INTRODUCTION


7. T. G. Gbadamosi, The Growth of Islam among the Yoruba, 1841–1908 (London: Longman, 1978). It is worth noting that, though Gbadamosi is a Muslim himself, his study is bookended in Christian terms, since its start and end dates have no Muslim relevance but derive from mission activity and documentation.


9. For a recent work that usefully spans its trajectory up to the present, see Jens Kreinath, ed., The Anthropology of Islam Reader (London: Routledge, 2012).


12. On which see Ladislav Holy, Comparative Anthropology (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), especially the chapter by Hobart, Parkin, and Overing.

13. On which see Abdul Raufu Mustapha, ed., Sects and Social Disorder: Muslim Identities and Conflict in Northern Nigeria (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2014), covering the manifestations of intra-Islamic violence from the Sokoto Caliphate to Boko Haram.

14. I happen to be writing this the week after the Islamist violence in Paris of 7–9 January 2015. It was noticeable that both President François Hollande and David Cameron, the U.K. prime minister, in referring to the atrocities, declared that the violence was against the true spirit of Islam. The well-known authority on Islam Mr. Tony Blair has also expressed this view. While one appreciates that it was statesmanlike for them to say so, it is hard to see what entitlement any non-Muslim has to say what “true” Islam is.


16. For example, Q.2, 190–93, which justifies retaliatory violence against persecutors; or Q.9, 5, the so-called “sword verse,” which sanctions the killing of polytheists. Against this there is the “No compulsion in religion” verse at Q.2, 256.


1. HISTORY, CULTURE, AND THE COMPARATIVE METHOD: A WEST AFRICAN PUZZLE


4. See further below, chapter 7.


30. Ibid. 676.


52. Such as Forde and Kaberry’s *West African Kingdoms in the Nineteenth Century* (above, n. 47) or *Systèmes étatiques africains*, special issue of *Cahiers d’Études Africaines*, 87–88 (1982).

53. E.g., Lloyd, “Political Structure of African Kingdoms” (below, n. 55), and *Political Development of Yoruba Kingdoms* (above, n. 46), 1–8.


61. Ibid. 446–55.


66. Lloyd, *Political Development of Yoruba Kingdoms* (above, n. 46), 70.

68. Peel, “Kings, Titles and Quarters” (above, n. 65), 249, taking further Bradbury and Morton-Williams, *Benin Studies* (above, n. 38), 11–12 n. 9.


71. Law, *Oyo Empire* (above, n. 64), 312.


73. Ibid.

74. Johnson, “Economic Basis of an Islamic Theocracy” (above, n. 69), 490.


76. Wilks, “Asante Government” (above, n. 60), 227.


82. Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century* (above, n. 60), 127.


89. Maupoil, *Géomancie* (above, n. 77), 34.

2. TWO PASTORS AND THEIR HISTORIES: SAMUEL JOHNSON AND C. C. REINDORF

1. An earlier version of this chapter was first presented at a seminar to celebrate the work of C. C. Reindorf at Basel in 1995 and published in Paul Jenkins, ed., *The Recovery of*


5. Strikingly evident to anyone who looks at the footnotes of Robin Law’s The Oyo Empire, c. 1600–1836 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), the major work of modern scholarship on early Yoruba history.

6. This use of a prayer to conclude a narrative is a very common stylistic device in the daily entries in the journal extracts that all CMS missionaries were required to send in, usually every three months.

7. Bühler to Venn, 3 May 1862 (CA2/O/24/16), describing his disagreement with Townsend, who (he said) wanted as agents “good Christians only who can just read such portions of the Bible as are translated and nothing else.” Cf. Townsend to Venn, 6 June 1862 (CA2/O/85/83), disapproving of T. B. Macaulay’s approach at the Grammar School in Lagos and quoting a Lagos chief’s refusal to send his children as it was too literary, “which unfit them for the practical duties of life.” See further J. F. Ade Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria (Longman: London, 1965), 150–52.


9. Such as his comparison of the English and the Yoruba (“what the one is among the whites the other is among the blacks”: HY, xxii) and his very positive account of the British conquest of Ijebu (chap. 33, #9) and of the establishment of the protectorate (chaps. 34 and 35).

10. Quotation from HGCA, iv. The closest Yoruba CMS parallel to this is provided by Daniel Olubi, Hinderer’s successor as pastor of the Ibadan church and the man under whom Johnson started his career as teacher and preacher. At the death of his mother, a priestess of Igun at Abeokuta, he recalled his childhood role as her assistant, “called early into the service of the Lord, like Samuel” (Journal, 6 Feb. 1867, in CA2/O/49/19).


12. I use the term in White’s sense, which derives from the Canadian critic Northrop Frye: “Romance is fundamentally a drama of self-identification symbolized by the hero’s transcendence of the world of experience, his victory over it, and his final liberation from it—the sort of drama associated with the Grail legend or the story of the resurrection of Christ in Christian mythology. It is a drama of the triumph of good over evil, of virtue
over vice, of light over darkness.” (Metahistory [above, n. 3], 8–9). It is the only one of White’s four modes of emplotment—the others being comedy, tragedy, and satire—that has a Christian rather than a classical source. Missionaries are manifestly among the great practitioners of romance.


14. E.g., his remark in the preface that “Educated natives of Yoruba are well acquainted with the history of England and with that of Rome and Greece, but of the history of their own country they know nothing whatever!” (HY, vii), his use of the proverbial phrase “When Greek meets Greek” for the title of chap. 18 #3, dealing with the climax of the Ijaye War, or his comparison of the arokin of Oyo with the Homeric rhapsodists (HY, 125), and of the role of a debt distrainer as “a veritable Thersites” (HY, 131).


17. S. Johnson, Journal Extracts 1870–73, n.d. (CA2/O/58/1). He says it was destroyed 70 or 80 years before, but in fact this happened less than forty years earlier (Law, Oyo Empire [above, n. 5], 290–91). The Onikoyi in Ibadan had died five years earlier and seems not to have been replaced.


19. S. Johnson, journals for the half-years ending Dec. 1874, June 1877, and Dec. 1877 (CA2/O/58/3, 8, 9), which must have been primary sources for the published versions in HY, 391–94, 407–12, 417–19.

20. S. Johnson, Journal, 4 July 1879 (G3 A2/O/1880/160). The Agberi are otherwise unknown to me and do not appear elsewhere in HY.

21. S. Johnson, journals for the half-years ending Dec. 1874, June 1877, and Dec. 1877 (CA2/O/58/3, 8, 9), which must have been primary sources for the published versions in HY, 391–94, 407–12, 417–19.


24. S. Johnson, Journal, 9 Nov. 1882 (ibid.).

25. S. Johnson, Journal, 16 Nov. 1882 (ibid.).


27. S. Johnson, Journal, 24 Dec. 1876 (CA2/O/58/7). The date of 1800 is no more than a rough approximation. The reference to Mungo Park (who never got to Old Oyo) is curious.
As far as we know, the first Europeans to visit Old Oyo were Clapperton and Lander in 1826, long after Abiodun’s death (which on Law’s dating was in 1789). What Johnson appears to have done, knowing that a European visited Old Oyo, is to have made it the most famous of European explorers of West Africa and the most famous Alafin. This did not get into HY, but it underscores how very different Johnson’s cognitive situation was from Reindorf’s, that events at so late a date were subject to this kind of mythologization.

28. D. Olubi, Journal, 8 July 1883 (G3 A2/O/1884/100). If correct, this would have taken her back to Alafin Abiodun’s predecessor Majeogbe (sometime before 1774).


31. S. Johnson, Journal, 29 Sept. to 1 Oct. 1883 (G3 A2/O/1883/101). A history of Sango, highlighting the legend that as Alafin he hanged himself, was published in one of the CMS reading books. Johnson reports how an intelligent slave boy, reading this, commented that the people must have been deceived about Sango; and himself replied “that all the other idols have a similar history”: Journal, 18 April 1881 (G3 A2/O/1882/23). This euhemeristic strategy against the orisá became widely known. A Brazilian historian, Nina Rodrigues (d. 1906), wrote: “another version [of Sango traditions] I find in Bahia, mostly among the Blacks who were under the influence of English missionaries in Lagos, . . . gives Sango a totally euhemeristic origin. In general, our Blacks attribute it to the Protestant missionaries, who have an interest in removing from Sango his orisá qualities”: Os Africanos no Brasil, 2nd ed. (Sao Paulo, 1935), 333. I am grateful to Paulo de Moraes Farias for this reference.

32. Tugwell to Baylis, CMS secretary, 5 Feb. 1898 (G3 A2/O/1899/32).

33. S. Johnson, Journal, 5 April 1876 (CA2/O/58/6).


35. Ibid. One of the houses delivered was that of the patriarch of Johnson’s congregation of Aremo, David Kukomi, Johnson’s prime informant for the wars earlier in the century. Although the Christians generally received respect and protection from the chiefs, especially from the Arẹ Latosisa, the army’s acute shortages in the Ekitiparapo War led the chiefs in the Kiriji camp to sanction their war boys to pressgang recruits and to commandeer supplies by any means.


38. J. Barber to H. Venn, CMS. secretary, 23 Dec. 1856 (CA2/O/21/22).

39. D. Olubi to H. Wright, CMS. secretary, 22 April 1878 (CA2/O/75/37).

40. For a view of Reindorf that does just this, see Kwame Bediako, Christianity in Africa: The Renewal of a Non-Western Religion (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), 39–48.

3. OGUN IN PRECOLONIAL YORUBALAND: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

1. An earlier version of this chapter first appeared in Sandra T. Barnes, ed., Africa’s Ogun: Old World and New, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 263–89. In preparing this paper I have been much helped by discussions with Karin Barber, Sandra Barnes, Tom McCaskie, Peter Morton-Williams, Bayo Ogundijo, Akin Oyetade, and John Picton, and by several of those who attended the Tenth Satterthwaite Colloquium on African Religion and Ritual, April 1994.
While working on CMS papers, I incurred a debt of gratitude to their then custodians at Birmingham University Library, notably Dr. B. S. Benedikz and Miss Christine Penney. The documents I have cited are all from the Yoruba Mission, series 0 (incoming papers), classified before 1880 under the heading CA 2 (by author) and from 1880 under G3 A2 (by year).

2. Thus the title of the first study of Yoruba traditional religion by a Yoruba, the Rev. James Johnson: *Yoruba Heathenism* (Exeter: James Townsend, 1899).


4. J. K. Olupona, *City of 201 Gods: Ile-Ife in Time, Space and the Imagination* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011). Because Ife was deserted as a result of the wars and so hosted no missionaries for most of the second half of the nineteenth century, we have virtually no eyewitnesses of its religion until after 1900.


8. We can, however, be sure that Sango was not so new to the southwest as to Ondo and the southeast, since his cult would have accompanied Oyo control of the trade corridor through Egbado to the coast since the early eighteenth century: P. Morton-Williams, “The Oyo Yoruba and the Atlantic Trade, 1670–1830,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 3 (1964), 25–45; A. I. Asiwaju, *Western Yorubaland under European Rule, 1889–1945: A Comparative Analysis of French and British Colonialism* (London: Longman, 1976).

9. Thus F. L. Akiele, letter to T. Harding, 6 May 1902, referring to a large sacrifice to Ogun by the chiefs of a village near Ogbomosho.

