

## **Contribution of *Madrasah* System to the Development of Human Resource in Uganda and its Neighbouring Countries**

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### **Abstract**

*Generally speaking, Muslims of Eastern Africa in general, and of Uganda in particular, lagged behind in education for a long period of time. This fact goes back to the time when Islam penetrated the East African coast. The interest of Arabs who introduced and taught Islam to the people of the coast was trade and many of them were neither trained nor did they possess any professional skills to propagate Islam. They did this job on a voluntary basis in anticipation of God's reward. On the contrary, the Christian missionaries who came to the region were skilled, equipped and had been officially sent by various authorities to do the job of spreading Christianity. Therefore, when they arrived in the region, they embarked on building well equipped schools and all their activities were geared towards promoting Christianity among the whole population which scared Muslim parents from taking their children to these schools. Consequently, Muslim schools – mainly madrasah pl. madaris, were built to counter the force of missionary schools. These madaris, however, were not by any standards, comparable with the missionary schools. Unfortunately, this situation has continued to this day in some of the madaris due to numerous reasons, some of which are of the Muslims' own making and which I believe could be avoided provided that the Muslims put their heads together. In spite of this fact, these schools have contributed highly to the development of human resource in Uganda and elsewhere, as highlighted in this paper. May Allah help me. Amiin.*

**Keywords:** madrasah system, human resource development, madrasah graduates

*Madrasah* is an Arabic word, which generally means a school. It is defined in Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (2003) as a place of study. The Collin English Dictionary (2001) defines it as "an educational institution, particularly for Islamic religious instruction. In the encyclopaedia of Islam, the word is referred to according to its usage in modern times as "a name of an institution of learning where the Islamic sciences are taught, i.e. a college for higher studies, as opposed to an elementary school of traditional type (*kuttāb*) (Pedersen, et al., 2007).

The above three definitions are significant to the word *madrasah* – the main topic of this paper. The word in its general Arabic application refers to any type of school regardless of its level. *Al-Madrasat al-Nizāmiyyah* and *al-Madrasat al-Baghdādiyyah* were institutions of higher learning. In the discussion that follows the general meaning, which is represented by the first definition will be considered. The second definition will also be focused upon because it represents the contemporary general usage of the above word in many countries – Muslim and non-Muslim. The third definition is more technical but it applies to only few institutions in the whole of East Africa, therefore, it will not be considered in the discussion. The word *madrasah* in this paper will be used to refer to those schools in Uganda and elsewhere in East Africa, which were constructed mainly to teach religious education.

From an educational point of view, the word *madrasah* and its derivations have strong relationships with the teaching-learning process. It means a place where learning takes place, and it is from the Arabic word *darasa*, which means “to read” or “to study”. Its verbal noun, *darsun* (pl. *durūs*) means study/studies, lesson(s), chapter(s) (of a textbook), and lecture(s). *Darrasa* (past tense) is “taught” or “instructed”. When someone wants to express that so and so taught a new lesson, he says “*alqā* or *darrasa fulān darsan jadīdan*”. The verbal noun of *darrasa* is *tadrīs*, which means teaching or instruction. A student is known as *dāris* and its plural is *dārisūn* i.e. students. Its active participle(s) *mudarris* (sing. male), *mudarrisah* (sing. female), *mudarrisūn* (pl. male), and *mudarrisāt* (pl. female) mean teacher(s) or instructor(s). It is generally used for school teacher regardless of institution level and regardless of the subjects he/she teaches (see also Wehr, 1994). However, al-Qalqashandī (1987) limited the word *mudarris* to someone who teaches *sharī‘ah* sciences (*al’ulūm al-shar‘iyyah*) such as *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *naḥw*, *taṣrīf* among others.

### **Brief background of *Madrasah* in Islam**

During the prophetic time and the era of the guided caliphate, the *masjid* or mosque served as the instructional center where all matters of religion were conducted and taught. The study of the Qur’ān and its sciences, *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* or jurisprudence used to be taught in the mosque for many years. The Prophet, peace be upon him (PBUH), used to sit in his mosque surrounded by his companions to teach them the matters of the religion of Islam. During this period, the poor companions of the Prophet (PBUH) used mosques as hostels, like the great narrator of the prophetic *ḥadīth*; Abū Hurayrah (may Allah be pleased with him) used to permanently stay in the mosque in *al-Ṣaffah*.

