between the *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah* groups.[256]

The contributions of the mosque

Furthermore, this mosque has been contributing immensely in enlightening and educating the Muslim *Umma* of the area. According to some interviewees, there is this *Qur'anic* recitation program that runs from Friday through Wednesday between *Magrib* and *Isha'i* prayers. The *Qadiriyyah* litany session was also performed in the mosque. Every day, after *Subh* prayer, *Tijjaniyyah wazifa* (another litany session) was performed in the mosque.[257] On Thursdays, *Malam* Muhammadu Zikirillahi, one of the *na'ibi* (Deputy *Imams*), would teach *Hadith* and *Fiqh* between *Magrib* and *Isha'i* prayers.[258] More Islamic activities take place in the mosque particularly in *Almuharram* (the first month of the Islamic calendar). People would gather to recite the Holy *Qur'an* for ten consecutive days. In *Rabi'ul Awwal* (the third month of the Islamic calendar), *Maulud Nabiyya* (a special festival for the celebration of the birth of Prophet Muhammad P.B.U.H) would take place in the mosque. In *Ramadan* period (the fasting period), *Qur'anic tafsir* (translation) and *Ashafa* recitation also take place in the mosque.[259]

[256] Interviewed with Harisu Ahmad, on 03/10/2017
[257] Interviewed with Muhammad Adamu, 35 years old; one of the students at the mosque premises, in Dandago, on 03/10/2017
[258] Interviewed with Sadik Ibrahim Dandago, 30 years old; one of the students at the mosque premises, in Dandago, on 10/08/2017
[259] Interviewed with Malam Usman Yusufu Makwarari, on 10/05/2017

4.7 *JAKARA* FRIDAY MOSQUE 2015

Jakara Friday Mosque is located at *Muskwani* ward. The area is bordered by *Jujin Yan Labu* and *Kwarin Mabuga* quarters on the east, on the west with *Yan Maruci* quarters, on the south with *Tudun Nufawa* and on the north with *Dambazau* quarters.[260]*Muskwani* is dwelled by Hausa and Kanuri peoples. Most of the people are butchers, some of them are businessmen. This area is blessed with many scholars among whom are; *Malam* Adamu, *Malam* Salisu Adamu, *Malam* Na-ta'ala, *Malam* Ibrahim Mai Hadiyya and *Malam* Sale to mention but a few. Historically, the area was called *Muskwani* because of its large area of land where people come for horse riding performance during the annual *Durbar* festival (Horse riding). In another version, a man called *Malam* Abubakar Ibn Jalo *Al-Gazargamiyyu* from Borno State, specifically *Ngazargamu* was said to have migrated with his students numbering about over a hundred to Kano during the reign of *Sarki* Alwali. He left his home town as a result of a conflict between him and his brother who was the then leader of Kanuri peoples. They settled at *Tumfafi* area and sought for an audience with the emir. The emir welcomed them to Kano and asked *Malam* Abubakar to settle anywhere he liked within the city. He was accompanied by one of the emir's delegates. He subsequently chose to settle in *Muskwani*.[261]

The Establishment and Development of the *Jakara* Friday mosque

According to some informants[262], the land on which the *Jakara* Friday Mosque built was given to *Shaykh* Isyaka Rabi'u by the State government under the leadership of Rabi'u

[260] Fieldwork Note: was referred as the field trip carried out by the researcher to re-examine the geographical location of the area, on 10/02/2017
[261] Maje Ahmad Gwangazo. "Kano Garin Albarka [A]…" Pp. 74-5
[262] Interviewed with Malam Muhiddin Ashiru, 52 years old; the Chief Imam of Jakara Friday Mosque; at his residents in Goron Dutse, on 01/01/2017

MusaKwankwaso. It is just opposite his old house.[263] The *Shaykh* requested to build the mosque on this land because people were using it as a dumping site there by polluting the environment.[264] Moreover, there was a call made by the community members that appealed to *Shaikh* Isyaka Rabi'u to built mosque opposite his old house.[265]*Jakara* Friday Mosque was completed in 2015, and in the same year having followed the due process, Friday prayers began in the mosque.[266] But it might be argued that, the *Jakara* Friday mosque was built due to the ideological difference between the *Qadiriyyah* and *Tijjaniyyah*, because the *Tudun Nufawa* Mosque which built since belongs to *Qadiriyyah*.

Malam Muhiddin Ashiru was appointed the *Imam* of the mosque. He was born in 1965 at *Bakin Ruwa*, Kano. He was well-educated, though he never travelled to anywhere for further studies. He studied the Holy *Qur'an* at a local *tsangaya Qur'anic* school. He was taught by his father, *Malam* Shehu Ashiru Atiku *Bakin Ruwa*. He taught him *Qur'an*, *Hadith* and *Fiqh*. *Shehu* Atiku was famous in terms of learning and teaching. He contributes immensely towards the development of the *Tijjaniyyah* group in Kano. After *Shaykh* Isyaka Rabi'u became *Khalifa* of *Tijjaniyyah*, he brought *Malam* Shehu Atiku closer to him, and later on, after following the due process of interviews and screening exercises, appointed him (*Malam* Shehu Atiku) as the *Imam* of the mosque.[267]

However, according to my informants,[268] in order to avoid conflict between the *Tijjaniyah* and *Qadiriyyah* followers and community members, a precautionary measure

[263] *Ibid*, on 05/01/2017
[264] Interviewed with Musa Kamilu Usman, 29 years old; Student, at the mosque premises in Jakara, on 20/09/2017
[265] Interviewed with Zaharadeen Ibrahim Abdul, 25 years old; businessman, at the mosque premises in Jakara, on 20/09/2017
[266] Interviewed with Malam Muhiddin Ashiru, on 01/01/2017
[267] *Ibid*
[268] Interviewed with Tijjani Muhammad Ibrahim, as he identifies himself, who speaks under anonymity, 30 years old, businessman and student , in Muskwani, on 10/03/2017

wastaken by the authorities concerned. This effort was necessary looking at the location of the new Friday mosque, very close to the *Tudun Nufawa* Friday Mosque on the south separated only by drainage.[269] Therefore, there had to be mutual understanding between the parties involved. For instance, when the first Friday prayer was said at the *Jakara* Mosque, a delegate was sent from *Tudun Nufawa* Mosque to ask *Shaykh* Isyaka Rabi'u to adjust the time of the prayer. They discussed, and later agreed to adjust the prayer time for a peaceful coexistence. The agreement became possible as a result of the understanding that exists between the *Tijjaniyyyah* and *Qadiriyyah* sects. The *Tudun Nufawa* Friday mosque to start prayer at 01:20 pm, while *Jakara* Friday mosque at 02:15 pm. Sometimes the same people that performed their Friday prayer at the *Tudun Nufawa* Mosque would more or less be the same that would pray in the other mosque, if by any chance they missed prayer in the other mosque.[270]