10. The Abeokuta church elders consulted by Harding expressly stated that no images were made of Ogun but that anvil stones might be worshipped; they didn’t even think it needed to be said that any iron could serve as Ogun (Harding to Merensky, 19 Nov. 1888). Kevin Carroll’s judgment ( *Yoruba Religious Carving* [London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1976], 64) that “Yoruba people do not identify any spirit with an image; nor can it be said that they believe the spirits come to dwell in the images” would seem not quite to apply to Ogun, since iron, though the object to which the actions of Ogun worship are addressed, is not equivalent to an image that is thought to represent an orisa.


15. J. A. Maser, Journal, 2 Oct. 1864. A house of Ogun might range in type from a thatched roof on four posts, only a few feet high, covering an old anvil stone or some iron implements, to a proper temple big enough for worshippers to enter. We may surmise from the time interval between the two occasions that the oracular consultation was to determine a propitious day for the odun.


19. M. J. Luke, Journal, 27 May 1889, met one who supported his preaching at Okemesi. In Ilesha, tradition holds that when a new quarter was founded, a blacksmith (agbéde) was always included among the first settlers.


23. Women wove on upright looms, which were set up in the courtyard or on the veranda of the house; whereas men’s weaving involved long horizontal looms, set up in sheds or under awnings in public places.

24. G. J. Afolabi Ojo, Yoruba Culture: A Geographical Analysis (London: University of London Press, 1966), 96, 171. On smelting in Ilobi and Imeko (Egbado), see Asiwaju, Western Yorubaland (above, n. 8), 23. Ibadan itself should surely be included: one of its ironworking quarters, Eleta, was named after the ironstone (ẹta) found there: Toyin Falola, The Political Economy of a Pre-Colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830–1900 (Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press, 1984), 96–98. Iborin’s name is often linked to the “grinding” of iron (lo + irin), as by R. C. Abraham, Dictionary of Modern Yoruba (London: University of London Press, 1958), s.v. “Ilorin,” but this does not seem to imply smelting. At Ile Bandele in Ilorin, a large stone is shown where this is said to have been done (Professor Stefan Reichmuth, pers. comm.).

25. Eugenia W. Herbert, Iron, Gender and Power: Rituals of Transformation in African Societies (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 12–14, 160–61, chap. 5 passim: “Smith and forge [are] much more integrated into the life of the community than the smelting furnace, and the smithy becomes simultaneously a place of asylum and an adjunct to political power.” The sort of specialized smelting settlement that existed in central Yorubaland, such as Isundunrin near Ejigbo—see C. V. Bellamy, “A West African Smelting House,” Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute 66 (1904), 99–126—or the various villages called Iponrin, fits her thesis better. But smelting was clearly not limited to such places.

26. Ilesha tradition, for example, recalls that smelted iron was imported from the Ejigbo area (Peel, Ijeshas and Nigerians [above, n. 7], 22).

27. This is consistent with Denis Williams’s linkage of West Africa’s “iron hunger” with the ritualization of the metal, though he does not extend his persuasive argument to intra-Yoruba variations in Ogun/iron: Icon and Image: A Study of Sacred and Secular Forms of African Classical Art (London: Allen Lane, 1974), 67–86.

28. See further Peel, Ijeshas and Nigerians (above, n. 7), 22–24, 27.


30. P. Verger, Notes sur le culte des orïsa et vodun à Bahia, le Baie de Tous les Saints, au Brésil, et à l’ancienne Côte des Esclaves en Afrique (Dakar: Institut Français de l’Afrique Noire,
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32. See the oriki (praise name) to “Aje Onire Ogungunniso,” collected at Kuta near Iwo by Belasco, who speaks of “the theme of interpenetrated trade and war, the inextricable unity of Ogun and Aje”: B. I. Belasco, The Entrepreneur as Culture Hero: Preadaptions in Nigerian Economic Development (New York: Praeger, 1980), 140–42.


40. J. F. T. Halligey, “The Yoruba Country, Abeokuta and Lagos,” Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society 9 (1893), 39–40. He does not in fact say she was a devotee of Ogun, but I can’t see what else she would be. The Yoruba do not have snake charmers as such.

41. Letter from Mrs. Ernest Fry, no. 25 (printed), 5 July 1911.


Margaret Drewal, “Dancing for Ogun in Yorubaland and in Brazil,” in Barnes, Africa’s Ogun (above, n. 1), 204, refers to a small black-and-red snake called agbadu as a symbol of Ogun, but the point of the symbolism—that it is “quick, vicious and deadly”—seems to put it in quite a separate case from the placid mọna-mọna.

43. T. Harding to A. Merensky, 19 Nov. 1888.


45. As Verger, Notes sur le culte des orisa (above, n. 30), 511–22, observes, of all West African cults Dangbe’s was one of those most commonly described by European visitors. See, for example, R. F. Burton, A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966 [1864]), 73–76. For CMS reports of “Idagbe” (as they call it in Yoruba style) at Badagry, see the journals of S. A. Crowther and of H. Townsend for the three months ending 25 June 1846, and of S. Pearse, 5 Oct. 1861.


47. Such as Ede and Iseyin. At Ede, Ogun was originally the principal orisha of the town, only later displaced by Sango, but is still linked with the New Yam, Oranyan, and the royal ancestors: U. Beier, A Year of Sacred Festivals in One Yoruba Town (Lagos: Nigeria Magazine, 1959), 42. At Iseyin, the Oro festival (of collective ancestors) began with the worship of
Ogun, attended by the king in the marketplace (S. Johnson, Journal, 12 Aug. 1882). R. E. Dennett, *Nigerian Studies; or, the Religious and Political System of the Yoruba* (London: Frank Cass, 1968 [1910]), 123–24, briefly describes the court in the palace at Iseyin where the king heard cases: an iron chain was stretched across it, which as Ogun received sacrifices.


51. See Marc Schiltz, “Yoruba Thunder Deities and Sovereignty: Ara versus Sango,” *Anthropos* 80 (1985), 67–84, on how at Ketu and Sabe, Sango is considered to be the senior wife of Ara, the locally established thunder god.

52. T. King, Journal, 23 June 1861. This entry gives a remarkable account of the Orisa Oko cult, triggered by a devotee’s renunciation of the cult to become a Christian. This was considered very unusual, granted the strong devotion of this oríṣa’s followers. See too H. Townsend, “Journal of a Journey from Abeokuta to Ijaye, Shaki and Isein,” 16 Jan. 1855. The best modern study is J. R. O. Ojo, “Orisa Oko, the Deity of ‘the Farm and Agriculture’ among the Ekiti,” *African Notes* 7 (1973), 25–61, though the case is rather atypical since it relates to a village in Ekiti where the cult was an introduction from the Oyo area. Also useful is Thompson, *Black Gods and Kings* (above, n. 18), chap. 10, especially on the staves.

53. On the special status of Orisa Oko devotees, see further James Johnson, annual report for 1879; T. King, Journal, 2 April 1852.

54. S. Crowther, Jr., Journal, June 1855.

55. As the Rev. S. A. Crowther put it, writing from Abeokuta but referring to the Yoruba in general, “there is an established religion connected with government, which is the worship of the dead or their deceased ancestor” (letter to T. J. Hutchinson, 10 Sept. 1856).

56. D. Olubi, Annual Letter to Fenn, 28 Dec. 1875. Olubi was an Egbà who first came to Ibadan as a servant to David Hinderer in 1851 and took over as leader of the Ibadan church in 1869. No outsider was in a better position to make this judgment.


58. Ojo, “Orisa Oko” (above, n. 52), 58.


60. A selection of New Yam deities: Obalufon at some households at Ibadan (J. Barber, Journal, 3 Aug. 1856) and as god of yams at Akure (E. M. Lijadu, Journal, 1896); the Oro ancestors at Iseyin (A. Mann, Journal, 2 Aug. 1856); Ifa in at least one household at Ilesha (M. J. Luke, Journal, 20 Aug. 1889); Oramfe as god of yam at Ondo (E. M. Lijadu, July 1895); Sango at Ijaye (H. Townsend, 6 June 1857).


62. Compare William Rea’s observation on Ogun in contemporary Ikole-Ekiti: “The [Ogun] festival is the major ‘civic’ (as opposed to ‘religious’) event of the year. As a festival it

63. Such as chiefs Ogboni, Sajowa (head blacksmith), and Salotun (in front of whose house the mock battle between town and palace chiefs takes place during the Ogun festival): see J. D. Y. Peel, “Kings, Titles and Quarters: A Conjectural History of Ilesha, Part II: Institutional Growth,” History in Africa 7 (1980), 225–57.


67. In an incident in March 1881, a woman had a fit during a flash of lightning, and another woman told her husband it was Sango’s vengeance. In panic he and the other residents ran away. The Sango cultists came and barred the entrance to the house. Next day, she was feeding her chickens when the Sango people returned to plunder the house, and she tried to stop them. They clubbed her to death, saying she was Sango’s victim (S. Johnson, Journal, 23–24 March 1881).

68. Cf. again Rea, “No Event, No History” (above, n. 62), 43, on Ikole-Ekiti: “If asked about the personality of Ogun as an individuated deity . . . people would suggest Ogun was all around: wherever there was iron there was Ogun. There is no Ogun ‘cult’ per se in Ikole, and no ‘priest’ or aworo of Ogun.”

69. For example, if lightning struck while the Ibadan army was in the field, “the [war chiefs were] forbidden by custom to offer battle or fight until Sango [was] propitiated (S. Johnson, Journal, 30 Sept. 1882).

70. M. J. Luke, Journal, 24 May 1889. It concerned a “confinement”—an obligation to stay indoors—imposed on the town by the Sango cult in the king’s name, like those imposed by Oro in times of crisis at Abeokuta. The circumstances at Ilesha are not described.

71. G. A. Vincent, Journal, 15 April 1885. Vincent, himself Ijesha-born, quotes a woman as saying that the Ijesha “hated those thunder worshippers by their doings.”


73. Charles Phillips, Jr., Journal, 17 July 1879; C. N. Young, Journal, 13 Feb. 1880. The disease continued to break out for several years, until, in 1884, the chiefs turned against both the Sopona and the Sango cults and banned them.


75. E. Buko, Journal, 16 Feb. 1883: a young man executed for murdering his master, to whom he been a bondsman (iwofa).


77. J. B. Wood, letter to Lang, 18 Sept. 1884.


80. J. Barber, Journal, 26 Feb. 1854; J. Okuseinde, Journal, 21 Jan. 1873. In both these reports, Oranyan (or Oranmiyan) is called god of war.


83. J. B. Wood, letters to Lang, 10 and 18 Aug. 1887.

84. Halligey, “The Yoruba Country” (above, n. 40), 33. This meeting with Ogundipe took place in 1887, a few months before his death. Notable chiefs often had their own distinctive staff (ọpa), which their messenger would carry as a mark of authorization.


86. See Oyin Ogunba, “The Performance of Yoruba Oral Poetry,” in Abimbola, Yoruba Oral Tradition (above, n. 85), esp. 807–76, on oriki addressed to Ogun, who like Ogundipe “is intensely self-conscious, [and] enjoys . . . flattery, for it is man’s admission of Ogun’s preeminence and a way of keeping him at a distance.”