Teaching in the mosque was of a general nature i.e. without emphasizing any particular specialization and after some time, specialized *masājid* which served as colleges of law were founded and constructed. Some of these mosques were devoted to the teaching of one particular *madhhab* (school of thought) while others combined and taught all the four *madhāhib*. During the Prophet's and Caliphate period, the mosque served as a place of '*ibādah*' and as an instructional centre of learning; *madrasah*.

As time went by, the need to help students who came from far and those who had problems with lodging and used to sleep in the mosque was felt, and therefore hostels were put up to help them continue with their courses. These hostels were built in the vicinity of mosques and the whole complex or centre was known as *masjid-khān*; composed of a mosque, classrooms, library and hostels. Endowment funds (*awqāf*) were also put in place to help these needy students. These complexes were administered by government trustees who ensured that the founders' endowment funds were properly used according to their will (Makdisi, 1990).

At a later stage, the need to separate between mosques and schools was felt, leading to construction of proper schools. However, for a period of time, some main mosques continued functioning as schools, just as they were before the introduction of a *madrasah* system, i.e. the composition of formal schools, teachers and curriculum. For example Ibn Baṭūṭa who travelled in the 8<sup>th</sup> AH/14<sup>th</sup> AD century, during the period when *madaris* flourished most, attended lectures on *ḥadīth* in the *Jāmi'* of Shīrāz and in the *Jāmi'* of al-Manṣūr in Baghdād (Pedersen et al., 2007). In Damascus in 580 AH/1184 AD, Ibn Jubayr also referred to the rooms in the Umayyad Mosque as classes, which were used by Shāfi' and Mālik students, who received considerable stipends (Pedersen et al., 2007).

### **History of *Madrasah* in East Africa**

*Madrasah* system in East Africa is associated with the date of penetration of Islam in the region, which according to local writers, came to the East African coast in the 1<sup>st</sup> AH/7<sup>th</sup> AD century (Tanga, 2003). Others say that it was in the 4<sup>th</sup> AH/10<sup>th</sup> AD century (Oded, 1974; Lapidus, 1988; Trimingham, 1994). All in all, contacts between the Arabs and the people of the horn of Africa and the Bantu people existed for many centuries (Trimingham, 1994). Therefore, we cannot rule out the coming of Islam to East Africa in its first century though very little is known about the Muslim settlement on the East Africa coast before the tenth century (Oded, 1974). Arabs from Ḥaḍaramawt settled in the region in the 10<sup>th</sup> century onward. Among these Arabs were religious teachers who taught Islamic foundations in mosques

along the coast basing on the Sunni-Shafi'i school of thought (Oded, 1974, Trimingham, 1994). This, therefore, can be considered to be the beginning of the history of *madrasah* in East Africa.

Uganda is a "landlocked Eastern African country lying on the Equator, facing Lake Victoria to the southeast, bordered by Tanzania and Rwanda to the southwest, Democratic Republic of Congo to the west, Southern Sudan to the north, and Kenya to the east. Its area is 93,070 square miles (241,040 square km) and the overall national population according to the 2014 national census is 34,634,650 (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2014). Muslims constitute 13.7% of this population. In my opinion, however, this percentage is very low compared with the 1959 Uganda census when the Muslim percentage was 5.6% out of the total population of 6, 449, 558 basing on the facts that a good number of Muslims in Uganda possess more than one wife, and on average, each family has not less than five children.

The word *madrasah* in Uganda is generally not popular. Words like "*Ma'had*" lit. "Institute" and "*Markaz*" lit. "Centre" are slowly but surely taking over though one may not be able to notice the difference between *Madrasat Bilal al-Islāmiyyah* and *Ma'had Bilāl al-Islāmī* other than the different locations. Even schools that were named during their establishment as *madrasah* have gradually been changed to *ma'had* to suit the common usage. *Ma'had al-Taqwā al-Islāmī* at Kabigi was originally known as *madrasat al-Taqwā al-Islāmiyyah*.

The history of the *madrasah* system in Uganda goes back to the nineteenth century in the era of Kabaka (King) Suna (1832-56) – although its influence was felt during the reign of his successor, Mutesa I (1856-84) – after the King himself embraced Islam and adopted it as the official religion of the kingdom (Trimingham, 1994). The history, in my view, can be categorized into three stages; the *madrasah* in the King's palace, the *madrasah* in the house of a sheikh and the proper *madrasah* institutions, which were founded to teach religious education.

