

A HISTORY OF BIRNIN ZARIA FROM

1350 – 1902

BY

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M.A. HISTORY

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CERTIFICATION

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ABSTRACT

This study is on *Birnin Zaria* in the period between 1350 and 1902. *Birnin Zaria* is the core of the *Zaria* metropolis, which is one of the most important urban centres of contemporary Nigeria with a history of urbanization going back to many centuries. The city is also the capital not only of an Emirate, but also of a distinct community of Hausa speaking known as the *Zazzagawa* or *Zage zagi*, whose formation goes back over centuries and whose settlements and distribution covers many parts of Nigeria, Western, Northern and Central Africa.

The study traced the emergence of *Birni Zaria* to the processes of urbanization, integration and community formation taking place several centuries ago on the *Zaria* plains. The study also reconstructed how *Birni Zaria* was formed in very concrete and specific terms of its geography, its ecology, its walls, its gates, its architecture, its quarters, its Palaces, its Mosques, its Markets and other major economic centres.

The Jihad in *Birni Zaria* in the 19th century constituted a major theme in the history of the *Birni*. The inherent contradictions existing within the *Birni* that gave birth to the Jihad was examined in details. The Jihad brought certain changes of political, social and economic importance, was also examined.

The appearance of British at the tail end of the 19th century threatened the existence of the Emirate administration in the *Birni*. Through diplomatic and military manoeuvres, the British firmly established themselves in *Zaria*. The British saw the conquest of *Zaria* as necessary in their bid to establishing control over Kano and Sokoto. *Zaria* was militarily weak at this time and therefore passively responded to the British attempt at colonial conquest. *Zaria* was taken over by

the British in 1902. This finally brought an end to the almost hundred years of the Emirate administration in Zaria and ushered in the beginning of European control of the *Birni*.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.U.	Ahmadu Bello University
A.D.	After death
A.H.	After the Hijra of Prophet Muhammad (P B.U.H.)
B.U.K.	Bayero University Kano
FEM.	Female
J.A.H.	Journal of African History
J.H.S.N	Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria
Lit.	Literally
N.A.K.	National Archives Kaduna
N.D.	Not dated
N.H.R.S	Northern History Research Scheme
NO.	Number
O.U.P.	Oxford University Press
P.	Page
PP.	Pages
PL.	Plural
Sing.	Singular
S.N.P.	Secretariat to the Northern Provinces
VOL.	Volume
R.W.A.F.F.	Royal West African Frontier Force
ZARPROV.	Zaria Province

GLOSSARY

Words whose meanings are given in the text, when first used are not included here.

Amana	non aggression pact
Ahl-aman	people with whom a non-aggression pact was entered into
Ahl-kuffar	the non-believers
Amir	an Islamic ruler
Birni pl. Birane	walled city
Fadama	marshy or swampy areas
Fatake	caravans
Fatauchi	long distance trade
Fatwa	legal opinion in Islam
Fiqh	Islamic jurisprudence
Habe	a term that is used to describe the non-Fulani
Hijra	migration or flight
Id	festival
Jakada	messengers/ emissaries
Jama'a	community
Jihad	holy war
Liman	an Imam
Ma'aji	treasure
Maguzawa	non Hausa Muslims
Malam	the intelligentsia or Islamic scholar
Malamai	the intelligentsias or Islamic scholars

Mithqal	unit of currency
Mujahidun	members of a Jihad movement
Murgu	payment made by slave to his master in lieu of working personally
Runji/Rumada	slave settlement
Sarki	a ruler
Shari'a	Islamic laws
Tafsir	Quranic exegeses
Zango	resting place for caravans

NOTES ON SOURCES

A variety of sources were consulted in the course of the reconstruction of the history of Birnin Zaria. These sources can be classified into two main categories: primary and secondary sources.

1. PRIMARY SOURCES

The type of primary sources used for the study was in the form of archival materials, Jihad literature, travellers' accounts, oral interviews and archaeological sources.

(a) Archival materials

This refers to both private and official colonial records or documents recovered and deposited in various Archives in the country. These include reports such as intelligence reports, assessment and reassessment reports, ethnographic accounts, provincial reports, District notebooks, official diaries, letters sent from one level of government to another and so on.¹ The bulk of the materials available on our area of study are assessment and reassessment reports. They deal with variety of issues such as agriculture, animals, industrial resources and prospects, dynastic and ethnological Histories, population, taxation etc. It is important to note that the presence of archival materials arose out of the need to keep records for administrative purposes by the colonialists, to acquire basic local histories that could assist colonial administrative officers posted to new areas to have proper knowledge and understanding of the local communities they were posted to and finally to acquire up to date summary of the current political and economic situation of the Provinces and Divisions which was necessary for the continued political and economic control of the areas.

¹ Ekwede Joseph, History of Igala Kingdom c.1534-1854, Ph.D. thesis, A.B.U. Zaria

This source has some fundamental limitations, which is based on the fact that most of the colonial administrators who produced them did not have a good understanding of the language, culture and tradition of local people. The reverse is also the case i.e. the local people that served as interpreters to the colonial Officers too did not have a proper understanding of English. This is clearly demonstrated by conceptual and grammatical errors that characterized most of the archival records. Most of the information collected by them also reflects issues that were of primary concern for the colonial government to the neglect of those that concern the interest of the local people. However despite the above limitations the archival records were invaluable for our study because they contain anthropological, ethnographic, geographical and historical information about the people they studied. The archival sources therefore provided us with useful information that was used in the reconstruction of the history of Birnin Zaria.

(b) Jihad writings

The Jihadists were the leading participants/observers in the events they wrote about. One of the major books written by the Jihadists and used for this research is *infaq al Maisur*. It was written by Sultan Muhammad Bello. The author gave a detailed and reliable account of the 19th century Jihad. It also mentioned Zaria as one of the dominant Polities in central Sudan before the Jihad² as follows:

... The first to whom power was given in this land according to what we have been told was Aminatu, the daughter of Sarkin Zak-zak. She made war upon these countries and overcome them entirely so that the people of Katsina paid tribute to her and the men in Kano. She made war in the cities of Bauchi that her Kingdom reached to the sea in the south and west.³

² Garba Nadama, The rise and collapse of a Hausa state: A social and political History of Zamfara, Ph.D. thesis, A.B.U. Zaria, 1977, p.xxviii

³ Muhammadu Bello, Infaq al-Maisur (Whitting edition) pp.18-19

This threw some light on the political condition of Zaria before the Jihad. It was therefore, a very useful source for the study of the political condition of Zaria before the Jihad. It also threw some light on the Jihad as well as events after the Jihad.

(c) **Accounts of the 19th century travellers**

Several colonialists travelled across Hausa land in the nineteenth century. In the course of their journeys they made pertinent observations on the geography, vegetations, society and economy of the areas they visited or passed through. Thus this provided us with first hand information on our area of study.

Such observations and experiences of the colonial travellers were documented in books form such as the *History and Description of Africa* by Hassan b. Mohammed al Wazzan al Farsi (Leo Africanus),⁴ which was mainly an account of his travels in Africa. He passed through Agades on his way to Timbuktu in c.1510-11515. He never visited Zaria or any Part of Hausa land. He therefore collected secondary information from other People who had visited the area.⁵

Another important book is *Travels and Discoveries, in North Central Africa, Journal of expedition 1849 - 1855* by Heinrich Barth.⁶ He visited Kano and Katsina, but never visited Zaria. His routes took him through the well-settled areas of the Central Plains and his observations on the rural and urban environment were very useful. His information on the economy seem largely derived from the North African and Abzin traders whose company he kept.⁷

⁴ Leo Africanus, *History and Description of Africa*, London, 1896

⁵ Y.B. Usman , *the transformation of Katsina; Garba Nadama, The rise and collapse of a Hausa state* o-cit. p.L

⁶ Heinrich Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North Central Africa, Journal of expedition 1849-1855*, London,

⁷ *Ibid.*

Also relevant to this study is *In the heart of the Hausa States* by Paul Staudinger.⁸ It is essentially a traveller's account of a journey through the Sokoto Caliphate including Zaria from 1885-1886. The book is in two volumes. While volume one is mainly a detailed diary, which comprises of twelve chapters of the text, which deals mainly with the details of his observations about the places he visited, volume two comprises of appendices which is supplementary to the text which provides useful additional information.

The value of the book lies in the fact that it deals with every aspect of the life of the Hausa and Fulani people namely; their history, environment, flora and fauna, economy, culture and social structure. The observations made by the travellers particularly on the area of study are very important because it contains more information on the Sokoto Caliphate in mid 1880's than any European traveller's account.⁹ Despite the obvious value of the book for this research, one has to be careful. This is because like most European travellers accounts the book is susceptible to errors arising from lack of the travellers' familiarity with the cultures and customs of the Country, problem of translating one language into another and many other problems.

H. Clapperton's *Journal of a second expedition into the interior parts of Africa: From the Bight of Benin to Soccattou*¹⁰ is another invaluable material. Clapperton was one of the earliest travelers to Zaria. He passed through Zaria on his way to Kano in 1824. His observations of the rural and urban environment were useful. His information about the economy was clearly derived from the North African traders like Hadje Ahmet Ben Mesoud whose company he kept while he was in Birnin Katsina.¹¹

(d) Archaeological source

⁸ Paul Staudinger, *In the Heart of the Hausa states*, Ohio, 1990

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Clapperton H. *Journal of a second expedition into the interior parts of Africa From the Bight of Benin to Soccattou*, London, 1966

¹¹ Y.B.Usman, *For the transformation of Katsina*, op-cit.

Archaeological materials constituted another important primary data for the reconstruction of the History of Birnin Zaria. This consists of researches conducted by archaeologists in Zaria. The archaeological researches involved the study of the material evidence of human evolution and settlement in the Zaria area, which have been documented in the Zaria Archaeology Papers (ZAP).¹² The archaeological materials provided us with useful insights into the beginning of human existence in our area of study, the walling sequence of the complex walling system of the Zaria area as well as cultural and technological human development in the area. The limitation of this source was that most of the result was largely based on observations of undated artifacts found on the surface devoid of real archaeological excavations. However, in spite of these limitations the archaeological source is of great importance for the study.

(e) Oral traditions

Oral traditions are oral accounts transmitted from generation to generation. They are useful especially in places where other sources are either scanty or non-existing. Elders of communities and courtiers are the custodians of oral tradition. This is based on the assumption that as elders they are supposed to know the traditions and customs of their people, which was handed over to them by their ancestors. Most of the informants interviewed for the study resided in and outside the city. The criteria for the selection of informants were based on their vast experiences in the history and culture of the area of study as well as age. Thus quite significant number of people including elderly people, members of the ruling dynasties, ward heads, occupational groups and titleholders were interviewed.

¹² Ade Obayemi, Aspects of field archaeology in Hausa land, Zaria Archaeology Papers 1, 1976; Sutton J.E.G. The walls of Zaria and Kufena, Zaria Archaeology Paper II, 1976; Sutton J.E.G. Kufena and its Archaeology, Zaria Archaeology Paper 15 1976; Sutton J.E.G. The iron working around Zaria, Zaria Archaeology Paper 8, 1977

In conducting the oral interview permission was sought from respondents and once information was granted, it was taped and documented. There was no problem of interpretation because the informants and the researcher could speak Hausa.

When using oral information one should not be oblivious of the limitations of loss of memory. Consequently, oral information has to be collaborated with other sources to ascertain their validity. Brief biographical notes are given on some of the people interviewed below.

(1) Abbas Muhammad Fagachi 13/12/2000

The interview was conducted at the residence of the informant. Abbas 41 years was the son of Muhammadu Fagachi who was at one time the Fagachi of Zazzau. Abbas was an heir to rich historical documents in addition to oral traditions on Zaria bequeathed to him by his father. Apart from this he wrote a book recently, on the history of the Emir of Zazzau, Alhaji Shehu Idris, in which he gave a synopsis on the history of Birnin Zaria. Thus Abbas was an invaluable informant in spite of his age.

(2) Abbas Dabo Sambo.

The interview took place at his house at Kaduna. He was 75years, a retired civil Servant and a descendant of the founder of Juma ward. He was an invaluable informant on the history of Juma ward.

(3) Abdullahi Aliyu (Wamban Zazzau) 10th March 2002

He was interviewed at his residence at Kwarbai in Zaria. Abdullahi Aliyu (83 years) was the son of Emir Aliyu Dan Sidi of the Mallawa ruling dynasty. The informant was a traditional titleholder and a leading traditional historian particularly of the early history of Zaria. He wrote some papers in Hausa on the history of Zaria.

(4) Abubakar Ladan Zaria 18th March 2004

The interview was conducted at Arewa House, Kaduna. He (65 years) was a popular Hausa songs composer. He composed many songs on the customs and traditions of the Hausas generally.

(5) Adamu Usman Bafillace 30th October 2003

The interview took place in the Mosque attached to his house, which he also uses as a school. Malam Adamu (78) years was a reknown Islamic Scholar. He was an invaluable informant on the Islamic history of Birnin Zaria.

(6) Auwalu Aliyu Damau 23rd August 2003

The interview was conducted in front of his house at Tudun Wada Kaduna. He (50years) is a civil Servant. He has keen interest in the history of Zaria.

(7) Ahmadu Fatika (Sarkin Fadan Zazzau) 28th February 2003

The interview took place at his residential quarters at Anguwan Liman. He was 82 years old, a retired civil Servant and now an influential traditional titleholder in Zaria. He was an invaluable informant on the history of the Jihad in Zaria.

(8) Ahmadu Maqari Sa'idu 21st December 2002

Malam Maqari was 70 years old and an Islamic Scholar. The interview was conducted in front of his house at Kofar Gayan low cost Zaria. He provided useful information on the pre-jihad period as well as scholarship in Zaria.

(9) Dalhatu Balarabe 10th January 2002

Dalhatu Balarabe was 72 years old and was a descendant of Adus-Salam the Emir of Zazzau. The interview took place at his traditional family house at Anguwan Zaria. He was an invaluable informant on the history of the Zaria ward.

(10) Dalhatu Gayya (Karfen Dawaki) 31st August 2002

The interview was conducted at Gidan Madaki Sa'idu. Dalhatu Gayya was 83 years old and a descendant of Malam Yamusa, the Emir of Zazzau. He was of the Barebari ruling dynasty and is presently the Karfen Dawakin Zazzau. He provided useful information on the Barebari ruling dynasty.

(11) Ibrahim Sani 1st September 2002

The interview was conducted in the entrance hall of his house, which he also uses as his Qur'anic school. He was 60 years and a descendant of Malam Sani the founder of the Kofar Doka Islamic center of learning in Zaria. Malam Ibrahim also teaches in the center. He specialised on the Islamic history of Zaria.

(12) Ibrahim Ibn Ibrahim 2 February 2003

The interview took place in front of Malam Balarabe's house at Kwarbai, Zaria. He was 43 years old, and an Islamic Scholar. He provided information on the history of Salmanduna.

(13) Inuwa Jamawa 3rd February 2002

Alhaji Inuwa Jamawa was 77 years old and a descendant of the founding father of Jamawa. He was interviewed in his residence at Jamawa. He was a very useful informant on the history of Jamawa.

(15) Lawal Sambo

Ambassador Lawal Sambo 70 years old was a retired civil Servant. He belongs to the Barebari ruling dynasty. He is presently the Walin Zazzau (Hakimin Turunku). The interview was conducted in the entrance hall of his house at Kaura.

(16) Maiwada Mai anguwa 10th January 2003

The interview took place at his residence at Anguwan Bishar in the Birni. He (69 years) was the ward head of Anguwan Bishar. He was useful for the history of Anguwan Bishar.

(17) Muhammadu Tambaya 27 March 2005

The interview was conducted at his residence at Banzazzau in Birnin Zaria. He (99 years) was a descendant of Barwa who was one of the prominent traditional titleholders that once lived in Banzazzau. Muhammadu Tambaya was at one time the ward head of Banzazzau.

(18) Muhammadu Abubakar 2nd September 2003

The interview took place in front of his house at Tudun Wada Zaria. Malam Muhammadu (62 years) belongs to the lineage of the Limamin Juma. He was an Islamic Scholar. He was writing a book on the history of Anguwan Juma.

(19) Muhammadu Ghali

The interview was conducted in the house of Malam Yahuza the founder of the reknown Islamic school known as Makarantar Malam Yahuza. Malam Muhammadu Ghali (65) was an Islamic scholar and a pupil of Malam Yahuza. He was one of the few teachers that were teaching in the Malam Yahuza center for Islamic learning.

(20) Muhammadu Hayatuddeen

The interview took place in his sitting room at Nagoggo Street at Anguwan Sarki Kaduna. He (years) was a retired civil Servant. He belongs to the Barebari ruling dynasty and is presently the Dallatun Zazzau. He was a reknown oral historian of particularly the Barebari ruling dynasty.

(21) Muhammadu Sani (Limamin Kona) 1st September 2002

Alhaji Muhammadu Sani was an Islamic Scholar and is presently the Limamin Kona. The interview took place at the entrance hall of the traditional house of Limaman Kona, which was used by the occupants of the seat of Limamin Kona both as their school and resting place.

(22) Nuhu Jume 7th February 2004

The interview was conducted in front of his traditional family house at Anguwan Dan Madami. He (37 years) was a schoolteacher and a traditional titleholder.

(23) Sidi Aliyu Magajiya 21st December 2001

He (75 years) was a retired civil Servant and a member of the Mallawa ruling dynasty. He was the Wakilin raya kasa of Zazzau. The interview was conducted in his living room at his traditional family house reputed to have been built by Magajiya at the Magajiya ward.

(24) Umar Faruk Abdus-Samad 27th September 2003

The interview took place at the entrance hall of his traditional family house. He (35 years) is the grand son of Isma'il the founder of the Zage-zagi lineage. He was the Galadiman Fagachin Zazzau. He documented the history of the Zage-zagi lineage on a paper titled tarihin gidan Zage-zagi, n.d.

(25) Usman Babangida 10th January 2003

The interview took place in front of his family house at Anguwan Bishar. He (45 years) was a descendant of a Gwari who happened to be the last Gwari speaker in the Birni. He was a very useful informant.

(26) Usman Ibrahim Basa 24th August 2002

Alhaji Usman Basa 70 years was a retired civil Servant. The interview took place at his residence at Anguwan Alkali in the presence of Malam Sani his neighbour. He was an invaluable informant on the Faruk family of Anguwan Alkali.

(27) Yahaya Abdul-Kadir (Kaciya) 13 March 2005

The interview was conducted in front of Ali Turaki house at Anguwan Kwarbai. He (68 years) was a retired civil Servant. He has keen interest in history.

(28) Yusuf Aliyu 11th March 2002

Yusuf Aliyu (54 years) was the ward head of Kofar Doka. The interview took place at his residence at Kofar Doka. He was a very useful informant on the history of Kofar Doka.

(29) Zainab Bashir 24th August 2002

Hajiya Zainab (99 years) was the wife of Alhaji Bashir the grand son of Aliyu Dan Sidi the Emir of Zazzau. She was interviewed in her room at Kofar Fada.

(2) SECONDARY SOURCES (PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED)

A wide range of secondary materials in form of published and unpublished works was used for the reconstruction of the history of Birnin Zaria. Most of the materials were of little specific relevance to the work. This is due to their wide coverage. Some of these works helped in no small measure in providing the framework on which the work was largely anchored. Few of these works are worthy of mention here.

(a) PUBLISHED WORKS

The first major work consulted for this research is the book titled, *Zaria and its region* edited by Mortimore.¹³ As an edited work it is made up of contributions from different scholars on Zaria and its Region. The relevance of the book to this study lies on the fact that it provides us with information about the geological formation of the area of study, its weather and climate, fauna and flora, settlement patterns and history. The most relevant section of the book is chapter nine (9) on "some notes on the history of Zazzau under the Hausa kings" by Abdullahi Smith, which contains an inspiring survey of the pre-colonial society of Zazzau. Abdullahi Smith in this chapter opened up the area for further research. The chapter also examines the process of the emergence of the *Sarki* and the consolidation of his power, the dynastic changes that took place on the plains of Zazzau leading to the transfer of the seat of government from Turunku to Zaria. The chapter also raises many hypothetical questions.¹⁴ The strength of the chapter lies in the fact that it set out a framework of analysis for future research work on the area focusing on internal primary sources. Abdullahi Smith's emphasis on the material, economic, social, cultural and political processes, which produced Birnin Zaria comes in here very well; for from his perspective you cannot reconstruct the government of Zazzau, before or after the Jihad or trace the emergence of the Zazzau political community outside the processes of urbanization, integration and community formation, one of whose key dimensions is the emergence of Zaria city.

Also consulted for this study was *Planned urban Landscapes of Northern Nigeria*, by A.W. Urquhart.¹⁵ It is a comparative study of urban development mainly drawn from the author's studies of cities in Northern Nigeria and America. The book confines itself to the history and effects of colonial planning in Nigeria. The book concentrates on the city of Zaria and the manner in which traditional mores have combined with the British colonial administrators in creating an urban

¹³ Mortimore M.J. (ed) *Zaria and its Region*, Department of Geography occasional paper No.4, A.B.U. Zaria, 1970

¹⁴ Abdullahi Smith, some notes on the History of Zazzau under Hausa kings in Mortimore M.J. (ed), *Zaria and its Region*, Department of Geography occasional paper No.4, 1970

¹⁵ Urquhart A.W. *Planned Urban Landscapes of Northern Nigeria*, A.B.U, Press, Zaria, 1977

complex, which to some extent reflected in other North African cities. The success and failures of this process are analysed dispassionately.

Though the book attempted a historical approach in its study, it pays more attention to physical development, especially with technical design aspects. The major strength of the book lies in its detailed and painstaking analysis of the development of what must be one of the most complex and varied Africa's urban settlements.

Another works of importance was *Guide to Zaria Area*.¹⁶ The book is essentially a guide and it was compiled to provide a brief and selective introduction to the Zaria area. The book is of immense significance for our study. This is because it provides information on the various aspects of Birnin Zaria such as; its history, culture, crafts, geography, fauna and flora as well as its economy. The weakness of the book lies in its lack of details in many aspects of Birnin Zaria. This was as a result of its ambition to cover all aspects of Zaria.

Alhaji Shehu Idris the 18th Fulani 'Emir of Zazzau by Usman Dalhatu and Musa Hassan¹⁷ is also relevant to the study. The book is essentially a biography of his Highness the Emir of Zazzau Alhaji Shehu Idris. Like most biographies, it was a commissioned project and therefore, might not be devoid of biased information in favour of the person that paid for the project. The book seems to believe in the Bayajidda legend. It also wrongly believes that the Jihad in Birnin Zaria took place in 1804 rather than 1808. However, despite the above flows the book is useful in providing us information about the early history of Birnin Zaria, the history of Katsinawa dynasty and the circumstances leading to the emergence of the four ruling dynasties in Zaria. It also provides us with information about the history of the old Palaces and Mosques in Birnin Zaria.

¹⁶ Zaria Field Society, *Guide to Zaria Area*, 1978

¹⁷ Usman Dalhatu and Musa Hassan, *Alhaji Shehu Idris the 18th Emir of Zazzau*, Books Africana, 2000

Government in Zazzau by M.G Smith¹⁸ was one of the major works that was also used for this study. The study was concerned with the history of the Government of Zazzau centred at Zaria in the 19th century. The study has some methodological problems. For example it was locked into a form of a system theory, which insisted that the dynamics of Government of Zazzau could be reconstructed without reference to the economic and social systems. This is demonstrated in his examination of the Government of Zazzau as a distinct system with its own dynamics related to but separate from the social system in which it was found. It also perceived Zazzau as a tribal society where all social-political activity took place on tribal basis between two opposing groups i.e. Habe and the Fulani. This explained all the mistakes and misrepresentations of facts as explained by Y.B.Usman.¹⁹ The Book also misunderstood the real nature of Zazzau society. The chronology of Fulani rulers of Zaria as provided in the book is also defective.²⁰

Despite the above shortcomings the book will be useful to us in reconstructing the system of administration of Zazzau from the pre-colonial times to 1902. We can also have information concerning the Jihad in Zaria and the establishment of Fulani rule. The book also provides information on the process of the intervention of Britain on the local activities of the people of Zaria.

Another work by M.G. Smith, *The economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria*²¹ is also very relevant. It is a socio-economic survey of the settlements of the Northern half of Zaria. This was to determine the level of income gained by the various individual families and occupational groups as well as the nature and pattern of their spending.²² M.G. Smith started by examining the "Social structure of the communities under study before moving to discuss the household spending or what

¹⁸ M.G. Smith, *Government of Zazzau*, London, 1970

¹⁹ Y.B. Usman, "The problem of ethnic categories in the study of the Historical Development of the Central Sudan: A critique of M.G. Smith and others", Pp.1-10

²⁰ Murray Last. A solution to dynastic chronology in 19th century, Zaria and kano "JHSN, vol.111, NO.3(DEC.1966)PP461 - 468

²¹ M.G. Smith, *The economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria*, London, 1955

²² Ibid

he called the modern Economy. The book has some problems one of which is the racist anthropological perception of viewing the society as essentially ethnically divided in which all social and economic relations were ethnically structured. It is wrong to view Zaria in the 1950's in this light. This is because the society of Zaria by this time was so highly integrated that distinctions were made only on occupational, ward or lineage basis. The major strength of the book lies on its comprehensive information and in-depth analysis on the income of various groups and their spending patterns.

The book *Dynastic chronology of Fulani Zaria* by F.C. Smith²³ is relevant to our study. The work is fundamentally an attempt to draw attention to some of the defects associated with the dynastic chronology of the 19th century rulers of Zaria as suggested by M.G. Smith.²⁴ H.F.C. Smith argued that the error arose as a result of over reliance on sources that were defective. He went on to point out that such errors in dating were capable of jeopardising the whole thesis with regards to the reasons why political events took place. He further argued that the task of the Historian is to establish sound chronology by all means possible or to admit the limitations of his reconstruction.²⁵ The strength of the article lies in its ability to direct our attention to the issue of the dynastic chronology of Zaria as well as the need to establish a reliable dynastic chronology for 19th century Zaria. Its limitation lies in its inability to provide us with a solution to the problem in question.

Another article is the “solution to the problems of the dynastic chronology in 19th century Zaria and Kano,”²⁶ *JHSN* vol.111, No.3 Dec. 1966, by D.M. Last is also relevant for our study. The work was fundamentally a response to the question of the dynastic chronology in 19th century

²³ F.C Smith *Dynastic chronology of Fulani Zaria*, *JHSN*, II: 2, 1961

²⁴ M.G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau*, London, 1960; S.J. Hogben and A.H.M. Kirk Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, Oxford, 1966, P. 236-237

²⁵ H.F.C. Smith, *The dynastic chronology of Fulani Zaria*, op-cit.

²⁶ D.M Last, solution to the problems of the dynastic chronology in 19th century Zaria and Kano,”²⁶ *JHSN* vol.111, No.3 Dec. 1966

Zaria raised by H. F. C. Smith. It started with an over view of the Jihad in Zaria and Kano that led to the establishment of the two Emirates. It then went on to argue that it is imperative in order to put the Zaria Jihad in its new perspective to view it in relation to the campaigns in the neighboring states of Kano and Katsina as well as with the main campaigns of Shehu Usman Dan Fodio and his jama'a.²⁷ The strength of the article lies in its ability to reconstruct the dynastic chronology of Zaria and Kano using primary sources such as Taqyid al akhbar by Qadi Muhammad b. Salih, Infaq al Maisur by Muhammad Bello. However, the article suffers from a limitation, which lies on its inability to give a detailed and comprehensive study on the jihad in Birnin Zaria.

Another invaluable material consulted for the study is 'Before Zaria: Evidence for Kankuma (Kangoma) and its successor states, by D. M. Last. The article is a study on the earlier inhabitants of Zaria. It provided different hypotheses on the origin of the founders of Birnin Zaria. It pointed out that Zaria had existed as a kingdom under different name before the 15th century and that its rulers were Kamuku and not Hausa. It also argued that the Kwangoma federation was successor heir to the Nok culture and that Zaria emerged only in the 16th century as a result of a split of the kingdom at Turunku. The article concludes that it was this development that led to the Hausa rule from c.1641.²⁸ It should however be noted that by this date Zaria had already become the capital city of Zazzau.²⁹

Apart from the above flaw in Murray Last's argument, there are other weaknesses. One is that, there is no systematic analysis of the lexical structure, meaning or phonological form to demonstrate empirically that consonant /k/ in the word Kan/k/uma can be changed to either Kwan/g/oma or /G/unguma or even when it is changed it will refer to Kankuma. Secondly, there is

²⁷ D.M Last, 'A solution to the problems of dynastic chronology in 19th century Zaria and Kano,' *JHSN*, vol. Iii, No._3 (Dec. 1966) pp.461-462

²⁸ D.M Last, 'Before Zaria: Evidence for Kankuma (Kwangoma) and its successor states', in Y.B. Usman et al (eds) *Facts and values in the Nigerian historiography*. U p. 80

²⁹ Enoch O Oyedele, *Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913 – 1960*, Ph d thesis A.B.U. Zaria, 1987, p.54

no any systematic linguistic analysis or corroboration in all written king list or written internal sources available to suggest that /Gumguma/ was ever written as /Kankuma/. Thirdly, there is no tradition which indicate that the name Zazzau was ever written or known by he name of /Gumguma or /Kankuma.³⁰

(b) UNPUBLISHED WORKS

A number of unpublished materials were also used in the work. These were made up of seminar papers and theses. Few are worth mentioning here.

The papers presented at the History workshop constituted parts of the major unpublished works used for this work. The workshop was organised by the Northern History Research Scheme under the Department of History A. B. U. Zaria in 1979. The aim of the workshop was to improve public knowledge about the history of Zaria.³¹ The following papers were presented at the workshop:

- 1) Tarihin gidan Katuka a Zaria, by Alhaji Muhammadu Fagachi Zazzau.
- 2) Tarihin Fulanin, Anguwar Juma Birnin Zaria a takaice, by Alhaji Abubakar Sadiq Abbas,
- 3) Zazzau ko Kasar Zazzau-kafin jihadi, by A. R, Nuhu,
- 4) Tarihin zuwan Turawa Zaria (daga 1903 - 1975), by Alhaji Bello Usman.
- 5) Politics in Zaria, 1900-1975, by Muhammadu Jumare.

The papers taken together are relevant to our research they provide us with a variety of information about Zaria such as the early history of Zaria, the history of the evolution of some settlements (quarters) within the city, emergence of lineage groups, the jihad in the Birni, the process leading to the emergence of the four ruling dynasty, British penetration and final conquest of Zaria and so on. However the papers suffer from one basic problem that got to do with the

³⁰ Mahdi Adamu,

³¹ Alhaji Bala Kuki, A key note address at the workshop on the history of Zaria by the Commissioner for Education, Kaduna state, 1979

failure of most of the authors of the papers to mention the source of their information or how they came about it.

Another paper of importance is the economy of a Hausa capital: Zaria in the 18th and 19th centuries by Mahdi Adamu.³² The paper is essentially a study on the dominant position of cities in the economic life of the people of Hausa land in general and Zaria in particular. The paper opens with an attempt to trace the early history of Zaria, which the paper attributed to the 15th century. It then went on to examine the major activities through which people satisfied their economic requirements before 1900 A.D. This included agriculture, crafts, commerce, and the service industry and government service. It argued that even though most of the production was done in the rural areas, it was the state headquarters through their multi functional roles, which determined quality and styles of products. The strength of the paper lies in its ability to provide us information on the economy of Birnin Zaria before about 1900.

The development and functions of city walls in the Savannah belt of the Nigerian area by Bala Achi³³ was also consulted for this study. The thesis examines the development and major functions of city walls in the Savannah area from 1100 A.D. to 1903 A.D. It examines the emergence and the consolidation of the power of the Sarki, sources of wealth and of labour of the city and the types of relationships that existed between the city and the peripheral towns and villages. The strength of the thesis rests on its detail and in-depth analysis on city Walls and their functions. However, the work is limited in the sense that the area of study was just discussed in one chapter.

³² Mahdi Adamu, the economy of a Hausa capital: Zaria in the 18th and 19th centuries HRAA vol. Vi 1981

³³ Bala Achi, The development and functions of city walls in the Savanna belt of the Nigerian area M.A. Thesis ABU, Zaria, 1985

Another thesis by Enoch Oyedele, colonial urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960 was also useful.³⁴ It is a study on colonial urbanization. The thesis traced the process of urbanization on the Zaria plains to the second half of the first millennium A.D. It should be noted that the large towns on the Zaria plains were linked directly to the smaller towns and villages through the payment of taxes and tributes. It examines the nature and scope of urbanization on the plains Zaria in the pre-colonial period. The major aspects of the urbanization process in Hausa land before 1900 was also highlighted in the thesis. This includes the centrality of agriculture and industrial production in urbanization, close economic and²² cultural interdependence, of the towns and rural hinterland, migration, religion and revolutionary movements.

The work is rich in details and comprehensive, but our study area was not treated in some details. However, this notwithstanding the work was useful in reconstructing the early history of Birnin Zaria.

History of Sabon Gari, Zaria, 1911-1950: A study of colonial urban Administration by Author Dhiliwayo³⁵ was also used for the research. The thesis is a study on colonial urbanization and Administration with particular reference to Sabon Gari Zaria. The thesis demonstrated that colonial Sabon Gari in Zaria was not planted on a virgin soil but on an area, which had along tradition of urbanization. The exact nature and processes in the establishment of the settlement, which developed into Birnin Zaria and the inception of the process of the growth of the city are still matters of speculation and heated debate. This is reflected in the number of versions relating to the origins of the city. The work is generally rich in details. But our area of study was not discussed in detailed. However, despite this shortcoming the book was useful to our study in the sense that it gave us insight into the process leading to the establishment, of Birnin Zaria.

³⁴ Enoch Oyedele, colonial urbanization in Northern Nigeria: Kaduna 1913-1960 (Ph.D. thesis ABU, Zaria, 1987

³⁵ Author Dhiliwayo, History of Sabon Gari, Zaria, 191.1-1950: A study of colonial urban Administration Ph.D. thesis ABU, Zaria, 1986

CHAPTER ONE THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF BIRNIN ZARIA

1.0 INTRODUCTION:

This chapter attempts to examine the natural environment of Birnin Zaria with a view to finding out its relevance to the development and interpretation of the course of human history in Birnin Zaria up to the beginning of the 20th century. In the course of doing so, particular attention shall be paid to such environmental features as, the geology, topography, climate, soil, fauna and flora of the area.

A close study of the natural environment in the historical development of any society is imperative. This is because it is only when the environmental background to man's activities is properly established that we can have a proper grasp of the dynamics of human development. This assumption is based on the fact that the first premise of history is the existence of man, whose primary role in historical development is the production of goods and services to satisfy his needs.³⁶ Hence, there is a dialectical relationship between man and his environment, which creates inter-relationship between man and nature. That is to say while the environment plays a major role in shaping human history, man also shapes and utilizes the environment for his benefits depending on the level of man's technological development.

There are two dominant views in relation to how a historian looks at and studies his environment. One of the views tends to see man as a passive actor in his environment and therefore only adopts himself to it and nothing else, while the other view insists on the centrality of man in influencing, and controlling his environment. Karl Marx clearly demonstrated man as a socially active producer:

³⁶ Karl Marx, *Capital: A critique of political economy*, vol. One, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, p.175

(Man)... confronts the material of nature as one of his own forces. He sets in motion arms, legs, heads and hands, the natural forces of his body in order to appropriate the material of nature in a form suitable for his own needs. By thus acting through this motion on the nature, which is outside him and changing it, he at the same time changes his own nature.³⁷

In our discussions here, we did not view the relationship between the natural environment and man from the deterministic perspective in which man is always responding passively to environmental factors. Instead, we see the relationship as a dynamic one involving a two way process in which the two actively interact with one another resulting in peculiar cultural and socio-economic developments.

2. GEOLOGY

Zaria is located between Latitudes 11°4'N and Longitudes 7°42' E. It forms a vast plain (penne plain) worn down through geological time dotted with crystalline rocks of long antiquity dating to the pre-Cambrian age.³⁸ These materials are hard contorted and foliated rocks, consisting mainly of gneisses, schist, biotites and quartzite.³⁹ These were good materials for the production of stone tools. This may explain the presence of assemblage of stone stools on the Zaria plains.

Lateritic ironstone also developed during the Pliocene period, which was covered in most areas by Pleistocene alluvial deposits consisting of clay, sands and gravels ranging between 12.32 and 24.64 meters thick.⁴⁰ This formed an important source of iron ore. There are evidences in the form of iron slags and abandoned smelting ovens, in many parts

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ The Leverhulme Trust, *The West Africa Commission 1938 – 1939, Technical Reports*, Waterlow and sons Ltd London, 1943, p.9

³⁹ *Ibid.* P.9

⁴⁰ Wright J.B. and McCurry P. "Geology" in M.J. Mortimore (ed) *Zaria and its Region*, Geography Department occasional paper No.4, 1970, pp 8-10

of Zaria, which suggests that the early inhabitants of Zaria effectively harnessed such resources for their use.⁴¹

3. TOPOGRAPHY:

The topography of Zaria consists of gently undulating plains that extend almost unbroken from Sokoto to Lake Chad and beyond.⁴² The highest part of the Zaria plains is over 831.6 meters.⁴³ Hilly features of two kinds characterize the plains. These are rocks inselbergs and lateritic ironstone capped mesas. The inselbergs vary considerably in dimension and shape. They are both found within and outside the *Birni* in areas like Kufena, Madarkachi, Tukur-Tukur, Dumbi, Hange and Fantambari.⁴⁴ The Mesas are less conspicuous because they are partly hidden by woody bushes. They rise to a height of 4.62 to 15.4 meters thick.⁴⁵ Excellent examples of Mesas are found in few areas such as Kofar Fada, Anguwan Juma and Jamawa.

There are three dominant granitic outcrops in Birnin Zaria namely: Kufena, Madarkachi and Tukur-Tukur hills. They are enclosed within a single wall, which form the setting of an old legend centred on two giants who lived at the top of the hills and ate from a common bowl placed in between them. According to the legend Madarkachi was so named because Madara, who lived on the hilltop, was asked by one of the other giants, “*Madara kaci?*” i.e. “Madara have you eaten?”⁴⁶

The physical environment of Birnin Zaria seems to have contributed in determining not only the settlement pattern of the area, but also its economic, social and cultural

⁴¹ Sutton, J.E.G. “Iron-working around Zaria,” *ZAP* 8, 1976, pp1-20

⁴² Thorp, M.B. “Landforms” in Mortimore, M.J. (ed), *Zaria and its region*, *op-cit*, p.13.

⁴³ Reuben K. Udo, *Geographical Regions of Nigeria*, Heinemann, London, 1970, p158

⁴⁴ Thorp M.B. “Landforms” in *Zaria and its Region*, *op cit* p 15-17

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Urquhart, A.W, *planned urban landscapes of Northern Nigeria*, Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zaria, 1977, p.10

activities as well as its security system. In the first instance, its geographical features especially the inselbergs encouraged the concentration of population around them, which facilitated the process of urbanization in Birnin Zaria.

The inselbergs were also used for military purposes for they provided defence against external invasions and were also ideal in serving the religious needs of the society.⁴⁷ It was these factors that served as a catalyst to population growth, the formation of village settlements, the emergence of new social and religious associations and patterns of authority that transcended family structures on the Zaria plains. These included associations or social relations of production based on age groups or occupations such as hunting and priesthood.

Unmistakable evidence of early settlement abounds on the inselbergs. These include the ruins (*kufai*) of ancient buildings, grinding hollows, potsherds and stone implements which can still be found on or around the inselbergs.⁴⁸

Secondly, the unique geographical features of the Zaria area combined with its good climate and vegetation influenced the practice of agriculture and crafts in Birnin Zaria, which also prepared the ground for the development of some forms of organised political communities that later transformed into centralised political institutions in Zaria.

4. HYDROLOGY:

The topography and climate of the region have significant impact on the hydrology and the amount of water that is available at any given time within the year. Both surface

⁴⁷ Abdullahi Smith, "The early States of the Central Sudan", in, George Kwanashie et al (eds), *A little new light*, selected Historical writings of Abdullahi Smith, 1987

⁴⁸ Sutton J.E.G; Kufena and its Archaeology" *ZAP 15*, 1977, p.10-23; *Guide to Zaria*, Zaria field society, 1978, p.27.

and underground water are available in the hydrological zones. The more humidity in the microclimate the more water was available. The water on the plains of Zaria was drained in the River Saye to the South, River Kubanni to the North and River Galma to the east. These rivers in turn empty their waters in River Kaduna. Within Birnin Zaria it-self there are several streams, which flow into these Rivers. Most of the streams are perennial in that they are subject to great seasonal fluctuations in water level. In the dry season, the smaller rivers have little or no water in them. However they usually get flooded during the rainy season. These seasonally flooded lands (*fadamas*) are very important as valuable agricultural lands. Crops like sugar cane, rice, onions, tomatoes and tobacco were extensively cultivated in the *fadamas*. The ground water level also falls rapidly during the dry season as a result of seepage, extraction or by high-density evapo-transpiration. However the water table in Zaria is usually quite high and wells are sunk to a comparatively shallow depth of about 15.4meters.

Streams that traversed the plains of Birnin Zaria and flow into these rivers included Kamacha. This stream rises from River Saye and then branches into two, one passing through Rimin Danza, Anguwan Fatika, Fanwanki and Gangaren Tukurwa. The other branch passes outside Kofar Jatau and Government Day Secondary School Kofar Tukur-Tukur into Gangaren Tukurwa where it joins again with the other branch and continues through Magume and Gaskiya in Tudun Wada and finally drains into River Kubanni. The second stream is Rafin Sarki, which flows from Fadamar Bono, located around Babban Dodo in the heart of Birnin Zaria and passes through Kaura and then separates with one part passing through Anguwan Liman, Hancin Kare, and Kofar Kona and empties itself into River Saye. While the other branch passes through areas between Anguwan Kaura and

Anguwan Bishar into Kofar Kona and drains into River Saye. The third stream rises from Jakara by the Zaria city market and passes through the ward of Kusfa to the River Saye. The last of these streams flows Southeast rising from the inselberg of Madarkachi passing through Fafanya, Bula, and Kusfan Batso and empties its waters into the Saye River.⁴⁹

The significance of these streams to the pattern of the historical evolution of Birnin Zaria could be seen from the fact that they encouraged and supported the establishment and growth of human settlements in the *Birni*. This was because the streams provided not only source of good drinking water for the inhabitants and their livestock but also clay for making pots, abundant grass for feeding animals, good *fadama* land for both rainy and dry seasons farming activities, fish for protein and so on and a good drainage system.

5. SOILS:

Soils are formed by the action of moisture; vegetation; animals and man on the loose products formed by the weathering of rocks.⁵⁰ Climatic conditions are involved at every stage of these processes. Hence, there is a broad parallelism between soil types and the main climatic belts.⁵¹

Most of the soils in the Zaria area fall under the leached ferruginous (*jangargari/jarkasa*) tropical soils. While the soils near the inselbergs may be classified as weakly developed soils the *Fadama* soils are described as hydromorphic soils which are more fertile for agricultural purposes.⁵²

⁴⁹ See Thorp M.B. "Landforms" in Mortimore M.J. (ed) Zaria and its region, *op.cit.* Pp.13 – 14; Ogujumbi, A, *Hydrogeology of past Galma Basin, B.S.C. Geology*, ABU, Zaria 1983; Adeyemi, A.G. *Geology and hydrogeology of Zaria*, 1983; Adedeju M.A. Hydrogeology of the Kubanni Drainage Basin, Zaria, *B.SC Sociology*, A.B.U. Zaria 1976.

⁵⁰The Lever hulme Trust, The West Africa Commission, *op cit.* p.9.

⁵¹ *Ibid* p.9

⁵² K. Klinkenberg, "Soils" in Zaria and its Region, *Op cit.* p.58.

A close study of the soils of the area indicates that the lower part of the soil is derived insitu from the underlying weathered gneiss and contains pieces of quartz and mica. While the upper part is a mixture of similar material combined with transported, probably wind blown particles.⁵³

The process of soils formation is characterized by the accumulation of clay between a depth of 36 and 119cm. Iron deposits are found below the layer of clay, which is indicated by the appearance of red mottles. At the lower level hard iron concretions are found. Higher up the slope, there is an improvement in the drainage conditions and the soils are generally reddish in colour. There is complete absence of mottles at this level, although a few may occur at greater depths. But generally, iron concretions are absent at such levels.

The soils gradually become greyer in colour, lower down the slope and there is the occurrence of mottled horizon nearer to the surface. There is increase in the number of iron concretions here, while in some places iron pan can be seen out cropping at lower slope positions.

The soils in the *fadama* areas are mostly dark grey clays with poor drainage. The soils here have been formed mostly with alluvial material. They are therefore rich in nutrients and have a good water supply in excess that persists in the dry season. Because of the fertility of the soil, various crops like rice, sugar cane, cassava, indigo, vegetables and tobacco are grown on the *fadama* soil all the year round in areas like Kamacha, Tukur-Tukur, Tukurwa, Fadamar Bono and so on.⁵⁴ Lateritic iron pan features prominently in many places at the level of about 700m (2,300 ft), which looks hard and vesicular in appearance and it sometimes contain quartz.

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 55.

⁵⁴ Urquhart, A.W. planned urban landscapes, *op cit.* Pp.20-21.

Deep soils usually occur in areas around the granitic inselbergs. The soils consist mainly of weathered materials and they also contain a lot of un-weathered fragments of quartz and feldspar. Very deep red clay soils are found further away from the inselbergs. The soils are mottled and generally of a grey colour in the lower slopes and in poorly drained areas.

Most of the soils contain 30-40 percent⁵⁵ of clay at a reasonable depth and this allows for good moisture retention. The soils are inherently rather poor and cannot therefore sustain intensive agriculture for long without the use of fertilizer. To maintain the fertility of the soil, farmers in the area used the method of shifting cultivation and bush fallow in agricultural production, which replaced permanent cultivation.⁵⁶

The significance of the soil type can be seen in the predominance of agriculture as the main occupation of the people of Zaria. The plains of Zaria with their comparatively fertile soils and reliable rainfall attracted human settlement for at least 2,000 years.⁵⁷

6. CLIMATES

The climate of an area plays a significant role in relation to its effect on the character of vegetation as well as the people's way of life and their pattern of economic activities.⁵⁸ For this reason, the climate of Zaria deserves a closer examination here.

⁵⁵ K. Klmkenberg, "Soils" in Zaria and its region,, *op cit.* P.58

⁵⁶Urquhart A.W. Planned urban landscapes, *op cit.* P.26.

⁵⁷ *ibid.* P26.

⁵⁸Reuben K. Udo, "Environments and peoples of Nigeria", in Obaro Ikime (ed), *Ground work of Nigerian history*, Heinemann Educational Books Plc, 1980, p.10.

Zaria belongs to the tropical continental climate and it is characterized by distinct wet and dry seasons. The wet season occurs between April and October, while the dry season occurs between November and April. The annual rainfall of the area is 43.0 inches.⁵⁹ The mean daily maximum temperature of Zaria shows a major peak in April and a minor one in October. The daily maximum temperature rises gradually from January and attains its highest level in April then drops rapidly to its lowest level in August.

The climate of Zaria is influenced by two distinct air masses that bring about rainy and dry seasons. One of them is the N.E. Tropical Continental air mass. It comes from the Sahara Desert between October and May and its dusty dry wind brings about the dry season. The other air mass is the S.W. Tropical maritime, which comes across the Atlantic. It is warm and wet and brings with it rains.⁶⁰

The people of Zaria were greatly influenced by the climatic condition of the area in two fundamental ways. Firstly, the occurrence of the seasons over the years enabled the people to divide the year into seasons. Secondly, the two dominant seasons, i.e. wet and dry seasons influenced and determined the economic and social activities of the people in the area. For instance, the wet season is always the busiest period of the year. This is mainly because farming was and still is the major activity in Zaria. The dry season is the period of bush clearance, preparation of seedlings, building of new huts, hunting, fishing, festivities, long-term trading expedition, marriage celebrations, formerly slave raids and wars.⁶¹ Any attempt to study the climate of Zaria should take the various seasons of the year into consideration. These are: *Damina, Marka, Kaka* and *Bazara*.

a. DAMINA:

⁵⁹ P.N. Hore, "Weather and climate," in Zaria and its Region, *op.cit.* P.41

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 41-42.

⁶¹ M.G Smith, *Government in Zazzau*, London, 1970, P.1

Damina (wet season) usually commences in the Zaria area between late April and early May. It is influenced by the movement in the surface position of Inter Tropical Discontinuity (ITD) further north.⁶² The onset of rainy season (*Damina*) is usually heralded by fierce storms, which is often destructive to lives and properties. After the first rainfall *ruwan Shuka* or *ruwan farko*, cereals like millet (*gero*) and guinea corn (*dawa*) are usually planted almost at the same time. Crops like rice (*shinkafa*), tiger nut (*aya*), peanut (*gyada*); maize (*masara*) and indigo (*baba*) follow shortly thereafter. The first weeding of the plant takes place after two to three weeks. This is normally described as *noman fari*. This involves a process popularly known as *chiro* where by the farmer reduces the shoots leaving the plants to sprout in twos or threes. This enhances the growth of the plants. Manure is also applied in order to increase the nutrient content of the soil for the plants to grow well.

The second weeding of crops takes place after four to five weeks. This is known as *maimai* and it involves repeating the same process as the first weeding. From the commencement of rainfall onwards the monthly rainfall increases in each successive month till August, which is the wettest month. The *Damina* is often the busiest and critical moment of the farming season. The important farming activities during this period include sowing and planting of seeds as well as weeding. Children and women do the sowing and planting while men mostly do the weeding.

b. MARKA:

This is used to describe the peak of *Damina*. It is characterised by low temperature, high humidity and frequency of high rainfall. This normally took place around August to

⁶²P.N. Hore, "Weather and climate", in *Zaria and its region, op cit.* P 50.

September. It is observed that there is cessation of rigorous farming activities during this period. This is because by this period most crops are either ready for harvest or at the ripening stage. The main agricultural activities at this stage included the harvesting of early crops such as millet (*gero*), groundnut (*gyada*) and planting of late crops like beans (*wake*) and potatoes (*dankali*). Then there might be *bankasa* (ploughing of corn ridges). Most harvesting activities were done by women, while men do the ploughing.

c. KAKA:

This marks the period of less frequent rains before it finally ceases in October. The *kaka* (dry season) normally commences from September to early October when the ITD starts moving southwards with the dry northeasterly air replacing the moist southwesterly air from the surface winds. This event hastens the ripening process of crops, which is followed by its harvest and storage. Children and women help in the harvesting, processing and storage of the crops. The period after all crops might have been harvested and properly stored for future use was usually a period of intense socio- cultural activities such as thanks giving ceremonies, hunting, wedding, festivals, long-distance trading activities, building of new houses and so on.

d. BAZARA:

This is the period of transition between the dry and rainy seasons. It is a very hot uncomfortable season, which last until the new rains cools down the earth once again. It is the Northward movement of the ITD that causes *Bazara* across the latitude of Zaria and its environs. This is marked by a change in the direction of the surface winds and the moisture

content of the air.⁶³ The *Bazara* often commences in March and reaches its peak in April/May. It is characterized by the rise in temperature and low-level of relative humidity.

Due to excessive evapotranspiration both surface and underground water dwindles as discussed earlier on. This often causes adverse effect on vegetation and soils as well as human and animal life. The *Bazara* is always a time of preparation for the next farming season, which involves bush clearing and burning. Men primarily did this activity. Bush burning sometimes has adverse effect on vegetation resulting in the reduction of a densely forested area to a mere grassy and bushy one.

7. VEGETATION:

Zaria belongs to what plant geographers describe as the Northern Guinea Savannah zone.⁶⁴ This vegetation zone is characterized by the presence of variety of trees scattered among the savannah grassland. The vegetation of Zaria like that of any other area is influenced largely by four factors such as climate, soil, relief and man.⁶⁵ Over the years, as a result of the exceptional ability of man not only to adopt himself to the natural environment, but also to radically transform it to satisfy his needs,⁶⁶ the vegetation of the area is greatly modified by human activities.⁶⁷ It is on the basis of such human activities, that the vegetation of Zaria can in reality be classified into *Karkara*, *Saura* and *Daji*.

a. KARKARA:

Karkara is a Hausa word that describes such vegetation zone as the one surrounding the settlements within the immediate vicinity of the *Birni* and its environs. It is an area of

⁶³ See M.J. Mortimore (ed) Zaria and its Region, *op cit*; Reuben K. Udo "Environments and peoples of Nigeria" in Obaro Ikime, Groundwork, of Nigerian History *opcit*; Reuben K. Udo, *comprehensive geography of West Africa*, 1916; Staundinger Paul, *In the Heart of Hausa States* vol. 2, Ohio, 1990; Ferguson, D.B, Nineteenth Century Hausa land *PhD thesis* U.C.L.A. 1973.

