

Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori (1917-1992): A Muslim Reformer of 20th Century in Yorubaland, Nigeria.

Yusuf Badmas Olanrewaju

Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria. Email: <u>yusuf.bo@unilorin.edu.ng</u>

Yusuph Dauda Gambari

Department of Religions, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria. Email: <u>yusuph.dg@unilorin.edu.ng</u>

Abstract

The advent, consolidation and even seamless practice of Islam in different places are greatly connected to the efforts of some individuals who took drastic initiatives that brought about cohesion and compatibility between the texts (Our'an and Hadith) of Islam and the reality of times and places. Shaykh Adam is one of those pragmatic scholars with outstanding reforming zeal for Islam in Yorubaland. He devised different means to halt the increasing waves of ignorance and nominalism among Muslims. He also unites Muslims in the region under one umbrella. His personality and the approaches he adopted in turning Yorubaland into an abode of Islam have however received less attention from scholars, especially of English background. This paper, therefore, aims at discussing his personality and assessing his approaches in the bid to make Islam a household religion in Yorubaland. The historical method is adopted to achieve the objectives of this paper. The findings revealed that Shaykh Adam remains one of the foremost and outstanding scholars in the areas of teaching, preaching and writing across Yorubaland with accomplishments that have not been equalled or surpassed by anyone. Also, it is discovered that the nerve centre of his activities is Markaz through which he dismantled the barriers of ignorance vis-à-vis Arabic language and Islamic education in Yorubaland. He also brought Yoruba Muslims under one umbrella courtesy of Rabitah. The paper, therefore, concluded that Shavkh Adam is a scholar of note with enduring landmarks across not only the Yorubaland or Nigeria but also the Muslim world.

Keywords:

Shaykh Adam Abdullahi, Markaz, Rabitah, Ignorance, Yorubaland

1. Introduction

Nigeria is a country with two major divisions between the north and south. Islam is stronger in the former than in the latter due to various

reasons, which include the early arrival of the religion in the zone and 19th-century Jihad activities, which culminated to establishment of Sokoto Caliphate. Islam was introduced to the southerners by the northerners. Therefore, northerners are predominantly Muslims, while the south is having Muslims as a simple majority. Both zones are however faced with the challenges of polytheism and syncretism among others, but that of the south is mixed with ignorance due to cultural influence and low level of Islamic learning, especially among the Yoruba. Shaykh Uthmān Ibn Fūdī (d.1817) took up that of northern Nigeria which gave birth to the Caliphate, but there was no such a coordinated effort in the south. Despite the late arrival of Islam in the land and the slow pace of acceptance by the people, the few Muslims then were ignorant of the basic teachings of Islam.¹ As the number increases, so also their level of ignorance and the few available scholars could not match up with the increasing number of Muslims across the land. Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori was one of the major scholars with outstanding reforming initiatives which turned around Islam in Yorubaland. His efforts to consolidate Islam in the land were unique and appropriate. This paper is therefore an effort to examine his reforming activities and their effects on Islam and Muslims in Yorubaland.

2. Research Method

This article adopted a historical method of research. This is because the topic of discussion is greatly related to historical facts about the personality of Shaykh Adam and his reforms. Through it, various relevant published works, including those that were written by Shaykh Adam himself, conference proceedings, dissertations and thesis were put together to gather relevant information about his person and his methods in bringing about reforms that changed the narratives about Islam in Yorubaland. The inductive and deductive approaches were used in gaining in-depth knowledge from the various relevant sources that were consulted.

3. Background

Islam, since the Prophet departed the world, has been going through different shades of transformation as may be necessitated by either time or place. Tackling various challenges as may be presented by times or places is one of the reasons why the concept of *Işlāḥ*(reform) and *Tajdīd* (renew) among others are embedded in the religion (Islam), hence the Prophet is reported to have stated that in every century, Allah will bring

¹. Aliyu Sakairiyau, "Transmission of Learning in Modern Ilorin : A History of Islamic Education 1897-2012" (An Unpublished PhD Thesis Submitted to Universiteit Leiden, 2015), 38.

forth, a religious reformer.² This has been the reality in Islam since the demise of the Prophet. There had been various challenges and conscious Muslim individuals have taken them up to effect the necessary changes without compromising Islam. The periods of the rightly guided Caliphs (Al-Khulafā u'r-Rashidūn) after the prophet were with different challenges. The compilation and standardization of the Qur'an by Abubakar, the first *Khalīfah* and Uthman, the third *Khalīfah* respectively were due to some of those the challenges. Also, the problem of Mu'tazilites vis-à-vis the names and attributes of Allah, especially the Jahmiyyah made Ibn Taymiyyah (d.1328) add the tawhid 'l-asma'wa 's-sifāt (names and attributes of Allah). Ibn Abdulwahhab(d.1792) also faced the problem of innovation, syncretism, and *Shirk* among others, while the major problem in modern times is related to the Chaliphate and application of Shari'ah. These spurred Scholars like Sayvid Qutb (d.1966) and Abu-Ala al-Mawdudi (d.1979) among others to call for the adoption of Tawhid 'l-Hakimiyvah. The likes of Jamaludeen Al-Afghani (d.1897), Muhammad Abduhu (d.1905), and Rashid Rida (d.1935) among others were Muslim reformers at different times in the history of Islam. ³This research is therefore to examine the efforts of Shaykh Adam on Islamic learning as a major problem in Yorubaland.

4. Research Objectives

The objective of this paper is to discuss the personality of Shaykh Adam to bring his reform blueprint, covering his activities as a teacher, preacher, writer and founder of a major *Madrasah* (*Markaz*) in Yorubaland, into the limelight. This will go a long way in immortalizing his achievements, enabling English readers and researchers to have an indepth knowledge of his efforts and making him a template for the present and future generations because of the need to create a balance between Islam and the reality of time and place is not an ending one.

