NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. E.g., V. Lanternari, *Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults* (London: McGibbon and Kee, 1963); T. Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (London: Frederick Muller, 1956), chapter 3.

2. R. Horton, "African Conversion," *Africa* 41 (1971), 85–108.

3. J. D. Y. Peel, "Religious Change among the Yoruba," *Africa* 37 (1967), 292–306, and "Conversion and Tradition in Two African Societies: Ijebu and Buganda," *Past and Present* 77 (1977), 108–41.

4. J. D. Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

5. See H. Whitehouse, *Arguments and Icons: Divergent Modes of Religiosity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and H. Whitehouse and J. Laidlaw, eds., *Ritual and Memory: Toward a Comparative Anthropology of Religion* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2004).

6. M. Pelkmans, ed., *Conversion after Socialism: Disruptions, Modernisms and Technologies of Faith in the Former Soviet Union* (New York: Berghahn, 2009), being selected papers from a conference held at the Max Planck Institute Halle in April 2005.

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.

8. See Rosalind I. J. Hackett, "The Academic Study of Religion in Nigeria," *Religion* 18 (1988), 37–46.

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).

10. See especially D. N. Gellner, *The Anthropology of Buddhism and Hinduism: Weberian Themes* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001).

11. See further Aram A. Yengoyan, *Modes of Comparison: Theory and Practice* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).

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.

15. M. Cook, *Ancient Religions, Modern Politics: The Islamic Case in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

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.

17. Cook, *Ancient Religions,* 248.

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

1. An earlier version of this chapter was published in Ladislav Holy, ed., *Comparative Anthropology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 88–119.

2. J. S. Mill, *A System of Logic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973 [1843]), book 6. See too W. G. Runciman, A *Treatise on Social Theory,* vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 193–98.

3. R. Horton, "African Conversion," *Africa* 41 (1971), 85–108, and "On the Rationality of Conversion," *Africa* 45 (1975), 219–35, 373–99.

4. See further below, chapter 7.

5. M. J. Field, *Search for Security: An Ethnopsychiatric Study of Rural Ghana* (London: Faber, 1960); T. C. McCaskie. "Anti-Witchcraft Cults in Asante," *History in Africa* 8 (1981), 125–54, J. Allman and J. Parker, *Tongnaab: The History of a West African God* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005).

6. As E. A. Hammel, "The Comparative Method in Anthropological Perspective," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980), 145–55.

7. M. Ginsberg, "The Comparative Method," in *Evolution and Progress* (London: Heinemann, 1961); E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Comparative Method in Social Anthropology* (London: Athlone Press, 1963).

8. R. L. Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

9. Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966 [1767]), 80.

10. L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler and M. Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965 [1915]); A. M. Hocart, *Kings and Councillors* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970 [1936]).

11. M. G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960); R. Horton, "From Fishing Village to City-State: A Social History of New Calabar," in M. Douglas and P. Kaberry, eds., *Man in Africa* (London: Tavistock Press, 1969).

12. Luc de Heusch, *Rois nés d'un cœur de vache* (Paris: Gallimard, 1982).

13. C. S. Littleton, *The New Comparative Mythology,* 3rd ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982).

14. Examples in *Herbert Spencer on Social Evolution,* ed. J. D. Y. Peel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), chapter 10.

15. F. W. Maitland, "The Body Politic," in *Selected Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936 [1899]), 249.

16. E.g., I. M. Lewis, ed., *History and Social Anthropology* (London: Tavistock, 1968), xv.

17. M. Weber, *Economy and Society,* ed. G. Roth and C. Wittich, 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 4–24.

18. F. Boas, "The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology," *Science* 4 (1896), 901–8.

19. R. Naroll, "Galton's Problem," in R. Naroll and R. Cohen, eds., *A Handbook of Method in Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973); Hammel, "Comparative Method" (above, n. 6), 146–47.

20. E. B. Tylor, "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions Applied to Laws of Marriage and Descent," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 18 (1889), 245–56, 261–69. For a full discussion see G. W. Stocking, Jr., *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888–1951* (London: Athlone Press, 1996), 10–12.

21. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "The Comparative Method in Social Anthropology," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 81 (1951), 15–22.

22. M. Fortes, *Oedipus and Job in West African Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 10 and chapter 3.

23. M. Fortes, "Pietas in Ancestor Worship," in *Time and Social Structure* (London: Athlone Press. 1970).

24. A. C. Edwards, "On the Non-Existence of an Ancestor Cult among the Tiv," *Anthropos* 79 (1984), 77–112.

25. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, foreword to M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, eds., *African Political Systems* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), xi.

26. R. Needham, *Exemplars* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 72–74, 146, 150, 151, 184.

27. S. F. Nadel, *The Foundations of Social Anthropology* (London: Cohen and West, 1951), especially chapters 8 and 9.

28. S. F. Nadel, "Witchcraft in Four African Societies: An Essay in Comparison," *American Anthropologist* 54 (1952), 18–29.

29. S. F. Nadel, "Two Nuba Religions: An Essay in Comparison," *American Anthropologist* 57 (1955), 661–79.

30. Ibid. 676.

31. I. Schapera, "Some Comments on Comparative Method in Social Anthropology," *American Anthropologist* 55 (1953), 353–62; F. Eggan, "Social Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Comparison," *American Anthropologist* 56 (1954), 743–63.

32. A. Kuper, *Wives for Cattle* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982).

33. R. Fardon, "Sisters, Wards, Wives and Daughters: A Transformational Analysis of the Political Organization of the Tiv and Their Neighbours," *Africa* 54 (1984), 2–21, and 55 (1985), 77–91.

34. Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, *African Political Systems* (above, n. 25), 3.

35. I. M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), 12.

36. Fortes, *Oedipus and Job* (above, n. 22), 66.

37. For example, M. Wilson, "Witch Beliefs and Social Structure," *American Journal of Sociology* 56 (1951), 307–13; essays in J. Middleton and E. H. Winter, eds., *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963); M. Douglas, "Witch Beliefs in Central Africa," *Africa* 37 (1967), 72–80; J. D. McKnight, "Extra Descent-Group Ancestors in African Societies," Africa 37 (1967), 1–21; I. Kopytoff, "Ancestors as Elders in Africa," *Africa* 41 (1971), 129–42.

38. R. E. Bradbury and Peter Morton-Williams, *Benin Studies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 230.

39. Middleton and Winter, *Witchcraft and Sorcery* (above, n. 37), 5–6.

40. M. Gluckman, "Kinship and Marriage among the Lozi . . . and the Zulu," in A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and C. D. Forde, eds., *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), 166–206.

41. In P. J. Bohannan and G. Dalton, eds., *Markets in Africa* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1962).

42. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Anthropology and History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961).

43. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "Fifty Years of British Anthropology," *Times Literary Supplement,* 6 July 1973, 764.

44. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

45. M. G. Smith, "History and Social Anthropology," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 92 (1962), 73–85; I. Schapera, "Should Anthropologists Be Historians?" *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 92 (1962), 143–56.

46. M. G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau, 1800–1950* (London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1960); G. I. Jones, *The Trading States of the Oil Rivers: A Study of Political Development in Eastern Nigeria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963); P. C. Lloyd, *The Political Development of Yoruba Kingdoms in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1971).

47. D. Forde and P. M. Kaberry, eds., *West African Kingdoms in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); Lewis, *History and Social Anthropology* (above, n. 16).

48. P. C. Lloyd, "Conflict Theory and Yoruba Kingdoms," in Lewis, *History and Social Anthropology* (above, n. 16), 25–82.

49. P. Morton-Williams, "The Fulani Penetration into Nupe and Yoruba in the Nineteenth Century," in Lewis, *History and Social Anthropology* (above, n. 16), 1–24.

50. M.G. Smith, *The Affairs of Daura* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 12–13.

51. On Ibadan history, for example, see J.D.Y. Peel, *Ijeshas and Nigerians: The Incorporation of a Yoruba Kingdom, 1890s–1970s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 11–13.

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.

54. Thus R.E. Bradbury, "The Historical Uses of Comparative Ethnography, with Special References to Benin and the Yoruba" (1964), reprinted in Bradbury and Morton-Williams, *Benin Studies* (above, n. 38), 3–14; and P. Morton-Williams, "The Influence of Habitat and Trade on the Politics of Oyo and Ashanti," in M. Douglas and P.M. Kaberry, eds., *Man in Africa* (London: Tavistock Press, 1969), 79–98.

55. P.C. Lloyd, "The Political Structure of African Kingdoms," in M. Banton, ed., *Political Systems and the Distribution of Power* (London: Tavistock, 1965), 63–112.

56. J. Goody, *Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

57. R. Law, "Horses, Firearms and Political Power in Pre-Colonial West Africa," *Past and Present* 72 (1976), 112–32.

58. M. Fortes, "Strangers," in M. Fortes and S. Patterson, eds., *Studies in Social Anthropology* (London: Academic Press, 1975), 229–53.

59. As Goody, *Technology, Tradition and the State* (above, n. 56).

60. I. Wilks, "Ashanti Government," in Forde and Kaberry, *West African Kingdoms in the Nineteenth Century* (above, n. 47), 206–39; and at greater length in *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of a Political Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

61. Ibid. 446–55.

62. R.S. Rattray, *Ashanti* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923); M. Fortes, "Kinship and Marriage among the Ashanti," in Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (above, n. 40), 252–84.

63. M.J. Herskovits, *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom* (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1938), vol. 1, 194.

64. P.C. Lloyd, "Sacred Kingship and Government among the Yoruba," *Africa* 30 (1960), 221–38; and R. Law, *The Oyo Empire, c. 1600–c. 1836: A West African Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 72.

65. J.D.Y. Peel, "Kings, Titles and Quarters: A Conjectural History of Ilesha, Part II, Institutional Growth," *History in Africa* 7 (1980), 225–57; and R. Law, "Making Sense of a Traditional Narrative: Political Disintegration in the Kingdom of Oyo," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 87–88 (1982), 395–96.

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

67. O. Otite, *Autonomy and Independence: The Urhoho Kingdom of Okpe* (London: Hurst, 1973), 14–18.

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.