### ***Madrasah in the King's Palace***

Islam – the first revealed religion in Uganda – started in the palace. The King himself was impressed by Islam and embraced it wholeheartedly. He was the first person to convert to Islam and "he became a devoted Muslim and proved to be conversant with the Qur'an" (Oded, 1974 citing Gomotoka). Having been impressed by the teachings of Islam, he introduced it to his subjects in a well-organized manner. When they accepted Islam as their true religion, Mutesa ordered them and the people of Buganda to observe the daily five prayers, fast during the month of *Ramaḍān*, and to consume only lawful meat (*ḥalāl*) slaughtered by Muslims (Oded, 1974; Soghayroun,

1984). He further instructed that every household of a Muslim must have in its compound a big stone (for scrubbing feet during ablution), an indication that the owner of the house was a practicing Muslim who performed the five prayers. He assigned some of his chiefs the duty of going around to ascertain that his commands were being followed. The chiefs would go around looking for those who disobeyed the King and consequently punish them (Soghayroun, 1984).

This stage marked the beginning of the *madrasah* system in Uganda. Its success is clear in a way that the King himself got converted and in turn converted others to Islam, starting with his chiefs. Islam became the kingdom's official religion and Muslims – mainly Arabs – were given high positions in Mutesa's court. It was during this time that the first institution of teaching Islam (i.e. mosque) was put in place. It is reported that the King built a mosque in which he himself served as its Imam (Leader) and in which he said his daily prayers like a good Muslim (Baker, 1874 in Oded, 1974). This stage also marked the beginning of *da'wa* (calling people to Islam) activities in Uganda. The King himself started this movement by writing a letter to the Omukama (King) of Bunyoro inviting him to Islam (Soghayroun, 1984).

It is worth noting on an unfortunate note that this stage ended in a religious turmoil due to the rigidity of some '*ulamā*' (scholars), who insisted that the Kabaka had to be circumcised, otherwise he would not be a proper Muslim. The Muslim-Arabs who came from Egypt at a later stage, instead of consolidating the foundation of Islam laid down by their predecessors almost destroyed it by instigating the people to disobey their Kabaka and reject his imamship during the prayers. They claimed that circumcision is one of the most important practices of the religion and that everyone who was not circumcised was not a true Muslim. Anger took over the King and he ended up killing his own people who had disobeyed him (Oded, 1974). Circumcision became the main issue other than *imān* (faith) and as a result of the pressure from within Muslims and from the Christian missionaries, Kabaka Mutesa is believed to have apostatised from Islam and died a non Muslim. *Innā lillahi wa innā ilaihi rāji'ūn*.

### ***Bayt al-Sheikh* (Sheikh's house)**

The second stage is that of students going to the house of a sheikh to learn from him. They used to leave their homes and sometimes their districts or regions and go to a house of a certain sheikh for a long period to learn from him. This system almost existed in each region and each district of Uganda. However, the most effective one, which merits credit, is that of Sheikh Shu'ayb Ssemakula (d.1971) in Katumu, Bulemezi. The Sheikh, born a

protestant in 1879 converted to Islam during his youth through the Swahili-Muslim workers in Kisumu, Kenya and dedicated his life to Islamic studies. All Ugandans, Muslims and non-Muslims give him credit for his work. Among the Ugandan Muslims, he commanded the respect of most of them. Most of the current elders and prominent sheikhs of Uganda were trained by him or by a person who went through his training. His home was a centre for learning for quite a long period of time and it was later developed into a primary school – which still exists and, according to one friend of mine, has elevated to post primary level. Students came from all parts of the country to learn from him. Many students who graduated from his home-school were recognized by the society and a good number of them were officially crowned as sheikhs. To obtain this crown, one had to excel academically and morally (personal communication, June, 2002 with Sheikh Musa Bakulu Mpagi of Masaka District, his response to my question on what qualifications were considered before someone was crowned as a Sheikh; Sheikh al-Islam ‘Ali Kulumba in an interview on Central Broadcasting Service (CBS) in 2001 also confirmed it). This means that someone even after having completed his studies, had to be supervised continuously and that his conduct in the village had to be monitored. The student, therefore, had to be extremely careful not to commit mistakes, which would destroy his reputation in future. This act, therefore, helped and assisted the society in as far as moral development is concerned.