5. Profile of Shaykh Adam (d.1992)

Shaykh Adam Abdullah Al-Ilorī was a Sunni by denomination, *Mālikī* by *Madhhab*, *As-Shācirah* by *cAqīdah* (creed) and a Sufi of *Qādiriyyah* Order. As an Islamic scholar, he was an *Uṣūlī* (jurist), *Faqīh* (scholar), historian, author, orator, social commentator, preacher, founder, *Mudīr* (director), *Mufāssir* (exegete), *Muḥadith* (scholar of *ḥadīth*), philosopher and a *Zāhid*(ascetic). He gave the Muslims in Yorubaland a sense of direction and pioneered many major landmarks in Islamic scholarship in the Southwest in particular and Nigeria in general. He was born in the

². Abu Dawud Sulayman ibn al-Ash'ath As-Sijistani, Sunan Abi Dawud (Beirut: Al-Maktabatuh Al-Asriyyah, 1431), Hadith No 4291, 4/109.

³. Juan Eduardo Campo, Encyclopedia of Islam (New York: Facts On File, Inc., 2009), 223.

year 1917/1340AH at Wasa in Dahomey, the present-day Republic of Benin. His father, Shaykh Abdul-Bāqī, a native of Ilorin, the Kwara State Capital, Nigeria, was an itinerant Islamic scholar and a businessman,⁴ who travelled across Yorubaland, covering some West African countries like the Benin Republic where Wasa is situated. He lived an exemplary and exceptional life with uncommon human relations which motivated the village head to give him one of his daughters as a wife. The princess, Aishat was the mother of Shaykh Adam among other children whom their marriage was blessed with. As usual, Shaykh Adam traced his origin to Oyo in Oyo state. He claimed that it was from there that his grandfather, Habibullah came and settled at Omoda quarters in Ilorin. He was made the imam of the quarters around 1870/90 during the reign of Emir Aliyu, the 6th Emir of Ilorin.⁵

Shavkh Adam first received Our'anic education under the tutelage of his father. By age of seven (7), he had memorized some portions of the Our'an and also studied a little of Islamic jurisprudence (*Figh*) and some poems such as Manzumat Qubah by an anonymous author and other traditional poems.⁶ Olagunju quotes Monite who wrote that Shaykh Adam started writing Arabic sentences without any formal education. He was also said to be receiving knowledge in his sleep through an unknown source. He even used to foretell the future, but he was discouraged by his father from doing so due to obvious reasons.⁷ Shaykh Adam's father used to take him to notable scholars for their prayers and blessings so that he would be learned. Among these scholars were Shaykh Malik Alausa and Asunmi Arikewuyo as well as Shaykh Wazir Bida and Alfa Kokewukobere of Ilorin.⁸ In 1934, Shaykh Adam was taken to an Ibadan-based Ilorin scholar Shaykh Salih Esinniobiwa, where he studied till 1937 when he graduated in Arabic and Islamic studies.9 The intellectual prowess of Shaykh Adam got further activation under Shaykh Esinniobiwa who exposed him to various advanced books on Islamic studies. Shavkh Adam was to study under Alfa Zakariyyah at Owode quarters, but the scholar died before he got to him. On the advice of his teacher, Shaykh Esiniobiwa,

⁴. Abdul Qadiri Sambo, "Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori: His Life and Works" (An unpublished M.A. Dissertation submitted to Department of Religions, University in Ilorin, Nigeria, 1981), 1.

⁵. Badmus Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori on the Interaction between Religion and Culture" (An unpublished M.A. Dissertation submitted to University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria, 1985), 2.

⁶. Yusuf, Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori," 2.

⁷. Hameed Olagunju, Shaykh Adam Abdullah Al-Ilori: A Great Jihadist (Ilorin, Nigeria, 1984), 23.

⁸. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 3.

⁹. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori," 3; Sambo, "Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori," 3.

Shavkh Adam continued his Our'anic education in Lagos under his teacher's brother, Shavkh Umar Agbaji who later became the Imam of Abgaji quarters in Ilorin.¹⁰ It was from him that he (Shaykh Adam) learnt some chapters of Magamat by Abu Zayd al-Harīrī as well as Yoruba translation and commentaries on SuratYusuf. He also studied jurisprudence. Arabic Language and Literature under the same scholar. After a brief stay with Shaykh Umar in Lagos, ShaykhAdam studied under another scholar, Shaykh Adam Namaji, a native of Kano, Kano State, Nigeria for six months in 1941.¹¹ The scholar was the third and final teacher under whom he studied. It was under him that he [ShaykhAdam] learnt al-Balagah, the science of rhetoric, Arud or prosody, falsafah philosophy and Astronomy. Other subjects which he studied under this scholar are Insha and Arabic Literature. Shavkh Adam later went to Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt, in 1947 where he became the first and undoubtedly, the only Nigerian who presented himself for and passed, the examination conducted by the University on seventeen different subjects. He was then authorized [given *ijazat*] to become a professional teacher. He seized the opportunity of his visit to the University to learn about school management and administration as well as the principle and practice of Education.¹²

He later made up his mind to expand his horizon in knowledge on his own, without going to any scholars again. He braced up courageously and faced the challenge of self-education with determination and dedication. As part of the method of self-education and enlightenment he used to listen to programmes on Radio stations of Arab countries. He also used to visit the shops of Syrian merchants in Lagos to converse with them in the Arabic language, a thing that endeared him to them and fulfilling his enthusiasm to have a broad knowledge of other subjects in Arabic, he studied geography, sociology, medicine and history. To this he says in one of his works:

I like the knowledge of history like my father [also did]. I became influenced by the great preachers in my town, and Alhaji Waziri and by As-Suyuti, Ibn Khaldun and al-Ghazali in research.¹³