⁶⁴ Jackson, G. "Vegetation around the city and nearby villages of Zaria", in Zaria and its region, *op cit*. p. 61

⁶⁵ NP, Iloeje, *A new geography of Nigeria*, Longman, Nigeria Ltd, 1965, p. 70

⁶⁶ Alahira, H. A., "Ecology and development: conceptualizing the problem of pastoralism in Nigeria", a paper presented at the International workshop on ecology and society in the History of Africa Sahel Savannah, at the University of Maiduguri, 22nd –28th September 1991, p.6

⁶⁷ "Guide to Zaria", *op cit*, p. 26; NP, Iloeje, *A new geography of Nigeria* *op-cit*, p. 71.

permanent cultivation with useful trees scattered over a large expanse of land. A good description of the *Karkara* can be glanced from Clapperton's report when he visited Zaria in the nineteenth century as follows:

... within about 4 or 5 miles of Zaria, the country becomes altogether clear of wood: except a patch here and there, all was in pasture, or planted with rice, millet and *daura*. Herds of beautiful cattle were feeding in the valleys, or lying chewing the cud on the higher grounds. Zaria is known by its tall trees, like long avenue of gigantic poplars (*rimi*) running across the horizon from north to south, stretching from the south end of one detached mount to the end of another.⁶⁸

The most common trees associated with the *Karkara* in the Zaria area are the locust bean trees *dorawa* (*parkia clappertoniana*), *kuka* (*Adonsonia digitata*), *tsamiya* (*tamarindus indica*), *rimi* (*ceiba petandra*), *durumi* (*ficus polita*), *chediya* (*ficus thoninga*), and *giginya* (*Borassus flabely*). These trees are commonly associated with human habitations.⁶⁹ In other words the presence of these trees in clusters is indicators of early occupation sites. Their presence on the plains of Zaria is attributable to their economic value for the people of the area. For instance the seeds of *dorawa* were utilized in the preparation of popular food seasoning locally known as *daddawa*, which formed an important trade commodity with states such as Katsina, Kano, Sokoto and as far as Borno.⁷⁰ While the husk of its fruits was used in the plastering (*dabe*) of mud buildings and in the construction of walls, the yellowish pulp was eaten directly after opening the pod of the fruit.⁷¹ Its bark was also

⁶⁸ Clapperton H. *Journal of a second expedition into the interior parts of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Socatto*, London, 1966.

⁶⁹ H. V., Lely, *The useful trees of Northern Nigeria*, London, 1925.

⁷⁰ Barth H. *Travels and Discoveries in north and central Africa*, 111, 1890, p. 98

⁷¹ J. O. Okpala, "Nigerian tree crops: parkia in the economy of the Savannah rural population" in *Savannah vol. 10 No. 2*, 1989, P.94

utilised in the treatment of diseases as well as in tanning of leather. The leaves of *kuka* (boabab) were used in the preparation of nutritious soup locally known as *miyan kuka*.

Rimi trees produce fibres that were used for making local clothes, pillows, cushions and mattresses. The wood of the tree was used for making canoes and for military purposes such as *lifidi* (quilted armour for horses). Apart from these the *rimi* trees also served some strategic military functions. They were used as spy posts against the approach of enemies.⁷² Another important economic tree was the *giginya* tree. Almost every part of it was of utilitarian value. The stem of the tree was cut into pieces to make *azara* (a termite proof beam) used in roofing. This was because of its stiffness and its ability to withstand attacks from insects and decays.⁷³ The fruit was eaten and the seeds were planted to get tubers known as *muruchi*, while the fronds were used in making ropes and baskets.⁷⁴ The fruit of *tsamiya* was used in the preparation of food and for medicinal purposes. It was also a host to one of the wild silkworms (*tsutsar tsamiya*), which was of great economic value because of the silk fibres it produces which was important in the production of expensive thread known as *zaren tsamiya* useful in embroidery.

The *dinya* (*vitrox donniana*) is used in making *madi* and *alewa* (local sweet). While the tree was useful for keeping of beehives, its leaves were used for making local ink known as *tawada*. The wood like that of *dorawa* and *tsamiya* are useful in making agricultural and household implements such as hoes (*fartanya*), axes (*gatari*), mortars (*turmi*), pestles (*tabarya*), and stools (*kujeru*). *Dabino* (phoenix *dactilifera*), *gwanda* (corica papaya) and melon (*citrullus vulgaris*) were utilized as fruits. Lalle, a plant belonging to the *lythraceae* family of the henna of the Arabs *lawsonia inermis* was used to dye the hands,

⁷²Oral sources, Alhaji Aminu Yakubu Wambai, Age 48 years, 19th August 2005

⁷³Dalziel, J. M., *The useful plants of West Africa*, 1916, p.496

⁷⁴ An economic survey of Kaduna state agriculture, (*Ministry of Economic Development, Kaduna state*), 1979, Pp.155-159.

palms, and finger nails by women. It is said that a ward (Anguwan Lalle) in Birnin Zaria derived its name because of the preponderance of *lalle* in the area. The *Bagaruwa* tree was used for leather tanning, while *Kore* (*Irgenaria vulgaris*) was employed in the production of household utensils in the form of durable and light bowls and bottles.

The *kuka* (boabab), *tsamiya* (*trimindus*) and *rimi* (silk cotton) trees occupied a significant place in the religious belief of the people of the Zaria area. These trees were believed to be the habitat of *iskoki* (spirits). This was true of other states of Hausa land especially Katsina and Kano.⁷⁵ In Birnin Zaria, the *rimaye* located in the northwest around the gate of Kofar Jatau were also associated with great *iskoki*. There is also a ward known as Rimin Danza inside Zaria, which was believed to have been a centre of religious worship from the earliest time of the history of the kingdom. The name of the kingdom Zazzau was reputed to have been named after the sword manufactured by a great blacksmith known as Danzau. He was engaged in blacksmithing under a *rimi* tree popularly known as Rimin Danza. The cultivation of soil and the preponderance of economic trees that have some economic and religious significance are indications of the close material and spiritual bond uniting the *Zazzagawa* to the environment and ecology of *Kasar Zazzau*.

b. SAURA:

This is the next vegetation belt after the *karkara*. It is made up of fallow land where cultivation had ceased temporarily in order to allow the soil to regain its fertility. The most common vegetation in this *saura* zone are bushes, shrubs and grasses, which consisted mostly of *kadanya* (shea butter), *ciwo* (thebeica), *kaba* (palm frond), *sabara*, *kanya* (*Diospyos mespiliformis*), *adduwa* (*Balanites aegyptica*), *kurna* (*Ziziphus spina Christi*),

⁷⁵See Y. B. Usman, The transformation of Katsina, *op.cit.*

gawo (acacia), *magarya* (*Ziziphus jujuba*), *kalgo* (*Bauhinia thonningii*), and various type of grasses. These trees are of immense economic importance to the people of Zaria. For example the *kadanya* was utilized as cooking fat, illumine, medicinal ointment, hair dresser and soap.⁷⁶ *Ciwo* was eaten as fruit, while *kaba* was used to make ropes and mats and as source of firewood. The leaves of *sabara* were utilized in the preparation of medicine for the treatment of such ailment as, bilhazia, and stomach-related complaints and as prophylactic against leprosy. The seeds of *kanya* were eaten as fruits. The *adduwa* fruits were mixed with flour to make *adduwa* cakes. *Kurna* tree had berries that were eaten dried. Acacia was employed to make ink and dye. *Magarya* or “*jijjube*” was used for medicinal purposes, while *kalgo*, *geza* and other scrubs were used for firewood. The existence of abundant grasses in the *saura* provided excellent pasture for grazing of animals such as cattle and sheep by both farmers and nomadic Fulani. Apart from serving as pastures the various grasses were also used for making *jinka* (thatch roof), *zana* (used as curtains and for fencing), *kyauro* (arrow), for local pens and light brooms. Some of the major grasses are *gamba* (*Andropogon guyanus*), *gude-gude*, *harkiya* and *tofa* (*imperata sp.*).⁷⁷

c. DAJI:

Daji is used to refer to a bushy or grassy area that is far removed from a permanent settlement. It is usually made up of re-generated Savannah woodland,⁷⁸ which harbours numerous games and spirits (*iskoki*).

The *daji* contains other assorted types of trees of economic significance that were exploited by the people of Zaria. The typical trees of this belt include: *doka* (*isoberlina*

⁷⁶Delziel, J.M. The useful plants of West Africa, *opcit*, P.353.

⁷⁷Nak MOA 2908 Pasture and grazing areas, *op-cit*, P. 41

⁷⁸ Y.B. Usman, The transformation of Katsina.... *opcit*

doka), *madachi* (*khaya senegalensis*), *kadanya* (*Butrysperrum parkia*), *marke* (*Annogeissus schinpen*) and scattered *tukurwa* (*rhapia* trees). The people of Zaria were able to exploit these natural resources from the earliest period to satisfy their needs. For instance the *Daji* provided an area of uncultivated land suitable for animal grazing and hunting. Through these activities, the people of Zaria obtained the following: meat, skin, the hides of Buffalo and other large animals for shield (*garkuwa*), sandals, saddliers, and containers, feathers, horns, animals' dung, for charms and other medicinal purposes and elephant tusk for ivory.

The people of Zaria also exploited other natural resources and economic trees that were available in the *Daji*. These included *kiriya* wood that was used by iron smelters as fuel in their furnaces. *Sansani* was used for charms and a number of curative and preventive preparations. The *maje* (*Dannelles oliveri*) was utilized in the preparation of items for domestic use. These included hoes and knives handles, mortar and pestle, stool and other things.

8. FAUNA:

The nature and characteristics of the fauna in any area is largely hinged on factors such as climate, topography, and the nature of the soil and the extent of human exploitation of the vegetation of the area.⁷⁹ The fauna of Zaria is typical of the savannah belt with its abundant grasses for grazing animals, which attracted predators and cattle rearers into the

⁷⁹ Ibid.

region.⁸⁰ It also harbours a wide range of animals such as large mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, fishes and numerous insects. These influenced human activities in the area.

The common fauna found around Zaria includes horses (dawakai), camels(rakuma), sheep (tumaki), donkeys (jakuna), cattle (shanu), goat (awaki), rams (raguna), turkey (*talotalo*), cat (*mage*), ducks (*agwagi*) pigeons (*tantabaru*), fowls (*kaji*) and dogs (*karnuka*). The people of Zaria were able to domesticate these animals to satisfy their dietary and socio-economic needs. These animals such as donkeys, camels and horses were used as means of transportation and therefore constituted an important source of wealth for their owners, while birds such as ducks, turkeys, pigeons and fowls were important source of proteins. The hide and skin of animals like sheep, cattle and goats were used for several purposes such as whips, bridles, sandals, ropes, throngs and straps, while their bones were incinerated to produce *alli* (white chalk) which was used for cotton spinning and facial decorations.

Predators such as *Zaki* (*pathera loe*) lion, *giwa* (laxodoute Africa) elephant, *damisa* (*pathera pardus*) leopard, *Argeni* (*Acconyx jubetus*) cheetah, *mugun dawa* (*phacocoerus aethopicus*) warth hog, *rakumin daji* (Girrafe canelopardalis) giraffe, *Jan alhanzir* (*potamocheirus purcus*) red river hogs, *Gwanki* (*hippotragus Ezuinus*) Antelope, *Bauna* (*syncerus caffer*) African Buffalo, *Mariri* (*Dryx Dammah*) horned oryz, *Barewa* (*Gazzella Raffi* froms) were in existence in the Zaria area but are now extinct due to the heavy exploitation of the vegetation of the area.

⁸⁰ Thurstan Shaw, Hunters, gatherers, and farmers in West Africa in J.V.S. Megaw(ed), *Hunters, gatherers and first farmers beyond Europe*, Leicester University Press, 1977.

A number of other wild animals could also be observed. These included *Gwaggo* (primates) Baboon, chimpanzee (*lepas glodytes*), *Juda* (vivers civet), *Kurege* (*Anomokus*), *Bushiya* (*Catueix Abirenhide*) hedgehogs, *Zomo* (*Lepus*) African hare. These were found around the inselbergs of Kufena and Dumbi.

Hyenas were also found in great numbers in the Zaria area, which in the past used to roam into the city at night for prey. There is a pond inside Zaria known as akushin Kura that literally means the bowl of hyena around Madaka ward. It is said that hyenas used to assemble there in large numbers in the past to prey on dead animals thrown in the pond. They also preyed on men and animals. Hyenas and monkeys were used for display in market places and wherever people congregated during important occasions. Some people practiced this as an occupation. The people of Zaria were effective hunters and trappers of these predators because of their values as discussed above. The skin of animals such as lions and leopards were used for medicine. Ivory was obtained from the tusk of elephants and constituted a significant item for long distant trade. The horns of some of the animals were used as musical instruments (*kaho*) by musicians.

One of the most striking features of the area was its abundance of variety of lizards such as Agawa (*kutu*), chameleon (*hawainiya*). Snakes (*macizai*) were very rare and out of the 100 snakes type in Nigeria only the savannah species are found in the Zaria area. The venomous snakes are the cobra and viper families. The cobra (*Gamsheka*) have hollow front fangs through which they can inject small quantities of concentrated fast acting venom which attack the nervous system to cause paralysis or heart failure. Other types of snakes included carpet viper (*kububuwa* or *gajera*). Vipers generally inject venom, which attack the blood cells and body tissues causing internal bleeding and tissue bleeding. Also

available was the puff adder (*kasa*). Snake charmers who wrapped them up round their necks or put them in baskets for display collected these different types of snakes. These provided an occupation to some members of the community.

The Zaria region was blessed with a number of birds, which numbered up to 370 species. This included about 225 species, which could be seen throughout the year with many local and long distance migrants at particular seasons. The typical birds of the Zaria area were weaverbirds, (*kanari*), owl (*mujiya*), eagle (*mikiya*), parrot (*Aku*), vultures (*angulu*), cattle egret (*belbela*) and hawks (*shirwa*). Birds were among the food resources that were available to the earliest inhabitant of Zaria.

The environment of Zaria also provides habitats for other small creatures such as insects. The most notorious of these was the tsetse fly, which was rampant since the earliest period in the history of the Kingdom. Their presence may have influenced the movement and settlement of people in the area, as people tended to avoid settlement by riverbanks where the tsetse flies predominated. A contributing factor to the defeat of the Jukun invasion of the area of Zaria was associated with the plague caused by the tsetse flies.⁸¹ Butterflies, (*malam bude littafi*) on the other hand were relatively harmless and commonest insects. A wide variety of Butterflies exist which included papilio and caterpillar. Also a lot of grass hoppers were common and many of them were agricultural pests chewing almost every plant. They were also used as supplementary source of protein for the people. Other pests like the termites (*isoptera*) *gara* are destructive causing great havoc to stored grains. There were also a number of insects that caused health problems. These included

⁸¹ Oral source, Alhaji Abdullahi Aliyu (Wamban Zazzau), Age, 80 years, 10th March 2002.

cockroaches (*kyankyaso*), common flies (*kuda*), Beetle (*gungura kashi*), mosquitoes (*sauro*), tumbu flies and ticks (*kaska*).

Spiders, millipedes, centipedes and scorpions were also found in Zaria. They belong to phylum arthropoda family group. Their numerous legs distinguish them from others. While spiders cause skin diseases, scorpions can cause death. There were several species of scorpions in Zaria area with the small brown species that has the strongest venom as the most dangerous. In addition to these insects there were also bees that provided honey which were used in various kinds of drinks and for medicinal purposes. The silkworm (*Bombyx mori*) *tsutsan tsamiya* was also common in Zaria. It was of economic significance because it provided fibres that were used in the manufacture of expensive clothes popularly known as *rigar tsamiya* as mentioned earlier on. The significance of abundance of games to the people of Zaria was that it provided the basis for the great hunting tradition of the Zaria people.⁸² The role of hunting in the location and relocation of settlements and their boundaries was clearly highlighted by O. Temple.

Hunting plays a major role among those factors which combine to establish and define a territory. When a village is settled the surroundings are explored by these hunters and their expedition: as they blaze the trees to mark their return outline the new domain.⁸³

The oral tradition of the people of Zaria strongly supported the above assertion. It has shown that races of giant hunters like Danzau, Madara and Bono founded early

⁸² Ibrahim M. B., “ *The history of the land of Zazzau*, Gaskiya Corporaion, Zaria, n.d; Bryant K. J., *This is Zaria*, Gaskiya Corporation

⁸³ Mei Illassouux C., *Social organisation of the peasantry*, in Seddons (ed) p. 163

settlements in the Zaria area such as Kufena, Madarkachi as well as areas around the Fadamar Bono within the *Birni*.⁸⁴

The fauna of Zaria is also important in understanding the cosmology, religion and other social practices of the people. For instance myth, proverbs and fables were developed around the behaviour of some of the animals, which were interpreted in terms of human emotions such as joy, beauty, goodness, sadness, greed, trust, mischief, mockery, and delight. Lions were regarded as strong, majestic and brave while antelopes embodied beauty, grace, swiftness and the epitome of beautiful woman. Elephant was portrayed as fat glutton and stupid. Hyena was considered dirty, while baboon was perceived as childish, ugly, forceful, and imitative. These featured prominently in the fables and tales of the *Zazzagawa* people.

⁸⁴ Ibrahim M. B., The History of the land of Zazzau, *op.cit.*

9. CONCLUSION:

From the discussions above, we have highlighted the centrality of the environment in the historical development of the people of Zaria. From our study and understanding of the natural environment of the area we have come to see how the people of Zaria were able to exploit the environment to meet diverse socio-economic needs and subsequent development of Zaria into an important urban centre that played significant role in the socio-economic development of African sub-region.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EMERGENCE OF CENTRALISED POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN ZARIA

1. INTRODUCTION:

An outline of the historical geography of Birnin Zaria was examined in the previous chapter. Our focus is on the emergence of centralized political institutions on the plains of Zaria namely: state formation, kingship and Birnin Zaria as the capital of the state of Zazzau. These institutions were not only related with one another but also intertwined. This was because the emergence and consolidation of one seemed to be directly or indirectly influenced by the others. Therefore, a study of these inter related political institutions will aid our understanding of the historical processes that produced the state system on the Zaria plains.

The emergence of these political institutions seemed to involve the gradual transformation of the pre-existing socio-political formations on the Zaria plains over several centuries. These socio-political formations included the earliest political communities (settlement complexes) that were formed on the Zaria plains and the various political authorities that seemed to have developed from them at the various levels of their transformations.

To reconstruct the historical processes that brought about such political developments, it is imperative to identify and examine some of the early centres of human habitation on the Zaria plains highlighting their evolution and roles in the early phase of the historical processes that gave birth to the emergence of state system on the Zaria plains. The political institution of the state of Zazzau is highlighted. This is followed by a discussion on the processes leading to emergence of the Kingship (*sarauta*) in Zaria and its consolidation to the eve of the Jihad that overthrew it as well as the role of the *sarauta* in the formation of the state of Zazzau and the *Birni*. Finally the

discussion ends with an examination on the emergence of Birnin Zaria as the capital of the state of Zazzau.

2. EARLY SETTLEMENTS:

Traditions collected from our area of study indicate the existence of several ancient settlements at a very early period within the Zaria plains. These were largely focused on the massive granitic outcrops of Kufena, Madarkachi, Turunku, Wuchichchiri, Kargi, and Tukur Tukur. It is however, difficult to say with some degree of certainty, the precise antiquity of these ancient settlements. This is because the state of archaeological study on the area is still in its infancy. However, from the fragmentary evidence so far available to us, it is clear that ancient settlements were in existence since the first millennium A.D.⁸⁵ on the Zaria plains. Through gradual evolution spanning several centuries, these ancient settlements metamorphosed into large urban centres, a development that brought about the evolution of centralized political institutions namely: the formation of the state of Zazzau, the emergence of Birnin Zaria as its capital and the kingship system.

It should be noted that the various centres of human habitation in Zaria never emerged simultaneously at the same time. But rather each settlement seemed to have emerged and developed at its natural pace depending on the prevailing conditions or circumstances working in its favour. Our main source for the reconstruction of these major themes shall be Archaeology, Ethnography, king list and oral traditions.

a. TURUNKU:

⁸⁵ There was quite an impressive archaeological finding on the Zaria area which suggests early human activities on the Zaria region. For details see, Legget, J., "Former hills and inselbergs settlements in the Zaria District" *WAJA Volume II*, Soper, R.S., "Stone Ages in Northern Nigeria," *JHSN II*, 2, p. 180-192; Sutton J.E.G, "Hand axes and other Stone Age finds from Samaru", *ZAP 7, 1976, pp. 1-7*; Sutton J.E.G. "The walls of Zaria and Kufena", *ZAP 11, 1976, pp. 1-18*; Obayemi A, "Aspects of field Archaeology in Hausa land", *ZAP 1*, pp. 1-14; Sutton, J.E.G, "Terra cotta figurine from Zaria", *ZAP 12, 1976*; Sutton, J.E.G. "Kufena and its Archaeology," *ZAP 15, 1977, pp. 1-23*

Turunku is located about 33 kilometres south of Birnin Zaria in the west Bank of the Galma River. It is still not precisely known when man initially inhabited the site. This is because archaeology, which is supposed to be our main source of the early history of the area, is still in its infancy. However, it appears that man has been in continuous occupation of the area since the late Stone Age period. What lends much support to this claim is the evidence derived from archaeological findings on the area that includes stone axes, microliths, grinding stones, rock shelters, terra cotta figurines and other stone implements.⁸⁶

Turunku attracted the earliest community of people into its fold because it was naturally ideal for human habitation for several reasons. One of these reasons was the adequate security offered by the natural fortification of the inselbergs of the area. Secondly, the area was blessed with adequate water supply provided by the many streams and rivers in the area, which had their source from the inselbergs.⁸⁷ Water was essential for both domestic and agricultural activities.⁸⁸ It played important role in urbanization in the savannah region especially after the desiccation of the Sahara more than 1,000 years ago.⁸⁹

The inselbergs of Turunku also appeared to be an important religious centre for the worship of *iskoki*. The worship of *iskoki* seemed to have gained wide currency throughout Hausa land. The great inselbergs of Hausa land were generally believed to be the dwelling places of great *iskoki* (Spirits), which were believed to regulate human life and activities.⁹⁰ Hence, the inselbergs became the main centres of early human settlement. It was the interplay of the factors above that attracted large concentration of human population into the area leading to the formation of a large socio-political organisation and the development of the area into an urban centre.

⁸⁶ See fn 1 above

⁸⁷ Kwaku Effah Gyamfi, "Ancient urban sites in Hausa land", *West African Journal of Archaeology* vol. 16, 1986, pp.121-122

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ Grove A.T. and R.A. Pullan, "Some Pleistocene Paleogeography of the Chad basin in F.C.H. Wells and F. Bourliere (eds), African Ecology and Human evolution, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1964, pp. 1-15

⁹⁰ Abdullahi Smith, "Some notes on the History of Zazzau under the Hausa Kings" in Mortimore (ed), Zaria and its Region, p.91

Like most ancient urban settlements in Hausa-land, Turunku was characterised by the existence of a complex wall system of the area. This was made up of twelve ancient wall complexes each having an inselbergs and a pocket of territory. A large central outer wall covering an area of about 13 kilometres in circumference surrounded these in turn.⁹¹ The existence of this complex wall system is a clear pointer to a process towards state formation on the Turunku area. This was demonstrated by the fact that the construction of these walls required a large working force that could only be provided by a centralized political authority.⁹² However, what cannot yet be established were the personalities that built such ancient edifices.

Local tradition seems to indicate that Turunku was at one time the seat of power of the ancient state of Zazzau and by extension therefore, ancestral to Birnin Zaria.⁹³ While it is certain that Turunku had emerged as a dominant political centre on the plains of Zaria with the appearance of Bakwa Turunku, the twenty-second ruler of Zazzau (1492-1522), it is not certain when precisely the settlement assumed this position of dominance. Closely tied to this uncertainty is the confusion over the actual location of the capital of the state of Zazzau and the place of origin of its dynasty before the emergence of Bakwa Turunku. A number of hypotheses have been put forward concerning these. Some of these hypotheses were based on linguistic interpretations of various words derived from oral traditions, written accounts and various king lists. The most prominent of these were the hypotheses put forward by Sir, Richmond Palmer⁹⁴ and Murray Last.⁹⁵

Palmer suggested that the word “Bakwa” is a variant of Tekrur or people from Malle-jene region. He then suggested that by about 15th century A.D, the Torenke people from Mali seized control of the settlement of Turunku and later moved finally to Kufena, establishing the city of

⁹¹ Obayemi A., “Aspects of field Archaeology in Hausa land”, *op-cit*.

⁹² Bala Achi, The development and Functions of city wall in the Savanna Belt of the Nigerian area, M.A thesis, A.B.U., Zaria, 1985, p.133

⁹³ For details on of some of these local traditions see, Arnet 1920, p. 9; Palmer 1967, p. 77; Obayemi Kargi Manuscript, p.

⁹⁴ Palmer H.R. *Sudanese memoirs Vol. III*, London, pp, 79-80

⁹⁵ Last Murray, “Before Zaria: Evidence for Kankuma (Kangoma) state and its, successor states”, Usman Y. B. (ed), In *Fact, values and Nigerian Historiography*, Essays in honour of professor Abdullahi Smith, History Department, A.B.U. Zaria, 1980, pp. 157-189

Zaria. It was these group of people who are said to have built the wall of Zaria and later gave impetus to mud-wall building from 1400-1500 A.D. personified by the legend of Queen Amina.⁹⁶ Subsequent writings tend to follow these perspectives with various degree of embellishment.⁹⁷ Murray Last on the other hand suggested that the name “Bakwa” was a variant of *Bugwom*, which was a Kadara term for the title of a king, while the word Turunku was a variant of a Songhai word *Torenkei*. He posited that the earliest communities living around the area of Turunku were Kadara-speaking people organized under the priestly authority of *Bugwom*, while the state of Zazzau existed some where to the south of this settlement under the name of Kankuma. By the beginning of the 13th century under the pressure of attack, this state moved to the north and settled at the present site of Turunku. With this movement the title of the king was changed from Bugwom to Turunku as secular authority replaced the religious one. He further suggested that it was the settlement at Turunku, which became the capital of the state whose name was changed from Kankuma to Zazzau and by the 17th century, the capital of Zazzau moved to Zaria. This according to him initiated the process leading to the change of language from Kadara to Hausa.⁹⁸

However, a closer look at the evidence, which gave rise to these hypotheses, raises a number of problems, which substantially challenged these hypotheses. To begin with Palmer, there is no valid linguistic evidence to suggest that Turunku was a variant of Tekrur or even to suggest that the settlement was seized by people from Malle-jenne region. Further more Palmer’s view is faulted by evidence from the oral tradition that pointed out that the word Turunku was derived from the Hausa word Turaku in reference to the large stones in the form of megaliths that were

⁹⁶ Palmer H.R., *Sudanese Memoirs*, *op-cit*.

⁹⁷ See Hogben, S.J. and A.H. M. Kirk Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria, A preliminary survey of their Historical Traditions*, USA, 1966, pp, 215-217; Temple, C. L. *Notes on the tribes, provinces, emirates and states of the Northern provinces of Nigeria*. Francais, 1965; Johnston, H.A.S. *The Fulani Emirate of Sokoto*, London, 1967 pp, 35-36.

⁹⁸Last Murray, “Before Zaria....” *opcit*.

stuck to the Turunku inselbergs.⁹⁹ The significance of the megaliths is not yet known. It was probably associated with the traditional religious practices in the past. In addition oral traditions not only maintained the continuity of the dynasty from Gunguma to Bakwa Turunku but also maintained that the word Bakwa Turunku was the name of the ruler who moved his capital from Turunku to Birnin Zaria. The name of his daughter "Zaria" which is a Hausa word suggests that they were of Hausa stock.¹⁰⁰

As regard to the hypothesis put forward by Murray Last, no evidence also exists to suggest that the capital of Zazzau was at Turunku around the period of 13th Century. The internal evidence available suggests that the capital of Zazzau around this period was located somewhere, where Birnin Zaria is presently located.¹⁰¹ Even if it is posited that Turunku had emerged as the capital of Zazzau around this period, there is no evidence to suggest that the dynasty of the rulers of Zazzau migrated from the state known as Kankuma, which existed in the south before their transfer to Turunku. The source of the information supplied by Al-maqrizi on whose evidence he established the existence of the state of the Kankuma was highly speculative and unreliable.¹⁰² This is because Al-maqrizi who was writing in the fifteenth century was not an eye witness to the information he recorded and he did not indicate from whom he collected this particular information. Though it is claimed that Al-maqrizi drew his information from ibn Sa'id work *Kitab al-Jugrafiyya* c. 1286-1287, it is still not certain whether ibn Sa'id was writing first hand information or information derived from certain writers such as Al-idris c.1100-1165. Apart from this confusion, the quality of the information of ibn Sa'id is highly defective on several grounds. In the first place, there is no

⁹⁹ Oral source, Alhaji Aminu Yakubu Wambai.

¹⁰⁰ Alhaji, Abdullahi Aliyu, (Wamban Zazzau), "Tarihin Kasar Zazzau tun daga farkonta zuwa 1994", unpublished paper n.d. p. 4.

¹⁰¹ See Palmer, H.R, Kano chronicle Sudanese memoirs, pp. 107-8, where he states that Sarkin Kano Kanajeji "set out for war, with Zazzau. He camped at Gadaz. Sarkin Zazzau came out and they fought. The men of Kano killed Sarkin Zazzau. In one or two the Chiefs of Zazzau were killed... Because of this feat the song of war was song which runs: "son of Kano, hurler of kere, Kanajeji drinker of the water of Shika, preventer of the washing in the Kubanni, lord of town, lord of land." The above reference shows the state of Zazzau was some where around Shika, Kubanni and Gadaz. Suggesting that the State of Zazzau existed some where near the present Zaria.

¹⁰² Tadeux Tewiski, *Arabic external sources for the History of Africa to the South of Sahara*, London, 1974, p72; Hopkins, JF. P and Tevtzion, N. (trans) *Corpus of early Arabic sources for West African History*, Cambridge, 1981 p353

evidence to suggest that Ibn Sa'id travelled beyond the area of Maghrib making his information anything but first hand. Secondly, if as it is asserted that Ibn Sa'id derived his information from the writing of Ibn Fartua who travelled extensively, there is no evidence to suggest that Ibn Fartua had ever travelled beyond the Sahara, Ghana Empire and areas around Chad. Moreover, nothing is known about Ibn Fatima or the period he travelled or from whom he derived his information or even how this information reached Ibn Sa'id.

Mahdi Adamu in his article the 'Hausa land and other peoples of Northern Nigeria 1200-1600 A.D.',¹⁰³ critiqued Last's pseudo linguistic interpretations of the words used to demonstrate the existence and relations of the state of Zazzau with Kankuma.¹⁰⁴ According to him such evidence was not supported by internal primary evidence and scientific linguistic analysis.¹⁰⁵ Mahdi Adamu pointed out that Last in his attempt to support this highly speculative and doubtful sources, used series of words such as Kwangoma and Fadan Kagoma obtained from the present names of these towns, and from words such as Gunguma and Gungumi mentioned in the Zaria chronicle and Kargi manuscripts as the name of the rulers of Zazzau and the title of Sarkin Kano Gakin Kankuma which appeared in *wakar* Bagauda and in Kanuri term for cowries, *kunguna* and also in the name of Wuchichchiri and Turunku. He then posited that Kankuma referred to Gunguma and Kwangoma as (k) and (g) were used interchangeably in Arabic. However, Mahdi Adamu argued that there is no systematic analysis of the lexical structure, meaning or phonological form to demonstrate empirically that consonant (k) in the word Kan [k] uma can be changed to either kwan/g/oma or /g/ unkoma or even if thus changed it will refer to /Kankuma/. Likewise he argued that there is also no any systematic linguistics analysis or corroboration in all written king list or written internal sources available to suggest that /Gunguma/ was ever written as /kan/ kuma. He

¹⁰³ Mahdi Adamu, The Hausa and the other peoples of Northern Nigeria, 1200-1600 A.D. a paper presented for publication in UNESCO General History of Africa,

¹⁰⁴ Hopkins J. P. and Teotzion N. (transi) *Corpus of early Arabic Sources for West Africa History* Cambridge, 1981, P. 353.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. pp. 21-22

further pointed out that there is no tradition which indicates that the name Zazzau was ever written or known by the name of /Gunguma/ or /Kan kuma/ in the same way as Daura could be said to have derived from Daurama.¹⁰⁶ According to him there is a fundamental flaw in Last's attempt to link Zazzau with the name of Sarkin Kano Gakin Gakuma. Adamu stated that Murray Last regard Gakin as presumably a miss-rendering of Gakon with Gakin meaning chief and Gakuma meaning Kwangoma. However, Last failed to show why a King of Kano, Tsamiya (1307- 1343) who was not known to have taken any military campaign into Zazzau not to talk of Kwangoma could be called chief of Kwangoma.¹⁰⁷ Not only that Adamu pointed out that the word *Gakin* is a Hausa word meaning to blockade a person or a group of people without any breathing space or chance to escape and the word *Gakum* is a Hausa word which connotes immense hardship arising from lack of manoeuvring facilities. This therefore aptly described Tsamiya who was a fierce warrior King of Kano not any Chief of Kankuma.¹⁰⁸ Murray Last mentioned that Bakwa is a variant of Agwon. However, Mahdi Adamu pointed out that there is no any similarity in either pronunciation or spelling between Bugwon / Agwon and Bakwa and neither any of the traditions nor the usage of the word among the Hausa community of Zaria connects the name Bakwa with "spiritual activities" or description.¹⁰⁹ Further more, as it has been seen before, the word Wuchichiri rather than being a Songhai word-meaning lord of ancestral shrine is also a Hausa word meaning "difficult to remove." Also the attempt to extract Kwangoma king list out of the same Zaria king list is utterly false and misleading as the traditions regarding the king list suggest that the rulers who had ruled Zazzau before the transfer of capital to Zaria were all descendants of Gunguma and the rulers who ruled Zazzau since the transfer of the capital were the descendants of Bakwa

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

Turunku.¹¹⁰ Also regarding the suggestion that kungona which was the Kanuri word for cowries and could have been derived from kankuma, there was no evidence written, oral, or linguistic to suggest that kungona was once used either at Katsina or any state of Hausa land as the name for cowries or even the occurrence of this word in Kanuri was because of the gold trade with the people of the plains of Zaria or southward of it.¹¹¹ It is in the interpretations of the word Gungumi in Hausa as it occurred in Madaki Gungumi that this unscientific approach became manifest. This according to Mahdi Adamu is because of the apparent confusion in attributing Hausa meaning to the word and still posited that it was an Arabic variant of Kankuma while still attaching a different meaning to either the Kanuri term for cowries or to any other sources he drew previously.¹¹²

Also difficult to reconcile is the pattern of migration and population movement leading to the political dominance of Turunku and later the establishment of Zaria which Murray Last suggested was northward while internal traditions of origins suggest that it was southward.¹¹³ Palmers and Last analysis not only failed to appreciate and reconcile the various contradictions which existed in the body of evidence they used but also neglected the internal processes and conditions, which were central to the evolution of state system in Zaria, which our attention shall focus, on subsequently.

b. KUFENA:

Kufena is located at about six kilometres west of Zaria.¹¹⁴ It developed as an ancient settlement around the massive granitic outcrops that dominated the area. It featured prominently in the early history of Zaria as one of the seats of government of the state of Zazzau.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Also evidence regarding population movement on the plains of Zazzau either in ancient or early period suggests southwards. At the earliest period, the desiccation of central Sahara forced people to migrate southwards. See Hovell F.C and Bon fere F, *African Ecology and Human evolution*, London 1964 and also Smith A, The early state... in *A Little New Light* selected Historical writings of Abdullahi Smith,

¹¹⁴ Sutton J E G, "Kufena and its Archeology", *ZAP 15*, p.2.

It is still difficult to talk with precision about the antiquity of Kufena. This is because information about the time when the settlement began still remains quite hazy. However, like Turunku, archaeological remains here contributed to our knowledge of the antiquity of the area. The impressive assemblage of archaeological artefacts on the area suggests that man was in continuous habitation of the area since the late Stone Age period.¹¹⁵ It should be noted that the archaeological information is limited in the sense that the artefacts could not give us information about their makers and by implication the identity of the people that first settled on the site. This would have been very useful, as the tribal identity of the early inhabitants of Kufena had been generating heated debates.¹¹⁶

According to local tradition, Kufena was founded by a group of hunters who inhabited the area at the early period of its existence.¹¹⁷ This idea of giant hunters featured prominently in the traditions of several communities in Hausa land which according to Y.B Usman appeared to represent the collective memory of the people of the hunting community of probably the late stone age whose ways of life faded away as a result of the introduction and increasing use of iron tools before or in the middle of the first millennium A.D.¹¹⁸

Inferences from linguistic studies seem to suggest that the Hausa speaking group occupied the site since ancient time. This view is based on information from the local tradition, which indicates the presence of two giants residing on two prominent hills on the plains of Zaria. These are Kufena and Madarkachi that are said to have been Hausa expressions derived from "*Madara ka*

¹¹⁵Soper, R.S. "Stone Ages in Northern Nigeria," *JHSN II*, 2, p. 180-192; Sutton J.E.G, "Hand axes and other Stone Age finds from Samaru", *ZAP 7*, pp. 1-7; Sutton J.E.G. "The walls of Zaria and Kufena", *ZAP*, pp.1-18; Obayemi A, "Aspects of field Archaeology in Hausa land", *ZAP*, p.1; Sutton, J.E.G, "Terra cotta figurine from Zaria", *ZAP*, pp.1-5; Sutton, J.E.G. "Kufena and its Archaeology," *ZAP*, 1-24.

¹¹⁶, Sutton J.E.G, "on the provenance of E.S.A (and M.S.A) artefacts in the upper Kubanni valley" *ZAP*, pp.1-3; Sutton J.E.G. "Archaeology of Zaria regions inselbergs," *ZAP*; Echeudon, P. Site report on Kufena: An archaeological analysis, *B.A (Archaeology)* ABU Zaria 1986; Lawal Baban Kano, Kufena 1987, *B.A. Archaeology*, A BU Zaria, 1987.

¹¹⁷ Abdullahi Aliyu, (Wamban Zazzau), "Tarihin Kasar Zazzau," p.1

¹¹⁸ Y.B. Usman, *The transformation of Katsina, 1400-1883*, Ahmadu Bello University, Press Ltd Zaria, 1981, pp.6-7

chi", and "*Kafe nan*".¹¹⁹ Meaning "Madara, have you eaten?" and "Keep it there" respectively. The first expression that is "*Madara ka chi*" was made by the giant residing on the Kufena hill inviting apparently the other giant on Madarkachi hill to eat. While the second expression, i.e. "*kafe nan*" was apparently a response to the call. This may be a clear demonstration that the earliest populations living on these inselbergs settlements were Hausa speaking people. This is highly corroborated by Abdullahi Smith's view that the earliest inhabitants of the inselbergs settlements of Kufena and Madarkachi were Hausa communities.¹²⁰ Thus, the gradual transformation of Kufena and its final development into a very important political and cultural centre was principally as a result of socio-political and economic developments involving the autochthonous community.

As a result of continued migration of people into the region, the gradual expansion in agricultural productions, trade and commerce as well as industrial growth, there seemed to have been noticeable increase in the number of population living around the towns of Kufena and Madarkachi. This consequently led to the extension of human settlements, as the settlements around the inselbergs became contracted and inadequate due to population explosion caused by the factors enumerated above. This may explain why the Kufena settlement was extended to areas within the *Birni*. The popularly known "Amina wall" that linked up with the *Birni* wall clearly demonstrated this.¹²¹ However it is debatable whether the Amina wall initially extended up to the Madarkachi wall before the construction of the outer Zaria wall or not. Abdullahi Smith¹²² and Urquhart¹²³ seem to agree with that while Sutton¹²⁴ argued that the Amina wall only linked up

¹¹⁹ J. K. Bryant, This is Zaria... *op-cit*.

¹²⁰ Smith A. "Some notes on the History of Zazzau under Hausa Kings," p. 82

¹²¹ Amina Wall is an appellation that is used to refer to that stretch of wall that linked Kufena with Birnin Zaria. However in view of the presence of myths and legends surrounding the personality of Amina and her exploits, we are not certain whether she was really the person that built the walls.

¹²² Smith, "Some notes on the History of Zazzau under Hausa Kings," pp.89-91

¹²³ Urquhart, Planned urban settlement, p. 11.

¹²⁴ Sutton, 'The walls of Zaria and Kufena,' addendum I to ZAP II, p. 1; see also addendum II, PP.1-4

with the *Birni* outer wall. The question of which one predated the other is also a subject of debate.¹²⁵

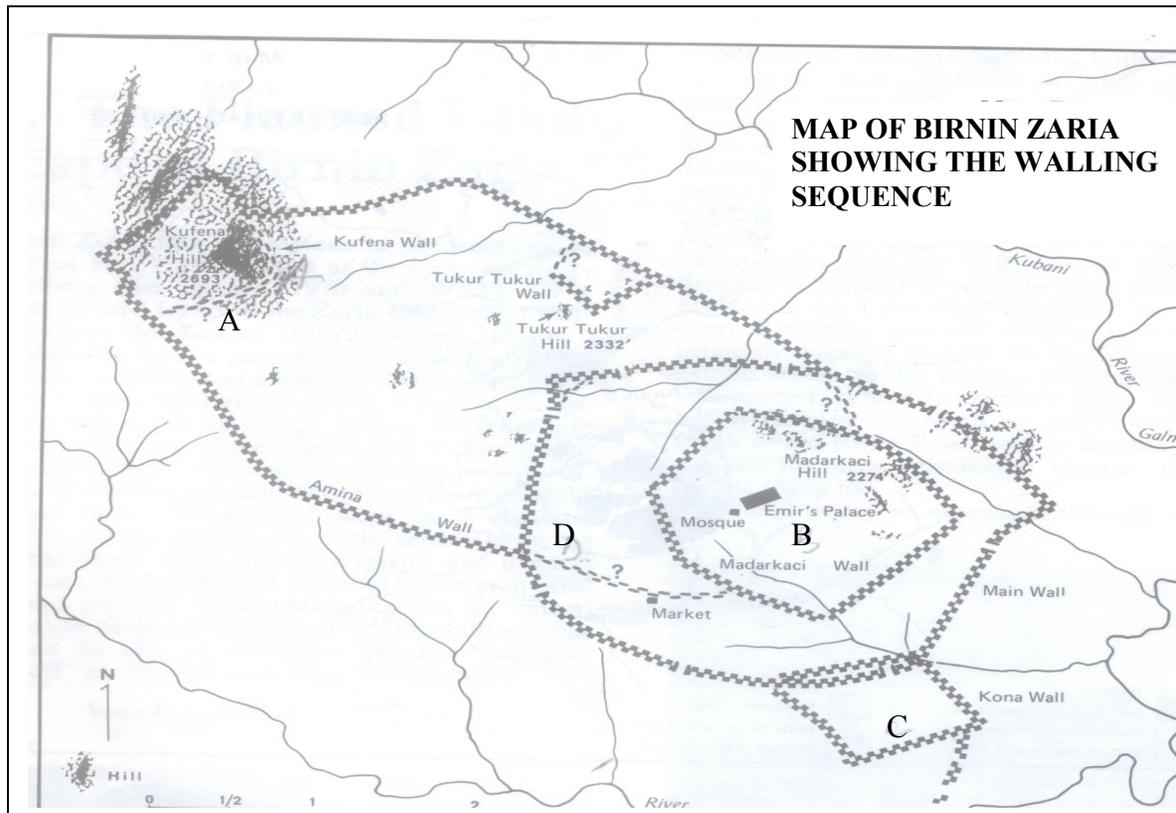
However, considering the strategic importance of the area around Babban Dodo as a convergent point of trade routes, one will think that it was possible that the rulers of Kufena extended their control over the area in order to secure the trade routes especially the junction of the trade routes around Babban Dodo in order to ensure the economic prosperity of the rulers of Kufena.¹²⁶

This is demonstrated by a wall extension linking Zaria with Kufena leading to the inclusion of large space of land into the Kufena settlement as indicated on the map as settlement “A”. See the Map below. Settlement “A” seemed to have finally fallen into disuse following the evacuation of Kufena after the Kano attacks and that when Zaria town was eventually rebuilt Kufena town was curved out from the *Birni*.¹²⁷ The curving of Kufena from the *Birni* seemed to be informed by military factors. Firstly, it is clear that following the defeat of Zaria at Kufena, it no longer have any protective value. Secondly, if Kufena was incorporated within the new city wall, the *Birni* would have been too large for effective military control.

¹²⁵ Ibid

¹²⁶ Abdullahi Aliyu, (Wamban Zazzau). “Tarihin Kasar Zazzau,” p. 1

¹²⁷ Ibid.



MAP OF

Source: A.W. Urquhart: 1977

c. MADARKACHI:

This was one of the earliest inhabited settlements on the Zaria plains, which played an important role in the formation of Birnin Zaria. It is situated to the north-eastern part of the *Birni* wall near the Bai gate. Archaeological evidence in the form of stone implements demonstrated that Madarkachi must have been in existence by the late Stone Age period.¹²⁸ The inselbergs in the area with its many advantages seemed to have provided favourable conditions for human habitation by the first millennium A.D. and its subsequent development into an urban centre. Some of these

¹²⁸ Sutton J.E.G, "Archaeology of Zaria regions inselbergs," *op-cit*; Super, R. S. "Stone Ages in Northern Nigeria," pp.180-192

advantages included natural security provided by the inselbergs against the enemy.¹²⁹ The use of inselbergs for defence purpose was a common feature in Hausa land due to the insecurity caused by the great movements of people across Hausa land following the desiccation of the Sahara as mentioned earlier. The hill was also of religious importance as the rocks were regarded as sacred places which were essential for the worship of the *iskoki* (sprints). The fertility of the soil at the site and the presence of a constant source of water supply that characterized the area were also important factors in the emergence of the early settlement of Madarkachi. Apart from the above functions, the Madarkachi hill also performed other unique function. This was because it served as the *Fanisau* of the *Sarakuna* of Zazzau. *Fanisau* is a Hausa word, which means a resting place for the rulers of Zazzau.¹³⁰ This was probably when Madarkachi ceased to be a citadel of power following the unification of the settlement with Kufena.

Local traditions ascribed the foundation of Madarkachi to Madara who was said to be a giant hunter. It was from his name that the site derived its name as discussed above.

The expansion in agricultural productions, trade, commerce and the growth of other industries as mentioned above in this section, led to rapid demographic growth of Madarkachi. This development seemed to have stimulated the expansion of human settlements on the plains away from the nucleus of the settlement on the hill and its immediate surroundings to as far as Fadamar Bono when Madarkachi became spatially inadequate. Thus, Madarkachi played an important role in the emergence of Birnin Zaria as a result of its rapid expansion and incorporation into the capital city of the state of Zazzau.

d. KARGI:

¹²⁹ Bala, C.D, "Occupation sites on and below the inselbergs of Zaria region: Some considerations based on field observations," *Archaeological seminar paper*, 1978.

¹³⁰ Oral source, Alhaji Muhammadu Sani (Imam Kona), 1st September, 2002

This is believed to be one of the earliest settlements of the Hausa people that existed long before the foundation of Birnin Zaria.¹³¹ It lies about 110 km to the north east of Zaria on a flat thickly wooded land and well watered by several streams.¹³²

It is difficult to say with some degree of certainty, the precise date of the establishment of the area. This is also due to the nature of archaeological study on the area, which is not extensive enough. However, the archaeological study so far conducted on the area indicated that it was inhabited as far back as 1600 A.D. The implication of this date to the history of Kargi is that it is suggesting a late date for the establishment of the settlement as opposed to earlier date suggested by the Kargi manuscript for its formation.¹³³ According to the Kargi manuscript, migrants who first settled at Kawuri, and later on at Rikochi, Wuchichiri, Turunku, Kufena and Zaria founded the state of Zazzau. And that Madaki Gungumi was the first Sarki at Kargi and was a contemporary of Sarki Gunguma of Zazzau.¹³⁴ In view of this confusion it was suggested that the material remains from which the date was obtained must be of recent.¹³⁵

Important factors in the development of Kargi as a settlement included the security provided by the inselbergs of the area, fertile soil and availability of water and iron ore. The above factors seemed to have stimulated the growth of the area into an important political and religious centre. The process of state formation in Zaria involved the assimilation of this ancient centre into a unified political system.¹³⁶

e. WUCHICHIRI:

¹³¹ Boachi Ansah, J. "A brief report on Kargi", *ZAP Vol. V*, 1983, p.55

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ This is a document that was found at Kargi purporting to be a record of the process of state formation on the plains of Zaria. The authenticity of the manuscript is difficult to establish. This is because its provenance and date of composition remains unknown. What is more the content of the manuscript seems contradictory.

¹³⁴ A. Obayemi, "The Kargi manuscript and its perspectives on pre-jihad Zazzau," *Seminar paper, A.B.U. History Department, Zaria, 1979/1980* Academic session, p.2

¹³⁵ Boachi Ansah, J. "A brief report on Kargi," *opcit*

¹³⁶ Bala Achi. The development and functions of city walls, pp. 133

This was one of the ancient centres that predated the emergence of Birnin Zaria. It is located about 6 kilometres to the north of Birnin Zaria on a rising ground east of river Bai.¹³⁷ Even though archaeological study on the area has not yet commenced, there is evidence that tend to suggest that the area is of ancient antiquity. The ancient settlement derived its name from a Hausa word; *Wuyan chich chiri* suggestive of the difficulties that were involved in the removal of the thorny bushes around the site where local traditions claimed the wall of the town was built.¹³⁸

According to local tradition, Gunguma and several other people settled in the area. This was assumed to be by the beginning of the last millennium A.D. The tradition further stated that Gunguma have stayed at the site of kwarin Tama located in the site for the duration of one year where he manufactured bows and arrows.¹³⁹

The presence of iron ores at Kwarin tama was an important factor that favoured the evolution of this settlement. This was because it served as a stimulus for the movement of large number of diverse people into the area. This included hunters, agriculturists and smelters. Another factor for the growth of the settlement was the evolution of the place into an important religious centre. The emergence of state structures in Zazzau appears to have involved the incorporation of the settlement of Wucichchiri as part of its dominion.

Apart from the above-mentioned ancient centres of human habitation, a number of other ancient settlements also played significant role in the formation of the state of Zazzau. These included Tukur-Tukur, Hange, Hanwa, Fara Kwai, Dutsen Wai, Tsauni and Pampula hill. This was because the emergence of the state of Zazzau in the 15th century seems to involve the incorporation and integration of these independent settlements at the various stages of its development

3. THE EMERGENCE OF THE STATE OF ZAZZAU

¹³⁷ Porch, Liman Kona District Reassessment Report, NAK/S.N.P/ 416 p/1913

¹³⁸ Oral source, Idris Abah, Age 50 years, 10th March, 2002

¹³⁹ Ibid

State formation and kingship are two sides of the same coin in the sense that the emergence of one necessitates the existence of the other. Therefore to isolate one from the other is to create an artificial dichotomy where none exist. Both are not only intertwined but they also influenced each other. How these important institutions emerged on the Zaria plains, forms the focus of our discussions here.

The issue of state formation in Hausa land has been almost over flogged to death due to the wide attention it received from scholars. Consequently, this generated divergent views that border on whether the question of state formation was a foreign idea or other wise. The proponents of foreign origin for state formation in Hausa land drew from the celebrated Bayajidda legend to support their views. The Bayajidda legend seems to be cleverly integrated into the oral traditions and king lists of the various Hausa states in order to prove their foreign origin. The opponents of the idea on the other hand, seriously rejected and dismissed it as an extension of the hermitic hypothesis in the explanation of state formation in Hausa land. These various shades of opinions have been well presented in a plethora of academic works and thus need not to be replicated here.¹⁴⁰

However, it should be noted that two incontestable facts emerged from the discourse. Firstly, it is wrong to assume that the idea of state was unknown to Hausa land prior to the arrival of the celebrated "invaders" into the region, at least going by the Bayajidda legend itself that clearly admitted the existence of a Kingdom (Daura) with a centralized political authority as embodied in Queen Daurama. Secondly, the Hausa states could not have been formed simultaneously by feat or by the royal command of a King as the Bayajidda legend seems to suggest.

¹⁴⁰ For details on the foreign origin of states in Hausa land see: Johnston A.H. *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*, O.U.P. London, 1967, pp.4-6; M.G. Smith, "The beginnings of Hausa society," in Vansina, Mauny and Thomas (Eds), *The Historian in tropical Africa*, London, 1964, pp.338-345; Hogben and Kirk-Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, London, 1966, pp. 145-150. As regard those opposed to the idea see: Smith, Some consideration relating to the formation of states, pp. 1-74

In view of the above contentions, it seems that the formation of state in Hausa land must have followed a much more universal pattern which involved the gradual transformations of a community from its simplest form of socio-political formation to its highest level, which is the state. It normally takes a long period of evolution with probably many false starts and failures to reach such level.¹⁴¹

When we bring this to bear in our area of study, the same pattern could be discernible. The state of Zazzau appeared to have developed through the process of evolution spanning hundreds of years from the many ancient settlements that are still identifiable on the Zaria plains some of which have been discussed above. The best known of these ancient sites were: Kufena, Madarkachi, Turunku, Kargi, and Wuchichchiri. For a proper reconstruction of the early history of the state of Zazzau, evidence from varied sources such as archaeology, ethnography, oral traditions and scholarly works is discussed and analysed.

The early history of Zazzau like the origin of the kingship is also still shrouded in mystery. This is because there are lots of missing links and where information is available, it seems to be contradictory. But with the available evidence at our disposal, we can however make a fair reconstruction of the history of Zazzau.

Abdullahi Smith provided us with a clear picture of the earliest pattern of settlement and governance on Zazzau plains. According to him the earliest and the simplest settlements of people on Zazzau plains, began as *gidaje*¹⁴² (Sing. *gida*) where all the members of a lineage (*gida*) recognized the immediate leadership or authority of the *mai gida* (lineage head). The *mai gida* was usually chosen on the basis of age and genealogical proximity to the ancestors. As head of the lineage, the *mai gida* played important role in the mediation of disputes involving members of the

¹⁴¹ Smith, "Some considerations relating to the formation of states in Hausa land," p.68.

¹⁴² Ibid.

lineage as well as having the final say in important issues affecting them. Land, which constituted a very key factor in the socio-economic life of the family, as well as other properties were jointly owned and commonly inherited. The lineage settlements seemed to be scattered on the plains in places where the environment was conducive for human habitation.