The contributions of the mosque

Educationally, the mosque has been contributing immensely in educating and enlightening the Muslim *ummah* of the area. On Fridays, after the *Magrib* (sunshine) prayer, the weekly Friday supplication is followed by *Qur'anic* recitation. Furthermore, with the exception of Fridays, every day between *Magrib* and *Isha'i* prayers, people would gather to perform the *wazifa* and recite two *juzu'I,* (chapters) of the Holy *Qur'an*.[271] Occasionally, during the month of *Ramadan* (fasting period), many people would gather to recite the entire Holy *Qur'an* after which a special supplication would be said. In the month of *Rabi'ul Awwal* (Islamic month), people would also gather to recite the whole *Qur'an* to celebrate the birth day anniversary of

[269] *ibid*
[270] Interviewed with Malam Muhiddin Ashiru, 06/02/2017
[271] Interviewed with Isma'il Ali Idris, 40 years old; Businessman, at the Mosque premises in Jakara, on 25/08/2017

Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.). After each recitation, *Shaykh* Isyaka Rabi'u would give *Sadaqa* (charity) to each reciter.[272]

4.8 *SHESHE* FRIDAY MOSQUE 2016

Sheshe Friday Mosque is located at *Sheshe* quarters. The area shares borders with *Soron Dinki* and *Daneji* quarters on the south, on the north with *Makwarari* , *Kwalwa*, *Marmara* and *Alfindiki* quarters on the west and on the east with *Kurna* and *Sharfadi* quarters.[273] The residents of the area comprise of Hausa, Fulani, *Kutumbawa*, Katsina, and Nupe peoples. Their main occupation is business. It has been a center that accommodates learned scholars like *Malam* Lamido Mai Yar Makaranta, *Malam* Muhammadu Ahmadu, *Malam* Ali Isa and *Malam* Sani Banbaran to mention but a few. Historically, the name *Sheshe* is derived from the term "*Shaykh*" meaning "*Malam*" (a learned person; a teacher). This *Shaykh* came from Mali during the reign of *Sarkin* Kano Sulaimanu, after the 1804 *Jihad* of Usman Danfodio and settled in this area. The residents of the area, being unable to pronounce the word "*Shaykh*" in Malam *Shaykh* correctly, began to pronounce it as "*sheshe*". And, that was how the name of the area was coined.[274]

The Establishment and Development of the *Sheshe* Friday Mosque

According to *Malam* Haruna Sadisu Baban Saddi, the building of the mosque could be dated back to sixty five years.[275] The mosque was initially built as a five-daily-prayer mosque by Alhaji Muhammadu Gote. The land on which the *Sheshe* mosque was built was given to Alhaji Muhammadu Gote by the then Emir of Kano Alhaji Abdullahi Bayero (1926-53) for the purpose

[272] Interviewed with Aminu Khamisu, 25 years old; Student and Businessman, at his resident in Jakara, on 25/08/2017
[273] Fieldwork Note: was referred as the field trip carried out by the researcher to re-examine the geographical location of the area, on 01/02/2017
[274] Interviewed with Alhaji Yahaya Sharubutu, 60 years old; the Ward Head of Sheshe, in Makwarari, on 04/10/2017
[275] Interviewed with Malam Haruna Sadisu Baban Saddi, 45 years, the Chief Imam of the mosque, at his Office in Sheshe mosque, on 02/02/2017;

of establishing a five-daily-prayer mosque. Alhaji Muhammadu Gote built the mosque and two houses closed to the mosque which he gave it to his children Alhaji Gwadabe and Alhaji Garba. After the completion of the mosque he handed it over to Malam Sadi Alfindiki. In 1979, the children of Alhaji Muhammadu Gote i.e, Alhaji Gwadabe and Alhaji Garba decided to expand the mosque, they rebuilt the mosque with upstairs to serve as school, the work ended in 1982.[276]

In 2014, Kano central mosque was attacks by *Boko Haram* which was why *Sheshe* mosque was transformed into a Friday mosque in 2016.[277] Emir Muhammadu Sanusi II gave the approval to transform the mosque into a Friday mosque. This approval was given to *Shaykh* Karibullahi *Shaykh* Nasiru Kabara. The approval came as a result of the insecurity problems rocking the Northern Nigeria region resulted from *Boko Haram* attacks targeting gathering centers. The Kano central mosque was targeted by the terrorists, knowing it was the largest weekly gathering center within the walled city, in order to murder the innocent people praying there. Therefore, *Sheshe* Mosque was upgraded into a Friday mosque, in spite of its being close to the central mosque.[278]

However, before the commencement of the Friday prayer in the mosque, consultations were carried out by the mosque committee to avoid conflict in the area. Among the consulted individuals were the ward heads of *Alfindiki*, *Marmara*, *Kwalwa*, *Sheshe* and *Kudundubawa* quarters. On August 28, 2016, people from different parts of the area attended the first Friday prayer performed in the mosque, and it continues to date without any hindrance.[279] According to

[276] *Ibid,* on 24/10/2019

[277] The attack on the Kano Central Mosque was a terrorist act carried out by Boko Haram on November 28, 2014. The mosque is next to the famous Rumfa Palace of the Emir of Kano; the emir performs his prayers in the mosque. The attack happened days after the Emir Sanusi Lamido Sanusi II urged the civilians to protect themselves against terrorist attacks. It occurred when the Friday prayer was about to start. The terrorists detonated a bomb and immediately after the explosion started shooting innocent people trying to escape.

[278] Interviewed with Alhaji Yahaya Sharubutu, on 04/10/2017

[279] Interviewed with Malam Haruna Sadisu Baban Saddi, on 02/02/2017

my informants, people were very happy because even before the fatal attack on the central mosque, the attacks on some places in Kano, made it compulsory for the Kano State Government to ban the commercial *achaba* riders. This made it difficult for the aged to attend Friday prayers in most places around the city. But with the commencement of Friday prayer in this mosque, many even trekked to the mosques, while those who could not, performed their prayer in their houses because the mosque was very close.[280]

The first chief *Imam* of the mosque was *Malam* Haruna Sadisu Baban Saddi. He was born on 26th May, 2017 at *Alfindiki* quarters, Kano. Even though he grew up in a famous and scholarly family of *Malam* Sadi Alfindiki (his father), he travelled to many places in search of Islamic knowledge. His education started with *Qur'anic* studies at a local *tsangaya*. There has been a *Qur'anic* school in his father's house even before he was born. *Malam* Baban Saddi was taught other Islamic books by *Malam* Bala Almarga. He attended primary school at *Tudun Madatai*. He did his secondary school studies at *Warure* and at *Gwammaja* II. He obtained a B.A degree from Bayero University (B.U.K.) from the Department of Arabic. As of the time of the research, he works as a civil servant with Kano Municipal Local Government. He was a beneficiary of the government sponsored program that featured special seminars given by *Imams* of Friday Mosque in Saudi Arabia.[281]