Sambo therefore identified three factors as responsible for excellence of Shaykh Adam in his pursuit of knowledge. They include, parental intellectual nurturing, informal schooling from the hands of qualified and

¹⁰. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 3

¹¹. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 3

¹². Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 4

¹³. Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilory, Lamhada Tul-Balury Fi Ulamaai Al-Ilory (Cairo: Maktabat Wahhabah, 1982), 78.

dynamic scholars and self-efforts which motivated him to approach a university for examination and scoring an excellent result.¹⁴

6. The Reform Blueprint of Shaykh Adam

As pointed above, Shaykh Adam came at a time when there was the dire need for a pragmatic approach to change the narratives of how Islam was being practiced by Yoruba Muslims of South western Nigeria. It was a time when there was scarcity of scholars to match up the growing population of Muslims in the area as a result of their free interaction with Northern Muslims, especially for commercial activities. Many of them accepted Islam, but remained nominal or liberal Muslims who think that Islam ends at the four corners of the mosque. Their practice of Islam was therefore delimitated by the little knowledge of the religion at their disposal. Syncretism was a major feature thereof among the Muslims, just as there were huge number of non-Muslims who needed to be invited to the religion. Shaykh Adam was one of the few scholars who recognized these facts, took the bull by the horn by facing up the challenges and devised realistic methods towards stemming the tide of ignorance and practice of adulterated Islam.

The time of Shaykh was also a time when access to Islamic education in Yorubaland was not only limited but also difficult. Apart from the paucity of erudite scholars who could take students to the realm of scholarship, the methods of teaching adopted by the few available scholars were complex, less-dynamic and unprogressive.¹⁵ Raji also identified absence of specific time-length for studies, no classdesignations and no examination and promotion. It was purely a nonformal system. Shaykh Adam therefore came up with educational reforming agenda aiming at achieving the under-listed goals as put together by Raji.¹⁶

- i. Promotion of scholarship in Arabic and Islamic studies;
- ii. Bringing modernity into the teaching of Arabic and Islamic studies;
- iii. Developing four skills of Arabic learning, viz; speaking, writing, reading and listening;
- iv. Training of Islamic scholars, preachers and Imams;
- v. Inculcating Islamic values in the students to make them better

¹⁴. Sambo, "Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori: His Life and Works," 7.

¹⁵ Raji Mubin Olatoye, "Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilory and the Development of Arabic and Islamic Learning in Yorubaland: A Survey of His Reformation Agenda," in Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilory in the Tableau of Immortality, ed. Razzaq 'D. Abubakare (Ilorin, Nigeria: University of Ilorin Library and Publication Committee, 2012), Vol.II, 279.

¹⁶. Olatoye, 279.

Muslims;

vi. Enriching the Islamic thoughts with valuable pearls and providing Arabic libraries with best intellectual materials.

The reforming activities of Shaykh Adam which are catalyst to achieving the set goals, covered teaching, writing and preaching among others that were coordinated through *Markaz*, an Islamic training centre which he established for that purpose, hence the objectives for establishment of *Markaz* as highlighted by Sambo¹⁷ are similar to the six above.

7. Establishment of Markaz

One of the main and life enduring legacies of Shavkh Adam with flourishing impacts and growing influence across the globe is his Markaz't-Talimu 'l-Arabi wa 'l-Islami(Arabic and Islamic Training Centre, Agege). It was in 1946 that Shaykh Adam mull over having an Arabic and Islamic learning centre that would be tailored after the western educational system and would be globally competitive. He thus approached the Ansarudeen Society of Nigeria for funding. Having been obliged, he sought and got government approval, then *Markaz* took off in 1952, at Abeokuta, Ogun State, but was moved to Agege, Lagos State after two to three years of existence in Abeokuta. This informed the decision of Ansarudeen to withdraw their support for the school,¹⁸ but Shaykh Adam remained undaunted, faced up the challenges of funding and remained resolute. He designed the syllabus based on his ultimate goal of producing scholars who will be custodians of Arabic and Islamic culture. Thus, the school became what the Senegalese Ambassador to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Dr Umar Jah, described as the most important educational centre which guards Arabic and Islamic studies in their pristine nature in West Africa.¹⁹ Abdulgadiri and Olagunju (2012:217) also documented how several Arabs that are august visitors to *Markaz* have passed words of commendation on Shaykh Adam, particularly for his efforts in bringing the centre to life. They include Uthman Nuri, one-time ambassador to United Arab Republic of Egypt, Kamil Sharif, the then Jordan Ambassador to Nigeria, and Ali Abdullahi Shukri, one-time Saudi Arabian ambassador to Nigeria.²⁰ Markaz continued to wax stronger as the students population kept growing. The progress of *Markaz* since that time has been steady.

¹⁷. Sambo, "Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori: His Life and Works," 57.

¹⁸. Sambo, 59.

¹⁹. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 14

²⁰. I. A. Abdulqadir and Olagunju I. Ridwan, "Human Rights between Religious and Man-Made Laws: An Examination of Shaykh Adam Al-Ilory's Perspective," in Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilory in the Tableau of Immortality, ed. Razzaq 'D. Abubakare (Ilorin, Nigeria: University of Ilorin Library and Publication Committee, 2012), 217.