Gradually, where conditions were conducive, the earliest settlements (lineage settlements) developed into hamlets (*Kauyuka*; Sing, *kauye* or *anguwoyi*, sing. *anguwa*).¹⁴³ This important transition took place when several lineage settlements clustered in an area and became fused together into a single socio-political unit, (*anguwa*) sharing common identity and geographical boundaries. We can discern the picture of this type of settlement from Steel's description of the general pattern of settlements in tropical Africa:

Indeed over most of tropical Africa there seem to have been relatively few villages in the past; the usual pattern of settlements was isolated groups of huts or, more commonly the scattering of homesteads through out the countryside.¹⁴⁴

The new socio-political system based on the *Anguwa* by its very nature required inter-lineage interactions, which necessitated the formation of an institution to regulate such interactions and to mediate disputes involving members from different lineage groups. Consequently, this led to the emergence of the institution of the *mai anguwa* to over see the affairs of the *Anguwa*. Since the hamlet or *Anguwa* was made up of all the lineage settlements or *gidaje* in an area, it means that the extent and content of political authority went beyond the confines of the *masu gida*. Hence the role of kinship in the selection of a leader as was the system in the lineage-based type of settlements became

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ R.W. Steel, The towns of tropical Africa, in *Essays on Africa population* p.256.

weak. It was this development that ushered in some form of political centralization on the plains of Zaria. The *mai anguwa* may be chosen from the oldest lineage in the society or may be the most influential of all the people in the area in terms of his bravery or mastery of the religious lore of the society.

At another level, there was the emergence of heads of occupational groups, which were the most distinguished people in key economic activities.¹⁴⁵ This seemed to be in response to developments in the nature and scope of economic activities on the Zaria plains at each phase of its history. The earliest economic occupations of the people of Hausa land generally and *Kasar Zaria* in particular was hunting, farming and iron-smithing. In the case of farming for instance its antiquity is clearly demonstrated by the Hausa saying: “*Noma na duke tsohon ciniki kowa yazo duniya kai ya taras*”. This literally means: farming is an old trade and that whoever came into the world met it.

In all these economic activities, the family remained the unit of production. Initially all production was for the use of the family or for use during religious worships and festivals.¹⁴⁶ Later great importance was highly attached to these economic activities to the extent that it became a major avenue for an individual to rise to prominence and high status in the society. This depended on ones ability to distinguish himself and attain some level of success in his chosen economic occupation.¹⁴⁷ This created competition among the members of the various occupational groups, which resulted in the production of surpluses. The surpluses generated came to be appropriated by certain individuals, which enabled them to dominate other members of the society. It was this situation that seemed to lead to the emergence of Madara, Dan Zau and Bono as heads of

¹⁴⁵ Y. B. Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina*, P.60.

¹⁴⁶ Oral source, Abbas Mohammad Fagachi,, op-cit

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

occupational groups,¹⁴⁸ exercising some form of authority over and above that of masu gida and heads of religious cults.

There was a remarkable socio-political change in *Kasar Zaria* by the 1st millennium A.D when the *anguwoyi* seems to have been radically transformed from mere clusters of several lineage groups into permanent towns or *garuruwa* (sing. *gari*). What likely gave a boost to this political transformation was the development in iron technology, which took place in *Kasar Zaria* dating back to 7th century A.D. This acted as a catalyst to the development of the economy, which in turn played important role in these transformations. The economy revolved around agriculture, manufacture and trade. For instance in the field of agriculture, technological advancement had a revolutionary impact on food production which created conditions for the emergence of new economic system. This was due to the manufacture of more efficient agricultural tools, such as *galma* (big hoe), *fartanya* (hoe), *lauje* (sickle), *gatari* (axe), which made the production of surplus possible. This made it possible for other people to turn their attention to other jobs such as smithing, scholarly pursuit, military profession and trade and consequently specialization and division of labour in the society.

The manufacturing sphere was another virile sector that made significant contribution in the emergence of permanent towns in *Kasar Zaria*. A class of highly trained professionals mainly controlled this sector. The manufacture was used for both military and household needs. It boosted other productive activities like hunting, weaving, agriculture and trade. The production of such military tools, like *kibiya* (arrow), *Takobi* (sword), *Mashi* (spear) was also an important factor in the expansion of these permanent settlements.

¹⁴⁸ Aliyu (Wamban Zazzau), "Tarihin Zazzau Daga Farkonta.", p.1.

The above factors facilitated the growth of population in our area of study, particularly around the granitic out crops of Kufena, Madarkachi and Tukur-Tukur, this necessitated the expansion of settlements into areas within the plains. This was in areas especially around Fadamar Bono that is located at Babban Dodo in the heart of Birnin Zaria. This gradual expansion of settlements away from their nucleus involved the integration of several *Anguwoyi* into the sphere of influence of Kufena and Madarkachi.

At this stage of our study it is not certain which of the two settlements i.e. Kufena and Madarkachi that first emerged as a *Gari*. But archaeological study conducted on the two areas indicates that they were contemporaneous.¹⁴⁹ This is based on the fact that the materials used in their construction are similar and their present state of appearance tends to suggest that they were built at the same period.¹⁵⁰ This seems to be corroborated by the Zaria local tradition indicating the presence of two giants around the granitic out crops of the two settlements eating from the same bowl. If there was anything this story was trying to demonstrate, it was suggesting the existence at a point in time of two autonomous leaders presiding over independent settlements. This is manifested by the fact that only equals dine on the same table.

However, what is certain was the fact that the two settlements emerged as *garuruwa* with each *gari* developing an impressive fortification and serving as an autonomous political entity¹⁵¹ where all the inhabitants, were politically and spiritually bonded to the *mai gari* (ruler of the town). The *mai gari* was at the apex of this new socio-political structure and therefore, enjoyed enormous power and authority over and above those of *masu gida* and heads of religious cults and other occupational groups. It appears that the authority of the *masu gari* arose out of the need for

¹⁴⁹ Sutton, "The walls of Zaria and Kufena," P. 8.

¹⁵⁰ A. Obayemi, Aspects of field Archaeology in Hausa land, ZAP, p. 10

¹⁵¹ The extent of the walls of Madarkachi and Kufena indicate a process towards state formation in the area of our study. This was demonstrated by the fact that they can only be constructed through the control of large labour force by a centralized authority. See Bala A. The development and functions of city walls, P. 133.

the mediation of disputes with groups of people within the society over the allocation of land which was the major factor of production; management of external relations with other *garuruwa*; provision of security; and some form of religious worship.

The power equation, between the *masu gari* within the site that later came to be known as Zaria remained as it was up to the beginning of the second millennium A.D, when the power equation was tilted in favour of the *mai gari* residing at Kufena. This followed the annexation of Madarkachi, which was formerly an important and autonomous political and religious centre, into the political ambit of Kufena. What prompted this political disequilibrium appears to be the ability of the rulers of Kufena to be in effective control and exploitation of iron ore, in areas, which gave them such an advantage.¹⁵² Following the political domination of the above mentioned sites, an extensive wall fortification commencing from the massive granitic outcrops of Kufena, through Dala, Kofar Kona, Madarkachi, Tukur-Tukur and back to Kufena covering a total distance of about 24 kilometres was constructed under the authority of the rulers of Kufena.¹⁵³ This brought about the political unification of the smaller and earlier walls such as Tukur-Tukur, Madarkachi, Kufena and Kona walls under a ruler in the present site of Birnin Zaria.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the foundation of a state was laid which Adediran describes as a mode of social arrangement in which all inhabitants within a territorially defined region, were integrated and possessed the political and cultural consciousness of a single unit, identifiable and often identified by a group name.¹⁵⁵ This embryo state was named *Zazzau* after a sword.

According to local tradition this single political unit that came into being following the unification of Kufena and Madarkachi was named *Garin Dan Zau* apparently after the founder of

¹⁵² It appears that the exploitation of iron ore in Zaria dated back to 7th century A.D. See Sutton, "Iron working around Zaria," p. 1-20

¹⁵³ Sutton J.E.G, "The wall of Zaria and Kufena," ZAP, p.8

¹⁵⁴ Bala Achi, The development and functions of city walls, p.133

¹⁵⁵ Biodun Adediran, The Frontier states of western Yoruba land, 1600-1889, IFRA, University of Ibadan, 1994, p. 82

the Kufena settlement. After a passage of time Garin Dan Zau was renamed Zazzau.¹⁵⁶ Local tradition claims that Zazzau was a sword and a symbol of power and authority as well as an object of worship which was revered by the Zazzagawa to the extent of swearing by it.¹⁵⁷ This clearly demonstrates the unifying role of the sword. The reference to the existence of the state of Zazzau near the present Zaria city by the 15th century during the encounter of Sarkin Kano Kanajeji with Zazzau by Abdullahi Smith, seem to be a clear allusion to *Garin Dan zau / Zazzau*. Going by the record in the Kano chronicle about the Kano-Zaria encounter, it appeared that the geographical extent of Zazzau by this time has reached as far as the northeastern part of the region. This was because of the reference to the killing of Sarkin Zazzau at Gadaz,¹⁵⁸ which appeared to be a border town with Kano.

4. THE EMERGENCE OF KINGSHIP IN ZARIA

The emergence of kingship (*sarauta*) in Zaria marked the beginning of a well-defined political order revolving around the personality of the *Sarki* (King) or *uban Kasa* (Father or Owner of land). Thus, the era represented a major watershed in the political history of Zaria. This was because it ushered in the beginning of a more cohesive cosmopolitan political community involving the integration of several autonomous *garuruwa* and *Birane* in which all the inhabitants of the community were spiritually and politically bonded to the Sarki.

It is important to note that the genesis of kingship in Zazzau just like the origin of the state is still beclouded in mystery due to the nature of the body of evidence in the forms of king-lists and oral tradition of the area. This situation therefore, need re-examination of such body of evidence,

¹⁵⁶ Alhaji Abdullahi Aliyu (Wamban Zazzau), "Tarihin Kasar Zazzau," p. 1

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ Smith, Some notes p. 83

which according to Y.B. Usman contains information whose status as historical evidence, varies considerably.¹⁵⁹

According to the king-lists of Zaria, Gunguma the son of Bawo and the grandson of Bayajidda, the legendary progenitor of the Hausa people was the first ruler of the state of Zazzau. The king-lists also contain sixteen other names starting with Gunguma and stopping on the sixteenth person on the list. Information about whether these people were descendant of Gunguma or whether they were just his lieutenants who accompanied him to Zaria varies.¹⁶⁰ Whatever truth lies on this, it is apparently clear that the king-list made claim for ancestral connection with Bayajidda, a claim that seems to be cleverly integrated into the official traditions of the people of Zaria. Ancestral connection to Bayajidda is a common feature that characterized the king-lists of the various Hausa states. A cursory look at the king-lists of these states indicate names associated to the sons of Bayajidda and in other cases even those of his associates.¹⁶¹ How such names got into the lists is difficult to say.

Some studies have shown that most of the king-lists in Hausa land were committed only recently into writing. Therefore, they were susceptible to errors and manipulations.¹⁶² It is therefore possible that such names that were connected to Bayajidda were added to the king-lists of Hausa states in order to rationalize the hermitic hypothesis. What lends much credit to this is the fact that in most of the king-lists there is conspicuous silence on the length of the reigns of some of the Hausa rulers. This applied mostly to the first few rulers in the king-lists. This therefore gave birth to the suspicions, that such names may be later additions into the lists. In the case of Birnin Zaria, there are strong speculations as to whether the previous rulers before Bakwa Turunku as

¹⁵⁹ Y.B. Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina*, p. 12

¹⁶⁰ Abdullahi Smith, *Some notes on the history of*, p. 83-84

¹⁶¹ See Abdullahi R. Augie, *The Gobir factor in the social and political History of the Rima Basin c.1650-1808 A.D.* unpublished *thesis Ph.D*, A.B.U. Zaria, 1984

¹⁶² Smith, *The early states of the central Sudan*, p. 103

indicated in the lists were kings of Kufena or Turunku.¹⁶³ On the bases of the above problems it is difficult to say with some degree of certainty, who was the first ruler of the state of Zazzau. For the king-list of Zaria see the appendix. Apart from the king-list, there are a number of traditions relating to the genesis of kingship in Zaria. One version of the traditions for instance claimed that the rulers of Zazzau were migrants who settled in many places before their final sojourn to Zaria where they settled permanently. Their routes of migration were identified as follows: Kawari, Kargi, Rikochi, Wuchichchiri, Turunku, Kufena and finally Zaria.¹⁶⁴

Another tradition claimed that following an attack on the Zaria plains by the Gwaris in 535 A.H.,¹⁶⁵ which was equivalent to 1141 A.D of the Christian calendar, a delegation was sent by the Zazzagawa to Daura to seek for military assistance from Bawo who was then the reigning King. In response to this request, he appointed his son Gunguma to rule them. He also appointed sixteen other people to accompany his son to Zaria. The tradition further claimed that all of these sixteen people succeeded the throne one after the other. The last of them was Sukanau.¹⁶⁶

Another version of the local tradition has it that Gunguma became the King of Zazzau after the possession of the famous sword known as Zazzau, which seemed to be a symbol of political authority from which the state derived its name. The tradition is not explicit on how he came about the sword.

A close look at these traditions, however, clearly manifested a veiled attempt at the extension of the hermitic hypothesis as contained in the Bayajidda legend in the explanation of the genesis of the state like political structures in Zazzau. The Bayajidda legend had been extensively

¹⁶³ Ibid

¹⁶⁴ Shu'aibu Na'ibi, *The chronicle of Abuja*, Gaskiya Corporation Zaria, 1952; Obayemi A. The Kargi manuscript, *p.1*; *see also fn 29 above*

¹⁶⁵ Abdullahi Aliyu, (Wamban Zazzau), "Tarihin Kasar Zazzau.....", *op-cit*. As regard to the Kadara and Gwari, see Harold D.Gunn, *Pagan people of central Area of Northern Nigeria*, London, 1956; Temple and Howard, *History of certain Emirates*; Mailafia A. Filaba, *History of Karu, Kurape and Kurudu kingdoms: A study of economic and political changes among the Gbagyi of central Nigeria in the 18th and 19th centuries*, M.A. Thesis, A.B.U, Zaria, 1995

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

treated by several scholars notably, Abdullahi Smith.¹⁶⁷ I therefore, find it unnecessary to revisit it here again. But our concern here is to draw attention to some of the limitations of the legend and its appendage as represented in the tradition of origin of the Zazzau Kingdom. Abdullahi Smith as the leading critique of the legend dismissed its historical significance as doubtful. He further pointed out that the legend does not actually explain the origins of the various dynasties in Hausa land, which it sought to explain. And that even if it succeeded in doing so, it over looked the prevailing local conditions that gave impetus to the development of state like political structures in Hausa land generally and Zazzau Kingdom in particular.

There is therefore, no doubt that the genesis of kingship as embodied in the Bayajidda legend is an over simplification of the issue. This had necessitated a close scrutiny of traditions relating to dynastic origins.

Whatever historical truth lies in the traditions above, they seem to suggest that the Zaria plains had attained some level of economic and cultural significance even before the emergence of the kingship. This was a factor that acted as a magnet by attracting and pulling around the neighbouring communities to the plains and consequently in the settlement of various groups of people of diverse origins and occupational activities such as the Kaje, Gwari, Kurama and Kadara. This is confirmed by the Kadara tradition which claimed that as a result of their movement from their place of origin at Meisin, they had settled at the rock of Kufena before their permanent settlement at the rock of Kufana located to the south of Kaduna River.¹⁶⁸ It should however be noted that a critical look at the traditions of Kadara suggest that they were not original settlers of Kufena as the traditions explain that they migrated from somewhere.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, the Dutsen Kaje

¹⁶⁷ For details on the Bayajidda legend see Abdullahi Smith, *Some consideration relating to the formation of states in Hausa Land*, pp.63-65; *The early states of the Central Sudan*, pp.103-105

¹⁶⁸ Gun H.D., *Pagan peoples of the central area of Northern Nigeria*, London, 1956, Pp125-126

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

located to the south of the inselbergs of Kufena is said to have formed the settlement of Kaje speaking people before their emigration out of the area.

The town of Zazzau however, came under heavy attacks in the thirteenth century by the people from the area south of the present Birnin Gwari area known as the Gurara.¹⁷⁰ The situation therefore, necessitated the mobilization of effective defence against such military aggression. It was this circumstances that brought about the emergence of the Kingship. However, we are yet to know the details of the process of the emergence of the kingship. But certainly it could not have been peaceful involving such peaceful means like issuing of royal orders to that effect or through a compromise between contenders as the Bayajidda legend seems to suggest. Apart from this, vying for leadership position is always characterized by stiff and cut-throat competition. In such kind of struggle it is the strongest that always have the upper hand.

What ever was the process for the emergence of the kingship it is regarded as marking the final evolution of the socio-political structure of the state of Zazzau, a process by which the monarchy emerged at the centre of a complex network of feudal relationships.¹⁷¹ This was a process by which the authority of the Sarki was extended to areas beyond the confines of the walled settlement, to cover other areas in the hinterland.

The authority of the Sarki to a great extent was subject to the amount of support he could get from his subordinate officials (*masu sarauta*). This was because they were the ones that were in actual control of the *garuruwa* of Zazzau. As a matter of necessity therefore, the Sarki had to surround himself with such group of officials whose relationship was purely feudal. This was based on the fact that while they received some rewards from the Sarki in form of fiefs and other things, they were in turn under an obligation to recognize his leadership as well as provide him

¹⁷⁰ Abdullahi Aliyu, (Wamban Zazzau), "Tarihin Kasar Zazzau", p. 2.

¹⁷¹ Smith, "Some notes on the History of Zazzau under Hausa Kings," p. 84

with military services, and contributes towards civil administration and to provide him with revenue for administrative purposes. The most powerful of this class of people (*masu sarauta*) were the Galadima, Wambai, Dallatu and Madawaki. These positions with the exception of the Madaki were normally filled by eunuchs.¹⁷² This was because the Sarakuna did not find them a security threat to their political position mainly because by law, Eunuchs could never aspire to the position of the Sarki. Consequently, they were more loyal and reliable in the defence of the city and for the security and health of the *Sarakuna*. This was unlike the princes who were feared because of their over zealousness for power.¹⁷³ The *masu sarauta* were regarded as public officers and advisers to the Sarki and known as the *rukuni* (pillars of the state). Other category of officials included the Dangkaladima (the heir presumptive to the throne), the Sarauniya (the daughter of the Sarki) and the Iya (the wife of the Sarki's father).¹⁷⁴ It should be noted that the Iya and Sarauniya were powerful Palace officials. The existence of powerful female officials within the *sarauta* system in Zazzau in the pre-colonial period demonstrated the position for women in the society. There also developed a group of officials who served as important links between the Sarki and the *masu sarauta* known as *yan fada* (palace officials) whose function was mainly with the administration of the palace.¹⁷⁵ Thus, Zazzau was sharply divided into two classes; the *masu sarauta* and the *talakawa* with the *masu sarauta* at the upper rung of the society while the *talakawa* were at the bottom strata of the society.¹⁷⁶ The relation-ship between these classes was often exploitative.¹⁷⁷

The history of Birnin Zaria from the 16th to 18th centuries was characterized by wars for territorial expansion. These were aimed at enforcing its political supremacy and ascendancy over

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ Oral source, Usman Dalhatu, Age 38 years, 12th February, 2007

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ Smith, "Some notes," p. 84

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

its neighbouring states. This provided it with more economic resources to man the state. However, it is difficult within the present state of our knowledge to give details of the processes involved in the wars. But what is clear was that Zaria's influence was widely felt as far as Nupe land. For instance a tradition recorded by Muhammad Bello states thus:

At this time Zaria under Queen Amina conquered all the towns as far as Kwararafa and Nupe. Every town paid tribute to her. The Sarkin Nupe sent forty eunuchs and 10,000 kola nuts to her. She first had eunuchs and kola nuts in Hausa Land. In her time all the products of the west were brought to Hausa land. Her conquest extended over 34 years.¹⁷⁸

In any case, the process of the fusion and subjugation of such communities into the state of Zazzau based in the *Birni* can be conveniently broken into three broad stages.¹⁷⁹ The first stage involved the incorporation of settlements in the immediate neighbourhood of the Birni such as Dumbi, Farakwai, Tsauni, and Hange. Sutton was of the view that this might have taken place in the 16th and 17th centuries.¹⁸⁰

The second stage involved the subjugation of other smaller *garuruwa* within the hinterland of Birnin Zaria into its sphere of influence. This included *garuruwa* like Kawari, Rikochi, Kargi, and Wuchichchiri. Such *garuruwa* were not totally brought under the direct control of the rulers of Zazzau, but they rather maintained a dependence relationship, a process where by the *masu gari* ruled such *garuruwa* through their rulers.

The third stage was reached when smaller states were brought under the sphere of influence of Birnin Zaria in a vassal or satellite relationship. This kind of relationship is a clear evidence of the military and economic superiority of Birnin Zaria over the vassals or satellite states. States like

¹⁷⁸ Muhammad Bello, *Infaq Al maisur* (whittling Ed), London, 1951 pp. 18-19. The personality of Amina and her activities is a subject of controversy. Hence the view by scholars like Abdullahi Smith that such things like the celebrated ganuwa and military campaigns that were ascribed to her may be a folkloristed exaggerations. See Abdullahi Smith, "some notes ," pp.98-99

¹⁷⁹ Dhiliwayo A. V. History of Sabon Gari Zaria, 1911 – 1950; A Study of colonial urban Administration, *PhD thesis*, A.B.U. Zaria, 1986. P. 95

¹⁸⁰ sutton

Kauru, Kajuru, Fatika, Kagarko, Lere and Durum were examples of vassals. While states like Jema'a, Nasarawa, Keffi and Doma were satellites.¹⁸¹ The basic difference between a vassal and a satellite state lies on the fact that the latter had some measure of autonomy. The people in the satellite states could select their rulers, subject only to confirmation from Zaria. Vassal states on the other hand were under the direct control of the ruler at Zaria. The Sarakuna at Zaria could select and depose rulers of the vassal states at will. The vassal states could not also engage in raids or war without approval from Zaria.

The rulers of Birnin Zaria also paid greater attention to the maintenance of peace and security in the Kingdom, which was vital for the growth of the economy and by implication, the development of the state. It is within this context that the building and modifications of the walls of the *Birni* and the adoption of up to date weapons in line with the changing military technology and tactics of war should be understood. The walls played many functions. One of the functions of the walls was that it provided psychic and physical security to the inhabitants of the *Birni*. This was an important factor that encouraged peaceful commercial transactions and the immigration of many people of diverse occupational pursuit into the *Birni*.¹⁸² This included traders, craftsmen, and scholars. This boosted the economic prosperity of the *Birni* and by extension also boosted the power of the Sarki. The level of economic prosperity enjoyed by Zaria due to its security enabled it to overshadow other competing centres of political powers such as Kauru, Hunkuyi, Makarfi and Zangon Kataf.¹⁸³

The walls also served as refuge to the neighbouring communities who always became the first targets during attacks on Zaria. It was said that large number of people from villages such as Gimba, Giwa, Danmahawayi, Dumbi, Dobo, Pantaki, Kuringa, Kidandan, Yakawada, Kaya and

¹⁸¹ H.A.S Johnson, *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*, op.cit

¹⁸² Bala Achi and Yashim I.B. "warfare as a factor of urban growth in Hausa Land," a paper presented at the 9th congress of the Pan African Association for pre history and related studies, Jos, 1983, p.9

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

Gangara migrated into the *Birni* for security between C1750 and 1808¹⁸⁴ whenever there were external threats.

The *Sarakuna* also encouraged economic activities. This was aimed at generating funds sufficient enough to maintain and preserve the *sarauta* and to maintain the status quo. Some of the measures adopted by the *sarakuna* to ensure smooth economic activities included the maintenance of peace and security, which was very crucial in that regards. There was also the regulation of economic activities by the state. From the trade and other economic activities the state derived a lot of revenue in form of, taxes and tolls obtained from traders who moved with their goods into the *Birni* and at the main market of the *Birni*.¹⁸⁵ Through this process, the *masu sarauta* had effective ways of appropriating the surplus produced by the *talakawa* residing both in and outside the *Birni*. This was to take care of the needs of the ostentatious living of the *masu sarauta*.¹⁸⁶

5. THE EMERGENCE OF BIRNIN ZARIA AS THE CAPITAL CITY OF THE STATE OF ZAZZAU.

The Foundation of Birnin Zaria as the capital city of the state of Zazzau was laid in the second half of the 15th century. Traditions ascribed the foundation of the *Birni* to Amina one of the daughters of Bakwa Turunku, the twenty-second ruler of Zazzau.

The circumstances that gave impetus to this important political development could be traced to the external military campaigns against the state of Zazzau by Kano in the 15th century during the reign of Sarkin Kano Kanajeji Dan Yaji (1390-1410). The military campaigns were part of the territorial expansion drives that was common among the Hausa states around this period. This was necessitated by the need for more territories and wealth in the forms of booties, slaves, taxes and tributes, which was much needed for the maintenance of a strong foothold and political

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Arnett E. J. A. "A Hausa chronicle" in the *journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 38, 1968, Pp. 161-167.

¹⁸⁶ Oyedele E. Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria; Kaduna 1913-1960 unpublished *PhD thesis*, A.B.U. Zaria, 1987, pp. 69-71

control of areas under their sphere of influence. The situation was such that any attempt of expansion by one state came into sharp conflict with the interest of another state.¹⁸⁷ It is against this background that we should understand the military conflict between Kano and Zazzau by this period.

Kano was said to have launched two military campaigns against Zazzau during the reign of Sarkin Kano, Kanajeji.¹⁸⁸ During the first attack, the town of Zazzau was invaded up to the plains of Turunku but was forced to retreat. There after, the second expedition took place during which the Sarkin Zazzau was killed at Gadaz together with many of his officials. Following this event the *Zazzagawa* who suddenly found them selves without a leader loss the will to fight, and hence became demoralized and scattered. This situation provided the opportunity for the forces of Kano to over ran the town of Zazzau and kept it under siege for almost eight months. At the end of the siege, the Kano forces returned laden with booty.¹⁸⁹

Abdullahi Smith was of the view that the political instability following the vacuum created by the demise of the political authority and the destruction of the town of Zazzau by Kanajeji might have created the conditions for the transfer of the dynasty of Turunku to Kufena.¹⁹⁰ However, a careful study of the available evidence indicates that contrary to this assumption, the transfer of the dynasty seemed to be from Kufena to Turunku.¹⁹¹ This was because by the time of the invasion, the town of Zazzau was already located near the Kubanni River (Kufena)¹⁹² and that both Kufena and Turunku were contemporaneous.¹⁹³ Under these circumstances, naturally the tendency was for the people of Zazzau to flee away from their enemy to a more secured place.

¹⁸⁷ Abdullahi Mahdi, 'Some observations in the emergence of and development of the sarauta system in the central Sudan before 1804', a paper presented at the International seminar, on the History of the central Sudan before 1804, Zaria, Nigeria, 8th -13th January, 1979

¹⁸⁸ Palmer, H.R; Kano chronicle, in *Sudanese memoirs*, Vol. 3, Lagos, 1928, pp. 107-108

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Smith, Some notes on the History of Zazzau under Hausa kings, p. 83

¹⁹¹ When the forces of Kano invaded Zaria, the *Zazzagawa* fled and mounted the Kufena hill in search of refuge. The Kanawa threatened to take the hill on their head. Not seeing through their tricks, the *Zazzagawa* fled.

¹⁹² Smith, Some notes on the History of Zazzau under Hausa kings, p. 83

¹⁹³ Ibid.

Turunku might be the only choice since the town of Zazzau at Kufena was under siege for eight months.¹⁹⁴ The flight to Turunku might be informed by the fact that security there seemed to be well assured and established particularly due to the presence of physical conditions guaranteeing protection such as the granitic out crops of the area reinforced by series of wall complex. It is probably within this context that the complex nature¹⁹⁵ of the walling system of Turunku should be properly understood. Flights into other places were not strange in Hausa land. For instance there was the flight of Sarkin Kano and his followers to Daura following attacks from Kwararafa in the 16th century. In any case the impasse created by the killing of Sarkin Zazzau gave an opportunity for the rulers of Turunku to mobilize forces and brought Kufena within its sphere of influence.¹⁹⁶ Thus, the two ancient centres of power were integrated into a single political entity. This development seemed to have taken place during the reign of Bakwa Turunku.¹⁹⁷

This important development marked the beginning of a new era for it witnessed the emergence of Birnin Zaria as the capital city of the state of Zazzau. With the capital of the state firmly established at Zaria, there began the period of territorial expansion in the west and south of Zazzau commencing at the beginning of the 16th century as mentioned above.¹⁹⁸

The ability of the rulers at Turunku to consolidate their control over the state gave a fillip to the development of commerce, which in turn encouraged people of diverse occupational pursuit to immigrate into Turunku in large numbers. This was in addition to the large number of people that already fled into the area from the old town of Zazzau following the devastation of their town by the Kano forces. Consequently, the situation led to over population. This in turn brought about

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Bawuro M. Barkindo (ed) studies in the history of Kano, Heinemann Educational Books, (Nigeria) Ltd, 1983, p.6

¹⁹⁶ Abdullahi Mahdi, Some observations in the emergence of and development of the Sarauta system in the central Sudan before 1804, a paper presented at an International seminar on the History of the central Sudan before 1804, zaria, Nigeria, 8th – 13th Jan. 1979, p.171

¹⁹⁷ Tradition claim that Kwanissa was the one killed during the military expedition.

¹⁹⁸ Smith, some notes, p. 85

acute shortage of water¹⁹⁹ due to pressure on the sources of water supply in the area which could not cope up with the rapid increase of population.

As a result of the resolve to find a permanent solution to the precarious condition created by the acute shortage of water in Turunku, Bakwa Turunku who was credited with the rebuilding of the old town decided to relocate to the abandoned old town of Zaria. This decision was predicated upon the fact that the old town was more spacious and contained adequate supply of water. This is confirmed by the Zaria traditions, which claimed that a hunter called Bono during his hunting expeditions discovered the site where Birnin Zaria is presently located. Astonished by the beauty of the area, he reported his findings to the King who on discovering that the site was not only suitable but had an extensive land reserve for expansion decided to move to the new site.²⁰⁰

But Considering the fact that the old town of Zaria became vulnerable to external attacks, which were often occasioned by heavy loss of lives, including at one occasion that of its ruler, more improved defences had to be carried out as a precondition for rehabilitating and re-establishing it. After due consideration therefore, the decision was in favour of the erection of *ganuwa* (town wall) as a major security device. We do not have details of the process involved in the construction of the *ganuwa*. But what is clear from the oral tradition was that it took along period of preparations involving a period of three years.²⁰¹ A total of five years was spent in the construction works.²⁰² The next chapter provides details on the Zaria walls and gates.

Whatever the process was involved in the building of the *ganuwa*, what is of great concern to us here was the fact that the project brought about significant political development. This was because on the completion of the *ganuwa* and the Palace of the King of Zazzau, the dynasty of the rulers of Zazzau moved from Turunku to the rebuilt old town, which was, renamed Zaria after the

¹⁹⁹ Kirk Greene A.H.M. *Gazetteer of the Northern Provinces*, London, 1972, p. 8

²⁰⁰ J.K. Bryant, *This is Zaria*, *op.cit.*

²⁰¹ Abdullahi A. (Wamban Zazzau), 'Tarihin Kasar Zazzau...', p. 2

²⁰² *Ibid.*

daughter of Bakwa Turunku. Soon after this transfer Zaria was able to over shadow all the other ancient settlements such as Kufena, Tukur -Tukur, Madarkachi and Turunku by bringing them under its control. Hence, Zaria emerged as the capital city of the state of Zazzau, the new focal point of power, authority and economic activities.

2.5 CONCLUSION

It has been demonstrated that the processes of the emergence of centralized political institutions on the Zaria plains cannot be traced outside the processes of community formation, urbanisation and integration that was taking place several centuries within the region. The role of external factors in these transformations was also highlighted. The earliest political communities in the region were formed around the first millennium A.D. in areas where conditions were favourable. Some of the earliest political communities were identified as Kufena, Madarkachi, Turunku, Kargi, and Wuchichiri. The role of the local environment in influencing the integration of people into socio-economic and political ties was highlighted in the chapter

Through gradual processes these communities developed into centres of populations, crafts, manufacture, trade and administration. The development of these centres went hand in hand with the development of some forms of political and administrative centralization, which finally formed the basis for the emergence of the Sarauta system and the state system. By the second millennium A.D. these settlements seemed to be integrated and brought under a centralized political authority. The foundation of the state of Zazzau was thus formed. What followed thereafter was the process of expansion. The location of the administrative headquarter of the state of Zazzau during this

period was a subject of debate. This issue was discussed and how Birnin Zaria finally emerged as the administrative centre of the state of Zazzau was examined.

CHAPTER THREE

THE INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION OF BIRNIN ZARIA UP TO 1900

1. INTRODUCTION:

The process of settlement formation on the Zaria plains and the culmination of such process into the Emergence of centralized political institutions were brought into focus in the last chapter. This chapter deals with the internal development and expansion of the *Birni* since its formation in the 15th century to the beginning of the 20th century. It gives insights into the *Birni* in concrete terms of its geography, walls, gates, architecture, wards, Palace, Mosque, Market, and so on, from its establishment to 1900. It begins with an examination of some of the physical elements (i.e. the walls, the gates, the palace and the market) of the *Birni* that gave it that typical character of a pre-colonial Hausa city. While doing so, the organic relationship existing between these spatial elements is highlighted. The issue of the security of the *Birni* is also examined. This is followed with an examination of the historical development of the numerous wards that formed the city. This gives insight into the genealogy of the various families that formed the *Birni* as well as the traditional planning of the wards. Finally, the chapter concludes with a study of the ethnic composition of the population that made up the *Birni* as well as some of the social amenities provided in the *Birni*.

2. THE ZARIA CITY WALL AND ITS GATES

City wall commonly called *ganuwa* in Hausa is a unique feature that commonly characterized the *Birane* in Hausa land. The *ganuwa* formed an integral part of the *Birni* and also constituted one of its major physical elements. The *Birni* wall was a reflection of the collective security consciousness of the Zazzagawa at an early period of their existence to develop out of the

local environment, a technological device that could provide them with the much needed protection and security.²⁰³ These efforts manifested in simple artificial fortifications such as the walls. In other words, these walls represented the application of society's imagination and ingenuity to the specific military and even political and economic needs.²⁰⁴

Despite the loss of its defensive significance, following the British conquest, of the *Birni* in 1902, the Zaria wall still performs some psychological functions. For instance, the *ganuwa* still demarcates the city from the rest of the area and people surrounding it. It thus became a distinguishing factor between those who resides within the walls of the *Birni*, otherwise known as *yan Birni* and those living outside the walled city variously known as *yan waje* or *yan karkara*. In addition to this, the *ganuwa* gave its occupants that conscious feeling of belonging and a sense of unity, identity and cultural superiority over those residing outside it.²⁰⁵ But it also poses the danger of segregation and isolation in a plural and globalise society.

The wall of Birnin Zaria as it is presently is an imposing one extending from Kufena and went round Tukur-Tukur Village, reaching Madarkachi hill, covering an area of 24 kilometres in diameter.²⁰⁶ However, it is important to note that the *ganuwa* in its present dimension never started as it is now. It was rather a culmination of a long process of evolution involving the transformation and final fusion and incorporation of earlier walls that were hitherto in existence. See map 1 in chapter two for insights into the Zaria walling sequence.

The re-construction of this imposing wall seemed to have been spurred by the military campaign spearheaded by Sarkin Kano Kanajeji (c.1390- 1410) as mentioned earlier against

²⁰³ Wall building in Hausa land was generally stimulated, by insecurity occasioned by intercity wars following the mass movements of people in search of more favorable dwelling places after the desiccation of the Sahara.

²⁰⁴ Achi B. The development and function of city walls, p. 21

²⁰⁵ Barkindo, B.M. "Continuity and change in Kano Traditional Architecture" in Barkindo, B.M. (ed), Kano and some of her neighbors, Ahmadu Bello University Press, Ltd, Zaria, p. 63

²⁰⁶ Achi B. The development and functions of city walls, P.113

Zaria,²⁰⁷ a situation that led to the desertion of the town of Zaria to Turunku. With the consolidation of the dynasty at Turunku and the subsequent defeat and expulsion of these external threats, necessary conditions appeared to have been provided for the emergence of the settlement into an important economic, commercial and political centre. However, the potentials of the settlement could not be adequately exploited without provision of internal security that could ensure peace and safeguard against further external threats. It was this and other objective realities that necessitated the reconstruction of the city wall and the transfer of the capital to the new city named after Zaria, one of the daughters of Bakwa Turunku who supposedly spearheaded the reconstruction of the city wall.

The construction of the *Birni* wall seems to have led to a shift in the political and religious importance of Kufena. This was following the fall of the Kufena wall into disuse. Local materials were highly utilized in the building of the wall that fortified the *Birni*. This included mud, laterites and granites.²⁰⁸ The mud used in the building of the wall was obtained from the immediate environment. What tends to suggest this is the existence of ditches surrounding the wall apparently indicating the source of the mud used in the construction of the wall.

The building project of the city wall was a collective responsibility involving almost every member of the *Birni* with a clear division of labour. For instance the various occupational groups provided their specialized services for the project. Blacksmiths, wood carvers and pot makers for example were needed in the provision of building materials such as calabashes, earthen pots, and other containers for carrying food, water, earth and grasses as well as building tools such as *fartanya*, (hoe), *galma*, (big hoe), *gatari*

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

(axe), *masassabi* (adze) and pales. The citizens of the *Birni* on the other hand provided the substantial part of the labour force used in the construction project. This was complemented by slave labour. The skilled labour of the society were mobilized and organised around occupational guilds with a hierarchy of officials. In the case of building for instance, it was the Sarkin magina appointed by Sarkin Zazzau who selected and appointed builders in subordinate ranks such as Madakin gini, Galadiman gini, Turakin gini and Shamakin gini.²⁰⁹ It was these officials in collaboration with ward heads e.t.c. that mobilized the needed labour force for the construction and annual maintenance of the walls. They were also charged with surveying, designing the actual construction and alignment of the wall with due regards to the topography of the area. The same official hierarchy existed for blacksmiths whose skilled labour were employed in manufacturing building tools such as *galma*, *sangwami*, and iron locks and latches used to close the city gates. The services of the wood carvers were also employed who carved the door and other materials used in the construction of the door. Drummers were also used in mobilizing labour force and for entertaining the workers at the building site in order to boost their morale. The services of priests and great scholars were also employed to bury charms at particular sites and recite incantations invoking spirits, prophets and particular angels to shield the city against invasion and to bless it with abundant wealth.²¹⁰ It should be noted that since public works such as the construction of city wall was usually done under a kind of a state of emergency, people were recruited willy-nilly to participate in the work.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*

²¹⁰ *Ibid*

In spite of series of renovations, re-enforcements,²¹¹ and perhaps at certain period long neglects, which characterized the wall since its construction in the 15th century, it was still at least by the arrival of the Europeans an impressive structure. The 19th century European explorers, for instance, Dr. Baikie who passed through Zaria in 1862 during the reign of Sarki Abdullahi gave a vivid description of the wall thus:

Zaria wall stretching for almost ten miles are pierced by eight gates; A ninth gate beyond the Kofar Kuyambana has been filled in for it was through this one that the *Habe* under their king Makau are said to have been driven south ward to Abuja by Fulani in 1804.²¹²

Paul Staudinger who visited Zaria by 1880 also has this to say about the wall:

The town though it covers an immense area is surrounded by a clay wall which at this time was already breached in places. Such walls need frequent repair-work to counteract the erosive effect of the tropical sunshine and the torrential rains..... A number of gates (H. *Kofa*) gave entrance through the town walls and these could be closed with wooden doors and latches. In each gatehouse sat a few of the King's officials and levied a market toll of few cowries for the ware brought in by farmers of the district. However, we never had to pay such a duty how much they asked and if they also levied a toll from people leaving the town I did not discover.²¹³

As correctly observed by Baikie, nine gates were constructed with each of the gates built by twisting the entrance inside. This was to direct the enemy into a narrow front from where he will find it difficult to fight. Fixing strong wooden doors and latches to them

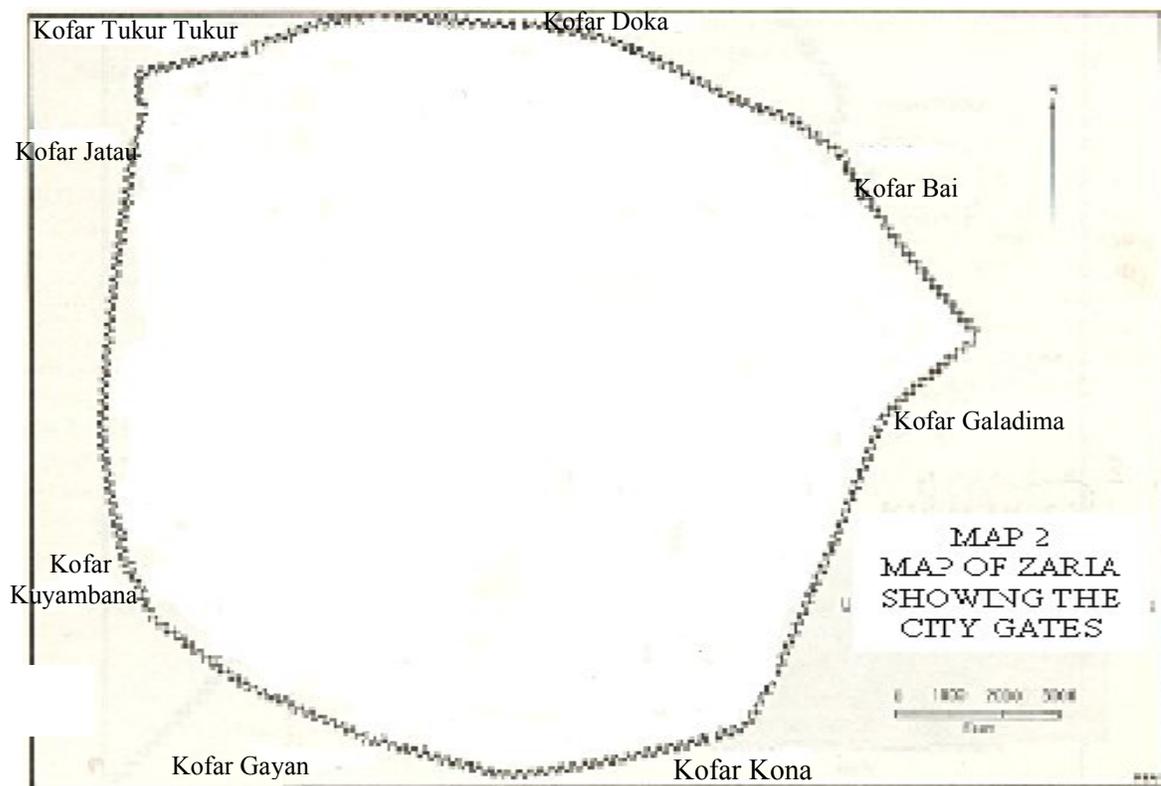
²¹¹Clapperton, Hugh, Journal of a second expedition into the interior parts of Africa, p.158, where he maintained that the city wall had gone through renovation s after the Jihad. He was in Zaria in 1825.

²¹²Baikie .H. Narration of an exploring voyage up the Rivers Quorra and Benue, *Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, London, 1987, P.37

²¹³ Staudinger, P. *In the Heart of Hausa States Vol. I*, Translated by Johanna, E. Moody, Ohio, 1990, P.177.

further tightened defences at the gates. Granites and laterites were used in the construction of the gates in which layers of stones were alternated with layers of clay in order to create a well-built wall.

The names of the gates were Kofar Kona, Kofar Gayan, Kofar Kuyambana, Kofar Kibo, Kofar Doka, Kofar Bai, Kofar Galadima, Kofar Matarkwasa, Kofar Jatau and Kofar Tukur-Tukur with Kofar Matarkwasa or Sabuwar Kofa closed down by the 19th century for the reasons examined below: The gates of Birnin Zaria obtained their names either from the specific physical features associated with the gates or from some important personalities associated with the state of Zazzau. See the map below for insights into the city gates and their locations.



Source: A. W. Urcuhart, 1977

It should be noted, however, that the nine gates were not constructed at the same time. But rather they evolved through time. Initially there were six gates. Then later three

more were added and out of these one was closed down later. According to local tradition the number of gates in a city depended upon its size.²¹⁴ A small city may have four gates while a big city may have as many as eight or more. This was to allow for easy access in and out of the *Birni*.²¹⁵

The first six gates were as follows; Kofar Gayan, Kofar Kuyambana, Kofar Kona, Kofar Tukur-Tukur, Kofar Doka and Kofar Bai. Kofar Gayan derived its name from the river Gayan that was located to the south of this gate. This river was said to be very important to the pastoral inside Zaria who grazed their herds in the bank of the river during the rainy season.²¹⁶ Kofar Kuyambana was named after the town of Kuyambana that is located about 80 miles away from Birnin Zaria on the same latitude to the east.²¹⁷ This was because following the conquest of Kuyambana by Queen Amina and her subsequent appointment of a district head to oversee the town on her behalf, the gate came to assume an important link between the town of Kuyambana and Zaria. Kofar Kona got its name from the *Malaman Kona* who vacated their former settlement at Kona following the establishment of Birnin Zaria. The present city wall partially incorporated the Kona settlement. The name Kona was derived from a Hausa word “*konan zamu zauna?*” According to traditions a certain Malam with his disciples seeking a site where to settle at length reached a fertile country. The land looked very fertile and promising, astonished by this discovery, the leader asked his followers “*konan zamu zauna?*” i.e. should we settle here? Upon this the town was built and named Kona. This town of Kona²¹⁸ was located to the east of Zaria, south of Katuka in Madaki district, later Soba district. Although the town

²¹⁴ Oral source, Alhaji Abdullahi Aliyu (Wamban Zazzau), Age 80 years, 10th March 2002.

²¹⁵ *Ibid*

²¹⁶ Oral source, Alhaji Ibrahim Mai Duniya. Op-cit

²¹⁷ Usman Y.B., The transformation of Katsina (1400-1883). The emergence and over throw of the *Sarauta* system and the Establishment of the emirate, *PhD thesis*, A.B.U. Zaria, 1978. P.9

²¹⁸ Oral source, Muhammadu Sani (Limamin Kona), Age 63 years, 1st September 2003.

of Kona was founded before the movement of the dynasty to Turunku, it was certain that the Imam Kona did not move to Turunku, but however remained in this settlement until when it was rebuilt in the 15th century by Zaria and it was through this gate that the *Malaman Kona* entered Birnin Zaria.

The next gate was Kofar Tukur-Tukur. This gate derived its name from Tukur-Tukur rocks. However, later, in the 19th century the name was changed to Kofar Kibo, meaning the “Gate of arrows”. This was a reflection of the war that broke out around the gate between the forces of Haruna of Ningi and Sarkin Zazzau Sambo (1879-1888 A.D.) during which there was rain of arrows around it.²¹⁹ In the past this gate linked Zaria with such cities like Zamfara, Kebbi, Yauri and Gobir. The fifth gate was Kofar Doka. Traditions vary as regard to how the gate derived its name. One version of the traditions has it that the gate derived its name from the *isoberlinia* (*Doka*) trees that were in existence around the site of the gate. Another tradition suggested that the gate was named after a particular *Doka* tree that was located at the Palace of Sarkin Zazzau Abubakar, which was later converted to a prison which housed the present city prison at Kofar Doka. According to yet another tradition the gate got its name from a re-known gatekeeper bearing the name Doka.²²⁰ In the past Kofar Doka was the gateway to Katsina and Kano.

The last gate was Kofar Bai (Kwarbai). As the name implies, it is a reference to a gate located at the back of the Palace. Hence the initial reference to the gate as *Kofar Bayan Gidan sarki* before it was finally shortened to Kofar Bai. This was the gateway to Bauchi.

²¹⁹ Kirk Greene, and Hogben, S.J. The Emirate of Northern Nigeria, P. 122

²²⁰ Oral source, Yusuf Aliyu Mai Anguwar Kofar Doka, Age 51 years, 11th March 2002.

Two additional gates were later constructed in the beginning of the 17th century A.D. These were: Kofar Jatau and Kofar Galadima. We do not know yet what precisely prompted the addition of these two gates. The *Habe* ruler of Zazzau Jatau (1782-1802 A.D.) is said to have constructed Kofar Jatau to facilitate the coming of scholars into the *Birni*. Hence the gate bears his name.²²¹ However another tradition has it that Kofar Jatau derived its name from a prominent gatekeeper who held that office during the period of Sarkin Zazzau Jatau. With regard to Kofar Galadima traditions varies in respect of how it derived its name. One tradition claimed that the gate bears the name of the *Habe* Galadima of Zazzau, Daudu. While another tradition suggests that the gate got its name after Galadima Dokaje. However, it was generally believed that the gate was named after the Galadima that lived around the gate.

What accounted for the ninth gate was the forceful entry of the last *Habe* ruler of Zazzau Makau into the *Birni* after his overthrow by the Jihadist in 1808 A.D. It was reported that after his escape from the *Birni* following the Jihadists attack, Makau secretly returned to the *Birni* by breaking through the wall between Kofar Jatau and Kofar Kuyambana allegedly to take away the royal sword (Zazzau). This gate is known as Kofar Matarkwasa.²²² It was a centre of magic, Rangongon during the pre-jihad period. It thus attracted fortune tellers, diviners and traditional medicine-men who divined for the city especially during difficult periods. As a result of this the gate was a major target of attacks during the Jihad and it was sealed up thereafter in order to obliterate the principal

²²¹ Oral source, Bashir Dalhatu, op-cit

²²² Oral source, Alhaji Ahmadu Fatika (Sarkin Fadan Zazzau), Age 80 years, 28th February 2003.

source of the political and spiritual powers of the pre-jihad rulers of Zazzau as well as all the vestiges of traditional religion in Zaria.²²³

The city gates were in the effective control of the *Sarakunan Kofa* (gate keepers) who lived in the gate houses located within the vicinity of the gates.²²⁴ These officials were responsible for checking immigrants and traders, and collection of taxes from traders. Apart from the regulation of movement of people into the *Birni*, the *Sarakunan Kofa* were also responsible for the provision of accommodation to travellers. The city gates were usually closed as soon as it was dark to guide against surprise attacks on the city, while they were opened in the morning after all precautions to ensure that there were no security threat to the *Birni*.²²⁵ The gates could also be closed at any time of the day when there were real or perceived threats to the *Birni*.²²⁶ This arrangement greatly helped in providing effective security to the *Birni*.²²⁷ Network of radiating roads converging at the centre of the *Birni* linked the gates with the city where three important physical spatial elements dominated the scene. These include: the Palace, Mosque, and the Market. These form the focus of our discussions subsequently.

3. THE SECURITY OF THE BIRNI

The role of security in the growth and development of any nation need not be over emphasized. That consciousness of the significance of security is recognized even in ancient times as reflected in the settlement patterns of Hausa kingdoms generally where for security consideration people tend to congregate in defensible areas initially as provided by natural factors such as inselbergs, and later when this proved inadequate,

²²³ Bala A. The development and function of city walls, p. 159

²²⁴ According to Alhaji Dambo Mai Sa'a, the Sarkin Kofar Zazzau, *Sarakunan kofa* were highly trusted individuals who were usually chosen because of their trust worthiness. This was to ensure that people that might connive with enemies to attack the city were not selected to such offices.

²²⁵ Oral source, Alhaji Dambo Mai Sa'a, Age, 84 years, 4th February, 2007

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

security was reinforced by artificial fortifications in the form of *Ganuwa*.²²⁸ It is against this background that the role of the Zaria wall should be seen. The wall provided the much-needed security against external threats from its inception up to the time when it fell under the impact of the British maxim guns in 1902.

A number of factors need to be taken into consideration in explaining why Zaria enjoyed a long period of security, a factor that enabled the state to consolidate itself and begin to extend its power to other territories.

One of such factors was the imposing nature of the *ganuwa*, which was constantly modified to cope with improved tactics of warfare and weapons.²²⁹ For instance, the Zaria wall which was initially 24km in diameter was reduced to 15.8 km in circumference.²³⁰ This was following the realization that it was too large for effective defence. This seems to have taken place around the 1700 A.D.²³¹ The height of the wall was between 16-18 feet and 14 feet thick at the base. This was to counter the destructive effects of tall horses that were then adopted in warfare, while the thickness was to forestall any attempt by daring raiders from breaking through the wall.²³² Security around the gates was fortified by constructing them in a re-entrant angle with battlements and perforated holes to help in waylaying invaders of the *Birni* and exposed them to the weapons of the defenders. To further strengthen the defences of the walls thorn thickets were planted round them. This was to make it very difficult for both infantry and cavalry forces to have easy access to the wall. This resulted in strengthening the security of the *Birni*. The extent of the security enjoyed by Zaria was such that for instance between 1750 and 1808 large numbers of

²²⁸ Achi, B. and Yashim, "Warfare as a factor of urban growth, pp. 1-2

²²⁹ Achi, B. and Yashim, "Warfare as a factor of urban growth, p. 2

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² *Ibid.*

people from neighbouring villages such as Gimba, Dumbi, Karaukarau, Dobo, Pantaki, Kaya, Gangara Kidandan, Yakawada, Dan Mahawayi migrated into the *Birni* for security reasons.²³³

The existence of a standing army in Zaria also has an important contribution to its security. The standing army kept constant vigil on the gates and especially areas considered to be security wise weak.²³⁴ While highlighting on the role of the standing army in the process of urban growth and state formation, Mabogunje stated that:

.....it was an important concomitant of the rise of an urban centre and that the technology and tactics of a society accounted for its ability to dominate neighbouring cities to the extent that it could provide its own "Pax" and create a nation or empire.²³⁵

The Exploitation of iron was also an important factor in the warfare capabilities of the *Birni* and by implication its security. The exploitation of iron revolutionised warfare by introducing new weapons into the system of war. These included *Takobi* (sword), *Mashi* (spear), *Kibiya* (arrow), and *Wuka* (Knife).