69. M. Johnson, "The Economic Basis of an Islamic Theocracy: Masina," *Journal of African History* 17 (1976), 481–95.

70. D. Northrup, *Trade without Rulers: Pre-Colonial Economic Development in South-Eastern Nigeria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

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

72. Goody, *Technology, Tradition and State* (above, n. 56), 57–72.

73. Ibid.

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

75. C. Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in M. Banton, ed., *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London: Tavistock, 1966), 1–46.

76. Wilks, "Ashanti Government" (above, n. 60), 227.

77. Herskovits, *Dahomey* (above, n. 63), vol. 2, 104; B. Maupoil, *La géomancie de l'ancienne Côte des Esclaves* (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1943), chapter 2.

78. R. F. Burton, *A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome,* ed. C. W. Newbury (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966 [1864]), chapters 11–19; T. C. McCaskie, *State and Society in Pre-Colonial Asante* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), especially chapter 4.

79. T. C. McCaskie, "Time and Calendar in C.19 Asante: An Exploratory Essay," *History in Africa* 7 (1980), 179–200.

80. Cf. appendix to K. A. Busia, *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951).

81. J. Middleton, "One Hundred and Fifty Years of Christianity in a Ghanaian Town," *Africa* 53 (1983), 2–18.

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

83. Herskovits, *Dahomey* (above, n. 63), vol. 2, 138.

84. T. C. McCaskie, "Accumulation, Wealth and Belief in Asante History," *Africa* 53 (1983), 23–24.

85. T. G. O. Gbadamosi, "*Odu Imale:* Islam in Ifa Divination and the Case of Predestined Muslims," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 8 (1977), 88–92.

86. T. Shaw, *Nigeria: Its Archaeology and Early History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), chapter 8.

87. I. A. Akinjogbin, *The Cradle of a Race: Ife from the Beginning to 1980* (Port Harcourt: Sunray Publications, 1992); J. K. Olupona, *City of 201 Gods: Ile-Ife in Time, Space, and the Imagination* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011).

88. W. R. Bascom, *Ifa Divination: Communication between Gods and Men in West Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969); W. Abimbola, *Ifa: An Exposition of Ifa Literary Corpus* (Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1976).

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*

the West African Past: African Pastors and African History in the Nineteenth Century (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 1998), chapter 4.

2. As argued in J. D. Y. Peel, "The Cultural Work of Yoruba Ethnogenesis," in E. Tonkin, M. McDonald, and M. Chapman, eds., *History and Ethnicity* (London: Routledge, 1989), chapter 13.

3. Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

4. For a full and sound survey, see Robin Law, "Early Yoruba Historiography," *History in Africa* 3 (1976), 69–89, also reprinted in Toyin Falola, ed., *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi* (Harlow: Longman, 1993), 9–25; and also his "Local Amateur Scholarship in the Construction of Yoruba Ethnicity, 1880–1914," paper presented at the conference "Ethnicity in Africa," University of Edinburgh, May 1995.

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 unfits them for the practical duties of life." See further J. F. Ade Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria* (Longman: London, 1965), 150–52.

8. On Johnson's education, see M. R. Doortmont, "Recapturing the Past: Samuel Johnson and the Construction of Yoruba History" (Ph.D. thesis, Erasmus University, Rotterdam, 1994), 66–71.

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).

11. Which anticipates the distinction between centralized and segmentary polities made by E. E. Evans-Pritchard and M. Fortes, eds., *African Political Systems* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).

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.

13. Doortmont, "Recapturing the Past" (above, n. 8), 10–12, 71–76.

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).

15. G. F. Buhler, Half-yearly Report of the Training Institution, April 1859 (CA2/O/24/43).

16. D. Olubi to Parent Committee, CMS, 7 Dec. 1870 (CA2/O/75/39).

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.

18. S. Johnson, Journal, 29 Feb. 1875 (CA2/O/58/4), which is used nearly verbatim in *HY,* 28–29.

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.

22. S. Johnson, Journal, 8 March 1880 (G3 A2/O/1880/161). A very similar view of the Ikale had been earlier expressed by D. Olubi, who added to their backward traits that they had no markets and that their women farmed like the men (Journal, 11 Dec. 1879, in G3 A2/O/1880/125). For a valuable appreciation of the context of Ikale cultural forms, see Paul Richards, "Landscape of Dissent: Ikale and Ilaje Country, 1870–1950," in J. F. Ade Ajayi and J. D. Y. Peel, eds., *People and Empires in African History: Essays in Memory of Michael Crowder* (London: Longman, 1992), 161–84.

23. S. Johnson, Journal, 16 April 1882 (G3 A2/O/1883/101).

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

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

26. E.g., on Abiodun, C. Phillips, Sr., Journal, 22 March 1855 (CA2/O/77/11), at Ijaye; S. W. Doherty, Journal, 20 May 1876 (CA2/O/35/11), at Okewere in Oke Ogun; on Afonja, W. S. Allen, Journals, 13 March 1872, 27 Jan. 1878 (CA2/O/19/13,18), both in Ibadan. See too the account of Afonja's role in the English missionary V. Faulkner's six-page "A True Story of the Yoruba Country," dated 11–12 July 1874 (CA2/O/37/71), which he must have derived purely from Yoruba informants.

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).

29. D. Hinderer, Journal, 15 Dec. 1854 (CA2/O/49/110).

30. S. Johnson, Journal, 18 June 1878 (CA2/O/58/10).

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 *orișa* 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 *orișa* 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).

34. Informant D. Olubi, Journal, 14 Jan. 1884 (G3 A2/O/1886/38).

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.

36. S. Johnson, Journal, especially 10 July 1874; cf. *HY,* 391–94.

37. S. Johnson, Journal, 7 Aug. 1875 and 23 July 1876 (CA2/O/58/5, 7).

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 o (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).

3. R. I. Ibigbami, "Ogun Festival in Ire-Ekiti," *Nigeria Magazine* 126–27 (1978), 44–59.

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.

5. Charles Phillips, Jr., Journal, 16 Sept. 1883; E. M. Lijadu, Journal, 21 Aug. 1891. On Ogun in Ondo, J. K. Olupona, *Kingship, Religion and Rituals in a Nigerian Community: A Phenomenological Study of Ondo Yoruba Festival* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1991).

6. M. J. Luke, Journal, June 1889.

7. J. D. Y. Peel, *Ijeshas and Nigerians: The Incorporation of a Yoruba Kingdom, 1890s-1970s.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 269, 326–27.

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 *orișa.*

11. J. Barber, Journal, 14 Jan. 1856.

12. C. Phillips, Jr., Journal, 4 Dec. 1877.

13. E. W. George, Journal, 5 June 1890.

14. T. B. Wright, Journal, 21 Jan. 1867.

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 *ọdun.*

16. M. J. Luke, Journal, 27 Apr. 1877. Palma, near Leki on the lagoon, had a very mixed population, many inhabitants being escaped slaves.

17. J. White, Journal, 4 Aug. 1870.

18. E. W. George, Journal, 29 Jan. 1877. On iron cult objects of other *orișa,* see R. F. Thompson, *Black Gods and Kings: Yoruba Art at UCLA* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), chaps. 7–11.

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 (*agbẹdẹ*) was always included among the first settlers.

20. J. White, Journal, 30 April 1857, at Ota.

21. W. S. Allen, Journal, 24 Sept. 1872, at Ibadan.

22. See D. Hinderer, Journal, 24 Sept. 1849, at Abeokuta; W. S. Allen, Journal, 7 July 1869, at Ibadan.

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. Ilorin's name is often linked to the "grinding" of iron (*lọ + 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.

29. For eyewitness accounts of this at the Ogun festival in nineteenth-century Ondo, see Charles Phillips, Jr., Journal, 23 Sept. 1877, and E. M. Lijadu, Journal, 21 Aug. 1891. For a certain shift in the character of the modern festival there, see Olupona, *Kingship, Religion and Rituals* (above, n. 5), chap. 5, and further discussion in J. D. Y. Peel, "Historicity and Pluralism in Some Recent Studies of Yoruba Religion," *Africa* 64 (1994), 159–60.

30. P. Verger, *Notes sur le culte des orisa 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,

1957), 150–53; Margaret J. Drewal, *Yoruba Ritual: Performers, Play, Agency* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 183–84.

31. E. M. Lijadu, Journal, 11 Nov. 1892.

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.

33. On Ori, see Karin Barber, "Money, Self-realization and the Person in Yoruba Texts," in Jane Guyer, ed., *Money Matters* (New York: Heinemann, 1994), 204–44; and as particularly a women's cult of personal protection, see J. D. Y. Peel, "Gender in Yoruba Religious Change," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 32 (2002), 150–51.

34. Charles Phillips, Sr., Journal, 26 Oct. 1855.

35. J. White, Journal, 31 May 1855.

36. For a full analysis of the practice and its meaning as sacrifice, see J. D. Y. Peel, "Poverty and Sacrifice in Nineteenth-Century Yorubaland," *Journal of African History* 32 (1994), 465–84.

37. T. King, Journal, 9 March 1852.

38. R. S. Oyebode, Journal, 22 Oct. 1889.

39. F. L. Akiele, Journal, 10 Sept. 1890.

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.

42. P. Amaury Talbot, *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria,* vol. 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), 88.

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 *agbaadu* 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.

44. Charles Phillips, Jr., Journal, 19–20 Aug. 1878.

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.

46. Verger, *Notes sur le culte des orisa* (above, n. 30), 233–38; M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey: An Ancient West African Kingdom,* vol.2 (New York: Augustin, 1938), chap. 32, "The Cult of the Serpent."

47. Such as Ede and Iseyin. At Ede, Ogun was originally the principal *orịṣa* 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.

48. Peter Morton-Williams, personal communication, 1994.

49. For a review of the main listings of *orișa* in a pantheon, arguing that "the variations in the hierarchical ordering make the lists untenable," see J. R. O. Ojo, "The Hierarchy of Yoruba Gods: An Aspect of Yoruba Cosmology," unpublished seminar paper, Department of African Languages and Literatures, University of Ife, 1978.

50. Karin Barber, "How Man Makes God in West Africa," *Africa* 51 (1981), 724–45, is illuminating on the social mechanisms involved here.

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 *orișa*'s followers. See too H. Townsend, "Journal of a Journey from Abbeokuta 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 Egba 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.

