UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Nineteenth Century Hausaland

Being a Description by Imam Imoru

of the Land, Economy, and Society of His People

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in History

by

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I would like to dedicate this manuscript to my adviser, Robert Griffeth, my wife, Ann Ferguson, and Mohammed Ben Abdallah of Kumasi, Ghana, Abu Safiano Baba and Imam Abubakari Titibrika of Kete-Krachi, Ghana, who were of great assistance to me in my research and have expressed a continuing interest in the life of Imam Imoru. It is also dedicated to my long time friend and typist, Ailene Benson.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Nineteenth Century Hausaland

Being a Description *by* Imam Imoru

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Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Los Angeles 1973

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This dissertation is a translation of Imam Imoru*s Hausa language manuscripts, written between 1900-1910, which describe his West African homeland of Hausaland during the nineteenth century.

Imam Imoru was born in the Hausa city of Kano in 1858. He was educated between 1865-1891 to be a member of the Muslim clergy. In 1891 he left Hausaland for the Volta Basin which was over five hundred miles to the west. He settled temporarily at Salaga, and permanently in 1896 at Kete-Krachi which was on the Volta River in the German colony of Togo. He died in Kete-Krachi in 1934.

Imam Imoru was the leading Muslim educator and intellectual in this region of West Africa during his lifetime. His home in Kete-Krachi became an important center of learning for the Muslim community, and Imoru's prose and poetry, written in both Arabic and Hausa, was known in Muslim communities throughout much of West Africa.

Chapter 1 is a brief biography of Imam Imoru. Chapters 2 through 8 are the translations of his account. Short introductions

have been provided for each chapter to put his material in a broad social and historical context.

In Chapter 2 he writes about the rural economy of Hausaland. It was primarily an agricultural economy, and he writes about the phases of agricultural activity and the major food crops. He concludes with an account of the associated occupations of animal husbandry, fishing and hunting.

Chapter 3 includes an entertaining legendary account of the origin of the Hausa-speaking people, and a description of the land and people of the different regions of Hausaland.

Chapter 4 is an account of the dogma, ritual, and institutions of Islam. He concludes with a short description of .non-Islamic practices and beliefs.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the social structure of Hausa society. His account ranges from succession to kingship to the capture of slaves. He includes a description of the Maliki system of jurisprudence.

The daLly life of the Hausa people is the subject of Chapter 6. Imoru writes about the many phases of life which begin with birth and end with death. He also writes about such varied institutions as education and plural marriage, and gives an account of the food and drink of the Hausa people.

The highly developed handicraft industry is the topic of Chapter 7. He writes about the cloth, leather, and metal industries, as well as lesser industries.

The final chapter covers marketing, a description of the salt industry and kola trade, and an account of the organization of the caravan trade between Kano and Salaga.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is the first English translation of a West African manuscript written in the Hausa language by Imam Imoru of Kete-Krachi. It was written during the first decade of this century and it describes the land, economy, and society of Hausaland in the nineteenth century.

In Chapter 1, I have provided a biography of Imam Imoru who was born in Hausaland in 1858, moved to the Volta Basin in 1891, and settled permanently on the Volta River in 1896 at Kete-Krachi where he died in 1934. Throughout his life in Kete-Krachi, the town was under the colonial rule of the Germans and, after them, the British.

In contrast to the colonial setting of Kete-Krachi, Hausaland was free from colonial rule during the nineteenth century. It was a vast political empire of many ancient states unified by the Fulani people in the early years of the nineteenth century. Hausaland was a Muslim society, and the community in which Imoru settled at Kete-Krachi was a Muslim community. He was a malam, a member of the clergy and a learned man, and he took the title of Imam when he was appointed the head of the Muslim community in Kete-Krachi.

Kete-Krachi was within the western boundary of the German colony of Togo when Imoru settled there. During most of the first decade of this century the German administrator at Kete-Krachi was a man named Adam Mischlich. He was a linguist, as well as a colonial administrator, and had arrived at his post with a knowledge of the Twi and Ga languages which he learned while he was a missionary on the lower Volta during the previous decade.