The use of horses in warfare particularly between the 15th and 16th centuries brought many military successes to Zaria. For instance, it helped Amina during her 30 years military exploits against areas such as Nupe, Kwararrafa, Bauchi, Gbagyi, Gwandara, Doma, Yeskwa, Kwato, Attagara, Kano and Katsina.²³⁶ It should be noted that external military successes often meant internal security at home.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ One of such vulnerable spots which was closely and permanently guarded was a cutting made by the Kusfa stream located at Kofar Bai close to Anguwar Banzazzau.

²³⁵ Mabogunje, A. *Urbanization in Nigeria*, London, 1968, P.37.

²³⁶ Achi, B. and Yashim, "Warfare as a factor of urban growth, pp. 3-4

The reorganization of the military in Zaria was also effected in the 16th century. This initiative brought much military success to Amina and greater internal security to the *Birni*. The reorganization involved the placement of Uban dawaki (head of cavalry) at the head of the army. The Uban dawaki was seconded by the Magayaki who was responsible through his trusted and able bodied men for scouting and intelligence duty in enemy territory to spy over the enemy and among other things study his strategies, strength, type of weapons as well as defence system.²³⁷

The formation and development of *Anguwanni* (wards) within the *Birni* was a product of its internal security, which it enjoyed over the years. The spatial growth of the *Birni* following the expansion of earlier centres of human habitations forms our next focus.

4. ROYAL PALACE OF ZARIA (GIDAN BAKWA)

The royal Palace (*fada*) also known as gidan Bakwa in Zaria is located like most Palaces in Hausa land approximately at the central part of the *Birni*.²³⁸ This was for both strategic and military importance. According to oral tradition the site for the Palace was chosen on the advice of a hunter. His advice was based on the fact that the site was located at an advantageous position which made it possible for some one standing in front of the Palace to see as far as Kufena, Dutsen Hange, Turunku and so on. Not only that, it was also possible to receive military signals on the approach of enemies or dangers at the Palace from such places. Such signals were conveyed to the Palace via drums and some other instruments, which can only be interpreted by specialists who would immediately convey the message to the appropriate quarters for prompt action.²³⁹ The Palace marked the main focal point of the traditional city. It stands immediately

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ Dmochowski, Z.R. *Introduction to Nigerian Traditional Architecture, Vol One*, Ethnographica, Ltd, London, 1990, p. 5.29

²³⁹ Oral source, Alhaji Aminu Yakubu Wambai,, op-cit

beside and to the North east of the *Masallacin Jumu'a* (Friday prayer Mosque).²⁴⁰ Access to the Palace is through an entrance situated at the western edge of a long space reaching to the main street of the town and Market place nearby.

The Palace was built of mud until recently when it under went some transformations involving the erection of modern structures within it.²⁴¹ The royal Palace is broadly divided into four large sections namely: the royal court (*Fada*); the King's section (*sashen sarki*); the inner compound (*cikin gida*) and the old compound (*tsohuwar gida*). By all standards the Palace is a monumental and magnificent structure considering its large expanse, tall wall, and richness of its architectural design and the size of its gates. The dimension is such that it was compared to a small town.²⁴² Thus, the Palace was considered as one of the greatest achievements of Hausa architecture.²⁴³

The history of the royal Palace should be connected with the birth of the city itself. This is because it was the establishment of the *Birni* in the 15th century that necessitated the construction of the Palace that was meant to accommodate the rulers and some substantial part of their officials and servants. As mentioned earlier, following the decision of Bakwa Turunku to shift his capital from Turunku to Zaria due to the acute shortage of water in the former and its smallness, a team led by Zaria, the daughter of Bakwa Turunku was sent to over see the construction of the Palace. The appellation *Gidan Bakwa* (Bakwa's House) in reference to the Palace may be a tacit recognition of the person that ordered for its construction.

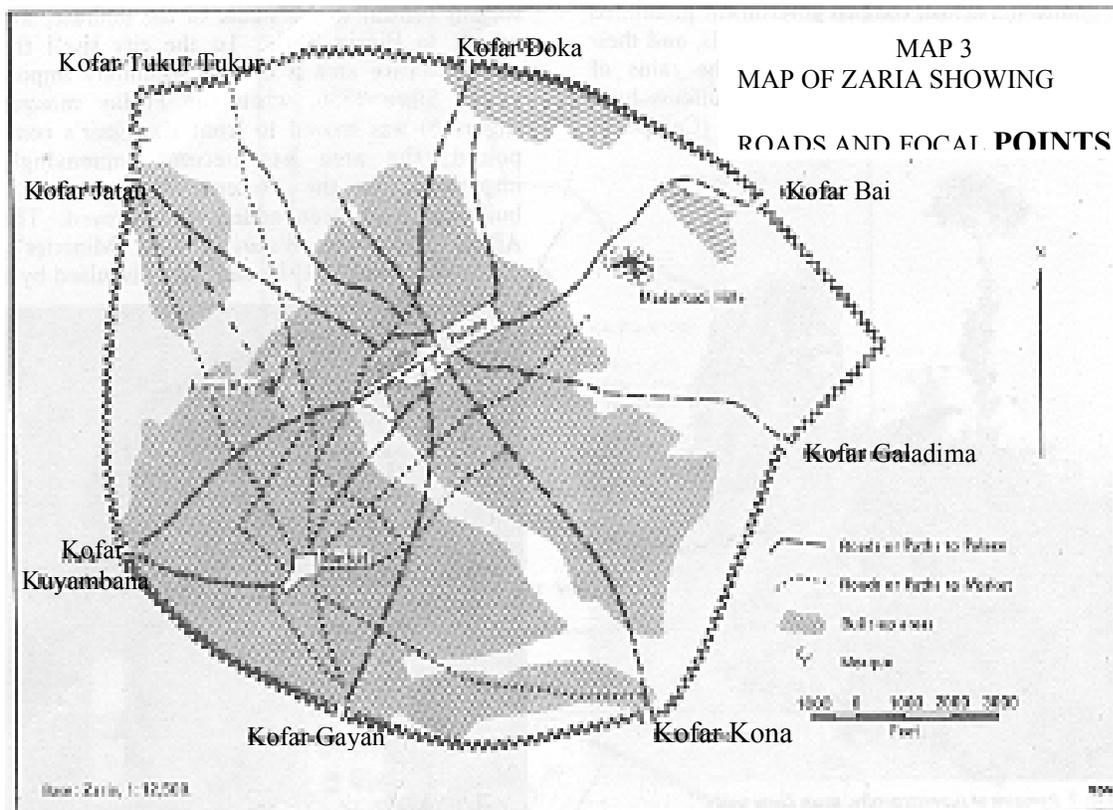
²⁴⁰ Dmochowski, Introduction to Nigerian Traditional Architecture, p. 5.29

²⁴¹ Sarkin Zazzau Malam Ja'afaru due to the deplorable condition of the Palace started the modernization of the royal Palace. See Usman Dalhatu, Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku, pp. 402-403

²⁴² Armet E.J. The Hausa Chronicle, *Journal of Africa*, 1913

²⁴³ Dmochowski, Introduction to Nigerian Traditional Architecture, p. 5.48

Because of its central role in the life of the people of Zaria, the Palace defined the spatial organisation of the *Birni*. This was because the Palace was located in the middle of the *Birni* and all the *Anguwanni* (wards) and the other two elements i.e. the Mosque and the Market that defined the *Birni* seemed to radiate to the Palace with many settlements clustered around them.²⁴⁴ The Palace not only defined the spatial organisation of the *Birni* but also gave its name to the quarter it was located in. Organic relationship seemed to be established between the Palace and the outlying wards with the Palace drawing large crowd of people especially from the countryside particularly during the *Sallah* festivals. This was because of the easy accessibility to the city via networks of roads and paths converging at the Palace from each gate and ward. See the Map below for insights into how the roads integrated the various sections of the *Birni*.



Source: A. W. Urquhart: 1977

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

It should however be noted that apart from the main Palace many other quasi Palaces existed in Zaria. This followed the rejection of Malam Musa to occupy the *Habe* Palace after falling to the Jihadists. This was because Malam Musa saw the danger in occupying the Habe Palace with all its luxury and traditional practices. His fear was that if he did so the Jihadists might revert back to the practices of the Habe time.²⁴⁵ Consequently, Malam Musa converted his house at Kwarbai as his official residence instead.²⁴⁶ His successor, Mallam Yamusa also opted to carry his official activities at his house at Rimin Doko in Kaura ward. Other rulers of *BareBari* ruling dynasty also used the house at Rimin Doko as their Palace there after.²⁴⁷

It was during the reign of Malam Abdul-Karim (1834-1846) that the use of *Gidan Bakwa* as official residence of the rulers of Zazzau was reverted to. This was following an approval by the representative of the Sultan of Sokoto to that effect. Consequently, some transformations were made to the Palace. For instance, many rooms were constructed in the Palace. This included the royal drums rooms (*Dakin Tamburra*) and a mud chamber popularly known as *Takwan Giwa*, which the present Emir, Alhaji Shehu Idris was using as a sitting room. The renowned builder, Mohammadu Durugu built these structures.²⁴⁸

There was another quasi-palace near the present Palace at the site where the headquarters of Jama'atu Nasril Islam is presently located. This was following the refusal of Hammada the successor to Abdul-Karim to occupy *Gidan Bakwa*.²⁴⁹ Subsequently, Emirs after Hammada also operated at various places. This was for the reasons mentioned above. For instance, Emirs from the *Barebari* ruling dynasty ruled from Kaura

²⁴⁵ Oral source, Usman Dalhatu, Age, 38 years, 12th February, 2007

²⁴⁶ Dalhatu Usman, and Hassan Musa, *Alhaji Shehu Idris CFR: The 18th Fulani Emir of Zazzau*, Books Africana, Kaduna 2000, p..16

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid

at Rimin Doko as mentioned earlier. While Abdul-Salam ruled from his house at Anguwan Bishar. Mallam Abubakar of the *Mallawa* ruling dynasty ruled from his personal compound at Kofar Doka, which now accommodates the city prison at Kofar Doka. It was the re-occupation of *Gidan Bakwa* by the 10th Emir of Zazzau Malam Sambo that marked the end of the existence of quasi-palaces in Zaria.²⁵⁰

5. ZARIA MOSQUE

Religion played important roles in the lives of the people of Zaria since time immemorial. The number of religious centres in the *Birni* demonstrates this. For instance, in the Pre-Islamic Zaria Kufena, Madarkachi, Banzazzau, and Amaru were important traditional religious centres. With the spread of Islam the first *Jumu'a* (Friday prayer) Mosque was built at Anguwar Juma. The precise time when the Mosque was built is not known. But according to a local tradition it was built by Bakwa Turunku (1492-1522). Another tradition claimed that the Mosque was built by Muhammadu Rabbo (1456-1481), while yet another tradition attributed the Mosque to Jatau (1782-1802). Later the *Jumu'a* Mosque was relocated later to its present site near the Palace. Like the royal Palace, the Mosque is located right at the heart of the *Birni* adjacent to the Palace. The existence of these two structures thus transformed the *Birni* into spiritual and political hub of activities. What seemed to have informed the existence of the Mosque adjacent to the Palace was due to the religious role the rulers of Zazzau came to assume following the adoption of Islam as a state religion, which shall be discussed in the relevant section. In view of the distance between the Palace and Anguwan Juma where the Zaria *Juma'a* (*Habe*) Mosque was hitherto located as mentioned above, the Mosque had to be relocated closer to the Palace to enable the rulers of Zazzau to have easy access to the

²⁵⁰ *Ibid*

Mosque in order to discharged their religious function as well.²⁵¹ Anguwan Juma was one of the oldest Islamic quarters in Zaria and it appeared to accommodate probably the first *Juma'a* Mosque in Zaria. Traditions indicate that it was the existence of the Mosque that earned the ward the name Anguwan Juma.

Mosques generally apart from serving as Islamic educational institutions for imparting knowledge of various types and at different levels have other socio-religious functions. These includes, serving as forums for interactions between social groups, and as places of patronage for relief distribution to the needy. These frequent interactions in the Mosques often resulted in community integration through intermarriages and other lasting bonds.²⁵²

The origin of the present Zaria *Juma'a* Mosque could be traced to the third Emir of Zazzau, Malam Abdul-karim (1834-1846). The Mosque was constructed with the permission of the Sultan Mohammad Bello of Sokoto²⁵³ at a site near an ancient *Habe* shrine.²⁵⁴ That is why according to a local tradition Malam Abdul-karim is described as *toye matsafa*. Literally, this means a blazer of a magic place.²⁵⁵ There are two views regarding the date in which the Mosque was built. One has it that the building started a year following the installation of Emir Abdul-karim and that should be 1835. The second view suggested 1837, because the Mosque was said to have been duly inspected by Muhammad Bello just before his death in 1837.

The building of the Mosque complex which included the main hall, the surroundings, (*haraban masallaci*) with its wall (*ginin haraba*), and the three gates on the north, west

²⁵¹The Habe Mosque at Anguwar Juma is believed to have been demolished by Makau, the last Habe ruler of Zazzau.

²⁵² Umar G. Benna. "The changing patterns of Muslim cities" in Nura Alkali, etal (ed), *Islam in Africa, Proceeding of the Islam in Africa Conference*, Spectrum Book Ltd, 1993, p.153

²⁵³ Usman Dalhatu, Alhaji Shehu Idris p. 37

²⁵⁴ Oral source, Malam Muhammadu Anguwan Juma, Age 60 years, 2nd September 2003.

²⁵⁵ Oral source, Alhaji Aminu Yakubu Wambai,, op-cit

and south sides (*kofar masallaci na arewa, yamma* and *kudu* respectively), was generally believed to have been done by the famous Sokoto master builder Malam Mikhailu who earned the honorific title of *Babban Gwani* (acclaimed expert builder).²⁵⁶ In the whole by the time the building of the Mosque was completed, Sarki Abdul-karim entrusted the care of the Mosque to his dedicated servants who were accommodated very close to the Mosque in a house that is today known as *Gidan Gwarin Masallaci*.²⁵⁷

Even though the Mosque went through some renovations in recent times, it still attracts tourists because of its fascinating architectural designs. Z.R. Dmochowski who conducted extensive research on both the Palace and the Mosques described it as the noblest achievement of Nigerian ecclesiastic architecture.²⁵⁸ Apart from the *Juma'a* Mosque, there were smaller Mosques, which were located in the various wards within the *Birni*.²⁵⁹ The inhabitants of the various wards within the *Birni* met daily in the local Mosques to perform the prescribed daily prayers.

6. ZARIA MARKET

The Zaria city Market (*Kasuwan Zaria*) constituted the third important element that constituted the *Birni*. It is located southwest of the *Zaria Juma'a* Mosque. The market formed the economic nucleus of the *Birni* and since it was the hub of economic activities of the people, its location in the heart of the *Birni* is imperative.

The development of Market system within the *Birni* could be associated with the trading activities that were taking place around the convergent point of the important trade routes at Babban Dodo. This explained the citing of the first *Kasuwan Zaria* at a very

²⁵⁶ In view of his skills and ingenuity in traditional architecture Babban Gwani was able to establish a dynasty of builders. The members of the dynasty continue to enjoy the honorific title of Babban Gwani. The last to enjoy this title was Balarabe who's descendent subsequently bears the title of Sarkin magina. See Z.R. Dmochowski, P.2. 15

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Urquhart ,. Planned urban landscapes, p.23

close proximity to the trade route junction at Durumin Maigarke. We do not know when and why the *Kasuwa* was relocated to its present site. However, in view of the volume of economic activities that were going on around Babban Dodo and Durumin Maigarke which were located close to each other, it is plausible to suggest that the relocation of the *Kasuwa* was due to congestion around Babban Dodo and Durumin Maigarke due to such economic activities. The present *Kasuwan Zaria* is situated around the former slave market and the site for the execution of criminals that committed offences punishable by death. It was after the abolition of slave trade that the site was converted into a market.²⁶⁰ However, the precise date is not known to us at this stage of our research.

Kasuwan Zaria has been playing vital roles not only in the economic life of the people but also in their social and cultural lives as well. Politically, the Market affords opportunity for the people of Zaria to discuss issues of common interest. Socially, the Market serves as a forum for consultations between friends, relatives and different groups of people, who while attending the Market, not only had the opportunity of exchanging greetings and pleasantries but more importantly ideas, material culture and wealth.

The *Kasuwa* operated on a daily basis. Staudinger noted that *Kasuwan Zaria* was an important Market, which was frequented by many people especially on Fridays when more people particularly from the neighbouring villages trooped to the *Birni* to perform the weekly Friday prayers.²⁶¹ Traders and especially people coming from outside the *Birni* always seize this opportunity to buy or sales their commodities while at the same time performing the Friday prayers. Traders from distant places especially Kano, Hadejia, Katsina and Bauchi also brought their products to the Market. The products included salt,

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁶¹ Usman Dalhatu, "Malam Ja'afaru" P.91.

paper and other luxuries, sheep, goats and horses.²⁶² These products were particularly exchanged for slaves and to some extent leather, textiles, grains, and kola nuts.²⁶³

The Zaria Market was the largest and most important in the whole of the Zaria Emirate.²⁶⁴ Other Markets also flourished within Birnin Zaria in the 19th century. These were the Marmara Market to the south, Kaura to the east and Magajiya Market to the west.²⁶⁵ These Markets were small and therefore were not in operation on daily basis. Rather they held every four days but customers could purchase foodstuffs and few other things on a daily basis from petty traders.²⁶⁶

7. THE ANGUWANNI (WARDS) OF BIRNIN ZARIA

The walled city of Zaria was established around some structural spatial pattern known as the *Anguwanni* (wards).²⁶⁷ Since the *Anguwanni* were for administrative convenience, they were under the control of the *Mai anguwa*. The *Anguwanni* were products of evolution involving the gradual transformations of small clusters of compounds into larger ones as discussed earlier on.²⁶⁸ In other words the *Anguwanni* were part of the gradual development of Birnin Zaria, which was achieved over several years since its formation. It should be noted that the conditions necessary for the formation of the *Anguwanni* varies from one *Anguwa* to another so that some of the *Anguwanni* were formed earlier than others. But due to the state of historical and Archaeological research on the *Anguwanni*, it is difficult to establish the sequence of their formation. It seems however, that by the end of the 19th century the number of the

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁴ M.G. Smith, Exchange and Marketing among the Hausa in Paul Bohannam and G. Dalton (eds) *Market in Africa*.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁷ Dhiliwayo, A.V. History of Sabon Gari Zaria, P.121.

²⁶⁸ Schwerdtfeger, F.W. "Housing in Zaria" in Oliver (ed) *Shelter in Africa*, 1971, p.37.

Anguwanni grew up to 41.²⁶⁹ For a clear comprehension of the settlement pattern of the *Birni* prior to the outbreak of the 1808 Jihad and its spatial growth, this section traces the origin and development of the major wards that constituted the *Birni*.

a. LIMANCIN KONA

Limancin Kona is one of the oldest wards within Birnin Zaria. It is located close to the Jakara stream to the south. The establishment of permanent settlement in the ward appeared to have been due to the expansion in economic activities in the area. These economic activities were centred around the dyeing industry located on the site. This is demonstrated by the large number of dye pits numbering over five hundred on the site.²⁷⁰ The antiquity of these dye pits is not yet known. But the distinction often made between *marinan Birni* (dye pit within the city) and *marinan waje* (dye pits outside the city) tend to suggest that *marinan Birni* were in existence within an inner wall prior to the erection of the expanded 15th century wall of the *Birni*.²⁷¹ We are yet to know the identity of the occupational groups that dominated this economic activity that helped to enhance the growth of the settlement into a ward.

Another group that lived in this area from its inception were the Malaman Kona. The *Malaman Kona* were believed to have been initially a group of 40 migrants²⁷² under the leadership of Haruna Rasheed. They were said to have moved south-ward from their former home in Kulumfardu near Borno in search of an abode and preaching of Islam, until they reached a greener pasture to the east of the *Birni*. This event seemed to have

²⁶⁹ Oyedele E. Colonial urbanisation in Northern Nigeria, pp.86-87; Urquhart A.V. Planned urban Landscapes, p. ix

²⁷⁰ Mahmud Aliyu, The History of Birnin Zaria, p. 65t

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

²⁷² This group of people that later came to be known as Malaman Kona traced their ancestry to the Arabs. They claimed to have been the descendants of Muhammad Ibn Yasir, an Arab from the tribe of Quraish and a companion of the prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.).

taken place around 1300A.D.²⁷³ Astonished by the beautiful nature of the place, their leader enquired "*Konan zamu zauna?*" i.e. should we not settle here? Since the settlement of the Malaman Kona on the site, it came to be identified as Kona as already discussed above.²⁷⁴

Subsequently, the *Malaman* Kona came to play dominant role in the development of the ward; their major pre-occupation as scholars was preaching and teaching. It was because of their dedication to these duties that the *Konawa* as this group of people and their descendants came to be known, earned the position of Imam-ship in the Zaria central Mosque. Secondly, the compound of Limamin Kona emerged as the earliest and one of the prominent educational institutions on the plains of Zaria. It was a beehive of Islamic educational activities with people coming from all parts of the *Birni* and even beyond.²⁷⁵ The compound specialized in works such as *Bukhari*, *Jamiu sagir*, *Ashafa*, and *Samar kandi*.²⁷⁶

Limancin Kona gave birth to two other closely related but distinct wards namely: Limancin Alfadarai and Limancin Iya. The history of Limancin Alfadarai was traced to Malam Salihu who was claimed to be an Arab from Egypt. According to a local tradition he came to Birnin Zaria via Borno coming along with a large number of *Alfadarai* (mules) heavily loaded with assorted volumes of books on various fields of Islamic education. On arrival he settled first in the compound of Limamin Kona and was later given a piece of land where he established his own compound situated to the east of the Limamin Kona's compound. Malam Salihu soon emerged as a great scholar. It was on account of this that

²⁷³ The Malaman Kona were said to have lived in Kona which was in the past located out side the city wall for a period of nearly two hundred years before their final movement to the *Birni* in the 15th century. It was from there that they used to move to as far as the ancient site of Durumin Maigarke Market ostensibly for trading and preaching purposes. It was even reported that it was during one of their outing that they converted one of the Habe rulers of Zazzau Muhammadu Rabbo (1456-1481) to Islam.

²⁷⁴ Oral source, Alhaji Muhammadu Sani (Limamin Kona), *op-cit*.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*.

²⁷⁶ Oral source, Muhammadu Sani, 1st September 2002

his compound is often referred to as gidan *Mallamawa*.²⁷⁷ In recognition of his intellectual standing, he was subsequently appointed as *Limamin* Kona. This was because the position of *Limamin* Kona was not hereditary but solidly based on intellectual qualification. The appointment of Malam Salihu to this position appeared to be around the middle of the 18th century.²⁷⁸

With regard to the Limancin Iya ward, tradition claim that the ward was established as a result of the marriage between one of the daughters of a ruler of Zazzau and a *Limamin* Kona who was hitherto a student in the compound of *Limamin* Kona. Consequently, upon this marriage the ward of Limancin Iya was given to him.²⁷⁹

b. ANGUWAN JUMA

Juma ward is situated on a high land, dotted by rocky outcrops and ferruginous ironstone along the Kamacha stream south of Salmanduna. The habitation of the site appeared to be of long antiquity dating back to the beginning of permanent settlement on the Zaria plains. The establishment of the ancient market of Durumin Maigarke, which was located near the site of Anguwan Juma, seemed to be an important consideration in the evolution of Juma ward.²⁸⁰ The economic activities in the ancient Market of Durumin Maigarke seemed to serve as a pull-factor, drawing particularly Moslem traders and Merchants to the area like a magnet. This consequently, led to the rapid transformation of the settlement of Anguwan Juma into a major centre of human population.²⁸¹ It was through the activities of Moslem scholars and traders within Anguwan Juma and its environs that consequently led to the expansion of the Muslim population on the Zaria

²⁷⁷ Oral source, Malam Aliyu, Gidan Malamawa, Age 94 years, 26th June 2002.

²⁷⁸ Mahmud Aliyu, *The History Birnin Zaria*, p. 68

²⁷⁹ Oral source, Muhammadu Sani, op-cit

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

plains, a development that necessitated the construction of the earliest *Juma'a* Mosque (Friday prayer Mosque). The construction of the Mosque was dated to the period of the reign of Muhammadu Rabbo (1456-1481). It is possible that the ward bore a different name in the past but the establishment of the *Juma'a* Mosque made people to refer to the site as Anguwan Juma.

Among the prominent groups in Anguwan Juma were the Malaman Juma who traced their ancestry to Malam Abubakar who is believed to have come from Futa Toro. We do not know what informed the decision of Malam Abubakar to leave Futa Toro. But this may not be unconnected with the political instability that characterized most societies in the western and central Sudan. Having left Futa Toro he had a short spell at Yandoto, Katsina and Borno before he permanently settled in Zaria with his large retinue of family, students and cattle.²⁸² By the middle of the sixteen-century Malam Abubakar emerged as the chief Imam of the *Juma'a* Mosque. He was subsequently succeeded to the Imam-ship position by three of his descendants.²⁸³ Thus, by the period of the outbreak of Jihad in Zaria in the nineteenth century, the lineage of Malam Abubakar was among the most influential scholars in the society.

c. SALMANDUNA

Of all the settlements that existed within the walled city, Salmanduna appears to be one of the earliest. As indicated earlier, permanent settlements were located around the area of Salmanduna before the emergence of the Birni. Salmanduna is located at the centre of the *Birni* along Fadamar Bono.²⁸⁴

²⁸² Nuhu A. R. "Tarihin Anguwan Juma," a paper presented at the Workshop organized by the History Department A. B. U. Zaria, 1979

²⁸³ Oral source, Alhaji Muhammad, Anguwan Juma, Age 62, 2nd September 2003

²⁸⁴ Fadamar Bono otherwise known as Rafin Sarki extended from the site of Babban Dodo passing through the wards of Salmanduna, Sirdi, Kaura, Magajiya and Kofar Kona to join up with river Saye, a tributary of river Galma.

Traditions vary with regard to the origin of Salmanduna. According to one of the traditions, the settlement was founded by a hunter known as Bono who was said to be the husband of Zaria, one of the daughters of Bakwa Turunku. It was further stated that during one of his hunting expeditions, Bono stayed longer than usual around the site of Fadamar Bono, which now comprises Babban Dodo and Salmanduna areas. Worried by his absence, his wife, Zaria followed and traced him at the site of Fadamar Bono and was very much fascinated by the fertility of the area to such an extent that she pleaded with her father to relocate from Turunku to the beautiful site.²⁸⁵

Another tradition claimed that Gunguma founded the settlement of Salmanduna following the clearance of the forest that covered the whole of Zaria plain and the establishment of the earliest agricultural community around the area of Babban Dodo. The tradition stated further that Salmanduna emerged following the expansion of Babban Dodo to the area.²⁸⁶ Many other variations of this tradition however exist.

Even though the real import of these traditions may not be properly comprehended, they seem to represent the recollection by the people of an account of a settlement that developed into a centre of human activity at a very ancient time.²⁸⁷

Whatever historical facts may be embedded in these traditions, there is sufficient evidence that indicates that favourable conditions for the emergence and development of ancient human settlements existed in the area occupied by Salmanduna. Such favourable conditions included the abundance of arable land, water, as well as grasses for live stock grazing. There was also the presence of alluvial soil, which constituted an important source of clay for the production of pots.

²⁸⁵ Bryant K.J. This is Zaria, *Op-cit.*

²⁸⁶ Oral source, Muhammad Abbas Fagachi,, *op-cit*

²⁸⁷ Mahmud Aliyu, *The History of Birnin Zaria*, P.53.

The development of Fadamar Bono into an important economic centre and the subsequent emergence of the earliest Market of Durumin Maigarke also gave impetus to the expansion of human population into the area of Salmanduna and its subsequent transformation into a ward.

The religious significance of the site of Babban Dodo as a major religious centre, (*Kusfa*) for the worship of *iskoki* centred on the Rafin Sarki and a silk cotton tree (*Rimi*) were also very important factors in the emergence of Salmanduna. It stimulated the concentration of a large number of people of diverse origin in the area as people trooped to the area for religious worship.²⁸⁸ The worship of *iskoki* was still prevalent among the *yan bori* in the area. This is reflected in the *kirari* (praise song) of Duna one of the spirit as follows: -

Duna na kar kashin kasa	Duna the one underneath the earth
Arne na gidan Nabijari	pagan of the house of Nabijari
Ko uwanka na tsoronka	even your mother fears you
Bakaka mushagala	Bakaka mushagala
Mai kallabi da hanjin yaro	the one who crowns with a boy's intestines
Talaka baya iya ijyeki	a poor man cannot keep you
Ko ya ijyeki maizai baki	if he keeps you what is he going to offer you
Sai dai ya baki Bargon doki	except to give you horse's blanket
Ba dai ya baki jini ba. ²⁸⁹	He can not offer you blood

As a result of the combinations of the above factors Salmanduna emerged as an important economic centre by the 15th century. This was demonstrated by the existence of dye pits numbering over fifty, and other industries such as iron and pottery

²⁸⁸ Oral source, Sarkin Bori Nabara, Age 63 years, 20th October 2002

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

productions.²⁹⁰ According to Mahmud Aliyu all these were indications of the level of prosperity enjoyed by the ward until the 19th century when there was a decline.²⁹¹

Among the most prominent members of the occupational groups that settled in Salmanduna was the Sarkin makera, Duna. According to traditions the compound of Duna was a major centre for the production of such materials like bungles, stirrups, horse halters and other decorative materials.²⁹² Although though, Duna was not the first prominent personality that settled in Salmanduna, the ward was believed to have derived its name from the combination of his name, Duna and that of his wife, Salma.

d. ANGUWAN ZARIA

Anguwan Zaria is situated along the Kamacha stream. The genesis of the ward could be traced to the settlement in the area by Zaria, one of the daughters of Bakwa Turunku and a large retinue of her people who were made up of builders, smiths, wood carvers, priests, warriors, labourers, drummers, singers, and many other occupational groups. The site was initially chosen as a temporary base for Zaria and her people from where she could oversee the construction works of the *ganuwa*, the royal Palace and other structures such as wells and a house for herself at Anguwan Magajiya. It was because of her role in the establishment of this settlement that the ward bears her name.²⁹³ However, on completion of the construction project, Zaria and a large body of her people evacuated to a new permanent abode, which she had already built for herself at Anguwan Magajiya. Her movement significantly, reduced the density of the population of Anguwan Zaria until the late 18th century when the population of the ward got a boost. What gave a fillip to this was the geographical condition of the area that made the site

²⁹⁰ Mahmud Aliyuu, *The History of Birnin Zaria*, p. 52

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Oral source, Ladan Sani Mua'zu, Age 65 years, 20th October 2002.

²⁹³ Abdullahi Aliyu, (Wamban Zazzau), :*Tarihin Kasar Zazzau,*” P. 4

more attractive due to its fertility and abundant supply of water because of its location along the Kamacha stream. Another factor was the religious significance, which the area around the Rimin Danza and Kofar Matarkwasa came to assume. This was a factor that influenced the immigration of large number of occupational groups into the ward.

Apart from the occupational groups that settled in Anguwan Zaria as mentioned above, other dominant groups include the lineage of Madakin Zazzau Kyankyaro and the *Sarakunan Kofa*. Madaki kyankyaro was believed to have become too powerful. The realization of the enormity of his powers tempted the Madaki to attempt the physical extermination of the then *Habe* ruler Isiyaku Jatau with the aim of taking over the mantle of leadership from him. The situation was so critical that it was only with the intervention of Sarkin Fatika that the assassination bid was foiled. Consequently, Madaki Kyankyaro was deposed. However, despite the deposition of Kyankyaro, his lineage continued to enjoy a dominant position in the ward at least up to the outbreak of the Jihad in 1808 A.D.

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e. **KOFAR FADA**

As the name implies, Kofar Fada is used to refer to the wide open-space that initially separated the Palace from the rest of the other wards in the walled city but which was gradually filled up by buildings. It should however, be noted that Kofar Fada is strategically located between the earliest centres of human settlements on the Zaria plains namely Madarkachi and Fadamar Bono. This suggests that the area around the Kofar Fada was under continuous human habitation since ancient times. Therefore the identification of the ward with the name Kofar Fada must be later probably following the construction of the Palace on the area.

²⁹⁴ Oral source, Dalhatu Balarabe, Age 72 years, 10th January 2002

The extent of Kofar Fada by the late 18th century included part of Madaka, Kakaki, Albarkawa, Bambale and some parts of Kwarbai. Now the whole of the area formally designated as Kofar Fada has been heavily congested with several compounds, leaving only small open space.²⁹⁵

However, before the end of the 18th century only three large compounds towered above all other compounds in the whole of this area that later formed the nucleus around which the present wards of Kakaki, Bambale and Jamawa emerged.²⁹⁶ For instance, Jamawa was made up of a single big compound belonging to Magajiya, one of the daughters of Bakwa, the King of Zazzau. This hitherto big compound is now broken into several independent houses. Other houses were gradually built around it. Soon the place developed into a ward named after the founder of the large compound in the area called Jamawa.

The founder of Bambale, Malam Salihu was said to have come to Zaria in the company of Malam Musa the leader of the Jihad of 1808 in Zaria.²⁹⁷ Following the success of the Jihad, the need for the resettlement of those that came with the leaders of the Jihad arose. Consequently, Malam Salihu was among those that were settled close to the Palace. This was in recognition of his status as a Scholar.

The compound that was given to Malam Salihu is located at the place that is presently called "*Makaranta*" where the lineage of Malam Ahmad Baban Kauna and Malam Ibrahim Kwaire are presently living. After settling in the compound he started teaching. The house was to emerge as a centre of learning. It was because of the extent

²⁹⁵ The open space in front of the royal palace was an important meeting place between the rulers of Zazzau and the public. The rulers, who were not supposed to be always seen, appeared on few occasions on this spot particularly during ceremonies where people could see them and salute them. Such occasions also provided the rulers with the opportunity to communicate with their subjects on state matters.

²⁹⁶ Oral source, Alhaji Inuwa Jamawa, Age, 74 years, 3rd February 2002

²⁹⁷ Ishaku Ma'aji and Mohammed Aminu Hayatu, *Zuriyar Mallam Salihu Bambale*, 2001, iv

of the academic acumen of Malam Salihu and the calibre of his pupils who were mostly, made up of princes and children of the well to do that the centre earned the name "*Makarantar Bambale*."²⁹⁸ It was from this name that the ward derived its name. Apart from the lineage of Malam Salihu, there was also the lineage of a butcher.

Another prominent lineage that lived in Kakaki was the lineage of Malam Ibrahim Tsoho. He was said to have been of Bornoan extraction.²⁹⁹ The circumstance leading to his coming to Zaria was influenced by the Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio when the *Habe* rulers were expelled from Zaria. Following this development Makau on his plight took refuge with the chief of Kajuru. After a while, the *Habe* ruler of Zazzau, Makau left Kajuru for Abuja where he established a kingdom. Mean while, Albarka a prince of the *Habe* rulers of Zazzau was already resident at Kajuru as the representative of the Madakin Zazzau who was the *Hakimi* of the area. When Makau left for Abuja, Albarka remained at Kajuru. There was a great scholar who had been living in the area teaching and preaching long before the Jihad whose name was Abduljalil.³⁰⁰

Already Albarka had found Malam Abduljalil a close ally and a teacher. When Albarka therefore decided to return to Zaria he sought the company of Abduljalil so that when he reached Zaria he might through his influence get acceptance from the new administration at Zaria. However, Abduljalil declined to follow him on account of old age and instead instructed his son Ibrahim Tsoho to follow him.³⁰¹

On reaching Zaria they were accepted and accommodated. Abubakar was given a house close to the palace. The house is now inhabited by the lineage of Malam Aminu

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ Dogara Bashir Dalhatu, *Zuriyar Malam Ibrahim Tsoho, dake Kakaki, Birnin Zaria*. 2001, P. V.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

Gadina (behind Na'ibi's house), while Ibrahim Tsoho was accommodated in a section of the house. It was therefore from Albarka that the Albarkawa ward derived its name.³⁰²

Later Malam Tsoho was given a land north of Albarka's house to build his own house close to *gidan masu kakaki*, which is located close to Albarkawa. It was the presence of *masu kakaki* that the ward came to assume the name kakaki. Seventy percent of the people living in Kakaki were descendants of Malam Ibrahim Tsoho.³⁰³ Soon the compound of Ibrahim Tsoho became a great centre of Islamic learning which attracted lot of people from far and near.

f. **KWARBAI**

This was one of the earliest settlements within the Zaria plains. Its antiquity like the Kofar Fada is clearly demonstrated by the fact that it was at one time part of the old Madarkachi settlement. However, following the establishment of the *Birni* and the royal Palace, the significance of the area, particularly around Madarkachi was drastically reduced. This may be due to the new role the whole area behind the royal Palace came to assume following its construction. According to local tradition the ward derived its name from the existence of a door (*Kofa*) at the back (*Bai*) of the Palace,³⁰⁴ hence the name Kwarbai in reference to that door. It was further claimed that Kwarbai was the settlement of the servants and slaves of the rulers of Zazzau and as a grazing land for the royal livestock.

Another tradition claimed that Kwarbai derived its name from a special class of warriors who constituted the members of the royal slaves known as *Yan Kwarbai* who

³⁰² *Ibid.*

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁴ Oral source, Alhaji Inuwa, Jamawa, op-cit

resided in the northern part of the ward near the royal Palace.³⁰⁵ By the beginning of the 19th century, following the Jihad in Zaria, the population of Kwarbai ward got a tremendous boost after the settlement of many members of the *Mallawa* ruling family and their servants.³⁰⁶

g. ANGUWAN MAGAJIYA

This ward is founded around the 15th century, when the *Birni* was established. According to local traditions, Magajiya built a large compound on the site, which now belonged to the lineage of Madaki Sa'idu as her official residence. This house, which composed of some members of the royal dynasty, eunuchs, slaves and servants, continued to serve the daughters of the rulers of Zazzau up to the period of the Jihad.³⁰⁷ When the house came under the control of the Jihad leaders, Mallam Musa was reported to have given the house to the *Mallawa* ruling dynasty.

The establishment of Magajiya prompted the emergence of some other wards within its vicinity. These included: Anguwan Lalle, Anguwan Kahu and Magajin Aska.

According to local traditions, Anguwan Lalle was formed by a group of *Sullubawa* Fulani who came to Zaria under the leadership of a person called Abubakar. Little is known about the activities of these people except that they were mainly engaged in pastoralism and commerce. The traditions claimed further that very close to the settlement of these groups of peoples was a big henna tree known as *lalle* in Hausa. Located under this *lalle* (Henna) tree was a well, which the people used to water their animals. It was on account of this *lalle* (Henna) tree that the ward derived its name.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁵ Adamu Abbas Suleiman, Asalin Sunayen Anguwanni Birnin Zaria, *B. A. Dissertation*, NAL, A.B.U. Zaria, 1986, P.15.

³⁰⁶ Urquhart A. W, Planned Urban landscapes, *Op.cit.*

³⁰⁷ Oral source, Alhaji Sidi Aliyu, Magajiya, Age 73 Years, 21st December 2001.

³⁰⁸ Oral source, Abubakar Danladi mai Zare, Anguwan Lalle, Age 50 years, 21st December 2001.

Located to the north of the settlement of Magajiya close to Rafin Sarki was the settlement of local barbers (*Wanzamai*) known as Anguwan Magajin Aska.³⁰⁹ The history of this ward is traced to the 15th century when the royal family under Magajiya settled on the area. Following this development, the occupational groups of barbers also settled very close by. We do not know precisely why the group of traditional Barbers settled in the area close to Magajiya. It is plausible that as a highly respected occupational group, the traditional barbers were settled by the state on the site to make their services more accessible to the members of the royal families located at both the Palace and Magajiya. This may be as a result of their incorporation into the political affairs of the state following the realization of their role in the provision of health care services to the society. Parts of the services provided by this professional group included provision of medicine in cases of sickness, delivery, wounds and fractures and venereal diseases. They also performed barbing and circumcisions. On the basis of the social division of people into the *Masu Sarauta* and the *Talakawa*, the Magajin Aska attended to the needs of the Sarki and his title officials while his assistants attended to the needs of the larger society.

Closely located to Anguwan Magajin Aska is Anguwan Kahu. The formation of this ward was due to the tremendous expansion of Magajin Aska following the settlement of large groups of pastoralists. The earliest group of pastoralists to settle here traced their ancestry to Malam Ma'aji and his brother Ahmadu who were claimed to have arrived Zaria around the late eighteenth century from Kano. On their arrival to Zaria they were settled on a piece of land located along the Rafin Sarki. Due to the constant supply of water to the area at all times people came to refer to the site as Hancin kare.³¹⁰

³⁰⁹ Anguwan Magajin Aska derived its name from the title of the head of the Barbers, which is Magajin Aska

³¹⁰ Oral source, Ladan Wakilin Kahu, Sarkin Kahu, Age 97 years, 21st December 2001.

Another prominent group of people that settled at Anguwan Kahu were the lineage of the *Takarawa*. The *Takarawa* were believed to have been the descendants of the Fulanis that fled from Kano as a result of the Jihad wars and settled in Zaria under the leadership of Malam Muhammad. They were believed to have moved into Zaria in 1806 where they stayed in the present ward of Magajiya.³¹¹ Malam Muhammadu, the leader of this people is believed to be highly knowledgeable and on account of this he was referred to as *Takaru* and consequently his lineage was named *Takarawa*.

h. ANGUWAN NUFAWA

This ward is situated to the northwest of Anguwan Karfe. Anguwan Nufawa apparently appeared to be founded by people of Nupe stock. The history of the Nupe people in Zaria dated back to the 15th century following the establishment of some forms of relationships between Zaria and Nupe-land. Initially this relationship was in the form of military encounters between the two. It was because of these encounters that Zaria obtained a large number of slaves from Nupe-land. Thus, this marked the beginning of the settlement of Nupe people in Zaria. The other form of relationship took the form of trade following the expansion of commerce in Zaria around the 15th century. This development led to the immigration and subsequent settlement of various groups of Nupawa particularly Merchants, traders and skilled artisans inside the *Birni*. These forms of relationships are clearly demonstrated in the Kano chronicle thus:

Queen Amina conquered all the towns as far as
Kwararrafa and Nupe every town paid tribute
to her. The Sarkin Nupe sent forty Eunuchs and
ten thousands kola to her. She first had Eunuchs

³¹¹ Oral source, Muhammadu Lawal, Magajiya, Age 76 years, 21st December 2001.

in Hausa land. In her time the whole of the product of the west were brought to Hausa land.³¹²

The first settlement of these migrants in Birnin Zaria appeared to be a large compound now popularly referred to as *gidan Alkalin Ja`e*. The compound assumed this name following the settlement of Malam Ibrahim who is said to be a Scholar belonging to the *Sullubawa* Fulani descent group. Local tradition maintains that Malam Ibrahim came to Zaria from Richifa with a large number of students. While in Zaria, he first settled in the house of *Limamin* Kona before he finally settled in the compound. His major preoccupation at Anguwan Nufawa was teaching, farming and cattle rearing.

A very interesting and intimate relationship seemed to have developed between Malam Ibrahim and one Ja'e who was a very rich pastoralist. Malam Ibrahim had been a close confidant of Ja'e to such extent that he consulted Ja'e on almost everything. It was because of this that Malam Ibrahim was nicknamed named *Alkalin Ja'e* (solicitor of Ja'e), hence the reference to the big house in Anguwan Nufawa as *Gidan Alkalin Ja'e*. According to local tradition these important personalities participated in the Jihad in Zaria.³¹³

This compound was believed to be the only building that occupied the ward in the past. Traditions with regard to the historical significance of this compound vary. One of the traditions has it that Queen Amina built it. The traditions further stated that the scale and extent of the compound, which is still comparable only to the royal Palace, was built to serve as a guesthouse for the Queen's guests, servants and slaves.³¹⁴

³¹² Palmer, H. R. Kano chronicle in Sudanese memoirs, p.107

³¹³ Oral source, Alhaji Buhari Yahaya, op-cit

³¹⁴ Ibrahim Madauchi Bagudu, Tarihin Sarauniya Amina, Ibrahim Madauchi documented papers, n.d..

A variation of this tradition claims that the big compound was meant for accommodating traders and merchants coming to Zaria with products such as textiles, kola nut, slaves and so on and hence, the strategic location of the compound at the centre of the north-south trade route.³¹⁵

Following the gradual influx of migrants into the compound and making Zaria a permanent home by some of them, Anguwan Nufawa gradually expanded with the big compound (*gidan Ja'e*) forming the nucleus of the ward.

The Nufawa gradually emerged as important elements within the *Birni* because of their numerical strength and the important role they played in the socio economic development of the *Birni*. This was the circumstance that informed the *Sarautar Sarkin Nufawa* in Zaria. The Sarkin Nufawa was among other things responsible for the collection of taxes on various textile products produced by the Nupe artisans, provision of accommodation for immigrants from Nupe-land as well as adjudicating in cases of disputes involving members of the ethnic group. The institution of the *sarautar Nufawa* was well established to the extent that other official titleholders emerged. This included: Dangaladima, Sarkin Fada and Madakin Sarkin Nupe.³¹⁶

Succession into the office of the Sarki rotates between three main compounds namely: the compound of Sarkin Nufawa Umaru, the compound of Sarkin Nufawa Ibrahim and the compound of Sarkin Nufawa Abdussalami.³¹⁷

Apart from immigrants from Nupe-land other groups of people were equally attracted into this quarter particularly around the 18th century following the settlement of large groups of Scholars and Pastorals in the ward.

³¹⁵ Oral source, Buhari Yahaya, Anguwan Nufawa, Age, 71 years, 10th January 2002.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

³¹⁷ Oral source, Alhaji Shittu Jibril, Anguwan Nufawa, Age, 78, 10th January 2002.

i. ANGUWAN FATIKA

Anguwan Fatika is situated to the west of Anguwan Juma along the Kamacha stream. The circumstances leading to the establishment of this ward lies in the aborted attempt at the assassination of the then *Habe* ruler of Zazzau, Ishaku Jatau (1802-1806) by the then Madaki Kyankyaro. Following his role in foiling the coup, Dikko the Chief of Fatika was given a territorial reward for saving the King from his assailants. The territorial land was then named Fatika after the town of Fatika that was located about 30km to the west of Zaria.³¹⁸ Anguwan Fatika was extensively populated by a group of royal slaves and servants under the Sarkin noman Zazzau. Therefore, in view of the antiquity of *noma* (farming) in Zazzau as mentioned earlier in chapter two and the institutionalisation of Sarkin noma, the ward must have been in existence long before this period and might have been bearing a different name or under another ward.

j. ANGUWAN IYA

Located to the south of Anguwan Juma is Anguwan Iya. We do not know precisely when human settlement began in this site. But it appeared to be of long antiquity. This is because local tradition has indicated that the whole of the area occupied by the ward and extending up to Kwaba constituted the royal farm since the *Habe* period.³¹⁹ Therefore, if this tradition is anything to go by it is rational to suggest that the site presently occupied by Anguwan Iya constituted part of the large open spaces within the *Birni*, which were reserved to provide food for the *Birni* particularly during military siege.³²⁰ According to local traditions Anguwan Iya derived its name from the title of Iya, which was given to Muhammadu Hankurau. Local tradition claims that he was a close associate of Malam

³¹⁸ Oral source, Alhaji Adamu Aliyu, Age, 74 years 10th January 2002.

³¹⁹ This site was said to be extensively settled by a group of royal servants and slaves under the Sarkin noman Zazzau.

³²⁰ Urquhart, A. W. Planned Urban Landscapes, *op- cit*.

Musa, (1808-1821) the first Emir of Zazzau after the Jihad and that after the Jihad Malam Musa intended to give a traditional title to Muhammadu Hankurau but he declined to accept any title except the Iya title. Malam Musa was said to have drawn his attention to the fact that the title was for women and therefore not befitting for him being a male. In spite of all these it was claimed that Muhammadu Hankurau became resolute and retorted by saying “*na Hankura da wannan*”, meaning "I am contented with this". Since then he was nick named Muhammadu Hankurau.

Following the confirmation of this title to Muhammadu Hankurau, the Emir apportioned all the lands presently occupied by the Iya ward under his jurisdiction. Located within the ward was a large compound that housed the Sarkin noman Zazzau and a large number of slaves who worked on the royal farm. The royal farm was an area of pre-Islamic practices particularly related to agricultural activities. These included prostitution, gambling, dancing, music, drinking, and other forms of celebrations. Hence it was reported that the compound became a major target of attacks by the Jihadists. With the exit of Sarkin noma from the compound following the Jihad, Muhammadu Hankurau took over the use of the house. It was therefore as a result of the settlement of Iya in this house that the ward came to bear that name.³²¹

³²¹ Oral source, Balarabe Ibrahim, Anguwan Iya, Age 87 Years, 17th January 2002.

k. ANGUWAN ZAGE ZAGI

This ward is located on a *Fadama* soil along the Rafin Bula, which passes through the ward to the south and joins with River Saye, a tributary of river Galma. It is difficult at the state of our research to say precisely when this place was first settled and by whom. This is because of the varied and conflicting nature of the existing traditions of the people.

This ward was believed to have developed from a large compound popularly known as Gidan Zage Zagi. This big compound constituted the only structure within the site of the ward in the past. Therefore, the numerous compounds that surrounded it belonged to splinter groups from compounds that established their own set of buildings due to over population in the former.³²² However, what cannot be certain at the state of our research is the antiquity of the compound that formed the nucleus of the Zage zagi ward. Also difficult to establish is the identity of the lineage that found the ward due to the conflicting traditions regarding them.

One of the traditions claimed that the Zage Zagi were the descendants of some Arab merchants who due to their commercial activities finally settled in Zaria around the 15th century. These Arabs were believed to have been integrated and incorporated into the Hausa community as a result of intermarriages with the members of the *Habe* ruling families. The tradition pointed out further that those Arab merchants who did not settle permanently within the city wall referred to this group of Arabs settlers as *Zak-Zak*.³²³ This name was gradually corrupted to Zage Zagi. The precise meaning of this word is not known. But according to local tradition *Zak-Zak* was an Arabic word which means to walk gently and slowly, like an old person. Another tradition has it that it was derived from an

³²² Oral source, Usman Faruk Abdus-Samad, op-cit

³²³ Oral source, Muhammadu Abbas, Fagachi,, op-cit

Arabic word *zikkatu*, which means sword and *tazakzaka* meaning to be armed.³²⁴ It is plausible that Zazzau derived its name from these words too. Unless linguistic study is conducted on the origin and meaning of the word Zazzau and its derivatives we will continue to have conflicting traditions on the issue.

The Zage Zagi tradition however, traced their history to Uthman bn Isma'il who was said to be an Arab from Fezzan. The *Habe* tradition pointed out that Uthman bn Isma'il came to Zaria during the reign of the King of Zazzau, Ishaku Jatau (1786-1806). This is suggesting a very recent origin dating between the late 18th century and early 19th century for the emergence of the lineage of the Zage zagi. The tradition went further to state that Uthman bn Isma'il left Fezzan following a succession dispute after the death of his father. On his arrival at Birnin Zaria, Magajiya accommodated him after consulting with the King. He was reported to have been given a piece of land near the compound of Magajiya upon which he was said to have built his compound, while the rest of the land was used as farmland. In front of the house was a pond, called *Zage-Zagi*.³²⁵ We do not know yet why it was called *Zage-Zagi*, but it appears the *Zage-Zagi* ward derived its name from the pond. The significance of this pond is not yet known. However, according to local tradition the pond was a subject of annual festival during which the *Habe* Kings of Zazzau used to be in attendance.³²⁶ The festival involved dancing, music and dredging of the pond. This seems to be similar to the traditional rituals of *gyaran ruwa* that characterized most of the Hausa states. In the 19th century this compound became a prominent school in the *Birni*, famous in subjects like Qur'an, *Fiqh*, *Tauhid* and Arabic.

³²⁴ Abdullahi Aliyu (Wanban Zazzau), "Tarihin Kasar Zazzau," p. 2

³²⁵ Umar Farouk, Abdus-Samad, Tarihin gidan Zage-zagi, unpublished paper n.d. p.1

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

Following the out break of Jihad in 1808, the lineage of the Zage zagi were said to be among the people that were very loyal to the *Habe* ruling dynasty. And on account of that the Zage zagi lineage refused to support the Jihad forces. On account of this the Zage zagi were ejected out of their compound. However, later on a new one was given to them instead. Following this the name of the ward was changed to Anguwan Katuka.³²⁷ However despite this change, people still refer to the ward as Anguwan Zage zagi. Anguwan Zage-zagi was one of the wards that experienced the desertion of large number of families following the defeat of the *Habe* dynasty in 1808.³²⁸

I. ANGUWAN KARFE

Anguwan Karfe is situated to the northeast of Jakara stream on a fertile *Fadama*. The location of this ward on such a favourable geographical location tends to suggest that the area must have attracted human population at a very early period. This seemed to be supported by the discovery of a large number of abandoned dye pits numbering over one hundred on the site. Even though the antiquity of these dye pits is not known, they appeared to be of ancient origin and they seemed to indicate the existence of a prosperous community with an economy based on agriculture and dyeing activities probably dating to the period before the emergence of centralized political institutions in Zaria.³²⁹

Whatever the antiquity of Anguwan Karfe, it appears that two dominant occupational groups emerged at an early period following the formation of the *Birni*. These groups were: blacksmiths and butchers. Little is known about the genealogy of these occupational groups. This ward must have therefore played a very important role in the

³²⁷ Oral source, Mohammed Abbas Fagachi,, op-cit

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

³²⁹ Mahmud, Aliyu, The History of Birnin Zaria p. 73

city by providing its inhabitants with all their military and household needs in terms of weapons and other implements, while the butchers provided the protein needs of the society.