87. Wood to Lang, 18 Aug. 1887.


89. W. Moore (an Egba and the only Anglican pastor left in Abeokuta after the “Outbreak,” or general expulsion of missionaries in 1867) to CMS Parent Committee, 27 June 1868. The name of the river Ògùn has no connection with the name of the god Ògùn: different tones.

90. As a well-known oriki of Ogun puts it: Ogun alada meji, o nfi okan sa oko, o nfi okan ye ona (Ogun with two cutlasses: you use one to clear the farm; you use the other to clear the road).

91. Whether it should be considered as strictly a title or more like an informal sobriquet is unclear. The Egba historian Olympus Moore (A. K. Ajisafe) writes both “Ogudipe Alatise of Ikija” and “Ogudipe Alatise”: E. O. O. Moore, History of Abeokuta (London and Bungay: Richard Clay 1916), 77.

92. The full proverb is Alatise ni mo atise ara re (The one whose task it is to do something knows he has to do it himself). I am indebted to my colleague Dr. Akin Oyetade on this.

93. Halligey, “The Yoruba Country” (above, n. 40), 28–44, says he took the Alatunse title after declining the Alakeship for himself. E. O. O. Moore (above, n. 91: 89–90), who calls him merely Alatise, describes him as the most powerful man in Abeokuta during the interregnum of 1881–84 and in particular as the main kingmaker during that period.

94. Cf. the anonymous greeting to Hinderer (half-yearly report ending Sept. 1859) while he was traveling in Ijesha country: O ku tonse aiye (Greetings to you, working to restore the world); or the prophecy of Christian “light and restoration” (atunse) quoted by Samuel Johnson and Obadiah Johnson, History of the Yorubas: From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate (Lagos: CMS Bookshops, 1921), 296.

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Gift”: an autobiographical account of the author’s participation in the Agbekoya peasant uprising of 1968–69.
96. T. Harding to A. Merensky, 19 Nov. 1888.

4. DIVERGENT MODES OF RELIGIOSITY IN WEST AFRICA

1. An earlier version of this chapter appeared in Harvey Whitehouse and James Laidlaw, eds., Ritual and Memory: Toward a Comparative Anthropology of Religion (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2004), 13–30.
6. Whitehouse, Arguments and Icons (above, n. 2), 5.


27. See further below, chapter 10.


29. Ibid. 140–46.


36. For the Anang example, I am deeply indebted to the work of David Pratten. See further his splendid *The Man-Leopard Murders: History and Society in Colonial Nigeria* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the International Institute, 2007), esp. chapter 3.


Christianity, Development and Modernity in Africa (London: Hurst, 2015), chapters 2 and 3 on Winner’s Chapel.

5. POSTSOCIALISM, POSTCOLONIALISM, PENTECOSTALISM

1. An earlier version of this chapter appeared in Mathijs Pelkmans, ed., Conversion after Socialism: Disruptions, Modernisms and Technologies of Faith in the Former Soviet Union (New York: Berghahn, 2009), 183–99. Its chapters are based on selected papers from a conference held at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology held at Halle in April 2005.


8. See, for example, Marx’s letter to Engels of 23 May 1851, in which he condemns the Poles as a “doomed nation, to be used as a means until Russia itself is swept by the agrarian revolution,” but praises the capacity of Russian rule—despite “all its nastiness, . . . all its Slavonic filth”—to homogenize its diverse incorporated cultures: S. Avineri, Karl Marx on Colonialism and Modernization (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969), 447. A similar robust readiness to treat the morally odious as historically progressive marks his assessment of British rule in India: “actuated only by the vilest interests . . . [but] the unconscious tool of history” (ibid. 94).


19. See chapters 3 and 4, by V. Vate and L. Vallikivi, respectively, in Pelkmans, *Conversion after Socialism* (above, n. 1).


26. A phrase that I think I have borrowed from David Martin, but neither he nor I can place its exact source.


33. L. Vallikivi, “Christianization of Words and Selves: Nenets Reindeer Herders Joining the State through Conversion,” in Pelkmans, Conversion after Socialism (above, n. 1), chapter 4.

34. This is echoed in Mathijs Pelkmans’s judgment about Kyrgyz: “Remarkable similarities between the worldview promoted by the [Pentecostal] Church of Jesus Christ and indigenous notions about spirits, as well as between Christian faith-healing and traditional Muslim healing”: “Temporary Conversions: Encounters with Pentecostalism in Muslim Kyrgyzstan,” in Pelkmans, Conversion after Socialism (above, n. 1), 155.


6. CONTEXT, TRADITION, AND THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF WORLD RELIGIONS


11. It is perhaps worth noting here that virtually all the contributions to Cannell’s *Anthropology of Christianity* (above, n. 9) deal with the “old” or sphere-one popular Christianities rather than the “new” (recent-mission) sphere-two ones, such as those of Africa and the Pacific.


15. Chrislam is a characteristically Yoruba phenomenon, a self-avowed composite of Islam and Christianity. See further below, chapter 9.


18. Cf. W. G. Runciman’s discrimination between the two spheres, but from the other side: “Although beliefs may be sociologically explained in categories foreign to the subjects themselves, they can only be identified in the subjects’ own terms,” *Sociology in Its Place* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 60.


20. T. Asad, *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1986), 3. There is a common form of
fallacious argument here—one that Durkheim was very prone to—the thesis that he brushes aside is simply not the thesis that Ernest Gellner put forward. Anyone inclined to follow Asad on this point would benefit from looking at Michael Cook, *Ancient Religions, Modern Politics: The Islamic Case in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).


25. Perhaps it is just possible. Parallels were drawn in early Islam between the asceticism of monks and of mujahidun (“monks by night, horsemen by day”), in both cases regarded as the “hard edge” of their community: T. Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in late Antiquity: Militant Devotion in Christianity and Islam* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 158–67.


28. My thoughts on this balance (and indeed on all other aspects of tradition) are greatly influenced by Edward Shils’s wise (and sadly neglected) book *Tradition* (London: Faber, 1981).


32. This issue is a problem for Harvey Whitehouse’s *Arguments and Icons: Divergent Modes of Religiosity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) insofar as his argument focuses on how religions *do* succeed in reproducing themselves. The sheer diversity of local religions in PNG does, I feel, argue for memory failure playing a significant role in their differentiation, as Frederik Barth argued in *Ritual and Knowledge among the Baktaman of New Guinea* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 106–7.

33. Western and Muslim scholars tend to disagree in their judgment as to the extent of such invention, with the former much more skeptical and the latter arguing for a substantial deposit of genuine tradition preserved in the classic *hadith* collections by Bukhari and others. But the very labors of these scholars indicated that they clearly recognized the circulation of enormous numbers of forged or invented *hadith*—for whose detection they developed a methodology by assessing their alleged chains of transmission. See J. A. C. Brown, *Hadith: Muhammad’s Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2009); M. Z. Siddiqi, *Hadith Literature: Its Origin, Development and Special Features* (Cambridge:

34. For a brief but suggestive view, in relation to Christianity, see Rowan Williams, *Why Study the Past: The Quest for the Historical Church* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2005), esp. chapter 1, “Making History: What Do We Expect from the Past?”


37. Think of those thirteenth-century clerics Antony Bek, bishop of Durham, who donned full armor to lead his feudal levies against the Scots, or Arnald-Amaury, abbot of Citeaux, leader of the crusading host against the Albigensian heretics, who also played a key role in the crushing defeat of the Moors at Navas de la Tolosa in 1209. This militarization of Christianity had many cultural obstacles to surmount and took centuries to mature. A key stage in this process was the campaigns of Charlemagne against the Saxons in the eighth century, which were followed by forced conversions. See Richard Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe: From Paganism to Christianity, 371–1386 AD* (London: Fontana, 1998), chapters 6 and 7; and G. R. Murphy, *The Saxon Savior: The Germanic Transformation of the Gospel in the Ninth-Century Heliand* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), which analyzes an epic poem in which Christ and the apostles are configured as a lord and his warrior companions.

38. The close association of mission and empire has become such a banality that more nuanced views are badly needed: see especially Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1710–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), and his edited conference volume *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880–1914* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003).


40. See S. J. Tambiah’s *World Renouncer and World Conqueror: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), esp. part 1. But he also notes (pp. 6–8) that within the resemblance there is an important difference, in that the church internally adopted much more from the secular hierarchy of society than the Buddhist sangha did. This I would put down in large measure to Christianity’s being a congregational religion, which meant that it had to include “all sorts and conditions” of men.


48. A typical recent example: the columnist Nick Cohen, writing in the British Sunday newspaper *The Observer*, 19 September 2012: “As there is no great difference between Christian and Muslim extremists, why not intervene in this clash of fundamentalisms?”

49. See chapter 10 below.


52. Thus R. Gombrich and G. Obeyesekere, *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), esp. chapter 6. It is significant that this was not a purely endogenous development but in good measure a response to the critique of evangelical missionaries.


54. For an example, see Peter R. Mackenzie’s *Hail Orisha! A Phenomenology of West African Religion in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), which employs the phenomenological categories of Friedrich Heiler. Or virtually the entire oeuvre of Mircea Eliade.


56. Nevertheless, the fecundity of Weber’s insights is amply demonstrated in David Gellner’s application of them in his *Anthropology of Buddhism* (above, n. 13).


58. It is instructive to compare Geertz’s procedure ibid. with his account of Ruth Benedict’s expository method in his *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author*
(Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), chapter 5. What could be more Benedictine than this: “On the Indonesian side, inwardness, imperturbability, patience, poise, sensibility, aestheticism, elitism, and an almost obsessive self-effacement, the radical dissolution of individuality; on the Moroccan side, activism, fervor, impetuosity, nerve, toughness, moralism, populism, and an almost obsessive self-assertion, the radical intensification of individuality” (*Islam Observed* [above, n. 57], 54)?

59. These were/are what he calls “the classical styles”: ibid. chapter 2, 21–55.
60. Ibid. 70.
61. Ibid. 62.
62. Ibid. 65.
64. I am grateful to Bishop Fearon for discussing with me his efforts toward religious amity, which many other Christians (such as the local leadership of the Christian Association of Nigeria) view with some reserve: interview, 13 March 2008.
65. *Culturalisme* in French takes in the idea of essentialism that is current among anthropologists. Its critique, however, is part of a broader philosophical project: the secular, universalist vision that underlies French laïcité. For a systematic onslaught on *culturalisme*, see J.-F. Bayart’s *The Illusion of Cultural Identity* (London: Hurst, 2005), especially part 1. Bayart takes this outlook to its extreme in his *L’Islam republique*: *Ankara, Teheran, Dakar* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2010), where he maintains (p. 225) that “Islam does not exist historically or sociologically.”
67. Ibid. 6.
68. Ibid. 26.
69. Ibid. 10.

7. **CONVERSION AND COMMUNITY IN YORUBALAND**

1. This was my friend Salahuddeen Busairi, imam of the Alhaji Yekini Adeoyo Mosque, to whom I am grateful for many conversations about all aspects of Islam in Yorubaland. Though he pronounced it just as a born-again pastor might, he later justified his use of the phrase to me in terms of the Arabic meaning he attributed to it, namely as Hu-a-i-lu, a contraction of Lahuala wala quwata ilabillah, “There is no authority and power except through Allah”: interview, 5 May 2009.
2. Imam H. A. Oluwakemi at Akabiako Mosque. My guides were Mrs. Funmi Akosile and her friend Mrs. Samuel, to whom many thanks.
4. For details of the survey and the results as regards the course and explanation of religious change see ibid. 164–74.

