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Editorial Note

In compliance with our tradition, we bring before you a potpourri of articles from seasoned researchers. We hope that the papers in this volume will advance the frontiers of historical knowledge. We thank you for your sustained interest in Ilorin Journal of History and International Studies (IJOHIS).

Professor S.O. Aghalino
(*Editor*)

***Disclaimer:** The views expressed in the articles in this Journal do not necessarily represent the views of anyone affiliated with IJOHIS or of the Department of History and International Studies, University of Ilorin, Ilorin.

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A HISTORICAL APPRAISAL OF THE CELEBRATION OF *ILEYA* (*'ID AL-ADHA*) FESTIVAL IN ILORIN EMIRATE IN CONTEMPORATRY TIME

Suleiman Abdul-Rahman Adebayo*
&
Adeshina Lukman**

Abstract

Culture has been described as the totality of Man including his religion. However, with the adoption of foreign religions in Nigeria like Islam and Christianity, there is modification of cultural practices. Interference of culture in the practice of religions is noticeable and vice versa. This paper which discusses the practice of *Ileya* festival in Ilorin focuses on the peculiarities that are visible in the celebration of *Ileya* festival by Ilorin Emirate people who are known to be ninety-nine per cent Muslims in nature, practices and population. The methods adopted were largely interview, participant observation and text analysis. This paper concludes that within the rules and regulations provided by Islam, the Ilorin people use the occasion and the meat sharing to advance peaceful co-existence and unity among the indigenes and non-indigenes, Muslims and non-Muslims in the Emirate.

Keywords: *Ileẏa,* Ilorin, Culture, Celebration, Emirate

Introduction (Origin of *Ileya* Festival in Islam)

Festival can be described as a human celebration used to commemorate or express pleasure over past success, and extend wishes of good fortunes to one another. A breakthrough upon protracted childless period encountered by Ibrahim (Abraham) and his wife Sahrat (Sarah) is said to be the remote cause of the celebration of the *Ileya* (*'id al-Adha*) festival. Later, Ibrahim had Ismail as his biological child, and subsequently had a dream that "he slaughter Ismail as a sacrifice to Allah (Almighty God)".[1] Indeed, the son

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agreed and submitted willingly, but in the course of slaughtering him for the sacrifice, he was (by Allah, The Almighty God) replaced by a ram. As believed by the Muslims, the immediate cause of the festival is related to the determination, patience, innocence, and faith in Ibrahim (Abraham) and Ismail (Ishmael) and the replacement of Ismail.

Since the earliest existence of Islam in Oyo kingdom, the word *Ileya'* has been used to refer to *'id-l- Kabir* or *'id al-Adha*. Literarily, *Ileya'* means "it's time to go home" in Yoruba language. The historical fact that supports the inception of the word is related to prevalence of Ibrahim and his son, Ismail. The Yoruba myth preserved lingering statements that since Ibrahim did not succeed in his attempt to kill his son, (Ismail) for sacrifice he then told the son "it's time to go home", (*Ileya*), although others believed that it was Ismail that made the pronouncement world to his father. The same story line is fetched in Bible about '*Ileya*', "when Abraham returned to his young men, and they 'arose' and went together to Beersheba"[2]. '*Ileya*" could also be interpreted as 'happy home' in consonance with enthusiasm that goes with the festival. Another name that is traditionally associated with this festival is '*Odun 'nla*', which in Yoruba language literarily means 'Great or Big festival'. It is called great festival because it is considered "sensitively elaborate in functions"[3], when compared with the second Muslim festival, *'id-l-Fitri* that is, *Odun Awẹ* (end of fasting festival) in Yoruba language.

This study considers the items/material culture of the festival as imperative to this discussion, including the ram and its meat and other cultural objects. Obviously, in her tradition the Yoruba preserve a mythical approach which serves to explain the world view on morals as essential requisite for the festival. This work appraises the material items and culture of the festival as another means of relations and co-existence among the people living in Ilorin community.