The Contributions of the Mosque

Educationally, it is important to note that *Sheshe* Friday Mosque has been contributing greatly in uniting the Muslim *Ummah* through the weekly Friday sermons delivered. The sermons delivered by the *Imam* are always based on the teachings of Prophet Muhammad

[280] Interviewed with Malam Abubakar Ibrahim Sheshe, 55 years old; at his resident in Sheshe, on 15/09/2017
[281] Interviewed with Malam Haruna Sadisu Baban Saddi, on 02/02/2017

(P.B.U.H), emphasizing on the unity of Muslims.[282] According to some informants, *Sheshe* area comprises of people with ideological differences. The predominant sects are the *Qadiriyyah*, *Tijjaniyyah* and *Izalah* sects. The mosque belongs to the *Qadiriyyah Sufi* order. For them to be welcomed and appreciated in such environment, the sermons must never be offensive to anyone irrespective of their belief. Hence, this could be the reason why many people pray in the mosque. You would find members of *Tijaniyyah* and even *Izalah* adherents praying *Salatul Juma'a* (Friday prayer) in the same mosque.[283]

4.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter examines the motives behind the development and spread of Friday mosques during the period under study (2012-2016). As discussed, the emergence of Friday mosques in Kano city during this period was as a result of the insecurity bedeviling Northern Nigeria. After the attacks on Kano by the *Boko Haram*, the Emir of Kano approved the transformation of many five-daily-prayer mosques in Kano into Friday mosques. The difficulties people faced in attending Friday prayers particularly at the Kano central mosque also made it necessary to establish another mosque in order to ease the suffering. Following the factors responsible for this development are the biographies of the *Imams* of the various mosques. Also discussed are the educational contributions of these mosques towards the development of Islamic education in Kano, as well as the promotion of unity among the Kano Muslims who follow *Qadiriyyah*, *Tijjaniyyah* and *Izalah* among other sects respectively.

[282] Interviewed with Bala Muhammad Umar, 25 years old; businessman, at the mosque premises in Sheshe, on 20/09/2017

[283] Interviewedwith Muntari Ibrahim Khalil, 20 years old; Student, at his resident in Alfindiki, on 20/09/2017

CHAPTER FIVE

IMPACT OF THE PROLIFERATION OF FRIDAY PRAYER MOSQUES IN KANO CITY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

While the factors responsible for the development and spread of Friday prayer mosques from 1992-2016 have been highlighted in chapter three and four, this chapter looks at the consequences of the proliferation of Friday mosque in Kano city. In addition, it examines the advantages and disadvantages of the surge in Friday mosques in Kano and Kano city in particular. In the process it lists the Friday mosques in Kano city and their categorizations. Finally, it concluded with the general observations and analysis based on the information available so far.

5.2 ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE PROLIFERATION OF FRIDAY MOSQUES IN KANO CITY

It is very important to note that, the acceptance of *Maliki* School of Law in the Hausaland discourages the habit of building more Friday mosque, in order to avoid the fragmentation of the Muslim *Ummah*. The *Maliki* school of thought insists that in a situation where by there are many mosques, Friday prayer should be said in the oldest mosque.[284] As mentioned above, right from the introduction of Islam in Kano, central mosque was built that served as a Friday mosque, despite the changed of location, demolition and rebuild Kano city maintained the tradition for a very long period of time throughout the period 1359-1992.

[284] Muhammad S. Zahradeen. "The Place of Mosques in the…." P.

According to one tradition of the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H), when he was on the march to *Tabuk*, the *Banu Salim* said to him that, they had built a mosque to make it easier for their feeble and elderly people, and they begged the Prophet to perform his *Salat* (prayer) in it and thus give it his approval. The Prophet postponed it till his return, because the mosque had been founded by *Munafiqun* (hypocrites) at the instigation of *Abu Amir al-Rahib*.[285] Although, the tradition did not specifically mentions the mosque as Friday mosque, but the lessons learned here was that, there must be some conditions for building a mosque. More importantly it must be built for the sake of God.

Tabari argued that a time would come in which the scholars discusses whether the group own Friday mosques should allowed or not.

> "The people of your mosque became identical with your party. Gradually, as new sects arose, they naturally had mosques of their own, just as *Musailama* before them is said to have had his own mosque…..these special mosques were a great source of disruption in Islam and we can understand that, a time came when they learned discussed whether such mosques should be permitted at all".[286]

It was against this background that we can examine the implications of the spread of the Friday mosques in Kano city. As mentioned, Friday mosque was not supposed to belong to any group. Even thought, the above quotation does not specifically state the type of mosque. But we might believe that it was referring to Friday mosque, because the aim of Friday prayer was to bring the Muslim together every Friday. Nevertheless, the group owned Friday's mosques in the society wherever found could be a source of disruption, disunity and conflict among Muslims, because it has a religious and social importance.

[285] Brill, L…, "The Encyclopedia of Islam…" P. 318
[286] Ibid, P. 320

In Hausaland, after the 1804 *Jihad*, the tradition of building Friday mosque very close to one another was discouraged by the *Jihad* leader. *Sheikh* Usman Dan Fodio wrote a book *Ihya al-Sunnah wa Ikhmad al bidi'a,* where he stated clearly that, in a situation where there are many mosques in the city or town, then Friday prayer should be said in one of the mosques. By implication therefore, he discouraged the custom of proliferating mosques in the Muslim community. This was the reason why there was only one Friday mosque for the whole of Kano for a very long time (about 633 years). Although there were many *Hadith* that encourage the building of mosques for people to benefit by gaining rewards, but the *Hadith* has not indicated Friday mosque specifically.[287]

Recently however, the Emir of Kano *Malam* Muhammad Sanusi II, also called on wealthy individuals in the North to use the wealth Allah has blessed them with, not only in building mosques but to also educate girls and discourage their early marriage. He said "I am just tired of people coming to me to say I want to build a new mosque. You know, we keep building mosques and our daughters are illiterates. So my appeal is that if you really want to help Kano, do not come to me with a request to build a N300 million mosque, because I have enough mosques everywhere. And if I don't have a mosque, I will build it myself. If you really want to help go and educate girl child in the village."[288]

One of the most important advantages of the spread of Friday mosque in Kano city was that, it saved the aged ones from the difficulties they faced in attending Friday prayer at the Kano central mosque. Every Friday some of them had to trek, while others would go by bicycle, motorcycle and cars to say their prayer in the city. With the spread of Friday mosques in the city

[287] Muhammad Kyari, "The History of The Imamship of Borno Under The El-Kanemi Dynasty From 1902-" beingunpublished M.A Dissertation, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano, 1992. P. 230

[288] Taiwo Ojoye. "Educate Girls, Stop Building Mosques, Sanusi Tells Northerners" In his keynote address at the 3rd International Conference on Islamic Banking and Finance, on January 19, 2017.

their suffering eased. Secondly, the times of prayer in the mosques differ. This would help people not to miss the prayer, because if you miss the prayer in one mosque, you have the opportunity to say your prayer in another mosque. If there is only one mosque as it was before in the city of Kano and by any chance you missed the prayer, you would lose the benefits of that Friday prayer for the week.

