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EPITOMIZING STUDENT-TEACHER RELATIONSHIP AS CONTAINED IN THE POEMS OF SHAYKH ABDUL-HAKIM

Ibrahim 'Lere Ameen

Introduction

Arabic learning in West Africa, Yoruba land inclusive started naturally in an informal manner¹. The patronage was so tremendous owing to the importance attached to it by African Muslim community, such that with the introduction of Western system of education with its attendant decorations and fascinating accessories, some scholars still hold on to the system, well contented with being called "conservative". The justification being advanced by this group is that the western system of education is meant to strip the '*ulama*' their cherished social position, rendering them less important in the eyes of their students; the teacher who is graciously looked at for his majestic position by his students on the tattered mats are now to get seated majestically with their teacher remaining standing till the end of the lesson.

The proposition of this handful of scholars has, no doubt, been vindicated by the attitude of the products of modern Arabic schools many of whom have lost the sense of veneration and reverence for their teachers, including the teachers' relatives and friends². This practice had always resulted to the loss of *barakah*, a concept whose implication is least understood in this contemporary society because of its abstractness in nature. The situation which has imposed an erroneous belief that continuous respect for one's boss amounts to other forms of subjugation and enslavement. Though, a critical look at the traditional way of expressing such relationship between the duo seems putting the pupil at perpetual disadvantage, yet the absence of such between the duo is disastrous, not only to both parties but also the society.

A brief account of Shaykh Abdul Hakim's life

He is Abdul-Hakim the son of Abdul-Raheem. He was born to a ruling family of *Onju*, in Iwo, Osun state of Nigeira. His father, Alhaj Abdul-Raheem was a traditional scholar of Arabic, a *Jalabist* (spiritual consultant), a preacher, an Imam and a public *Mu'alim* teacher. All these traits possessed by his father had greatly imparted in his personality. Unlike his father, Shaykh Abdul-Hakim was opportune to acquire western oriented education, a situation which made him more effective in the field of *da'wah* and better appreciated by his clients³. Shaykh was a sufist; a tall figure in *tijaniyyah* order. His sufi practice was unique, very close to that of Shaykh Nuru-deen al-Imam of Iwo⁴, who saw material life as having no connection with gaining nearness and proximity to the

presence of God. He had neither *Zawiyyah* nor did he encourage any of his followers to establish one. His interest was always hinged on knowledge acquisition and *da'wah* which he pursued up to the point of his death. Shaykh believed that *shari'ah* and *sufism* are two sides of the same coin which can be hardly separated and that both practices are not contradictory but rather complementary. He has a religious group known as *Madhhab* (a school of thought). The group is more focused on *da'wah* than any other thing.

He was endowed with strong literary prowess⁵. He composed not only in Arabic but also in English. His poem was always inspired by the spirit of *Sufism* no matter the theme of his discourse. Shaykh was strongly interested in socio-religious issues- the phenomenon that always sparked off his spontaneous responses, proffering solution to the arising social malady in a well expressed poetic form. Of the social problems observed by the poet that triggered his instant response is the vast disappearance of reverence in the circle of Islamic oriented students. Though, Shaykh has no separate *qasidah* (ode) on this theme, but the message in this regard is spiced in a number of odes composed by him, particularly in a *qasidah* of dirge mainly composed in mourning his Shaykh⁶. Before I allow some of these stanzas to express the Shaykh's view in this regard, it is considered apposite to examine this concept of student-teacher relationship in view of how it had been expressed in the course of history and its extent and limitation within the purview of Islamic precept.

Student-Teacher relationship: Extent and Limitation

A teacher is "a person who has completed a minimum programme of professional teacher education and has met other requirements of teaching certificate"⁷. The main function of a teacher is centered on student whom he trains to acquire certain skills. Student, according to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary⁸, is a person who is studying in a school, especially an older child'' This definition may be regarded incomprehensive considering the prophetic saying which described knowledge as what should be pursued from the cradle to the grave⁹. Studentship however can be termed as all the sacrifices being made by a student to acquire certain skills through a specific training. By these definitions, the relationship of student and teacher can be likened to that of well water and those who benefit from it. As the former springs more and gets renewed when fetched, the latter becomes refreshed and livelier with the continuous use of it. In spite of this relationship, there lies between the duo a sharp contrast. The teacher is of higher degree that a student looks up to for personality building and attainment of social and intellectual status. The qualities possessed by the teacher which make him a point of attraction should not only be maintained but also preserved for the sake of