Origin of *Ileya'* Festival in Ilorin

There is no particular date pointing to the inception of *Ileya'* festival in Ilorin. Meanwhile, judging by chronological analysis, it is obvious that the celebration of the festival would have taken effect since the presence of devoted Muslims in Gambari and Oke-Suna areas. The observation of the festival was well pronounced when Bako and Sọlagberu of Gambari and Oke-Suna quarters respectively became popular among Ilorin people. Certainly, there is no gainsaying that the observation and celebration of the festival have been in practice from Bako and Sọlagberu's era to the present. Inwardly

looking, it is approximated that the festival has been in celebration in Ilorin since about 270 years ago.

Few Muslims that were in Ilorin before the arrival of Alimi and other scholars that arrived with him engaged in the rearing of the ram that were used for the sacrifice.[4] In the pre-Emirate period of Ilorin economic history, herding was a central source of meat supply for domestic consumption. It is obvious from Olumoh's argument that the choice made by Olufadi to settle permanently at Ilorin was a turning point which boosted the population of herds. He argues further that, Olufadi, after touring the "Yorubaland, especially Iresa,... made a major stop in Ilorin."[5] It is observed that productions of ram from Olufadi increased the quantity of ram in Ilorin. Hence, it was possible for majority of Muslims living in Ilorin during Olufadi period to acquire rams for the sacrifice during the festival. As it were, in the Alimi, Solagberu, and Bako times the Muslims exchanged rams as gifts among themselves as a symbol of brotherhood.[6] After slaughtering the ram, they equally share the meat among themselves. Exchange of ram as gift among Ilorin people of those times is depicted in relations between Alimi and other Mallams. For instance, Olufadi is said to have given rams to Alimi at every *Ileya'* festival before he relocated to Oke-Aluko.[7]Better still, Alimi returned good with favour to some Mallams who presented him rams. He always obtained thirty three strong, healthy and matured rams at the inception of *Ileya* festival.[8] He shared the animals among his students and his compatriots among who were Bako of Gambari, and Solagberu of Oke-Suna. This practice was emulated by some of the Alimi dynastic rulers that succeeded him. However, since the establishment of the Fulani hegemony in 1823, individual members of Ilorin Emirate continued with the practice of gift of ram and sharing of the meat.

Ileya' Grazing Areas in Ilorin

Children (teens and youth) usually persuade their parents to buy rams many days before the festival day. Their own motive is to use the animal for show-off, and to game with them. They usually drive the animals in flocks to various streams that are located in individual areas, for the purpose of grazing and gaming. The streams where they drove the ram to include Foma Daada, which was used by children from Okelele, Adangba, Gaa Osibi, Oke-Apomu, Alore, Abayawo and Ajikobi areas. Foma Daada game area covered the whole area of Okelele Primary and Secondary Schools up to Gaa Osibi in the north-west axis of Ilorin Central Mosque. It extends to Alore in the western axis. It

covered all the suburbs of Daada area. It stopped at Abayawo area. The main point of Daada stream is now where Taqwa District, Akintunde Block Industry, and Al-Abrar Farm Centre, among others are currently located. Virtually all the places mentioned above are now residential.[9] Another game grazing grass stream is Oke Foma Gaa Saka, and Madi up to Oko'lowo/Eiyenkorin expressway. It is located at the eastern part of Ilorin Central Mosque. The eastern hemisphere of the stream consisted of the present location of Sullamps Filling Station, Olupẹlu Clinic and Maternity, Alakawa Block Indusry, Dr. Abubakar Olusọla Saraki Market, Pakata L.G.E.A School and Baraka Community Secondary School among others. To the south of the stream area are Pakata, Oke'bo Alaso, while Abeemi and Ita Merin are at north-west axis of the stream. It is important to note that the grazing land around Oke Foma stream has almost gone into extinction due to extensions of some of Community Services Project and those establishments mentioned above.