6. E.g., E. A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842–1914* (London: Longman, 1966), 68, on the Ijebu conversion movement that followed a few years after the British conquest, as an attempt to acquire “the secret of the white man’s power.”

7. For an earlier version of this argument, which was not framed within the terms of Horton’s theory, see J. D. Y. Peel, “Religious Change in Yorubaland,” *Africa* 37 (1967), 292–306. This presents the detailed religious statistics, drawn from the 1952 Census of Western Nigeria.


11. On the acceleration of conversion from the 1890s, ibid. 242–47.


13. See Aribidesi Usman, *The Yoruba Frontier: A Regional History of Community Formation, Experiences and Changes in West Africa* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2012), chapters 5 and 6, on the variable religious outcomes along Yorubaland’s northern marches: in the 1950s Ilorin Division had Muslims 64 percent, Christians 8 percent, whereas Kabba Division had Muslims 12 percent, Christians 62 percent.


18. See the Adelaja genealogy in chapter 5 above.


20. Such as the future historian and vice-chancellor Saburi Biobaku, who came from a well-established Muslim family in Abeokuta. His grandfather Alfa Bisiriyu Giwa (ca. 1860–1937) held a title in *Egbe Killa*, the popular Muslim society, and he received a solid Koranic education, as well as attending church primary schools. The crunch came when he won a scholarship to Government College Ibadan—not a mission school—but “my grandfather listened to me patiently and approved my going . . . but made one condition, that on no account should I permit myself to be converted to Christianity”: S. O. Biobaku, *When We Were Young* (Ibadan: University Press PLC, 1992), 41. Such a decision must have come more easily in a family whose Muslim identity was already strong. Biobaku’s pious grandmother had prayed that Almighty Allah would grant him to pass the exam “if He felt it would be good for me” and later had a confirmatory dream “that I was going somewhere far away from her.”

21. Thus the *Apena* (spokesman) of the Osugbo society at Iperu, in Ijebu Remo, as quoted by Rev. James Johnson to CMS Secretary, 21 June 1878, CMS Papers (University of Birmingham), CA2/O56. The reference to slaves as Sango worshippers is evidence for the recentness of Sango worship in Ijebu and its Oyo origins.

22. This was sung around Osogbo and the Odo Otin area. For this, I am indebted to Dr. Sola Ajibade of Osun State University.

23. On nineteenth-century persecution, see Peel, *Religious Encounter* (above, n. 10), 191–92 (of Muslims), 235–38 (of Christians). For an early colonial case, in the small Ijesha town of Ibokun—no doubt typical of many—see F. A. Ajayi, *In Our Days: An Autobiography* (Lagos: West African Book Publishers, 2005), 55. Dr. Ajayi’s father, a Christian pioneer, was among those thrown into a dungeon pit used for criminals, where they were kept without food for hours or days at a time: “Their persecutors genuinely believed that Christianity with the attendant abandonment of the worship of the ancient deities would result in an ancestral annoyance whereby the whole community would suffer from untold pestilence and tribulation.”

24. LaRay Denzer, *Folayegbe M. Akintunde-Ighodalo: A Public Life* (Ibadan: Sam Bookman, 2001), 5–11. Okeigbo had its origins in the nineteenth century as a heterogeneous settlement ruled by an Ife prince who had been enslaved to Ibadan, where he learned the art of war: in sum, it came close to being a microcosm of the Yoruba world.


26. For an example, see Margaret Drewal, *Yoruba Ritual: Performance, Play, Agency* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), chapter 9, on the rural Ijebu town of Imewuro. Local elites devised a week-long festival of events, incorporating *oríṣa* celebrations—but taken out of their original contexts—along with a torchlight parade, prayers in the mosque.
on Friday, a football match, a grand Saturday-night social dance, the launching of a local electricity project, all culminating with thanksgiving in the Anglican church on Sunday. See too Nolte, Obafemi Awolowo (above, n. 17), chapter 8.


28. Thus John Laoye as Timi of Ede (1946–75), Samuel Abimbola as Oluwo of Iwo, Samuel Adenle as Atajo of Osogbo (1944–75).

29. See, for example, Edmund M. Hogan, Cross and Scalpel: Jean-Marie Coquard among the Egba of Yorubaland (Ibadan: HEBN Publishers, 2012), a biography of the founder of the Sacred Heart Hospital at Abeokuta.

30. He was the grandson of David Kukomi, the most prominent of David Hinderer’s converts, who (as of 1969) was the ancestor of no less than twelve Anglican clergymen: see T. A. Adebiyi, The Beloved Bishop: A Biography of Bishop A. B. Akinyele (Ibadan: Daystar Press, 1969), and on the nineteenth-century antecedents Peel, Religious Encounter (above, n. 10), 232–33, 273–74.


33. For examples, the progressive circle round the Ègbẹ Agbaotan at Ibadan as described by Ruth Watson, Civil Disorder Is the Disease of Ibadan: Chieftaincy and Civic Culture in a Yoruba City (Oxford: James Currey, 2003); or for Ilesha, Peel, Ijeshas and Nigerians (above, n. 3), s.v. Ègbẹ Atunluṣẹ; and M. A. Ifaturoti and O. I. Orolugbagbe, The History of Egba Atunluṣẹ of Ile Ijesa (Lagos, 1992).


36. Thus Patrick J. Ryan, Imale: Yoruba Participation in the Muslim Tradition (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 180, a pioneering study of Yoruba Islam, which puts the alfa at the center of its account.

37. E.g., by making amulets containing Koranic texts or esoteric formulas in Arabic script (tiraa) or potions from the inky water washed from slates on which sacred texts had been written (hantu).


43. Ibid. 144–55.


46. The liaison group between the Jama’at and the leading Christian activists was known as the Ilu Committee, on which see Kunle Lawal, “The Role of the Ilu Committee in the Politics of Lagos,” *Odu*, n.s., 4 (1989). The Yoruba term *ilu* (town, city-state, polity) does not mean the same as the Arabic *jama’at* (congregation, society), but there is a semantic overlap between them, which centers on something like “community.”


48. T. A. Odutola had in fact been born a Muslim, as his brother Jimoh (also a noted trader) remained.


51. P. F. de Moraes Farias’s “Yoruba Origins Revisited by Muslims: An Interview with the Arokin of Oyo and a Reading of the Asl Qaba’il Yuruba of Al-Hajj Adam al-Iluri,” in P. F. de Moraes Farias and K. Barber, Self-Assertion and Brokerage: Early Cultural Nationalism in West Africa (Birmingham: Centre of West African Studies, 1990), esp. 128–47, is still almost the only treatment of his ideas that is widely available. More recent and of great value, but yet little known outside Nigeria, is R. D. Abubakre, The Interplay of Arabic and Yoruba Cultures in South-Western Nigeria (Iwo: Daru ‘l-Ilm Publishers, 2004), chapter 4. Two unpublished Ibadan M.A. theses I have also found helpful: T. A. Yekini’s “Shaykh Adam Abdullah al-Ilori in the Eyes of Selected Elegists” (2004) and L. A. Tadese’s “Annotated Translation of Shaykh Adam Abdullah al-Ilori’s Tawjih al-Da’wah wa al-Du’at fi Naijiriya wa Gharb Afriqiya” (2002). In the theses cited in n. 50 above, there are discussions of aspects of al-Ilori’s work in Jimoh (chap. 5) and Jamiu (chap. 2). I am also indebted to the late Professor I. A. Ogunbiyi for giving me a copy of his draft translation of al-Ilori’s Al-Islam al-yawm wa ghadan fi Naijiriya (Cairo, 1985). A book-length study of al-Ilori’s work in its totality is much needed.

52. On whom see further below, chapter 10.

53. Interview with Professor D. O. S. Noibi, executive secretary of Muswen, at its headquarters, Arisekola’s Mosque, Iwo Road, Ibadan, 8 April 2009. As an academic and former imam of the university mosque, Professor Noibi himself fully bridges the two status hierarchies.

54. Interview with Alhaji Arisekola Alao, 26 March 2008.

55. The strength of Arisekola’s identity as an Ibadan man came over strongly in our interview—though it was triggered by my companion, Wale Adebanwi, who rather mischievously introduced me as the author of a book on the Ijesha! As the Ijesha and the Ibadans were historical enemies, Arisekola plunged with gusto into tales of Ibadan’s past military prowess against the Ijesha.

56. For a fascinating detailed study, see H. A. Akintoye, “Islam and Chieftaincy Titles in Lagos Island since 1775” (M.A. thesis, Lagos State University, ca. 2005). He traces back to the mid-nineteenth century the granting of mosque-level titles, such as Osupa Adinni (Moon of Religion) or Iya Sunna (Mother of the Way, an equivalent of the Christian Iya Ijo). The wealthy merchant Alli Balogun (1836–1933), who founded Egbe Killa, a noted Muslim social club, and built the Wasimi Jamiu Mosque, seems to have been the first to have received a higher-level title, that of Seriki Adinni (Captain of Religion) of Lagos Muslims. I am grateful to Professor Amidu Sanni for allowing me access to this and other unpublished LASU theses.


58. The name, meaning “Don’t let the honor [of the town] spoil,” harks back to the glory days of nineteenth-century Ibadan. For the full complexity of Ibadan politics, see again Sklar, Nigerian Political Parties (above, n. 57), 284–320.

59. See Post and Jenkins, Price of Liberty (above, n. 57), the classic political biography of Adelabu.

61. Muili’s critics are said to have protested *O gbe aja wọ si mọșalaṣi!* (He has brought a dog into the mosque!).

62. Thus Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties* (above, n. 57), 55.


64. See Lai Olurode, *The Life and Times of LKJ* (Lagos: Rebonik Publications, 2005), an instructive short biography of Jakande, who edited the AG newspaper (the *Daily Service*) in the 1950s and 1960s, shared Awolowo’s imprisonment for alleged sedition in 1962–66, served as UPN governor of Lagos State, 1979–83, and was seen by some as his true political successor after 1987. Jakande was deeply rooted in the culture of Lagos Islam. His great-grandfather was the *Olúwọ* (*chief babalawo*) of *Ọba Kosoko*, as were his grandfather and father (who were also Muslims), while his mother was a daughter of the chief imam of the Alalukurani Muslims.


68. In the federal election of 1959, the AG got 49.5 percent of the vote in the Western region (and only 43.8 percent in Lagos), whereas in 1979 the UPN share of the vote in the four Yoruba states ranged between 82.3 percent in Lagos and 94.5 percent in Ondo: Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties* (above, n. 57), 36; and R. A. Joseph, *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 127.

69. He was famously the butt of Fela Anikulapo-Kuti’s 1979 song ITT (International ThiefThief), a parodic allusion to International Telephone and Telegraph, the U.S. company of which Abiola was the local representative, the archetypal comprador businessman: see T. Olaniyan, *Arrest the Music! Fela and His Rebel Art and Politics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 145–50.


71. Sources: the account by the vice-chancellor, Professor Ayo Banjo, *In the Saddle: A Vice-Chancellor’s Story* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 1997), 69–76; interview with Professor D. O. S. Noibi (who was imam of the university mosque at the time), 8 April 2009.