57. W. S. Allen, Journal, 13 Aug. 1883.

58. Ojo, "Orisa Oko" (above, n. 52), 58.

59. John Pemberton, "A Cluster of Sacred Symbols: Orisa Worship among the Igbomina Yoruba of Ila-Orangun," *History of Religions* 17 (1977), 1–28, and "The Dreadful God and the Divine King," in Barnes, *Africa's Ogun* (above, n. 1), 105–46.

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).

61. J. L. Matory, *Sex and the Empire That Is No More* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), chap. 1.

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

transcends the division between town and palace. . . . [It] is about Ikole as a unified town": W. R. Rea, "No Event, No History: Masquerading in Ikole-Ekiti" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of East Anglia, 1994), 42.

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.

64. J. F. Ade Ajayi and R. S. Smith, *Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964); Bolanle Awe, "Militarism and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Yoruba Country," *Journal of African History* 14 (1973), 65–77; Toyin Falola and Dare Oguntomisin, *The Military in Nineteenth Century Yoruba Politics* (Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press, 1984).

65. J. Barber, Journal, 14 Jan. 1855.

66. S. Johnson, Journal, 29 Feb. 1875.

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."

72. Charles Phillips, Jr., letter to Fenn, 23 Nov. 1977: Journal, 1 Sept. 1879.

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.

74. Charles Phillips, Sr., journals, 3 Nov. 1853, 20 Oct. 1856.

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

76. D. Hinderer, Journal, 1 Oct. 1851.

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

78. Charles Phillips, Sr., Journal, 9 June 1853, at Ijaye.

79. S. A. Akintoye, *Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland, 1840–1893* (London: Longman, 1971), 135.

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.

81. J. B. Wood, letter to Lang, 18 Jan. 1884.

82. On Owode, the wife who ran off to Lagos: S. Doherty, Journal, 6 Apr. 1882; V. Faulkner to J. B. Wood, 18 Apr. 1882; Wood to CMS secretaries, 21 Apr. 1882. A later incident: Wood to Lang, 12 Nov. 1885.

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.

85. On which see Olatunde Olatunji, "The Poetry of J. S. Sowande, Alias Sobo Arobiodu," in Wande Abimbola, ed., *Yoruba Oral Tradition,* Ife African Languages and Literatures Series, no. 1 (Ile-Ife: Department of African Languages and Literatures, 1975), 973–1029.

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.

88. E. O. O. Moore, *History of Abeokuta* (London and Bungay: Richard Clay 1916), 92.

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 Ògún: different tones.

90. As a well-known *oriki* of Ogun puts it: *Ogun alada meji, o nfi okan sa oko, o nfi okan ye ọna* (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 *Alatunṣe* 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 tọnṣe aiye* (Greetings to you, working to restore the world); or the prophecy of Christian "light and restoration" (*atunṣe*) 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.

95. Wole Soyinka, *Myth, Literature and the African World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 27–32, 140–60. See too the picture of Ogun given by Toyin Falola, *Counting the Tiger's Teeth* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), chap. 1, "Ogun's

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.

2. H. Whitehouse, *Arguments and Icons: Divergent Modes of Religiosity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

3. Roy A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Pascal Boyer, *Religion Explained: The Human Instincts That Fashion Gods, Spirits and Ancestors* (London: William Heinemann, 2001).

4. Whitehouse, *Arguments and Icons* (above, n. 2), 3–4.

5. B. R. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological Study of Religious Movements of Protest among Tribal and Third-World Peoples* (London: Heinemann, 1973).

6. Whitehouse, *Arguments and Icons* (above, n. 2), 5.

7. E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society* (New York: Free Press, 1964 [1892]).

8. Robin Horton, "On the Rationality of Conversion," *Africa* 45 (1975), 219–35, 373–99.

9. Igor Kopytoff, "Ancestors as Elders in Africa," *Africa* 41 (1971), 129–41.

10. J. D. Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 93–97.

11. Karin Barber, "How Man Makes God in West Africa: Yoruba Attitudes towards the *Orisa,*" *Africa* 51 (1981), 497–518, Margaret T. Drewal, *Yoruba Ritual: Performers, Play, Agency* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

12. Willy De Craemer, Jan Vansina, and Renee C. Fox, "Religious Movements in Central Africa: A Theoretical Study," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18 (1976), 458–75; Wyatt McGaffey, *Modern Kongo Prophets* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983).

13. J. D. Y. Peel, "The Pastor and the *Babalawo:* The Encounter of Religions in Nineteenth-Century Yorubaland," *Africa* 60 (1990), 338–69.

14. Wim van Binsbergen, "Regional and Historical Connections of Four-Tablet Divination in Southern Africa," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 26 (1996), 2–29; Louis Brenner, *Histories of Religion in Africa: An Inaugural Lecture* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 2000).

15. Bernard Maupoil, *La géomancie a 'lancienne Côte des Esclaves* (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1943).

16. H. W. Turner, "A Typology for African Religious Movements," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 1 (1967), 1–34.

17. B. G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1961 [1949]); and J. B. Webster, *The African Churches among the Yoruba, 1888–1922* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).

18. James W. Fernandez, "African Religious Movements: Types and Dynamics," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 2 (1964), 531–49.

19. James W. Fernandez, "African Religious Movements," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7 (1978), 194–234.

20. Hermione Harris, *Yoruba in Diaspora: An African Church in London* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), chapter 8.

21. Such as Georges Balandier, *Sociology of Black Africa: Social Dynamics of Black Africa* (London: Andre Deutsch (1970 [1955]); Vittorio Lanternari, *The Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults* (London: MacGibbon and Kee (1963 [1960]); Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of 'Cargo' Cults in Melanesia* (London: MacGibbon and Kee (1968 [1957]).

22. J. D. Y. Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba* (London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1968), 287–88.

23. Fernandez, "African Religious Movements" (above, n. 18).

24. James W. Fernandez, *Bwiti: An Ethnography of the Religious Imagination in Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

25. Ibid. 512–13.

26. Whitehouse, *Arguments and Icons* (above, n. 2), 15.

27. See further below, chapter 10.

28. Whitehouse, *Arguments and Icons* (above, n. 2), 150–55.

29. Ibid. 140–46.

30. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1930 [1904–5]), 175.

31. Peel, *Religious Encounter* (above, n. 10), 250–53.

32. J. C. Pollock, *The Keswick Story* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964).

33. David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740–1890* (London: Routledge, 1992), 145–58.

34. Robert L. M'Keown, *Twenty-Five Years in Qua Iboe: A Missionary Effort In Nigeria* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1912), 157.

35. Eva Stuart Watt, *The Quest of Souls in Qua Iboe,* (London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1951), 94.

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.

37. Karla Poewe, ed., *Charismatic Christianity and Global Culture* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994); Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Addison Wesley, 1994); Andre Corten and Ruth Fratani, eds., *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America* (London: Hurst, 2001); David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

38. Peel, *Religious Encounter* (above, n. 10), 127, 152–54.

39. Peel, *Aladura* (above, n. 22), 83–91.

40. Matthews Ojo, *The End-Time Army: Charismatic Movements in Modern Nigeria* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2006), chapter 2.

41. Asonzeh Ukah, *A New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power: A Study of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Nigeria* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2008); Paul Gifford,

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.

2. C. Wanner, "Conversion and the Mobile Self: Evangelicalism as 'Travelling Culture,'" in Pelkmans, *Conversion after Socialism* (above, n. 1), 174.

3. J. D. Y. Peel, "Conversion and Tradition in Two African Societies: Ijebu and Buganda," *Past and Present* 77 (1977), 108–41; E. A. Ayandele, *The Ijebu of Yorubaland, 1850–1950: Politics, Economy and Society* (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1992), chapter 2.

4. J. D. Y. Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba* (London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1968), 87–111.

5. J. D. Y. Peel, "Religious Change in Yorubaland," *Africa* 37 (1967), 292–306.

6. Toyin Falola, *Violence in Nigeria: The Crisis of Religious Politics and Secular Ideologies* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1998).

7. C. Verdery, "Whither Postsocialism?' in C. Hann, ed., *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia* (London: Routledge, 2002), 15–19.

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).

9. J.-F. Bayart, *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* (London: Longman, 1993); F. Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

10. As argued by S. Ellis and G. ter Haar, *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa* (London: Hurst, 2004).

11. C. Strandsbjerg, "Kérékou, God and the Ancestors: Religion and the Conception of Political Power in Benin," *African Affairs* 99 (2000), 395–414.

12. R. Banégas, *La démocratie à pas de caméléon: Transition et imaginaires politiques au Benin* (Paris: Karthala. 2003).

13. C. Meyrargue, "The Expansion of Pentecostalism in Benin: Rationales and Transnational Dynamics," in A. Corten and R. Marshall-Fratani, eds., *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America* (London: Hurst, 2001), 274–92.

14. P. Claffey, *Christian Churches in Dahomey-Benin: A Study of their Socio-Political Role.* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

15. E. Morier-Genoud, "Of God and Caesar: The Relation between Christian Churches and the State in Post-Colonial Mozambique," *Le Fait Missionaire,* cahier no. 3 (1996).

16. P. Freston, "The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God: A Brazilian Church Finds Success in Southern Africa," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 35 (2005): 33–65; and Ilana van Wyk, *The Universal Church of God in South Africa: A Church of Strangers* (New York: Cambridge University Press for the International African Institute, 2014).

17. J. Goody, *Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

18. D. Donham, *Marxist Modern: An Ethnographic History of the Ethiopian Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999).

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

20. Donham, *Marxist Modern* (above, n. 18), 144–45. See too O. M. Eide, *Religion and Revolution in Ethiopia, 1874–85* (Oxford: James Currey, 2000).

21. J. Haustein, "Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches in Ethiopia" and "A Brief History of Pentecostalism in Ethiopia," both on www.glopent (2007), and *Writing Religious History: The Historiography of Ethiopian Pentecostalism* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011).

22. On its origins, A. Mohr, "Out of Zion into Philadelphia and West Africa: Faith Tabernacle Congregations, 1897–1925", *Pneuma* 32 (2010), 56–79. For an overview of (neo)-Pentecostalism's later development, see B. Meyer, "Christianity in Africa: From African Independent to Pentecostal-Charismatic Churches," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004), 447–74.

23. For this formulation I am indebted to Patricia Crone and Michael Cook's brilliant *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), especially chapter 12.