Apart from the *Idadiyyah* and *Thanawiyyah* both of which were equivalent to Junior and Senior Secondary School Certificates, *Markaz* also runs Diploma programmes in Affiliation to Azhar University, since 1984.²¹ Today, *Markaz* is awaiting government's approval for Markaz University, having fulfilled all preliminary conditions and requirements.²²

Apart from turning out army of graduates that have furthered their studies in various universities in Nigeria and beyond and across disciplines outside the traditional Arabic and Islamic studies, Markaz has greatly influenced and positively impacted humanity. Many of its products are now professors, and top government functionaries, authors and founders of Madāris both in Nigeria and beyond. Markaz has also given birth to many Madāris (schools), Mahā'id (institutes), Marākiz (centres), and Kuliyvāt (colleges) across Nigeria, held several academic conferences among other achievements. In 2012, Opelove and Makinde identified seven (7) notable products of *Markaz* that were Professors. They include, Prof. I.O. Olovede, a former Vice Chancellor, University of Ilorin and currently Registrar, Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB). He is also the secretary General for the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affair (NSCIA), the apex Islamic body in Nigeria. Others are Prof. Abdur-Razag Deremi Abdubakre, a renowned Prof of Arabic language and former Vice Chancellor, Al-Hikmah University, Ilorin, Nigeria, Prof. S.U. Balogun (late), Prof. Shuaib Agaka, Prof. Shittu Agbetola, Prof Yusuf Sadiq, Prof. Ahmad Abdus-Salam formerly of International Islamic University Malaysia, now in the University of Ilorin.²³ Those that were not mentioned include Prof. B.O. Yusuf, Prof. H.I. Abdur-Rahim, Prof. Isa Alabi, among other academia. Outside academic circle, there is Shaykh Suleiman Faruq Onikijipa, Al-Miskinubillahi, the fourth Grand-Mufti of Ilorin, Shavkh Adam Yahya Al-Fulani who was recently honoured by Egyptian authority in literary award and the founder of Darul-Hijrah li Ta'alim Arabiwal-Islam in Kano, Kano state Nigeria. Another prominent Madrasah from Shaykh Adam is the ever-growing Darul-Ulum li Jabhati Ulama'uwal-Ai'mah in Ilorin. This was the first branch to be established after Markaz in 1963 when the reigning emir of Ilorin, Alhaji Zul-Qarnayn Gambari requested him to establish an Arabic and Islamic school in Ilorin similar to his Markaz, there followed the establishment of Darul-ulum,

²¹. Sambo, "Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori: His Life and Works," 61.

²². This was disclosed by Shaykh Habibullahi Adam Al-Ilori, the eldest son of Shaykh Adam and the current Mudir of Markaz, in the annual Ramadan Tafsir section, 2021

²³. Muibi O. Opeloye and Abdul-Fatah 'Kola Makinde, "Markaz - Ma'had Institutional Relations," in Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilory in the Tableau of Immortality, ed. Razzaq 'D. Abubakare (Ilorin, Nigeria: University of Ilorin Library and Publication Committee, 2012), 45.

Ilorin.²⁴ Others affiliates of Markaz are Markaz Talimi Arabi Islami, Saki, MarkazShababi Al-Islami, Iwo, Osun State, Edo, Ede, Ijebu-Ode, Darul-Da'wahwal-Irishad, Lagos and Markaz Talimul-Islami, Sakete, Republic of Benin among others.

8. Establishment of Rabitah

One of the reformative efforts of Shaykh Adam to tackle various challenges that bedeviled the Yoruba Muslims was the formation of Rabitatul-A'immahwaUlama'u fi BiladiYaruba in 1962.²⁵ It is translated as the League of Imams and Alfas of Yorubaland. It was formed as an umbrella body to foster peace, unity and progress among the Yoruba Muslims in general and scholars in particular. The need to establish a common forum occurred to him when he noticed the perennial controversies and confusions associated with the commencement and ending of Ramadan fast.²⁶ There were also glaring cases of interferences and usurpations of roles of Imams and scholars by influential Muslim individuals and the royal fathers in different communities. An instance is the appointment of Imam, where the royals will harp on loyalty to the detriment of Islamic scholarship that Islam emphasized.²⁷ Evidence of discrimination against Yoruba Muslims by their Northern counterparts is another salient necessitating factor for creating a front to give the Yoruba Muslims a sense of belonging and to compete favourably with their colleagues from the north and elsewhere.

Another major motivating factor for formation of the league was the critical roles that Shaykh Adam played in the establishment of Muslim World League (MWL) which came alive in 1960, two year before *Rabitah.*²⁸ He acted as the mouthpiece of MWL in Yorubaland for many years, just like ShaykhAbubakr Mahmud Gumi in the north. He served majorly as the manager of funds from MWL to various projects the league funded.²⁹ With successful administration of MWL affairs, he thought of replicating same among the Muslims in Yorubaland, ditto for Nigeria as a

²⁴. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 8

²⁵ Kamaldeen A. Balogun, "An Exposition of Shaykh Adam Al-Iluri's 'Ta'rif Wajiz Birabitah Al-'aimmah Wal-'ulama Fi Bilad Yuruba,'" in Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilory in the Tableau of Immortality, ed. Razzaq 'D. Abubakare (Ilorin, Nigeria: University of Ilorin Library and Publication Committee, 2012), 93; Sambo, "Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori: His Life and Works," 85.

²⁶. Sambo, "Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori: His Life and Works," 85.

²⁷. Balogun, "An Exposition of Shaykh Adam Al-Iluri's 'Ta'rif Wajiz Birabitah Al-'aimmah Wal-'ulama Fi Bilad Yuruba,'" 94.

²⁸. Stefan Reichmuth, "Shaykh Adam as I Came to Know Him - Memories of an Islamologist," in Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilory in the Tableau of Immortality, ed. Razzaq 'D. Abubakare (Ilorin, Nigeria: University of Ilorin Library and Publication Committee, 2012), 9.

²⁹. Reichmuth, 15.

whole. Shaykh Adam therefore first gathered about twenty (20) scholars and Imams in Ilorin to harvest ideas, before the inaugural meeting was held in Ibadan central mosque in 1962 where executives were appointed.³⁰ The, then Chief Imam of Ibadan was made the pioneer president, while Shaykh Adam settled for secretary general of the league. Both Balogun³¹ and Sambo³² listed three main objectives of the league. The first is to unify all Imams, Alfas, Arabic and Islamic studies teachers and preachers across Yorubaland. The second is to seek government recognition as the leaders of Yoruba Muslims which must be reckoned with in all matters that concerned Muslims in Yorubaland. Setting up committees to see to the welfare of mosques, teaching of Islam and Arabic language and Islamic preaching is the third main objective of *Rabita*.