Amule/Ọgba Game Grazing Grass Stream was in use for children/youth from Idi-Apẹ, Akodudu, Baruba, Danbanfu (Koro Tapa) and Ita'du areas. Amule/Ọgba is two kilometre away from the Ilorin Central Mosque. All the areas mentioned and Ọgba itself, are enclaves. It is not astonishing to see that the grazing grass land of Ọgba has gone into total extinction due to the establishment of schools such as Mọgaji Aarẹ Local Government Universal Basic Education School, Abubakar Enterprises Bureau, and Multi-Purpose Centre and Political Party Secretariat built by Muhammed Lawal, (former civilian Governor of Kwara State) has now occupied the point where the game activities took place.

In addition to the game grazing areas mentioned above was the one located at Aluko or Olufadi area. It was one of the foremost Animal Game Centres Ilorin has ever had.[10] The area located at south-east is about 12 km away from the Emir's palace. Currently, Olufadi Basic Health Centre, Olufadi Market and Biola Computer Centre are located around the major area of Game Grazing Grass Corridor. The Game Grazing Grass Corridor accommodated children/youth from the Emir's palace, Agọ, Kọrọ Guruman, Ẹdun, Ikokoro, Niger, Oke-Aluko and Ita Kure areas of Ilorin.

Game grazing grass stream of Ipata catered for children/youth from Ipata, Opomalu, Isale-Maliki, Okesuna, Ojagbooro, Ankalambi and Amilengbe. Ipata game grazing grass stream is located at the eastern part of the Emir's palace, with about 3.5 km distance. Children/youths from Sobi had a grass stream at a place where the present Dr. Abubakar Saraki Memorial

Abattoir, Teaching all Nations Mission Church, Living Faith Church and Rafmore Filling Station are located. Also, children/youths from Ondoko and Akerebiata made use of this Sobi stream. Sobi game grazing grass stream is located at the extreme northern part of the Emir's palace, and it is about 5 km away from the Emir's palace. Apart from residents that have recently occupied the Game Grazing Grass Stream of Sobi, it is pertinent to mention that the Emir's fish pond is now situated within the vicinity of the stream.

It is however important to note that children from the various different families met at their respective game grazing grass stream that are close to their homes. Unarguably, some of the youths in question cross over their immediate game grazing grass streams to another and this situation really aided cordial relationship among the children/youths. And in many cases, such relations led to connections among their respective parents. With all intents and purposes, the rams were taken out on the ground of pasturing, end up, actually, being lured into the game.

The Involvement of the *Ileya'* Animals in Games and Competitions

Once a ram is bought, the children are obliged to shoulder the responsibilities of its management. Petty retailers' turnover increase when children are prone to expand their little out- sourced money on the care of their rams. Soap, groundnut cake, snuff are common items whose turn over increase rapidly during the purchasing period of the rams. Rams are washed frequently by the youths. It is of the children assertions that steady consumption of groundnut and groundnut cake increase the strength of ram when it is engaged in fight with another ram.

Again, ram food is mixed with snuff (*Aaasa*) in anticipation that it will have a bold confrontation against any other ram. The competitors will be working around and bluster with their animal(s) following them until a challenger emerged. The animals are taken to field where they will be unleashed for head-on collision with others. At the instance of fight, the animals walk away (into their rear position) from each other, and when they reach certain metres apart they run towards each other and engage in head to head butt. At times, two rams may involve in fighting without being initiated. This action is similar to the description of Shackleton (as cited in Wikipedia, n.d) who affirms that bighorn sheep exhibit "antagonist behavior: two competitors (animals) walk away from each other and then turned to face each other before jumping and lunging into headbutts."[11] Whenever the animal ran into fighting alone, the competitors would be interested to watch them until

one surrendered to the other. If animals choose to fight themselves the fight will usually last. About eleven days to the celebration of the festival the number of rams at the stream would be increasing till the day of the festival. The last day to the festival is regarded as "the last".[12] On *the lass*, individual rams are brought out to the field and the competition will begin until the overall champion emerges. In the 80s, it has been observed- based on eye witness account- that some youths attached fetish objects to the neck, limb or tail of the rams. They believed that the object possessed magical forces that will empower their rams to suppress others. In addition, some competitors were said to have mixed substances like marijuana (*Igbo*), spirit (*Ogógóro*) to the marsh of their animals, so as to raise the kinetic tendency of the animal. Furthermore, any animal that emerged as winner of the competition may be taken to another zone(s).[13]