Worth noting is that many students who went through Katumu *Madrasat al-Dīn wa al-Tahdhīb* (Katumu Religious and Purification School) continued with their studies to university level and obtained high degrees. Dr. Badruddin Sajjabbi (rahimahullah) and Dr. ‘Abdul Qādir Balonde, former Deans of the Faculty of Islamic Studies and Arabic Language at the Islamic University in Uganda are some of them. Dr. Balonde is currently the chairman Uganda Muslim Supreme Council. Dr. Anas ‘Abdunoōr Kaliisa and the writer, who are both lecturers at the Islamic University in Uganda, are graduates of *Madrasat al-Ghawth al-Islamiyyah* founded by a student of the same school. In addition, these graduates have served the country in different capacities. For example, Sheikh Aḥmad Mukasa, worked as Mufti of Uganda; and Dr. Kaliisa as Deputy Mufti of Uganda immediately after graduating from Maḍīna Islamic University in the 1970’s.

Another Sheikh who contributed a lot to the development of religious schools is Sheikh Ramaḍān Gava of Lukalu in Butambala. Sheikh ‘Abd al-Razāq Matovu and Sheikh Kasim Mulumba are among his prominent graduates. The former, founded Bilal Islamic Institute

immediately after graduating from *Nadwat al-'Ulamā* of India. He served as a Principal and a teacher at the same Institute, was appointed the first Chief *Qāḍī* of Uganda Muslim Supreme Council in 1972 and then a Director of World Muslim League. The latter, after graduating from Cairo University, served as a teacher in Teachers' Training College, Kibuli, worked as Imam of Makerere University Mosque and then as a Chief *Qāḍī* of Uganda Muslim Supreme Council in the late 1980s. Sheikh Muḥammad Semakula, who served as *Mufti* of Uganda in the 1980s, is also a beneficiary of the above school both as a student and as a teacher. This stage is important to *madrasah* because it led to the establishment of many of the existing religious schools in Uganda. Most of them were founded by either a student of Katumu or Lukalu, or by a student of someone who had studied under the above two founders. As regards to the curriculum for this stage, it should be highlighted that in religious matters especially in jurisprudence it attached its self strictly to the teaching of one *madhhab* i.e. that of Imam al-Shāfi'ī and avoided a mix-up of the *madhāhib*. Only books of *al-madhhab* al-Shāfi'ī were used in teaching and some sheikhs became experts in this field. Many of them were able to hold individual and public debates (*munāẓarāt*) in the same field and defended their opinions basing on the *madhhab*. Although this act led to the formation of different groups, it did not create enmity *per se* even when they disagreed on certain issues. It is reported that Sheikh Abd al-Raḥmān Mivule continued to work as an obedient student to the first Mufti of Uganda Sheikh Shu'aib Ssemakula whom he deputized, even when they disagreed on whether *Zuhri* (noon prayer) should be prayed after *Jum'ah* (Friday prayer) or not (Oded, 1974).

For obvious reasons, this stage of *madrasah* taught only religious studies and its graduates were, therefore, expected to work as area sheikhs or *bawalimu*.

### **The *Madāris* Proper**

As I mentioned earlier, the proprietors of these schools have been impressed by the term *ma'had* pl. *ma'āhid* or *markaz* pl. *marākiz* instead of *madrasah* but the fact remains the same that all *ma'āhid* and *marākiz* are still following the same syllabi of *madāris* and all their characteristics are the same like of any other *madrasah* in the region.

The oldest school in this category is *Ma'had al-Taqwā al-Islāmī* at Kabigi in Bukomansimbi district. It was established in 1945 by two *Ḥaḍramī* Arabs and some members of the Katungulu family (Oded, 1974). This institute, however, has been greatly affected by family wrangles, which have affected its development compared with others. Though it is the oldest in the country, its influence and facilities are not up to the required standard. The second is *Ma'had*