Apart from the unity and harmonious relationship that the league fosters across the Yorubaland, it has also achieved regular holding of meetings and organizing academic conferences on topical issues of importance to southwestern Muslims. It has ensured unity in the commencement and termination of the Ramadan fast since its inception. Many rifts and disputes among members have been settled. The cases of Imam of Ile-Ife, Osun State, the dispute relating to the appointment of Imam in Igboho, Oyo State, another one in Ede, Osun State, Isevin, Oyo State, and the appointment of Alhaji Shittu Onilewura as the league Chairman in Osun which generated debates among others were put to rest at the instance of the elders of the league. The league also wrote to protest some unnecessary levies that Ogun state government requested from the Muslim Pilgrims and the move to downgrade the study of Arabic and Islamic studies in public schools in the state both of which were reversed courtesy of the league's interventions in 1980 and 1981 respectively.33

The league also had many of its members appointed by the Saudi Arabian government in 1970 to translate the glorious Qur'an into the Yoruba language. Shaykh Ahmad Rufai, the Mufti of the league was also appointed as a member of the *Shura* committee for Nigerian Muslims in Kaduna and also participated in Muslim World League Conference in 1965. Finally, the league is duly recognized by the Muslim World League which has granted many financial aids to the league on different occasions.³⁴ The influence of MWL was however checkmated by Shaykh

³⁰. Sambo, "Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori: His Life and Works," 85.

³¹. Balogun, "An Exposition of Shaykh Adam Al-Iluri's 'Ta'rif Wajiz Birabitah Al-'aimmah Wal-'ulama Fi Bilad Yuruba,'" 95.

³². Sambo, "Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori: His Life and Works," 88.

³³. Sambo, 89.

³⁴. Balogun, "An Exposition of Shaykh Adam Al-Iluri's 'Ta'rif Wajiz Birabitah Al-'aimmah Wal-'ulama Fi Bilad Yuruba,'" 91.

Adam as narrated by Shaykh Mubarak Ashile (d.197). He narrated that Shaykh Adam was asked to coordinate Wahhabism in the southwest which is the official version of Islam that Saudi authorities practised but he refused, noting that Sufis were responsible for not only the spread of Islam to Nigeria but also its consolidation.³⁵

9. Shaykh Adam as a Preacher and Teacher of Repute

Shaykh Adam started preaching at the early age of twenty (20), after his graduation from the school of Shaykh Esinniobiwa in Ibadan, precisely at Omu Adio near Ibadan.³⁶ Sambo however puts the age he started preaching at eighteen (18). He later moved to Ebute Meta Lagos metropolis for his preaching. Sambo explains further that Shaykh Adam's Ramadan preaching continued until 1957 when he established *Markaz* at Agege. Thus, the *Markaz* mosque became the centre of his preaching activities with larger number of audiences. In fact, he puts the number at four thousand (4,000) residents both from within and outside Agege. His oratory powers, sonorous voice and his application of logic among others are what attracted a large gathering of people to him.³⁷

Shaykh Adam later extended the preaching activities to Abeokuta, where he used to move around houses, towns and villages to educate Muslims and to invite non-Muslims to Islam. This availed him the privilege to carry out some reforms such as the prevention of Imams and their assistants from prostrating to the traditional rulers while greeting.³⁸ He finally settled at Agege, Lagos. Apart from his usual weekly preaching at Agege market, every Islamic ceremony conducted by him usually served as a forum for preaching. In the month of Ramadan, there would be a *tafsīr* session in the afternoon right inside *Markaz*. There would also be preaching in the evening as well as *Laylatu 'l-Qadri*(night of majesty) towards the end of Ramadan. *Jum^cat* and both *Idul-fitr* and *Idul-kabir* prayers are also used by ShaykhAdam to preach virtues and discourage people from perpetrating evils.

His *Jum^cat* sermon was first broadcast by the defunct Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation Lagos [now Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN)] on the 4th day of May 1973. In resume, Shaykh Adam was a powerful preacher. He was fearless and would rather tell the truth and dabble the consequences regardless of whose horse is gored. He used to preach as the medium to pass his message across to the people and government. He educated people on socio-political, economic, spiritual,

³⁵. Dauda Yusuph, "An Examination of Selected Salafiyyah Scholars' Discourse on Sufism" (PhD diss. University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria, n.d.), 187.

³⁶. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 5

³⁷. Sambo, "Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori: His Life and Works," 46.

³⁸. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 6

educational and intellectual matters that affected not only the Muslims but the generality of people. He was also an international figure who has commented on many international issues like Israel and Palestinian conflicts among others. These made many people in his audience always try to be close to him to have his preaching recorded for playback.³⁹

In what could be described as his guiding principle for preaching, Shaykh Adam submits in one of his books:

The real preaching would be bitter to the hearing and would not be sweet. A true preacher is one that people would hate and they would not like. Because he would not cajole, wheedle or flatter [his audience]. As for an insignificant and miserable preacher, he would be revolving around comic stories and fables which could be distracting. He is the one who would be making demands in his preaching to collect money and property.⁴⁰

It should be noted that the notion that serious preaching is always bitter is true but not at all the time. This is because the Our'an which is one of the sources of preaching in Islam and does not contain bitter messages to the exclusion of pleasing narratives. In it (Qur'an), one finds about four places (Q.2:119, 34:28, 35:24 and 41:4) where Bashir (good news bearer) and Nadhir (warner) are combined as qualities of the Prophet which should serve as templates for whoever preaches the religion of Islam. Preaching should be about giving hope (Ar-Rajā'), creating fear (Al-Khawf) and giving a sense of direction to people (Al-*Irshād*). These will make people to be balanced at all times. Shaykh Adam himself has once said. Allah at times would discuss sweet issues as well as bitter issues at some other times. Therefore, it is not when one talks about bitter things that one could be regarded as serious preacher. When the Prophet sent Mu'adh Ibn Jabal to Yemen, part of the instruction given to him is that: be soft, do not be harsh, give glad tiding, and do not drive people away.41