24. On the relations between early Pentecostalism and its American background, see Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Addison-Wesley, 1994), parts I and II; G. Wacker, *Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004). Every student of Pentecostalism in the wider world is greatly indebted to the work of David Martin, especially *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Pentecostalism in Latin America* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990) and *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

25. Cf. H. Bloom, *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992).

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

27. S. Brouwer, P. Gifford, and S. Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

28. The major studies include M. Ojo, *The End-Time Army: Charismatic Movements in Modern Nigeria* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2006); D. Maxwell, *African Gifts of the Spirit: Pentecostalism and the Rise of a Zimbabwean Transnational Religious Movement* (London: James Currey, 2006); A. Ukah, *A New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power: A Study of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Nigeria* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2008); R. Marshall, *Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

29. B. Meyer, "Make a Complete Break with the Past: Memory and Postcolonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostalism," in R. Werbner, ed., *Memory and the Postcolony* (London: Zed Books, 1998), 182–208.

30. As P. Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity: Pentecostalism in a Globalising African Economy* (London: Hurst, 2004).

31. The balance between rupture and continuity has recently become the focus of considerable debate within anthropology: see Joel Robbins "Continuity Thinking and the Problem of Christian Culture: Belief, Time and the Anthropology of Christianity," *Current Anthropology* 48 (2007), 5–38, and the ensuing comments debate.

32. Notably Pastor Matthew Asimolowo's Kingsway International Christian Centre, on which see H. Harris, *Yoruba in Diaspora: An African Church in London* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 218–38.

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.

35. L. Broz, "Conversion to Religion? Negotiating Continuity and Discontinuity in Contemporary Altai," in Pelkmans, *Conversion after Socialism* (above, n. 1), chapter 2.

36. J. Ries, "'I Must Love Them with All My Heart': Pentecostal Mission and the Romani Other," *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 2 (2007).

37. C. Tripp, *Islam and the Moral Economy: The Challenge of Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

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

1. Thus Robert W. Hefner, *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 3.

2. The idea of transvaluation originates with Nietzsche—see *On The Genealogy of Morals* (Oxford University Press, 1996), 17–20—from whom it passed to Weber. For an application of it to the encounter between missionary Christianity and a nontransvaluatory religion, see J. D. Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 162–67.

3. Fernand Braudel, cited by Wendy James and D. H. Johnson, *Vernacular Christianity: Essays in Honour of Godfrey Lienhardt* (Oxford: JASO, 1988), 5.

4. R. W. Bulliet, *Islam: The View from the Edge* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

5. The locus classicus being B. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa,* 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), chapter 7. See further C. Stewart and R. Shaw, eds., *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis* (London: Routledge, 1994).

6. N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London, 1957). For a twentieth-century African case, see, for example, Wyatt MacGaffey, *Modern Kongo Prophets* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), esp. chapter 7; and more generally S. Hunt, ed., *Christian Millenarianism: From the Early Church to Waco* (London: Hurst, 2001).

7. See, for example, T. O. Ranger, "Religious Movements and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa," *African Studies Review* 29 (1986), 1–69.

8. See Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of Cargo Cults in Melanesia,* 2nd ed. (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1968).

9. See the symposium "What Is a Christian? Notes towards an Anthropology of Christianity," *Religion* 33 (2003), 191–99, especially papers by Joel Robbins, "On the Paradoxes of Global Pentecostalism and the Perils of Continuity Thinking," 221–31; and Tamar Frankiel, "The Cross-Cultural Study of Christianity: An Historian's View," 281–89. Also, M. Engelke and M. Tomlinson, eds., *The Limits of Meaning: Case Studies in the Anthropology of Christianity* (New York: Berghahn, 2006); J. Robbins, "Continuity Thinking and the Problem of Christian Culture: Belief, Time and the Anthropology of Christianity," *Current Anthropology* 48 (2007), and following comments, 5–39; F. Cannell, ed., *The Anthropology of Christianity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); and more skeptically, C. Hann, "The Anthropology of Christianity *per Se,*" *European Journal of Sociology* 48 (2007), 383–430.

10. Cannell, *Anthropology of Christianity* (above, n. 9), 39.

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.

12. T. Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), chapter 1.

13. D. Gellner, *The Anthropology of Buddhism and Hinduism: Weberian Themes* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), chapter 2, esp. 49–52.

14. As John R. Bowen puts it for Islam, "This tacking forth between conflicting visions is, if anything, the historical essence of Muslim ritual life": "On Scriptural Essentialism and Ritual Variation: Muslim Sacrifice in Morocco and Sumatra," *American Ethnologist* 19 (1992), 656–71.

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

16. Thus Daniel Varisco, *Islam Obscured: The Rhetoric of Anthropological Representation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). See too Gabriele Marranci, *The Anthropology of Islam* (London: Berg, 2008).

17. Varisco, *Islam Obscured* (above, n. 16), 162.

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.

19. For an up-to-date and comprehensive review, see Jens Kreinath, ed., *The Anthropology of Islam Reader* (London: Routledge, 2012).

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).

21. Asad, *Idea* (above, n. 20), 3–4.

22. For examples, see B. Meyer, "'Make a Complete Break with the Past': Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostal Discourse," in R. Werbner, ed., *Memory and the Post-Colony* (London: Zed Books, 1998), 182–208; R. Marshall, *Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), chapter 2, "Rupture, Redemption and the History of the Present"; or Robbins, "On the Paradoxes" (above, n. 9).

23. See C. F. Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

24. Asad, *Idea* (above, n. 20), 15.

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.

26. Thus Roy Dilley, ed., *The Problem of Context* (New York: Berghahn, 1999), 1.

27. M. Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 155.

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).

29. Rodney Needham, "Polythetic Classification: Convergence and Consequences," *Man* 10 (1975), 349–69.

30. W. G. Runciman, *The Theory of Cultural and Social Selection* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

31. B. Malinowski, "Myth in Primitive Psychology," in *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1948 [1926]), 96–126.

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:

Islamic Texts Society, 1993); and, for a close study of the best-known classical collector of *ahadith,* G. Abdul-Jabbar, *Bukhari* (London, I. B. Tauris, 2007).

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?"

35. On Englishmen "turning Turk" in Barbary (North Africa), see Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, the Empire and the World, 1600–1850* (London: Cape, 2002).

36. See Philip Burnham, *The Politics of Cultural Difference in Northern Cameroon* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute, 1996), 48: "Islam may be seen [locally] as a peculiarly Fulbe cultural property."

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).

39. See especially Patricia Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), esp. 10–15, and chapter 3 on the Umayyads, arguing that they still saw the caliphal role as combining political and religious functions, even though a certain differentiation of the religious and the political had begun to emerge with the rise of the *ulama* (42–44 and chapter 11); also Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), chapter 13.

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.

41. For English examples, see W. A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970); and N. J. Higham, *The Convert Kings: Power and Religious Affiliation in Early Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), esp. chapter 4.

42. Michael Carrithers, "Jainism and Buddhism as Enduring Historical Streams," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 21 (1990), 141–63, esp. 149.

43. See Berkey, *Formation of Islam* (above, n. 39), chapter 15, "The Formation of Sunni Traditionalism."

44. As argued persuasively by J. M. Abun-Nasr, *Muslim Communities of Grace: The Sufi Brotherhoods in Islamic Religious Life* (London: Hurst, 2007).

45. Olivier Roy, *Globalised Islam: The Search for a New Ummah* (London: Hurst, 2004), pp. 111–47.

46. Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1984), pp. 108–9, citing the Spanish missionary sources.

47. See Stephen Robinson, "Trouble in the 'Hood," www.standard.co.uk, 18 February 2011.

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.

50. Cf. the recent revival of interest in Karl Jaspers's idea of "the Axial Age": for example, R. N. Bellah, "What Is Axial about the Axial Age?" *Archives Européenes de Sociologie* 46 (2005), 69–89; and Charles Taylor, "What Was the Axial Revolution?" in R. N. Bellah and H. Joas, eds., *The Axial Age and Its Consequences* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press, 2012), 30–46.

51. M. Weber, *The Sociology of Religion,* trans. E. Fischoff (London: Methuen, 1965), chapter 6.

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.

53. See S. J. Tambiah, *Buddhism and the Spirit Cults in North-east Thailand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970). For a brilliant short analysis of an analogous phenomenon in Japan, the complementary coexistence of Buddhism and Shinto, the former standing for other-worldly renunciation and the latter for this-worldly life affirmation, see Maurice Bloch, *Prey into Hunter: The Politics of Religious Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 51–62.

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.

55. John Bowker, *The Problem of Suffering in the Religions of the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

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).

57. C. Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

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.

63. *The Economist,* 29 September 2012.

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 republicaine: Ankara, Teheran, Dakar* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2010), where he maintains (p. 225) that "Islam does not exist historically or sociologically."

66. Roy, *Globalised Islam* (above, n. 45), 9–10.

67. Ibid. 6.

68. Ibid. 26.

69. Ibid. 10.

70. Richard Dawkins, *The God Delusion* (London: Bantam Press, 2006); Christopher Hitchens, *God Is Not Great* (London: Atlantic, 2007).

71. Susan Bayly, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society, 1700–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

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.

3. On the Yoruba concept of *ìlú* in relation to "community," see J. D. Y. Peel, "Yoruba as a City-State Culture," in M. H. Hansen, ed., *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures* (Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2000), 507–18; and *Ijeshas and Nigerians: The Incorporation of a Yoruba Kingdom, 1890s–1970s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 221–25.

4. For details of the survey and the results as regards the course and explanation of religious change see ibid. 164–74.

5. Robin Horton, "African Conversion," *Africa* 41 (1971), 85–108; and a more elaborate version, "On the Rationality of Conversion," parts 1 and 2, *Africa* 45 (1975), 219–35 and 373–99, formulated in response to H. J. Fisher's critique, "Conversion Reconsidered," *Africa* 43 (1973), 27–40.

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.

8. See H. O. Danmole, "The Frontier Emirate: A History of Islam in Ilorin" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1980), and Ann O'Hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria: Ilorin Slaves and Their Successors* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997).

9. For an overall account of the history of Islam, T. G. O. Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam among the Yoruba, 1841–1908* (London: Longman, 1978). See too G. O. Gbadamosi, "Patterns and Developments in Lagos Religious History," in A. B. Aderibigbe, ed., *Lagos: The Development of an African City* (Lagos: Longman Nigeria, 1975), 173–96. (Gbadamosi is a Muslim by birth who became a Christian but later returned to his original faith, evidently between these two works.)