A very important development leading to the transformation of this quarter into a ward was the settlement of large group of *Sullubawa* in the site. This group of people were said to have migrated from the Sokoto- Rima basin into the ward around the middle of the 18th century. The most prominent figure among this people was Malam Ja'e. According to local tradition Malam Ja'e was rich possessing large herds of cattle numbering several thousands. It was stated further that the settlement of Malam Ja'e in the quarter led to its transformation into an important economic centre, which resulted in the establishment of the Zaria Market near it. The lineage of the *Sullubawa* residing within Anguwan Karfe was reported to have supported the Jihadists against the last *Habe* King of Zazzau, Muhammadu Makau (1806-1808). A. D.³³⁰

m. ANGUWAN MAJEMA

This ward was situated close to Anguwa Juma .As the name implies it was the quarters of *Majema* (tanners). The ward derived its name from this highly specialized occupational group. The antiquity of this ward is not known. However, according to the local tradition this occupational group traced their ancestry to Kano. The tradition went further to suggest that the lineage of the *Majema* (tanners) were in continuous habitation of the ward since the formation of Birnin Zaria in the 15th century A.D. It is possible that the antiquity of this group of people in this ward was as old as they claim. But considering the location of the ward almost at the centre of the *Birni* and its location around the early centres of human population such as Anguwan Juma and Durumin

³³⁰ Oral source, Abdurra'uf Muhammad, Age 63 years, 15th January 2002.

Maigarke, it is possible that the foundation of the ward was earlier than the 15th century. However, whatever the case, by the 18th century the ward emerged as a very important economic centre that specialized in the production of leather works for both military and non-military use. This served the royal needs as well as the commercial needs of the citizens of the *Birni*. In spite of the passage of time and the dwindling of traditional industries generally, the leather industry in Anguwan Majema was still active. Presently, there are five compounds within which this profession is still going on. These are: Gidan Inuwa, Gidan Garba, Gidan Paiko, Gidan Yero and Gidan Yau.

Prominent personalities that were believed to have settled in this ward were Iyan Bakin Kasuwa. He was said to have occupied a big compound close to that of the Majema. Iyan Bakin Kasuwa was believed to have lived in the late 18th century. Mallam Suleiman who held the title of Rubu later occupied this house after the jihad in Zazzau.³³¹ The taking over of the use of the compound seems to suggest that the Iyan Bakin Kasuwa was a *Habe* and following the overthrow of the *Habe* and their exit from the *Birni*, Iyan Bakin Kasuwa seems to follow them possibly together with a large number of his followers.

n. ANGUWAN SIRDI

The ward of Anguwan Sirdi was located close to Anguwan Nufawa. The nucleus of this ward was formed around a big compound popularly known as Gidan Sarkin sirdi. The activities of this occupational group transformed the ward into an important economic centre within Birnin Zaria. These occupational groups were believed to have specialized in the manufacture of saddleries. It was because of the concentration of this important economic activity in the present site of Anguwan Sirdi that the ward came to adopt the name Anguwan Sirdi.

³³¹ Oral source, Alhaji Aliyu Sarkin Jima Anguwan Rubu, Age 83 years, 2002

According to tradition the history of this occupational group was linked to the royal slaves of southern origin who were captured by the *Habe* rulers of Zazzau.³³² The tradition of the lineage of this occupational group maintained that they came to Zaria during the reign of Emir Abdulkarim (1834-1846).³³³

However a critical examination of the above traditions seemed to suggest an ancient antiquity for the lineage of the occupational group since the title of Sarkin Sirdi was a *Habe* title. Based on this assumption it is possible that this occupational group inhabited the site since the establishment of the *Birni* in the 15th century. It is also possible that the lineage of the royal slaves took over the profession and the compound following the flight of the *Habes*.

o. KOFAR KUYAMBANA

Lying south of Anguwan Iya and Limanchin Kona was Kofar Kuyambana. The history of the earliest human population that settled on this site is as old as the Kuyambana gate. This was because as was the tradition, the care of the Kuyambana gate was entrusted to a warrior who on account of his role in the conquest of the Kuyambana town was rewarded by Amina with the title of Sarkin Kofa. Following the settlement of the Sarkin Kofa the site began to gradually attract more people. Thus, the house of the Sarkin Kofa, which was located by the gate, formed the nucleus of the settlement.

By the 18th century A.D. due to the influx of more people particularly scholars and traders into the area, the population of the ward swelled up. Prominent lineage that settled around Kofar Kuyambana included the lineage of Muhammadu Sambo and Malam Abubakar. According to tradition Malam Muhammadu Sambo was an Islamic scholar. Like most Islamic scholars he was itinerant and that it was claimed that even before his permanent settlement within the walled city,

³³² Oral source, Isma'il Abubakar, Anguwar Sirdi, Age 96 years, 2002.

³³³ Oral source, Muhammadu Musa, Sarkin Sirdi, Anguwar Sirdi, 95 years, 2000.

he used to come to the *Birni* for preaching. Malam Muhammadu Sambo was also said to be a schoolmate of Usman Dan Fodio. The tradition further claimed that Malam Muhammad Sambo initially settled at Anguwan Limancin Kona. However, when the Zaria Market extended close to his house he moved to Kofar Kuyambana out of the fear that if he stayed within the vicinity of the Market his children may not concentrate on their studies. Following the outbreak of the Jihad the lineage of Malam Sambo supported the Jihadists even though they did not actively participate in it.

Tradition regarding Malam Abubakar explained that he was a merchant who was engaged in a long distance trade, a factor that earned him the name *Falke Gonja* (the merchant of Gonja). The tradition further explained that the lineage of Malam Abubakar continued with the trading activities even after the Jihad, which earned them a lot of reputation.³³⁴

p. ANGUWAN DANJINJIRI

This ward was located close to Kofar Kuyambana. Its history is traced to a *Sharifi* who was said to be the founder of the settlement. The *Sharifai* have a tradition of having a direct descent to Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H). The founder of the lineage of the *Sharifai* was believed to have settled in the ward during the reign of Sarkin Zazzau Yero (1888-1897 A.D).³³⁵

q. ANGUWAN MALAM SULE

Also closely located near Kofar Kuyambana was Anguwan Malam Sule. The founder of the lineage that inhabited the area is said to be one Malam Sule. It was following his settlement in this quarter that the ward was named after him. Malam Sule was said to be a great Islamic scholar. Tradition claims that he came to Zaria and settled at the ward during the reign of Sarkin Zazzau Yero (1888-1897 A.D).³³⁶ Apart from the lineage of Malam Sule, another prominent group that settled in this ward were the Yoruba. The Yoruba started coming to Zaria during the second reign

³³⁴ Oral source, Abdullahi Hayatu, Age 66 years, 20th September 2002

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Ibid

of Sarkin Zazzau Abdullahi (1857-1871 and 1874-1879A.D) and that the first Yoruba to start settling in the area was a man called Balogun.³³⁷ He was said to have first settled there alone and later brought his family from the south to permanently settle with him in Zaria. It is his lineage that is now residing mainly in the ward. This lineage was engaged in trading in mainly textiles goods and kola nut.³³⁸ Of the entire ethnic groups that came to subsequently settle in Birnin Zaria at the various phases of its evolution, it was only the Yoruba people that were not completely integrated and assimilated into the Hausa community of *Zazzagawa*. This is demonstrated by the fact that they are still identifiable by their style of dressing, language and customs.

r. **KOFAR DOKA**

The nucleus of the settlement that formed this ward was established in the 15th century around the compound of the Sarkin Kofa at the Doka gate. According to local tradition the Sarkin Kofa of Kofar Doka belonged to the slaves attached to Zaria, one of the daughters of Bakwa Turunku.³³⁹ It was stated further that following the transfer of the capital of Zazzau from Turunku to Zaria, the gatekeeper was assigned with the responsibility of protecting the *Birni* from the north.³⁴⁰ He was assisted by a large number of slaves who swelled the population of his compound. There is not a single member that is surviving from the lineage of the Sarkin Kofa. This was because the Sarkin Kofa was a eunuch. Now located right on the ruin of the compound of the Sarkin Kofa is Jushi primary school.

Soon after its establishment, the compound of Sarkin Kofa began to develop into a centre of human settlement following the settlement of migrants from the neighbouring states of Katsina, Kano and Borno.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Oral sources, Yusuf Aliyu Kofar Doka, Age 50 years, 2002

³⁴⁰ The Title of Sarkin Kofa continued to be held by the members of the royal slaves up to the outbreak of the 19th century Jihad in Zaria. It was reported that the Sarkin Kofa accompanied the last Habe King to exile in Abuja.

These migrants were mostly traders, merchants, farmers and artisans who were initially accommodated within the compound of Sarkin Kofa but later established their own compounds around it. There was large influx of people into Kofar Doka following the Jihad in Zaria.³⁴¹

Prominent lineages that settled at Kofar Doka included the lineage of Malam Sani. He was said to have come from Yandoto and belonged to the clan of Shehu Dan Fodio. It was believed that they came after the Jihad. The compound of Malam Sani emerged as one of the leading centres of Islamic studies within the *Birni*.³⁴²

Another important lineage that settled in this ward was the lineage of Yari Jabbuje. He was said to be the chief bodyguard (Sarkin Dogarai) of Sarkin Zazzau Abubakar (1871-1874). He was of Zabarmawa origin and came to Zaria during the reign of Sarkin Zazzau Abubakar. Located very close to the compound of Yari Jabbuje was the compound of Sarkin Zazzau Abubakar. The land where Sarkin Zazzau Abubakar built his compound was said to have initially belonged to Sarkin Zazzau Sidi Abdulkadir. Following his death, Sarkin Zazzau Abubakar took possession of the land and built the compound.³⁴³ In place of this compound now is the Zaria prison. Other lineages that settled in this ward included the lineages of Gobirawa and Tafarki.

s. ANGUWAN BISHAR

Anguwan Bishar is situated on a fertile land along the Rafin Sarkin, which started up from the site of Babban Dodo and passing through Anguwan Bishar joining up with the Saye River, a tributary of River Galma.

³⁴¹ Oral source, Alhaji Yusuf Aliyu Kofar Doka, *op-cit*

³⁴² Oral source, Malam Ibrahim Sani, Age 57 years, 1st September 2002

³⁴³ Oral source, Alhaji Yusuf Kofar Doka, *op-cit*

Anguwan Bishar bears its name from a spirit (*aljana*), which is believed to be still in existence.³⁴⁴ It was stated that whenever the *aljana* was hard pressed it would say “*Bishar*” and disappeared immediately. It was from this expression that the ward got its name.

We do not know precisely when the ward of Bishar was formed. This is because no tradition has survived of any earlier settlement on the site. However in view of the association of the name of the ward to a spirit which formed part of the ancient belief of the people of Zaria, combined with the fertility of the land and its location close to two gates namely Kofar Gayan and Kofar Kona, it is possible that the ward was inhabited as early as the establishment of the *Birni*.

However the local tradition of the people maintain that Anguwan Bishar was formed following the mass influx of large group of Fulani pastorals of the *Sullubawa* clan under the leadership of Muhammmadu Kayi into the ward. The local tradition explained further that the *Sullubawa* moved from Yandato to Zaria around the 18th century. And that following his arrival to Birnin Zaria Malam Muhammadu Kayi settled first in the compound of Limamin Kona before moving to this ward after getting a piece of land in the area from the King of Zazzau where he settled his family and his large retinue of slaves and servants. The tradition stated further that the area given to Malam Muhammad Kayi was inadequate to graze his cattle. Consequently, he had to settle part of his followers at Anguwan Lalle while some settled at the nearby town of Kwagoro. Still some were settled further at Gwaza Toka, which was an area situated between Saye and the city. There was some also at Yeskwake at the outskirts of the *Birni* and a large number of his servants, slaves and cattle also resided at Igabi. The tradition also suggests that Anguwan Bishar emerged as an important centre of economic activities following the activities of Malam Muhammadu Kayi’s servants who specialized in *dukanchi* (leather works).³⁴⁵

³⁴⁴ Oral source, Usman Babangida, Age 45 years, 10th September 2003

³⁴⁵ Oral source, Malam Maiwada, Mai Anguwar Bishar, Age 67 years, 10/1/2003.

Two other groups of pastorals were also identified to have settled in this ward. One of these groups was the lineage of Wanya Adamu and Magaji Sambo. This group were believed to have belonged to the *Toronkawa* group of pastorals and that their movement into the *Birni* from Aba in 1806 was due to several attempts by the Jukuns to loot their cattle. The other group was the lineage of Malam Sambo who also belonged to the *Toronkawa* pastoralist. He was said to have come from the Sokoto area by the beginning of the 19th century. He was also a great scholar. It was on account of this that Abdussalam; one of the Emirs of Zazzau gave him his daughter in marriage. These three groups of pastoralists were believed to have actively participated during the Jihad in 1808 in Zaria.³⁴⁶

t. KUSFA

Anguwan Kusfa was located to the east of *Limancin* Kona along Jakara stream. It was a major ancient religious centre for the worship of the *iskoki*. It was on this account that the ward was named Kusfa. However, as a result of the activities of *Malaman Kona* and *Malaman Juma* the religious significance of Kusfa as a centre for the worship of *Iskoki* significantly reduced. Consequently, permanent settlements began to emerge around the middle of the 18th century on the area populated by mostly group of scholars and pastoralists. Prominent among those who settled at Kusfa around this period were the lineages of Gidan Fulani and Malam Tankari. According to the tradition of the lineage of Gidan Fulani, they were the oldest group of Fulani to settle on the Zaria plains.³⁴⁷ Their tradition further claimed that their settlement within the Zaria plains predated the emergence of centralized political institutions. It further stated that they belonged to the *Sullubawa* clan of the pastoral Fulani and that they migrated from the Sokoto area around the Rima valleys under the leadership of Muhammadu Yero who was believed to have moved into the area with his family and more than one hundred cattle. The tradition indicates that it was because of the large

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Oral source, Alhaji Bello Fulani, Age 102 years, 20th September 2002

size of his cattle that he was given a pasture near the Jakara stream where he grazed his cattle up to his death in the late 18th century. The lineage of this group of pastorals contributed to the development of this ward, as most of them were either scholars or merchants that actively participated in the long distance trade. Some members of this lineage particularly the elder son of Muhammadu Yero was believed to have participated in the Jihad of 1808 A.D.³⁴⁸

According to the tradition of the lineage of Malam Tankari, it was maintained that he came from Karau-Karau with a large number of slaves and students. His main occupation was teaching, preaching and trading in beads (*Tsakiya*).³⁴⁹ Malam Tankari's students constituted a large contingent army for the 19th century Jihad in Zaria. The descendants of Malam Shittu who were equally great scholars subsequently, occupied the compound where Malam Tankari once stayed. Malam Shittu is credited with raising the profile of Kusfa. During his time, people troop to Kusfa from all corners in search of Islamic education.³⁵⁰

u. ANGUWAN ALKALI

This ward is located close to Anguwan Dan Madami. The ward assumed this name in the 19th century as a result of the appointment of several members of the ward into the position of *Alkalai* (judges). Prior to this development the ward was called Anguwan Katsinawa. This was because of the preponderance of the Katsinawa in the area.³⁵¹

We do not know precisely when the area began to be inhabited but there are indications that by the late 18th century the Dallatun Zazzau was well established in the area. His compound is believed to have occupied most of the area where the ward stood. The area possessed by the Dallatu included the fertile valley of Rafin Kamacha, which extended to as far as Tudun Jukun.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Oral source, Bello Yakubu Kusfa, Age 90 years, 20th September 2002

³⁵⁰ Oral source, Ahmad Maqari Sa'idu, Age 50 years, 14th September 2002

³⁵¹ Oral source, Usman Ibrahim Basa, Age 67 years, 24th August 2002

The Dallatu is believed to be among the powerful *Habe* officials that fled to Abuja following the outbreak of the Jihad in the *Birni*.³⁵²

The first person to assume the mantle of *Alkali*-ship in Anguwan Alkali was Alkali Abubakar Manga who hailed from Katsina. It was said that Malam Abdul-karim of Zaria requested Sarkin Katsina to send him an *Alkali*. In response to such request Sarkin Katsina sent Abubakar Manga to Zaria. He was believed to have been so much worried about holding such position because of the fear of getting corrupted and the consequences that would follow in the hereafter in case that happened. He was so overwhelmed by that fear that he prayed that might his offspring never assume such position.³⁵³ Thus, since then none of his family members became an Alkali. After the death of Alkali Abubakar Manga, the mantle of Alkali ship shifted to his trusted friend known as Mallam Abdurrahman. Mallam Abdurrahman was succeeded by his son Alkali Gambo. Alkali Gambo was borne during the reign of Malam Abdus-Salam and assumed *Alkali*-ship during the reign of Kwassau (1897-1920). When he was appointed, he was said to be holding court sessions at home that was why he was nicked named Alkali Umar Faruk and Alkali Yero (Ibrahim) the son of Alkali Gambo.³⁵⁴

Other prominent families in the ward included the family of Rilwanu Lukman. The founder of this house, Walijo was believed to have come from Kebbi during the reign of Emir Sidi (1853-1853A.D).³⁵⁵ Two days after his arrival at the *Birni*, Sarkin Zazzau Sidi gave him a plot close to a twin pond. He later gave him his daughter Hasiyatu in marriage. She gave birth to Alkali Bakale who gave birth to Salihu. A house was built for Salihu, which is now called gidan Alkali Lukman. Malam Salihu gave birth to three children namely: Dikko, Lukman and Yakubu.³⁵⁶

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Ibid

³⁵⁵ Oral source, Hajjiya Raliya Muhammed, Age 70 years, 2003

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

There was also the lineage of Gwagwa who was believed to have been a member of the *Dallazawa* dynasty of Katsina. Their movement to Zaria was associated with the demise of the *Dallazawa* ruling dynasty in Katsina. The group was led by three personalities namely: Sarkin Shanu, Bello and Dallaje. On arrival to Zaria they first settled at Tudun Jukun where the Gaskiya Corporation is located before their final movement into the *Birni* during the reign of Alu Dan Sidi (1903-1920A.D). Bello was said to have given birth to Ibrahim who is popularly known as Gwagwa from whom the house derived its name.³⁵⁷

Gidan Galadima Salmanu was another prominent lineage. The founder of this house Ahmadu was believed to have come to Zaria in the company of Malam Abdul-karim one of the Emirs of Zaria. They were Fulani from Yandoto. They moved to Katsina as preachers. Their families were the Imams in Katsina before the jihad. Malam Ahmed gave birth to Abubakar who in turn gave birth to Salmanu who was appointed as Galadima by Sarkin Zazzau Sambo (1879-1888A.D).³⁵⁸

Lastly, there was the lineage of Gangaren Tukurwa. They were said to have come from Ruma in Katsina and belonged to the family of Dan Waire. The founder of the House was Malam Danbako who was an itinerant teacher and gave birth to Malam Achi. Malam Achi in turn gave birth to ten children.³⁵⁹

v. ANGUWAN KAURA

Kaura is located along the Rafin Sarki on an alluvial soil that was conducive for rainy and dry season cultivations. Traditions in respect of the foundation of Kaura ward maintain that human

³⁵⁷ Oral source, Alhaji Usman Ibrahim Gwagwa, Age 69 years, 2003

³⁵⁸ Oral source, Alhaji Musa Mua'azu, Age 73 years, 2003

³⁵⁹ Oral source, Alhaji Sambo Yahaya (Tanimu Bula) Age 78 years

settlement had evolved around the ward before the establishment of Birnin Zaria in the 15th century.³⁶⁰

One of the groups that were identified as one of the early settlers of Kaura ward was the lineage of a silver smith. The silver smiths occupy a group of compounds that constituted the Gidan Makera. According to the tradition of this group, they were descendants of two silver smiths who came to Birnin Zaria during the reign of emir of Zazzau Abdul-karim (1834-1846A.D). They were Mohammed Sani and Dauda. According to another tradition the group of silver smith have inhabited the ward since the period when human settlement first evolved on the plains of Zaria.

Apart from the lineage of the silver smith there was also the lineage of Madakin Zazzau Makayo who occupied a big compound known as Gidan Doko. Madaki Makayo seemed to come to power around the late 18th century possibly after the deposition of Madaki Kyankyaro. Madaki Makayo seemed to have remained in his position even after the Jihad. This was in view of his support for the Jihad.

There are two traditions as regard to the origin of the name of the ward Kaura. One tradition has it that the ward got its name following the *kaura* (movement) of Yamusa from the area of Madaka to the site of Kaura.³⁶¹ Another tradition has that it was named Kaura following the settlement of Yamusa whose praise song as Madaki was Kaura Goje. If this is anything to go by it means that the name of the settlement was a 19th century phenomenon. However, we do not know the name the ward was bearing before this development in view of the traditions that claims that man inhabited the ward since the 15th century.

8. ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE BIRNI

³⁶⁰ Oral source, Ambassador Lawal Sambo, *op-cit*

³⁶¹ Adamu Abbas, Asalin sunayen Anguwannin Birnin Zaria, *op-cit*.

The number of *Anguwanni* that sprung up in the various parts of the Birni following its establishment constituted people of diverse ethnic backgrounds. These were people that came to Zaria at the various phases of its development. The alchemy of ethnic composition in Zaria was made up of Zage-zagi, Kanuri, Arabs, Yoruba, Nufawa, Katsinawa, Kanawa, Zamfarawa, Gobirawa, and people from the southern parts of the *Birni* especially the Kadara, the Kaje and the Katab and the various groups of Fulani.

A number of factors need to be examined to explain this ethnic composition in Birnin Zaria. Migration was a very important consideration in this respect. Zaria witnessed waves of migrations from various quarters since its inception in the 15th century. These were prompted by commerce, wars, famine and the search for Islamic education.

As early as the 15th century, Zaria occupied an important strategic position along the trans-Saharan trade routes. It falls on a junction where two main trade routes converged. Mahdi Adamu was of the view that the main caravan routes that linked up with Nunkoro and Hausa land was Birnin Zaria through Zangon Aya and Barnawa, Kudu, Zangon Katab, Kafanchan area, Jagindi, and Kwankwasa.³⁶² Another trade route linked up Hausa land with the forest region via Zaria. This trading contact finally led to the permanent settlement of most of these ethnic groups in Zaria.

The relative peace enjoyed by Zaria particularly between the 15th and 18th centuries also encouraged the influx of migrants into the *Birni*. Unlike other Hausa states, Zaria did not experience the fangs of famines that afflicted most Hausa states. Also during these periods most of the wars of conquest for the control of more territories hardly affected Zaria. Hence, the relative peace it enjoyed.³⁶³

³⁶² Mahdi Adamu, *The Hausa Factor*, p. 46

³⁶³ Oyedele E. *Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria*, pp. 76-77

Islam also served as a catalyst to the migration of a large number of Muslims clerics and students into Zaria. This was particularly around the 17th century following the emergence of Islam as a political force. With the Jihad in 1808 large groups of people mainly scholars and pastorals came to settle permanently in Zaria. These groups of settlers took various names such as *Barnawa*, *Katsinawa*, *Mallawa*, and *Sullubawa*. They occupied wards such as Kwarbai, Magajiya, Kofar fada, Albarkawa, Anguwan Alkali, Liman Gabdo, and Katuka.³⁶⁴

The geographical distribution of these ethnic groups was as follows: the ward of Anguwan Kona came to be populated mostly by people of Kanuri, Arab, Kano and Katsina descent, while Anguwan Nufawa came to be predominantly populated by people of Nupe descent. The *Habe* and people from areas of Gobir and Zamfara inhabited Anguwan Madaka and Albarkawa. The Fulani dominated areas around Anguwan Bishar, Juma and some parts of Anguwan Magajiya. Wards such as Kaura, Kwarbai, Sirdi and Danmadami came to be settled by people from the southern parts of Zaria. Traders mostly of Kano and Katsina origin mostly settled at Kusfa, Marmara Anguwan Alkali and Durumin Maigarke. People of Yoruba decent dominated Bakin Kasuwa.

It is interesting to note that this alchemy of ethnic composition were gradually integrated and incorporated at various levels into the Hausa community of the *Zazzagawa*. This was due to some integrative forces such as the Hausa language and the religion of Islam.

³⁶⁴ Urquhart A.W. *Planned Urban Landscapes, op-cit*

9. SOCIAL AMENITIES IN THE BIRNI

The importance of the *Birni* as a centre of population, administration, religion, military, industry and commerce was highlighted in this chapter. The *Birni* could not have effectively discharged these roles without the provision of security and social amenities such as water, roads, health-care and education. Security provision within the *Birni* has already been treated in this chapter. This section attempts a reconstruction of how social amenities were provided for the survival and well being of the *Birni* during the period under discussion.

a. WATER

Birnin Zaria in the pre-colonial period depended on three sources of water for its needs. These were streams (*Rafuka*), Burrow pits (*Kududdufai*) and wells (*Rijiyoyi*). The *Birni* was well watered by numerous streams that were well distributed throughout the city. These streams included the Kamacha, Bula, Rafin sarki, Jakara, Kusfan batso, Fafanya, Fanwanki, Tukurwa and so on. The significance of these streams to the historical evolution of Birnin Zaria could be seen by the fact that they encouraged and supported the establishment and growth of human settlements within the *Birni* by supplying the inhabitants of the *Birni* with water for domestic use, pasture for animals and good *Fadama* for agricultural activities. The streams also provided fish, which satisfied the protein needs of the society.

Burrow pits (*Kududdufai*) constituted another source of water for the people of the *Birni* in the pre-colonial period. The Burrow pits were made as a result of digging of earth for building constructions. The Burrow pits were scattered all over the *Birni* and were of irregular sizes and shapes. They created many open spaces between compounds in areas of concentrated buildings. Most of the Burrow pits acquired names and were used as important landmarks by the people.

Some of the prominent Burrow pits in the *Birni* included: Zage-zagi, Akushin Kura, Matattara, Baddaga, Kaduna, Yan tagwaye, Tamarashi, Tamarashi, Lahira kusa, Ci-rakuma and so on.

Most of these largely irregularly shaped Burrow pits were seasonal and supplied the people of the *Birni* with water mainly for use in construction works and for drinking by animals. It appears that some of these Burrow pits were the objects of annual festivals involving the dredging of the pits. This is demonstrated by a tradition that such a practice used to take place in one of the Burrow pits nick-named Zage-zagi from which Anguwan Zage-zagi probably derived its name as discussed earlier. The pits were probably the holes where mud was obtained for the building of Zaria walls and houses in the *Birni*.

Since most of the Burrow pits used to dry up during the dry season, people used to dig wells inside or besides some of the pits particularly when water was very scarce in order to obtain water for domestic use.³⁶⁵

Apart from streams (*Rafuka*) and Burrow pits (*Kududdufai*), wells (*Rijiyoyi*) constituted another major source of water for the people of Birnin Zaria during the period under discussion. Most of the wells within the *Birni* were located either inside or outside the compounds. The location of a well at a particular place largely depends on the suitability of the site of the proposed well than the choice of the *mai gida*. Thus when the *mai gida* intended to have a well in his compound he will call a professional well digger (*mai hakar rijiya*) who on inspection or trial digging on the proposed site of the well, the well digger could detect through the geological study of the site whether enough water could be obtained from it or not. He could also detect whether some rocks or grave are buried beneath the site.

Some of the wells (*rijiyoyi*) were located at strategic places such as important trade routes. According to a local tradition, by the time the *Birni* was reconstructed in the 15th century, forty

³⁶⁵ Oral source, Aliyu Maude, Age 70 years, 20th May 2005

wells were constructed by the Sarakuna to provide for the domestic needs of the city dwellers.³⁶⁶ These were located at strategic locations within the Birni.³⁶⁷ This research was able to identify few of them. These included: *rijiyar kwankwarando*, *bardaga*, *dufana* and *sarauniya* (Queen). The first was located at Anguwar Banzazzau at the present Banzazzau primary school. The antiquity of the well is not known. But according to local tradition it is dated to the *Habe* period. The Barwa family who was located close to the well was believed to have built the well.³⁶⁸ It was nicknamed *kwankwarando*. We do not know why it was nicknamed so. The well was said to have developed into a camping place for merchant-traders coming from Borno. Merchants and traders usually use to stop at the well to refresh themselves after long journeys by drinking and washing their bodies as well as feeding their animals from the water before preceding to the centre of the *Birni* to sale their products.³⁶⁹ While doing all these news of their arrival normally spread to the various parts of the *Birni*. The well was filled up recently following the establishment of a primary school at the site. The second well was located at Limanchin Kona. The name of the well was Dufana, which means a flood, suggests that it was well watered. Rijiyyar *bardaga* and *ma'abba* were located at Anguwar Magajiya.³⁷⁰ The *sarauniya* on the other hand was located outside Kofar Gayan along a trade route leading to the south.³⁷¹ Little is known about its history.

b. HEALTH CARE

Birnin Zaria was endowed with a highly professional class of people that were saddled with the responsibility of providing Health care services to the community. These people are known as *masu maganin gargajiya* (traditional medicine men). This class of people uses herbs and plants

³⁶⁶ Interview conducted with Alhaji Muhammadu Limamin Kona(9th / 11 / 1996) by Abdul-Kadir Adamu and Mahmud Aliyu,

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

³⁶⁸ Oral source, Aliyu Abdullahi, Banzazzau, Age 40 years, 13th May 2005

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Oral source, Yakubu Umar, mai hakar rijiyya, Age 67 years, 13th May 2005

³⁷¹ Oral source, Idris Yunus, Age 47 years, 13th May 2005

extracts in the treatment of human ailments. The art of using herbs and plants to cure diseases was an ancient practice.³⁷² We do not know when this practice started in Zaria.

The *masu maganin gargajiya* were able to through observations, recognize the medicinal values of some of the flora.³⁷³ By trials and errors the earliest traditional medicine men were able to acquire biological knowledge that was useful in determining which plants and animals possessed medicinal values and which ones to be avoided because they proved to be poisonous or dangerous.³⁷⁴ These observations were handed down from one generation to another and were often added to by their progenies.³⁷⁵ Thus because of their knowledge of ancient remedies derived from plants and for their skill in administering them, the *masu maganin gargajiya* were highly respected not only in Birnin Zaria but throughout Africa. The herbs could be obtained in a market located within the Birni at Durumin Maigarke exclusively meant for that. It was referred to as *kasuwar magani*.

It should be noted that specialisation existed among the traditional medicine men. This is likened to modern medicine. Thus, there was a wide spectrum of *masu maganin gargajiya* with group specialty with each group specializing in some particular types of human diseases. For instance, the *Wanzamai* (traditional Barbers) apart from specializing in circumcision (*kaciya*), scarification (*tsaga*), and barbing (*aski*) also provided services in case of women delivery, wounds, fractures, venereal diseases and minor surgeries. Based on the social division of the society into *Masu Sarauta* (aristocracy) and *Talakawa*, the Magajin Aska who was the head of this occupational group provided such services to the Sarki and his titled officials and their families, while his assistants attended to the needs of the larger society.

³⁷² James I. Durodola, Studies on certain Nigerian medicinal plants with potential Anti-neoplastic Activity, PhD thesis, University of Ibadan, 1972, p.3

³⁷³ Bassey Andah, *Nigeria's Indigenous Technology*, Ibadan University Press Ibadan, 1992, p. 46

³⁷⁴ James I. Durodola, Studies on certain Nigerian medicinal plants, p.p. 5-6

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

Another occupational group that provided health services to Birnin Zaria in the pre-colonial period were the fishermen. This group specialized in cases of bilharzias, rheumatism, and pneumonia and skin diseases.³⁷⁶ Black smiths specialized in cases related to wounds inflicted by iron related implements and burns.

Maharba or *Yanfarauta* (hunters) were known for their vast knowledge in the medicinal values of trees. This was because of their constant interactions with various trees in the forest. The *Maharba/Yanfarauta* specialized in the provision of poison for war arsenal. They also provided medical services in cases of *ciwon daji*. This included cancer and any diseases that defy medical solution.³⁷⁷ In the past most diseases in Hausa land were generally attributed to *iskoki* (spirits). According to Hamman T. Sa'ad there was hardly any misfortune in Hausa land that was attributed to natural causes. Therefore, issues such as sickness, death and collapse of roofs were all associated to the handiwork of rivals using witchcraft, sorcery and charms mechanically to bring this about.³⁷⁸ There were people that were believed to possess the powers and skills to ward these off or to cause them. These were the *Bokas* (witch doctor) *Masu asiri* (practitioners of sorcery) and *Yan Bori* (*Bori* devotee).³⁷⁹

We do not know the precise role of the state in the provision of Health care as all the specialized groups mentioned seems to have operated in their individual capacity and at the privacy of their own homes. The role of the state may be in the recognition it gave to these groups by providing a conducive atmosphere for their operation, patronizing their services and appointing leaders among them to ensure professional standard.

c. ROADS

³⁷⁶ Oral source, Muhammad Abbas Fagachi, *t, op-cit*

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Hamman T. Sa'ad, *Between Myths and Reality*, P.132

³⁷⁹ Ibid.

The role of roads as effective channels of communication, which is necessary for the *Birni* to discharge, its function can best be appreciated when seen against Gideon Sjorberg's view about the city. He saw the city as:

... mechanism by which society's rulers consolidate and maintain their powers, and more important, the essentiality of a well developed power structure for the formation and perpetuation of urban centres...But invariably they were the focal points of transport and communication, enabling the ruling elements not only to maintain surveillance over the countryside but to interact more readily with members of their own group in other cities as well as within a city. The congestion that defines the city increases personal face-to-face communication therein; essential if the heads of the various bureaucratic structures- governmental, religious and educational were to sustain one another.³⁸⁰

Thus to ensure effective communication and accessibility to the various parts of the *Birni* each gate has a road linking it to the focal points of the *Birni*. These were the Palace, Mosque, and Market. Network of major roads and paths also radiate out ward from the gates, Palace, Mosque and central Market to the outlying wards of the *Birni*.³⁸¹ See map 3 for insights into how the roads and the paths integrated the various parts of the *Birni* with one another effectively.

It was these major roads and paths that constituted the major directional forces particularly in the densely populated areas of the *Birni*.³⁸² According to Lawal the major roads and paths were not laid out but evolved from footpaths.³⁸³ This was because they meander between the clusters of compounds at various points along their courses.³⁸⁴ Series of winding paths usually branched off from the major routes and thus constituted a secondary circulation system.³⁸⁵

The constructions of roads and paths during the pre-colonial period were done through three major ways. One of such ways was through constant passage by people through a particular route.

³⁸⁰ Sjorberg, G. *The Pre industrial City*, Glencoe, Illinois, 1960, pp. 67-68

³⁸¹ Urquhart A.W. *The Planned Urban Landscapes*,p. 17

³⁸² Lawal Ibrahim Babale, Terminal Essay on a Documentation of Zaria Friday Mosque, Dept. of Industrial Design A.B.U. Zaria, 1991 P. 47

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

Secondly, nomadic often stick to specific routes as they took their livestock for pasture. Consequently, through constant passage along a route a path may emerge. The third way was when the *Sarakuna* deliberately decided to create a route to a particular place or section of the *Birni*. In such occasion people were normally mobilized for the work. The roads were usually constructed under the supervision of *Tafarki* (road foreman). *Tafarki* was a traditional title and it literally means road/paths. The *Tafarki* was responsible for making sure that the roads/paths were in good condition particularly when the *Sarki* was about to go through them on his way on official duties or tours.³⁸⁶

d. SCHOOLS

All societies have one form of educational system or the other as a means of rejuvenating or socialising itself at all times. For instance, the society of Birnin Zaria during the pre-colonial period had developed two forms of educational systems. One of these was the traditional type of education, which seemed to have been the oldest means of training in traditional societies like Birnin Zaria. Traditional system of education is essentially informal. This is because training of the younger ones in traditional societies was not conducted in formal institutions such as schools and instructions were not conducted in accordance with a specific syllabus. In a traditional educational system, elderly members of the society impart knowledge and skills to the younger members of the society both at home and outside the home. The aim of the traditional system of education was to prepare the individual physically, morally, intellectually, socially and vocationally so as to make the individual good enough to shoulder societal responsibilities.³⁸⁷

The second type of education was the Islamic education. The history of Islamic education in Birnin Zaria could be traced to the introduction of Islam into the *Birni* around the 14th century.

³⁸⁶ Oral source, Muhammad Abbas Fagachi, op-cit

³⁸⁷ A. S. Thakur and A.N. Ezenne, *A short history of education in Nigeria*, De Ayo publication, Ibadan, 1980, p.1.

This was because Islam always goes hand in hand with learning. Islamic education was conducted in a formal way in the sense that classes were held in privately owned *Zaure* schools with a handful of pupils (*Almajirai*) taught by a single teacher (*Malam*) in a multi-grade class setting, meeting throughout the day with intermittent breaks.³⁸⁸ Not only that classes, were held within specific days usually from Saturday to Wednesday.³⁸⁹ Above all classes were conducted in accordance with a definite syllabus, which cut across the various stages of learning.³⁹⁰

Islamic education is aimed at a balanced growth of the total personality of a man through the training of man's spirit, intellect and rationality. It emphasises goodness and struggles for perfection.³⁹¹

Zaria is generally acknowledged as one of the great centres of Islamic education in Hausa land even before the 19th century Jihad of Sheikh Usman Dan Fodio.³⁹² The educational development of Zaria was due to the presence of many schools in the *Birni*. Prominent among these schools were Kona, Juma, Kofar Doka, Kakaki and Umar Wali schools.

Details about the history of these schools are discussed in subsequent chapters. However, our concern here is on the operations and organisation of the schools.

Islamic education was conducted in five stages. A new entrant into an Islamic school was expected to start from a certain point but could stop at any level he aspired to. The first step in the process of Islamic learning commenced with the *Babbaku*.³⁹³ This involved learning how to identify the different Arabic alphabets. These alphabets were usually written on a wooden slate called *Allo*. As a pupil mastered the alphabets he then graduated to the next step, which is referred

³⁸⁸ A Blueprint on Model Qur'anic Primary School, prepared by Northern Education Research Project, [NERP], Arewa House, Kaduna. P.3.

³⁸⁹ Ibid

³⁹⁰ *Almajiri and Qur'anic Education*, Published by the Almajirci Directorate, National Council for the Welfare of the destitute, 2001, p.70.

³⁹¹ Ibid, p.68

³⁹² See Abdullahi Mahdi, "The Choice of Zaria as the seat of Higher Learning," p. 26

³⁹³ Ibid.

to as *Farfaru*. At this level the pupil was trained in Arabic vowels.³⁹⁴ On mastery of the Arabic vowels the pupils move to the third step. This step which is usually called *Zube* involves learning, reading and writing of the Glorious Qur'an on their *Allo* bits by bits until he finished the whole book and mastered the art of writing and recitation devoid of mistakes in pronunciation, rhythm, style or penmanship.³⁹⁵ This stage terminates the elementary level of Islamic education. This is called *Sauka* (graduation). Public reading of the Qur'an by the graduates and a feast usually marked the *sauka*.

A pupil was expected to continue with his education after *Sauka* at a higher level. This enabled him to become a professional *Malam*. Learning at this level commenced at a stage called *Haddatu*.³⁹⁶ This entailed gradual memorisation of the Qur'an until he committed it to memory. At the end of this the pupil will be promoted to the next class, which is referred to as *Tishe/Tilawa*. This entailed revising the former stage (*Haddatu*).³⁹⁷ As the pupil moved to the final stage known as *Satu* he was expected to write the portions of the Qur'an from memory until he could write out the complete Qur'an from his memory on sheets of paper. This was normally subjected to proof readings before this dissertation project could be accepted and the candidate be recognised as a *Hafiz*.³⁹⁸ At the end of this the pupil may decide to terminate his study or to go for specialised field such as the science of Qur'an, *Hadith*, *Fiqh*, Philosophy, astronomy, Medicine, Geography and Literature.

These schools produced many indigenous scholars of international reputes and the products of this educational system provided the intellectual and administrative cadres in the pre-colonial

³⁹⁴ Ibid

³⁹⁵ Ibid

³⁹⁶ Ibid

³⁹⁷ Ibid

³⁹⁸ Ibid

societies of Hausa land.³⁹⁹ For instance they were employed to work in the Palace as record keepers, as Judges, advisers, interpreters, administrators and teachers.

The Islamic teachers and students maintained themselves through light crafts, farming, trading, alms from people especially after offering prayers for them, occasional donations from parents and their students and gift from the general public.⁴⁰⁰

10. CONCLUSION

It is clear from the above how Birnin Zaria was shaped in a very concrete and specific terms based on its geography, its architecture, its walls, its gates, its quarters, its major buildings, farmlands, Markets, roads, wells, and so on. This gives a picture of a complex *Birni* with its various components inter related with one another to keep it functional.

One important thing about Birnin Zaria was its multi-centrality. It was the centre of population, religion, administration, military, commerce and industry. This gave the *Birni* that aura of gravitational pull where by artisans and professionals of all kinds often found the *Birni* more attractive for their activities. The influx of people of diverse ethnic background and profession not only made Birnin Zaria heterogeneous but also a melting pot of ideas of both cultural and technical nature. These ideas were not only synthesized in the *Birni* but also disseminated to the hinterland. Apart from these, goods of all kinds also found their way to the *Birni* from both the hinterland and neighbouring states. Through this the *Birni* satisfied its internal and commercial needs.

To ensure peace and economic prosperity of the *Birni*, the rulers of Zazzau residing within the *Birni* provided effective security, which was highlighted in this chapter.

³⁹⁹ NERP (2005), "Towards a common framework for addressing the *Almajirai* phenomenon in the Northern States, Arewa House, Kaduna. 2005, p. 3

⁴⁰⁰ Mahdi Adamu, "The Economy of a Hausa Capital: Zaria in the 18th and 19th centuries, p. 13

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF BIRNIN ZARIA TO 1800

1. INTRODUCTION:

The internal spatial growth of Birnin Zaria since its formation to the beginning of the twentieth century was examined in chapter three. We shall here look at the pre-Jihad state of the society of Birnin Zaria.

This study is central to the understanding of the social organisation of the Hausa community of *Zazzagawa* residing within Birnin Zaria as well as to the understanding of the interlocking relationship of the social, religious and cultural institutions of the *Zazzagawa*.⁴⁰¹

The purpose of the study is two fold, first to shape our perception of the forces that regulated and gave meaning and direction to the *Zazzagawa* community in the *Birni*. Secondly, the study is hoped to throw light into the internal contradictions within the *Birni* that produced the leadership of the 1808 Jihad in Zaria.

The study commences with an examination into the social organisation of the *Zazzagawa* community in the *Birni*. This is followed by a highlight on some cultural issues relating to the *Zazzagawa*.

2. SOCIAL ORGANISATION:

The *Birni* was made up of several family groups that were organised into compounds (*gidaje*, sing. *gida*). This social arrangement dated back to the earliest inhabitants on the Zaria plains. Thus the family constituted the building block of the society. The family was so important

⁴⁰¹ There is no institution in human society be it economic, social, political that exists as an island in itself without relating to or influencing each other. For details see Ashley W. J. on the study of Economic History and Unwin, B. the aims of economic history, in Harte, N. B. the study of economic history: collected inaugural lectures, 1893-1970 (London: Frank Cass, 1977).

to the individual members of the society since it constituted the only basis for their membership and identity within the larger society as well as for their economic, political, and social rights,⁴⁰² which were often given and determined at birth.

The family was a corporate body of people who could trace their common descent and relationship to one another by a chain of genealogical connections to a single male ancestor. The family type of the *Zazzagawa* is typically African, which contrast sharply with the nuclear type of family structure as obtained in especially western societies. In other words the family type of the *Zazzagawa* was the extended family type that composed of the *maigida* (owner or master of the house) and his kith and kin. There might also be one or two aged parents, a servant (*bara*) or a slave (*bawa*, f. *baiwa*) depending on the status of the *maigida*.⁴⁰³ Abdullahi Smith was of the opinion that the family members must be closely related to the *maigida*.⁴⁰⁴ However, this might only be true at the early period of the society before it became more heterogeneous. This is because there are indications that even strangers constituted members of most families in the *Birni*. This is because of the ease at which strangers were easily absorbed into most families within the *Birni*.⁴⁰⁵ Thus, membership of a family came to be based on total participation in the life of the family.

Some forms of bonds and kinship network seem to unite members of the family who regard themselves as one indivisible entity. This bond of cohesion was reinforced by the tenancy of common residential unit (*gida*) which normally composed of individual huts (*dakuna*) and granaries (*rumbuna*, sing. *rumbu*) surrounded by a wall or *darni* (fence) and

⁴⁰² Toyin Falola, *The Political economy of a pre-colonial African state: Ibadan 1830-1900*, O.I.P. 1984

⁴⁰³ Adamu Mahdi, *Hausa factor*., *op-cit* p.11

⁴⁰⁴ Smith, "Some consideration relating to the formation of states," p. 67

⁴⁰⁵ Chapter three gave details on how the various wards in the Birmi were formed, highlighting the genealogy of some of the families that constitutes them. The chapter also gave insights into how strangers were absorbed into the society.

entered through an entrance (*zaure*).⁴⁰⁶ Thus the wall or fence divides the *gida* into *cikin gida* and *waje*. Whatever belongs to the *cikin gida* fall within the control of the *maigida*.⁴⁰⁷

Some forms of relationships spelt out in details the rights, duties and obligations expected of each member of the family. This regulated the social bonds or ties binding the various members of the family. Engel for example asserted that:

The name father, child, mother, brother, sister are no mere Honorific titles they involve quite definite and very serious mutual obligations which together make up an essential part of the social constitution of the people in question.⁴⁰⁸

It is clear from the above that definite division of labour based on gender and age characterized the family. The Zazzagawa are patriarchal society where the oldest male member heads the family. This earned him the title *maigida* which connotes great responsibilities. As the male head of the family, the *maigida* coordinate all the activities of the family unit and ensure the perpetuation of the *gida* as his ancestors have done before him.⁴⁰⁹ To sum it up the *maigida* must provide for the entire needs of his family and must ensure their social, political, economic and religious needs. To enable him discharge these onerous tasks, the *maigida* expected unalloyed loyalty and respect from members of the household especially from the female and junior members. In Hausa societies generally, respect and obedience to the seniors irrespective of blood ties are highly

⁴⁰⁶ For further description of the Hausa residential unit see M. G. Smith, 'Baba of Karo', *op-cit*.

⁴⁰⁷ Hamman Sa'ad, *Between myth and Reality: The Aesthetics of traditional Architecture in Hausa land*, PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 1981, p.46

⁴⁰⁸ Engel, F., *The origin of the family, private property and the state*, Peking, 1978, pp.32- 33

⁴⁰⁹ The *maigida* always ensure that no member break away from the *gida* due to discontentment or otherwise. Therefore he makes sure that everybody is well accommodated and cared for. In case a member break away and establish his own household he still considers his household as an extension of the parent household which could now be referred to as *Tsohon gida*, *Babban gida* or *cikin gida*, while the new house may be referred to as *Sabon gida*. To ensure the maintenance of strong link between the two houses, social activities such as naming and wedding ceremonies involving members of the *Sabon gida* are normally conducted in the parent household.

expected from the juniors. Thus, it is generally believed that *bin na gaba bin Allah ne* (literally meaning following the one in front is following Allah). These noble and cherished ideals were therefore, taught to children by their parents and the general members of the society⁴¹⁰ through various means such as folktales.⁴¹¹

Apart from the *maigida* some kinds of relationship differential or otherwise were also expected from each member of the family to other members. For instance, women were expected to be highly submissive to their husbands.⁴¹² They thus hastened to their requests and biddings.⁴¹³ They cooked for the family and kept their houses neat and clean as well as catered for the up bringing of their children.⁴¹⁴ The head of each household was in turn required to cater for the general well being of his household. This gave him the power of control and major decisions regarding his household.⁴¹⁵

Age also evoked relationship differential among the *Zazzagawa*. The younger persons were for instance expected to show respect for the older ones. For example the *Kanne/yara* (younger brothers and or sisters/boys and or girls) were required to show differential attitude to *yayye/matasa* (elder brothers and or sisters/youths).⁴¹⁶ The above age groups in turn will show differential attitude to *lyaye/Manya* (parents/adults).⁴¹⁷ The same was expected from all these age groups to *Kakanni/tsofaffi* (grand parents/old people).⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁰ Every member of the society has the responsibility of imposing discipline and correcting any disobedient child irrespective of blood ties. This is because children are regarded as belonging to everybody, hence, the common expression "*Da na Kowa ne*"

⁴¹¹ Muhammad Wada Hamza, Tatsuniya as a mirror of Hausa social relationships, *M. A. thesis* 1984, Department of Nigerian and African languages A.B.U. Zaria P.18.

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid

⁴¹⁵ Ibid

⁴¹⁶ Ibid

⁴¹⁷ Ibid

⁴¹⁸ Ibid

Apart from the family, territoriality also formed another important basis of social organisation and identity among the *Zazzagawa*. The first level for territorial organisation is the *Anguwa* (ward). This was subsequent to the organisation of the various segmented family units that made up the *Birni* into wards (*Anguwoyi*). Thus, the possession of common territory by the different family groups that may be distantly related with one another formed a strong basis of social cohesion among the various people residing in the same ward. The feeling of common identity formed this bond of unity.

However, it should be noted that ties such as consanguinity, ethnicity or myth of common origin was still important.⁴¹⁹ It was thus, a key element in the formation of wards within the *Birni*. For instance, people from Nupe, Borno, and Yoruba ethnic groups founded wards such as Anguwar Nupawa, Kona, and Malam Sule respectively. Magajiya, Anguwar Zaria on the other hand were founded by the descendents of Magajiya and Zaria, respectively while occupational specialists populated Anguwar Sirdi, Anguwar Karfe and Magajin Aska. The affairs of these various ethnic and occupational groups were regulated by the state through the guild leadership who among other things control recruitment into the craft, levied taxes on members, or conscripted labour for public works. The various ethnic groups were gradually integrated into the *Zazzagawa* community in the *Birni*. Thus the *Zazzagawa* community was an amalgam of many ethnic groups.

The wards were under the direct control of the *mai anguwa* who served as an intermediary between the *Sarki* and the heads of the various family units within his ward. He collected taxes, adjudicated over minor disputes involving members of his ward, and

⁴¹⁹ Hamman . S., *Between Myths and Reality*, P.42

ensures that no stranger settled in his domain without following the due processes. Part of such processes was that the stranger must report his presence to the *mai anguwa* on arrival to any ward. After certain investigations the *mai anguwa* may assign him to any member of his ward to accommodate him. Due consideration about the stranger's profession is normally taken when assigning him to a landlord.

The highest level of territorial organisation of the *Zazzagawa* was the state. This took place in Zazzau following the unification of the various wards within the *Birni* and neighbouring villages and towns into *Kasar Zaria* with Birnin Zaria as the capital in the second millennium A.D. The entire members of the *Birni* that were made up of several wards, were thus, united by the possession of common territory, local traditions, institutions, beliefs and network of mores. All these combined to give the city dwellers a sense of common identity and unity as '*Yan birni*'.

The evolution of the above territorial unit of organisation i.e. the state led to the emergence of the highly stratified society of Birnin Zaria with a well defined social structure which defined the inter human relations within the *Birni*. Boniface Abonjo explained that:

A social structure is an organised system of social relations. A state, for example, is an extensive system of social relations between officials and citizens. Such social relations when organised into structures are often very specially defined such that very definite rights and obligations adhere to any single person. A citizen of the state, for example, may be obliged to pay taxes, to fight in its armies, to refrain from certain kinds of actions defined as unreasonable. The

governor of the state receives specific salary and has a whole series of definite powers and responsibilities.⁴²⁰

On the basis of the above explanations, therefore, the society of Zaria could be broadly divided into two distinct social groups: The ruling class, which consisted of the *Sarki* and the *masu Sarauta* (aristocracy) on one hand and the *Talakawa* (commoners) on the other.

i THE RULING CLASS

At the top of the ruling class was the *Sarki* who occupied the highest peak of the social ladder of the society. He was regarded as *Uban kasa* (father or owner of the land). This vantage position gave the *Sarki* overriding powers and authority over every body residing within his domain irrespective of his age, ethnicity, language or social status. Every body not only within the *Birni* but the whole Kingdom of Zazzau was regarded as *Talakan Sarki* (subject of the King). Hence, it is common to hear such expression as *Kowa Talakan Sarki ne* i.e. every body is the King's subject. In recognition of this, the *Sarki* was highly revered by his subjects and nobody dared question his authority or show open rebellion against him. The epithet "*Sarkin yanka*" in reference to the *Sarki* was a clear demonstration of the enormous power wielded by the *Sarki* to the extent of possessing the power of life and death over his people.

Next to the *Sarki* were the *masu Sarauta*. This was an aristocracy class that consisted of titleholders such as Galadima, Wambai, Danmadami, Dallatu, etc. Traditionally, titles were normally patrilineally inherited. *Sarauta* was often regarded as

⁴²⁰ Boniface, Abonjo, a Tiv informant (Percussionist) C.N.C.S., A.B.U. Zaria, May, 7th, 1984, in Ziky, Kofoworola and Yusuf Lateef, Hausa performing arts and music, *Nigerian Magazine*, 1987, p.195

the most prestigious position, hence the popular expressions, "*Sarauta tafi Kudi*" (lit. royalty is greater than money). The class of *masu sarauta* were known for their over zealousness for hierarchy, political power, privileges, magnanimity, dominance, aggrandizement and superiority over the rest of the population.⁴²¹ To maintain their luxurious life style, the *masu sarauta* appropriated the surplus produced by the general populace including the *attajirai*, the *Malamai*, the *Talakawa* and the *Bayi*. This was done through such institutions like taxation, control of cheap labour, control over land and commerce.⁴²² The methods of extortion by the *Sarakuna* was often ruthless, an action that set the general public and even visiting traders in opposition to the *masu sarauta*. This generally, alienated them from the larger society. The situation thus, created a fertile ground for the mobilization of the support of the commoners by the intelligentsia (*Malamai*) class for the over throw of the *masu sarauta* in the beginning of the 19th century.