continuity. His authority should not be arbitrarily exerted in order to attract the pupils who would in turn showcase his hidden “jewels” for the appreciation and admiration of people. Also, the students should be submissive to their teacher and rescuer from the danger of ignorance and abyss of unshaped personality to the pinnacle of recognition. The relationship should therefore be a perfect one and symbiotic in nature. As the former deserves absolute respect from the latter, right from the point of expressing his intention of studentship, the former is expected to be lighthearted, kind and accommodating not only to stimulate the interest of the students for the studies but also to win their veneration¹⁰. It could be recalled that the first teacher, in absolute sense of the word, is Allah. He taught Adam, his first student in this terrestrial world (Q2:31). It was as a result of good relationship that existed between the duo that the former felt proud to present the latter for the competition with the angels, in which he gloriously attained the victory¹¹. Conversely, prophet Musa (A.S) was ordered to go and learn from Khidr, a person who was, status-wise, of low rank compared to him. Appreciating the import of this directive, Musa absolutely lowered his wing, forgetting about his prophetic rank, and not deceived by supremacy of the source of the directive. He humbly pursued the study to an appreciable level, as expressed in the Qur’an (Q18:66), thus: “*May I follow you (sir) on the footing that you teach out of the special knowledge that you possess*”. With the change of status, Khidr addressed Musa as a newly admitted student who needed to be guided in order to attain his desire thus:

You cannot be patient with me. “How could you vouch to be patient regarding what you have never experienced?” (Q18:67-68)

The student- prophet Musa then answered with high degree of respect: thus “*you will found me patient and I will not offend you.*(Q18:69)

The point to draw from this conversation between prophet Musa (the student) and Khidr (the teacher) is that no matter how highly placed might a student be, he is bound to be submissive to his teacher regardless of his socio-economic status. On committing offence, the punitive measure/discipline accrued to such offence should not be regarded as undue maltreatment to engender hostility against his teacher. No matter what, while under training, one is bound to sustain some sorts of hardship. Apposite to buttress this is the Prophet Muhammad’s experience upon the appearance of Angel Gabriel to him at cave of Hira. It is reported that upon the prophet’s declaration of his inability to read when commanded to do so, he was forcefully squeezed until he could no longer bear the pain. Yet, this situation was not seen by the prophet as undue maltreatment to generate acrimony against Gabriel¹². It was rather counted as a “professional hazard” that could not be circumvented having been perfectly trained let alone in the process.

Student-Teacher Relationship and the Influence of Western Education

Education, as an instrument of civilization, was first known to this part of the world through Arabic language¹³. That was when schools and academic circles were being established in major cities of various provinces in west-Africa, such as Timbuktu, Mali, Katsina, Bornu, Kano and Zaria in Nigeria. Featured at the initial stage of this introduction were two methods of schooling; *katatib* and *Madarisul-'ulya'* as described by Elegu (2006)¹³. *Katatib* is the oldest and common pattern of imparting knowledge. It is organized mainly to train young ones to study the Qur'an. It is no gender biased. It is structurally informal being run by individual '*ulama*' at the verandas of his residence or inside the mosque¹⁵. Alongside the study of the Qur'an, the pupils were being trained to acquire basic skills of writing and reading. *Madaris al-'ulyaa* refers to traditional educational institutions meant for training the old ones who cared to acquire Islamic oriented knowledge. The students, being of matured minds were at liberty to choose the aspect of study in line with their interest for which they would be issued certificate upon graduation. Being the precursors of civilization, the '*ulama*' were held in high esteem, even by the kings and emirs of various provinces. They created offices for them in their palaces to serve as advisers and to document the proceedings of the meetings and events in Arabic¹⁶. That was the situation of Arabic before the era colonialism in various parts of this region which started in 1884, when the France, Britain and Germany started to enter into charter with various nations on which they extended their hegemony¹⁷. The agreement reached at that point included; ratification of commercial tie between the two parties, prohibition of slave trade and freedom of Christian evangelization among others. It was through the Christian mission to this part of the world that western type of education was introduced. This era marked the fading away of Arabic study in the region¹⁸. Characteristically, western pattern of education was embellished in a way to attract the young ones and divert their attention from existing Islamic education. The students were being remunerated not only with the stipend they earned monthly but also with white collar jobs that await them upon graduation. Students enjoy undue freedom from this system more than they did from the existing system. In the western system, the lesson is conducted in more organized lecture room with the teacher standing before the students who are well comfortable seated before him, the opposite of what obtained in Islamic oriented schools. These glaring qualities of western education, to a certain extent, had its side effects on the operation of Islamic education, as some unenlightened parents exerted readiness to compromise the faith of their children by enrolling them into the new system. This probably formed part of the reasons that led to the inoculation of some modern ideas into the operational system of Arabic schools now in vogue.