He chose to study the Hausa language in Kete-Krachi because of the presence of Imam Imoru who was a poet who wrote in both Arabic and Hausa, an educator, and an important figure in the Muslim communities of the Volta Basin. The Imam was his teacher during Mischlich's residence in Kete-Krachi, and Mischlich encouraged the Imam to write these accounts of Hausa society and culture. Mischlich describes how they came about in this passage:

> It wasn't difficult for Imam, upon my suggestion, to write down all these descriptions. He came continually under my guidance (sic) and wrote about all the culture and handicrafts which I specified to him. Often he came daily to the station on horseback. We then talked together about the work in progress. Without my suggestions, this essay would never have been written down.[1]

Perhaps we should temper Mischlich's self-serving statements by adding that while he suggested the essay, Imoru created it.

Imoru wrote the accounts in Hausa using the customary ajami script in which the Hausa language was written. Mischlich then transliterated them into Roman script and published them in Germany over a forty year period. The first accounts appeared as three articles in three issues of the publication Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen between 1907-1909,[2] while Mischlich was still in Togo. He returned to Germany around the beginning of World War I and published the rest of the material in 1942 in his book, Über die Kulturen im Mittel-Sudan.[3]

All four of these publications have the Hausa text in Roman script along with the German translations. The Hausa texts total 224 pages.[4] The three early translations into German by Mischlich are literal, while the translations in his book are "free," and not at all literal. He provides no introduction or commentary in the Mitteilungen des Seminars

für Orientalische Sprachen publications, and only a short four page introduction to his book. He tells nothing about Imoru in the journal articles, and devotes less than two pages to him in his book.

I have worked from the Hausa texts in all four publications, and I have tried to retain some of the original "flavor" by including important and interesting Hausa words and passages in my chapters. Hopefully these will be of interest to Hausa-speaking people in West Africa, and students of the Hausa language outside of West Africa. I have worked for clarity of expression and have tried to avoid ambiguity. I have also tried to stick as close as possible to a literal translation of Imoru's accounts. The Hausa texts as they appear in Mischlich's publications are often disjointed and I have rearranged them substantially for continuity. With the exception of one page[5] of irrelevant material on Maguzawa naming practices, which I have indicated in footnote 85 of Chapter 4, nothing has been deleted from the Hausa texts.

The reader will find Imam Imoru's accounts very comprehensive. They cover topics ranging from agriculture to industry, child-rearing to funeral services, slavery to kinship, religion to games of chance, and more. I have combined the material into eight chapters. With some minor changes, Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6 correspond to the arrangement of the Hausa texts in the three articles in Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen. Chapters 2, 7, and 8 are taken from the Hausa texts in Über die Kulturen im Mittel-Sudan. I have provided introductions and footnotes to all the chapters to set Imoru's accounts in a broad social and historical setting.

I would like to add that, while this was Imam Imoru's "monumental" work, he wrote a great deal more in Arabic and Hausa during his lifetime.

He was a distinguished poet and may have written as many as 120 poems.[6] They were written in both languages and distributed widely in the Muslim communities of the Volta Basin, in which Kete-Krachi was situated, and Hausaland. His poems were - and still are - read in solitude and sung in assembly, and they are remembered by many who are not part of the literate elite of Hausa society.

Recognition and appreciation of Imoru's role as a leading literary figure in West Africa was negligible outside the Muslim community until the early 1960's when research scholars at the University of Ghana's Institute of African Studies began to collect African source materials for writing African history.[7] Kete-Krachi was within the boundaries of modern Ghana and Imoru's students held leading positions in the Muslim communities throughout the nation. Through the combined determination of those individuals associated with the Institute of African Studies, and the interest, cooperation, and warm reception of those Ghanaian Muslims who had works of historical interest in their libraries, an impressive collection was deposited at the Institute. As the various materials were being cataloged,[8] it became apparent that the works of Imam Imoru were numerous and widespread in Ghana, and it was equally apparent that he had been overlooked, or neglected, by so many authors who had written histories of this region of West Africa.

With this in mind, the first chapter is devoted to Imoru's life and times, and a few brief selections from some of his representative works are included to convey an idea of the breadth on which he wrote. Following the biographical sketch are the translations of Imoru's description of Hausaland in the nineteenth century.

Footnotes to Introduction

1. Mischlich, Adam, "Über die Kulturen im Mittel-Sudan, viii.

2. _____, "Über Sitten und Gebrauche in Hausa," Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Jahrgang X, 1907, 155-181; ibid., Jahrgang XII, 1909, 215-274.

3. _____, "Über die Kulturen im Mittel-Sudan, Berlin: Reimer, 1942.

4. The journal articles total 165 pages of Hausa and German text in alternating lines. The book is divided into 123 pages of German text and 72 pages of Hausa text.