It should be noted that the *masu sarauta* was an exclusive class. This was because no matter one's status in the society, one could not belong to the class unless one was from the royal lineage. This was initially limited to only one dynasty during the Habe era. This is demonstrated by the Zaria king-list which indicates an unbroken chain of succession from Gunguma to the last Habe king. However, following the Jihad and the attempt of the Jihad leaders to reverse the hereditary nature of the sarauta system, four ruling dynasties emerged in Zazzau. This was because following the death of Malam Musa, the founder of the Mallawa ruling dynasty, the choice of a new leader fell on Malam Yamusa, a Fulani of Bornoan extraction. This was based on his educational background

⁴²¹ Hamman S. Between Myth and Reality, P. 351

⁴²² Oyedele E. Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria, p. 82

and piety rather than his family background. Yamusa was found to be more qualified on account of his knowledge and piety than Sidi Abdul-Kadir, the son of Malama Musa. When Yamusa died, Abdul-Karimu of yet a different family was favoured against Yamusas's offspring's. The selection of Abdus-Salam, the founder of yet another dynasty- the sullubawa ruling dynasty was done in the same spirit. The resultant effect of all these was that members of the sarauta were broadened to include members from different dynasties.

Other noticeable changes in the sarauta could be seen in the role played by women in the political affairs of Zaria during the period under discussion. It appears that women played prominent role in the sarauta system. There was no limit to the level of their political attainment. This is demonstrated by the fact that there were occasions when women occupied the highest and most prestigious positions in the land. For instance, we have Amina who assumed the Queen ship of Zazzau. There was also Kwajina who assumed similar position and Zaria who although was never a queen but assumed some position of prominence.

Apart from all these there were such titles like the Magajiya, Iya and Mardani, which were mainly preserved for women. Magajiya and Iya seemed to be powerful positions. They seemed to have a role in the selection process of the Kings of Zazzau. Their influence is clearly demonstrated by their ability to force the last *Habe* ruler to reverse the Islamic reforms made by his father as we shall see.

However some changes were introduced after the Jihad. For instance offices allocated to eunuchs were gradually phased out in conformity with the provision of the shari'a. Also affected were the females' titles such as Magajiya, Iya and Mardani which

were phased out. This was because there was no provision for women titles in the Shari'a. Consequently, the functions of such offices came to be adopted by men.

ii. COMMONERS

The commoners composed of people that did not belong to the ruling class or the *masu sarauta*. This class was generally characterized by lack of political and military powers and exploited by the *masu sarauta* through taxations, force labour and so on. The Commoners (subjects) had limited upward mobility, which was in sharp contrast with the *masu sarauta*. The category of people that are generally lumped under this class includes: The religious clerics, *Attajirai*, *Talakawa* proper and the *Bayi*.

a. TRADITIONAL PRIESTS AND THE MALAMAI

A study of the society of Birnin Zaria between the 15th century and the period of the outbreak of the 19th century Jihad indicates the presence of two dominant religious classes— the traditional priests and the *Malamai*. These religious personages constituted the second most influential members of the society. The study of this class of people is indispensable to the understanding of the corpus of religious ideas that pervaded the society of Birnin Zaria.

The priests represented the traditional beliefs of the society. This was due to their knowledge of spiritual powers and their sound ability to “direct the course of nature and human lives”. Meek highlighted the functions of the priests thus:

He (the priest) is the repository of the tribal traditions and therefore presides at initiation ceremonies. He receives and makes offerings on behalf of the people. By virtue of his intercourse with the spirits he obtains esoteric knowledge of powers by which he can drive out wicked spirits.⁴²³

⁴²³ Meek C.K. *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria: An Ethnographical Account of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria*, 1921, p. 43

The above statement summed up the significance of the priests in Birnin Zaria during the period under study. Before the introduction of Islam to Zaria, the actual date of which is still speculative, the priests assumed an unrivalled position. They were consulted on almost everything concerning the social, political and economic lives of the society. Thus, they enjoyed enormous privileges in the society. The introduction of Islam and particularly its adoption as a state religion around the second half of the 15th century with the conversion of Muhammadu Rabbo into Islam began to challenge the dominant position hitherto enjoyed by the traditional priests. However it should be noted that in spite of the growing influence of Islam; the priests continued to operate parallel to the *Malamai* and were not displaced until after the outbreak of the Jihad in the beginning of the 19th century.

The *Malamai* on the other hand represented the intelligentsia section of the Muslim community whose recruitment was mainly through training. Emphasis on the superiority of spiritual powers over temporal powers was one of the features of the *Malamai*. Knowledge possessed by the *Malamai* conferred on them a moral responsibility, the responsibility of interpreting and sometimes implementing the Islamic principles as embodied in the Qur'an, and the *Sunna* (traditions of the Prophet P.B.U.H.).⁴²⁴

Scholarship was held sacred in Islam and hence anybody that engaged in its pursuit was highly esteemed by the Muslims. The Hausa saying demonstrates this: "*Malamai magada Annabawa ne*" (literally meaning scholars are the inheritors of the Prophets) and "*Malamai tsanin shiga aljanna ne*" (literally meaning scholars are the step to the entrance of the paradise). This is further elaborated by the saying of the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) that:

⁴²⁴ Quick, Aspects of Islamic Social Intellectual History in Hausa land: Uthman Ibn Fudi, 1774-1804 C.E PhD *theses*, University of Toronto, 1995, p. 59-60.

The superiority of the scholar over the unlearned worshipper is as the superiority of the moon over the other heavenly bodies on the night of the full moon. The scholars are the inheritors of the prophets. The Prophets did not leave behind dinars or dirhams, but they left knowledge, so that whoever obtains this knowledge had become immensely fortunate. Reported in sunan Abu Dauda.⁴²⁵

By virtue of their knowledge of the religious beliefs of the society as demonstrated above, both the traditional and Islamic religious personages were generally held in awe. Hence, they became the objects of consultations by the various strata of the society, particularly the *masu sarauta* who monopolized them in order to effectively gain or maintain the state power.⁴²⁶ This syncretic attitude of the *sarakuna* towards these religious clerics could best be described in the words of Hamman Tukur who stated that:

The rulers metaphorically stand vertically astride above the pivot of delicately balanced syncretistic seesaw. On one hand, he has the Malam with his Jins and on the other hand he has the boka. By lifting his one foot he tilts the balance in favour of the other, depending on his needs at the particular moment.⁴²⁷

With the syncretic attitude of the *sarakuna* as demonstrated above, the only vehicle that was therefore left for the active propagation of Islam was the *Malamai*.

⁴²⁵ M.A. Al Tabrizi, *Mishkat Al masabih* rev. Ed, Damascus, Al maktab Al- Islami Press, 1961, p. 74.

⁴²⁶ Adamu Augie, The Gobir factor in the social and political History of the Rima Basin, C1650-1808 A.D unpublished *ph. D theses*. Zaria 1984, p. 233

⁴²⁷ Hamman . S, Between Myth and reality, p. 138

However, as the custodians of their respective religious beliefs, the religious personages mentioned above (the Priests and the *Malamai*) deemed it a duty to guard and safeguard their religious traditions jealously against pollution or extinction by alien religious beliefs. Thus, centuries of long cultural struggle dating back to the time when Islamic influences started having contact with the traditional beliefs system ensued between the two opposing religious interests. The old age ideological struggle gradually tilted in favour of the *Malamai*. This was because of the relegation of the *iskoki* religious belief, which was hitherto the dominant belief system in *Kasar* Hausa, to the background following the increasing growing influence of Islam particularly in the 19th century following the Jihad in Zaria.

As a result of this development, the *Malamai* came to assume a number of services for the state, which included religious, political, administrative, clerical, and judicial services. These offices included the office of the *Imam* Juma and *Imam* Kona (official that presided over prayers). Then there was the Magatakarda who functioned as chief scribe and the private *Imam* to the King's house-hold. Another official was the Salanke who officiated at the prayer ground during the two *ids* (i.e. *id al-fitr* and *id al-kabir*) prayers as well as presiding over funeral prayers involving the *Sarakuna* and *masu sarauta*. Lastly, there was the Magajin Malam who acted both as a member of the electoral council and the representative of the Mai of Borno.⁴²⁸

However, it is important to note that despite the advantageous position Islam enjoyed visa-avis the traditional religious beliefs, it failed to curtail most of the deep-rooted local customs and beliefs, and this was an indication of the relative strength of the proponent of the traditional religion. By the end of the 18th century therefore, there was grave concern by particularly some section of the intelligentsia for the establishment of a

⁴²⁸ Smith, Some notes p. 93

pure form of Islam. The *Malamai* by virtue of their contact with new ideas from all over the Muslim world began to form a more focused group⁴²⁹ and thus began to call for social and political reforms. Since these *Malamai* lacked the political power to effect the transformation of the society in consonance with the Islamic ideals, they resorted to a revolutionary change of the society through the Jihad (armed struggle).

b. ATTAJIRAI

The *Attajirai* were people that were able to build their wealth substantially above the generality of the public with the exception of the *Masu Sarauta*. This accorded them the third most prestigious position in the society. The *Attajirai* were made up of hereditary Merchant class popularly known in the local parlance as "*Tsohon Kudi* and the Nouveau-riche group known as "*Sabon Kudi*".⁴³⁰ Even though this class lacked political power, they were closely patronized by the *Masu sarauta*. This therefore gave them lot of political influence in the society. The close alliance between the *Attajirai* and the *masu sarauta* is expressed by the Hausa saying "*Attajiri abokin Sarki*," i.e. the rich merchant is a friend of the Sarki. Like the two classes mentioned above, the *Attajirai* appropriated the labour of the *Talakawa* by hiring them in their *Fatauchi* (trading) or *Sana'a* (occupation). The consolidation of the *Attajirai* class in Zaria was spurred by the development and expansion in both internal and regional trade. The *Attajirai* by virtue of their involvement in the trade were able to amass lot of wealth. Their activities also opened up and integrated the Zaria area with other regions. It also led to the expansion of both agriculture and manufacturing.

⁴²⁹ Quick, Aspects of Islamic social intellectual History in Hausa land, p 60.

⁴³⁰ Muhammadu Wada Hamza, Tatsuniya as a mirror of Hausa social relationships.p. 27

According to Hamman Tukur, the three classes of people mentioned above- the aristocracy, religious leaders and merchants formed the pillar (*ginshiki*) of the society. This is because they carried the weight and liabilities of the *Birni* on their shoulders'. He noted thus:

A city cannot survive without the political leadership provided by great Sarakuna; these leaders cannot function without the aid of truthful Malam. A city cannot be important without influence, so we need Tajirai. All other members of the society make up the roof that rest on these three important pillars.⁴³¹

c. TALAKAWA (POOR)

Any body that did not fall under the above three classes is normally placed in the class of the *Talakawa* (poor). The *Talakawa* belonged to what Frantz Fanon may describe as the "wretched of the earth".⁴³² They constituted the largest percentage of the population and were made up of people of diverse occupational groups and background. The term *Talakawa* is not only a political category but social and economic as well. Accordingly, R.C. Abraham sees the *Talakawa* as members of the populace, who are sharply distinct from the *masu sarauta*, who are more auspicious, so that being *talaka* entail poverty. Bergery on the other hand defines the *talaka* as a person that holds no official position, a man in the street, a poor person etc. Some epithets that are used to describe the *Talaka* include *Talaka bawan Allah* (literally meaning the poor man is truly Allah's servant) and *Allah gatan Talaka* (literally meaning the poor is Allah's protected

⁴³¹ Hamman . S., Between Myth and reality, p. 112

⁴³² Franz Fanon, The wretched of the earth, Penguin Books, 1963

servant). All these are indications of the depressed, miserable and inferior condition of the *Talaka*.

In spite of the lowly position of the *Talakawa*, they constituted the largest productive labour force in the society and therefore provided most of the services and resources needed by the *masu Sarauta*, the *Attajirai* and some influential *Malamai*. Some of the services provided by the *Talakawa* included: labour in the estates of the *Masu Sarauta* and the *Attajirai*; services in the state bureaucracy and the army, labour in the building of city walls, clearing of routes and paths e.t.c.

It is important to note that membership of this group is fluid. This is because it is possible for individuals to rise up above their social status. However a small percent of the *Talakawa* were able to move up the social ladder. In Hausa communities generally including Zaria a person's social position (*Matsayi*), rank (*Mukami*) or importance (*Mahimmanci*) was determined by employment and or economic success irrespective of gender.⁴³³ This is demonstrated by certain terms that were used to evaluate one's social status. For instance, both males and females could attain the highest position of leadership but addressed differently. For example, the king is called *Sarki* (*Sarauniya* fem.). At the educational level an educated man is called *Malam* while an educated woman is called *Malama*. An illiterate is called *Jahili* (*Jahila* fem.). A wealthy man is called *Tajiri*, while a wealthy woman is called *Tajira*.⁴³⁴

d. **BAYI (SLAVES)**

At the lowest level of the social ladder among the *Zazzagawa* were the *Bayi*. Recruitment into this class was by birth, raids and wars, gift, purchase etc. The *Attajirai*,

⁴³³ Hamza, Tatsuniya as a mirror of Hausa social relationships, pp. 24-25.

⁴³⁴ Ibid-p. 25.

Masu sarauta and some influential Malamai, who used their labour for various activities such as domestic, economic, military and more importantly agricultural activities generally maintained the slaves.⁴³⁵

Ali Mazrui best described the general conditions of slaves in Hausa land in the following words:

---Certain duties, it is true were specifically allotted to slaves, but, for the greater part, they shared in the ordinary life of the household, were described by the head as his children and a stranger would not be aware that they were his slaves unless this was expressly explained by him. Captured women were taken at once as wives, and except that they had no relatives to go to in case of ill treatment or their husband death, their different status ceased to have much importance. Girls might be married to their master's family or might marry other slaves; the latter on marriage set up their own houses, described themselves as members of their master's clan, and observed its practices. They differed from 'free men' in that they could not leave him and that they could not inherit from a real member of the clan.⁴³⁶

Paul Lovejoy and Hogendorn shaded more light on the position of slave in Zaria by pointing out that:

⁴³⁵ Ibrahim Muhammadu Jumare, Slavery in Sokoto city. C. 1804-1936, *M. A. thesis*, Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, 1988 Pp. 43-48; Paul E. Lovejoy, Transformations in slavery, *African Studies series* 36, Cambridge University Press, 1983, Pp. 196.

⁴³⁶ Ali Mazrui, Conference on slavery, "comparative slavery and Africa's triples heritage: Indigenous, Islamic and western system, a keynote address to the world conference organized by Arewa House, 26th – 30th March, 1990

The emirate was actively involved in enslavement as well as the exploitation of slave labour. Indeed the continued acquisition of new captives was essential in sustaining the number of slave in Zaria. There was no racial difference between masters and slaves, although ethnic distinctions were clearly articulated as a result of the enslavement of non-Muslim populations. While most slaves were assigned agricultural work, some performed essential functions of government and many had the possibility of achieving emancipation for themselves or their children. The children of slave concubines were particularly likely to inherit a free status.⁴³⁷

The above explanations clearly demonstrated the reason why many people of slave origin were absorbed and assimilated into many family groups in Zaria. The slaves not only found it easy to get assimilated into the family of their masters⁴³⁸ but also found it easy to gain upward mobility. Many instances abound where people of slave origin held sensitive political and military positions.⁴³⁹ Some of the military positions that were entrusted to slaves in the past were the position of Sarkin bindiga (Head of musketeers); Sarkin lifidi; (Head of cavalry); Sarkin baka (leader of the archers); Wambai (in charge of the wounded) and so on. Because of the privileges that were accrued to the slaves, slavery became enviable even among some free born.⁴⁴⁰ Some free born were said to

⁴³⁷ Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn, *slow death for slavery*, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p.9.

⁴³⁸ Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in slavery: A History of slavery in Africa*, P. 214.

⁴³⁹ Oral source, Malam Nuhu Jume, Anguwan Dan Madami Age 40 years, 3rd January 2004.

⁴⁴⁰ Bala, A. "Warfare and Slavery in Zaria Emirate in the 19th century," a paper presented at the World Conference on Slavery, organised by Arewa House, Kaduna, 26th - 30th March, 1990. P. 17

have willingly submitted themselves as slaves out of the hope of getting some of the privileges.⁴⁴¹

Lovejoy was of the view that 50 percent of the population of Zaria were slaves.⁴⁴² This could be an over exaggeration. This is because it is doubtful for any country to allow the population of slaves to be equal its number. This is in view of the security implication this may portend. It is possible that Lovejoy was making reference to the population of the numerous slave estates in Zaria. In this case this could be true because the estates were essentially slave settlements mainly established by the *masu sarauta* to work for them in such estates.

3. RELIGION

As mentioned above, the pre-Jihad society of Birnin Zaria was dominated by two religious belief systems, which had continued to shape the society. These were the traditional belief system in the *iskoki* and Islam.

The traditional religious belief and practice was of ancient antiquity, predating Islam and the formation of the *Birni* itself. The significance of this religion could be seen in its role in laying the foundation of the state of Zazzau. As pointed out earlier, religion played important role in the development of the nucleus of the state of Zazzau around the great inselbergs of Kufena, Madarkachi and Turunku, which developed into urban centres because of their religious importance.⁴⁴³ Abdullahi Smith pointed out that this religious belief continued long after to influence the lives of not only the commoners but also the outlook and policy of the rulers.⁴⁴⁴ The traditional religious practice developed in response

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴² Lovejoy, Transformations in slavery, P. 185.

⁴⁴³ Smith, "Some notes on the History of Zazzau under Hausa Kings" p. 91

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

to man's pre occupation with nature and activities most closely identified with it and were widely practiced not only in Zaria but through out *Kasar Hausa*.⁴⁴⁵

Only the main features of the traditional belief and practice is discussed here. The traditional religion was characterized by the belief in the existence of the Supreme Being known as *ubangiji* who rules over everything and everyone. The Supreme Being is believed to be too remote and therefore cannot be approached directly but rather through a host of different intermediaries. These intermediaries in the forms of invincible forces or spirit, power or dynamics were generally believed to be capable of controlling life, fortune and the daily issues of existence.⁴⁴⁶ These forces, which were put under the general name, *iskoki* were believed to be found everywhere such as rock shelters, hills, sky, water, trees, dwelling places etc.

Members of the society individually or in concert with other members of the society in their various endeavours involving economic, political, religious and social activities, were thus compelled by these religious beliefs to associate with these forces in appropriate manners.⁴⁴⁷ This was believed to be necessary for their survival and successes in their individual and collective undertakings.

The helplessness of man in the face of the super natural forces was demonstrated by the continued search (*tambaya*) for, and acquisition of super natural powers by every member of the society particularly the *Masu sarauta*, successful *Attajirai* and heads of occupational groups. This was not only considered imperative but one must be seen to be having one. Thus those with established and tested ability to the possession of super natural powers were feared and that gave them immunity against the evil design of rivals

⁴⁴⁵ Quick, Aspects of Islamic social intellectual History in Hausa land, P.17

⁴⁴⁶ Kofoworola Zikky and Yusuf Lateef, Hausa performing arts and music, p 69

⁴⁴⁷ Smith , Some notes, p. 91

who may wish to mechanically bring about misfortune on them through mediums such as charms, witchcraft and sorcery.⁴⁴⁸

In order to control or manipulate the invincible forces (*iskoki*) to ensure continuity, good providence and avoid misfortune, appropriate sacrifices according to the needs of the particular *iska* must be made. The sacrifices involved giving up the most valued possession in the form of food, drink, animal or even, human beings. These sacrifices could be conducted at all levels of the society. For instance in each compound the *Maigida* normally directed the ritual sacrifices. At the ward level, the *Sarkin noma* and *Sarkin Ruwa* conducted the sacrifices. This was done for the purpose of agricultural success. While at the state level, the Sarki was in charge of the ritual sacrifices. As custodians of the religious beliefs of the society, the *Sarakuna* offered advice to the community after due consultations with the priests on matters affecting the general well being of the society.

By the 15th century, when Birnin Zaria was established as the administrative headquarters of Zazzau, the traditional belief system was well entrenched in the society. The deep-seated religious beliefs and practice was so rooted that even when Islam was introduced, it continued to maintain strong influence on the lives of the *Zazzagawa* up to the Jihad period.

The precise period when Islam began to make inroad into Zaria is still difficult to establish. However, it is generally believed that Islam came to Hausa land through the activities of the Wangarawa who arrive Kano in the middle of the 14th century.⁴⁴⁹ However, this claim is doubtful when examined critically against some concrete evidence.

⁴⁴⁸ Hamman . S., Between Myth and reality, pp. 132-138.

⁴⁴⁹ Palmer, Kano chronicle, Sudanese Memoirs, *op-cit*.

For instance, the research conducted by Abdullahi Smith was of the view that there was the presence of Islam in Kufena and Turunku long before the foundation of Birnin Zaria.⁴⁵⁰ This is corroborated by the existence of an old Islamic community known as the Konawa around the area where the *Birni* came to be established.⁴⁵¹ The leader of this Islamic community, Mallam Sadauki Haruna was said to have been in Zaria long before the arrival of the celebrated Islamic Scholar, al Maghili at Kano in 1492.⁴⁵²

What seems to give more credence to the view for an earlier date for the introduction of Islam in Birnin Zaria earlier than the 14th century as purported by the Kano Chronicle was the association of Islamic names to some of the earlier rulers of Zazzau. See the Zaria king-list in the appendix section for details. This is an indication that even if these *Sarakuna* were not Muslims, there were some forms of Islamic influence in Zaria at the early period of its existence. Recently, rock painting indicating a Mosque on the Turunku rocks was discovered.⁴⁵³ But we have to wait for archaeological study on the rock painting of the Mosque before we can put our argument further.

From the above explanations, it is safe to agree with Usman Bugaje who argued that the significance of the advent of the Wangarawa should be seen as marking a stage in the Islamisation of Hausa land rather than its beginning.⁴⁵⁴ He argued further that the coming of the Wangarawa might be alluding to the Islamisation of the rulers of Kano rather than the first arrival of Islam in *Kasar* Hausa.⁴⁵⁵

The general pattern of Islamisation in the whole of western Sudan, was further elaborated by Philips who stated that:

⁴⁵⁰ Smith, Some notes on the History of Zazzau under Hausa kings, p.28.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵² Dalhatu Usman, Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku, p. 28

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.* P.28

⁴⁵⁴ Usman Bugaje, "Some Reflections on the development of Islamic Learning in Katsina (1300-1800 A.D) in Isma'ila A. Tsiga etal (eds), *Islam and the History of learning in Katsina*, Spectrum Books Ltd, 1997, P. 78

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

In western Sudan, Islamisation of the people seems to have preceded that of their rulers, for instance, in Jenne there were already 4,200 Muslim Scholars when the ruler converted. In ancient Ghana there were 12 mosques at the time of Almoravids. Although the conversion of the rulers often accelerated the conversion of the masses, it rarely began it in West Africa. The conversion of the ruler and his court was a dramatic turning point from which date the state may be considered Muslim. But this is a climax of a process of Islamisation rather than its commencement.⁴⁵⁶

Similar pattern of Islamisation appeared to have taken place in Zaria with Islam mainly restricted initially among the ranks of the society principally through the activities of the *Malaman* kona and Juma. The activities of these Islamic clerics served as a catalyst to the growth of Muslim population. It was through the activities of such *Malamai* that Muhammadu Rabbo (1505-1530 AD), the contemporary of Muhammadu Rumfa and Muhammadu Korau of Kano and Katsina respectively was said to have embraced Islam.⁴⁵⁷ The conversion of Muhammadu Rabbo to Islam represented a climax of Islamisation in Zaria. This was because his conversion brought Islam into the limelight, leading to the conversion of substantial number of people into the religion.⁴⁵⁸ The period also witnessed the construction of the *Jumu'a* Mosque at Anguwan Juma.⁴⁵⁹ Wind of change was also blowing in Kano and Katsina where Muhammadu Rumfa and

⁴⁵⁶ J.E Philips, the Islamisation of Kano before Jihad, *Kano studies (new series)*, Vol. No., 11982/85 pp. 32-33

⁴⁵⁷ A.R. Nuhu "Zazzau Kafin Jihad," a paper presented at the History workshop at ABU, Zaria 1979, p.2.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid*

Muhammadu Korau emerged as leaders respectively. Abdullahi Smith noted the significance of these trios to the ongoing Islamisation process in *Kasar* Hausa thus:

The pre eminence of these rulers is partly due to the roles they are believed to have played in the spread of Islam in Hausa land. Muhammadu Korau, and Muhammadu Rabbo are stated in the King list to have been the first Muslim kings of Katsina and Zazzau respectively. While Muhammadu Rumfa is regarded as an Islamic reformer.⁴⁶⁰

According to Usman Bugaje, the activities of these rulers further accelerated the consolidation of Islam and opening the gates of Hausa land to Islamic cultural and intellectual influences. He further noted that the rise of Askia Muhammad Toure of the Songhai Empire to power in 1492 gave fresh impetus to the efforts of these great rulers in the integration of the Katsina - Kano-Zazzau axis of Hausa land into the Timbuktu intellectual zone, thereby enhancing the development of learning in these ancient cities.⁴⁶¹

From this time Islam continued to contribute towards the growth of the *Birni* and the consolidation of the power of the Sarki over all groups in the state.⁴⁶² However, subsequent rulers after Muhammadu Rabbo did not appear to have shown keen interest in Islam. The result was little popular support for the religion by the *sarakuna*. Their attitude seems to be quite understandable in view of their religious function as the

⁴⁶⁰ Abdullahi Smith, Early state of central Sudan in Ajayi and Crowder (eds) History of West Africa vol. 1 2nd edition, Longman, London, 1976, p.198

⁴⁶¹ Usman Bugaje, "Some reflections on the development of Islamic learning in Katsina", in Isma'il Tsiga and Abdullah U. Adamu, (eds), Islam and the history of learning in Katsina, Spectrum Books Ltd, Ibadan, 1997, p.79

⁴⁶² Oyedele E. Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria, *op-cit.* P.79

custodians of the society's beliefs and customs, a position that conferred on them the legitimacy and power to rule the society. The *Sarakuna* therefore, naturally felt threatened by the introduction of Islam, which they believed had the capacity of undermining their positions.

The rites involving the installation of a new King demonstrate the significance of the *iskoki*, religious belief system as the source of the legitimacy of the political and administrative power of the Sarki. The rites usually inaugurated the handing over to the successor King the royal house of Bakwa Turunku, who will then be instructed on and pledge to safeguard the ancient tradition, customs and ways of life of his ancestors. This was followed by the routine of washing and dressing. The King will finally be crowned with a helmet, which he was expected not to remove for seven days. Within this period he will be taken to a special building close to the Palace for rituals sacrifices to various *iskoki*. This normally took place day and night and through out this period he will not be allowed to set his eye on any child of the royal house. At the end of these observances the successor King finally made his appearance to the Palace and sat on the throne. The chiefs of Zazzau then took their turns to pay homage to him one by one. Thus, demonstrating their submission and allegiance to the king. The installation ceremony was usually consummated with the presentation of the royal insignia of the Sarkin Zazzau to him, which included: the sword of Zazzau, a *Kambu*, a copy of the glorious Qur'an, the *tambari* (King's drums) and a helmet crown.⁴⁶³

The elaborate installation rites surrounding the coronation of the *Sarki* was intended to instruct and initiate him into the norms, customs and lore of the society as well as to clearly demonstrate to him that he owed his authority and power to the religious

⁴⁶³ Shu'aibu Naibi, Abuja chronicle, pp. 13-14

belief of the society. In effect the rites also portrayed the *Sarki* as the embodiment of the society's religious beliefs and customs, hence, the reference to the Habe rulers as "*Sarakunan gargajiya*". The rites also symbolized a chain of continuity between the past and the present.

The result of all these, was that the Palace up to the end of the 18th century, remained a strong hold of various cults of the *iskoki* under some senior women within the Palace of the *Sarki*. These were the Magajiya and Iya.⁴⁶⁴ The strong influence of these women on the *Habe Sarakuna* and their ability to resist Islamic influence is clearly reflected in the event that saw the end of the last *Habe* ruler (Makau). When Usman Dan Fodio was successfully established in Sokoto, he started inviting the various *Habe Sarakuna* all over Hausa land to uphold the true teachings of Islam. Zaria then under Ishaku was willing to effect reforms as requested by the Shehu,⁴⁶⁵ but on his death, his son took over as the 60th *Habe* King. On his assumption of office, he came under the direct pressure of the Magajiya and Iya not to succumb to Islamic influence. Thus, under the threat of dethronement if he dare follow the *tubake*; for that was the name that was used in reference to the Muslims, Makau was forced to recant.⁴⁶⁶ It was this situation that was used as justification by the Jihadists to dethrone the *Habe* King, Makau in Zaria, thereby reducing the influence of the age long religious beliefs in the *iskoki*.

4. ISLAMIC SCHOLARSHIP AND LEARNING

Zaria had distinguished itself as a famous and leading centre of Islamic learning in central Sudan in the pre-colonial period.⁴⁶⁷ This was reflected by the prominent position it enjoyed visa-avis the Islamic and western education. The enviable position Zaria

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁵ Smith H.F.C., "The problems of Dynastic Chronology of Fulani Zaria", *J.H.S.N.* II, 12, 1961, p. 279

⁴⁶⁶ Oral source, Alhaji Ahmadu Fatika (Sarkin Fadan Zazzau). Age 82 years 28th February 2003.

⁴⁶⁷ Abdullahi Mahdi, The choice of Zaria as a center of higher Learning in Muhammad A.M. (ed), *ABU at 25th*

occupied as a great citadel of learning is generally acknowledged by the description of Zaria with the popular epithet, "*Zaria Birnin ilmi*," meaning, Zaria is the city of learning.⁴⁶⁸ There is also the popular saying that in Zaria "*Kowa ka gani Malami ne, in Kaga Jahili bako ne shima in bai kwana biyu ba*" literally meaning that whoever you see in Zaria is knowledgeable. Where you see an ignorant person he must be a stranger and even then except if the (stranger) did not stay long.

The reputation Zaria gained over the years, as a great citadel of knowledge during the pre-colonial period was the product of a long history of Islamisation, which often went hand in hand with the spread of learning and scholarship. The driving force behind the Muslims' intellectualism is rooted in their religion. For instance, Islam in the first Qur'anic revelation makes learning compulsory on all Muslims where it stated thus: "read in the name of the Lord who creates."⁴⁶⁹ The noble Prophet of Islam was also reported to have emphatically stated in one of his traditions that: "acquisition of knowledge is obligatory upon every Muslim (male and female both young and old)".

Thus, the culture of scholarship among the Muslims is deeply rooted in the philosophy and tradition of Islam, a philosophy that places high premium on knowledge. The application of this philosophy by early Muslims found practical expressions in Islamic civilizations that were solidly built on the culture of learning. The community that was established by the noble Prophet of Islam during his time down to the Umayyad, the

⁴⁶⁸ Reflecting on the vast reservoir of knowledge that birnin Zaria possessed, J.P. Clark reflected thus:

Who can peel, the fruit of experience
and found
The core of knowledge?
The seeds of wisdom
are hidden,
and the moon lovely girl
Shrouded in a cloud
Of knowing.....

See *West Africa Annual*, 1959

⁴⁶⁹ See the glorious Qur'an xl: I

Abbasid, the Fatimid and the Ottoman empires represented these.⁴⁷⁰ From our recent historical experience, the Sokoto Caliphate, Zaria inclusive readily comes to mind.

Islamic learning in the pre-colonial period in Zaria began to expand with the influx of scholars, students and traders from all directions particularly from the west along the Sene-Gambian region and Borno into Zaria in search of knowledge.⁴⁷¹ This was typical among the Muslims and was generally based on the philosophy that a "scholar's education is greatly improved by traveling in quest of knowledge and meeting the authoritative teachers of his time."⁴⁷² Thus, this explained the reason why seekers of knowledge traveled far and wide in search of renowned scholars. This was what is commonly known as "*yawon al majirci*." The constant influx of scholars and students into Zaria was stimulated by a number of factors.

One of these factors has to do with the excellent climate of Zaria, which provided moderate atmospheric condition that was not too cool or too hot as obtained in other states of Hausa land, particularly further north.⁴⁷³ Secondly, the Zaria scholars were highly committed and dedicated to teachings and scholarship. These virtues were seen as act of worship.⁴⁷⁴ These factors made the scholars to be highly distinguished. Consequently, any teacher that happened to be groomed by Zaria scholars used to be different from the other scholars. It was in view of this realization, that Usman Dan Fodio was reported to have said that there would never be a time when Zaria will lack the

⁴⁷⁰ Usman Bugaje, "some reflections on the development of Islamic learning in Katsina", p. 70

⁴⁷¹ Hamza Muhammad Maishanu, The evolution and development of Historical scholarship in Northern Nigeria, Ph.D. thesis, Usman Dan Fodio University, Sokoto, 1998, p.123

⁴⁷² Ibn Khaldun, "The Mukaddima: An introduction to History, translated from Arabic by Franz Rosenthal in 3 Vol. (2nd ed) Vol. 3, London, 1967, P.367.

⁴⁷³ Liman, S. "Takaitaccen Tarihin ilmin Musulunci a Zariya," unpublished paper, n.d p. 9

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

presence of distinguished scholars.⁴⁷⁵ This naturally, made Zaria a centre of attraction to seekers of knowledge.

Zaria produced scholars that specialized in all branches of knowledge. This provided opportunity for diverse interests. Because of the wide range of branches of knowledge many seekers of knowledge were prepared to come to Zaria since it allowed them to pursue their various fields of interest. The Zaria scholars always made the realization of this objective possible by allowing the students to easily move from one scholar to another in the pursuit of their varied educational interests.⁴⁷⁶

According to Liman the hospitality of the people of Zaria contributed in no small measure in attracting strangers into the *Birni*. He pointed out that a typical *Bazazzagi* was accommodative to strangers without discrimination. He was ever ready to accommodate immigrants in his house and not only that but even to feed and clothe them. Often where strangers proved to be of good characters or were knowledgeable, they end up marrying the daughters of their landlords. This was because the *Zazzagawa* often preferred to give their daughters in marriage to knowledgeable people. It was this attitude of the people of Zaria that earned the city the name "*garin baki*." meaning stranger's town.⁴⁷⁷

The influx of scholars and students into the *Birni* was a continuous one, spanning from the 15th onwards. These scholars played critical roles in the cultural life of the *Zazzagawa*. This was achieved through preaching, teachings and the establishment of schools, a development that turned Zaria into a great centre of learning where all the branches of knowledge have been taught.⁴⁷⁸ Centres of Islamic learning were established

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁸ Mahdi Adamu, The economy of a Hausa capital: Zaria in the 18th and 19th centuries, *History research at A.B.U. vol. VI*, History Department seminar papers, 1981|82 session pp. 12-13

in the various sections of the *Birni*. A brief study of these centres is imperative, in order to properly understand the role of each centre and their scholars in the dissemination of knowledge in Zaria.

Two schools were identified as the earliest and most prominent centres of learning in Zaria. These were located at Kona and Juma wards and were believed to form the nucleus from which other schools were formed later during the post Jihad period.⁴⁷⁹ Of these two centres, the oldest and the most prominent was the one at the house of Limamin Kona. Malam Haruna Jibril who was believed to have come from Borno founded the centre.⁴⁸⁰ We do not know precisely when the centre commenced. But evidence tends to suggest that it should be sometimes between the late 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries. This was based on the fact that Malam Haruna Jibril was said to have died about ninety years before the settlement of al- Maghili at Kano around 1492.⁴⁸¹

Whatever might have been the case, it is clear that by the 17th century A.D., the school had already emerged as a prominent centre of Islamic learning in Birnin Zaria.⁴⁸² The prominence of this school was best reflected in the attention it drawn from Muhammadu Bello, who included the name of Malam Haruna Jibril, the founder of the centre among the names of some prominent scholars, in Hausa land. He stated further, that his father had informed him that Malam Haruna was a prominent scholar, who attracted a large number of students from all parts of Hausa land.⁴⁸³ Local tradition confirmed that Shehu Usman Dan Fodio had visited this house during his familiarization tours possibly to canvass for support from scholars in particular and the people of Zaria in

⁴⁷⁹ Liman S. ‘‘Takaitaccen Tarihin Musulunci a Zariya’’ p. 2

⁴⁸⁰ Oral source Alhaji Muhammadu Abubakar, Age 62 years, 2nd September 2003

⁴⁸¹ Dalhatu Usman, Malam Ja’afaru Dan Isiyaku, p, 28

⁴⁸² Mahdi Adamu, the economy of a Hausa Capital, p. 12

⁴⁸³ Muhammadu Bello, Infaqul Maisur, *op-cit*.

general.⁴⁸⁴ However, our full understanding of the scholarly traditions of the Kona scholars is limited by the lack of the survival of their works.

By the 18th century, the intellectual prowess of Kona was considerable. This is evidenced by the fact that one of the rulers at that period, Sarkin Zazzau Jatau had time to attend to lessons from Malam Hamidu the then Limamin Kona.⁴⁸⁵ The principal Jihad leaders such as Malam Musa, Yamusa, and Abdulkarim were also reputed to have been pupils of the school. Most of the founding fathers of the schools that were subsequently established all over the *Birni* after the Jihad also attended the Kona centre of learning.⁴⁸⁶

The school specialized in works such as *Bukhari*, *Asshafa*, *Samarkandi*, and *Jamiu-ssagir* and *Tafsir*. The school had contributed towards inspiring the Jihadists with the jihad philosophy and ideology through its teachings. Up to today the school is contributing to intellectual activities in Birnin Zaria.

The second most prominent school in Birnin Zaria was the one located at Anguwar Juma. It was founded by Abubakar al-Futi popularly known as Malam. He was an itinerant teacher and preacher who was believed to have migrated from Mali⁴⁸⁷ and sojourned to Zaria and many other places. His first port of call on leaving Mali was Yandoto. Then he moved to Katsina where he had a short spell before moving to Borno. From Borno he finally moved to Zaria. According to the tradition of the lineage of the *Imam* of Juma, their ancestors moved together from Borno with the ancestors of the Kona people.⁴⁸⁸ Therefore if this tradition is anything to go by their antiquity must be dated to the same period with the Kona people.

⁴⁸⁴ Oral source, Muhammadu Sani (Limamin Kona), op-cit

⁴⁸⁵ Mahdi Adamu, *The economy of a Hausa Capital*, p. 12

⁴⁸⁶ Oral source, Muhammadu Sani (Limamin Kona), op-cit

⁴⁸⁷ Liman S. Takaitacecn *Tarihin Musulunci a Zariya*, p. 3 and interview with Alhaji Muhammadu Anguwan Juma

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

The Juma centre of learning came to the limelight when, Abubakar was appointed as the first *Imam* of the *Juma'a* Mosque.⁴⁸⁹ When he became old he resigned for his son Malam Yero to take over. Suleiman succeeded him and was subsequently succeeded by Muhammadu Dikko (Kabobo) and Muhammadu Lawal thereafter. It was during the period of Muhammadu Lawal that the Jihad in Zaria broke out. This centre was known for its contributions in the spread of Islam and Islamic knowledge, preaching and leading people in prayers at the *Jumu'a* Mosque. Not only that the majority of the *Alkalai* in Zazzau and most of the *Limamai* of the *Jumu'a* Mosque came from this centre. The Juma centre became much more prominent during the time of Muhammadu Lawal.

The Jihad in Zaria stimulated a lot of intellectual activities. Consequently, more centres of Islamic learning came into being after the Jihad. The most prominent of them were the learning centres at the house of Umar Wali, Kakaki, Kofar Doka, Kusfa and Magajiya.

5. CONCLUSION

It is clear from the above that the society of Birnin Zaria was highly stratified. The Sarki was at the apex of the social structure. He is followed by the *Masu Sarauta* (aristocracy). Religious personages constituted the second most important class in the *Birni* during the period under study. The third most important class of people were the rich and the wealthy (*Attajirai*). The class of the *Talakawa* followed this. This was made up of the poor and the less successful traders and artisans. The *Talakawa* were exploited by especially the *Masu Sarauta*. At the bottom of the social ladder were the *Bayi* (slaves) whose labour was exploited by the class of the *Masu Sarauta*, *Malamai*, and *Attajirai*.

⁴⁸⁹ According to the tradition of the Juma people, the *Jumu'a* Mosque was built during Bakwa Turunku, while another tradition is claiming that Sarkin Zazzau Jatau built it. See Kamarruddin Abubakar Imam, *Wazirin Zazzau Malam Lawal*, NNPC, Zaria, 1996, p.5

Religion was an important feature of the society of the *Birni* during the period of study. Two religious beliefs dominated the lives of the people of Birnin Zaria before the Jihad. These were: the traditional religious belief in the super natural (*iskoki*) and Islam. The extent of the influence of these religious beliefs on the lives of the people of Birnin Zaria and the ideological struggles between the two religions culminating in the Jihad was clearly highlighted.

Birnin Zaria was a reputable centre of learning even before the Jihad. How Zaria earned this reputation was discussed in this chapter. The prominent centres of Islamic learning in the *Birni* before the Jihad were also examined.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ECONOMY OF BIRNIN ZARIA TO 1900

1. INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter our study focused on the society of *Birnin Zaria* up to the eve of the Jihad. Since the economy of any society is crucial to the understanding of the material basis of its social existence, the society of *Birnin Zaria* shall not be examined in isolation from its economy. Thus our focus here is on the main features of the economy of the *Birni* up to 1900. This gives insights into the role of *Birni* in the economy of the Kingdom of Zazzau as well as the economic condition of the *Birni* prior to and after the nineteenth century Jihad.

This section involves an examination of the interplay of both human and natural resources in the production and distribution of goods and services in *Zaria* up to the eve of its colonisation. An important feature of the economy of *Zaria* worthy of mention by this period was its diversity. The picture one got of *Zaria* was that of a society where people were engaged in many economic activities with agriculture as the primary activity, while manufacturing and trading constituted secondary activities.

Secondly, the economy of *Zaria* was a dynamic one in the sense that it grew in response to both internal and external demands. Thus, this gave a fillip to the development of the economy beyond subsistence level. This simple fact dismissed the claim that the economy of African societies generally did not go beyond subsistence level. Newbury's observation in this regard is pertinent. He noted that:

It is difficult to think of any West African country, which relied solely on subsistence crops and lacked the simplest surplus for gifts, tribute and trade.⁴⁹⁰

2. LAND

The importance of land as a factor of production among the *Zazzagawa* needed not be over emphasized. This was because all other economic activities came to depend on it albeit in varying degrees. Because of the central place of land in production, the society seemed to develop a well-defined and egalitarian system through which every member of the society could obtain land. The system of land acquisition was fashioned within the framework of the social organisation highlighted above. Accordingly, land was owned and shared in common among members of the same family. The family land is known as *gonar gandu* where every member has equal right to the use of the land. As a collective property, the land was held in trust by the *Uban gandu* for members of his *gandu*. The *Uban gandu* was thus not expected to sell or pawn any portion of the land on behalf of the rest of the members of the *gandu*, as doing so was not only tantamount to selling their means of livelihood but also not the norm.⁴⁹¹ Land could therefore not be sold but could be given as a gift to those in need particularly immigrants into the area. This could be clearly brought to focus when the genealogy of the people of Zaria is studied.⁴⁹² For instance many immigrants got their lands from other families particularly, the Kona and Juma families before their final integration into the *Zazzagawa* community.

⁴⁹⁰ Newbury, C.W., Trade and authority in West Africa 1850-1900 in Toyin Falola, The political Economy of a pre-colonial African state, *op-.cit.* P.87.

⁴⁹¹ Bala Achi, "Warfare and slavery in Zaria Emirate," *op-.cit.*

⁴⁹² See chapter three on the section dealing with the *Anguwoyi* (wards) in the *Birni* for details on how some of the lineages acquired their lands.

The method of acquiring land was based on first occupier basis i.e. the person that was first identified with a piece of land was recognized as the rightful owner of the land.⁴⁹³ On his death, it passed on to his offspring. Subsequent immigrants into the area got their lands through gift from other lineages. Another method of acquiring land was through wars of expansion during which substantial expanse of land came under the control of Zaria. Even though all lands literally belonged to the *Sarki*, he had absolute right over conquered territories, which he shared among the lineages that participated in the wars. That was how considerable number of people got their lands in areas especially outside the city.

3. LABOUR

Just like access to the factors of production, the organisation of labour was also family based. Thus the mobilization, recruitment and training of labour for all productive activities were also done within the framework of the family. Accordingly, the family constituted both a common work and consumption unit, (*gandu*). In other words, the family provided the work team for all productive activities, while productive activities were principally geared towards the production of the basic needs of the family and for exchange.⁴⁹⁴

Under such arrangement, both the *Uban gandu* and the other members of the *gandu* were socially bounded by certain responsibilities, which every side was expected to fulfil. This was to ensure a disciplined work force that was necessary for the smooth

⁴⁹³ Hamman T. Sa'ad, *Between Myths and Reality, op-cit.*

⁴⁹⁴ D. W. Norman, "Labor inputs of farmers: A case study of the Zaria Province of the North Central state of Nigeria," *Samaru Research Bulletin*, 1970, p.116

running of the *Gandu*.⁴⁹⁵ For instance, the *Uban gandu* needed all the cooperation and backing of the members of his *gandu* to discharge his onerous tasks. This included all contributions for the socio-economic growth of the *gandu* through unrestrained offer of labour in the *gonar gandu* or crafts shop. Every member was expected to contribute according to his status. Married persons were expected to work in the *gandu* in the morning, while they worked on their own *gayauna* in the evening.

The *Uban gandu* on the other hand in return for the above basic ingredients was responsible for the mobilization and direction of the labour of his *gandu* for productive activities. He was also responsible for the provision of all inputs necessary for productions that may include *fartanya* (hoe), *garma* (big hoe), *massassabi* (adze), *iri* (seeds), and *taki* (manure) and so on.⁴⁹⁶

The amount of labour at the command of each individual *Uban gandu* was an important consideration in determining his productive output, which may invariably influence his social status. Thus, people strove hard to multiply their work force particularly through multiple marriages. It is important to note however that access to labour was largely unequal with a few people having access to surplus labour. Additional labour was therefore always sought for, especially at the height of the farming season, which was mostly associated with the planting, weeding, and harvesting periods. These were difficult tasks, which a household may not accomplish within the shortest possible time on its own. In this respect it was the responsibility of the *Uban gandu* to acquire extra labour to compliment the labour of the members of his *gandu*. Various options of acquiring extra labour were always available to the *Uban gandu*.

⁴⁹⁵ Abdulkadir Adamu, "The food economy in colonial Nigeria: A Study of food production and distribution in Zaria metropolis C. 1902-1960", *Ph.D. Thesis* A.B.U Zaria, 2001, p.15.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

The *Uban gandu* could exploit the system of cooperative work (*aiyin gayya*). This involved the extension of hands of fellowship to the other members of the community to work together in order to assist the *Uban gandu* in completing some farm works. Apart from assisting one another to complete difficult tasks, the *aiyin gayya* was believed to have some social significance involving the strengthening of bond of relationship as well as instilling discipline, courage, hard work and interest in agriculture.⁴⁹⁷ It may seem easy for every member of the society to have access to this type of labour. However, in practice, it was limited to only those with the wherewithal. This was because it involved feeding participants for the *aiyin gayya* as well as inviting musicians to trigger the cooperative work team into action.⁴⁹⁸

Alternatively, the *Uban gandu* could hire people to work for him in return for payment, which may either be in kind or cash. This system of wage labour is known as *kwadago* in Hausa. Because of the compensation that characterized the *kwadago*, it was not prevalent as it was highly limited to the *Attajirai* and *Sarakuna* who could afford to pay.

Slave labour was another important source of labour. It is however, important to note that the over exaggerated reports that Zaria was "a slave ridden society" whose prosperity depended largely on sales of slaves and slaves labour⁴⁹⁹, is doubtful. This is because recent studies have shown that contrary to such reports, the number of slaves and those who could own slaves in Zaria constituted a very small fraction of the total

⁴⁹⁷ John Nengel, Etal, *History of Chawai of North Central Nigeria to 1932*, History Department, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 2002, p.68

⁴⁹⁸ Ziky and Lateef, Hausa performing arts, *op-cit*.

⁴⁹⁹ Smaldone, J.P. *Warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate; Historical and Sociological Perspectives*, Cambridge University Press, 1977, P.12; Miller, R, and *Mango park's Travels in Africa*. Dent, London. 1954, pp.220-228; Ayandele, B.A., "Observations on some social and economic Aspects of slavery in Northern Nigeria", *the Nigerian journal of economic and social studies*, 1967, 9:3

population of Zaria.⁵⁰⁰ What informed the presence of small percentage of slaves in Zaria had to do with the risks involved in acquiring them and partly due to competition among buyers, which pushed up the prices of the slaves.⁵⁰¹ This was coupled with the difficulties of maintaining the slaves, which bordered on the question of feeding, accommodating, and clothing them.⁵⁰² Even though we have limited knowledge on the prices of slaves before the beginning of the 19th century, we can have some insights from the list of prices obtained in the second half of the 19th century. During this period the prices of slaves were as follows:

Period	Sex	Age	Price
1850-1895	male	Years	7.00-£10.00
	ale	Years	5.00
	ale	Years	4.00

Source: Achi: 1990

Because of the above-mentioned factors, it became difficult for even the rich and the *Sarakai* who established agricultural estates (*gandaye*) both within and outside the city to get enough slaves to work in their *gandaye*. Consequently, most of the rich and the members of the nobility had to resort to other forms of labour for their *gandaye*.⁵⁰³ These included corvee labour, which was compulsory for all the *Talakawa* who were expected to put up seven days each in a year as obligatory labour to the *Sarakai*.⁵⁰⁴ Client labour was also employed. This usually took place when the rich borrowed out money or materials to the *talaka*, who for failure to pay had to willingly submit himself to be used by the patron

⁵⁰⁰ Achi, B., "Warfare and slavery in Zaria Emirates in the 19th century", *op-cit*, P.2

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid* p.2

⁵⁰² M.G. Smith, Baba of Karo, *op-cit*.

⁵⁰³ Bala A. "Warfare and slavery in Zaria Emirates in the 19th century," p.12

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 12

as compensation for his money.⁵⁰⁵ This practice was more prevalent in the period of famine.

Division of labour among the *Zazzagawa* was based on age, status and sex. The most pronounced of the division was that based on sex.⁵⁰⁶ Women looked after the children and did the household chore which among other things included cooking, provision of water and wood for cooking. They also helped in agricultural activities such as planting and harvesting. Apart from these women were also free to engage in any economic activities of their choice. These included weaving, pot making, and spinning of cotton or yarn. Men were assigned to more difficult tasks. This included agriculture, handcrafts, wars, and hunting.

4. AGRICULTURE

Agriculture had been the primary economic activity of the people of Birnin Zaria during the period under discussion. All other economic activities were therefore secondary to agriculture. This was because of the wide agricultural practice by all classes of *Zazzagawa* irrespective of their social and economic standing in the society. This involved the *talakawa*, the *attajirai*, the *Malamai*, the *Sarakai* and members of all occupational groups.⁵⁰⁷ Agriculture was thus, the main provider of the society's food requirements as well as the major sources of raw material such as cotton, indigo, sugar cane, groundnut for industrial productions both within the *Birni* and the various parts of the Emirate.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁶ Hamza, Tatsuniya as a mirror of Hausa social relationships, p. 15

⁵⁰⁷ Ibrahim Ibn Ibrahim, Age 43 years, 2nd February 2003.

Agricultural activities in Zaria were encouraged by the inter play of geographical and ecological factors which included the availability of abundant arable land, water and conducive climate necessary for agricultural activities.

Imam Umaru identified a wide range of crops that were being cultivated by the Zaria farmers. This included guinea corn (*dawa*) and millet (*gero*) as the main staple food. Other crops were beans (*wake*), rice (*shinkafa*), groundnut (*gyada*), cotton (*auduga*), indigo (*Baba*), and sugar cane (*rake*).⁵⁰⁸ All productions were initially for subsistence.⁵⁰⁹ This was because the market economy then was not well developed. This was due to the low level of the productive forces, which included technology, capital and industrial development. This was further compounded by limited external demands. Apart from producing for the basic needs of the family as mentioned in chapter two, farmers also tried to produce surplus for religious ceremonies.⁵¹⁰ However, with the subsequent development of the economy, which seemed to be stimulated by both internal and external demands, agricultural and industrial productions expanded beyond the subsistence level. Agricultural production was organized through a well-defined social organization as presented in chapter four i.e. production was done within the family unit. The organization and utilization of labour for agricultural activities also gradually transcended the family and household levels as mentioned above.

After the Jihad of the 19th century in Zaria, agriculture did not only continue to be the mainstay of the economy of the *Birni* but also experienced a phenomenal growth.⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁸ Douglass Edwin Ferguson, "Nineteen century Hausa land, being a description by Imam Imoru", *PhD thesis*, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973. p. 61

⁵⁰⁹ See Abdullahi Smith discussion on the earliest agrarian communities on the Zaria plains in some notes on the history of Zazzau under Hausa Kings, *op.-cit.*

⁵¹⁰ Oral source, Muhammad Abbas Fagachi, *op.-cit*

⁵¹¹ Bonat Z. A, "Colonialism and the destruction of the Local Industrial system: A Case study of Zaria Province 1902 -1945". *Op.-cit* p.13; Abdulkadir Adamu, "The Impact of the Establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate on the society and economy of Zazzau Emirate in the nineteenth century", p. 3.