72. Yoruba delegates went to seek support from Northern *ulama* to approach Abacha for Abiola’s release, which they were reluctant to give, saying it was a political and not a religious issue. A furious argument took place between some of the emirs present and the fearless and forceful Dr. Oloso (a former MSS president): interview with K. K. Oloso, 9 May 2009.

73. See below, chapter 10.
74. John Iliffe, *Obasanjo: Nigeria and the World* (Woodbridge: James Brewer, 2011), while very informative about Obasanjo’s career, fails to get the measure of this. But see Adebanwi, (above, n. 65), chapter 6, “How (Not) to Be a Proper Yoruba.”

75. Even so, Adedibu’s long career illustrates shows the crossovers that abound in Yoruba politics. Born in 1927, he entered politics in 1951 as a follower of the Rev. E. A. Alayande (a convert from Islam) in the Ibadan Peoples Party, which merged into the Action Group. By 1979 he had switched over to the other side and was active in the NPN, which seems more natural for a populist Ibadan Muslim. The Third Republic found him for Abiola and the SDP. After 1999, he was the local power broker who finally delivered Ibadan to the anti-Awoist PDP and was almost certainly behind the mysterious destruction on the night of 29 May 2003 of the statue of Chief Awolowo that stood in front of Government House in Ibadan. See ibid. chapter 2.

76. Ibid. 227–39, particularly his analysis of the politics of Bola Tinubu.

8. YORUBA ETHNOGENESIS AND THE TRAJECTORY OF ISLAM


2. In a work published in 1615–16, Ahmad Baba included the Yoruba in a list of pagan peoples whom Muslims were entitled to enslave: Robin Law, *The Oyo Empire, c.1600–c.1836* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 14. Law also notes a lost Arabic work of 1667 entitled *A Reply to the Learned Men of Yoruba*. Does this imply there was already then a core of Yoruba ulama?


4. See R.C. Abraham, *Dictionary of Modern Yoruba* (London: University of London Press, 1958), s.v. *bookinni*, which quotes two of the proverbs. *Borokinni* has the same root as appears in the name of the country Burkina Faso, said to mean “Country of Honest Men.”

5. The term *saraa*, deriving (like cognate terms in many other West African languages) from Arabic (*sadaqa*, “alms”), most commonly means a payment made to *alfa* and other religious specialists for their services. From this core meaning, there has been a semantic spread in two directions: sometimes (and particularly in nineteenth-century missionary reports) it comes close to being a synonym for “sacrifice,” qua offering made in anticipation of divine favor; and elsewhere (particularly in twentieth-century usage) something more like “ritual feast,” where the alms or offering is recycled for shared consumption within the community. See further discussion in J. D. Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 200–202, and “Christianity and the Logic of Nationalist Assertion in Wole Soyinka’s Ìsàrà,” in D. Maxwell, ed., *Christianity and the African Imagination: Essays in Honour of Adrian Hastings* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 141–44.

6. C. J. Waterman, *Juju: A Social History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 231, refers to professional rivalry between Juju and Fuji musicians in the early 1980s. While still especially patronized by Muslims, Fuji was then rapidly growing in popularity among Christians too. On Fuji more generally, see Bode
Notes


15. S. Adeniran, *The Ethiopian Church: A National Necessity* (1918). Adeniran is a shadowy figure. As S. A. Oke, he had been a pastor in the United African Native Church and seems to have been radicalized by the collective trauma of the great influenza pandemic of 1918.


18. As was argued by Thomas Hodgkin in his little classic *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (London: Frederick Muller, 1956), chapter 5, “Prophets and Priests.” Hodgkin was misled by his Marxism into believing that the religious movement was merely a precursor to the political one rather than one with its own autonomous dynamic.


20. As Apter notes without elaboration in his last sentence: ibid. 284.


23. A.M. Yakubu, Sa’adu Zungur: An Anthology of the Social and Political Writings of a Nigerian Nationalist (Kaduna: Nigerian Defence Academy Press, 1999). Sa’adu was an accomplished poet in Hausa, two of his best known poems being Wa’kar Bid’i’a (Against Heresy) and Mulkin Nasara (European Colonialism). In the latter, Yakubu’s translation fudges the literal meaning, which is “Christian Rule.”


26. L. Brenner, “Muslim Divination and the History of Religion in Sub-Saharan Africa,” in J. Pemberton, ed., Insight and Artistry: A Cross Cultural Study of Divination in Central and West Africa (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), 45–59. Islamic divination is known as sand writing (Yanrin Tite) in Yoruba, or khatt ar-raml in Arabic. The name Orummilá has been widely construed by Yoruba Christians (from Lijadu onward) as a contracted form of some such phrase as Oron lò mọ ilaja (It is Heaven that knows reconciliation) or Oron lò mọ eniti yio la (Heaven knows who will be saved). Edifying as such etymologies may be, it seems to me equally possible (and perhaps phonetically more likely), that it simply derives from ar-raml, with vowels added to fit the patterns of Yoruba speech.

27. As reported by a missionary in Abeokuta in 1877: see Peel, Religious Encounter (above, n. 5), 115.

28. For Samuel Johnson and Obadiah Johnson, History of the Yorubas from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010 [1957]), 32–33, Setilu was taken to be a Nupe, expelled from his home by Muslims. See further P.F. de Moraes Farias, “Yoruba Origins Revisited by Muslims: An Interview with the Arókin of Oyo and a Reading of the Asl Qabā’il Yūrubā of Al-Hājj Adam al-Ilūri,” in Farias and Barber, Self-Assertion and Brokerage (above, n. 1), 109–47, esp. 123–25 on Setilu’s origin as Satih bin Rabi’a.

29. Abdul-Raheem Shittu (b. 1953) is a lay Muslim intellectual and qualified lawyer, former MSS activist, who represented his home town, Shaki, in the Oyo State Assembly (1979–83) and was for a while attorney general. He traces his Salafist views to reading the works of the South African Ahmad Deedat and the Indian Mawlana Mawdudi, distributed by the MSS. Though not an Arabic scholar—which is why some educated ulama look askance at his work—he is a prolific author of polemical books and serves as legal advisor to the Salafist Ahl us-Sunna group of Muslim organizations (interview, 5 April, 2009).

30. Ibid.

31. A.-R. Shittu, What Is Sunnah? What Is Bid’ah? (Shaki: al-Fur’qaan Publishers, 1996), 32, inveighing against many Muslims’ attachment to Yoruba funeral practices: “It is in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Islamic and Muslim countries that unalloyed commitment to [Islam] is culturally entrenched and governmentally enforced. One can say . . . that such communities would be better standard-bearers of pristine Islam than most other
communities where legacies of atheistic [he means ‘polytheistic’] and other un-Islamic cultural traditions are umbilically attached to Islamic norms.”


33. This is known as takfir, the declaration of a person or group of Muslims as kafir, “unbelievers.” New to the tolerant Yoruba, it was a standard tactic of political conflict among Muslims in the precolonial North, since it changed the status under Sharia law of those it so stigmatized. (E.g., it allowed them to be enslaved.) It was used by Usman dan Fodio to legitimize his uprising against the Muslim rulers of pre-jihad Hausaland, and was mutually employed by him and the Shehu of Borno in their diplomatic skirmishing: see L. Brenner, “The Jihad Debate between Sokoto and Borno: An Historical Analysis of Islamic Political Discourse in Nigeria,” in J. F. A. Ajayi and J. D. Y. Peel, eds., People and Empires in African History: Essays in Memory of Michael Crowder (London: Longman, 1992), 21–44.


35. There resulted a bitter exchange of articles in the Lagos press putting forward the pro- and anti-Ahmadi arguments, which Balogun later arranged to be reprinted: I. A. B. Balogun, Islam versus Ahmadiyya in Nigeria (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1977). I am grateful to Dr. L. O. Abbas for procuring a copy of this work for me.

36. Officially known as Ahmadiyya Muslim Jama’at Nigeria. Alhaji Abdul-Gani Sobambi, a senior missioner of Ahmadiyya, kindly provided details (interview, 4 April 2009).


38. Born at Abeokuta, Adegbite (1933–2014) was the half-brother of the historian S. O. Biobaku—same mother, different father—and later went on, following a Ph.D. in law at SOAS, to a distinguished career as a lawyer and administrator.


40. Adedayo, Abdul-Lateef Adegbite (above, n. 37), 140–45.

41. See pamphlet by a lecturer at Lagos State University, Shaykh Luqman Jimoh, Moon Sighting: An Essential Manual (Lagos: Jam‘iyyat Junud Dinil-Islamiyyah, 2000), with foreword by Dr. Lateef Adegbite. It refers to a clutch of previous articles and books on the subject.

42. A.M. Sanni, “Eid controversy in Nigeria and the problem of legitimation: The Sultan and his opponents,” personal e-mail communication.


44. E.A. Adedun, Slang as a “Dialect”: A Study of the Use of Language among Undergraduates of the University of Lagos, Faculty of Arts Monograph Series, no. 8 (Lagos: University of Lagos, 2008), 27.
45. Dr. K. K. Oloso, interview, 8 April 2009.
46. H. Townsend in 1847, cited Peel, Religious Encounter (above, n. 5), 194.
47. T. A. J. Ogungbiyi, visiting Ikale country in 1908, commented on “a mania among the converts for English clothes,” whose effects he sometimes found ridiculous but yet thought “who will dare blame them for this when it is known that the very putting on of an English dress is an ensign . . . that Christ is reigning within them?”: “Report of a Mission Tour to the Eastern District of Lagos,” CMS Papers, G3A2, 1909, no. 34.
48. Macaulay was the principal of the CMS Grammar School, the son-in-law of Bishop Crowther and the father of Herbert Macaulay. There is an indirect link with his namesake, Lord Macaulay, since his surname derived from Governor Macaulay of Sierra Leone, who shared an ancestor with the historian in the person of Zachary Macaulay, a prominent member of the Clapham Sect, some of whose members were involved in the project that led to the settlement of Freetown. J. P. Hastrup was a prominent Lagos auctioneer, Methodist lay preacher and pioneer of Yoruba hymnody. He got his unusual Danish surname from having lived in the house of a prominent Ijesha merchant called Frederick Kumokun Hastrup, who in turn got it from a Danish CMS missionary who baptized him in Sierra Leone in the 1840s. Pythagoras must just have sounded splendid and impressive. Swept up in the wave of cultural nationalism in the 1890s, he later dropped J. P. for Ademuyiwa, to back up his claim to be a prince of Remo.
49. See Reichmuth, “Songhay-Lehnwörter” (above, n. 3).
52. Alkurani Mimo ni Ede Yoruba ati Larubawa [The Holy Koran in the Yoruba Language and Arabic] (Lagos: Ahmadiyya Mission in Islam, 1976). This translation had been envisaged for decades, with part completed by Alhaji H. O. Sanyaolu as far back as 1957, but actually appeared only after the crisis of Ahmadiyya in the mid-1970s. Al-Kur’anu Alaponle: Itumo si Ede Yoruba [The Glorious Koran: Its Meaning in the Yoruba Language] (Ijebu-Ode: Shebiotimo Press, 1997). Quadri was the son of the proprietor of the Shebiotimo Press, one of the longest-established publishers of Islamic literature.
53. See examples cited in R. ‘Deremi Abubakre, The Interplay of Arabic and Yoruba Cultures in South-Western Nigeria (Okeola: Dâru ’l-Ilm Publishers, 2004), 211. A long section of that study, pages 210–40, gives many illuminating examples of literary genres in which languages switch between Yoruba and Arabic, thus potentially serving to ease the passage of names like Allah/Aala into Yoruba.
54. For the text of the 1894 petition of Lagos Muslims for Islamic courts, see T. G. O Gbadamosi, The Growth of Islam among the Yoruba, 1841–1908 (London: Longman, 1978), 233–34. See too A.-F. Kola Makinde, “The Institution of Shari’ah in Oyo and Osun States, Nigeria, 1890–2005” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Ibadan, 2007), chapter 2. In addition to various requests for official Sharia courts to be set up, some degree of Sharia had been administered informally in pious Muslim circles in several towns, such as Iwo, Ikirun, and Ede, and among the members of strict sects like the Bamidele of Ibadan.