10. For a picture of Muslims in the Northern and Western areas from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, see J. D. Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), chapter 7.

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

12. J. D. Y. Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba* (London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1968), chapter 3.

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.

14. I say this on the basis of casual observation, since I know of no census or survey statistics that distinguish the indigenous Ife and Modakeke areas. The first local Muslim, Kasumu Adeosun, was a Modakeke with an Ife mother, converted in Lagos. In fact, the Christians too got their first foothold in Modakeke but expanded more rapidly in indigenous Ife from the 1920s: see D. Laitin, *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change among the Yoruba* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 51–55, and E. D. Adelowo, "Islam and Christianity in Ile-Ife," in I. A. Akinjogbin, ed., *The Cradle of a Race: Ife from the Beginning to 1980* (Port Harcourt: Sunray Publications, 1992), chapter 17.

15. This section largely draws on J. D. Y. Peel, "Conversion and Confusion: Religious Change in Ijebu and Buganda," *Past and Present* 77 (1977), 108–41.

16. Quoted by Peel, *Religious Encounter* (above, n. 10), 148–49.

17. On the spatial structure of the Ijebu kingdom , see P.C. Lloyd, *Yoruba Land Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), chapter 6. An excellent ethnography of the western part of Ijebu (Remo) is Insa Nolte, *Obafemi Awolowo and the Making of Remo* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for International African Institute, 2009).

18. See the Adelaja genealogy in chapter 5 above.

19. As argued strongly by Caroline Ifeka-Moller in relation to Eastern Nigeria, "White Power: Social Structural Factors in Conversion to Christianity in Eastern Nigeria, 1921–66," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 8 (1974), 55–72.

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 *Ẹgbẹ 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.

25. Biyi Afonja, *In His Hands: The Autobiography of a Nigerian Village Boy* (Ibadan: STATCO Publishers, 2005), 29–31.

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 *orișa* 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.

27. *Ọlaju* refers to both enlightenment and to enlightened people (otherwise elites, in the peculiar Nigerian sense of the word). For a fuller explication of the concept, see J. D. Y. Peel "*Ọlaju:* A Yoruba Concept of Development," *Journal of Development Studies* 14 (1978), 135–65.

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

31. Two of the most substantial I have come across are J. O. Soriyan, *A Comprehensive History of St Saviour's (Anglican) Church, Ikenne-Remo, 1898–1986* (published by the church, 1986?), 271 pages, and (no author named) *A Century of St. Paul's (Ang.) Church, Yemetu, Ibadan, 1894–1994* (Ibadan: Mabambu Publishers, 1994), 224 pages. Sadly, there is no comparable literature produced by Muslims.

32. Wole Soyinka, *Aké: The Years of Childhood* (London: Collings, 1981), and *Ìsarà: A Voyage around "Essay"* (London: Methuen, 1990). On the latter see Insa Nolte, "Cultural Politics and Nationalist History: A Background to Wole Soyinka's *Ìsarà*," in Toyin Falola, ed., *Christianity and Social Change in Africa* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2005), chapter 10.

33. For examples, the progressive circle round the *Ẹgbẹ 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. *Ẹgbẹ Atunlụṣẹ;* and M. A. Ifaturoti and O. I. Orolugbagbe, *The History of Egba Atunlụṣẹ of Ile Ijesa* (Lagos, 1992).

34. The landmark study remains J. B. Webster, *The African Churches among the Yoruba, 1888–1922* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964).

35. The main studies are H. W. Turner, *African Independent Church,* 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); Peel, *Aladura* (above, n. 12); J. A. Omoyajowo, *Cherubim and Seraphim: The History of an African Church* (New York: Nok Publishers, 1982), C. O. Oshun, "Christ Apostolic Church of Nigeria" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Exeter, 1981). Many studies continue to come out of Nigeria, such as M. O. Idowu, *The Great Revival of 1930: The Origin of Modern-day Pentecostalism in Nigeria* (Ikeja: Divine Artillery Publications, 2007).

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*).

38. See H. J. Fisher, *Ahmadiyyah: A Study in Contemporary Islam on the West African Coast* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963). Interestingly, it came about through a friendship between a Christian, Dr. Oguntola Sapara, and an educated Muslim of Brazilian background, L. B. Agusto. Sapara passed to his friend some Ahmadiyya literature he had come across on a visit to London.

39. On AUD, see A. D. Amoo, "Non-formal Education Programmes of the Ansar-ud-Deen Society of Nigeria in South-West Nigeria" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Ibadan, 2001). He notes the influence of Blyden on its formation. By 1960, AUD had 200 primary schools, 18 modern schools, 3 grammar schools, and 3 teacher-training colleges.

40. A. R. I Doi, "The Bamidele Movement in Yorubaland," *Orita: Ibadan Journal of Religious Studies* 3 (1969), 101–10; and Lateef M. Adetona, "The Metamorphosis of the Bamidele Movement," in Toyin Falola and Ann Genova, eds., *The Yoruba in Transition: History, Values, and Modernity* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2006), 85–98.

41. See E. A. Ayandele, *The Ijebu of Yorubaland, 1850–1950: Politics, Economy and Society* (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1992), 270, 278.

42. Details of this and the varying succession practices in other Yoruba towns in L. O. Abbas, "Imamship in Islam: Its Concept and Practice among the Yoruba of Oyo and Osun States" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Ibadan, 2003), 163–215.

43. Ibid. 144–55.

44. R. O. Ojelade, "The Emergence, Doctrines and Practices of Alalukurani Group of Lagos Muslims" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Ibadan, 1990). The Alalukurani split further in 1919, and one section allied itself with Ahmadiyya for some years (1921–34). They retain their independence down to the present.

45. See P. D. Cole, *Modern and Traditional Elites in the Politics of Lagos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 98–104; Gbadamosi, "Patterns and Developments" (above, n. 9), 186–88.

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 *ìlú* (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."

47. Ayandele, *The Ijebu of Yorubaland* (above, n. 41), 40–42, 273–75.

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

49. Ayandele, *Ijebu of Yorubaland* (above, n. 41), chapters 4 and 6; and M. O. A. Abdul, "Islam in Ijebu-Ode" (unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1967), 29–30, 39.

50. Still useful is W. A. O. Nasiru, "Islamic Literacy among the Yoruba, 1896–1963" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Ibadan, 1977), esp. chapter 3, on the synthesis of Western and Islamic systems of education. Nasiru's has formed the basis for several later Ibadan Ph.D. theses focused more on the content of this Yoruba Arabic scholarship, the bulk of which addressed topics of religious debate among the *ulama.* See M. O. Abdul-Rahmon, "A Thematic and Stylistic Study of Arabic Poetry in Ibadan, 1986–1976" (1989); F. O. Jamiu, "A Study of the Contents and Structural Patterns of the Didactic Arabic Poetry of Yoruba Ulama, 1885–1995" (2004); and I. A. Jimoh, "Arguments and Counter-Arguments in Selected Works in Arabic in Nigerian [*de facto* Yoruba] Authors" (2005).

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 Nayjiriya 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 *Ẹgbẹ 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.

57. For details, see R. L. Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 247–51; and K. W. J. Post and G. D. Jenkins, *The Price of Liberty: Personality and Politics in Colonial Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 396–97.

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.

60. As astutely noted by Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties* (above, n. 57), 294. The same paradox occurred elsewhere in late colonial Africa: see D. R. Peterson, *Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival: A History of Dissent, c. 1935–1972* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 281–83.

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

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

63. Pauline H. Baker, *Urbanization and Political Change: The Politics of Lagos, 1917–1967* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), esp. chapters 5 and 8 (on the power of the market women), is sound and detailed on the religious dimension of the AG takeover. But for the essential irrelevance of religion to the routine business of patron-client relations within the system, Sandra T. Barnes's anthropological study of outer Lagos, *Patrons and Power: Creating a Political Community in Metropolitan Lagos* (Manchester: Manchester University Press for the International African Institute, 1986) is without equal.

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 the1950s 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 *Oluwo* (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.

65. Here the definitive study is Wale Adebanwi, *Yoruba Elites and Ethnic Politics in Nigeria: Obafemi Awolowo and Corporate Agency* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

66. D. Laitin, *Hegemony and Culture* (above, n. 14).

67. D. Laitin, "The Sharia Debate and the Origins of Nigeria's Second Republic," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 20 (1982), 411–30.

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 Thief Thief), 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.

70. P. L. Van den Berghe, *Power and Privilege at an African University* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973).

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

1. On which see E. A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842–1914* (London: Longman, 1966), chapters 6–8; and P. F. de Moraes Farias and Karin Barber, eds., *Self-Assertion and Brokerage: Early Cultural Nationalism in West Africa* (Birmingham: Centre of West African Studies, 1990).

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?*

3. See Stefan Reichmuth, "Songhay-Lehnwörter im Yoruba und ihr historischer Kontext," *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 9 (1988), 269–99.

4. See R. C. Abraham, *Dictionary of Modern Yoruba* (London: University of London Press, 1958), s.v. *bọ̀ọ̀kinni,* which quotes two of the proverbs. *Bọ̀ọ̀kinni* 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 *Ìsarà,*" 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

Omojola, *Yoruba Music in the Twentieth Century* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2012), chapter 8; and Debra Klein, "Fuji," an unpublished article to appear in *Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Popular Music,* volume 6.

7. E. W. Blyden, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1967 [1887]), 14, 43.

8. Quoted in Peel, *Religious Encounter* (above, n. 5), 205. On Johnson more generally, see E. A. Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism* (London: Cass, 1970).

9. The main item was Rev. James Johnson's *Yoruba Heathenism* (Exeter: Townsend, 1899): drawing much on the experience of Rev. E. M. Lijadu's researches on Ifa, the latter title led to two pamphlets, *Ifa* (1899) and *Orunmla!* (1908), on which see further J. D. Y. Peel, "Between Crowther and Ajayi: The Religious Origins of the Modern Yoruba Intelligentsia," in Toyin Falola, *African Historiography: Essays in Honour of Jacob Ade Ajayi* (Harlow: Longman, 1993), 64–79. Later came Ven. J. Olumide Lucas, *The Religion of the Yorubas* (Lagos: CMS Bookshop, 1948), though that was largely driven by the perverse aim of showing that the Yoruba language derived from ancient Egyptian.