Shaykh's View of the concept of Student-Teacher relationship

A number of factors are contributory to the formation of shaykh Abdul-Hakim's view concerning this concept: first; he was from a royal family which, historically, is affirmed to be the initiator of educational culture to the land¹⁹. The kind of honor and respect showered by the then Kabiyesi on 'ulama' whom he invited to the land at initial stage of entrenchment of educational foundation cannot be overestimated. Second; Shaykh was fortunate to be a child of one the most celebrated scholars ever produced in the family. As previously stated, Shaykh's father was not just a scholar but also a teacher, and preacher who commanded a great deal of respect in the society. Third; Shaykh was fortunate to have his pre-university study of Arabic in traditional way- the system which flaunts and celebrates the culture of veneration and reverence for the teachers²⁰.

In spite of Shaykh's access to western type of education whose structural patterns portends little regards to teacher, he remained firm and unshakable allowing not the wind of it strip him of the qualities of Islamic culture already acquired. He used to say: "*Moka iwe lati se boyi keu ni, emi kii se alakowe alufa nimi*" Meaning: "I received western education in order to serve my Islamic knowledge, I am not a westerner but an Islamic scholar"²¹. This seemingly conservative attitude of Shaykh of which some of his contemporaries did condemn him eventually earned him special love from his teacher Shaykh Ahmad Muhali Adedimeji, the proprietor of *Markaz ash-Shabab al-Islam*, Iwo. The relation between the duo got broadened, as they became confidant of each other. He was, in fact, like a biological son to him. Most of the events revealing this cordial relationship were poetically documented. This documentation is laced in series of poetical themes.

On their Symbiotic Relationship

According to Shaykh Abdul-Rahman²², a contemporary of the poet, Shaykh Abdul Hakim marked himself different from the pupils of his teacher. Though, he did not stay with him, he never disappointed him for a while regarding any service he was asked to discharge. The former might be adjudged the best student of the latter. Shaykh believed in putting "something" forth in appreciation of his intellectual efforts. Being perturbed by youthful exuberance, Shaykh once involved in some kind of immorality of which his teacher got to know, the former was invited to the private apartment of the latter and strictly warned him against this misdemeanor. He then laid down flat for him. He did this, for him to realize the gravity of the act and the need to instantly desist from such an act that was capable of running his life²³. This idiosyncratic attitude of the former was thoughtfully appreciated by the later and poetically registered thus:

- لك منة شيخني علي ولا أرى ** بشرا أمن علي منك بوجهة
 شيخني بكيت علي فجوري رافة ** بي كي أفوز ولا أبسد بشهوتي
 وخصصي عمودي في الجلوة ** أرجو بحققك مقصدي في غربي
 ومحضتي نصح الخليل لخله ** تبدى غموض السر لي في الخلوة²⁴

Meaning:

My Shaykh, you did me a favour of which I believe no one ever did me the like.

My Shaykh, you swept over my immorality, out of mercy on me, for me to be successful and not to be destroyed by my lust.

My Shaykh, you accorded me preference in the open. By your dignity, I hope that my wish is met.

You gave a friend-to-friend advice divulging for me the utmost secret in seclusion.

Shaykh and the family of his teacher

In spite of stern nature of Shaykh, he was equally submissive to entire family of his teacher including the young ones. He strongly believed in the common slogan in the traditional setting of Yoruba Muslim: "anything belonging to your Alfa, even an ordinary domestic hen, is your Alfa that deserves utmost respect". This humble trait afforded him a great opportunity to maximize his intellectual gains, as some well trained children of his teacher felt inclined not only relate with him but also to teach him some aspects of knowledge which might not be taught to him by his teacher at initial stage of his studentship. In one of my visits to Shaykh, he told me that it was Mallam Abdul-Hafiz, one of the biological sons of his teacher that first introduced him to *Usulul-fiqh* - a core branch of study in science of jurisprudence. According to this Mallam, the Arabic poem ever composed by Shaykh was brought to him for vetting. As a comment to the poem by the latter, the former appended the following:

- صحيح ما أتيت به صديقي ** سليم كما أراه من الخطايا
 حكيم في العبارة فقت حتى ** أتك لكي تؤدبها المطايا²⁵

Meaning:

Correct is what (poem) you have brought; it is, as observed, errors-free.