5. From mid-page to mid-page, pages 271-272, Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Jahrgang XII, 1909.

6. According to his only surviving son, Imam Abubakari Titibrika of Kete-Krachi.

7. Those most active in this effort were al-Hajji Boyo, Thomas Hodgkin, and Ivor Wilks.

8. Over 40 of Imoru's works were collected. See Wilks, I., "The Growth of Islamic learning in Ghana," Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, II, 4, 1963, 409-417; Hodgkin, T., "The Islamic Literary Tradition in Ghana," in Lewis, I. M., ed., Islam in Tropical Africa, 442-460, and Goody, J., Literacy in Traditional Societies, 242-243, 251-253.

Chapter 1

Imam Imoru

Imoru[1] was born in the Hausa manufacturing and commercial city of Kano in 1858.[2] His father's name was Abu Bakr bin 'Uthman and his occupation was that of a long distance trader. He was also a malam, but most of his time was spent trading between the Hausa city of Kano and the Gonja town of Salaga.

Gonja was 500 miles or more southwest of Hausaland, and Salaga was about 75 miles northwest of the site of the future town of Kete-Krachi. The trade route linking Hausaland with the Volta Basin was an old and well-travelled one. From Kano and other Hausa cities, the Hausa caravans moved out with manufactured goods to exchange for kola in the Salaga market. Kola is a stimulant, like coffee, and the Hausa people are very fond of it. Imoru makes it the topic of his poem, Mujmila Tanbul,[3] where he tells us that it relieves hunger, and is used socially for all occasions by all sectors of society. He concludes by saying: "If it weren't for kola, why would caravans go to Salaga?" The following Hausa proverb sums up the people's thinking: Gonja k'anwar hajji, daga bana she ba'di, "The journey to Gonja is sister to the pilgrimage to Mecca; you go one year and return the next." Indeed, the round-trip journey took a year and Gonja rivalled Mecca as a destination for Hausa travellers.

Abu Bakr had been born in the far western Hausa state of Kabi, but the Kabawa people were not known for their interest in long distance trading. The geography of Kabi was a bit different than that of the other Hausa states, and this difference determined the occupation

of the Kabawa. They lived near the river Kwara, or Niger, and the Kabi river flowed through their land. The pattern of rainfall and the contour of the land caused the rivers to flood the plains each year, but this was not a time of disaster for the people of Kabi. Rather, they made good use of the flood waters which formed marshes throughout their land. These still bodies of water became a source of livelihood for the people: in them they sowed and gathered their staple cereal which was rice; their basic source of protein, fish, came from them; and salt was taken from the marshes for use in the household and sale in the local markets.

Imoru calls the Kabawa the "marshworkers" of Hausaland. But Abu Bakr was one of those people who, because of their education, or interest in distant travel, or perhaps simply an interest in gaining wealth, left the provincial land of his birth and moved to the cosmopolitan city of Kano.

Kano was the wealthiest and most important manufacturing and commercial city in nineteenth century Hausaland. Trade routes radiated from it in all directions linking this center of industry with the markets and sources of raw materials in the nonindustrial countryside of the West African desert, savanna, and forest zones.

The stable population of Kano was around 30,000, but it swelled to twice that size in the dry season when the trade routes and markets were busiest.[4] The city was divided into quarters centered around the main market, and the whole city was ringed by a defensive wall about eleven miles in circumference. Imoru says that he lived near the lepers quarter in Kano and he was sent to school in the Magoga quarter.

Imoru's mother's name was Maimunatu. Abu Bakr had married her in

Kano as his second wife. His senior wife was the mother of Imoru's brother, Suley Binta, and two sisters, Ramatu Auta and Zainabu. Maimunatu had a second son three years after Imrou, and he was given the name of Indoli.

Imoru's early years were probably similar to the account he gives about childhood in Chapter 6. We know that as a child he was given the nickname 'Dan Goje, and at the customary age of two years he was weaned and sent to his paternal grandmother's house for the next five years. Imoru tells us that the relationship between a child and his grandmother is a close and warm one. He must have enjoyed playing the games Hausa children play, for he writes about them with humor. In particular he remembers that he and his friends had fun riding a billygoat which would romp with them!

At the age of seven he had a conversation with his father which had a great bearing on his subsequent life. Abu Bakr had just returned from Salaga and Imoru asked him: "Father, what do you want me to do when I grow up?" Abu Bakr said he would like for Imoru to follow his occupation of trading. Imoru replied: "No, I dreamed I saw a tall person - I don't know where he came from - and he started to teach me to read and write. I want to go to school to study so I can become a malam. Please, I beg you, send me to school!"[5]

While Abu Bakr was disappointed that his son did not want to follow his father's occupation, he was delighted that Imoru wanted to work towards the high-ranking position of malam and he agreed to send him to school in Kano.