This was because of the active role of the State in the promotion of agriculture. This was reflected in the policies of the Caliphate leadership, which was part of a general design by the leadership to uplift the material welfare of the people.⁵¹² The policy thrust of the leadership of the Caliphate could be seen for instance in Mohammed Bello's instruction to the various Emirs of the Sokoto Caliphate where he stated that:

Your main task is to make them (the *ribats*) cultivated and prosperous. Therefore, you should assign a plot of land to anybody seeking one to develop.⁵¹³

The pursuit of the above policy in Zaria is demonstrated by the commitment of the Emirate leadership to making land accessible to people, particularly displaced communities for purposes such as housing, grazing, farming, market and cemeteries. The first major challenge *Malam* Musa faced on assumption of the leadership of the Emirate was the settlement and resettlement of displaced people. To solve these problems he embarked on the distribution of land especially in the deserted *Anguwanni* within the *Birni*. Land outside the *Birni* was also distributed to people. For instance the *Mallawa* ruling dynasty were given lands in Kwarbai and some parts of Magajiya, the *Katsinawa* ruling dynasty inhabited parts of Rimin Tsiwa and Anguwan Dan Madami. The *Barnawa* and *Sullubawa* ruling dynasty were settled around Kaura and its surroundings and *Anguwan* Bishar respectively.⁵¹⁴ This policy of land distribution encouraged more people to move into Zaria as traders, scholars, artisans, seekers of knowledge and fortune seekers. This led to increased urbanization and remarkable improvement of agricultural production.

In line with the Emirate policy of promoting food production estates were also encouraged to be established in many parts of the Emirate. From Smith's description of the settlement patterns

⁵¹² Y. B. Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina*, P141.

⁵¹³ Muhammad Bello, *Usul al-siyasa*. Cited in Kabir S. Chafe, *State and economy in the Sokoto Caliphate*, Ahmadu Bello University Press, Zari, 1999, P.81

⁵¹⁴ Urquhart A.W. *Planned Urban Landscapes of Northern Nigeria*, *op-cit*.

of the Zazzau Emirate after the Jihad, we can be able to have a clear picture of the nature of such estates. Smith observed that:

Settlement patterns emphasized defensive values and were based on the compact distribution of population within walled towns, strung along the principal caravan routes. Each of these towns had a few smaller settlement near it, which owed allegiance to the village Chief of the area in which they were cited. Many but not all of these hamlets were slave villages (*rumada*); other Rumada large enough to form towns of their own, would have the walls and other fortification typical of a town (*gari*). Most of the large *rumada* belong to one or other of the dynasties, and several of them were established by King (Emir) whose permission was always necessary before settlements could be walled.⁵¹⁵

The number of estates that dotted the landscape of Zazzau Emirate by the nineteenth century was put at 51.⁵¹⁶ However, in view of the flaws that were identified in Smith's study we can not be sure of the number of estates in the Zazzau Emirate in the period under discussion. First, it was pointed out that the list of estates as highlighted by Smith failed to indicate the period when they were established. This is presenting a static picture of their development. Secondly, Smith did not take into consideration the Islamic pattern of inheritance, which often leads to the possible splitting up of estates among heirs, thereby raising the number of the existing estates. Thirdly, there were other estates that were founded by the non-aristocratic class that the study failed to reckon with.⁵¹⁷ This is confirmed by a recent study conducted by Abdulkadir Adamu, which identified many smaller estates in some parts of the Zazzau Emirate. One of such estates was the one established by Barau Mai Mazaza at Mazaza located to the north of Soba town.⁵¹⁸ There were also others established by the *Sarkin Noma* Dankade and Gale Dantajo, at Soba town. Each of these estates contained more than 100 slaves. He identified others at Maigana, which were

⁵¹⁵ Smith M.G. "The economy of Hausa communities of Zaria", p. 89

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁷ LoveJoy, "Plantations in the economy of the Sokoto Caliphate", *JAH*, XI, X, 3, 1978, p.353.

⁵¹⁸ Abdul-Kadir A. The impact of the Establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate on the society and economy of Zazzau," p. 54.

established by the *Sarakunan Noma* Gandau, Gingi and Shagaya. He also drew attention to the possibility of the existence of smaller ones that have not yet been identified.⁵¹⁹

The impact of these policies could be seen in the remarkable growth of food production in the nineteenth century throughout the Emirate, which was reflected in Clapperton's observations during his visit to Zaria in 1826.

Within about four to five miles of Zaria, the country became altogether clear of wood; except a patch here and there, all was in pasture, or planted with rice, millet and doura. Herds of beautiful cattle were feeding in the valleys or lying chewing the cud on the higher grounds.⁵²⁰

The proceeds from agricultural activities were stored in granaries, which are known, in the local parlance as *Rumbun Sarki* (royal granaries). Food supply for the granaries was obtained from various sources. The major source was the royal agricultural estates. Other sources included taxes (*Kharaj*), *Zakkat*, (Islamic tithe of one tenth of the total harvest), and *Kaiwa* (gifts from clients/subordinates). The food stored in this way was used by the State for various purposes. This included the feeding of the members of the royal Palace, the army (during wars), and the poor particularly during period of dearth.⁵²¹

5. ANIMAL HUSBANDRY,

Animal husbandry was closely associated with agriculture and it constituted an important aspect of the economy of Zaria. Animal husbandry was influenced by the presence of good grazing lands within the *Birni* and its environs particularly around the streams of Kamacha, Bula, Jakara and Fadamar Bono. Thus, animals freely grazed on

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁰ H. Clapperton, *Journal of a second Expedition into the interior parts of Africa*, p. 158

⁵²¹ Abdulkadir A, "The impact of the Establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate on the society and economy of Zazzau,," p. 6

these good grazing lands. Some of the animals domesticated included cattle, sheep, goats and poultry.

Cattle rearing were generally the preserve of the Fulani pastorals. We do not know precisely when the Fulani pastorals began to settle in Zaria. However, it appears that they were attracted to Zaria because of the abundance of grazing land in the area. The Fulani generally hold their cattle too dear and thus had strong attachment to them. This may explain why a typical Fulani is parsimonious with his cattle. This was because cattle to the Fulani were not only a symbol of wealth and prestige but were at the very heart of their existence.

A clear division of labour was developed among the Fulani *visa-vis* the tending of their animals. The young boys were saddled with the responsibility of taking them out for grazing in the day and keeping a watch over them in the night, while the adult over see the general issues involved in rearing the cattle such as determining when it was appropriate to take them to a particular pasture. Women were responsible for milking the cattle and processing the milk into yoghurt and butter as well as preserving and marketing the milk and the butter. Proceeds from the sells of these products were usually used in feeding the family and for other family needs.⁵²²

The significance of animal husbandry to the socio- economic life of *Zazzagawa* could be seen from the kind of symbiotic relationship that developed between the Fulani pastorals on one hand and the larger society especially farmers on the other. We were not sure whether there were some forms of conflicts between the Fulani and farmers typical of modern Zaria in the past.

⁵²² Oral source, Alhaji Bello Gidan Fulani, op-cit

For instance, the cattle constituted good source of meat, milk and butter for all groups of people residing in the *Birni*. Thus, providing for the protein needs of the society. Hides and skins provided raw material for leather industries, which was an important factor that stimulated that sector of the economy. The cattle also provided manure that was used in boosting the fertility of the land, a fact that allowed for the extensive cultivation of the enclosed land within the city without much risk of low level of production. In return, the Fulani obtained their food, clothing, and other necessities of life from the other members of the society. They also got corn stalk and fodder from farmers for their cattle. These helped in the development and expansion of exchange economy, which acted as a catalyst that boosted further production in both agriculture and industry.

It is, however, important to note that apart from the Fulani, there were pockets of non-Fulani groups that were engaged in cattle breeding in Zaria. These were particularly found among the *Masu sarauta* and *attajirai*. These groups of people were characterized by the lack of professional skills in transhumance; they thus had to seek the help of the pastorals Fulani to cater for their cattle. This normally, was the subject of a whole system of contractual arrangement involving payment in cash or in kind, which in most cases involved giving a certain number of animals for a specific period as reward to the pastoral Fulani for such services.

Other animals such as sheep, goats and poultry formed the greater percentage of the livestock population of the *Birni*. This was because they could be found in most of the households. These animals not only served the protein needs of the society but also had some economic, social, and religious significance. For instance, they were used to

perform functions such as part payment for bride-price, religious ceremonies and other socio-cultural activities.

6. MANUFACTURE

Manufacture was another noble economic activity in Zaria. This involved the production of a wide range of items for local and external needs. These included iron works, textiles, leather works, and potteries. A high proportion of the city dwellers that were engaged in manufacturing were doing it along with farming. By the outbreak of the 19th century Jihad, the manufacturing sector of the Zaria economy was boosting. This was accompanied by the rise in productive activities.

i. BLACKSMITHING

The most dominant craftwork in Zaria was iron smithing. The antiquity of iron smithing in Zaria dated back to the 7th century A.D.⁵²³ What seemed to have influenced the development of metallurgical industries in Zaria was the presence of rich deposit of iron ore in many locations in the Zaria area. Evidence of these was identified at Samaru, Kufena and Tsauni areas. In addition, evidence of actual smithing was identified at Dumbi, Kufena, Tsauni and Anguwar Karfe in the city.⁵²⁴

Two major sets of professional producers of iron implements were identified in Zaria. These were; blacksmiths popularly known as *makeran baki* or *babbaku* and the white smiths referred to as *makeran fari* or *Farfaru*. The dividing line between the two lies in the fact that while the blacksmiths forge iron (*bakin Karfe*) to produce implements such as hoes, axes, knives, spears, swords, needles using fire, anvil, bellows and tongs, the white

⁵²³ Ade Obayemi, "Aspects of field Archaeology in Hausa land," p. 1

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*

smiths cast brass, copper and tin/lead to produce stirrups bangles, horse halters, bracelet and rings.⁵²⁵

Like other professional activities, smithing was organized in guild system where all the smiths were under the leadership of the *Sarkin Makera*. He supervised the activities of the various guilds within his dominion. This therefore made it possible to easily mobilize all the smiths for mass production of materials particularly in the face of national crisis such as war. The *Sarki* had to by way of incentive pay certain amount of money for the material produced for the state.⁵²⁶

The Jihad served as a catalyst to the growth of this virile economic sector. This was because the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, the largest single polity in the nineteenth century sub-Saharan Africa, guaranteed enormous economic advantages to the various Emirates within it. In the first instance the size of the Caliphate ensured good supplies of variety of raw materials at competitive prices. Secondly, it ensured large internal Market. Thirdly, the mega size of the Caliphate not only ensured labour mobility but also the quality of the labour. This was due to the movement of artisans possessing different skills, technologies and tastes across the Caliphate. The growth of the manufacturing sector is reflected in the quantity and quality of the merchandise produced. This was corroborated by the accounts of European travellers to Zaria. The industrial activities that witnessed dramatic growth after the Jihad in Zaria included, iron production, textiles and leather works.⁵²⁷

The boost in blacksmithing in *Birnin Zaria* could be seen at two levels. In the first place there was the rapid expansion of the productive activity, which seemed to be stimulated by the

⁵²⁵ Douglass E. Ferguson, Nineteen-century Hausa land, PP. 327-334

⁵²⁶ Mahdi Adamu, "The Economy of a Hausa capital," p. 15

⁵²⁷ Lovejoy, "Plantations in the Economy of the Sokoto Caliphate", p.347

development of large-scale agricultural production in the whole of the Zazzau Emirate after the Jihad. The development in agricultural production no doubt led to expansion in the demands for agricultural implements and vice versa.

Apart from increasing demands for agricultural tools there were also high demands for weapons. These included arrowheads (*kibiyoyi*), spears (*masu*) and swords (*takubba*). There were indications that by this time the most intelligent blacksmiths could also repair guns.⁵²⁸ The high demands in weapons were motivated by the expansionist policies of the leadership of Zazzau Emirate as well as by the necessity for the consolidation of the Emirate. Thus the demand for Weapons was extremely high. To satisfy these demands the Emirate leadership ensured enough supply by mobilizing other blacksmiths that were scattered through out the Emirate through the *Sarkin makeran Zazzau* (the Chief Blacksmith of Zazzau).⁵²⁹

Secondly, as the nineteenth century progressed blacksmithing in Zaria reached an advanced stage. The high level of specialization and sophistication of production demonstrated this. This can be glanced from the European travellers' remarks. For instance Staudinger who stayed at the house of the *Sarkin Makera* of Zazzau during his visit to Birnin Zaria observed that:

The blacksmith trade is particularly well represented: makers of knives, sickles, bridle bits, hoes and hatches are at work here as in other towns. I did not see anywhere else the art of metalworking taken to a higher levels than in Zaria. Here I saw cast and wrought metal work and metal work in connection with other crafts, for instance the metal work on the sheaths for swords.⁵³⁰

ii. TEXTILES

⁵²⁸ Mahdi Adamu, "The economy of a Hausa capital," p. 14

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁰ Staudinger P. In the Heart of the North, p. 183

The textile industry was another important sector of the economy. It was a large industry that pulled around it many skilful workers based on division of labour. These specialised areas included spinning, weaving, dyeing, embroidery, and cloths beating.

The spinning sub sector involved making thread, (*zare*) from cotton produced mostly in Zaria. This was done by first removing the seeds (*angurya*) from the cotton. This is known as *gurza*. The end product of this was known as *atafa*. Then the *atafa* was carded and spun using a spindle (*mazari*).⁵³¹

Spinning was exclusively a women craftwork. There was hardly any woman that was not engaged in one sub sector or the other of the weaving industry particularly the spinning sector. That was why marriageable girls were sent to their matrimonial homes, with a lot of cotton and spinning materials. This was intended not only to guard them against idleness but also to provide them with gainful economic activities that could assist them in lessening their over dependence on their husband.⁵³²

Apart from the thread produced from cotton, there was also thread produced from the fibres of silk worms used for weaving and embroidery. This is known as *zaren tsamiya*. The production of *zaren tsamiya* was the area of specialization of men. The *zaren tsamiya* was used for various purposes. Some times, it was inter woven with cotton thread to produce garment suitable for women and men wears.⁵³³ The thread was also used for making beautiful embroidery on men's wears. Both the ordinary thread and the *zaren tsamiya* were marketed in the Zaria Market.

Weaving (*saka*) was the next stage in the production of textile materials. Unlike spinning, weaving was performed by both men and women except that there seemed to

⁵³¹ Oral source, Hajiya Kande Kofar Doka, Age 60, 26th October 2003.

⁵³² *Ibid*

⁵³³ Women's wears are called *Zanen tsamiya*, while men's wears are called *rigar tsamiya*

be some elements of specialization between the two sexes. While men specialized in the production of narrow strips of cloth material, suitable for making large garments for both men and women, women specialized in the production of wide strips mainly used in making wrappers (*zanin saki*) and *gwado*.⁵³⁴ The major centres of weaving cloths by the late 18th century in Birnin Zaria were identified as Anguwan Juma, Anguwa Magajiya, Madaka and Anguwan Nufawa.⁵³⁵ The production of the various strips of cloths did not end up there. The strips were sewn together to form larger and wider cloth material. This required the professional skills of the *Madunka* (tailors) who after sewing the pieces of cloth would now fashion and design the material to produce items such as *riga* (*gown*), *wando* (trouser), *hula* (Cap), *zani* (wrapper). All these were done by hand. The significance of the *Madunka* could be seen from the popular saying that “*ba dun Madunka ba da mutane sun tafi tsirara*” i.e. without tailors people would have gone naked.

Closely associated to the tailoring sub sector, was embroidery, which Zaria was famous for. The embroidery sub sector involved making decorations around the neck, back, front, and some times edges of gowns and wrappers. Wide ranges of embroidery designs were produced in Zaria and the designs indicate the status of the wearer of the gown. For instance, there was *aska daya* (one knife pattern), *aska biyu* (two knives patterns) and *aska takwas* (eight knives patterns). These were popular among the rich and the *masu sarauta*. Another gown that was popular was the famous *yar madaka* (the daughter of Madaka). It was named *yar madaka* because it was predominantly produced in the Madaka ward.⁵³⁶ The *yar madaka* was highly expensive and unique of its kind,

⁵³⁴ Mahdi Adamu, “The economy of a Hausa capital,” p. 16

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁶ The people of Madaka were highly skilled in needle works and this is true up to today.

because of the level of sophistication of its designs.⁵³⁷ According to Mahdi Adamu *yar madaka* competed quite favourably with other textile materials from all parts of Central Sudan.⁵³⁸

The textile industry had stimulated yet other vibrant economic activities as noted earlier. These were dyeing (*rini*), and beating (*bugu*) of especially indigo dyed material. The dyeing industries seemed to be stimulated by the abundance of dyeing material especially in Zaria. Secondly, cloths were dyed in order to satisfy the needs of local, regional, and international trade. The major centres of dyeing in Birnin Zaria were Kusfa, Limancin Kona and Salmanduna.

When the cloth materials were dyed, they were taken to the *mabuga*. This was a place where cloths were beaten with a wooden hammer in order to give the materials a shiny appearance. The technique used in both Kano and Zaria to get this look was unmatched in the whole of Hausa land.⁵³⁹

As can be seen from the above explanations, Zaria has a long antiquity of traditional textiles production dating back to many centuries before the Jihad. However, like agriculture the textile industry was able to achieve remarkable improvement following the Jihad.⁵⁴⁰ The advancement in textile production was noticeable in terms of the quantity and quality of the material produced.⁵⁴¹

Philip Shea had identified a number of factors that gave a fillip to the improvement in the quality and quantity of textiles products in the Sokoto Caliphate generally following the Jihad. One of such factors has to do with the transformation of the whole of Hausa land into a single political

⁵³⁷ Mahdi A. "The economy of a Hausa capital," p. 17; Oral source Abubakar Ladan, Age 55 years, 20th September 2003.

⁵³⁸ Mahdi A. "The economy of Hausa capital," p. 17.

⁵³⁹ Douglas E. Ferguson, Nineteen-century Hausa land, *op.-cit.*

⁵⁴⁰ Bonat, Z. "Colonialism and the destruction of the Local Industrial System", *JAH*, XI, X, 3, 1978

⁵⁴¹ Shea P. J. "Big is some times Best: The Sokoto Caliphate and Economic Advantages of Size: Quality, Variety and Efficiency in the textile industry". A Paper presented at the International Conference on the Bicentenary of the Sokoto Caliphate (1804-2004), 14th – 16th June 2004. P1.

unit popularly known as the Sokoto Caliphate. This facilitated the free movement of the producers and products from one part of the Caliphate to another. This transformed the whole of the Caliphate into a melting pot of ideas on textile technology. This was due to the free blending of the textiles tradition of the Hausa, Yoruba, Nupe, Kanuri, and even Tourage with one another.⁵⁴²

Secondly, the size of the Caliphate was of great economic importance. It ensured good supplies of variety of raw materials at competitive price for the producers of textiles material and huge internal and external markets for traders.⁵⁴³ The size of the Caliphate did not only ensure the free movement of labour but also the quality of the labour as a result of the free movement of people with wide range of skills, technology and tastes.⁵⁴⁴

Thirdly, there was technological innovation in indigo dyeing which resulted in a shift from the use of clay pots to lasso pits that facilitated the growth of the industry.⁵⁴⁵ The shift in technology was influenced by an upsurge in demand for high quality prestige cloth after the Jihad.⁵⁴⁶ Secondly, there was innovation associated with the introduction of vertical looms instead of the horizontal loom mostly used by men. According to C.Kruger the use of this loom by women greatly led to the expansion of the textile production in the whole of the Sokoto Caliphate.⁵⁴⁷ Thus, the size of the Caliphate with its vast resources, market, manpower coupled with relative peace accelerated textiles and other economic development above the pre-Jihad level.

As a result of the above factors, Zaria emerged as one of the textile belts of the Sokoto Caliphate after the Jihad. The main areas of textile production in the Zazzau Emirate after the Jihad were identified as Zaria, Hunkuyi, Makarfi, Giwa, and Kajuru. Apart from these major towns, textile materials were also produced in other smaller towns

⁵⁴² *Ibid*

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁷ Kruger Collen, "Textile Production and Gender in the Sokoto Caliphate", *J.A.H. No.34*, 1993, pp. 361-401, Quoted in Shea P. J., *Ibid.*

and villages scattered all over the Emirate. In the major centres of textile production large labour as big as 100 were employed. By the end of the nineteenth century there were approximately between 15,000 and 20,000 dye pits, which employed over 50,000 dyers in the major centres of textile production identified above. In addition to these there were other crafts men and cloth beaters who were in their hundreds, thousands of weavers and tailors and countless number of women who spun carded raw cotton.⁵⁴⁸

iii. LEATHER WORKS

Leatherwork seems to be of ancient antiquity in Zaria dating back to the period of the formation of the *Birni*. This is based on the tradition that claimed that by the period of the formation of the *Birni*, the lineage of the *Majema* (tanners) was already permanently settled in the *Birni*. Leatherwork was influenced by the availability of leather, which was obtained from goats, sheep, and cattle skin.

Leatherworks consisted of tanning (*Jima*) and the actual production of leather goods. The former involved a complex process that included the removal of hair from the skin, softening, and dyeing. All these required great skills and technology. The tanning process usually commenced by allowing the skin to undergo the process of curing. This was done by evenly applying salt or ash on the fleshy side of the skin to prevent it from bacteria infection. Then the skin was soaked for a couple of days into a chemical solution that was prepared from *Acacia nilotica* (*bagaruwa*) and ash. Then the de-hairing began using a double-edged knife known as *kardaji*. The skin was then put into another chemical solution and allowed to remain for two days. This was in preparation for the

⁵⁴⁸ Lovejoy, Plantation in the economy of, p. 356

second de-hairing exercise at the end of which the skin was washed in fresh water and hang on ropes to dry.

Leather was dyed in different colours. The primary colours were red, black, yellow, and green. This required the knowledge of what to use to obtain such colours and what to add to preserve the colours of the leather.⁵⁴⁹ The dyed leather was a highly valued object for both internal and external trade. Zaria was known as important market for the sales of the famous Moroccan leather. The Moroccan leather was sought for because of its high quality. Thus, it was an important item of trade across the Sahara to North Africa.⁵⁵⁰

The production of leather goods involved the manipulation of leather to produce wide range of materials. These included material for military, household, medicinal, and educational purposes. Material for military functions included saddles (*sirdi*), halters (*ragama*), bowstrings (*tsargiya*), and shields (*garkuwa*). Household materials consisted of large grains containers (*taiki*), containers for drawing water from well (*guga*), sandals (*fade*), and various types of vessels for storing butter, antimony, and honey. These were known as *tandu*. Amulets (*layu*), hand charms (*kambu*), waist charm (*guru*) were also produced using leather. The *Baduku* (the person that specialized in the production of leather materials) also cared for the needs of both students and scholars by producing *gafaka*, which was used for keeping the glorious Qur'an. In Zaria, the area noted for these work was Anguwan Sirdi and the area close to the Market. This industry still survives up to date.

After the Jihad, there was increasing worldwide demand for Zaria leather especially what came to be regarded as the Moroccan leather which was mostly produced in Sokoto, Kano, Katsina

⁵⁴⁹ Bassey W. Andah, *Nigeria's indigenous technology*, Ibadan University Press, 1992, p.74.

⁵⁵⁰ Habib Alhassan, etal, *Zaman Hausawa, bugu na biyu*, Islamic publications Bureau, 1988, p.49.

and Zaria. Henry Barth described it as being soft and beautifully dressed.⁵⁵¹ The tanned leather materials and products were marketed as far as Europe via North Africa because of its fineness and beauty.

Like other industries, the leather industry witnessed remarkable expansion following the Jihad. The development of the industry was due to new factors, which served as stimulant to the rapid growth of the industry. The leather industry was also promoted by the new administration. As was noted earlier it was part of the cardinal principles of the Caliphal administration to promote industrial production. This was reflected in the policy of the Jihad leaders, which were clearly stated in their writings, for instance, Muhammad Bello in his *usul siyasa* instructed the Emirate leaders that they should among other things:

...Provide public amenities for the people of his state for their temporal and religious benefit ---He should foster artisans and should be concerned with tradesmen who were indispensable to the people, such as farmers and smiths, tailors and dyers----- The ruler must allocate these trades men to every village and every locality ----- He must keep villages and country sides in prosperity, construct fortresses and bridges, maintain markets and roads.⁵⁵²

The state thus, played important role in the creation of favourable conditions, which led to large-scale production of goods. The wars of conquest and consolidation seemed to have stimulated high demands for leather productions to meet military requirements, which later ushered in condition for peace, which facilitated greater production.

iv. CARVING

Carving was another ancient profession that was necessitated by societal needs, for foods and materials for day-to-day activities. Carving in Zaria consisted of wooden and

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵² Muhammad Bello, *Usul al- siyasah*, edited and translated by Shehu Yamusa, The Islamic Academy, Sokoto, 1998, p. 9

fruits carvings. This activity was influenced by the presence of abundant local resources, technology, and the skills to utilise the resources.

Wooden carvers (*masassaka*) produced wide range of items such as plates (*akusa*), spoons (*ludaya*), saddle (*sirdi*), and handles for hoes, spears, knives, axes, and sickles. Wood carvers also produced *Kwami* used for the storage of water for animals. They also produced various kinds of musical instruments. Various types of trees such as *gawo*, *marke*, *aduwa*, *dorawa*, *kadanya*, *geiya* were used for carving depending on the preference of the carver and what he intended to produce.⁵⁵³

Guard carvers produced *masaki* used for storing water, food, and grains. They also produced *ludaya* (spoons) and *korai* (calabashes) for various household uses. Some of these were beautifully decorated. Others were *shantu* (a musical instrument), *zunguru* used for dyeing the hands with henna and *kurtu* for storing local ink (*tawada*).⁵⁵⁴

v. POTTERIES

It was believed that the tradition of pot making commenced when man started to produce food.⁵⁵⁵ Archaeological evidence tends to suggest 9th century A.D for the existence of pot industries in Zaria.⁵⁵⁶ Thus, from time immemorial pots constituted the most essential household utensils. Pot making was influenced by the abundant supply of clay in the old city of Zaria around Salmanduna in Rafin Yumbu (stream of clay).

Pottery wares were made by manipulating the clay with hand. These included: cooking pots (*tukwane*), open clay basin (*kwatanniya*), bowl shaped vessels (*kasko*), hearth (*murhu*), local oven

⁵⁵³ Oral source Alhaji Garba Masassaki, Age 70 years 2nd February 2005.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵ Bassey, W. Andah, Nigeria's indigenous Technology, p. 74

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid* p. 75

(*tanda*), lamp (*fitila*), big pots *randuna* for storing water, jugs (*butoci*), and *asusu* for storing money.

7. TRADE AND COMMERCE

Zaria at the end of the 18th century created a picture of the presence of a complex agricultural system that was not only geared toward local consumption but for export as well. This was supported by a complex pattern of specialized productions in industrial goods.

As economists would say production is not yet completed until the goods reached the consumers.⁵⁵⁷ In line with this philosophy, a well-developed distribution system was evolved to satisfy the needs of the society. Thus, this gave birth to the development of a well-sophisticated and articulate exchange system via the network of trade routes.

Agricultural and manufactured goods were distributed to every corner of the *Birni* through the Market system. Assorted goods found their ways to the Market either directly by the producers or through the institution of local merchants who may buy directly from the producers in bulk and sale the goods to individual buyers at the Market. People had access to the Zaria Market through the network of roads that radiate to it.

Apart from the main city Market, there were other small markets (*dandali*) that spread across the wards. These were often associated with some big trees prominent of which were the Rimin kwakwa, Rimin kambari, Rimin Danza, Rimin Tsiwa and so on.⁵⁵⁸ These Markets/*Dandali* provided for the local needs of the various wards.

To satisfy the needs of the growing population of the *Birni* and its increasing needs and those of its hinterland, Birnin Zaria seemed to have been engaged in a lot of importation of goods especially grains. The major towns and villages through which the *Birni* got these supply included

⁵⁵⁷ Falola T. The political economy of a pre-colonial African state, p. 105

⁵⁵⁸ Oral source Alhaji. Awwalu Aliyu Damau, Age 50 years, 23rd August 2003.

Giwa, Fatika, Shika, Makarfi, Hunkuyi, Kudan, Ikara, Anchau, Kubau, Soba, Maigana, and Igabi.⁵⁵⁹ Goods from these areas reached the *Birni* via the agency of local merchants or traders.

The regional trade between Birnin Zaria on one hand and its hinterland on the other was of mutual significance. The hinterland supplied the *Birni* with its food requirements because despite the intensive cultivation in the open spaces reserved for agricultural activities within the *Birni*, it could hardly satisfy all its food requirements. The *Birni* on the other hand supplied most of the villages and towns in the hinterland with home made and imported materials. Therefore, exchange of commodities took place in the Birni where merchants and traders from the hinterland normally exchanged their grains with imported material such as natron, salt, textile and leather goods. This made Zaria a hub of economic activities, which made it a prosperous city.

The regional trade between Zaria and its hinterland from the 15th century onward stimulated long distance trade. This was influenced by the strategic location of Zaria, along the six trade routes that converged at Durumin Maigarke.⁵⁶⁰ One of these trade routes commenced from North Africa and passed through the Sahara to Hausa land via Kano and Katsina to Zaria. Another route started from the Niger bend and Gulbin Kebbi and passed between Yawuri and Katsina Laka to Zaria. From the South, a trade route started from the south of the upper lower Niger and passed through Kwatto and Kajuru to Birnin Zaria. Another route took up from Yoruba land and went through Nupe to Gumma and some Gwari Markets to Zaria. Lastly, a route passed from Borno through Iggi River to Birnin Zaria.⁵⁶¹

These routes were important source of exchange between Zaria and distant places. For instance Horses were imported from Abzin and Borno, while sheep and goats came from Kano and Katsina. Kola nuts were imported from Gwanja, Nupe and Oyo. Zaria got the supply of silk,

⁵⁵⁹ Abdulkadir Adamu, *The food Economy in colonial Nigeria*, *op-cit*

⁷² Oral source, Alhaji Abdullahi Aliyu (Wamban Zazzau)^{op-cit}

⁵⁶¹ Mahdi Adamu, *Hausa factor*, p.46

ostrich feathers, Fezzan cap, paper, and swords, beads, cloths and so on from North Africa. Natron found its way to Zaria from Borno, while mineral salt came mainly from Abzin, Bilma, Kebbi as well as middle Benue valley. Tin and antimony came from Jos, while glass and metal objects were mainly supplied to Zaria from Nupe land. These goods were in turn exchanged with other materials from Zaria, which included cloths, leather and leather goods, cotton, tobacco and particularly slaves, which Zaria was well known for.

The above local and international commercial transactions stimulated the growth of currency as medium of exchange. The development of the currency seemed to be necessitated by the demand for a standard medium of exchange typical of commercial transactions cutting across local and international boundaries. The most popular was the cowry. This was because of its widespread across West Africa. Another currency known as *mithqal* was introduced from North Africa. Thus, a whole system for commercial exchange revolved around these currencies.⁵⁶²

8. TAXATION

The rulers of Zazzau at Zaria were able to come up with different types of taxes as a means of generating revenue for the state. These category of taxes introduced by the *Sarakuna* of Zazzau included *kudin kasa* (land tax), or *kudin galma* (hoe tax), or *haraji*. There was also *kudin sana'a* (tax on crafts). The Chiefs of the various occupational groups like the *Sarkin pawa*, *Sarkin kasuwa*, *Sarkin magina*, *Sarkin makera* and so on were responsible for the collection of taxes from the members of their occupational groups. Apart from this array of taxes there was also the *jangali* (tax paid by pastoralists on their herds) and taxes collected as tolls in goods coming into the city. The *sarakunan kofa* were usually responsible for the collection of such taxes.

Another category of taxes collected by *sarakunan* Zazzau was the *kudin gandu*, which was annual tributes in slaves, cowries, and grains usually paid by vassal states. Some of the vassal

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*

states included Kuru, Kuseriki, Doma, Lapai, Kajuru, Galadiman kogo, and Kwarro. The revenue derived from these sources was partly used in maintaining the luxurious life style of the *sarakuna* and partly used in maintaining the state apparatus as well as for developmental purposes.

9. CONCLUSION

This chapter has given us a picture of the economy of Birnin Zaria up to the eve of colonial conquest, which was characterized by the dominance of agriculture with manufacture and trading activities constituting secondary economic activities. We have seen that by virtue of its position as the capital of the Kingdom of Zazzau and its strategic location along important trade routes, Birnin Zaria emerged as the nerve centre of economic activities of the whole Kingdom. Thus, because of this dual role that Birnin Zaria came to assume, its economy was directly linked with that of the countryside.⁵⁶³ This was because as we have seen goods such as agricultural and manufactured products from the countryside found their ways to the city to satisfy the needs of the city dwellers and for trade. Traders from distant towns and villages also found their ways to the city to buy goods that they could not get in their locality.

A whole system of taxation was developed by the government of the Kingdom to ensure revenue for the state.⁵⁶⁴ Officials were appointed to ensure that traders coming into the city pay the appropriate dues. At the city gate there was always the Sarkin Kofa (gate keeper) who apart from checking the movement of people collects tolls from merchants and traders coming into the *Birni*.⁵⁶⁵ At the Market there were officials such as *Sarkin Kasuwa* (chief of the Market) and the heads of the various occupational groups like *Sarkin Makera*, (chief of Blacksmiths), *Sarkin Fawa*

⁵⁶³ Enoch Oyedele, Colonial Urbanisation in Northern Nigeria, *op-cit*.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

(chief of Butchers), and so on.⁵⁶⁶ Thus, the prosperity of the *Birni* depended on such revenues derived from the trading transactions.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER SIX

THE JIHAD IN BIRNIN ZARIA

1. INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth century Jihad is one of the major themes in the history of Birnin Zaria. It witnessed the collapse of the *Habe* regime and the emergence of the Emirate system. The cause of the Jihad seemed to be rooted in the social and economic conditions of the society of the *Birni* highlighted in the last two chapters. This included syncretism particularly within the *Habe* aristocracy and economic exploitation of the larger part of the society by the ruling class. The Jihad leaders complained of general societal decay. This can be seen from some of the charges levelled against the *Habe* rulers in Hausa land by the Jihadists, which included oppression, corruption, self-indulgence and frivolity and arbitrary exercise of power with no regard to the rule of law.⁵⁶⁷ The Jihad was thus a manifestation of the inherent contradictions within the society. The focus of this chapter therefore is on the Jihad in the *Birni* and its resultant effects to the *Birni* and the Kingdom of Zazzau at large.

It should be noted however that the Jihad in Zaria was a spill over of the 19th century Jihad that initially begun in Gobir and gradually spread to other parts of Hausa land and beyond. The spread of the Jihad to Zaria and other parts of Hausa land is attributed to effective channels of communication between the Jihad leaders in Sokoto with their counter parts in the various parts of the *bilad-al Sudan*. The channels of communication were facilitated by a number of factors one of which was the existence of trade routes that converged at Babban Dodo terminus in the heart of the *Birni*. The various trade routes linked the *Birni* with other cities of the *bilad-al Sudan*. Through

⁵⁶⁷ These charges were clearly spelt out in the *Kitab-al Farq* of Usman Dan Fodio and a number of other works.

these trade routes ideas about the Jihad movement flowed to the *Birni*. Secondly, there was frequent and close contact between scholars particularly at Sokoto, which became the intellectual base for the Jihad. Scholars in their multi ethnic and racial dimensions frequented the Shehu in their search for knowledge and legal opinion (*Fatwa*) on issues of religious importance at his base. It was reported for instance that during that historic meeting between the Shehu and the Sarkin Gobir Bawa Jan Gwarzo at Alkalawa, the Shehu was accompanied by more than a thousand scholars.⁵⁶⁸

These scholars were Shehu's students. As his students, they subscribed to his ideas and committed to his aspiration of establishing a community that was dedicated to Islam as a means of transforming the society.⁵⁶⁹ As over zealous scholars they always return to their various towns and cities and disseminate whatever they learnt from the Shehu to their respective students. Thus, these constant contacts with the Shehu enabled the scholars not only to be abreast of developments in Sokoto but also to be well informed about the social and economic conditions of their localities. For instance the principal Jihad leaders in Zaria were reported to have been in close contact with the Shehu and the Shehu too was known to have visited Zaria on occasions.⁵⁷⁰

The Jihad leaders were credited with volumes of works.⁵⁷¹ The Shehu alone is said to have written more than 100 books. His brother Abdullahi wrote more than 60 while Muhammad Bello wrote about 78.⁵⁷² Nana Asma'u wrote about 66 books majority of which are on women.⁵⁷³ These works cover areas such as History, Law, Jurisprudence, Education, Political theory, Exegesis of

⁵⁶⁸ Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, London, 1967, p.20

⁵⁶⁹ Suleiman, I., *A revolution in History: The Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio*, Man sell publishing Ltd, London, 1986, p. 19

⁵⁷⁰ Oral source Alhaji Muhammadu Sani (Limamin Kona),, op-cit

⁵⁷¹ Isma'il Balogun, "Some reflections in the literature of the Jihad and the Caliphate" in Y.B. Usman (ed), *Studies in the History of the Sokoto Caliphate*, Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, 1979, p.165

⁵⁷² Yusuf Adamu, "Learning and scholarship in the Sokoto Caliphate: Legacies and challenges", a paper presented at the International conference on the Sokoto Caliphate, Abuja, 14th –16th June, 2004, p.3

⁵⁷³ Jean Boyd and Mack, *Nana Asma'u*, London, 1997, p.vii

the Qur'an (*Tafsir*), Language and poetry, Psychology and medicine.⁵⁷⁴ Through the literature the idea of the Jihad was easily disseminated as far as possible.

The attempt at the reconstruction of the Jihad in Birnin Zaria is faced with some chronological problems. This was borne out of the erroneous impression that the Jihad in the *Birni* took place in 1804.⁵⁷⁵ Some studies⁵⁷⁶ have however shown that the Jihad in Zaria could not have taken place in 1804 for the following reasons.

Through out the period between 1804 and 1806, there was no cause to justify any attack by the Jihadists (fighters) on Birnin Zaria. This was precluded by the acceptance and commitment of Isiaku Jatau, the then King of Zazzau to Islamic reforms as demanded by the Shehu. Isiaku Jatau was reported to have been the only person to answer the clarion call the Shehu made to the various Hausa Kings. The Hausa Kings particularly those of Kano, Katsina and Daura vehemently refused to pay allegiance to him. Shehu responded by sparing Isiaku Jatau for his inclination towards reforms and instigated attacks against the Kings of Kano, Katsina and Daura for their noncompliant.⁵⁷⁷

It should be noted however, that Isiaku Jatau never had it easy in his drive towards Islamic reforms. He was faced with stiff resistance from within. This came from people that were close to the Palace and who saw the attempt at reforming the society as a serious challenge to the status quo and to their persons and to what they represented. Those that were opposed to the reforms included Magajiya, Iya, Shenagu and Wagu.⁵⁷⁸ In their opposition to the reforms they tried to

⁵⁷⁴ Yusuf Adamu, "Learning and Scholarship in the Sokoto Caliphate", p. 3

⁵⁷⁵ See M.G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau*, Oxford, 1960, p.137; E.J. Arnett, *The Gazetteer of Zaria Province*, London, 1920, pp.10-11; S.J. Hogben and A.H.Kirk Greene, *The Emirate of Northern Nigeria*, Oxford University Press, London, 1966 p.220-221; Dr. W.B. Baikie, Notes on a journey from Bida in Nupe to Kano in Hausa land performed in 1862, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society vol. 37*, London, 1867, p. 103; Burdon, *Northern Nigeria Historical Notes on certain Emirates and Tribes* (eds), London, 1909, p. 79

⁵⁷⁶ See H.F.C. Smith, The problem of Dynastic chronology of Fulani Zaria, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria vol., pp. 277-283* And Murray Last, A solution to the problem of Dynastic chronology in 19th century Zaria and Kano, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria vol. 111* No.3, 1966, pp. 461-469

⁵⁷⁷ Smith, "The problem of Dynastic chronology of Fulani Zaria", p. 280

⁵⁷⁸ Abdullahi A. "Jihadin Fulanin Zazzau 1804" Documented papers, n.d. pp. 10-11

mobilize the public against the Sarki.⁵⁷⁹ To have a smooth sail in his bid for reforms *Sarki* Isiaku Jatau had to act decisively and refused to be influenced by these groups of people. Thus, it might be right to argue that struggles in the course of reforms as the Jihad entailed actually commenced with Isiaku Jatau and not *Amir* Malam Musa.⁵⁸⁰

It is difficult at the state of our knowledge to assess the impact of Isiaku's reforms. However, evidence tends to indicate that during his time Islam recorded significant progress. This is manifested in the way the Muslims were freely allowed to conduct their public life in accordance with Islamic principles, freedom of religious worship and preaching, growth of Islamic learning, and the establishment of places of religious worship that characterized the reign of Isiaku Jatau.⁵⁸¹ Isiaku Jatau is reported to have built the *Juma'a* Mosque at Anguwan Juma.⁵⁸² However in view of the tradition that claim that the *Juma'a* Mosque was built by Muhammadu Rabbo⁵⁸³ (1505-1530A.D.) and in view of the fact that Islam had long been entrenched in Zaria long before this period, *Amir* Isiaku Jatau might not have been the person that constructed it. Therefore, if the tradition is anything to go by it may be referring to a period during which the Mosque might have fallen into disrepair or neglect, whose glory was restored by Isiaku Jatau.

The above situation created conditions that encouraged, particularly scholars to stay in Birnin Zaria. Some of the scholars that were believed to have stayed in the *Birni* included Malam Musa, the Shehu's flag bearer in the Zazzau Kingdom. Others were Malam Yamusa, Abdulkarim, Abdus-Salam and a number of other scholars from Kano, Borno, Katsina and Yandoto.⁵⁸⁴ To sum it up, Isiaku's reforms must have been impressive. These explained why the Shehu appointed him as *Amir* of Zazzau. He was formally installed as the *Amir* by a delegation sent by the Shehu, led by

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.* P.11

⁵⁸⁰ H.F.C. Smith, "The problem of Dynastic," P.280

⁵⁸¹ Dalhatu Usman, *Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku*, p. 31

⁵⁸² *Ibid.* p. 32

⁵⁸³ Oral source, Abdullahi A , *Op-cit*

⁵⁸⁴ Usman, Malam *Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku*, p.30

Malam Dan Zabuwa who hailed from *Birnin Zaria*. This installation took place in 1805.⁵⁸⁵ Thus, it is arguable to say that Isiaku Jatau was the first *Amir* of the state of Zazzau centred at *Birnin Zaria*.⁵⁸⁶

Other evidence that tend to disprove the idea that the Jihad in *Birnin Zaria* took place in 1804 is contained in both primary and secondary sources.⁵⁸⁷ The records clearly indicate that Malam Musa throughout the period between 1804 and 1808 was actively engaged in the Jihad in other places. For instance he participated in various campaigns at Kano, Katsina and Daura. He also seemed to have participated in the fall of Alkalawa in 1808.⁵⁸⁸

The emergence of Makau into the political scene as the 60th *Habe* ruler of the state of Zazzau set the stage for a show down with the Jihadists. This was because soon after coming to power Makau rejected with impunity all undertakings earlier made to the Shehu by his predecessor. This is demonstrated by the systematic reversals of all the reforms earlier recorded by Isiaku Jatau.⁵⁸⁹ Makau's action seems to be in response to pressure from certain powerful forces within the corridors of power that felt threatened by the reforms. According to local traditions the Zaria King makers in connivance with some Palace officials that were opposed to Islam presented Makau with some conditions as a prerequisite for his appointment as the King of Zazzau.⁵⁹⁰

The conditions left him with two options, to either toe their line and therefore get installed as a successor to his father or turn his back on them and follow the "*tubake*" (that was the term used to refer to the Muslims) and forfeit the throne. Makau opted for the former. Attached to this option were a number of strings. These strings were that he should deal with those responsible for

⁵⁸⁵ Smith, Problems of Dynastic, p. 280 ; Y.B. Usman, The transformation of Katsina, p. 119

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.* see also Y.B. Usman, "The Sokoto Caliphate and nation building," International conference on the Sokoto Caliphate and its legacies, Abuja, 14th June 2004, p.2.

⁵⁸⁷ For the sources see Smith, The problem dynastic.. 278-283; Murray Last, A solution to dynastic, pp.461-468

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁰ Abubakar Sadiq Abbas, Tarihin Fulanin Anguwan Juma BirninZaria a takaice,Muhammadu, a paper presented at the History workshop A.B.U. Zaria, p.2 and Kamaruddin, Wazirin Zazzau Malam Lawal, p.6

influencing his father to make such reforms i.e. Limaman Kona and Juma. Secondly, he should recant to the religion of his fore fathers. Thirdly, he should return all the fetish objects in their former places before their removal and conversion of their shrines into a Mosque by his father.⁵⁹¹

As if to prove his readiness and willingness to fulfil the above conditions, Makau immediately after his appointment became highly antagonistic to the Muslim community particularly the *Malamai* class. For instance he ordered for the arrest and detention of Malam Muhammadu Lawal in *Fadan-fadan*, which was an old *Habe* house from where he was subsequently killed.⁵⁹² Malam Hamidu Mai Jan Riga narrowly escaped death⁵⁹³ while scholars were generally barred from the *Birni*.⁵⁹⁴ To sum it up Makau nullified all the reforms earlier made by his father, Isiaku and became highly anti Islam.⁵⁹⁵ This is demonstrated by his demolition of the *Juma'a* Mosque and his general attitude to Islam and scholars.

2. THE FALL OF THE SARAUTA SYSTEM

The scenario created above strained Makau's relationship with the Zaria scholars who reported the situation to the Shehu at Sokoto. In response to the situation report in Zaria, the Shehu formed a body of Jihadists and formerly appointed Malam Musa to lead the group. He was to be assisted by Malam Yamusa, Abdulkarim and Malam Abdus-Salam who subsequently became Emirs respectively. Other prominent scholars in the company of Malam Musa were, Malam Usman (Sabulu) who was a *Habe* from Kano and later appointed as *Katuka*, Dokaje who was a Fulani and later became the *Galadima*; Hamza a *Habe* from Kano and appointed later as Dallatu. There were also Fache a *Habe* who became *Wambai* and *Malam* Gabdo, a Fulani from Yandoto

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

⁵⁹² Ibid..

⁵⁹³ Usman, *Malam Ja'afaru*, p.32.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid.

and later became *Limamin Jumu'a*.⁵⁹⁶ Others included Fulanin Dan Dorori, Katsinawa, Barnawa, Yandoto, Yeskwa, Joli, Gadidi, Bebeji, *Haben* Tofa and Zaria.⁵⁹⁷ Thus the composition of the Jihadists was made up of people of diverse ethnic group. This clearly demonstrates the diversity of the people that took part in the Jihad in Zaria.

Armed with the full mandate of the Shehu, Malam Musa and his teaming supporters marched to Zaria. The accounts of the campaign in the *Birni* vary. According to one of the accounts, the Jihadists marched to Zaria with 74 horsemen.⁵⁹⁸ The *Habe* ruler who seemed to be quite aware of their approach instructed his vassal chiefs to keep the movements of the Jihadists in surveillance and prevent them in their march to Zaria. On account of this order, the Jihadists were intercepted and attacked at Hunkuyi and Kudan. They were only spared by the intervention and assistance of the village head of Durum. The Jihadists later rewarded the village head with a vassal status, for his role in foiling the assault against them. Likewise *Sarkin* Fawan Likoro also acted against his over lord, the *Habe* ruler of Zazzau by supplying the Jihadists with military intelligent report on the *Habe* forces. Apparently, armed with this report the Jihadists adopted a tactful military strategy aimed at avoiding physical confrontations with the enemy and at the same time manoeuvred their way into the *Birni* unnoticed. Everything seemed to have perfectly worked according to plan. The Jihadists succeeded in entering the city in 1808 with relative ease through the eastern gate known as *Kofar* Bai.⁵⁹⁹

According to another tradition the Jihadists came to Zaria through Kano in the course of which they met Suleiman in his bid to capture Kano city. The tradition further maintained that Malam Suleiman furnished the Jihadists with intelligence report on the military strength of the enemy. According to the report, Makau had stationed about 20,000 fighters at Hunkuyi village

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁸ S.J. Hogben and Kirk Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, p. 177

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 220-560

obviously fully prepared to protect his citadel of power.⁶⁰⁰ Acting on this information, the Jihadists decided on a military manoeuvre by diverting their routes to Zaria through Kudu apparently to forestall open confrontations and to launch a surprise attack on the *Birni*.⁶⁰¹

There is yet another account which has it that the Jihadists took the *Birni* unaware while they were praying at the *Id*-praying ground located outside the city wall.⁶⁰² However, this account was rejected by the Zaria local tradition on the ground that since Makau rejected Islam it could not be true that he was attacked while he was praying at the *id* prayer ground.⁶⁰³

In any case, military tactics and strategy seemed to have played a decisive role in the defeat of the *Habe* rulers by the Jihadists. The military tactics and strategy adopted by the Jihadists in their conquest of Hausa land generally was characterized by mobility, flexibility, surprise, adaptability and audaciousness.⁶⁰⁴ Smaldone had summed up the military tactics and strategy of the Jihadists thus:

The Muslim guerrillas capitalized on their familiarity with the terrain of the countryside, taking refuge when necessary and sallying forth when the opportunity presented itself. In this way the rebels (Jihadists) retained the initiative, avoided direct encounter in unfavourable conditions, and attacked when they were prepared for battle on their own terms.⁶⁰⁵

The military strategy outlined above seemed to be informed by the weak military position of the Jihadists vis-à-vis the military might of a state power like Zazzau. The effectiveness of the

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid*

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰² Shu'aibu Na'ibi, Abuja Chronicle, p. 5

⁶⁰³ Oral source Alhaji Ahmadu Fatika, op-cit; Johnston H.A.S, Fulani Empire of Sokoto, p.71.

⁶⁰⁴ J. P. Smaldone, Warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate: Historical and sociological perspectives, Cambridge University Press, 1977, P. 35

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

strategy could be seen in the ease and surprise that accompanied the defeat of the *Birni*. The Jihadists had completely avoided the forces of the *Habe* rulers showing up only at places such as Durum and Hunkuyi probably to create an impression. While this was going on it appeared that some of the Jihadists had already found their way to the *Birni* or its vicinity in probably small numbers to avoid suspicion waiting for an appropriate time to strike. The Jihadists thus quietly made their way into the *Birni* and took it over in 1808 with little casualty. It is reported that the only casualty involved the Salanke who was entrusted with the care of the *Birni*. The Salanke was killed around the Madaka ward.⁶⁰⁶ While this was going on, the *Habe* ruler, Makau was waiting for the arrival of the Jihadists outside the city apparently oblivious of what transpired inside the *Birni*. Thus, the news of the surprise and decisive capture of the seat of power of the *Habe* ruler was shattering and traumatizing not only to the ruler but to his forces in general. This broke the fighting moral of the soldiers and put them on flight. The *Habe* ruler moved southward with his loyal followers numbering about 3,000 following closely on his heels.⁶⁰⁷ The rest of his followers scattered, while some moved to Lere and others to Atsam.⁶⁰⁸ This included high-ranking *Habe* officials with their families and followers some of whom decided to quit the *Birni* for the fear of the unknown. Some of the prominent *Habe* officials that followed the fugitive *Habe* ruler, Makau were: the Madawaki, Galadima, Wambai, Jarmai, Barde, Magaji, Kuyambana, Magajin Malam, the village chief of Gayan, the Kachalla, Iya, Sarauniya, Dangaladima, and some members of the King's family.

The exit of such groups of *Habe* from the *Birni* had drastically reduced their number and significance politically and otherwise. Thus, rendering the rest of the *Habe* population that remained incapable of putting up any opposition that could earn them some recognition and

⁶⁰⁶ Muhammadu Fagachi, *Jihadin Fulanin Zazzau*, *op-cit*

⁶⁰⁷ Hogben and Kirk Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, p. 72

⁶⁰⁸ John Nengel et al., *History of Chawai of North Central Nigeria to 1932*, History Department, A.B.U. Zaria, 2002, p. 56

probably integration into the political affairs of the *Birni*. This scenario brought about the eclipse of the *Habe* and the ascendancy of the amalgam of diverse groups of people who came to the Birni from various places following the Jihad. This is attested to by a genealogical study of the population of the Birni which has shown that most of the descent groups that made up the *Birni* since the Jihad period came from other places other than Zaria. This included places such as the Middle East, Kano, Sokoto, Katsina, Borno, Yandoto and so on.

Having taken over the Birni, the Jihadists hotly pursued the *Habe* ruler accompanied by the retinue of his followers up to Zuba where they founded the Abuja Kingdom. Thus, this ensured the survival of the *Habe* Kingdom of Zazzau in exile. This is demonstrated by the fact that up to today the Emir of Suleja is still referred to as Sarkin Zazzau of Suleja.

3. ESTABLISHMENT OF EMIRATE ADMINISTRATION

The successful capture of *Birnin Zaria* by the Jihadists in 1808 as mentioned earlier was an important landmark in the history of not only the *Birni* itself but the Kingdom of Zazzau as well. This is because it witnessed the demise of the *Sarauta* system and its replacement with the Emirate administration involving the whole of the former Zazzau Kingdom. This change brought in some changes of political, economic and social importance.

Soon after the fall of the *Birni* to the Jihadists, processes were set in motion for the political integration of the territories of the former Zazzau Kingdom into the new administration centred at *Birnin Zaria*. This was because the urgent question that seemed to occupy the attention of the Jihadists was the survival of their newly emerging community at the *Birni*, which was surrounded by hostile communities that refused to surrender with the fall of *Birnin Zaria*. No doubt this portends great danger for the newly established community. It was therefore politically and militarily expedient to bring all the territories within the former Zazzau kingdom under the control

of the new administration at the *Birni*. Thus, a period of consolidation and expansion commencing from 1808 began in earnest.