The expression is explicit such that it could be taught to the comprehension of a mere camel.

Concerning his grand teacher-Shaykh Adam Abdullah Al-Ilori

Shaykh, like those who schooled in *Makondoro*²⁶ setting of education, was of habit of celebrating his grand teacher- Shaykh Adam Abdullah. He revered him in a way portraying as if he had directly studied under him. Notwithstanding, it was in Shaykh Adam's presentation of *khutbah* extempore at the point of his decision to put a stop to academic pursuit that eventually revived his interest. In many occasions, he introduced himself as a *markazite* in demonstration of his love for his grand teacher. Upon the demise of his grand teacher, he composed a very powerful dirge registering the extent of his sorrow over the event, analyzing the true position of the deceased vis-à-vis the propagation of knowledge and his contribution to the development of Islam. This dirge is titled: *qalibun yatwaqqadu huznan lifaqdi murabihi* (the heart blazes of sorrow for the loss of its educator) the following is an excerpt:

بكائي على الشيخ الألووري مؤبد** ويا أسفى إذ هيئى تتوقد
 إلى الله أشكو طول حزني ومبره** وبشي يدوم إذ بكائي مغلد
 ومن لي يداوي كلم قلبي لفقده** وهل واعظ يجديك إلا تجلد
 أدمنا علم أم العلم أدم** فهذا سؤال دائما يتجدد²⁷

Meaning:

- My weep over Shaykh Al-Aluri is forever; what a sorrow leading to the blazing of my brain!
- To God I cry my persistent sorrow and its aftermath; my sadness shall continue as long as my weep linger.
- Who dare medicates the wound of my heart caused by his passing away! Can any preach, save self-control, be of benefit!
- Is Adam a knowledge or knowledge is Adam? And this is a question that has been ever recurring.

This poem was composed shortly after the demise of Shaykh Adam, when the composer was still an undergraduate student of Arabic at University of Ilorin. When a copy of the composition got to Dr. Yusuf Jum'ah, a direct student of Shaykh Adam, he commented thus; "you have really portrayed what our teacher symbolizes. What a well composed poem"²⁸

On his relationship with his Teachers' friends

The kind of respect which Shaykh had for his teacher is always extended to his friends. He believed that denigrating them either when alive or after death, amounts to disregarding him. Of what vindicates this belief was his disposition towards a crop of scholars led by one of the prominent Imams of Yoruba land, who arrived at gathering of the funeral service for his shaykh, when the program had started in earnest. The attempt of the Imam to readjust the program of event at stance of his arrival sparked off Shaykh's fury. He was pacified by a friend to his teacher- Alhaj Imran Ashir the then chief Imam of Iwo, who actually curbed the matter from snowballing into a serious one. Narrating this scenario, he wrote:

وأتى لنام أدعياء ويجهم ** في يوم فقدك شيخنا بفضيحة
وهجرتم حجرا جميلا صابرا ** ليس التغاضي عن القذى بخليقة
لولا صديقك في الحياة بجلسة ** لعنتهم عتب اللئيم بحكمة²⁹

Translation

There in attendance on the day of your departure was a crop of braggarts causing ignominies; woe on to them!

I shouted at them, in a polite manner. Being indifferent at correcting anomaly is not of my nature.

Were it not for your friend in attendance, I would have wisely lambasted them in a manner befitting their lowliness.

This is another quality that distinguishes Shaykh Abdul-Hakim from some present day students who believe that they owe honour only to their teacher and that once their teacher is no more they have become authority who could not be challenged even by friends of their teacher. By this quality poetically demonstrated, it is evident that the sense of loyalty exhibited by Shaykh during the period of his teacher's existence was not a mere eye service. It also speaks volume of his strong belief in Allah whom we believe without being seen with our nicked eyes. In demonstration of his good rapport with associates and contemporaries of his teacher, events with respect of them were poetically registered. A substantial part of this poem got lost in the process and the little that we are able to get shall be presented for illustration in the subsequent sections of this paper.