In 1978 before the first general elections of 1979, Shaykh Adam declared in one of his public lectures that Chief Obafemi Awolowo, a presidential candidate of Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) would not win because he was not a Muslim and he was hostile to Muslims and northerners. He, therefore, urged his audience not to vote for him until he

³⁹. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 6

⁴⁰. Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilory, Tawjihu'd Da'wah Wa'd Du'at (Cairo: Maktabat Wahhabah, 1979), 18-19.

⁴¹ Muhammad ibn Isma'il Al-Bukhari, Sahih Al-Bukhari (Beirut: Dar Al-Tuq Al-Najah, n.d.), Hadith No. 69, 1/25.

embraces Islam before he deserves the Muslim votes.⁴² The election held and Awolowo did not win as predicted by Shaykh Adam.

Shaykh Adam usually makes the stand of Islam clear on issues of national importance. An instance is that of the then Universal Primary Education [UPE] which was introduced in 1974, and the government appealed to the proprietors of Arabic and Islamic schools to allow it to use their buildings for the exercise, Shaykh Adam warned Muslims seriously against that. Perceived the government's request as an attempt to put obstacle on the path of the progress of Arabic and Islamic education.⁴³

Similarly in 1978 when the constitution drafting committee were discussing the issue of Shar'iah at the federal level. Shavkh Adam wholeheartedly supported the move. His ground for this support was that the Muslims should be free to demand for legal system of their religion. He was bold enough to say that it is an inalienable right of the Nigerian Muslims to have it moreover, the Muslims are in majority and the court would be used for Muslims cases only.⁴⁴ He condemned Kaduna Mafia group which is a political pressure group based in Kaduna, saying that its operation which is in secrecy is against the teachings of Islam. In the same way, he also condemned Rotary Club which laid claimed to humanitarian and charitable deeds. Shaykh Adam described it as agent of international Zionism and American neo-colonialism. All these views were made at a public lecture held in front of Alfa-Nda mosque Ilorin in 1983.⁴⁵ Sambo⁴⁶ also identifies some key areas of preaching of Shavkh Adam to include condemnation of greeting with local language apart from *taslim*, shaking hands by people of opposite sex, eating with left hands, especially by elite Muslims, and unnecessary outing by females, especially young ladies. Shaykh Adam throughout his life remains a model for preachers.

Side by side with preaching, Shaykh Adam combined the teaching profession which he started in Lagos with the Ansaru-din society of Nigeria after his return from Cairo in 1947. He was with the organization from 1947 to 1950 before he proceeded to Abeokuta where he later established *Markaz*. Since the inception of *Markaz*, Shaykh Adam has taught students at all levels, including preparatory, primary and secondary. He used to teach the Arabic language and its Literature, *Ilmul-Falak* (Astronomy), Education and Philosophy among others. He also

⁴². Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 10

⁴³. B.O. Yusuf and Ibrahim Abdulganiyu Jawondo, "Imamate and Mosque Management in Islam: An Examination of the View of Shaykh Adam Al-Ilory," in Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilory in the Tableau of Immortality, ed. Razzaq 'D. Abubakare (Ilorin, Nigeria: University of Ilorin Library and Publication Committee, 2012), 189–90.

⁴⁴. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 10

⁴⁵. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 11

⁴⁶. Sambo, "Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori: His Life and Works," 48.

engaged in casual teachings like at *Daru 'l-Ulum* whenever he visited the school.⁴⁷ Shaykh Adam was such a competent and sympathetic teacher that carved the image of a father for himself which was why he was popularly referred to by his students as *Baba*(father). He would be patient with students with a low level of understanding until they comprehend what they are being taught. He, nevertheless, was a strict disciplinarian who will not spare the rod to spoil the child. He was always very critical of whatever his student may be doing on the ground that whatever is worth doing is worth doing well. He designed teaching methods for himself and the school. It was his idea that led to the formation of Nigerian Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies (NATAIS), an umbrella body for the Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies across all levels of teaching, primary, secondary and higher institutions, including Universities in Nigeria.⁴⁸

10. Adam as a Scholar and a Prolific writer

It is necessary to comment on the attitudes of Shaykh Adam to western education. In the beginning he was vehement in his opposition to western education in any form. His reason was that such institutions were being used for proselytization by the Christians and to halt the spread of Islamic education, especially in Yorubaland. He cited examples of the Muslims who were converted to Christianity through their schools. They include T.O.S Benson of Ikorodu, Lagos state he was formerly called Badmos, and when he converted in 1914, he changed his other Muslim name to Theophilus. This was why in 1972, during the twentiethanniversary celebration of his school, he rejected a suggestion that the English language be included in the school's curriculum. His other reason was that the students would be divided interest into their studies to the detriment of Arabic and Islamic education.⁴⁹ A reminiscence of how Christian missionaries during colonial administration in Nigeria, especially in the south, used western education as a tool for proselytization justified his (Shaykh Adam) reasons. Muslim students were converted to Christianity and their Islamic names changed. Thus, Lawal to Lawson, Dauda to Davidson, Yusuf to Joseph and Musa to Moses among others.

However, Adam made it clear to his students that they are free to acquire western education privately as he also did when he employed an English teacher to teach him in the early fifties. He even made it a policy that only children who have acquired, at least, primary education, should be admitted to the *Markaz*. Shaykh Adam stated in one of his works that

⁴⁷. Sambo, 50.