Another advantage was that Friday mosques if well designed stands to beautify a city. When one looks at the Islamic architecture in the Muslim areas generally, you find out that Friday mosques served as focal point of attraction in those cities, for instance, central mosque in Kano, Ilorin, Timbuktu, and Sankore.[289] The mosque also served as centers of learning; in Kano city the mosque is used to educate the Muslim populations. You find out that *Islamiyya* Schools were attached to some of the mosques and also other forms of preaching annually or occasionally do take place. Other activities include marriage contract, and naming ceremony to mention a few.

The Friday mosque also serves as an information center. The *Imam* of the mosque uses the opportunity to pass the information of what is happing around the area and elsewhere during sermon sessions. In almost all the Friday mosques in the city sermons are translated into indigenous language (Hausa) to help the general public to understand the sermon. Traditionally, the sermon was supposed to be recited in Arabic but because most of the people were not knowledgeable in Arabic language, it became necessary to translate the sermon into *Hausa*. Even though, today there are various means of passing information such as radio, newspapers, television to mention a few, still mosque maintained such position in Kano city.

[289] Muhammad Kyari, "*The History of The Imamship of Borno…"* P. 231

It is important however to note that, one of the great disadvantages of the spread of Friday mosque is the promotion of disunity since the main aim of congregation prayers is, to bring the Muslim community together. The occasions were used weekly to have Muslims converge at one place, by so doing they were given the ample opportunity to interact and benefit socially, politically and economically. Multiplication of the mosques defeats this purpose. Some aspects of the differences between Muslims that seem apparent now, could have been avoided if there were very fewer mosques common to all Muslims. But the fact that mosques increased at such unprecedented rate often led to exclusiveness.[290]

However, the implication of this development was that, while the scholars engage in verbal conflict among themselves, the less privileged scholars used the opportunity to spread their ideas and beliefs. For instance, the *Maitatsine* uprising of 1980s in Kano city, one of the factors that paved way for the uprising was the misunderstanding and misinterpretation of facts and persistent discord among the different *Sufi* brotherhoods. The bone of contentions was based on religious practices and rites. And also *Boko Haram* (Western Education is blasphemous) in 1999 that is currently rocking the country was as a result of such ideological differences. In this period, the scholars were at loggerhead with one another, particularly between the *Qadiriyyah*, *Tijjaniyyah* and *Izala* groups.

However, with the Friday prayer mosques been spreaded people would be reluctant to go to the mosque in time, because of the idea that, if you miss in one you might attend in another. The Islam encourages people to attend Friday prayer before the sermon is read for the benefits or rewards, not going on time stopped people to attain such benefits. In some cases, you discovered that people will not come to the mosque unless the prayer is about to start. They would run in

[290] For details also see the work of Muhammad Kyari, "*The History of The Imamship of Borno…"* P. 232

order to attend the prayer it was wrong islamically. Some of the mosques tamper with the town planning; the congregants of the mosques located on the major roads/streets hinder the movement of commuters.

Lastly, the organizational Friday mosque was another source of conflicts in the society, because the people became identical with the mosque. The group's mosque was discouraged right from the introduction of Islam, in order to avoid fragmentation of Muslim *Ummah* into sects or camps. Because of this in Kano, central mosque was built by the first *Sarkin* Kano to accept Islam for the entire people in respective of their religious differences. With the emergence of new ideas and beliefs Friday mosque in Kano city was now turned into a symbol of doctrinial identity. One of the implications was that, some people are not attending the Friday prayer in a mosque that does not belongs to their groups.

5.3 LIST OF THE FRIDAY PRAYER MOSQUES AND THEIR IDENTITY CATEGORIZATION IN KANO CITY

As mentioned earlier, since the introduction of the Islam in Kano, there was only one Friday mosques for the entire Kano, but from 1969 Kano witnessed the establishment of additional Friday mosque at *Fagge* outside the city, since then Friday mosques are increasing in Kano metropolis. In 1978, the new religious organization struggle to establish mosques in Kano, but it was in 1991-1992 they started to build mosques in the Kano metropolitan. The struggle to build mosques and coupled with the *Sufis* to maintain its influence in the society together with other factors as mentioned earlier indirectly influenced the transformation and establishment of Friday mosques in Kano city 1992-2016. The *Tijjaniyya Sufi* order was the first to establish Friday mosque in 1992, and it now control three Friday mosques in the city of Kano. The *Qadiriyya Sufi* order which was second to establish Friday mosque in 2011, it now control six

Friday mosques while *Izala* transformed five daily prayer mosque to Friday mosque in 2012 and it also controls one Friday mosque in the city of Kano.

1.	*Koki* Friday Mosque	*Tijjaniyah* Brotherhood	1992
2.	*Dala* Friday Mosque	*Qadiriyyah* Brotherhood	2011
3.	*AsahabulKhafi* Friday Mosque	*Qadiriyyah* Brotherhood	2012
4.	*Kofar Nasarawa* Friday Mosque	*Izala* Group	2012
5.	*Sharif Bala* Friday Mosque	*Qadiriyya* Brotherhood	2013
6.	*Tudun Nufawa* Friday Mosque	*Qadiriyyah* Brotherhood	2013
7.	*Dukawa Friday*Mosque	*Tijjaniyyah* Brotherhood	2013
8.	*Alkali Buhari Daura* Friday Mosque	*Qadiriyyah* Brotherhood	2014
9.	*Jakara* Friday Mosque	*Tijjaniyyah* Brotherhood	2015
10.	*Sheshe* Friday Mosque	*Qadiriyyah* Brotherhood	2016

5.4 CONCLUSION

Over the years, historians and Islamic scholars, writers and observers have different views about the factors responsible for the development and spread of Friday prayer mosques in the Muslim World. In Nigeria many scholars were of the viewed that the development of this phenomenon was attributed to many factors which included religious, socio-economic and political. Likewise in Kano the phenomenon was viewed as a result of the establishment of new settlements and distance, due to the historical trends of migrations and movement of peoples.