57. Thus D. O. S. Noibi and S. T. Malik, “Memorandum to Members of the Constituent Assembly on the Shari’ah in the Draft Constitution in 1978.” Much of this was recycled in the “Memorandum to Osun State House of Assembly on the Review of 1999 Constitution,” presented by the League of Imams and Alfas, December 1999. Both documents are reproduced as appendixes 1 and 2 in Makinde, “Institution of Shari’ah” (above, n. 54).


59. Makinde, “Institution of Shari’ah” (above, n. 54), 30.

60. As advocated, for example, by A.-F. Olayiwola, *Islam in Nigeria: One Crescent, Many Focuses* (Lagos: Sakirabe Press, 2007), 281, a work that I discuss at greater length below in chapter 10. I heard the same idea from MSS members studying Arabic at the University of Ibadan.

61. Interview, 17 April 2008.


63. It is adjacent to Finsbury Park Station, but has no direct connection with the nearby mosque, which became notorious as a hotbed of radical Islamism in the 1990s.


68. Interview, 21 April 2008. Warm thanks to Wale Adebanwi for setting up these interviews with the Alafin and Chief Adepoju.

69. J. L. Matory, “Rival Empires: Islam and the Religions of Spirit Possession among the Oyo-Yoruba,” *American Ethnologist* 21 (1994), 495–515, further documents—from fieldwork conducted in the northern Oyo town of Igboho in the late 1980s—the local understanding of Sango as a Muslim, even at a time when conflict between Muslims and traditionalists was
considerable. He even witnessed (n. 34) a denunciation of orisa worship from Adepoju, visiting to attend the opening of a new mosque. This aspect of Sango is altogether omitted from the collection of essays edited by Joel E. Tishken, Toyin Falola, and Akintunde Akinyemi, Sango in Africa and the African Diaspora (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).


71. For a telling indictment of the malign long-term consequences of the Sokoto jihad, see Murray Last, “Muslims and Christians in Nigeria: An Economy of Moral Panic,” Round Table 96 (2007), 605–16. It is a sad irony that, written against Huntington’s thesis of a clash of civilizations but shortly before the rise of Boko Haram, Last’s exhortation to optimism has (at least for the time being) been brutally invalidated by a group of Muslims who emphatically do believe in the clash of civilizations.


73. The Rt. Rev. J. I. Fearon, the Anglican Bishop of Kaduna (a Nupe from Lokoja who grew up in Kaduna) told me that when, during an M.A. in Islamic Studies, which he took at Selly Oak Colleges in Birmingham, he was asked to present a paper on the status of the dhimmi in Islam, he broke down in class, and (when the lecturer asked what the matter was) he said it was just how it felt like being a Christian in Northern Nigeria. His reaction in 1999 was “I’ve lived as a dhimmi all these years, and now they’ve reintroduced hudud [the punishments stipulated by Sharia criminal law]” (interview, 13 March 2008).

74. This I was able to see for myself on a conducted tour of Kaduna on 19 March 2008, for which many thanks to my knowledgeable guide, Mr. Samuel Aruwan. It was most striking to compare what is now the vast, homogeneously Muslim quarter of Rigasa, where there were once a dozen churches and a Catholic secondary school, with the nearby Kabala West, which is Christian/mixed and where you could see small mosques and evidently Yoruba Muslims as well as many churches. Samuel asked me about the Ibadan Cross incident and admired the way it had been resolved: “They [the Yoruba] love themselves [i.e., one another]; they put religion aside. They bear more affinity to themselves [as an ethnic group or community] than to religion,”

75. This is variable as between states, since it depends on the policies of state governors, but gender segregation on public transport, bans on the sale of alcohol, pressure on Christian schools to observe Muslim dress codes, even the levying of special taxes on churches have all been reported. For a short case study of Kano State, see Insa Nolte, with N. Danjibo and A. Oladeji, “Religion, Politics and Governance in Nigeria” (Religions and Development Research Programme, University of Birmingham, Working paper 39, 2009), chapter 3; and on the complexities of implementing Sharia, see Alexander Thurston, “Muslim Politics and Shari’a in Kano State, Northern Nigeria,” African Affairs 114 (2015), 28–51.

is not acceptable as the basis of a constitutional order under modern conditions (because of its discrimination against women and non-Muslims, and its divinely given character), nevertheless a viable constitutional order in any largely Muslim society (such as Nigeria) has to come to terms with Islamic values. That precisely is the circle that Nigeria needs to square.

77. As trenchantly argued by Harnischfeger, Democratization and Islamic Law (above, n. 55), esp. chapter 5.

9. A CENTURY OF INTERPLAY BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM

1. An earlier version of this paper was published as “Un siècle d’interactions entre Islam et Christianisme dans l’espace Yoruba,” Politique Africaine 123 (2011), 27–50.


3. This was a was regular topos of nineteenth-century social thought, especially among advocates of the newly emergent industrial order, such as Andrew Ure, Harriet Martineau, and Herbert Spencer: see J. D. Y. Peel, Herbert Spencer: The Evolution of a Sociologist (London: Heinemann, 1971), chapter 8, esp. 195–96.


5. On the balance between competition and coexistence between cults in plural situations, the excellent study by Meera Venkatachalam on the Ewe of southeastern Ghana is very illuminating: Slavery, Memory and Religion in Southeastern Ghana, c. 1850–Present (New York: Cambridge University Press for the International African Institute, 2015).


9. M. S. Cole, Alkorani ni Ede Yoruba (Lagos: CMS Bookshop, 1925), a reprint of the original published in 1906: Gbadamosi, Growth of Islam (above, n. 8), 149–50. For Ogunbiyi’s pamphlet writing, ibid. 130. His short Itan Anabi Momodu (History of the Prophet Mohammed) was reprinted in two successive issues of the CMS monthly magazine In Leisure Hours, vol. 2, nos. 9 and 10, contained in CMS Papers G3/A2/0 (1911), 35 and 38. Professor Amidu Sanni (personal communication) has drawn my attention to a pamphlet Awon Ọrọ Olorun li ede Larubawa ati Yoruba [The Words of God in Arabic and Yoruba: i.e., the Ten Commandments] (Lagos: CMS Bookshop, 1911), written by one Alhaji Alimi Ogunbiyi, which I think must be a playful self-reference by T. A. J. Ogunbiyi.

10. Ogunbiyi was the son of Chief Jacob Ogunbiyi and when later installed as pastor of Holy Trinity, Ebute Ero—the most “downtown” of all the Lagos CMS churches—was described as having been “one of those wild Isale Eko boys rescued from his evil ways by the Rev. James Johnson” (Lagos Standard, 4 March 1903). He later became archdeacon of Lagos and the principal founder of the Reformed Ogboni Fraternity (1918).
13. I came across these pamphlets in the papers of Herbert Macaulay (Kenneth Dike Library, University of Ibadan), who must have been sent them as complimentary copies. The grandson of Bishop Crowther, Macaulay was an Anglican but also eclectically interested in all sorts of mysticism.
16. Here we may note that the term *woli*, used for “prophet” in the Bible and applied to the leading Aladura prophets like Babalola (CAC) and Ositelu (Church of the Lord), is etymologically a variant of *wali*.
19. For the information in this paragraph I am entirely indebted to Dr. B. O. Ololajulo of the University of Ibadan, himself an Ilaje man who has written on the local impact of oil. For a general account of Aiyetoro at its height, see S. R. Barrett, *The Rise and Fall of an African Utopia: A Wealthy Theocrancy in Comparative Perspective* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1977), though he says little about these Islamic influences.
24. Quadri, “Tijaniyyah” (above, n. 23), 100. He notes that this view was expressed by many of his informants.
25. Interview with Mr. Habeeb Usman Lanase, the grandson of Shehu Lanase, 4 May 2009. Lanase promoted other “un-Yoruba” practices, such as purdah for women and hostility to lavish funerals, but it was his secession and his support for Reformed Tijaniyya—both of which challenged the influence of the established Ibadan *ulama*—that most upset the older generation.
26. According to Imam Salahuddeen Busairi (interview, 13 May 2009), Shehu Ahmed had taken to calling himself *Aseda*, which might be understood literally as “Creator”
or more loosely as “One Who Can Do and Undo.” Imam Busairi had joined Reformed Tijaniyya as a young man in the 1950s, having been introduced to it by a Hausa friend and colleague while working at Sapele, in today’s Delta State.

27. Interview with Alhaji Abdussalam Adebolu, at Madina, 12 May 2009. I am indebted to Dr. K. K. Oloso for his introduction and to Imam Salahuddeen Busairi for further background and elucidation.

28. The clear evidence of close interaction between Yoruba and Hausa adepts of Tijaniyya must call into question a widely cited argument in Abner Cohen’s classic study of Sabo, the Hausa settlement in Ibadan, *Custom and Government in Urban Africa* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969). Cohen maintains that “the Hausa [of Sabo] adopted Tijaniyya in the 1950s because [it] provided solutions to some of the political problems they faced as a result of the coming of party politics” (p. 152). Specifically, he argues, it enabled them to set up a cultural barrier between themselves and the Yoruba, since it led to a “localization” of ritual in Sabo, separating them from their Yoruba fellow Muslims. There are several problems with this view, apart from its brazen reductionism. (1) It is too locally specific, granted that the move toward Tijaniyya at this time was so widespread among the Hausa, both at home and in their diaspora. (2) It ignores the nearly simultaneous and massive turn of Yoruba Muslims to Tijaniyya. This Cohen relegates to a one-line endnote: “Some Yoruba became Tijanis but because of the localization of ritual under local mukaddams no interaction with Tijani Hausa could take place” (227 n. 1). But (3), as I have shown, such interaction not only took place but played a significant role in the rise of Tijaniyya among the Yoruba. Finally (4), the “localization of ritual” that Cohen emphasizes was due not to the rise of Tijaniyya but to a decision of the Hausa in 1952 to stop attending Friday prayers at the Ibadan central mosque and pray separately in their own mosque in Sabo. The Olubadan, the chief Imam, and the elders of the central mosque reacted as angrily to this secession as they had to the secession of Lanase and his followers to a separate *jumat* mosque, which occurred around the same time. Cohen conflates the Hausa turn to Tijaniyya and their decision to have their own *jumat* mosque. But these were distinct: Tijani devotion can take place in any mosque, whereas the Hausa withdrawal from weekly association with their Yoruba coreligionists at Friday prayers was a political decision of their own.