⁴⁸. Sambo, 49.

⁴⁹. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 15

he consulted some English works, where necessary, while writing the books. This is an indication that he also acquired western education. Therefore, his opposition to it is only to control its influence on Muslims and their faith and to promote Arabic and Islamic scholarship which has been adversely affected by the introduction of western education.⁵⁰

Shaykh Adam was a scholar of excellence with lucid and clear style. He was grouped with the grand scholars of Azhar University because of his approach to issues in his works. There are traces of piety and humility in every sentence he wrote in his works. He was such an unassuming scholar who will not arrogate the Wisdom of Solomon to himself.⁵¹ Two distinguished scholars, Shaykh Muhammad Nasirudeen Kabara of Kano and Umar Baha'ddin Al-Amiri of Egypt have appraised one of the works of Shaykh Adam and concluded that he was a great scholar. Shaykh Kabara writes:

God has provided good opportunity for the famous teacher... Shaykh Adam Abdullah Al-Ilorī to bring out his book *Al-Islam Fi Nijiriyah and Uthman bun Fudiye*, a book which shows author's supremacy above his peers in this period.⁵²

In his own appraisal of Adam's work, Shaykh Al-Amiri says:

I was indeed happy-as the great man of Morocco such as scholars, leaders, ministers and Ambassadors with whom Ustadh Al-Ilori met did- because of what this Muslim brother and propagator possessed such as humility, knowledge, determination and sincerity.⁵³

Before he established the Islamic cultural press at *Markaz* in 1968, Shaykh Adam used to publish his works at an Islamic press in Abeokuta. It was owned by a leading Muslim leader at the town, Late Alhaji Jimoh Bamgbola. After the establishment of his own press, Shaykh Adam used it to print his works which were being used as text-books in *Markaz*. His other works are being printed mainly in Cairo, Egypt because of high

⁵⁰. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori on the Interaction between Religion and Culture," 16; Ishaq O. Oloyede, "Trends, Development and Challenges of Arabic and Islamic Studies in Nigerian Universities: The Contributions of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilory," in Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilory in the Tableau of Immortality, ed. Razzaq 'D. Abubakare (Ilorin, Nigeria: University of Ilorin Library and Publication Committee, 2012), 61.

⁵¹. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 16

⁵². Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilory, Islam Fi Naijiriyyah Wa Uthman b. Fudiyo Al-Fulani (Lagos, Nigeria: Islamic Cultural Press, 1971), 7.

⁵³ Al-Ilory, 6.

quality desired for them.54

Shaykh Adam was prolific writer and very critical. He started his scholastic write up from his days in Cairo when he began writing short poems and articles for many Egyptian dailies such as al-Ahram and many others. However, the only shortcoming noticeable in his works is lack of footnoting even for Quranic and Prophetic quotations. He seems to be rectifying these mistakes the ones he wrote at the tail end of his life like Al-Islam Al-Yawma wa Ghadan Fi Nijiriyah. According to Abubakre,⁵⁵ Shavkh Adam was fondly called ShavkhuUlamauBiladi Yoruba (The grand Shaykh of Islamic scholars in Yorubaland). He attended many conferences across the Muslim World and was honoured by Hosni Mubarak, a former president of Egypt in 1989 as the first category of scholars in Arts and Sciences.⁵⁶ He authored over a hundred works, second only to Abdullah Ibn Fūdī, a vounger brother to Shavkh Uthman Ibn Fūdī, the founder Sokoto Caliphate, in the history of authorship of Islamic works in Nigeria and first in Yorubaland.⁵⁷ Some of his books serve as textbooks for students of Markaz and its affiliates in Nigeria and some neighbouring African countries. Some of them are used to teach Arabic language and literature in government schools and are used by examination bodies like the West Africa Examination Council (WAEC), National Examination Council (NECO), Unified Tertiary Matriculation Examination (UTME) and National Board of Arabic and Islamic Studies (NBAIS) among others Senior Secondary Certificate Examinations (SSCE). Shaykh Adam remains a relevant scholar both in academic and in the wider world. A lot of researches have been carried out on his works at various levels and at both local, national and international scenes. Prof. Reichmuth of department of Oriental and Islamic Studies, University of Bochum, Germany, whose researches focused on Shavkh Adam, is one of many instances.

11. Adam and other Scholars

Because of his extensive travelling and participation in many seminars and conferences at home and abroad, Shaykh Adam was able to meet many leading Islamic scholars of high reputation. His journey to Sudan in 1946 afforded him the opportunity of meeting with many scholars. His meeting with many scholars in Sudan and Cairo who

⁵⁵. Razaq Deremi Abubakre, "Ilorin and the Rest of the World: "Shaykh Adam Abdullah Al-Ilory as an Ambassador Plenipotentiary," in Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilory in the Tableau of Immortality, ed. Razzaq 'D. Abubakare (Ilorin, Nigeria: University of Ilorin Library and Publication Committee, 2012), Vol.II, 68.

⁵⁴. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 17

⁵⁶. Abubakre, 68.