The owner of the overall champion ram (zonal or local) will be adorned with praises and gifts. The animal will be given captivating names of the reigning personalities in the town, state, nation or even, continent. In the 80s, the common champions' names included Mighty Ighor (an unbeatable European wrestler), Olowoaiye (the agnomen of Jimoh Aliu, an indigenous performing artist), James Bond (European film actor), to mention but few. Names of wild animals and tittles such as lion, python, elephant, emperor, ambassador were also in use. It should be added that the winning rams are rated first to third positions. The tittles second and third positions are also honoured with names and tittles, which are lesser in ranks in comparison with the first position. On the other hand, rams that are weak or considered coward are given derogatory appellations such as *mùmú* (imbecile), *gọngọ̀su* (unintelligent), *olóǵdó* (dullard), *baba'sala* (a popular Nigerian comedian) among others. Often times, use of derogatory appellative statements/words on one another's ram has always led to conflict and fight among the competitors. It should be stressed that between 1970s and 1990s, Ilorin youths were not found of making rams to fight on betting.[14] Rather, they were really interested in pride and ovation that they will gain, if their ram should win. However, fight usually occurs if the winner, (the owner of the ram that won) involved in jubilations that taunts the loser (the owner of the ram that loose). So far in history, such fight had never led to a community crisis. Children/youths usually carried rumor that a particular ram died in the course of fighting. It should be mentioned that apart from being rumour, between 1970s and 1990s, no ram was ever confirmed dead in the course of the game and grazing.[15] It is however imperative to mention that while ram game competition is going on,

several other local sporting activities will be in progress. The high jump, *ayò* (traditional hollow game), *ẹpàkútá* (Bambara game), football, athletics, wrestling, swimming, target throwing, hide and seek, were among the prominent ones. Some children/youths, and even often adults had also used the platform to sell their petty wares, especially assorted food and snack items such as *kulikuli* (groundnut cake), *rọ̀bọ́* (melon snack), cigarette, rice, to mention but few.

A very sensitive note about the ram game competition is that parents frown at luring the rams into fight, because it is against the saying and practice of Prophet Muhammed (S.A.W.) as reflects in: "…. Let one of you sharpen his knife, so his 'animal is spared of suffering.'"[16] Contrarily, whenever a crowd followed their children home in jubilation to acknowledge the winning of their rams, most of them put up similes. Analytically, it shows that based on the precepts of Islam, (because, making animals to fight is equivalent to exposing them to suffering) the game is not acceptable, meanwhile, they cherished the tradition.

Ileyá Celebration in Ilorin

Slaughtering of the animals (ram) comes up on the first day of the festival. The festival kick-starts on every 10th day of *Dhu al-Hijja* and ends on the 13th of the same month.[17] In the morning period of *'id al-Adha* days, large number of Ilorin residents will converge at *'id* praying ground to observe two *rakat nawafil* and listen to *uthbah* (sermon) from the Chief Imam. The chief Imam will slaughter a ram after the sermon. Thereafter, every Muslim of the community is expected to slaughter his/her own. No one is expected to slaughter his/her ram before the Imam save his/her sacrifice is rendered invalid. This is a rule according to the tradition of Islam. It has become a tradition among Ilorin that a knowledgeable, physically and mentally sound relative should be authorized to slaughter the whole rams of a given compound. This tradition is preserved to promote brotherhood and unity.

The Muslims are quite aware that the owner of each animal must slaughter it by himself/herself, yet, an individual is always authorised to slaughter. On the verge of slaughtering the animals, certain rites are performed with alongside religious. Appointment of *'mai-dubu'*[18] is first taken into consideration among all other things. He shoulders the responsibility of slaughtering all the animals owned by members of his family. After the completion of slaughtering, one-third of the complete neck of each animal he slaughtered goes to him. It is relevant to mention that he goes further to share

the mutton (cooked or uncooked) given to him with the members of his family as well as family friends. However, the *mai-dubu* tradition is wearing a new look among some of families, as some families now hiring paid butchers from outside of their immediate families. Goats killed are set to naked fire so as to remove the hair. The plain skin is now referred to as *bàtà*. Bata is shared among the participants as first refreshment.