31. Notably a prayer called *al-Salat al-Fatih*, revealed to the founder Ahmad al-Tijani (d. 1815), and the use of a white sheet, placed in the center of the group during the rituals of praise. A very forceful attack on Tijaniyya for *bid’a* is to be found in a book by A.-R. Shittu, *A Critique of Dr Adekilekun Tijani’s Handbook on the Tijanniyah* (Shaki: al-Furqaan Publishers, 1999). This is a riposte to Dr. D. A. Adekilekun Tijani’s *A Handbook on the Doctrines and Rites of the Tijanniyah in Question and Answer Form* (Ede: Moyanjuola Islamic Publications, 1997). Dr. Tijani was a scion of an old *ulama* family from Ede and the imam of the University of Ibadan mosque.
33. Ahmad, “Qadiriyyah” (above, n. 23), 315.
34. On Mr. Shittu’s background, see above, chapter 8 n. 29.
35. One of the most extraordinary, and distinctively Yoruba, is Chrislam, a mélange of Islam and Christianity: see Marloes Janson “Unity through Diversity: Chrislam’s Proliferation in Lagos” (unpublished paper, 2014). Janson describes two Chrislamic groups, both created by people from a Muslim background but assuming the character of small churches, which differ in whether their Christian elements are more of Aladura or of born-again inspiration.
37. It also has an Islamic precedent, of which it is very unlikely that either Fatayi or his Celestial mentor were aware, in the tradition that one of the earliest attestations to the genuineness of Mohammed’s revelation came from a Christian charismatic, the monk Bahira: see T. Sizgorich, Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity: Militant Devotion in Christianity and Islam (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 156–58.
38. As Sanni observes (“Conversion and Reversion” [above, n. 36], 162): “Membership of [Muslim] prayer groups is not denomination specific, and there are even reports of non-Muslims partaking in the prayer sessions of the Muslim prayer groups from time to time, as long as they believe in the efficacy of prayer, whatever the source or agency.”
40. Cf. the Egbe Afadurajagun—rendered as “Praying Battalion”—in the Christ Apostolic Church in Ibadan, described in Peel, Aladura (above, n. 17), 168–71.
42. The term “moderate” was used to me by M. A. Bello, whose valuable M.A. thesis I draw upon here: “Shaykh Abdul-Hamid Olohungbemi and His Da’awah Activities in Ado-Odo (Ogun State) and Its Environ, 1982–2002” (Lagos State University, 2004). Mr. Bello was at the time a senior official of NASFAT.
44. These details from a fascinating thesis by J. S. Adekoya, “The Role of Music in Promoting Islam in Yorubaland” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Ibadan, 2005), which devotes several pages (98–100) to Akinbile. I am grateful to Dr. Adekoya for introducing me to Akinbile. I have myself heard an almost identical version of the second of these choruses—with Bibeli instead of Kurani—sung in Aladura churches.
45. Shaykh R. Akinbile, interview, 1 April 2008.
47. Thus NASFAT members, Samonda, Ibadan, interview, 2 March 2008.
48. For a full account and many examples of song texts, see Adekoya, “Role of Music” (above, n. 44).

49. In the brief accounts of its origins and programs on the NASFAT Web site, there is no mention of the born-again opposition except indirectly in a reference to “organizing guzlu [ritual bath] for Muslim women reverts.” A revert is a Muslim who has returned to Islam after converting to Christianity.

50. He was thinking of the favored location of Aladura and born-again prayer grounds on the tops of hills (ori oke) or of streams as venues for rituals of healing and purification. There are several on the wooded ridge that is the spine of Ibadan, near Bower Tower. There is also a prominent Ibadan-based Pentecostal church called Mountain of Fire and Miracles.

51. All these expressions come from my notes from interviews with three or four figures at NASFAT’s Lagos headquarters, 17 April 2008.

52. Headlined “Timeless Wisdom for Modern Managers” (183 pp.; Ibadan: Emgee Books, 2006), I bought it from a bookstall outside the Lagos State Secretariat Mosque during a Sunday Asalatu service. What is very characteristic of the NASFAT outlook is the wide spread of its Muslim references: dedicated to the governor of Zamfara State who introduced Sharia law in 1999, it also has messages of support from Prince Bola Ajibola (a distinguished lawyer, founder of Crescent University), Professor I. A. B. Balogun (the late doyen of Arabic studies in the Yoruba academic world), and at least one academic of Ahl us-Sunna affiliation.

53. Its main product is Nasmalt, which closely resembles Maltina, a nonalcoholic drink like a sweet dark beer popular at elite born-again social events.

54. For an attractive photo essay bringing out the resonances between the campsites of NASFAT and Mountain of Fire and Miracles, see The Spiritual Highway: Religious World Making in Metropolitan Lagos, pamphlet to accompany an exhibition at the Brunei Gallery, SOAS (April–June, 2014): photographer Akintunde Akinleye; curator Marloes Janson.

55. A very useful case study—written with the clear and characteristic intention of “analyzing and correcting the anomalies and bringing to focus the pristine Islamic way of doing things”—is M. A. Balogun, “Religious Syncretism in Epeland through the Practice of Magic and Divination among Muslim Alfas (Clerics)” (M.A. thesis, Lagos State University, 2002). Epe, an Ijebu town on the lagoon that hosted ex-king Kosoko of Lagos and his followers in the 1850s and 1860s, became a strong early center of Islam in the Yoruba South. I am grateful to Professor Amidu Sanni of LASU for allowing me access to this thesis.

56. M. A. Bello, Meeting Heart Desires: A Concise Discourse on Faith and Spiritual Consultancy (Lagos, 2007), p. 39. He explains that the word jalbu originally meant “acquiring” in Arabic. Its practitioners may be called onijalibi in Yoruba.

57. This aesthetic dimension is important: NASFAT’s Web site states it as a primary aim “to project the beauty of Islam in words and deeds.”

10. PENTECOSTALISM AND SALAFISM IN NIGERIA: MIRROR IMAGES?


5. I use the term “Salafism”—literally “following the [religious practice of] the ancestors or forebears [salaf]”—since the notion of Islamism, while often Salafist too, suggests a project to establish an Islamic state or politics, which does not apply to all Salafists. Salafism may be seen as a contemporary or farther-reaching version of what has often just been called reformism, a term applied to movements in West African Islam going back to the eighteenth century. For an overview of Salafism, which brings out its many tensions and tendencies, see Roel Meijer, ed., *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement* (London: Hurst, 2009).


7. Ibid. 286.

8. A questionable inference arising from such assumptions is that the yearning of some Ghanaian Pentecostal leaders for a Christian state (whatever exactly that means) is due to their links with Nigerian Pentecostals “who seem to mirror Islamic reform movements’ appropriation of a number of federal states in Northern Nigeria” (ibid. 298).


11. Larkin and Meyer, “Pentecostalism, Islam and Culture” (above, n. 6), 290, 287.

12. Ibid. 304.

13. The nearest such a notion ever came to realization in Africa (outside pre-1974 Ethiopia) was President Chiluba’s declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation in 1991, to the joy of many Pentecostalists. This proved to be a wholly vacuous initiative, which had no discernible impact on the quality of governance: see Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role* (London: Hurst, 1998), 197–219.

14. Al-Zakzaky, a former MSS activist, founded the Islamic Movement in Nigeria in the early 1980s with support from Iran and is often described as a Shi’ite. He was jailed for
sedition several times in the 1980s and 1990s. For a sound recent review of the varieties of political Islam in Northern Nigeria, see Abdul Raufu Mustapha, ed., *Sects and Social Disorder: Muslim Identities and Conflict in Northern Nigeria* (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2014), esp. chapters 1 and 3.


19. Known as *tibb al-Nabi* (medicine of the Prophet), it was the subject of numerous books, often compilations going back to medieval sources, such as those written by Muhammad Bello, the son of Usman dan Fodio. (See Last, “Religion and Healing” [above, n. 18], 556.)


21. Last, “Religion and Healing” (above, n. 18), 556–60. In practice, the success of this project to drive healing out of religion is limited. As is shown by J.A. McIntyre, “A Cultural Given and a Hidden Influence: Koranic Teachers in Kano,” in D. Parkin, L. Caplan, and H. Fisher, eds., *The Politics of Cultural Performance* (Providence: Berghahn, 1996), 257–74, medicospiritual activities remain as much part of the stock-in-trade of Muslim clerics in Hausaland as they are for Yoruba *alfa*. Even so, in accordance with Last’s point, they tend to be practiced furtively.

22. Larkin and Meyer, “Pentecostalism, Islam and Culture” (above, n. 6), 287.


24. See above, chapter 5.


26. Ibid. 75.


30. Marshall, *Political Spiritualities* (above, n. 9), 204.
31. Ibid. 206, 222.
32. On which see Ojo, *End-Time Army* (above, n. 9), chapter 2.
33. Marshall herself is against the latter interpretation, sometimes described as a revenge of paganism or the return of the génie sorcier, arguing that it treats the demonic as external to Pentecostal discourse—whereas in fact it serves as a witness to its internal incoherence. That itself is a fair point; but these interpretations are not alternatives that we have to choose between.
35. Tunde Bakare is rather a stormy petrel among the leading Pentecostal pastors. After spells with Deeper Life and the RCCG, he set up his own Latter Rain Assembly. In the 1990s he made a name for his daring prophecies of the annulment of the 1993 election and of the death of Abacha in 1998, but his prediction in 1999 that the axe would soon fall on Obasanjo as it had on King Agag (1 Sam. 15) misfired badly. In 2011 many Christians were unsettled by his decision to serve as the vice-presidential running mate to ex-General Muhammadu Buhari, presidential candidate of the Council for Progressive Change. His anticorruption rhetoric draws on age-old Christian motifs: “an alternative society and counter-culture to the kingdom of Babylon” (quoted by Abodunde, *Heritage of Faith* [above, n. 9], 603–5).
36. See Ukah, *New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power* (above, n. 9), 112–18
37. For an illustration, see the notional four-generation genealogy of Pastor Sunday Adelaja above in chapter 5. For the complexity of Pentecostalism’s West African roots, see Adam Mohr, “‘Out of Zion into Philadelphia and West Africa’: Faith Tabernacle Congregations, 1897–1927,” *Pneuma* 26 (2010), 56–79.
42. For the impact of colonialism on the Caliphate, see M. Last, “The ‘Colonial Caliphate’ of Northern Nigeria,” in D. Robinson and J.-L. Triaud, eds., *Le temps des


44. On the shift in the Sardauna’s political self-perception to being more a Muslim leader (by implication of a kind of revived Sokoto Caliphate but also reaching beyond it), see J. N. Paden, Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto: Values and Leadership In Nigeria (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986), esp. chapters 9 and 16. This is an official biography, which tends to put the best gloss on the Sardauna’s motives. For an alternative, less pro-Sardauna view, see the unpublished Ph.D. thesis of M. P. Smith, “Northern Identity and the Politics of Culture in Northern Nigeria” (University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2004).


47. In fact, so important was the Qadiriyya Brotherhood to the collective identity of Sokoto people that in Gumi’s boyhood the town crier in Sokoto used to address the people as Qadirawa (Where I Stand [above, n. 39], 134). Later (p. 144) Gumi maintains unconvincingly that Usman dan Fodio “wrote quite a lot expressing his opposition to Tariqa worship.” El-Masri’s foreword to his edition of the Bayan Wujub (above, n. 46) makes it plain that Sufi mystical gnosis was a fundamental source of dan Fodio’s sense of religiopolitical mission.