The process of consolidation and expansion of the Emirate was prolonged and took place simultaneously.⁶⁰⁹ It commenced with the Zaria environs and then followed by the outlying districts of the Northern part of the former *Habe* kingdom such as Haskiya, Gadaz, Girku, Kargi and the Gwari of Kuseriki which remained a stronghold of traditional beliefs in the *iskoki* and thus hostile to the reforms.⁶¹⁰ Already Kauru and Kajuru were brought under the Emirate administration in the course of the pursuit of the fleeing *Habe* ruler, Makau.⁶¹¹ With Zaria environs and the outlying districts of the Northern part of the former *Habe* Kingdom firmly secured, Malam Musa embarked on expansion southward. He was however cautious not to launch direct attacks on some of the southern territories, instead he encouraged the leading Muslim leaders in such areas to carry out intermittent campaigns against such communities.⁶¹² Consequently, Jama'a and Keffi were brought under Zaria as vassal States.⁶¹³ Soon Nasarawa and Doma were to follow suit. It was through these vassal States that Zaria's political domain reached as far as Benue.⁶¹⁴ Thus, before the death of Malam Musa in 1821, Zaria had developed into a metropolis with extensive networks of protective towns and villages surrounding it.

It should however be noted that in spite of the above exploit by Zaria there were large areas that remained either in rebellion or unconquered throughout the nineteenth century. In addition to this, Zaria also had to contend with external threats from Ningi and Maradawa, which nearly weakened it. Such oppositions and external threats created a state of warfare that persisted

⁶⁰⁹ M.G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau*, P. 147

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 140

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁶¹² Adeleye *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria*, P. 29

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*

throughout the nineteenth century and which rendered the issue of expansion and consolidation of the emirate an uncompleted revolution.⁶¹⁵

To ensure the complete loyalty of the heterogeneous groups of people that Zaria came to incorporate, a kind of administrative system was adopted that ensured an open channel of communication between the *Birni* and the territories under its suzerainty. Accordingly, vassal States were linked to the ruler at the *Birni* through a *kofa* (a door or an intermediary).⁶¹⁶ The *kofa* was made up of titled officials of Zaria. However, there were certain vassals that came under the direct control of the ruler who communicated with them through his own *Jakada* (agent or intermediary). The vassal States in turn were also expected to communicate with the Emir through the *Jakada*.⁶¹⁷

The incorporation of diverse groups of people also gave rise to the problem of inter group relations. What was worth noting was the external relation between these Vassal States and the *Birni* that is depicted in some literature as mainly characterized by conflict.⁶¹⁸ However, there is evidence that proved that such claims were unhistorical. A look at the Jihad literature indicates that the Jihad leaders were not only aware of the problems of integrating the heterogeneous groups of non-Muslims in terms of their religious, cultural, ethnic and linguistic differences into the Caliphate but have gone along way of formulating a framework upon which peaceful coexistence between the Muslims and non-Muslims should be regulated in accordance with Islamic principles. Ibrahim Suleiman summarized these guidelines as follows:

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid* p 54

⁶¹⁶ M.G Smith, *Government in Zazzau*, P. 79

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid*.

⁶¹⁸ Kumm, H. K. W., *The Sudan, A short compendium of facts and figures about the land of Darkness*, Marshall Brothers Ltd, London. Quoted in Bala A. "Warfare and slavery in Zaria Emirate in the 19th century,"p.1.

- (i) The non-Muslim citizens shall maintain their religious and social autonomy and preserve their distinctive characteristics. They shall apply their own laws as they relate to personal status and social moral life.
- (ii) They shall be permitted to settle in our land (i.e. in the midst of the Muslim communities, thus no need for separate quarters for them).
- (iii) They shall have guarantee of protection for their lives, property and honour and shall live in peace in the Islamic State.
- (iv) We shall not (said the Shehu) interfere with their places of worship, nor with their wine or pigs unless they make them public.⁶¹⁹

The Shehu also stated that “to make war upon the heathen to whom peace has been granted (*al-kuffar ahl aman*) is unlawful by assent; wrongfully to devour (their) property is unlawful by assent.”⁶²⁰

Two points were clearly highlighted from the above: Firstly, the Jihad leaders exhibited a high sense of religious tolerance by according the non-Muslim groups full religious liberty. This included the freedom to exercise their rights of worship, and the right to practice their culture and tradition publicly except such that may be repulsive and upsetting to the community. Secondly, *amana* has been the guiding principles of the Caliphate’s relationship with the non-Muslims. The question is what was the impact of the application of the above policy in the Zazzau Emirate?

A clear manifestation of the application of the Jihad policy on peaceful co-existence in Zazzau Emirate can be seen in the presence of non-Muslim citizens in places throughout the Emirate. This ranged from the *Maguzawa* of northern Zaria to the Gwari of south and south-

⁶¹⁹ Ibrahim Suleiman, *The Islamic State and the Challenges of History: Ideas, Policies and Operations of the Sokoto Caliphate*. Mansell Publishing Ltd, London, 1987, 57-58.

⁶²⁰ Quoted in Mukhtar U. Bunza, *The legacy of religious Tolerance in the Sokoto Caliphate, Usman: Lessons for the Nigerian state in the 21st century*, a paper presented at the International Conference on the Sokoto Caliphate and its legacies 1804-2004, 14th -16th June, 2004, Abuja, p. 11

western Zaria and the diverse and heterogeneous groups of eastern and southern Zaria.⁶²¹ This was attributed to the amiable relationship displayed by Zaria towards the non-Muslim communities and not borne by the claims that these groups of people were deliberately restrained from Islam in order to turn them into slave reservoir. E. A. Ayandele for instance has clearly disputed this claim thus:

In Zaria and Kano emirates, there were the Maguzawa, indigenous and pure Hausa people who up to now have refused to embrace Islam. They were left alone as freemen, both in Habe and Fulani Zazzau. It may be noted that in Zazzau the Fulani appointed an official to be in charge of their affairs (i.e. non-Muslims) administratively. Surely, if the Fulani Jihadists had wished, the Maguzawa could have been compelled to become at least nominal Muslims.⁶²²

Conversely, there were pockets of Hausa and Fulani settlements in areas such as Kajuru, Kauru, Chawai, Lere, Zangon Kataf and Kachechere. The settlements of the Hausa and Fulani communities in these areas, which dated back to the 17th century and even much earlier in some areas was according to Bala Achi not the result of military might of such communities but the result of long years of economic and political intercourse that existed between them.⁶²³ To further buttress his point he pointed out that Zangon Kataf served as a resting place (zango) for Hausa

⁶²¹ Bala A. Warfare and Slavery in Zaria Emirate. P. 4

⁶²² E. A. Ayandele, *Nigerian Historical Studies*, London, Frank Cass, 1979, Pp. 71-72.

⁶²³ Bala A. Warfare and Slavery in Zaria Emirate. P. 4

itinerant traders since the beginning of the 18th century and by the 19th century it transformed into a very important trading centre only rivalled by Zaria in size and variety of commodities.⁶²⁴

It should be understood from the above that what was more fundamental in the Zaria relation with the non-Muslim groups was trade and migration rather than the idea that it was all conflict. That is to say that nobody was denying the occurrence of conflicts, but it was sporadic and often punctuated by long period of peace.⁶²⁵ Bala Achi draws our attention to the fact that even the so-called 'wars' were not actually wars but raids, which were mostly organised by individual gang of looters.⁶²⁶ There were also occasions when advancing and retreating soldiers ransacked villages and towns in search of food.⁶²⁷

This brings us to the question of *amana* relations, which defined the tie between *Birnin* Zaria, and the non-Muslim groups in Zazzau Emirate. According to Nengel *amana* is a Hausa word, which derives from Arabic word, *amana* that simply means trust. When viewed in political perspectives it refers to non-aggression pact entered into between the Muslim and non-Muslim groups for the simple reason of peaceful coexistence.⁶²⁸

The operation of the *amana* relations was highly reciprocal and advantageous to both sides. For instance, according to the terms of the *amana* relations each side must not attack the other side. Thus leading to the cessation of all hostilities from both sides. This was in theory but in practice this did not completely preclude occasional cases of breaches of this fundamental aspect of the *amana* relations. In normal circumstances the *amana* relations was expected to remain in force as long as each side abided by the conditions of the *amana*. Another condition was payment of tribute

⁶²⁴ Ibid

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

⁶²⁶ Ibid.

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

⁶²⁸ John Nengel, Responses of Plateau societies to the integration of non-Muslims to the Sokoto Caliphate in Central Nigeria, a paper presented at the International Conference on the Sokoto Caliphate and its legacies 1804-2004, 14th -16th June 2004, Abuja, p.4.

(*Jizya*) by the non-Muslims irrespective of their ethnic affiliations.⁶²⁹ Failure to do this amounted to breach of the *amana* relations. The Emirs at the *Birni* in return must be under the obligation to protect the *amana* communities and their properties from attacks from any quarter.

It is important to note that the *amana* relations never entailed the loss of the autonomy of the *amana* communities to the Emirate. Neither did it amount to subordination to the Emirate. This was because the *amana* communities were left to conduct their affairs without much interference from the *Birni*. Interestingly enough, Nengel pointed out that these *amana* communities never see the payment of tribute (*Jizya*) as humiliating.⁶³⁰ This was because of the reciprocal gesture the communities always receive in return for the (*Jizya*). This was in the form of gift sent to such communities by the Emir. Equal treatment was accorded to the *amana* societies upon payment of the *Jizya*. For instance, Nengel in his study of the Chawai area pointed out that:

The Atsam were seen from Zaria as similar to the Kauru vassal state, though each was quite autonomous and politically independent of the other. The Restsam and Sarkin Kauru made scheduled visit to Zaria and were accorded equal reception at the Emir's Palace.⁶³¹

It should be noted that not all non-Muslim societies felt obliged to enter into *amana* relation with Zaria. There were many of such societies that refused such gesture. This included

⁶²⁹ Mukhtar Umar Bunza, "The Legacy of Religious Tolerance in the Sokoto Caliphate: Lessons for the Nigerian state in the 21st century". pp. 12-13.

⁶³⁰ John Nengel, et al., *History of Chawai*, p. 57

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*

Jere, Amo, Kinugu, Rishiwa and Piti. It was from these non-*amana* communities that Zaria directed most of its attacks.⁶³²

4. THE IMPACT OF THE JIHAD ON BIRNIN ZARIA

Following the success of the Jihad in the *Birni*, the new administration came up with policies aimed at transforming the society. Such policies were of far reaching consequences to the political, economic, religious and social development of the *Birni*. The economic consequences of the Jihad have been examined in the last chapter. Our concern here therefore is on the political and social impact of the Jihad in the *Birni*. The major aim of this exercise is to enable us to assess the impact of the Jihad on the *Birni*.

a. POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION

One important consequence of the Jihad in Zaria was the political transformation of the old (*Habe*) order into a new political system (Emirate system). The Emirate system involved the setting up of an elaborate machinery of government based on the ideals of the Jihad. It should be noted however that the transformation of the *Habe* kingdom into an Emirate, brought the Emirate into the fold of the Sokoto Caliphate in a political arrangement that could best be described as a confederation where by the various Emirates including Zazzau enjoyed some full measure of autonomy with the Caliph at Sokoto having the right to intervene in their political affairs from time to time. The Caliph at the centre oversaw the affairs of Zazzau through the Waziri of Sokoto who acted as his *Kofa* (intermediary). At the head of the administration of the Emirate was the Emir who combined both spiritual and temporal authority. By virtue of being the person mandated to lead the *Jama'a* in the Jihad, Malam Musa naturally occupied the position of the Emir. He was chosen by Shehu Usman Dan Fodio in recognition of his knowledge and piety as well as his active

⁶³² *Ibid.*

participation in the Jihad in places such as Sokoto, Kano and Katsina. A council known as the *Majalisa* guided the Emir in the discharge of the affairs of the Emirate. The Emir was vested with the power of appointing and dismissing when necessary the members of the *Majalisa*.⁶³³ The *Majalisa* acted as a quasi-legislative body that performed advisory role in important matters affecting the Emirate.⁶³⁴ It should be noted that the Emir was not under any duress to follow the advice of the *Majalisa*.⁶³⁵ To guide against the abuse of power and other excesses of the Emir, he was expected to act in all his dealings in accordance with laid down rules as provided in the *Shari'a*.⁶³⁶

For the purpose of effective political administration of the Emirate, it was divided into *Gundumomi* (districts) under the direct control of *Hakimai* (district heads). The *Gundumomi* were further subdivided into *kauyuka* (villages) headed by the *Dagatai* (village heads). The *Kauyuka* in turn were also subdivided into *Anguwanni* (wards) and placed under the direct supervision of the *Masu Anguwa* (ward heads).

The Emirs were assisted in the discharge of the administration of the Emirate by quite a number of officials at the head of which was the *Waziri* (vizier) who was supposed to be the deputy of the Emir as well as his principal adviser.⁶³⁷ For this purpose, the *Waziri* was always chosen for his Islamic knowledge.⁶³⁸ The Emir had the sole power of appointing this array of title officials.

Apart from the Executive arm headed by the Emir and the legislative arm as manifested in the *Majalisa*, there was the third arm, which was the judiciary. The existence of these three separate arms of government is an indication of the presence of some forms of modern democratic

⁶³³ Usman Dalhatu, Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku, *op.-cit* P. 43.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁸ Oral source, Alhaji Ahmadu Fatika (Sarkin Fadan Zazzau), *op.-cit*

principles in the pre-colonial state of Zazzau centred at the *Birni*. The judiciary in any system has the universal role of the administration of justice. In the case of Zaria to facilitate in the effective administration of justice three well-defined structures were put in place. These were: the *Salanke* court which was presided over by the *Salanke*. The *Salanke* was a travelling Judge who was always in the company of the Emir during his tours and journeys,⁶³⁹ and then there was the *Alkali* court, which was supposed to be headed by the Chief Justice. This was followed by what could be regarded as the supreme court of appeals. That was the Emir's court.⁶⁴⁰

b. URBANIZATION

Urbanization was already an established feature of life in the whole of central Sudan long before the Sokoto Jihad. However, after the Jihad the process of urbanization in *Birnin Zaria* accelerated. This was manifested in major changes in the size, character and importance of the *Birni*.⁶⁴¹ The acceleration of urbanization in Zaria was attributed to a number of factors.

One of these factors has to do with the political importance Zaria came to assume after the Jihad as the capital of the Zazzau Emirate. This was combined with the geographical and ecological situation in Zaria, which created the enabling condition that attracted significant number of artisans, scholars, traders, seekers of knowledge and fortune to Zaria. The artisans were made up of metal, leather and textile workers as well as traders.⁶⁴² The significance of this was the expansion in economic activities in agriculture, manufacture and trade (both internal and external). The expansion in these economic activities further strengthened the status of *Birni Zaria* as the economic nerve centre of the Zazzau Emirate, which formed an organic relationship between the *Birni* and the countryside, which also seemed to have enjoyed some measure of development.

⁶³⁹ Dalhatu Usman, *Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku*, P.44

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴¹ Oyedele, *Colonial Urbanization in Northern Nigeria...* p.83

⁶⁴² *Ibid.*

This is demonstrated by the fact that the *Birni* depended largely for its food requirement on its countryside while the countryside depended on the *Birni* for its import requirements as discussed earlier. Thus, Birnin Zaria acted like a magnet attracting large number of people daily, who either brought their goods for sale to the Zaria Market or came to buy other goods that were not available in their areas.

Also of crucial importance to the rapid expansion of urbanization in Zaria was the state, which came up with policy directives to address some practical situations, which the Caliphate leaders had to grapple with. These policies were conceived as part of a general policy of fostering the material welfare of the people.⁶⁴³ One of such policies was the establishment of new towns and settlements. A clear policy directive in this respect is embodied in Muhammad Bello's *Usul siyasa* where he unambiguously instructed the various Emirs of the Sokoto Caliphate that:

One of the duties of a Muslim leader was to see to the colonization of rural areas through the foundation of villages and walled towns.⁶⁴⁴

In line with this Caliphal policy, the leaders of Zazzau encouraged the growth of *ribats* in different parts of the Emirate. Some of the ribats were established at Likoro, Basawa, Taban Sani, Taban Yamusa, Hunkuyi and Hanwa. The growths of *ribats* triggered up an unprecedented expansion of population in Zazzau. This was because the *ribats* attracted and encouraged the settlement of more people in them. This evidence can be seen from the population estimates that were provided by the European travellers to Zaria in the nineteenth century. For instance about eighteen years after the Jihad, H. Clapperton's visited the *Birni* in 1826 and placed the population

⁶⁴³ Y. B. Usman, *The Transformation of Katsina*, p. 190

⁶⁴⁴ Mohammed Bello, *Usul as-Siyasa*. Quoted in Kabiru S. Chafe, *State and economy in the Sokoto, Caliphate*, Ahmadu Bello University, Press, Zaria, 1999, p. 81

of the Birni between the region of 30,000 and 50,000,⁶⁴⁵ while Staudinger, another European traveller who visited Zaria in 1886 noted that the population of Zaria was between 80,000 and 100,000.⁶⁴⁶

Apart from population expansion within the *Birni* itself, there were the developments of towns within the metropolitan Zaria. This brought about the emergence of many walled towns numbering over twenty-five. This included Hunkuyi, Dawaki, Birnin Yero, Birnin Barwa, Zangon Aya, Amana, Kauru, Girku and Kargi. Apart from the emergence of walled towns, there were also quite a number of villages that emerged. These were made up of Bagaldi, Ruma, Gimi, Kigo, Mazugano, Zabi, Sabon Birni and Farakwai.⁶⁴⁷

The Sokoto Jihad led to the massive displacement of large population from the various parts Hausa land. The displaced persons were made up of artisans, Islamic scholars, nomads and traders. Some of these groups of people found their way into the Emirate and into the *Birni*. There was therefore the problem of settling them. As a practical solution to this problem, the leadership of the Emirate came up with a land policy, which made land accessible to all. Thus, as we have seen some where in this chapter, the various displaced groups who migrated to Zaria were allocated lands in various wards of the *Birni*. This helped in the rise of its population.⁶⁴⁸

The land tenure policy implemented by the Emirate leadership in Zaria also encouraged the sedentarisation of large groups of the Fulani nomadic groups. This too helped in a significant way to change the demographic structure of the *Birni*.

c. EDUCATION

The establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate in the nineteenth century witnessed a tremendous expansion of Islamic education in Zaria. This was because the Caliphal leaders

⁶⁴⁵ Clapperton, *Journal of a second Expedition into the interior parts of Africa*, p. 160.

⁶⁴⁶ Staudinger P. In the Heart of the North, vol. 1 p. 177

⁶⁴⁷ Oyedele E. Colonial urbanization, *Op-cit*, pp. 84-85.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

attached high premium on education. This was demonstrated by the fact that learning and possession of knowledge was made a key criterion in the appointment of leaders to positions in the polity.⁶⁴⁹ The necessity for this was clearly brought out by the Shehu: -

The ruler is more in need than all God's creation to be acquainted with learning and gathering (knowledge) of law. A man without learning is like a country without inhabitants. The best thing in a ruler, in particular, and in people in general, is to associate with learning; yearning to listen to it holding the bearer of knowledge in great respect. This is in fact the surest way for a ruler to be beloved of his subjects. On the other hand, if the King is devoid of learning, he follows his whims and leads his subject astray. So the upper classes are more in need of association with scholars, having friendship with the learned and the study of books of learning and wise saying and reading the anthologies of learning and the biographies of sages.⁶⁵⁰

The application of the above guiding principles was nowhere more strictly applied than in Zaria. For instance following the death of Malam Musa, the choice of a new Emir fell on Yamusa, the founder of the *Barnawa* ruling dynasty. The deciding factor in his selection was his active participation in the Jihad, his piety and knowledge rather than consideration of family background or any other factor. In like manner, when Yamusa died, Sokoto preferred Abdulkarim, the founder of the *Katsinawa* ruling dynasty for the post of the Emir ship of the Zazzau Emirate. His choice was purely based on his educational background. The subsequent appointment of Malam Sidi the son of Malam Musa and later Malam Abdus-Salam the founder of the *Sullubawa* ruling dynasty, were all based on their academic standing in the society rather than consideration of family background.⁶⁵¹ This explained why it was only in Zaria that four ruling dynasties emerged.

⁶⁴⁹ Mahmud Tukur, "Teachings of the Sokoto Caliphate". A Paper being presented at the International Conference on the Sokoto Caliphate and its Legacies, 1804-2004, Abuja, 14th – 16th June 2004, P. 15.

⁶⁵⁰ Quoted in Mahmud Tukur, *Ibid.* P. 15.

⁶⁵¹ Abdullahi Mahdi, "The Choice of Zaria as the seat of Higher learning in the North" in A History of ABU (1962-1987). Pp. 26-27.

The upsurge of learning in the nineteenth century following the Jihad led to the emergence of new Islamic centres of learning in Birnin Zaria. The most prominent of these new centres included: Umar Wali, Kakaki, Kofar Doka, Kusfa and Magajiya. A brief discussion on these centres was attempted here.

i. MA'AHAD UMAR WALI

This was one of the prominent Islamic centres of learning that emerged in *Birnin Zaria* after the Jihad. It was founded by Umar Wali and specialized in such branches of Islamic knowledge as *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), Sufism, *Furu'a* (applied Islamic science) and *Mandiqa* (logic). It was the last that made this centre more popular.⁶⁵² This was because the centre was believed to have been the first that was known to have specialised in that branch of knowledge.⁶⁵³

The lineage of Malam Umaru Wali was believed to have come to Zaria from Baghdad. On their way to Zaria they stayed at various places such as Yarwa, Kukawa and Misau. On their arrival at Zaria during the reign of Muhammadu Sani (1846-1853), they were given a place at Anguwan Albarkawa (famfo) where Galadima Ahmadu, the father of Malam Umar Wali established a house.⁶⁵⁴ The house was soon turned into a beehive of intellectual activities under Galadima Ahmadu. It was after the death of Galadima Ahmadu that Malam Umar Wali assumed the role of his father. He soon distinguished himself as a scholar to the extent that the centre initially established by his father came to bear his name. Soon the house was to become too small for his students. He therefore established another centre spacious enough to accommodate his students and guests at Anguwan Amaru.⁶⁵⁵ The centre at Amaru attracted students of diverse ethnic and family background. Some of the prominent students that graduated from this centre included: Malam Aminu and Aliyu his children who succeeded him. Others were Malam Ahmadu Guruza,

⁶⁵² Liman, S. A. "Takaitaccen Tarihin Ilmin Musulunci a Zaria", p. 4.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.* P. 14.

⁶⁵⁴ Abdulkadir Bello (Salanken Zazzau), Tarihin Zuriyar Galadima Ahmadu, Unpublished paper, p. 19

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Sarkin Zazzau kwassau, Sarkin Zazzau Aliyu Dan Sidi, Malam Sani na Kofar Doka, Alkali Ahmadu Lugege, Malam Sambo Mai Casa'in, Galadima Adamu Dan Dokaje, Garga Alkalin Na fada, Hussainin Boko (Sokoto) and Wazirin Kano Gidado.⁶⁵⁶

Ma'ahad Umaru Wali distinguished itself from the rest of the Islamic learning centres within Zaria by the volumes of books that it produced. The books were in various field of Islamic knowledge. The list of the books includes the following:⁶⁵⁷

1. Kitabu bayani mazahib al-a'immat al-arba'ati
2. Tuhfatu asgar al-dalibi li'amir al-muminina fi ilm al-jihad
3. Mudihat al-abdali kitabun fi ilm as-sarf
4. Al'alakun nafisi al'mu'allaku ala jayadin nahwiyil muhaqqaqi.
5. Mufham al-balid fi ilm an-nujum
6. Muftah al- muglaq fil ilm al-mandiq
7. Kitabul rijal as-sanad (Arri salat al-maimuna)
8. Kitabu ma'adin al-madalibi diniyya
9. Mublagh al- amani fi bayan umur al- auliya'i, wa Ahmad at-Tijjani
10. Kitabu bu'u bu'u (fi ilm al-arul)
11. Mufhim al-balid fi ilm at-Tauhidi.
12. Kifaya tussaliki fi ilm al-hisab.
13. Adimul misli (science).
14. Kural fadali.
15. Risalatu tahsalilun amani fi wasaya shehuna Ahmadu Tijjani.
16. Attanbi hat al-aniqa.
17. Tas-hirul asagiri Lima fil yawakiti wal jawahiri.
18. Ta'ani sul ihwan fi tarikh as- Sudan
19. As halal masaliki ila qawa'id al- imam Malik fi ilm al-qawa'id.
20. Ilahu al gassi wassamin.
21. Lubabu ilm as-siyar.
22. Masa'il AbduLqadir bin al- Musdafa.
23. Ilm an-nafis fi tazkiyatin nufus.

Following some political crisis during Emir Sidi Abdulkadir (1853-1853), Malam Umaru Wali left the *Birni* and established another base at Anguwan Makera at Hunkuyi, which later came

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁷ Abdulkadir Bello (Salanken Zazzau), "Tarihin Zuriyar Galadima Ahmadu", pp..21-22.

to be called Anguwan Wali after him. He continued with his teachings, writings and farming until he died there in 1897.⁶⁵⁸

ii. KAKAKI CENTER⁶⁵⁹

This was one of the Islamic centres of learning that was established in Birnin Zaria after the jihad. Malam Ibrahim Tsoho established this centre. He was distinguished as a pious man and well knowledgeable particularly in Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence). His main pre-occupation was study and teaching. Consequently these became the major occupation of the people of Kakaki. The Malaman Kakaki were famous in their versatility in Islamic Knowledge that every scholar wanted to study there.⁶⁶⁰

The Kakaki centre of Islamic learning produced many eminent scholars, Imams and *Alkalai* (judges) such as Waziri Umar, Malam Haliru and Ma'aji Ishaku. It was noted that most of the Imams and *Alkalai* in Zaria graduated from this centre. This earned the ward the name anguwar Alkalai (ward of Judges).⁶⁶¹ The prominence of this centre came to greater height when Malam Abdullahi and his son Alkali Malam Lawal assumed the leadership of the centre.

iii. KOFAR DOKA CENTER

The founding father of this centre was Malam Umar. He was believed to have been a descendant of Malam Ahmad who was said to have come from Futa Toro following some political crisis in his country some times in the eighteenth century.⁶⁶² On his arrival to *Kasar Hausa* he first stayed in Yandoto. After the Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio he moved to Hunkuyi and stayed there. He was attracted to live in the area because of its good pastures, which he could exploit for his animals.⁶⁶³ Malam Ahmad later moved to the *Birni* on the invitation of Malam Musa where he

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁹ See chapter three for details on Kakaki.

⁶⁶⁰ Dogara Bashir Dalhatu, *Zuriyar Malam Ibrahim Tsoho*, p. VI

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶² Liman, Takaitaccen tarihin ilmin Musulunci a Zariya, p. 5

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*

permanently stayed at Kofar Doka.⁶⁶⁴ It was while he was at Kofar Doka that his son Malam Umaru established a school in their house. Soon the school began to attract lot of students. The school specialized in Arabic, *Fiqh* and *Tafsir*.⁶⁶⁵ The Kofar Doka centre came into the limelight during *Malam Sani* whose name the school later bore.⁶⁶⁶ Malam Sani was believed to be so vast particularly in *Tafsir* that he was appointed to deliver *Tafsir* in the *Birni* central Mosque.⁶⁶⁷

iv. MA'HAD KUSFA

Malam Shitu founded this centre. He was of Arab ancestry but he was born in Gobir. His father was Abdurra'uf and was said to have been very close to Gozo, the last King of Katsina. After a short spell at Yandoto, Malam Shitu was said to have moved to Zaria. His arrival at Zaria coincided with the reign of Abdulkarim (1834-1846).⁶⁶⁸

On his arrival at Zaria he stayed for a while at Anguwan Liman in the house of Malam Umaru Taru before settling permanently at Kusfa. He attended lessons at the Kona Islamic centre of learning but later found his own school. His school was famous in such Islamic field of study as Astrology and Sufism.⁶⁶⁹ The Kusfa Islamic centre produced many indigenous scholars. His son Malam Hajji succeeded him.

5. BIRNIN ZARIA ON THE EVE OF COLONIAL CONQUEST⁶⁷⁰

Birnin Zaria on the eve of colonial conquest particularly at the last decade of the nineteenth century was in a very turbulent state. This was due to some critical security problems. The security

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁸ John O. Hunwick et al, Arabic literature of Africa, Leiden E.J. Brill, 1995

⁶⁶⁹ Liman S. A, 'Takaitaccen Tarihin Imin Musulunci a Zaria', p.6

⁶⁷⁰ Information on this section was derived from the following sources: M.G. Smith, Government in Zazzau; Hogben S.J. and Kirk Greene, Emirate of Northern Nigeria; Johnston H.A.S. The Fulani Emirate; Adeleye A.R. Power and Diplomacy. and Wapanda, The emergence of four ruling dynasties in Zaria, History Research at A.B.U. VOL. III, The post-graduate seminar papers of the Department of History, A.B.U. Zaria, 1978/ 79 session

problems were the culmination of internal and external forces, which helped in weakening the state.

The internal security problems in Zaria manifested in incessant dynastic crisis and rebellions from some of the vassal states of Zazzau. The roots of the dynastic crisis could be traced to the many Fulani lineages that were in existence in different parts of Zazzau long before the Jihad. These included the *Mallawa*, *Barnawa*, *Katsinawa*, *Sullubawa*, *Yesgwamawa*, *Wunti* and so on. Differences seemed to exist between the leaders of these Fulani lineages. The first manifestation of differences between the various Fulani leaders appeared in the rivalry between Malam Musa and the heads of some of the Fulani lineages particularly Ja'e of the *Yesgwamawa* Fulani lineage for the leadership of the Muslim community in Zaria.⁶⁷¹ This rivalry was however diffused with the appointment of Ja'e as Sarkin Kajuru.

The age long rivalries existing within the Fulani lineages in Zazzau were further fuelled by the eventual emergence and development of the four ruling dynasties. These were the *Mallawa*, *Barnawa*, *Katsinawa* and *Sullubawa* ruling dynasties. The inter and intra rivalries between and within the ruling dynasties helped in no small measures in weakening the state of Zazzau thereby, making it easy for Sokoto to have more say in the political affairs of Zazzau.⁶⁷² Details of the processes leading to the emergence of the ruling dynasties were told and retold in many literatures that it is not worth recounting here.⁶⁷³ By the last decade of the nineteenth century, particularly in 1897, the political rivalries between the ruling dynasties became tenser and resulted in over heating the polity. This was following the vacuum created by the death of Emir Usman Yero in 1897.

⁶⁷¹ M. G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau*, pp. 146-8

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*

⁶⁷³ See M. G. Smith, *Government in Zazzau*, pp.146-148; Adeleye, power and diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, pp.79-81; Hogben and Kirk Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, Johnston, *The Fulani Emirate of Northern Nigeria*, *op-cit* and Wapanda, *The emergence of four ruling dynasties in Zaria*, pp. 1-8.

Following the death of Usman Yero, three candidates were selected by the traditional council of kingmakers in Zaria to fill in the vacuum. The candidates fielded for the post were: Madaki Kwassau, the son of Sarkin Zazzau Yero, Malam Lawal, an ex-Madaki as well as the son of Malam Sambo of the *Katsinawa* ruling dynasty and lastly Malam Muhammadu of the *Mallawa* ruling dynasty. What made the contest too complex was the conduct of Galadima Salmanu who was becoming too powerful and over ambitious.

The Galadima was nursing the ambition of getting a full political control of the affairs of Zazzau. He wanted to use this opportunity to achieve his design by imposing a weak candidate that he could easily manipulate. His choice for the post of the Emir was Malam Muhammadu who was not only old but also deaf and blind.

Seeing through his designs, the leading Fulani lineages in Zaria formed a united front against the Galadima. They rallied support for Madaki Kwassau whom they believed had the capability of checkmating the Galadima. As if to add more currency to the massive support he was enjoying from members of the other ruling dynasties, Kwassau took an extra ordinary step and mobilized arms against the Galadima who seemed to have already won Sokoto to his side. Madaki Kwassau took advantage of the *yan-bindiga* (musketeers) squad, which was constituted during the reign of his father Usman Yero and under his (kwassau) direct control. Not only was that he was also said to enjoy the support of Sarkin Kano Aliyu.

Armed with all these, Kwassau threatened Waziri Bukhari, the Sultan's representative who was mandated by the Sultan to preside over the selection exercise that he was willing to resolve the issue by going to war if he was not crowned peacefully. Realizing how precarious the situation was, Waziri Bukhari wisely installed Kwassau as the 12th Emir of Zazzau. Even though war was averted by the Waziri's action, this event continued to affect Sokoto's relations with Kwassau.

This was because Sokoto interpreted Kwassau's action as not only unruly but amounted to insubordination.

On assumption of power, Kwassau tried to form a more broad-based government by involving more members from the other ruling dynasties in his administration. This ensured some internal peace and stability for the Emirate even though momentarily. This was because some forms of internal and external hostilities broke the peace and stability Zaria was enjoying.

One of the sources of such hostilities came from internal rebellions, which Zaria was facing continuously in the Emirate. The frequency of such rebellions coupled with dynastic crisis gradually weakened the military strength of Zaria particularly at the last decade of the nineteenth century. Some of the vassal states that Zaria faced rebellion from at the last decade of the 19th century included the people of the south east of Zaria like the Katab tribes who rebelled by refusing to pay tribute. Consequently, Kwassau launched a military attack on them and forced them to pay the tribute. He also has to engage the Gwari of Ligau and the Kadara of central Zaria.

The internal instability in Zaria was worsened by series of military raids from both the *Maradawa* and *Ningawa* forces. The *Maradawa* had been notorious for raiding its neighbouring cities and towns. This included Katsina, Kano and Zazzau.⁶⁷⁴ These raids were first spear headed by Danbaskore but after some spells, the raids were renewed in the 1890's by his successor, Baratiya. The inability of Zaria to deal decisively with the *Maradawa* incursion into its territories⁶⁷⁵ was a clear manifestation of its inferior military position.

Equally devastating to the internal security of Zaria was the activities of the *Ningawa*. The Ningi slave raiders have been raiding the territories of Zaria since the reign of Emir Sambo (1879-

⁶⁷⁴ Y.B.Usman, The transformation of Katsina, pp. 164-66

⁶⁷⁵ See chapter two for some details about, the Ningawa invasion of Zaria during Sambo

1888).⁶⁷⁶ With the installation of Usman Yero (1888-1897), the Ningi slave raids ceased. It was however resumed during the reign of Emir Kwassau (1897-1902) by the Ningi chief Danyaya.⁶⁷⁷ The Ningi raids involved the towns of Soba, Maigana, Dutsen Wai and Kubau.⁶⁷⁸ The raiding of these areas was shocking to the internal security of Zaria, which seriously weakened its strength.

Apart from the *Maradawa* and Ningawa invasions of Zaria, the activities of the Emir of Kontagora, Ibrahim Nagwamatse in the 1890's was another serious military threat that Zaria had to contend with. The significance of Nagwamatse's activities was that it determined in some fundamental ways the Zaria-British relations, as discussed below.⁶⁷⁹

Nagwamatse's activity in Zaria was essentially slave raiding during which he devastated some of the territories of Zaria. Zaria's appeals to Sokoto for intervention were granted reluctantly but to no avail. This was because Nagwamatse refused to respect Sokoto's order for cessation of hostilities. The reason why Sokoto responded passively to Kwassau's appeal for intervention has to do with his conduct during the election contest that saw him into power as mentioned earlier. Ibrahim Nagwamatse's raids into Zaria further exposed its military weakness. This is demonstrated by its inability to deal with the situation.

Meanwhile, the British were looking at this development with keen interest. For long the British were looking for opportunity to establish their presence in Zaria, which they could use as a launching pad for attacks on Kano and Sokoto. The British saw the conquest of Kano and Sokoto as paramount to the establishment of Pax Britannica in Northern Nigeria.⁶⁸⁰ To achieve this grand design, the British started their penetration into Zaria with some diplomatic moves.

⁶⁷⁶ SNP 10236/1919: 15.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁹ Obaro Ikime, *The fall of Nigeria*, Heinemann London, 1977. p.186

⁶⁸⁰ Mansur I. Mukhtar, "The conquest of Kano Emirate by the British and its significance" in M.O. Hambolu (ed), perspectives on Kano- British relations, Pyramid text prints Kano, 2003, p. 40.

As a prelude to the establishment of its military presence in Zaria, the Missionaries paved the way for them. The missionaries had their first contact with Zaria in 1899 through the Christian Missionary society (C.M.S.).⁶⁸¹ The Emir of Zazzau warmly welcomed the Christian missionaries.⁶⁸² After a short stay in Zaria they moved to Kano where they were rejected. Unable to establish a base at Kano, the missionaries returned to Zaria. The Emir of Zazzau apparently learning from Kano and conscious of the reactions from his people for allowing the Christians to stay in the city and still not quite oblivious of the likely reaction of the British in case he sent them away, found an alternative base for them. The alternative base was Girku, located to the south of Zaria.⁶⁸³

It should be noted however that shortly thereafter with the full backing of the British, the church Missionary society then under Dr. W. R. S. Miller was given a base in the *Birni*.⁶⁸⁴ They first settled at the house of Sarkin Makera in the *Birni* before they were finally relocated to Wusasa in 1929.⁶⁸⁵

Encouraged by the good reception accorded the missionary society by the Emir of Zazzau, Captain Kemball, the Commandant of West African Frontier Force (WAFF) visited Zaria with the sole intention of establishing a friendly relationship with Zaria. However, what followed after a peace accord was reached with Zaria left no one in doubt about the British imperial ambition. This was because soon thereafter Kemball burnt down the towns of Remo and Kaje which were under Zaria, an action that was repugnant to peace. Secondly, Kemball was quoted as boasting that Zaria too would soon be conquered to put a 'stop to slavery and slave trade.'⁶⁸⁶ These actions drew fears

⁶⁸¹ Ikime, *The fall of Nigeria*, p.185.

⁶⁸² *Ibid*

⁶⁸³ N.A.K. 2551/ 1904: 15, Usman, *Malam Ja'afaru Dan Isiyaku*, p.99

⁶⁸⁴ Usman, *Ibid*.

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid*.

⁶⁸⁶ Ikime, *The fall of Nigeria*, p. 186

and mistrust from the Emir of Zaria. However this was short lived, as the activities of Nagwamatse were to bring the Emir to the fold of the British once again.

The British seemed to be waiting for such situation and were determined to ruthlessly exploit it to their benefits. This was demonstrated by the persistent pressures by the British on the Emir to allow them to deal with the situation. Emir Kwassau who was deeply troubled by the activities of Nagwamatse, coupled with his military weakness caved in to the pressures.

It should be noted that the predicament of Ibrahim Nagwamatse was British making. This is because by 1901, the British conquered Kontagora and sent its Emir, Ibrahim Nagwamatse on a flight. He moved away with a large following. Nagwamatse was soon to grapple with the real question of survival. This was because he had to provide the means of sustenance to his followers and their horses. Not only that he needed to curb a niche for him-self.⁶⁸⁷ That explains the reason why he ravaged some parts of Katsina and Zazzau Emirates.

Thus, in March 1902, the WAFF under the command of Colonel Porter captured Ibrahim Nagwamatse in an encounter near Maska in Zaria, which led to his deportation to Lokoja for trial.⁶⁸⁸ However, in a manner typical of occupier forces, the British decided to remain permanently in Zaria thereafter by establishing a garrison. This action broke the temporary relief Zaria was enjoying following the cessation of Nagwamatse's menace by the British. As if this was not enough the British unilaterally declared Zaria as one of its province with Captain Abadie popularly known as mai-jimina (ostrich owner) as the Resident.⁶⁸⁹

This was a serious provocation, which clearly demonstrates that the political independence of Zaria was on a slippery ground. Kwassau seemed to understand this. This was reflected in his hostile and uncompromising attitude towards the British. This attitude of the Emir is reflected in

⁶⁸⁷ Adeleye, Power and Diplomacy, 245

⁶⁸⁸ NAK ZARPROV. 1551:3; Ikime *Ibid.* p. 187

⁶⁸⁹ Ikime, *Ibid.*

the Resident's annual report of 1902 where he stated that in spite of the opportunities the British gave the Emir to come to terms with the situation and co-operate with them, the Emir continued to display an open show of indignation and resentment to them. However, this was all he could do. This was because in-view of the prevailing circumstances whereby the British were already firmly established in Zaria, and owing to the internal factors highlighted above, Zaria was too weak to face the might of an imperial power like the British. The Emir was also warned by the Emir of Bida, Abubakar who was his maternal grand father, against the futility of physical confrontations with the British.⁶⁹⁰ Thus, Kwassau was faced with the options of either collaborating with the British or refusing to and bear the grave consequences. Kwassau chose the latter than succumbing to the British and instead co-operated with Kano which seemed to be stronger and warming up for a fight with the British by supplying it with information about British moves. For instance he wrote to the Emir of Kano Aliyu Dabo thus:

The Christians had increased among us and have settled more firmly than before. As to the news of the others, they have come from kwaba and have collected store for war.⁶⁹¹

6. THE FALL OF ZARIA TO THE BRITISH

Relations between Zaria and the British further deteriorated following the murder of Captain Maloney, the Resident of Keffi on the instant of Magaji Dan Yamusa, the representative of Emir of Zazzau in Keffi. This incidence seemed to have provided the British with yet another opportunity it was anxiously looking for to execute the second stage of its plan - the conquest of Zaria and Kano. Thus Zaria was blamed for the murder while Kano was accused of welcoming the

⁶⁹⁰ Oral source, Alhaji Zubairu Mai kasa, 1st June, 2006

⁶⁹¹ Backwell. The occupation of Hausa-land, 1900-1904, p. 71

fugitive, Magaji Dan Yamusa. The British made no pretensions about its position on the matter.

This was made clear in its official statement thus:

...Government owes it to every British officer called upon to serve in distant districts among turbulent people to take prompt and effective measures in such a case, or the lives of its servants would not be safe...I felt that I had no option but to attempt the arrest of the Magaji to the utmost limits of the protectorate, and if ever the day shall come when any other policy may prevail it will not be long before it is followed by disaster.⁶⁹²

The inevitability of military engagement with the British was very clear. Kwassau seemed to have clearly assessed the situation and therefore began to make preparation to flee. This is reflected in the letter he wrote to the Emir of Kano Aliyu Dan Dabo where he stated that:

This is to inform you that heavy trouble has come upon us, for by Allah we can neither stand nor sit, and have no power to remain in the same place with them.⁶⁹³

The British were anticipating this move and therefore mounted heavy patrols of the WAFF along the Zaria –Katsina, Zaria –Bauchi and Zaria – Kano roads precisely to prevent and arrest the Emir if he tried to escape. This was based on strategic ground that if the Emir fled and was followed by his followers, he might joined forces with Kano and thus increased the strength of the enemy.

To hasten its conquest of Kano, the British had to depose Kwassau. Thus Captain Abadie invited Kwassau for a meeting. The Emir did not only refuse to go but also challenged Abadie's authority over him. Men of the WAFF consequently arrested and deported him to Wushishi where he continued to live to the end of his life, while Galadima Salmanu was appointed to act as the Emir of Zazzau until the appointment of Emir Aliyu Dan Sidi in 1903. Kwassau indicated in one

⁶⁹² Northern Nigeria Annual reports No. 409 for 1902. p. 76

⁶⁹³ Backwell, the occupation of Haussa-land, p.71

of his writings, *Nuzhatul asiri*, the date and time of his arrest around the evening of Friday on the last ten days of the Islamic month of Jimadal-ula (September, 1902).⁶⁹⁴

The picture of how Zaria fell to the British was painted by Adeleye where he noted that:

Following this WAFF army marched into the city and to the Palace, where they met the raging Emir coming out; He was arrested and taken away. Fear seized the city all of a sudden –The Habe Galadima was appointed to act in the Emir's place. The fall of Zaria has thus been a reality.⁶⁹⁵

It is clear from the above explanations that Zaria was in a weak state on the eve of the imposition of colonial rule. This explained why the Emir responded the way he did. Useful insights into Kwaussau's actions and inactions on the face of the British aggression can be obtained from some of his works which he wrote while in exile. For instance, *Ashabul Kahf* (people of the cave), a commentary on one of the chapters of the Glorious Qur'an written in poetry by him is a story of some aggrieved youths who prepared to run away from the tyrannical rule of a Roman Emperor Known as Daqyanus (Decius) and lived in exile in the confines of a cave rather than to surrender to injustice and tyranny in return for probably a life of freedom and comfort. What Kwassau seemed to be saying here was that if he had so wished he could have collaborated with the British and save him-self from the humiliation of dethronement. The Resident in his annual report of 1902 corroborated this point of view, where he lamented that he could not get the support of the Emir for him to be spared in-spite of all efforts.⁶⁹⁶ *Nuzhatul asiri* (the rest of a captive) is yet another title of a work by Kwassau, which seems to suggest that he considered his deposition as a relief from the burden of collaborating with the British.

⁶⁹⁴ *Nuzhatul asiri*, KAB. PROB. M/AR. 4/3, p. 53

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁶ Northern Nigeria Annual reports No. 409 for 1902, *op-cit*

The fall of Zaria in September 1902 and the subsequent deposition of Kwassau and his exile to Wushishi finally brought to an end the Emirate administration, which lasted for almost one hundred years and set the stage for the consolidation of colonial rule not only in Zaria but the whole of the Zazzau Emirate. The establishment of colonial administration in Zaria was of significant importance to the history of the Zazzau Emirate. This is because it saw the loss of political, economic, social and educational independence of the people of Zaria following their subsequent integration into the capitalist economy.

7. CONCLUSION

The Jihad as we have seen was a culmination of long years of social, political, religious and economic problems that bedevilled the society. The Jihadists addressed this issue by using Islam as the ideology for mobilization of the people. The Jihad, which started, as a reform within the system in 1804, was soon to result in to the over throw of the *Sarauta* system in 1808. This brought about the conversion of the former *Habe* Kingdom of Zazzau to an Emirate. The Jihad also brought about the increase in economic activities throughout the Emirate. There was also the phenomenal growth of Islamic Education in Zaria. The Jihad lasted up to 1902 when the British colonialists over threw the Emirate system. The nature of the society of *Birnin Zaria* on the eve of the British conquest was examined. This provides us with a picture of the circumstances that led to its conquest by the British.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This work is essentially a study of the pre-colonial history of Birnin Zaria from 1350 to 1902. It aims at reconstructing the historical processes that led to the emergence of centralized political institutions especially Birnin Zaria as the capital city of the state of Zazzau as well as some of the major historical developments that took place in the *Birni* up to its colonial conquest in 1902.

Colonialists' historiography on the history of Hausa land generally tends to ignore the internal dynamics that produced centralized political structures in the Hausa states, thus, giving a distorted picture of the whole processes. The present work has attempted to bring out the internal dynamics of our area of study and highlighted its role in the process of urbanization and state formation on the Zaria plains. The analysis has shown that the environment of the Zaria plains had played significant roles in urbanization and settlement pattern on the plains. Such environmental factors like soil fertility, abundant source of water, concentration of games, availability of iron ore, inselbergs useful for their religious and security functions encouraged the settlement of the earliest human population on the area dating back to as far as 7th century A.D. The influx of people into this area was attributed to the desiccation of the Sahara during the first millennium A.D. that caused famine and draughts in the Northern region of the Sahara and the resultant wars that took place in the whole region due to demographic movements caused by the change in the climatic condition of the region.

Having set the tone of the study by examining the environmental background to man's activities and settlement patterns on the Zaria plains, we proceeded to examine the process of the

emergence of centralized political institutions on the plains. These earliest centres of human population with their nucleus around the inselbergs of Kufena, Madarkachi, Turunku, Kargi, and so on gradually developed through the process of evolution spanning several centuries into urban centres. We have noted the inadequacies of attributing such political development to foreign origin as embodied in the Bayajidda legend. The study rather traced such important political development to the long history of urbanization process going on in the area for centuries, at least to the 7th century A.D. The study identified some of these urban centres as Kufena, Madarkachi, Turunku, Kargi, and Wuchichiri. The nature of these ancient urban centres was discussed, highlighting their individual and common features as well as their roles in the on going urbanization process on the Zaria plains culminating in the emergence of centralized political institutions.

By the beginning of the second millennium A.D., there is evidence that indicated the development of state system in some of these ancient settlements. This is evidenced by their wall fortifications and cosmopolitan outlook. The urbanization and state formation processes taking place around this period seemed to be hastened by two external factors. One of such factors was the invasion of the Zaria area by the Gwaris around 1350. This important development acted as a catalyst to the emergence of centralized political authority that has the capability of mobilizing all resources to repel the attacks. The buildings of such walls surrounding some of the ancient settlements are noted to have been done under the command of a centralized political authority. The role of the centralized political authority in this respect is thus made explicitly clear.

The second event has to do with the attacks on the *Zazzau* area by the forces of Sarkin Kano Kanajeji. The defeat of the forces of the *Zazzagawa* during one of the encounters and the killing of its ruler forced the *Zazzagawa* to retreat to Turunku which appeared to be more fortified. The gradual expansion of the area due to increasing immigration and sedentarisation of more

people in the area made the settlement unsuitable for permanent habitation. Thus, the rulers of Zazzau at Turunku decided to rehabilitate the old town comprising of Kufena and Madarkachi. With all the necessary structure of the *Birni* in place, the rulers of Zazzau evacuated to the rebuilt town named Zaria, after one of the daughters of Bakwa Turunku. This development led to the further consolidation of the kingship and the territorial expansion of the state of Zazzau.

With Birnin Zaria clearly emerging as noted above, the study went on to examine its spatial growth from its formation to the colonial conquest of the *Birni* in 1903. Since *Birane* are generally organic in nature with their various components related to one another, *Birnin Zaria* is not seen in isolation but rather it was examined in relation to the key elements of urban spatial planning which included four public complex buildings namely: the city wall (*ganuwa*), the Palace, the Mosque, and the main Market. The wall fortification of the *Birni* with its gates enclosed the Palace, the Mosque, the main Market and the various *Anguwanni* (wards) within the *Birni*. The significance of the wall for security and urban development was highlighted. The study also highlighted the central role of such important institutions as the Palace, the Mosque and the Market as unifying factors to the people of the *Birni* and beyond. The spatial organisation of the various wards that constituted the *Birni* was examined. The development and expansion of the *Birni* is a clear testimony to a deliberate organisation and control of space by the rulers of Zazzau in the past. This is partly demonstrated by the strategic location of such important institutions like the Palace, the Mosque and the Market, which were the administrative, religious and economic centres of the *Birni* respectively at the heart of the *Birni* with a network of roads integrating them with one another and with the different parts of the *Birni*. The provision of large open space for agricultural activities such as farming and grazing of animals within the walls of the *Birni* is also a demonstration of deliberate space organisation in the pre-colonial period.

The residential areas were broken into units known as *Anguwanni*. The historical background of the wards was examined in the work, highlighting their unique and common features. The work also highlighted the genealogies of some important houses that constituted some of wards as well as their ethnic composition in the past. Our analysis has shown that the descendants of most of the important houses in the *Birni* were of foreign origin. This has to do with the fact that during and after the Jihad in Zaria large number of migrants came and settled permanently in the *Birni*. These migrants came in various capacities as soldiers, scholars, and seekers of knowledge, administrators, merchants, artisans and so on.

Security to the lives of the inhabitants of the *Birni* was of paramount importance. How the rulers of Zaria provided this basic need was discussed in the work. The provision of social amenities such as water, roads, medical care and education during the pre-colonial period in Zaria were also of paramount importance to the population of the *Birni*. Insights into how these were provided by the Sarakuna at the *Birni* were given.

The society that constituted the *Birni* was also examined. It has been shown that it was a well-defined system of social relationship within the society which defines who was who, who did what and who respected who. The various units of social organisation in the *Birni* were highlighted. The basic unit of social organisation was the family. It was from the family that relationship projected to cover the wider society. Other units of social organisation were based on territoriality. These included the *Anguwanni* (wards) and the state. Being a patriarchal society there was emphasis on male dominance in the *Birni*. This is demonstrated by the predominantly male titles like *Maigida* (owner of the house), *Mai anguwa* (owner of ward), *Mai gari* (owner of the town), *Uban kasa* (father of the land), *Sarkin noma* (chief of farming), *Sarkin Makera* (chief of blacksmiths) and so on and so forth.

The well-defined social structure that defined the inter-human relation within the *Birni* created a highly stratified society based on age, gender, status, and occupation. The internal contradiction within the society between the various classes that created a fertile ground for the Jihad in the nineteenth century was highlighted.

The cultural background of the society that formed the *Birni* was also examined. It was pointed out that the society was characterized by the belief in the supernatural until when Islam was introduced around the century, which began to challenge the age-old belief in the supernatural. The Jihad in the *Birni* was a crystallization of the ideological struggle between the two religious beliefs. The Jihad had to a great extent reduced the influence of the belief on the super natural. The study also established that the *Birni* since the pre-Jihad period was a centre of Islamic learning, a factor that earned it that epithet “*Zaria Birnin ilmi*”. The role of the literati class in the promotion of Islamic scholarship and in the mobilization of people for the Jihad was examined.

To properly grasp the material basis of the social existence of the society of the *Birni* its economy was examined. The study has shown that the *Birni* was the major focal point of economic activities in the whole kingdom of Zazzau. The erroneous views in the colonialists’ works about the economy of African societies been basically subsistence was proved wrong especially as it apply to the *Birni*. The diversity and dynamism of the economy was strongly demonstrated in the work. Agriculture constituted the primary economic activity while manufacturing and trading constituted the secondary economic activity. It has been pointed out that the role played by the *Birni* in these economic activities made it the most prosperous. In the overall the study of the economy of the *Birni* provides a basis for the proper understanding of the economic impact of the Jihad in the nineteenth century.

The study also examined the Jihad and it has been shown to be one of the major themes in the history of the *Birni*. The Jihad brought about some far reaching political changes one of which was the overthrow of the *Sarauta* and its replacement with the Emirate system. The economic and social impact of the Jihad was equally highlighted in the study. Also the society of the *Birni* on the eve of colonial conquest was examined. This gave a background on how the Emirate system was brought to an end as a result of the colonial conquest of the *Birni* in 1902. How the British colonialists finally took the *Birni* and the significance of 1902 as a terminating period of our study was examined.

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