*Bilal al-Islāmī* now at Kakiri, Wakiso district. It was established in 1963 by Mawlānā ‘Abd al-Razāq Matovu with a big push by Ḥajj Musa Kasule (d. 1987) of Wandegeya, Kampala. Hajji Musa Kasule donated the land where it was constructed in Bwaise, one of the Kampala suburbs. Its original name was *Nadwat al-‘ulamā’*, which indicates the connection of the school with *Nadwat al-‘ulamā’* of India where Sheikh ‘Abdu al-Razāq Matovu studied and graduated from with a title of *Mawlānā*. It combined both primary and secondary levels on a relatively small compound until 1974 when the secondary section was shifted to William Street, in the city of Kampala under the principalship of Sheikh Sirāj al-Rahmān al-Nadawī. It was at this time that its name was changed to *Ma‘had* to differentiate it from *Madrasat Bilal al-Islamiyyah*, which remained in Bwaise accommodating the old premises of the school. This *madrasah* was supposed to remain a feeding primary school but it has now been elevated to secondary level.

The third in line is *Al-Ma‘had al-Islāmī* at Bugembe in Jinja district. It was established by a Pakistani, who still runs the school, named ‘Abd al-Khāliq Ṭāriq. As far as infrastructure and facilities are concerned, this institute deserves to be called *al-Ma‘had al-Islāmī*. It has large classrooms for both primary and secondary levels, abundant accommodation facilities and a relatively large and beautiful compound. It runs a hospital in the town of Jinja. It has a farm, with a reasonable number of heads of animals and it used to facilitate many primary schools in the area through funding.

*Ma‘had al-Nahḍah* in Busembatya, Iganga district, *Al-Markaz al-islāmī* in Masaka district and *Ma‘had al-Noor al-Islāmī* in Mbale district if added to the list can very well represent the Ugandan situation. The above schools, especially the first three (Kabigi, Bilal and Bugembe) for a long period of time acted as a tall bridge for Uganda and have contributed to the existence of many others in the country. These schools are all categorized in this paper as *madrasah* though their names do not include such a word. The above *madāris*, have played a very big role in developing manpower both at international and national levels.

At the international level, they have served as a link between the citizens with governments and/or organizations of the Muslim/Arab world for quite a long time. Many teachers have been sent to Uganda by different governments or private organizations purposely to teach in these schools. These early connections have resulted into education of many Ugandans by either being sent abroad or by receiving tuition fees through Muslim NGOs inside or outside the country. Also, the connections have brought into the country many Muslim organizations, whose assistance in many fields can only be



denied by a non-appreciator. Many educational and orphanage centres have been constructed and many orphans have been sponsored by these organizations. Definitely, many of these organizations were brought into being into this country by the contacts between the students and teachers of *madāris* and their founders.

Some of these teachers may be considered to be the first diplomatic missions of their countries to Uganda. In this respect Sheikh Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥakawātī from Syria is to be mentioned. His dedication to his work and his role in creating a properly guided Ugandan Muslim society will always be remembered. If I say that the ongoing *salaf* teachings in the country is credited to him, I hope it will not be an exaggeration. In the early 1970's, many Muslims opposed him when he tried to teach *tawhīd* lessons to the public but by the time he left the country in the late 70's almost all mosques had started *ḥalaqah* programs to teach *tawhīd* among other Islamic teachings. His students including the writer, admired his commitment, dedication and determination – which attributes were thought to be possessed by all his countrymen.

The missionary teachers all together played very important and different roles, which helped these schools. Roles played by some of them, can only be described as landmarks in the whole *madrasah* system. Their names became, until today, inseparable from *madrasah* and they are always mentioned outside and inside the country. There is no *just* way one can mention the establishment of proper *madāris* in East Africa and leave out the name of Sheikh Siraj al-Raḥmān al-Nadawī, who took over the headship of Bilal Islamic Institute when Mawlāna Abdurrazaq Matovu was crowned to be the 1<sup>st</sup> Chief Kadhi of Uganda. Sheikh Siraj al-Raḥmān is also the founder and 1<sup>st</sup> principal of Kisauni Islamic Institute in Kenya. He is also the founder of the Islamic College in Kenya. It is also impossible to mention *madāris* in Uganda without mentioning the name of Sheikh 'Abd al-Khālīq Ṭariq, the principal of the Islamic Institute in Jinja district.