Separation of the woolen skin from the flesh is usually handled by the experts because an impaired ram skin always discomfits the interest of Muslims who use it as prayer mat. From the pre-colonial period till 1980s, the Muslims adorned the peeled out animal skins for canonical and spiritual prayers. This aspect of preservation of animal skins is now going into extinction, because many now prefer to "incinerate the wool out of the skins"[20]; therefore, the skin can be consumed in accompaniment with the flesh. The use of the animal skin is also going into extinction because of the introduction of foreign prayer mats, which majority of Muslims now admire.

Opening of the animal skin and extracting the intestine go concurrently. On the first day of the festival, the intestine is shared among the neighbours, while cooked trachea of the ram (*ọkan ẹran*) are shared among youths who were involved in the processing of the animal.[21] Anyone who owns the animal for the sacrifice is implored to fast between the period they set out for *'id* payer and the killing of ram. By Ilorin tradition, those people usually take the cooked trachea to break the fast. However, while the butchering of the animals is in progress, a lot of social ensure. Important issues are also brought to notice, for subsequent meeting. It is a tradition in Ilorin that after removing the intestine from the carcass, such carcass will be hanged till the next day, when the butchering and division of the bone and flesh of the animal shall continue.

Starting from early 1990s some youths believed that it is archaic of primitive to live the carcass to the next day. Meanwhile, a recent observation and evaluation shows that hanging the carcass till next day is the best in the sense that, between the periods of two *rakat* 'id prayer and opening the animals' stomach, the celebrants would have got tired. In addition, *Dhuhr* prayer time would also have set in. It is important to note that (according to some family) ram of each member of the family is taken out to be slaughtered based on the hierarchy from the most elderly to the youngest one. This system has been used as a method of preserving age grade record among some families. This tradition is still maintained by the Kijan family of Oke-Apomu

among others. The practice has been observed as a tradition since the inception of the family in Ilorin, and it persists till-date.[22]

The Second Day of the *'id*

In hot, dry or rainy seasons the carcass (mutton) that was hanged till next day never spoilt. Future scientific test is required to prove that mutton has a lasting preservative tendency than beef or red meat. A division of labour policy is always adopted by the celebrants over the butchering of the carcass and the laying of the animal skins. The middle and lower spinal cords of the carcass are essential parts to be separated from the carcass. To the celebrants, the middle spinal cord is known as *Ehin Obinrin'le*, literarily means the spinal cord of the women of the house. The second one, lower spinal cord is known as *Kanma Okun*, that is the covered skin of butcher, which connotes the share of the butcher. Anybody who does the butchering of a particular ram is entitled to the lower spinal cord of the ram (*Kanma Okun*). *Ẹhin Obinrin'le* is extracted from the animal that belongs to a woman. The spinal cord of the ram, owned by a woman who made the sacrifice is returned to her as *Ẹhin Obinrin'le*. Basic reason behind returning the spinal cord to her is for her to take the part to her own family (excluding members of her husband's family) and distribute it to them. In the same vein, the *Kanma Okun* is collected from across all the animals that were slaughtered, hence it is re-distributed among all the youths that were active in the course of working on the animals. The *Kanman Okun* and *Ẹhin Obinrin'le* patterns were also culturally integrated into the laid down Islamic rule of sharing the meat.

Another important tradition that is culturally introduced (by Ilorin) into the practice of sharing the mutton is "taking a fore arm of the carcass to the prospective parents-in-law".[23] The fore arm is from the parents of a would-be groom to the parents of a proposed bride. There is no gainsaying in the fact that Ilorin tradition infiltrated the *'id Adah* Islamic practices. The *'id Adha* tradition stipulates that the "animal be divided into three parts: one part is given to the poor and needy; the second part is for the home, the third is given to relatives".[24] Meanwhile, the way and manner in which Ilorin tradition is integrated into sharing formula of mutton tends to fulfill the specification of Islam. In addition, most of Ilorin Muslim civil servants endeavour to slaughter more than one ram, so as to provide opportunity to share meat to their colleagues (Muslims and non-Muslims) in their respective places of work.[25] Nonetheless, it is imperative to add that Ilorin Emirate includes *Ileya' Durbar* into celebration of *Ileya'* festival. *Durbar* found its way into Ilorin Emirate