10. J. D. Y. Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba* (London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, 1968), 91–105.

11. Margaret T. Drewal, *Yoruba Ritual: Performers, Play, Agency* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), chapter 8; I. Nolte, *Obafemi Awolowo and the Making of Remo* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute), 214–28.

12. J. D. Y. Peel, "The Pastor and the *Babalawo,*" *Africa* 60 (1990), 157–70.

13. D. Ọ. Epega, *The Mystery of Yoruba Gods* (Ode Remo: Imole Oluwa Institute, 1932). Epega, from Ode Remo, was a pastor of one of the African churches.

14. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Bristol, 1976. For a full appreciation, see J. D. Y. Peel "Yoruba Religion: Seeing It in History, Seeing It Whole," Third Bishop Adegbola Memorial Lecture, *Orita: Ibadan Journal of Religious Studies* 40 (2008), 1–24.

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.

16. Karin Barber, "Discursive Strategies in the Texts of Ifa and in the 'Holy Book of Odu' in the African Church of Orunmila," in Farias and Barber, *Self-Assertion and Cultural Brokerage* (above, n. 1), 196–224.

17. '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).

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.

19. A. Apter, *The Pan-African Nation: Oil and the Spectacle of Culture in Nigeria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

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

21. Asonzeh Ukah, *A New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power: A Study of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Nigeria* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2008), 119.

22. On the perception of British colonialism as rule by Christians, see texts cited in J. N. Paden, *Religion and Political Culture in Kano* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), 53–54, and particularly in M. S. Umar, *Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria to British Colonial Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), chapters 4 and 5.

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 *Waƙar Bidi'a* (Against Heresy) and *Mulkin Nasara* (European Colonialism). In the latter, Yakubu's translation fudges the literal meaning, which is "Christian Rule."

24. *Africa in Ebullition* (Ibadan: Board Publications, 2008 [1952]), 63.

25. For a detailed account, see I. A. Jimoh, "Arguments and Counter-Arguments in Selected Works in Arabic by Nigerian Authors," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Ibadan, 2005.

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 Titẹ*) in Yoruba, or *khatt ar-raml* in Arabic. The name Orunmila has been widely construed by Yoruba Christians (from Lijadu onward) as a contracted form of some such phrase as *Ọrun l'o mọ ilaja* (It is Heaven that knows reconciliation) or *Ọrun l'o mọ ẹniti 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."

32. K. K. Oloso, "Hajj and Its Operations in Nigeria, 1854–1880," Ph.D. thesis, University of Ibadan, 1984.

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 legitimate 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.

34. For a brief account of the Ahmadiyya crisis, see A. R. I. Doi, "Islam in Nigeria: Changes since Independence," in E. Fashole-Like, R. Gray, A. Hastings, and G. Tasie, eds., *Christianity in Independent Africa* (London: Rex Collings, 1978), 350–53.

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).

37. For the early history of the MSS see K. K. Oloso, "The Contribution of the Muslim Students Society of Nigeria to the Islamic Resurgence in Southern Nigeria, 1954–1980" (M.A. thesis, University of Ibadan, 1981). Also interview with Dr. Oloso (who was MSS president in 1980–81), 9 May 2009. For Adegbite's role in it see M. A. Adedayo, *Abdul-Lateef Adegbite: A Life for the People* (Lagos: Wepcom Publishers, 2006), 131–37.

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.

39. P. B. Clarke and I. Linden, *Islam in Modern Nigeria: A Study of a Muslim Community in a Post-Independence State, 1960–1983* (Grunewald: Kaiser, 1984), 50.

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.

43. L. F. Oladimeji, "*Da'wah* Trend in Islam: A Case Study of the *Jama't ut-Tabligh* in Nigeria" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Ilorin, 2004).

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. Ogunbiyi, 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. Haastrup 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 Haastrup, 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).

50. *Al-Kurani ti a tumo si Ede Yoruba* [The Koran as Translated into the Yoruba Language] (Beirut: Dar al-Arabia, 1977).

51. Here I am greatly indebted to R. 'Deremi Abubakre, *Linguistic and Non-Linguistic Aspects of Qur'an Translating to Yoruba* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1986), esp. 67–79, supplemented with interviews with Professors Amidu Sanni, 27 April 2009, and D. O. S. Noibi, 30 April 2009.

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* (Okeọla: Dāru '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.

55. For overall views, see P. Ostien, J.M. Nasir, and F. Kogelmann, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Shari'ah in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 2005); Rotimi Suberu, "Sharia and the Travails of Federalism in Nigeria," Research Report submitted to the French Institute for Research in Africa (IFRA) (Ibadan, 2007); and J. Harnischfeger, *Democratization and Islamic Law: The Sharia Conflict in Nigeria* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2008).

56. For example Is-Haq Akintola, *Shari'ah in Nigeria: An Eschatological Desideratum* (Ijebu-Ode: Shebiotimo Publications, 2001); A.D. Ajijola, *What Is Shariah?* (Kaduna: Straight Path Publishers, n.d.); Abdulkadir Orire, *Shari'a: A Misunderstood Legal System* (Zaria: Sankore Publishers, 2007). Akintola is a lecturer at LASU and director of a Muslim human-rights NGO; Ajijola, a legal practitioner; Orire, the former grand khadi of Kwara State.

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).

58. Quoted in J.S. Adekoya, "The Role of Music in Promoting Islam in Yorubaland" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Ibadan, 2005), chapter 1.

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.

62. Interview, 27 March 2008. For a full account of Adepoju as poet and intellectual, see Oyeniyi Okunoye, "Lanrewaju Adepoju and the Making of Modern Yoruba Poetry," *Africa* 81 (2011), 175–203.

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.

64. H.O. Danmole, "Religious Encounter in Southwestern Nigeria: The Domestication of Islam among the Yoruba," in J.K. Olupona and T. Rey, eds., *Òrìṣà Devotion as World Religion* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 202–21, esp. 215.

65. Margaret J. Drewal, *Yoruba Ritual: Performers, Play, Agency* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 151.

66. Olufunke Adeboye, "The 'Born-Again' Oba: Pentecostalism and Traditional Chieftaincy in Yorubaland," *Lagos Historical Review* 7 (2007), 1–20.

67. Adedayo, *Abdul-Lateef Adegbite* (above, n. 37), 151–52. On the cultural conflicts at Oshogbo, see Peter Probst, *Osogbo and the Art of Heritage: Monuments, Deities and Money* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).

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 *orișa* 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, *Ṣàngó in Africa and the African Diaspora* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).

70. See Stephen Sykes, *The Identity of Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1984), 11–12. According to Acts 11:26, Christians were first so called in Antioch.

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.

72. For this summary of Suwarian doctrine, see David Robinson, *Muslim Societies in African History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 56. For a full elaboration of the Suwarian tradition and its context, see Ivor Wilks, "The Juula and the Expansion of Islam into the Forest," in N. Levtzion and R. L. Pouwels, eds., *The History of Islam in Africa* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2000), 93–116. For an impassioned contemporary advocacy of what amounts to Suwarian Islam, see Lansine Kaba, *Allahou akbar—Islam, terrorisme et tolerance: Une perspective africaine* (Paris: Presence Africaine, 2010).

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.

76. See here Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, *African Constitutionalism and the Role of Islam* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), esp. chapter 4, arguing that while Sharia

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.

2. G. Simmel, *Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations,* trans. K. H. Wolff (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1955), 14–55 and chapter 2, "Competition."

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.

4. On which see Adam Higazi, "Political Histories of Conflict: Power, Authority and Collective Violence in Plateau State, Nigeria" (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2011).

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).

6. See Wael B. Hallaq, *Sharīʿa: Theory, Practice, Transformation* (Cambridge: University Press, 2009), s.v. *ridda* (apostasy), esp. 319–20.

7. T. A. O. Oladimeji, "Islamic Architecture in Ijebuland, 1926–1994: A Historical Study of Forms" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Ibadan, 2001).

8. T. G. O. Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam among the Yoruba, 1841–1908* (London: Longman, 1978), 129–30. Their teacher, Idris Animasaun, was teacher at the Government Muslim school set up by Blyden.

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 Ọlọrun 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)

11. Gbadamosi, *Growth of Islam* (above, n. 8), 230–32.

12. On *oriki* in general, see Karin Barber, *I Could Speak until Tomorrow* (Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute, 1991).

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.

14. Such as the listing in the *Nasfat* (see below) *Prayer Book* (Ikeja, 2006), 32–38.

15. See H. W. Turner, *African Independent Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967). Further on Aladura-Muslim parallels, see H. J. Fisher, "Independency and Islam: The Nigerian Aladuras and Some Muslim Comparisons," *Journal of African History* 11 (1970), 269–77.

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.*

17. J. D. Y. Peel, *Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

18. See H. J. Fisher, *Ahmadiyya: A Study of Contemporary Islam on the West African Coast* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).

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 Theocracy in Comparative Perspective* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1977), though he says little about these Islamic influences.

20. For an authoritative account, M. A. Ojo, *The End-Time Army: Charismatic Movements in Modern Nigeria* (Trenton: African World Press, 2006).

21. A. Ukah, *A New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power: A Study of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Nigeria* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2008), esp. chapters 2 and 3.

22. On the central role of the *alfa* in the history of Yoruba Islam see Patrick J. Ryan, *Imale: Yoruba Participation in the Muslim Tradition, a Study of Clerical Piety* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978).

23. This paragraph and the next are much indebted to two Ph.D. theses of the University of Ibadan: Y. A. Quadri, "The Tijaniyyah in Nigeria: A Case Study" (1981), and A. F. Ahmad, "The Qadiriyyah and Its Impact in Nigeria" (1986). On Tijaniyya's history more generally, see J. M. Abun Nasr, *The Tijaniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

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.

29. On which see J. D. Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 20–21.

30. On Izala in Northern Nigeria see R. Loimeier, *Islamic Reform and Political Change in Northern Nigeria* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1997), and Ousmane Kane, *Muslim Modernity in Postcolonial Nigeria* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); and more generally D. Westerlund and Eva E. Rosander, eds., *African Islam and Islam in Africa: Encounters between Sufis and Islamists* (London: Hurst, 1997).