This development has necessitated the desire for the research to find out the factors responsible for the development and spread of Friday prayer mosques in Kano city between 1978 and 2016.

Firstly, the research begins with the general introduction and conceptual clarification of the phenomenon. In view of this, a lot of literature has been reviewed in order to have a clear understanding and focus of the study. Most of literature reviewed focuses on Kano metropolis, looking at the factors responsible for the proliferation of Friday mosques in Kano metropolitan. This helps the research to look at factors responsible for the spread of Friday mosques in the city of Kano, through the historical methodology. The research viewed the Conflict Resolution theory to guide the research on how to explain the phenomenon. The research also discusses the significance concerning the phenomenon and limitations of the study.

Secondly, this study discusses the factors that led to the introduction of Islam in Kano by the *Wangarawa* merchants in 1359 and the impact of Islam on the socio-religious, political, and economic. It discusses the importance of the Friday prayer and the *Sarkin* Kano Yaji in 1359 who was the first king to accept Islam established a Friday mosque for the whole of Kano. Since then Kano had one Friday mosque not until 1969 when the need for the establishment of another outside the city of Kano.

Furthermore, the Friday mosques have been functioning right from the introduction of Islam, as centers of mobilization, recruitment, accommodation, hospitality and discourse to mention a few. In Kano city, Friday mosques have been functioning as centers of education, naming ceremony, marriage contract, and public lectures. Various Islamic groups having realized the importance and functions of the Friday mosque have used it in spreading their respective ideas, belief, influence and identity.

The study looks at the emergence of Islamic organizations or groups from 1978-1995 in Kano city. One of the important points here was that, the emergence of Islamic groups with new ideas and beliefs and coupled with the socio-religious and economic factors created or rather intensified the struggle for influence and identity among scholars in Kano. Since then, scholars have been battling with minor and major conflicts for years. The dispute between and among scholars became more apparent during the 20th and 21st centuries. One important factor that separated the scholar's apart was based on the type of religious practices and the rituals that were performed by Muslims as part of the religion. Because of these reasons, scholars deviate from their primary responsibility (teaching) and start accusing fellow Muslims as non-believers. With this development the scholars struggle to control and build Friday mosque for influence, and identity in Kano city as discuses below.

Thirdly, they started establishing mosque to show their influence and identity in the city of Kano, which was why in 1992 *Koki* mosque was transformed into a Friday mosque in the northern part of the Kano city by the *Tijjaniyyah* group. Subsequently, *Dala* mosque cited in the northern part of the city upgraded into a Friday mosque by the *Qadiriyyah* in 2011. In 2012 *Ashabul Khafi* Friday mosque in the western part of the city was established by the breakaway faction of the *Qadiriyyah-Nasiriyya* and also *Kofar Nasarawa* mosque was upgraded to Friday mosque cited in the eastern part of the city in the same year by the *Izala* group. This development could not be unconnected with scholars each trying to show their influence and identity in the community, because it was from 1992 Friday mosque in the city started to bear group identity. The religious group's mosque can be easily identified by the activities that take place in the mosque. The major contenders are *Qadiriyyah*, *Tijjaniyyah* and *Izala* groups with each having Friday mosques, but the *Izala* owns one Friday mosque in the city.

Fourthly, the phenomenon became more apparent in Kano city from 2012 to 2016, it was during this period that three Friday mosques were established owned and controls by different religious groups. According to my informants, the increase in Friday mosques in Kano city during this period was as a result of the insecurity bedeviling Northern Nigeria. The attacks on Kano by the *Boko Haram* made it necessary to the emir of Kano to approve the transformation of many five-daily-prayer mosques into Friday mosques. The argument here was that, it was on record that before the establishment of a Friday mosque in Kano there must be five to six kilometers distance as the case may be, but *Tudun Nufawa* and *Jakara* Friday mosques were demarcated by just a drainage and even some of the Friday mosques in Kano city did not reach to that level of distance. Fifthly, the research concludes with the consequences of the proliferation of Friday mosque and general analyses.

In analyzing the courses of the development and spread of Friday prayer mosques in the city the question to ask is why did the Friday prayer mosque increase from one to eleven in our period of study? The increase in population and the establishment of new centers made it clear that a single Friday mosque for the entire city was grossly inadequate to accommodate the populace. Consequently, there were four mosques transformed to Friday prayer mosques which include: *Koki* mosque in 1992, *Sharif Bala, Tudun Nufawa* and *Dukawa* mosques all in 2013. The emergence of religious organization changed the socio-religious setting of Kano with each group trying to show influence and identity in the community. In 2014 after the rebuilding and upgrading of *Alkali Buhari Daura* mosque, it was given to *Qadiriyyah*, but initially it belonged to *Tijjaniyyah*, both the groups agreed to use the mosque without any problems. However, *Shaykh Isyaka Rabi'u* built a Friday mosque in 2015 opposite his old house at *Jakara*. The mosque was very close to *Tudun Nufawa* mosque. The *Izala* groups upgraded their mosque at

Kofar Nasarawa to Friday prayer mosque in 2012. Another Friday mosque was built at *Sani Mainagge* (A) by the breakaway faction of *Qadiriyya-Nasiriyya* in 2012.

The desire of the religious organizations to establish and control Friday mosques has no doubt created or intensified the conflicts between the various Islamic groups in Kano. The two Islamic groups (*Qadiriyyah* and *Izala*) struggled over the ownership and control of *Dala* mosque, as a result of which the mosque was upgraded to Friday mosque in 2011, to resolve the conflict. The attacks on Kano by the *Boko Haram* made it necessary to the Emir of Kano to approve the upgrading of many five-daily mosques in Kano into Friday mosques. In the walled city of Kano, *Sheshe* mosque was upgraded to Friday mosque in 2016. Finally, the interest showed to build mosques by philanthropist led to the development and spread of Friday prayer mosques in Kano city, because some of the mosques were either built by single family, individual or through community effort, as discusses above.

The four Friday mosques of *Koki, Dala, Kofar Nasarawa,* and *Tudun Nufawa* had something in common at some point and also diverge in something. With regards to the upgrading of the mosques for instance, the Friday mosques of *Koki, Dala* and *Tudun Nufawa* followed the procedures established by the emirate council before the mosques were upgraded, due to the mutual understanding between the emirate councils and *Sufis* orders, while the *Kofar Nasarawa* was upgraded without following the procedures, because there was misunderstanding between the *Izala* and emirate councils. As a result of this, the *Sarki* was responsible for the appointment of the *Imams* of *Koki, Dala* and *Tudun Nufawa* mosques after successfully passed the screening. The *Izala* group was responsible for the appointment of its *Imams.* And also each of the mosques, *Na'ibis* were appointed for instance, the *Koki, Dala* and *Kofar Nasarawa* Friday mosque each mosques had two *Na'ibis*, while *Tudun Nufawa* Friday mosque had one *Na'ibi*.