A distinguished career as a banker culminated in his appointment in 2009 as governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, a post from which he was dismissed by President Goodluck Jonathan in 2014 for exposing government corruption in the disposal of oil revenue. A member of the royal lineage of Kano, he was shortly afterward elected its emir.

53. For the period up to the late 1990s, see Toyin Falola, *Violence in Nigeria: The Crisis of Religious Politics and Secular Ideologies* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1998); and especially Mustapha, *Sects and Social Disorder* (above, n. 14), 15, which distinguishes four temporally overlapping surges of violent sectarianism, beginning from the 1940s and culminating in Boko Haram.

54. On the origins of the Northern Christian Association, see Smith, “Northern Identity” (above, n. 44), 299–301.


56. The signal events, which each triggered major episodes of violence, were two evangelistic rallies, one at an advanced teachers’ college at Kafanchan (Kaduna State) in 1987 and one at Kano racecourse in 1991, addressed, respectively, by the Rev. Abubakar Bako, a convert from Islam, and the well-known German evangelist Reinhard Bonnke.

57. Adam Higazi, “Political Histories of Conflict: Power, Authority and Collective Violence in Plateau State, Nigeria” (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2010), esp. chapter 5 on Jos. COCIN (Church of Christ in Nigeria) is the name taken by the congregations founded by the Sudan United Mission, a holiness-evangelical society. COCIN is particularly strong in Plateau State and close to its Christian political elite.

58. The first serious academic address to this problem by a Nigerian was Yusufu Bala Usman’s *The Manipulation of Religion in Nigeria* (Kaduna: Vanguard Press, 1987).


64. See Murray Last, “From Dissidence to Dissent: The Genesis and Development of Reformist Islamic Groups in Northern Nigeria,” in Mustapha, *Sects and Social Disorder* (above, n. 14), chapter 2, which traces the genealogy of contemporary movements like Boko Haram to the paradigm case of Usman dan Fodio’s jihad and brings out the extent to which that in turn was consciously modeled on the precedent of the Prophet’s own campaigns.


68. John 10.10: “The thief cometh not, but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy: I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly.”

69. Afenifere was adopted as the AG’s popular name in the 1950s, when it was also known as *Egbe Olopo* (Party of the Palm Tree) from its party emblem, the oil palm (*Elaeis guineensis*), being a potent symbol in Yoruba culture of spiritual power, abundance, and wisdom. The name *Afenifere* was revived to refer to the Awoist movement as it reorganized itself in the bleak years after Awolowo’s death in 1987—on which see further Dr. Wale Adebanwi’s *Yoruba Elites and Ethnic Politics in Nigeria: Obafemi Awolowo and Corporate Agency* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

70. Respective publication data: (Olayiwola) Lagos: Sakirabe Publishers, 343 pp.; (Abodunde) Ibadan: PierceWatershed, 803 pp. Both books seem to circulate mainly through private religious networks. I was introduced to Abodunde through a mutual friend, and he gave me a copy himself; while I acquired a copy of Olayiwola’s on a visit to the headquarters of Muswen (Muslim Ummah of South-Western Nigeria), a non-Salafist organization based at Arisekola’s Mosque, Ibadan, through the courtesy of Professor D. O. S. Noibi.


72. For example, the African-church movement of the 1890s through the 1910s (Abodunde, *Heritage of Faith* [above, n. 9], 147–275, especially chapter 11, “Liberté, égalité, fraternité”) was an indirect response to the rise of racist attitudes among Europeans closely connected to the colonial takeover of Nigeria.


74. Ibid. x.

75. Louis Brenner, “The Jihad Debate between Sokoto and Borno: An Historical Analysis of Islamic Political Discourse in Nigeria,” in J. F. Ade Ajayi and J. D. Y. Peel, eds.,

76. Olayiwola, *Islam in Nigeria* (above, n. 71), 149–51. He also castigates Ahmadiyya—the *takfir* against which by the World Muslim League in 1970 he strongly endorses—for its opposition to violence in the name of Islam.


80. Ibid. 186.

81. See above, chapter 5. For a Yoruba example of the Pentecostal adaptation of such a local cultural form see Ukah’s discussion of the use of *oriki* (praise poetry traditionally addressed to *orìṣà*, kings, chiefs, and big men) in the RCCG: *New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power* (above, n. 9), 321–24.


85. For a description of just such a setting, in Ukraine, see Catherine Wanner, “Conversion and the Mobile Self,” in Pelkmans, *Conversion after Socialism* (above, n. 83), 175.

86. Christianity (as indeed Islam) has in fact related to culture in various ways, as H. Richard Niebuhr showed in *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper and Row, 1951). The Pentecostal message here is close to his fifth option (chapter 6, “Christ the Transformer of Culture”), whose genealogy he traces back to St. John’s Gospel, through St. Augustine and F.D. Maurice.

87. For concrete examples, see the remarks of Chief Olanrewaju Adepoju, or the 1978 memorandum of D.O.S. Noibi and S.T. Malik (neither of them Salafists), cited above, chapter 8.


89. Ibid. 275.


11. THE THREE CIRCLES OF YORUBA RELIGION

1. I use “Yoruba” in the conventional sense, as used by the vast majority of self-described Yoruba, namely people who have the Yoruba language as their mother tongue or who, even if they have lost it or live outside the Yoruba homeland, still have close links with those who do, like the children of Yoruba parents who have moved abroad. But I do not count as Yoruba people of some other background who have assumed Yoruba names or who refer to themselves as Yoruba in the context of their practicing *orìṣà* religion.


5. For phenomena in the New World, particularly Cuba, I am especially indebted to what I have learned from my onetime Ph.D. student Amanda Villepastour (formerly Vincent). I hope that her fine thesis, “Bata Conversations: Guardianship and Entitlement Narratives about the Bata in Nigeria and Cuba” (University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2007), will be published before too long.


8. The term *eṣin ibi* now has a limited currency to mean “traditional religion” too. Its adherents have variously been termed in Yoruba *olorisha* (those who have *oriṣa*), *aboriṣa* (those who worship *oriṣa*), *ibogibopẹ* (those who worship wooden idols and the palm tree), and *keferi* (‘pagans,’ a Muslim designation adopted by Christians).


11. The best evocation of this time of exceptional interreligious amity is to be found in the novel by Wole Soyinka, *Isarà: A Voyage around ‘Essay’* (London: Methuen, 1990), which is a quasi-fictional recreation of the world of his father in Ijebu Remo in the early 1940s.
12. Orita is also the name of the journal produced by the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Ibadan.

13. For example, a booklet of 159 pages by John Adejoro-Oluwa, *If the Foundations Be Destroyed* (Ikeja: Plumeet Publishing, 2005), has its chapter 2 devoted to an attack on Yemoja—a “water spirit or mermaid . . . the ubiquitous principality [of darkness] . . . among the Yorubas in Nigeria and Brazil,” whom he further identifies with the Igbo women’s deity Idemili, with Ashtoreth, the Phoenician goddess worshipped by Jezebel, with the scarlet woman of Babylon of the Book of Revelation, and (following a well-worn theme of Protestant polemic) with the queen of heaven of Catholic Mariolatry.


15. Ibid. 293.

16. See Toyin Falola and M. D. Childs, eds., *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), and there especially the chapters by Eltis, Lovejoy, and O’Hear.


20. See table of Yoruba slave destinations between 1651 and 1867, as analyzed by Eltis in Falola and Childs, *Yoruba Diaspora* (above, n. 16), 30–31.

21. Two cases are Philip Jose Meffre, mentioned above, Ilesha-born possibly in the 1820s, who was in Brazil for some years before 1862, when he returned to West Africa; and Martiniano Eliseu do Bonfim, born at Bahia in 1859, taken by his father to be educated in Lagos 1875–86, and initiated there as a *babalawo* (Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion* [above, n. 4], 46 and passim). It seems to me almost certain that Bonfim would have become aware of Meffre in Lagos (though by then Meffre no longer practiced as a *babalawo*). A very small error needs to be rectified in Matory’s account (reproduced in Palmié, *Cooking of History* [above, n. 17], 51): the school at Faji in Lagos that Bonfim attended was Anglican (CMS), not Presbyterian. Meffre was a member of Breadfruit CMS Church.

23. As Luis Nicolau Parés shows clearly (as cited above, n. 19).


27. For examples of individual accumulations of *oríṣa* in nineteenth-century Yorubaland, see Peel, *Religious Encounter* (above, n. 6), 107.

28. For this and other examples of *babalawo* rationalization, see ibid. 117.

29. See Brown, *Santería Enthroned* (above, n. 18), 115. Compare for Brazil, Stefania Capone, *La quête de l’Afrique dans le Candomblé* (Paris: Karthala, 1999), 64, showing the ground plan of a *terreiro* that had Ogun, Exu, Oxossi, Nana, Oxala, Yemanja, Logunede and Oxum (sharing a room as two strongly Ijesha deities?), Oloque, Omolu and Oxumare, and Yansan.

30. On Oyotunji, see Tracey M. Hucks, *Yoruba Traditions and African American Religious Nationalism* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1912), and Kamari M. Clarke, *Mapping Yoruba Networks: Power and Agency in the Making of Transnational Communities* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); also Stefania Capone, *Les Yoruba du Nouveau Monde: Religion, ethnicité et nationalisme aux États-Unis* (Paris: Karthala, 2005). Despite their titles, these excellent books are essentially not about Yoruba people—in the sense in which I have defined them (see n. 1 above)—but about non-Yoruba people doing things with Yoruba-based culture.


32. See especially Capone, *Quête de l’Afrique* (above, n. 29), chapters 7 and 8.


34. See Wande Abimbola (with Ivor Miller), *Ifá Will Mend Our Broken World: Thoughts on Yoruba Religion and Culture in Africa and the Diaspora* (Roxbury: Aim Books, 1997).


37. Hucks, *Yoruba Traditions and African American Religious Nationalism* (above, n. 30), chapters 7 and 8. *Ẹgbẹ* means “society” or “club” in Yoruba, and Sankofa is an Akan *adinkra*-cloth symbol (= go back and get it) interpreted to mean the recovery of the African past.

38. See above, chapter 8, esp. nn. 16 and 17.

39. A case in point is the use of Ifa as a historical source, purportedly giving a contemporary account of the lives of *oríṣa* in primordial Ife, by Akintunde Akinyemi in Tishken, Falola, and Akinyemi, *Sango in Africa and the African Diaspora* (above, n. 3), chapters 2 and 9. Another instructive instance is Wande Abimbola’s awkward struggle to reconcile the idea of Ifa as a source for Yoruba history, containing evidence about such things as the


41. K. Noel Amherd, *Reciting Ifá: Difference, Heterogeneity and Identity* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2010). This is quite the most important study of Ifa in Nigeria since the classic works of William Bascom and ’Wande Abimbola, and it breaks new ground in relation to the practical details of consultation in specific time/place contexts.


43. For this observation I am indebted to Amanda Villepastour.

44. Palmié, *Cooking of History* (above, n. 17), 164–65. He suggests that open recruitment patterns developed only in the New World, against a presumptively kin-based recruitment in old Yorubaland. But while is true that much cult recruitment was kin-based, it was not exclusively so. Ifa could redirect individuals to new cult attachments, and the expansion of cults into new areas (as with Sango in the nineteenth century) clearly implies open recruitment.

45. Ibid. 169.