from the northern part of Nigeria.[26] In northern Nigeria kingdoms such as Kano and Zauzzau, *Durbar* ceremonially adopted to commemorate the two Muslim festivals. In Ilorin pre-colonial Ilorin, the Emirate included *Durbar* activities to grace *Ileya'* celebration on the second day of *Ileya'*. However, with the advent of colonial administration, it was substituted with "the *Bareke* celebration which comes a day after *eid el-kabir*, in which the Emir in turn goes to the Government House to pay homage to the Governor".[27] Ilorin resuscitated *Durbar* in 2018 as traditional part of *Ileya'* festival that is to be undertaken on every second day of the *Ileya'* festival.

Nonetheless, in their religio-cultural practices (regarding Ileya), Ilorin Muslim families also, usually preserve part of the festival meat for the feast of *Ashura*, which is known as '*Kayokayo*'.[28] *Ashura* is celebrated among the Jews and Israelites in commemoration of the partition of the red Sea for Musa (Moses) in liberation of Israelites from Phraona's (Pharaoh) bondage. Also, *Ashura* day coincides with the day Ayub (Jobb), Yunus (Jonas), Ibrahim (Abraham), Suleiman (Soloman), Nuha (Noah) were liberated from the trials of their peculiar precarious conditions. The Jews and Israelites fast on Ashura. Prophet Muhammed would fast on the day and encourage his followers to fast.[29] *Ashura* day is also celebrated among the Shia group of Muslims, though with different reasons.[30] On *Kayokayo'* day, families will cook and invite themselves to dine together. On this day, the remnant of *'id al-Adha* meat that has been preserved is cooked and shared among the celebrants. Some families also preserve the part of *Ileya'* meat till the following year; to be consumed by the celebrants first before eating the new year's ram. Thus, *Ileya'* (*'id al-Adha*) celebration among the people of Ilorin Emirate plays significant role in integrating the people.



A ram slaughtered by the Chief Imam of Ilorin on *Id* day. Picture taken by the researcher on 8/11/19



A ram carcass lain by the celebrants so as to remove the intestine. Picture taken by the researcher on 8/11/19



A ram carcas hanged by the celebrants after removing the intesting in the first day. Picture taken by the researcher on 9/11/19.

Conclusion

This paper traced the origin *Ileya'* festival (*'id al-Adha)* in Ilorin to the inception of Islam in Ilorin. Like other Muslims of the world, ram is obtained by Ilorin Muslims, and slaughtered during *Ileya'* festival as a symbol of their faith. Engaging rams in game activities is not in line with the practice of Islam. though it is culturally infused in the season, through the peer group activities among teenagers and youths. The gaming aspect appears not condemned by their parents. The sharing formula of the mutton that was recommended by Islam is obeyed by Ilorin, laced with some social aspects of their tradition. The celebration of Ileya' in Ilorin accommodates non-indigenes and non-Muslims across the world. Such accommodation is exemplified by substituting *Durbar* with *Bareke* at the instance of European administration. As a measure of heritage sustenance, Ilorin resuscitated her *Durbar* celebration in 2018. It is discovered that the integration of some of her cultural aspects of life with *Ileya'* religious celebration is a viaable means of heritage sustenance and tool of fostering peaceful co-existence and unity.

Notes and References

1. Yusuf Ali, Contemporary Quran translation, Quran 37(Al Saffat): v 102-107, , p.1149.
2. Rather than Ishmael, it was Isaac that was to be slaughtered by Abraham, but the bone of contention about the two religions is that when the ram was substituted for the son, they enthusiastically returned home. Arose, as used in the Bible connotes: happily made a move... See Genesis 22:1-19.