The system of Muslim education at that time is well described in Chapter 6. Imoru spent the next five years learning to read and recite

the Qur'an, and write the Arabic language. During that time he attended class four days a week, Saturday through Tuesday. Wednesday was set aside for the students to gather fire wood for their teacher, and when not in class, the children worked for their teacher, as Imoru recalls, "just as if they were his servants."

Imoru completed reading the Qur'an when he was 12 years old. At this elementary level the students were taught to read the Qur'an, but were not taught the "deeper meaning," and while they were taught to read and write the language of the Qur'an, they were not taught to converse in Arabic, nor were they taught composition. Most students left school permanently at this state to follow their father's occupation, but those with the intellectual drive and financial means entered the system of advanced education which began with the makarantar litatafai, or "school of books." This was the beginning of "advanced school," or makarantar manya.

The subjects studied at the higher level were taught by scholars with established reputations. Students would go to the scholar and arrange to study with him and, upon completion of the course of study, would receive a certificate, ijaza, which authorized him to teach by linking him through his mentor with earlier scholars in the subject. The student might spend many years travelling from one scholar to another studying different subjects.

Imoru began advanced studies in 1870, immediately after he finished the elementary school. He continued these studies for the next twenty-one years, completing them in 1891. The general fields of study were Islamic religion, history, law, and the Arabic language.

There were a number of specific fields which he studied. One

religious subject was called tauhidi, the "divine oneness of God," which is the first pillar of Islam. Some of the most commonly read works on this subject in his time were written by members of the 'Dan Fodio family, the inspirational leaders of the reformation movement early in the nineteenth century. It was this dogma of monotheism which most clearly separated the Muslim community from the non-Muslim community of West Africa, as elsewhere in the Muslim world.

A second religious subject was called tafsiri, the science of interpreting the Qur'an. In this subject the student learns the meaning of the Qur'an through the commentaries written to explain the text, phrase by phrase, or word by word. Two of the most important works which Imoru studied in this field were Tafsir al-Jalalayn, completed by al-Suyuti (d. 1505), and al-Shifa' fi ta'rif huquq al-Mustafa by Qadi Iyad al-Sabti (d. 1191). Neither of these works are of West African authorship.

Imoru studied the subject called hadisi, which combines religious and historical scholarship. The subject materials are the narratives relating to the utterances and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions. These sayings and practices were gathered after his death and made into an elaborate system of traditions which acquired the force of law in Islamic society. The two outstanding collections which Imoru studied were both entitled al-Sahih; one was compiled by al-Bukhari (d. 870) and the other by Muslim (d. 875).

Imoru studied the Maliki code of law or fik'ihu, which was enforced through the Muslim courts of Hausaland. This school of jurisprudence had its origin in the Arabian city of Medine and receives its name from one of the Medine judges, Malik ibn Anas (d. 795), whose work,

al-Muwatta is a guide for Maliki legal decisions. It was supplemented with these texts in Imoru's time: Tuhfat al-hukkam, by Ibn 'Asim; Risala, by Ibn Abi Zaid; Mukhtasar by Khalil ibn Ishaq, and Mukhtasar by al-Akhardi. Imoru spent eight years studying these texts along with the popular commentary Irshad al-Salik by Ibn Askar.

Imoru developed a keen interest in the Arabic language which he studied for many years. He studied lugga, the words and vocabulary, and nahawu, the grammar and construction of the language. He considered the Maqamat by the medieval grammarian al-Hariri (d. 1122), a "jewel of the Arabic language."[6] He admired the pre-Islamic and Islamic poets. He displayed his admiration for the greatest of the pre-Islamic poets, Imru'l-Qays (d. 542), by translating his thirty-four odes into the Hausa language so they could reach a wider audience in Hausaland.[7] He wrote a tarbi'[8] on the poem, Kitab al-Zuhd wa'l-Wasiya,[9] which was written by the Prophet's son-in-law, Ali b. Ali Talib (d. 661), and another tarbi' on the famous poem, Qasidatu'l-Burda,[10] written by the medieval Islamic poet, al-Busiri (d. 1212). The former was published posthumously in Cairo.[11]

Historical studies were called tarihi and were an important part of the education of the learned class in Hausaland. An appreciation of the deep roots of this Islamic past was gained through a study of the pre-Islamic historical traditions, the tribal traditions of early Islam, the manner of collecting and verifying the Apostolic traditions, and through study of the life of the prophet and his military expeditions. Imoru also studied some of the broader types of historical narative or "universal histories" written during the 'Abbasid Caliphate, such as the works of Tabari (d. 923).