On Shaykh Abdul-Baqi Muhammad

Shaykh Abdul-Abdul Baqi is a contemporary of his teacher, who was not of the same school of thought with him. The former, as it could be locally termed, is a symbol of *Akumoabi* while the latter belonged to *gbaruku* group³⁰. In spite of this ideological conflict which has long caused social friction among the members of these groups, Shaykh strictly stirred clear from such social cankerworm. He tactfully related not only with Shaykh Abdul-Baqi and his students but also with his biological sons, jealously maintaining his fraternity with his teacher. He is reported to have been used to quoting Q5:8 "Allow not your grudge against people to swerve from justice, be just it is nearer to God consciousness". He believes that enmity could be rather resolved than allowing it to further develop. Demonstrating his liberality and open-mindedness and straightforwardness, he composed some lines of poem for Shaykh analyzing his glaring qualities and depicting his position in the field of *da'wah*, the excerpt;

أبفاك ربك إرشادا أفا عبد الـ ** باقي محمد شيخ الدين والعلم
أحييت سنة خير الناس يا عبد الـ ** باقي محمد شيخ الدين والعلم
شيخ الشيوخ بلا كذب أفا عبد الـ ** باقي محمد شيخ الدين والعلم
أنت المجاهد في الله أفا عبد الـ ** باقي محمد شيخ الدين والعلم³¹

Translation

May Allah protect your life for guidance, O Shaykh Abdul Baqi Muhammad- the scholar of the religion and knowledge.

You have revived the *sunnah* of the best of mankind, O Shaykh Abdul Baqi Muhammad- the scholar of the religion and knowledge.

The teacher of teachers without lie, O Shaykh Abdul Baqi Muhammad- the scholar of the religion and knowledge.

You are the *Mujahid*, (a struggler) in Allah's cause, O Shaykh Abdul Baqi Muhammad- the scholar of the religion and knowledge.

Aside this, Shaykh also, composed series of poems not only for his sons notably Dr. Khidr and Dr. Ibrahim, but also for some of his staunch pupils such as Dr. Bilal Al-Asra' and Alhaj Najim deen Obe popularly known as Shaykh Ya Allah for whom he writes:

حفظك للقران من كل باطل ** فكن حافظا للشيخ يا الله يا الله

بنصرك للرسول الكرام على العدا ** فكن ناصرًا للشيخ يا الله يا الله
 فذا الشيخ نجم الدين قطب مكرم ** شهير بإذن الله بالشيخ با الله³¹

Translation

By your protection of the Qur'an against every corruption, (O Allah) be protective of Shaykh Ya Allah.

By your support for the respected messengers against the enemies, Oh Allah be supportive of Shaykh Ya Allah.

This is Shaykh Najimudeen, an honourable figure, who is known by Allah's permission as Shaykh Ya Allah.

His connection with Shaykh Salahudeen Pelewura

Shaykh Pelewura was not just a contemporary to Shaykh's teacher; he was equally his mentor who eventually became his father-in-law. This Shaykh is a tall figure in Tijaniyyah order and a treasure of spiritual power for which he is highly revered. Though the former equally belongs to *gbaruku* group but his inclination to Sufism and rootedness in *asrar* (spiritual power) make him naturally incompatible with latter's teacher. Yet Shaykh related perfectly well with this icon of Sufism without compromising the love of his teacher. He composed series of penegerical ode on him in his appreciation. The following is an excerpt:

بما أشكر الاحسان ربي تولّه ** فأنت شكور عالم أنت الله
 وفي سورة الرحمن بشرى لمحسن ** سيجزاه بالاحسان أحسننا الله
 فكيف أوفي الشكر إحسان شيخنا ** لساني به عي بل الشاكر الله
 تقرب بالحرز اليماني تضرعا ** إلى واجب الموجود ربي هو الله³³

Translation

By what could I reciprocate the goodness (done me by Shaykh). Allah, the Appreciative and All-Knowing, acknowledge him. There in *Suratul-Rahman* a glad tidings for a philanthropist who shall be rewarded with goodness, as Allah related to us. By what could I appreciate our Shaykh! I am indeed tongue-tied but Allah is appreciative. He (Shaykh) moves closer to Lord through *al-Hirz al-Yamany* (a certain formula of prayer in *tijaniyyah* cycle) in submission to existing God- My Lord-Allah.