⁵⁷. Abdul-Wasi'i Atayese is an Ilorin based preacher and an Alumnus of Markaz

demanded to know about Nigeria from him prompted him to write a book in Arabic on the history of Nigeria.⁵⁸ In 1947, he went to Makkah from Cairo to perform *Hajj*. He stayed in the holy land for five months. At both Makkah and Madina, all the scholars he met were greatly impressed by his vast knowledge. A lecturer in the Madinah School of law, Muhammad Tahir al-Aqli, wrote the following lines of poems about him. Thus:

- 1. Luck has brought me together with a plain Shaykh. He is (like) an ocean of knowledge from the selected ones.
- 2. The best of the youths in cognizance and knowledge in the country of Sudan without any dispute.
- 3. Wonder of his time, I have never met- A teacher like him in any country.⁵⁹

In 1961, he attended an international seminar on the future of Jerusalem. It was held in Jordan. While in 1967 he was at the University of Ibadan for a seminar on the progress of Islam and Arabic Language in Nigeria. He was at the Bayero University, Kano,in 1978 for a seminar on Sufism, where he presented a scholarly paper there. It was entitled: *Athar '1-falsafah, wa 't-Tasawwufwa '1-Ilm fi Masiratdacwatil-Islamiyah*. Meaning: *The impact of Philosophy, Mysticism and knowledge on the direction of Islamic propagation.*⁶⁰ At the beginning of the fifteenth century of Hijrah which coincided with 1981, there was an international conference which was held at the University of Ilorin which attracted many distinguished scholars and Shaykh Adam was not left behind as he presented a paper on the challenges that Islam is facing in the twentieth century.⁶¹

It is noteworthy that Shaykh Adam maintained a close link with traditional scholars. Thus, at Ibadan he used to call at the residence of his teacher Shaykh Salih anytime he visited the city. He also used to meet late Alfa Rufai Alaka also of Ibadan. In Kano, he usually met with Shaykh Nasiru Kabara and Shaykh Thani Kafanga. While in Ilorin, he used to visit the late Shaykh Muhammad Mukadam, Abubakar Omoiya, Ghazali Mukhtar and a host of others.⁶²

Shaykh Adam always aimed at uniting and defending scholars in his dealings with them. For example, the city of llorin was invaded in 1978 by anti-Sufi preachers, popularly called *Izalah*, who condemned members of Qadiriyyah and Tijaniyyah orders. He quickly organized members of the two orders into a committee under the headship of Shaykh

⁵⁸. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 18

⁵⁹ Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 18

⁶⁰ Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 19

⁶¹ Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 19

⁶² Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 20

Muhammad Mukadam Maimasa and Shaykh Abubakar Ali Jabata, to write a pamphlet refuting various allegations levelled against them by anti-Sufi preachers. The title is: *Rafc Shubuhatamma fi Qadiriyyahwa Tijaniyyah Mina Shataht*. Furthermore, he wrote a very comprehensive preface to the pamphlet in which he unequivocally declared his support for Sufism. This was in addition to the thought-provoking paper on Sufism which he presented at Bayero University Kano in 1978.⁶³

Shaykh Adam stepped up the move to checkmate the growing anti-Sufi activities coordinated by ShaykhAbubakr Mahmmud Gumi (d.1992) through his students Shaykh Ismail Idris and Mallam Bala Sirajo who formed *Jama'atu Izalati Bi'dahwaIqamati Sunnah* in 1978.⁶⁴ He accused him of betraying Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, whom he described as a frontline propagator of Islam, who had laid foundation of peace and unity among the Muslims in Nigeria. Shaykh Adam was blunt in declaring Gumi's *da'wah* activities as not only divisive but also inimical to the real Islam. He noted with dismay that Sarduna's efforts were to bring the pagans and Christians to Islam, but Gumi did not sleep in fighting the Muslims, courtesy of his opposition to Sufi adherents. He said Gumi has misused the media, Kaduna Radio and the youth at his disposal to persecute innocent Muslims. He acknowledged the sponsorship of Gumi by the Saudi government.⁶⁵

In 1962, Adam fought tooth and nail in Lagos to make his stand known against an unpopular law which stipulated that permission be obtained before preaching. He did this because he knew it was directed against certain scholars popularly known as *Makondoroto* save them from being incarcerated. They were said to have raided the house of some masquerades and idol-worshippers at a village near Ilorin in 1978.⁶⁶ It was in recognition of his outstanding scholarship that made Saudi Arabia government courtesy of MWL requested him to translate the glorious Qur'an into the Yoruba language. But his all-inclusive policy made him invited other scholars under the aegis of league of Imam to join hands in the execution of that assignment.⁶⁷

Generally, the scholarly contributions of Shaykh Adam Abdullah Alllori impacted many modern scholars from within and outside Nigeria. Scholars of Nigerian University has acknowledged the Shaykh's academic output on the history of Islam in Nigeria because his popular work *Al*-

⁶³. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 20

⁶⁴. Yusuph, "An Examination of Selected Salafiyyah Scholars' Discourse on Sufism," 188.

⁶⁵. Sambo, "Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori: His Life and Works," 105–6.

⁶⁶. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 21

⁶⁷. This is also taken from Markaz annual Ramadan Tafsir section by Shaykh Habibullahi Adam in 2021

Islam Fi Nijiriyah served as an eye opener for researchers to pursue the Nigeria Islamic history with enthusiasm. His works have been useful across universities such as the famous Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt, University of Ibadan, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Bayero University, Kano and the University of Sokoto and University of Ilorin to mention a few.⁶⁸

12. Conclusion

No doubt, Shaykh Adam whose reforming efforts this paper examined is a genius. His pragmatism and all-inclusive approach to issues, especially those relating to Islam have not only changed the Islamic narratives in Yorubaland but also consolidated it. He coordinated the learning of Arabic and Islamic studies through Markaz and he has the largest students and followers in Yorubaland, than any other teacher or school, including the Al-Adabiyyah Al-Kamaliyyah. Hardly will one find a hamlet without his student or a community without a branch of his Markaz across Yourbaland and in some cities in northern part of the country. The formation of League of Imam (*Rabitah*) was another major landmark of Shaykh Adam. Through it, he was able to unite and coordinate the Imams and scholars across Yorubaland, thereby wielding more influence to him. No scholar in the history of Islamic authorship in Yorubaland surpassed him, either in the past or present and his works formed the main reference on Islam and Islamic learning in Yorubaland which are accessed across the globe. Shaykh Adam therefore is a reformer of 21st century whose legacies need to not only be sustained but also improved upon.

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⁶⁸. Yusuf, "The Views of Shaykh Adam Abdullahi Al-Ilori" 23

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