3. It is referred to, as great, perhaps it involves animal in sacrifice. Another reason could be puzzle that brought about it because human being would have been used as sacrificial animal.
4. Ahmidu Ayinde, Ile Agbabiaka, Emir's road, Ilorin, Occupation: Trading; Age:. 80, 17/5/18.
5. Olumoh. A.I. (2015). *Managing Ethno Political Relations in Nigeria: The Ilorin Example (1823- 2003)*, University of Lagos Press and Book Shop Ltd., Works and Physical Planning Complex, University of Lagos Akoka, Yaba-Lagos, Nigeria, pp.72-4.
6. Ahmidu Ayinde, Ile Agbabiaka, Emir's road, Ilorin, Occupation: Trading; Age: 80, 17/5/18
7. *Interview with Aremu Yusuf , Agbabiaka Area, Emir's palace, Ilorin, age: 91, 20/5/04.
8. Ibid.
9. It is important to note that between 1970s and year 2000 the streams where the rams were taking to, had no house located closed to them but after year 2000, some of the areas around the streams have been used for buildings, therefore, the locations of the streams are subject to change. In addition, since some children are still persuading their parents about purchasing the ram on time, this work did not completely use past tenses to describe children's persuasion of their parents on early purchase of rams.
10. *Interview with Aremu Yusuf . Agbabiaka Area, Emir's palace, Ilorin, age: 91, 20/5/04.
11. Wikipedia, *Bighorn Sheep* (n.d). Retrieved from https:// en.m.wikipedia.org
12. The youth pronounce 'the last' as 'the lass'. Indeed, *the lass* is a corrupt word for the last. *The lass* comes into usage as the number of pupils and students enrolment in primary and secondary becomes established and increasing. The children of the pre-Colonial, colonial and early 60s periods might have not used *the lass*.
13. Whether the ram will be taken to another zone(s) or not, depends on affiliation between or among the youths in question.
14. Interview with Aroworeyinn AbdulRasaq, Ile Elewu, (Elewu Compound), Adangba, Ilorin, Occupation: Teaching; Age: 60, 23/8/15.
15. Ibid.
16. https://abuaminaelias.com, Sahih Muslim (1955), Forty Hadith al-Nawawi, *Command to slaughter in the best manner.*
17. The 10th day of Dhu al-Hijjah usually falls on different days and months of every gregorian calendar, since the lunar calendar is shorter than the

gregorian for 11 days. In other words, the day and months of Dhu al-Hijjah coincide with grigorian days and months based on the hearth's orbit around the sun.

18. *Mai-dubu* is a Hausa word, which means the slaughterer. The word is a lone word that has been integrated into Ilorin Yoruba language.
19. It also goes contrary to the practice of Prophet Muhammed (S.A.W.), because 'he used slaughter animals with large wool' See https://en.m.wikipedia.org>wiki
20. A crucial scenario because if someone is denied from having share, several negative aspersions may/will be casted and interpreted about the person.
21. Interview with Baba Lawal, Ile Kijan, (Kijan Compound), Oke-Apomu, Ilorin, Occupation: A retired Civil Servant; Age: 78.
22. The fore arm to be taken to the parent in-law's house is traditionally called *apa Ile ana*, that is, the fore arm of the in-law's house. This act is traditional to Ilorin. It is infused into religious practice.Taking the animal fore arm to in-laws is seeing by Tabliq people as *bidiya* (unaccepted innovation) in Islam, while the orthodox Ilorin Muslims count it necessity in Islam.
23. Wikipedia *Eid al-Adah*,(n.d) Retrieved from https://en.m Wikipedia.org
24. Only one ram is recommended by Islam to an individual, although it is meritorious if one can afford more than one so as to enable the meat to reach plenty people.
25. Ilorin Emirate, 2018 Ilorin Emirate Grand Durbar, Musty Graphix Press, Olufadi, Ilorin, 2018. pp. 14-15.
26. Ibid. p.15.
27. A Yoruba word, which means feeding-well for everyone
28. Saraf, Y. (2004). Riyadu Solihina, Bilal Publication, Lagos. p.708.
29. Ibid.