The *Koki, Dala, Kofar Nasarawa* and *Tudun Nufawa* Friday mosques adopted the method of transtlating the sermon into indigenous language, the logic behind was to make Muslims understand the messages passed during the sermon. Some of the mosques agreed on the rotation of the sermon to each *Imam* weekly or occasionally. The *Imams* of *Dala* Friday mosque agreed on the weekly rotation and while *Kofar Nasarawa* Friday mosque *Imams* agreed on the occasional basis. The *Imams* of *Koki* and *Tudun Nufawa* Friday mosques agreed on the basis of the absent of the *Imam*.

Based on the observations made so far, some of the sermon delivered on the *Koki, Dala* and *Tudun Nufawa* Friday mosque had something in common, this would not be unconnected with the relationships of the mosques and the emirate. As mentioned above, the sermons delivered by the *Imams* on the mosques are always based on the calling of the Muslims to fear Allah and follow the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H), emphasizing on the importance of prayer, unity of Muslims, brotherhoods and to be truthful and sincere on their daily activities. While the *Kofar Nasarawa* Friday mosque goes beyond that, some of the sermons were broader in outlooks because national and local issues with regards to politics and socio-economic activities were discusses in the mosque.

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ORAL INFORMATION

INFORMANTS

S/N	NAME	AGE	STATUS/OCCUPATION	PLACE	DATE
1.	Alhaji Ahmad Sanda	65	The Ward Head of Koki	Bakin Zuwo	27/09/2017
1.	Alhaji Hassan Sunusi Dantata	68	Businessman	Koki	29/09/2017

2.	Malam Aliyu Salihu Turaki	45	The Imam of Koki Friday Mosque	Koki Friday mosque	01/02/2017
3.	Alhaji Usman Koki	56	Businessman	Koki	27/09/2017
4.	Malam Kabiru Muhammad	30	Student/Businessman	Koki	27/09/2017
5.	Malam Salisu Sani	47	Businessman	Dala	24/09/2017
6.	Malam Musdafal Bakari Yusuf Makwarari	45	The Imam of Dala Friday Mosque	Makwarari	08/02/2017
7.	Malam Mustapha Sani Muhammad	21	Student	Dala Friday Mosque	24/09/2017
8.	Malam Usman Abdullahi Yakub	34	Student	Dala	25/09/2017
9.	Malam Ahmad Zubair	40	Businessman	Dala	10/02/2017
10.	Malam Salisu Ibrahim	35	Businessman	Dala	24/09/2017
11.	Malam Muhammadu Salisu Yusufu	83	Teacher	Sani Mai Nagge, (A).	01/10/2017
12.	Malam Aliyu Muhammad Na Baba	43	The District Head of Sani Mai Nagge (A)	Sani Mai Nagge (A)	03/10/2017
13.	Malam AliyulKawwas Nasiru Kabara	20	The Imam of Ashabul Khafi Friday Mosque	Sani Mai Nagge (A)	02/01/2017
14.	Aliyu Ibrahim	25	Student	Sani Mai Nagge (A)	03/10/2017
15.	Aminu Mamuda	30	Student	Sani Mai Nagge (A)	01/09/2017

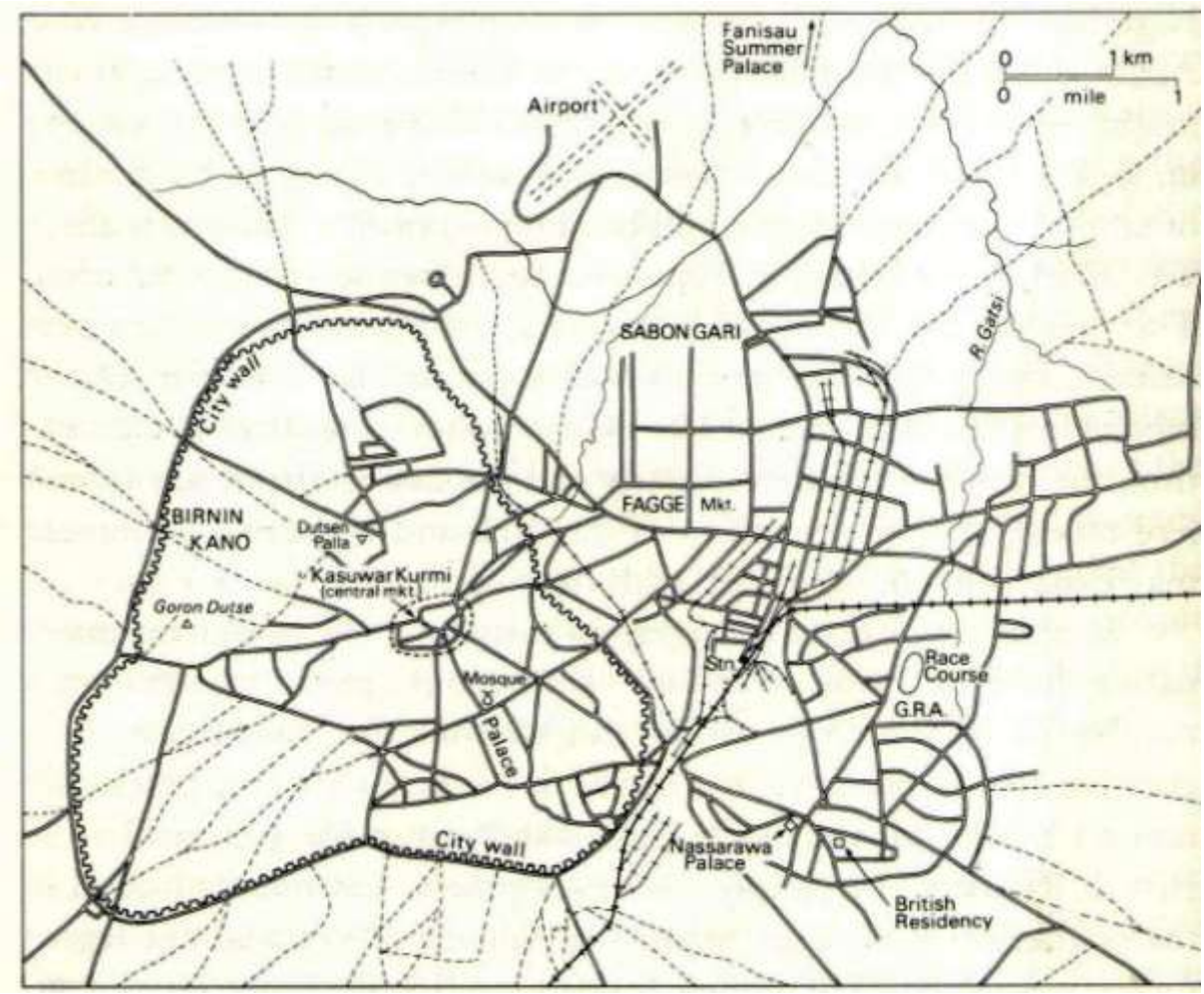
16.	Malam Muhammad Sani Ashir	55	The Imam of Kofar Nasarawa Friday Mosque	Bayero University, Kano	06/02/2017
17.	Malam Shu'aibu Abdullahi Mamman Da	65	Businessman	Kofar Nasarawa	29/09/2017
18.	Aliyu Isma'il	30	Businessman	Kofar Nasawa	17/03/2017
19.	Malam Ibrahim Sani	27	Businessman	Kofar Nasarawa	17/03/2017
20.	Malam Kabiru Shehu	50	Head Master	Kofar Nasarawa Mubi	29/09/2017
21.	Malam Zikirillahi Usman Makwarari	40	The Imam of Sharif Bala Friday Mosque	Ayagi	04/02/2017
22.	Isma'il Ibrahim Muhammad	45	Businessman	Ayagi	15/02/2017
23.	Inuwa Ahmad	25	Student	Ayagi	15/02/2017
24.	Malam Muhammad MahFuz	64	The Ward Head of Tudun Nufawa	Tudun Nufawa	06/02/2017
25.	Malam Karibullahi Nasiru Lamaran	51	The Imam of the Tudun Nufawa Friday Mosque	Tudun Nufawa Mosque	30/01/2017
26.	Abdullahi Mustapha	45	Businessman	Tudun Nufawa	06/02/2017