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 Tijanniya 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.

32. Quadri, "Tijaniyyah" (above, n. 23), 202.

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.

36. See A. O. Sanni, "Conversion and Reversion in the Power Accession Narratives of Muslim Prayer Groups in Nigeria," *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 21 (2012), 157–66

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."

39. Details in D. O. Ogungbile, "Religious Experience and Women Leadership in Yoruba Islam," *Gender and Behaviour* 2 (2004), 117–39. The name is a contraction of a phrase meaning "This is a sign from God," based on Q. 6:124.

40. Cf. the *Ẹgbẹ Afadurajagun*—rendered as "Praying Battalion"—in the Christ Apostolic Church in Ibadan, described in Peel, *Aladura* (above, n. 17), 168–71.

41. On women's religious roles see Oyeronke Olajubu, *Women in the Yoruba Religious Sphere* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003) and Deidre H. Crumbley, *Spirit, Structure and Flesh: Gendered Experiences in African Instituted Churches among the Yoruba of Nigeria* (Madison; University of Wisconsin Press, 2008).

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'wah Activities in Ado-Odo (Ogun State) and Its Environs, 1982–2002" (Lagos State University, 2004). Mr. Bello was at the time a senior official of NASFAT.

43. See S. A. Olagoke, *Shafaudeen at 21: The Story So Far* (Ibadan: SAO Multi Ventures, c. 2004), esp. chapter 8, "The Rasool Controversy."

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.

46. The official rendition of the Arabic is "There Is No Help Except from Allaah." See too see B. Soares, "An Islamic Social Movement in Contemporary West Africa: NASFAT of Nigeria," in S. Ellis and I. van Kessel, eds., *Movers and Shakers: Social Movements in Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

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 resemblances 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 "analysing 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?

1. From a large literature, see Steve Bruce, *Fundamentalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), Malise Ruthven, *Fundamentalism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

2. Thus Tariq Ali, *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity* (London: Verso Press, 2002).

3. Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* 72/3 (1993), 22–49, and *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).

4. For example, Richard Bonney, *False Prophets: The 'Clash of Civilizations' and the Global War on Terror* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008).

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).

6. B. Larkin and B. Meyer, "Pentecostalism, Islam and Culture: New Religious Movements in West Africa," in E. K. Akyeampong, ed., *Themes in West Africa's History* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006), 287.

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).

9. The literature is growing quickly, but the leading studies for Nigeria are Matthews A. Ojo, *The End-Time Army: Charismatic Movements in Modern Nigeria* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2006), which is strong on the origins and the holiness tendency; Asonzeh Ukah, *A New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2008), a detailed study of the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG); Ruth Marshall, *Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); and Ayodeji Abodunde, *A Heritage of Faith: A History of Christianity in Nigeria* (Ibadan: PierceWatershed, 2009), chapters 17–22 and 24–26, which gives the broadest overview. On Ghana, Paul Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity* (London: Hurst, 2004).

10. See Paul Gifford, "The Complex Provenance of Some Elements of African Pentecostal Theology," in A. Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani, eds., *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America* (London: Hurst, 2001), 62–79. But an imported theological idiom can express a thoroughly indigenous orientation, as Gifford acknowledges (ibid. 64), against the thrust of his earlier "Prosperity: A New and Foreign Element in African Christianity," *Religion* 20 (1990), 373–88.

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.

15. On Northern Nigeria, see J.N. Paden, *Religion and Political Culture in Kano* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973); M.H. Kukah, *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria* (Ibadan: Spectrum, 1993); Roman Loimeier, *Islamic Reform and Political Change in Northern Nigeria* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1997); Ousmane Kane, *Muslim Modernity in Postcolonial Nigeria: A Study of the Society for the Removal of Innovation and Reinstatement of Tradition* [Izala] (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

16. Cf. *lafiya,* Hausa for "health," though the Yoruba form probably came through Songhai rather than Hausaland.

17. Matthew Schoffeleers, "Ritual Healing and Political Acquiescence: The Case of the Zionist Churches in Southern Africa," *Africa* 61 (1991), 1–25.

18. M. Last, "Religion and Healing in Hausaland," in Toyin Falola, ed., *Christianity and Social Change in Africa: Essays in Honor of J.D.Y. Peel* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2005), 549–62.

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.)

20. Which is sometimes directly picked up by African Christians—see again M. Schoffeleers, "Folk Christology in Africa: The Dialectics of the *Nganga* [Healer] Paradigm," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 19 (1989), 157–83.

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.

23. C. Piot, *Nostalgia for the Future: West Africa after the Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 75.

24. See above, chapter 5.

25. Piot, *Nostalgia* (above, n. 23), 66, 69–70.

26. Ibid. 75.

27. For a view of Usman dan Fodio, the source of the Salafist tradition in Nigeria, as a *mujaddid* see I.A.B. Balogun, "Uthman dan Fodio: The Mujaddid of West Africa," in Y.B. Usman, ed., *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University for Sokoto State History Bureau, 1979), 473–92.

28. Marshall, *Political Spiritualities* (above, n. 9), 222.

29. See Ruth Marshall and D. Peclard, "La religion du sujet en Afrique," and other essays in *Les sujets de Dieu,* special issue of *Politique Africaine,* 87 (2002), 5–20.

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.

34. See Ebenezer Obadare, "Pentecostal Presidency? The Lagos-Ibadan 'Theocratic Class' and the Muslim 'Other,'" *Review of African Political Economy* 110 (2006), 665–78.

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.

38. On the resemblances to Tijaniyya and NASFAT, see above, chapter 9. On Tablighi Jama'at in Nigeria see L. F. Oladimeji, "*Da'wah* Trend in Islam: A Case Study of the *Jama't ut-Tabligh* in Nigeria" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Ilorin, 2004); and for parallels between Tablighi and Pentecostal spirituality, see Marloes Janson, *Islam, Youth and Modernity in the Gambia: The Tablighi Jama'at* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the International African Institute, 2013), 260–65.

39. See his biography: Sheikh Abubakar Gumi (with Ismaila Tsiga), *Where I Stand* (Ibadan: Spectrum, 2001 [1992]).

40. See Loimeier, *Islamic Reform and Political Change;* and Kane, *Muslim Modernity* (both above, n. 15).

41. The classic study is Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate* (London: Longman, 1967), which takes a perspective close to the Sokoto establishment (his key informant was the *Waziri* Junaidu). A broader perspective informs his magisterial "Reform in West Africa: The Jihad Movements of the Nineteenth Century," in J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder, eds., *History of West Africa,* 2nd ed., vol. 2 (London: Longman, 1987), 1–47. See too R. A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804–1906* (London: Longman, 1971). Later edited works include Y. B. Usman, ed., *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate* (Zaria: Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University for the Sokoto State History Bureau, 1979), and (to mark the bicentenary of the caliphate) H. Bobboyi and A. M. Yakubu, eds., *The Sokoto Caliphate: History and Legacies 1804–2004,* 2 vols. (Kaduna: Arewa House, 2006).

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*

marabouts: Itinéraires et stratégies islamiques en Afrique occidentale française v. 1880–1960 (Paris: Karthala, 1997). The religious dimension is explored in M. S. Umar, *Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria to British Colonial Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 2006). For the view from the other side, Andrew E. Barnes, *Making Headway: The Introduction of Western Civilization in Colonial Northern Nigeria* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2009).

43. On the changing position of Christianity in the Muslim North, see Shobana Shankar, *Who Shall Enter Paradise: Christian Origins in Muslim Northern Nigeria, ca. 1890–1975* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1914).

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).

45. Written in 1793, some years before the jihad. See I. A. B. Balogun, "A Critical Edition of the 'Ihya al-Sunna wa Ikhmad al-Bid'a' of Uthman b. Fudi, popularly known as Usuman dan Fodio" (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1967), and a small book based on that thesis: *The Life and Works of Uthman dan Fodio* (Lagos: Islamic Publications Bureau, 1975).

46. Written in 1806, in the midst of the jihad, in order to give guidance to newly appointed administrators. See F. H. El-Masri, ed., *Bayan Wujub al-Hijra 'ala 'l-'Ibad of Uthman b. Fudi, "The Exposition of the Obligation upon the Servants of God,"* Fontes Historiae Africanae, Series Arabica, 1 (Khartoum: Oxford University Press, 1978).

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.

48. Adeline Masquelier, *Women and Islamic Revival in a West African Town* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).

49. For an overview of the first Sharia controversy, P. B. Clarke and Ian Linden, *Islam in Modern Nigeria: A Study of a Muslim Community in a Post-Independence State, 1960–1983* (Grunewald: Kaiser, 1984), esp. chapter 4. The post-2000 adoption of Sharia in twelve states of the high North has produced a large literature, from which see P. Ostien, J. M. Nasir, and F. Kogelmann, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Shari'ah in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 2005); Rotimi T. Suberu "Sharia and the Travails of Federalism in Nigeria," Research Report (Ibadan: Institut Français de Recherche en Afrique, 2007); M. Last, "The Shari'a in Context: People's Quest for Justice and the Role of Courts in Pre- and Early-Colonial Northern Nigeria"; and, much the most trenchant, Johannes Harnischfeger, *Democratization and Islamic Law: The Sharia Conflict in Nigeria* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2008).

50. M. Last, "The Search for Security in Muslim Northern Nigeria," *Africa* 78 (2008), 41–63.

51. See Michael Cook's exhaustive survey of the classical precedents, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). For the fainthearted, a more accessible version is his *Forbidding Wrong in Islam: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

52. S. L. Sanusi, "Politics and Sharia in Northern Nigeria," in B. F. Soares and R. Otayek, eds., *Islam and Muslim Politics in Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 182–83. 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.

55. See Iheanyi M. Enwerem, *A Dangerous Awakening: The Politicization of Religion in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Institut Français de Recherche en Afrique, 1995).

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).

59. See David Pratten, esp. "The Politics of Protection: Perspectives on Vigilantism in Nigeria," his introduction to a special issue of *Africa* 78 (2008), 1–15; and "Agaba and the 'Rugged Life': Youth and Violence in Southern Nigeria," in R. Ginio, L. Bethlehem, and P. Ahluwahlia, eds., *Violence and Non-Violence in Africa* (London: Routledge, 2007), 84–104.