At the International level also, schools like Bilal Islamic Institute have trained teachers and *du'āt* (propagators of Islam) for other neighboring countries. Students from Rwanda, Kenya, Tanzania and Somalia have gone through the above school. Some of its graduates have even occupied high positions in their governments. For example, the former Minister of Labour and later of Internal Affairs in the government of Rwanda, Shiekh 'Abdul Karim Harelimana, and Sheikh Ahmad 'Umar Tembo, the former Mufti of Rwanda, are good examples of them. The former was also in 2000 appointed as Presidential advisor on internal affairs and he is currently a member of the East African Parliament.

At the national level, *madrasah* has contributed a lot to the Ugandan society's affairs. All these schools have produced Islamic and Arabic teachers, who are teaching in various schools of Uganda. Besides that, many former students of different *madāris* are serving the country generously and comfortably in different fields. To mention but a few, Professor Umar Uthman Kasule, one of the directors of international Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) and the current Ambassador of Uganda to Saudi Arabia Dr. Muḥammad Aḥmad Kisuule are former students of *madrasah* i.e. Nsotoka Islamic School and Bilal Islamic Institute respectively. Ambassador Aḥmad Senyomo, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ambassador Dr. Rashid Yahya Sheikh Yusuf Isa Byekwaso, former Secretary General of Uganda Muslim Council, and the former Director of World Muslim League, went through Bilal Islamic Institute. Shiekh Othman Alonga, a one-time Member of Parliament representing Aringa County and a former lecturer at both Makerere University and Islamic University in Uganda; Sheikh Muḥammad Waiswa, the Deputy Mufti of Uganda Muslim Supreme Council at old Kampala and a Mullar at Makerere University Business School (MUBS); the current Mufti of Uganda Sheikh Sha'bān Ramaḍān Mubaje, and many others studied in Bugembe Islamic Institute. Dr. Harūn Jemba a one-time District *Qāḍī* of Kampala district and who is now a lecturer in the Department of Religious Studies, Makerere University, went through *Ma'had al-Taḡwā* in Kabigi. Assoc. Prof. Siraje A. Ssekamanya from Masaka Islamic Centre taught at the International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM) and is currently at the Islamic University in Uganda developing Muslim human power. Dr. Abdul Hafiz Walusimbi, the Dean of Faculty of Islamic Studies and Arabic Language, the writer who is currently working as Dean of students, Dr. Miirō Farooq, Mr. Badruddin Fuad Shalabi, Dr. Hassan Kiyingi, Dr. Badru Harun Matasi, and many others in IUIU and Dr. Anas Abdunoor Kaliisa one of the directors of Salam TV and a former Vice Rector (F&A) in IUIU are products of Bilal Islamic Institute. Sheikh 'Isa Aḥmad Masaba, the current District *Qāḍī* of Mbale district is a graduate of both *Ma'had al-Nūr al-Islāmī* and *Ma'had al-Nahḍah* of Mbale and Iganga districts respectively.

Beside that also, each of the above schools has produced many *du'ats* who graduated from Al-Azhar, Maḍīna, Umm al-Qurā, Muḥammad Ibn Su'ūd, Da'wa College Libya, Islamic University in Uganda and other Islamic Colleges. Many of them have established schools of various levels in the country and are busy serving the society in different areas diligently.

### Conclusion

Let it be clear that although most of the above has been said basing on Ugandan experience, it seems to me that the *madrasah* system of East Africa, especially in the neighbouring countries, is not different. My few years at the Islamic University in Uganda and especially the little time I spent in the Academic Registrar's office proved to me that Kenya *madāris* (schools) are almost similar to those in Uganda. My supervision of Masters students from neighbouring countries especially Kenya indicates that their schools have contributed greatly to the growth of human resource in their countries. It is my assumption that most of the points raised above, may be applied on the sister institutions in Kenya, Tanzania and other Eastern African countries. The *madrasah* system in the past has played and still plays a very good role in Islam. It produces great scholars not for Muslim communities only but also for other communities. These scholars have worked as lighting candles, and continue to do so, for Muslims and non-Muslims. Many of the *madrasah* graduates have and others are still contributing to the development of manpower through establishing schools of different levels, teaching, supervising and serving as school sheikhs wherever this title exists in government aided Muslim schools and other institutions. They, in reality, are doing a good job in as far as moral behaviour control is concerned and actually do not have any competitors in this area. The training they received in these *madāris* is admired by many citizens and I believe it is the driving force behind establishing theological sections in the what is commonly known as secular schools.

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