27.	Nafi'u Aminu Adam	25	Businessman	Tudun Nufawa	29/09/2017
28.	Muhammad Inuwa Hussain	50	The Ward Head of Dukawa	Dukawa	30/01/2017
29.	Malam Sani Ibrahim Sadik	45	Businessman	Dukawa	01/02/2017
30.	Malam Nazifi Gambo Ahmad Darma	51	The Imam of The Dukawa Friday Mosque	Gabari	30/01/2017
31.	Musa Buhari Ali	25	Student	Dukawa	02/03/2017
32.	Aliyu Ibrahim	25	Student & Business	Dukawa	10/09/2017
33.	Malam Abubakar Sani Dandago	45	The Ward Head of Dandago	Dandago	04/10/2017
34.	Malam Hasiru Ahmad	40	Businessman	Dandago	03/10/2017
35.	Malam Usman Yusufu Makwarari	77	The Head of Qadiriyyah Makwarari Branch	Dandago	03/02/2017
36.	Malam Muhammad Adamu	35	Businessman	Dandago	03/10/2017
37.	Malam Sadik Ibrahim Dandago	30	Student & Business	Dandago	10/08/2017
38.	Malam Muhiddin Ashiru	52	The Imam of Jakara Friday Mosque	Goron Dutse	01/01/2017
39.	Malam Musa Kamilu Usman	29	Student & Business	Jakara	20/09/2017
40.	Malam Zaharadeen Ibrahim	25	Student & Business	Jakara	20/09/2017

	Abdul				
41.	Tijjani Muhammad Ibrahim	30	Business	Muskwani	10/03/2017
42.	Isma'il Ali Idris	40	Business	Jakara	25/08/2017
43.	Aminu Khamisu	25	Student & Business	Jakara	25/08/2017
44.	Alhaji Yahaya Sharubutu	60	The Ward Head of Sheshe	Makwarari	04/10/2017
45.	Malam Haruna Sadisu Baban Saddi	45	The Imam of Sheshe Friday Mosque	Sheshe	02/02/2017
46.	Malam Abubakar Ibrahim	55	Business	Sheshe	15/09/2017
47.	Bala Muhammad Umar	25	Business	Sheshe	20/09/2017
48.	Muntari Ibrahim Khalil	20	Student	Alfindiki	20/09/2017
49.	Alhaji Mai Kudi Sabo	45	Assistance District Head of Gwale L.G	Old Dala secretariat	18/11/2016
50.	Alhaji Muhammad Yola	83	Sarkin Fadar Walin Kano	Yola	22/10/2019
51.	Alhaji Hadi Yusuf Imam	69	The Imam of Jalli Mosque	Jalli (Yakasai)	26/10/2019
52.	Malam Muhammadu Ibrahim	60	The Ward Head of Kan Karofi	Jalli (Yakasai)	26/10/2019
53.	Malam Usman Abubakar	50	Teacher	Unguwar Dabai	03/11/2019
54.	Malam Aliyu Salisu	35	Businessman	Dala mosque	25/10/2019