60. On the OPC, see Wale Adebanwi, "The Carpenter's Revolt: Youth, Violence and the Reinvention of Culture in Nigeria," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 43 (2005), 339–65; and Insa Nolte, "Ethnic Vigilantes and the State: The Oodua People's Congress in South-Western Nigeria," *International Relations* 21 (2007), 217–35. The OPC broke into two factions, one ("elders") under Dr. Frederick Faseun, the other ("youth"), more populist, under Gani Adams. For rival accounts, see F. Faseun, *OPC: Our History, Our Mission* (Lagos: Inspired Communications, 2005); and M. M. Ogbeidi, *Leadership Challenge: Gani Adams and the Oodua People's Congress* (Lagos: Publisher's Express, 2005).

61. Thus Insa Nolte, "'Without Women, Nothing Can Succeed': Yoruba Women in the OPC, Nigeria," *Africa* 78 (2008), 88 n. 12.

62. A. Higazi, "Social Mobilization and Collective Violence: Vigilantes and Militias in the Lowlands of Plateau State, Central Nigeria," *Africa* 78 (2008), esp. 123–26.

63. Marshall, *Political Spiritualities* (above, n. 9), 206.

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.

65. El-Masri, *Bayan Wujub* (above, n. 46), 53, "On Practices Wherewith a State Cannot Survive." Mostly quoted from a work of unknown authorship called *Diya al-khulufa* (Light of Leadership), which (in an agreeably un-Macchiavellian way) includes lying, envy, and breach of promise as among the vices a ruler must avoid.

66. Ukah, *New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power* (above, n. 9), 103.

67. Further on the Yoruba Christian concept of *Ẹmi,* see J. D. Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 264–65

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. *Afẹnifẹre* was adopted as the AG's popular name in the 1950s, when it was also known as *Ẹgbẹ Ọlọpẹ* (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 *Afẹnifẹre* 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.

71. One may perhaps place Olayiwola ideologically from the genealogy he constructs for himself. He singles out among the *mujahidin* (militants) and *mujaddidin* (revolutionaries) whom he admires Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Sayyid Qutb, Hassan al-Banna, and Usman dan Fodio: Abdulfattah O. A. Olayiwola, *Islam in Nigeria* (Lagos: Sakirabe Publishers, 2007), 95.

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.

73. Olayiwola, *Islam in Nigeria* (above, n. 71), 38.

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.,

People and Empires in African History: Essays in Memory of Michael Crowder (London: Longman, 1992), 21–44.

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.

77. B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

78. See James P. Piscatori, *Islam in a World of Nation-States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

79. Olayiwola, *Islam in Nigeria* (above, n. 71), 185, 206.

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 *orișa,* kings, chiefs, and big men) in the RCCG: *New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power* (above, n. 9), 321–24.

82. Abodunde, *Heritage of Faith* (above, n. 9), chapter 28, "A Global Christianity."

83. See, for example Ludek Broz, "Conversion to Religion? Negotiating Continuity and Discontinuity in Contemporary Altai," in Matthijs Pelkmans, ed., *Conversion after Socialism* (New York: Berghahn, 2009), chapter 2, esp. 23.

84. On the crucial and far-reaching importance of translation for Christianity, unlike Islam, see Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1989).

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.

88. Olayiwola, *Islam in Nigeria* (above, n. 71), 21.

89. Ibid. 275.

90. See Tony Hodges, *Jehovah's Witnesses in Central Africa* (London: Minority Rights Groups, 1976).

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 *orișa* religion.

2. Pierre Fatumbi Verger, *Notes sur le culte des orisha et vodoun á Bahia, la Baie de Tous les Saints au Brésil et a l'ancienne Côte des Esclaves* (Dakar: IFAN, 1957) and *Orixás: Deuses Iorubás na Africa e no Novo Mundo* (São Paulo: Corupio, 1981).

3. Sandra T. Barnes, ed., *Africa's Ogun: Old World and New,* 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); Joseph M. Murphy and Mei-Mei Sanford, eds., *Ọṣun across the Waters: A Yoruba Goddess in Africa and the Americas* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001); Joel E. Tishken, Toyin Falola, and Akintunde Akinyemi, eds., *Sàngó in Africa and the African Diaspora* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).

4. J. Lorand Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

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.

6. J. D. Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 109–11. For some studies of the cult complexes of particular towns, see J. K. Olupona, *Kingship, Religion and Rituals in a Nigerian Community* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1991) on Ondo; Andrew Apter, *Black Critics and Kings: The Hermeneutics of Power in Yoruba Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) on Ayede-Ekiti; and John Pemberton and F. S. Afolayan, *Yoruba Sacred Kingship: A Power Like That of the Gods* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997) on Ila-Orangun.

7. Compare the account of Oduduwa as "the chief goddess of the Yorubas" and the wife of Obatala, that is found in A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (Chicago: Benin Press, 1964 [1894]), 41–43, or in J. Olumide Lucas, *The Religion of the Yorubas* (Lagos: CMS Bookshop, 1948), with the more conventional accounts in S. Johnson, *The History of the* Yorubas (Lagos: CMS Bookshop, 1921), 3–14, E. B. Idowu, *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief* (London: Longman, 1962), 22–25, or J. K. Olupona, *City of 201 Gods: Ile-Ife in Time, Space and the Imagination* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011), chapter 8, "Oduduwa, the God-King."

8. The term *ẹsin ibilẹ* now has a limited currency to mean "traditional religion" too. Its adherents have variously been termed in Yoruba *olorișa* (those who have *orișa*), *aborișa* (those who worship *orișa*), *ibọgibọpẹ* (those who worship wooden idols and the palm tree), and *keferi* ("pagans," a Muslim designation adopted by Christians).

9. On possession, see J. L. Matory, *Sex and the Empire That Is No More* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), passim, s.v. "mounting."

10. See M. O. A. Abdul, "Yoruba Divination and Islam," *Orita* 4 (1970), 167–79; T. G. Gbadamosi, "'Odu Imale': Islam in Ifa Divination and the Case of Pre-Destined Muslims," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 8 (1977), 77–93; and Razaq D. Abubakre, *The Interplay of Arabic and Yoruba Cultures in South-Western Nigeria* (Iwo: Daru 'l-Ilm Publishers, 2004), 210–15.

11. The best evocation of this time of exceptional interreligious amity is to be found in the novel by Wole Soyinka, *Ìsarà: 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: Plummet 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.

14. Olupona, *City of 201 Gods* (above, n. 7), chapter 9.

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.

17. For intellectual critiques of great sophistication, see Stephan Palmié, "Introduction: On Predications of Africanity," in *Africas of the Americas: Beyond the Search for Origins in the Study of Afro-Atlantic Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); *Wizards and Scientists: Explorations in Afro-Cuban Modernity and Tradition* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), esp. chapter 3; and most systematically in *The Cooking of History: How Not to Study Afro-Cuban Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013). For a broad overview of the field, with particular reference to the work and influence of Melville J. Herskovits, see Kevin A. Yelvington, "The Anthropology of Afro-Latin America and the Caribbean," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30 (2001), 227–60.

18. David H. Brown, *Santería Enthroned: Art, Ritual, and Innovation in an Afro-Cuban Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 19.

19. See Stephen D. Glazier, "Wither [*sic*] Sango? An Inquiry into Sango's 'Authenticity' and Prominence in the Caribbean," and Luis Nicolau Parés, "Xango in Afro-Brazilian Religion: 'Aristocracy' and 'Syncretic' Interactions," chapters 11 and 12, respectively, in Tishken, Falola, and Akinyemi, *Sango in Africa and the African Diaspora* (above, n. 3).

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.

22. On the complexities of the cultural passage of Ifa from Nigeria to Cuba, see the fascinating case study by Michael Marcuzzi, "The Ipanodu Ceremony and the History of Orisa Worship in Nigeria and Cuba," in Toyin Falola and Ann Genova, eds., *Orișa: Yoruba Gods and Spiritual Identity in Africa and the Diaspora* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2005), 183–208.

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

24. Brown, *Santería Enthroned* (above, n. 18), 148–57.

25. Peel, *Religious Encounter* (above, n. 6), 114–15.

26. Nicely brought out in Karin Barber, "How Man Makes God," *Africa* 51 (1981), 724–45.

27. For examples of individual accumulations of *orișa* 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, Xango, 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.

31. Palmié, *Cooking of History* (above, n. 17), chapter 4.

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

33. On this phenomenon, see Debra L. Klein, *Yorùbá Bàtá Goes Global: Artists, Culture Brokers and Fans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

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).

35. As Abimbola astutely noted back in 1979, in a conference paper on Yoruba religion in Brazil, cited in Stephan Palmié, "The Cultural Work of Yoruba Globalization," in Toyin Falola, ed., *Christianity and Social Change in Africa: Essays in Honor of J. D. Y. Peel* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2005), 70–74.

36. A classic formulation was in Bengt Sundler's *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), chapter 7, "New Wine in Old Wineskins." See too Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw, eds., *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism* (London: Routledge, 1994), and Stephan Palmié, "Against Syncretism: 'Africanizing' and 'Cubanizing' Discourses in North American Orisa Worship," in R. Fardon, ed., *Counterworks: Managing the Diversity of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1995), 73–104.

37. Hucks, *Yoruba Traditions and African American Religious Nationalism* (above, n. 30), chapters 7 and 8. *Egbẹ* 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 *orișa* 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

introduction of guns or early Yoruba Islam, with a "theological" view of it as unchanged since primordial times: "The Literature of the Ifa Cult," in S. O. Biobaku, ed., *Sources of Yoruba History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), chapter 4.

40. B. Maupoil, *La géomancie à l'ancienne Côte des Esclaves* (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1943).

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.

42. J. K. Olupona and Terry Rey, eds., *Òrìṣà Devotion as World Religion: The Globalization of Yoruba Religion* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008).

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.

46. Samuel Johnson, *Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia* (London, 1759), chapter 49.

47. Samuel Johnson, preface to *A Voyage to Abysssinia, by Father Jerome Lobo: A Portuguese Missionary* . . . (London: Elliot and Kay, 1789 [1735]), 12.

48. Here see further Michael Bundock, *The Fortunes of Francis Barber: The True Story of the Jamaican Slave Who Became Samuel Johnson's Heir* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015).