Conclusion

It has been established from the foregoing that Shaykh Abdul-Hakim is a man with diverse approaches to issues. He is a modern scholar who believes in retention of certain traditional values with respect to knowledge acquisition, and a socialist with strong conviction in the potency of Arabic poetry in showcasing Islamic values to correct social maladies. His practical demonstration of his view concerning student-teacher relationship as encapsulated in his poem informs his pragmatism to issues. It is believed that a critical study of Shaykh's life and his poetic composition will go a long way in correcting present-day students of Arabic and Islamic studies who are seeing the western approach as an alternative way of relating with our 'ulama.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1- Opeloye, M.O, "Emergence and Development of Islamic Education in Southern Nigeria" in ZACAIS Journal of Humanities. Vol. 1, No.1, 1996, p. 164
- 2- An interview conducted with Alh. Abdul Rahman Ameen at his residence, Imoru comp. Iwo on 23-5-2011
- 3- Ibrahim, L.A, *A Study of Themes and Styles of Selected Poems of Shaykh Abdul-Hakim Asadullah of Iwo*, an unpublished M.A Thesis, Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Ibadan. 2008. P.5.
- 4- Late Khalifah Nurudeen, al-Imam is tall figure who first introduced Tijaniyyah order in Iwo land. He was known with humility and asceticism. He preferred being addressed as a mere Muqadam than a Shaykh or Qutub.
- 5- An interview conducted with Lawyer Tawfiq Tewogbade in his office at Oweyo area Iwo on 24-5-2011.
- 6- Ibrahim, L.A, *ibid*: p.23
- 7- Ibrahim L.A (b) *Islam and Fountain University Culture*, a lecture delivered as part of orientation programme for 2009/2010 Academic Session, Fountain University Osogbo. P.7
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- 9- Ibrahim, L.A (b) *ibid* p.3
- 10- Akinola, L.S, Labopopoola, SO and Ibrahim, L.A, a paper presented at a three-day international conference on Islamic Universities, organized by IIIT, Kano at Mambaya House BUK between 14-18-2010. P. 8.
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- 12- An-nadwi, A.A H "Siratu khatim an-nabiyin" Britain, Diwan Press. 1977. P.43
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- 15- Opeloye, M.O, *ibid*. p.165.
- 16- Amuni, O. K, *ibid* p.2
- 17- Ilega, D.A *ibid*. p.3
- 18- Birnin-Tudu, S.Y." *De-Islamisation of Insitutions in the Defunct Sokoto Caliphate by the Europeans*" as in Yusuf, A. K.(ed.) *Zacais Journal of humanities*, 1996. P. 161.
- 19- Ibrahim L.A (a) p.3
- 20- *Ibid*
- 21- *Ibid* p.4
- 22- An interview with Mallam Abdul Rahman. *Ibid*
- 23- Ibrahim L.A (a) p. 7
- 24- This manuscript was collected from Mallam Adam Titilope, one of the followers of Shaykh on 26-8-2010
- 25- This manuscript was collected from Mallam Thalif of Arowoerki, one of the followers of Shaykh on 26-8-2010
- 26- The word "*Mokondoro*" is an epithet used to describe a group of Yoruba scholars who believe in and practice traditional way of imparting Islamic knowledge. They are called *makondoro* owing to their habituation to head shaving.
- 27- This manuscript was collected from Mallam Abdul Baqi, a younger brother to Shaykh on 21-6-2010.
- 28- This comment was made in my presence, in one of my visits to the department of Arabic in University of Ilorin about 20 years ago.
- 29- This manuscript was collected from Mallam Adam Titilope, one of the followers of Shaykh on 26-8-2010
- 30- *Akumoabi* is a Yoruba terminology used to describe an organization which advocates prohibition of celebrated *sadaqat* for the late individuals. This implies that even an ordinary collar should not be distributed as a sadaqat upon the death of one's relatives. Conversely, *gbaruku* as an epitaph is used to describe another group of scholars with opposing ideology to *akumoabi*.
- 31- This manuscript was collected from Mallam Adam Titilope, one of the followers of Shaykh on 26-8-2010
- 32- *Ibid*
- 33- *ibid*