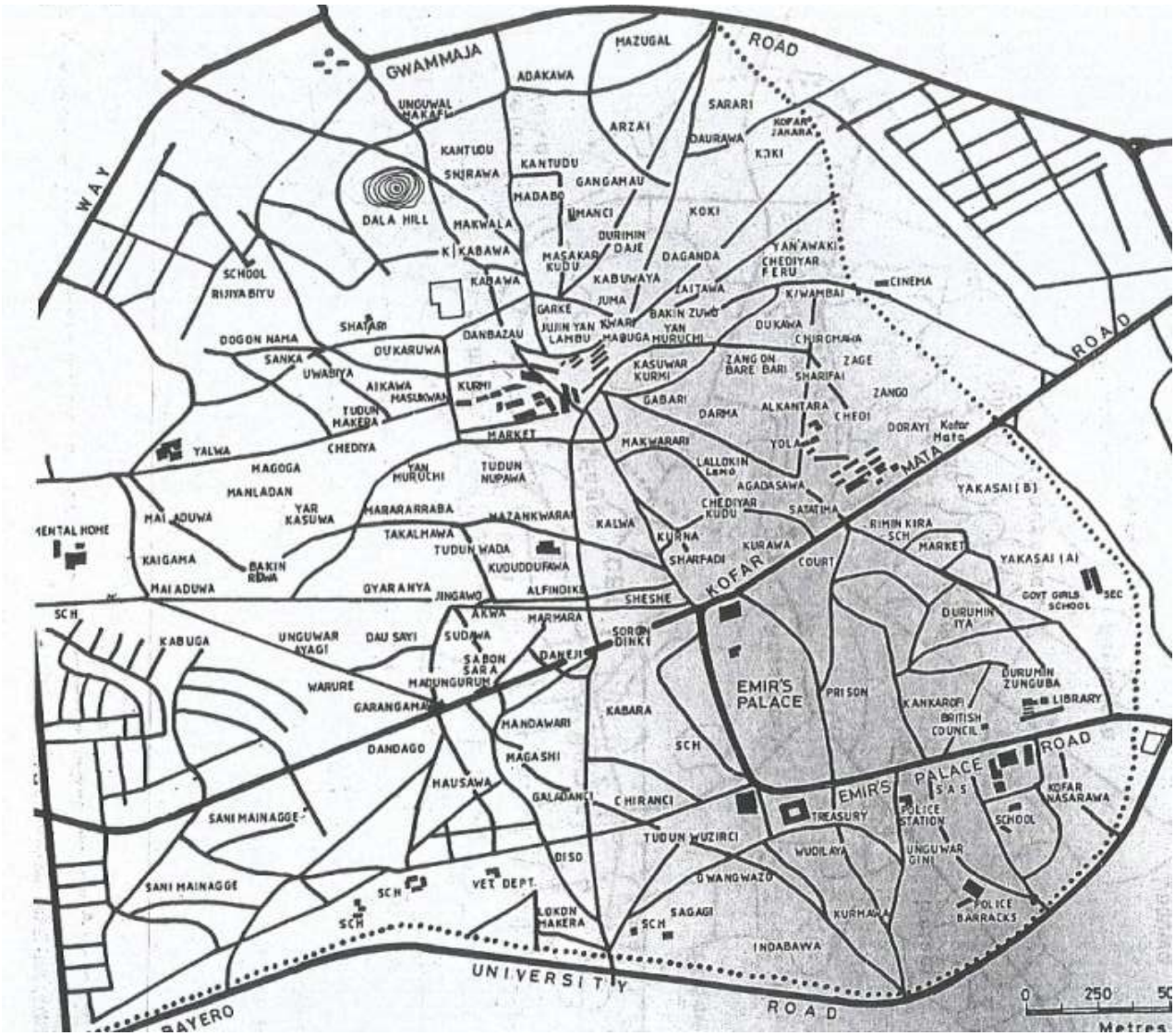
55.	Malam Baballiya Ibrahim	40	Businessman	Koki Mosque	11/10/2019
56.	Shu'aibu Muhammad	32	Student	Kofar Nasarawa mosque	04/10/2019
57.	Mujahid Ibrahim	29	Businessman	Kofar Nasarawa mosque	04/10/2019
58.	Muhammad Bala Umar	32	Businessman	Tudun Nufawa mosque	13/10/2019
59.	Kamiulu Musa Ibrahim	30	Businessman	Tudun Nufawa mosque	13/10/2019

Kano Metropolis Showing Kano City



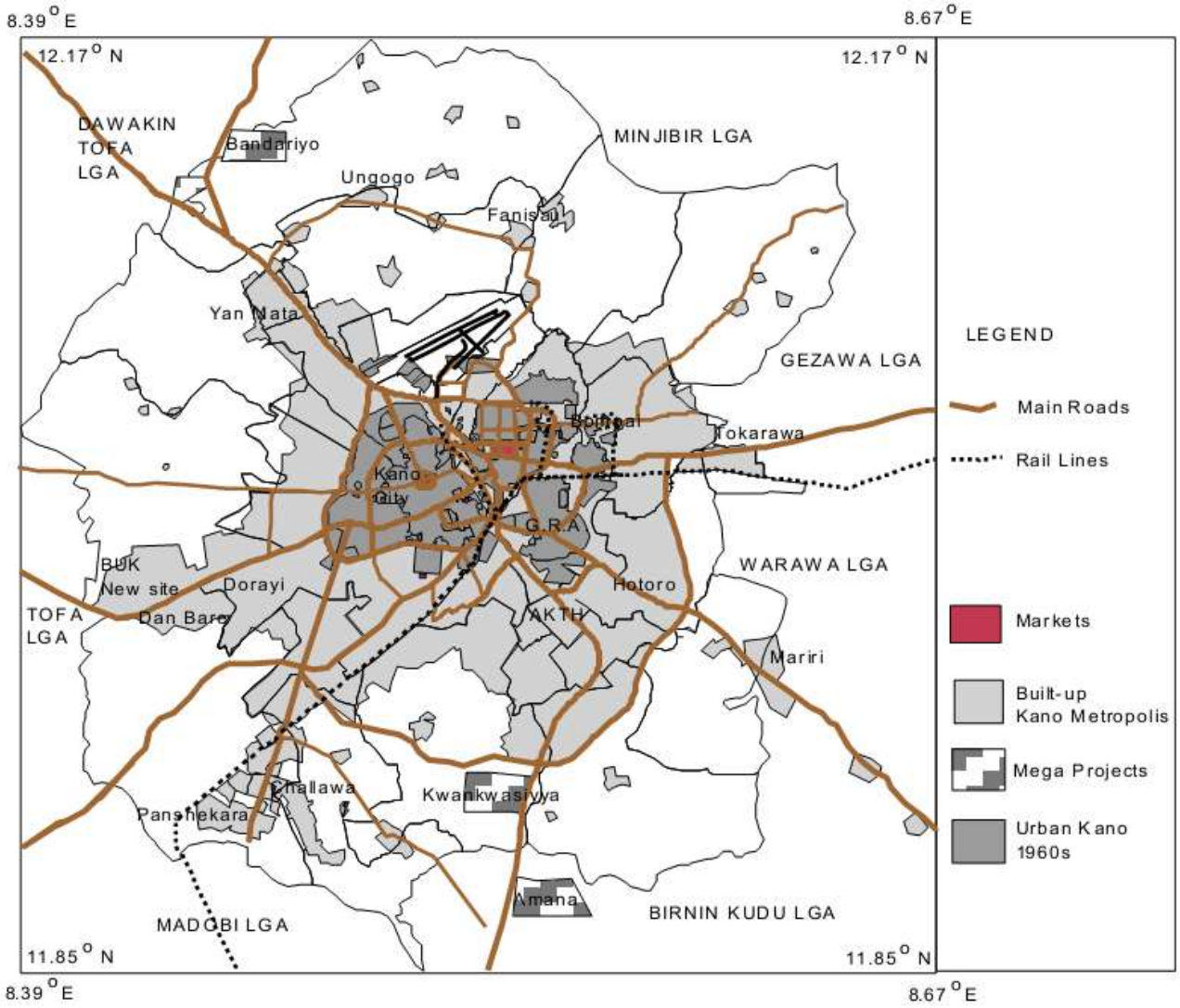
Source: Adopted from Adamu, M. Fika, "The Kano Civil War and British Over-Rule…: p. 244

Kano City indicating Wards



Source: Adopted from Kano State Urban Development Board 1984

Present-Day (2012) Kano Metropolis



Source: Adopted from M.A. Liman. (2015:40)