Muslim chronicles and histories of West African authorship were also studied and read. Imoru was familiar with many of the historical works of the ideologies of the reform movement in Hausaland, and he made it a point to record some of the oral histories of the Hausa and Fulani people and preserve them for subsequent generations.

Those were the fields which he studied at the advanced level under different malams in Hausaland. We don't know the names of most of his teachers. In his account of higher education in Chapter 6 he says it was common to begin with the less difficult books taught by the more inexperienced malams and work up to the more difficult books taught by the senior malams.

His first two years of advanced education in Kano (1870-72) were devoted to the study of tafsiri and historical studies. The following eleven years (1872-83) were devoted to religious studies and study of the Arabic language. During the period 1874-83, Imoru's teachers included his father and a malam named Alhaji Abu Bakr "who was a very respected malam in Kano."

Imoru occasionally took leave from his studies between the ages of seven and twenty-five to travel with his father to Salaga. Abu Bakr also took Indoli and Suley Binta, both of whom eventually became traders like their father. Imoru's interests, however, didn't seem to be those of the rest of his family according to a story commonly told about these early trips to Salaga. When they arrived in Salaga and the father asked his sons to go out and collect grass for the pack animals, Imoru would sneak off and read books with the malams of that town!

Abu Bakr died in Kano in 1883. Imoru was twenty-five years old and decided to move to Sokoto, where he arrived in time to witness the

investiture of Sarkin Kano, Muhammad Bello, that year. Sokoto and Gwandu were the twin capitals of the Fulani empire in Hausaland and they were centers of learning. Imoru spent the period 1883-1891 studying in the towns of this region - Sokoto, Gwandu, Argungu - except for a period of approximately twenty months when he travelled west to the lands of Zabarma, Songhai, Dandi, Gurma, Moshi, and Gurunshi.[12] All were linked to Hausaland, or the Volta Basin, by trade routes.

Imoru completed his studies in Hausaland in 1891 when he was 33 years old. His teacher, Sheiki 'Uthman, told him, "You are a very learned man and it is time that you go and teach."[13] Imoru was also well traveled in the regions west of Hausaland, and his brothers and one sister had settled in Salaga, so it is not surprising that he chose to go to that region to make a start. As he prepared to leave Hausaland in late 1891, his mentor remarked, "A light is going into the darkness."[14]

The caravan journey to Salaga took five months. The interesting details of caravan organization and travel are described by Imoru in Chapter 8. The caravans were large, anywhere from a hundred to a thousand travellers, and regular stops were made along the way. There were a number of routes which could be travelled, and the choice was determined by political conditions along each of them. Imoru's route seems to have been indirect, for he travelled south to Nupe and then slightly northwest through Bornu, and Bariba, to Sansanne Mango, and then south through Yendi to Salaga.[15]

Imoru knew that the Volta Basin was quite different from the land of his birth and education. Hausaland was a large empire unified on the basis of a reformed Islamic creed. In contrast, the Volta Basin

was a region of small states, and some stateless societies, where Islam did not have a strong hold. What success it had made was through compromise rather than reform.[16]

The Hausa were also a minority in the Volta Basin, and even when settled with fellow Muslims, they were often set apart from the non-Muslims in a twin town, or Zongo settlement. A third difference was that the Hausas were traders, often transient, residing in a land of farmers.

In addition to these ideological, occupational, and geographical differences between the Hausa minority and non-Hausa majority in the Volta Basin, there was a final factor which was absent from Imoru's life in Hausaland, but had a great effect upon it in the Volta Basin, and that was European imperialism. The institutions, society, and general way of life which Imoru describes in these chapters are those of Hausaland before the British conquest of that region at the beginning of the twentieth century. In contrast, Imoru never knew a year in the Volta Basin when the Europeans weren't either subduing the region or keeping it under European control.

Imoru arrived in Salaga at a time of rapid change which had been initiated by the Asante defeat at the hands of the British in 1874. To that point in the nineteenth century, the nation of Asante, with its capital at Kumasi, had dominated the region and provided the security required for the successful operation of markets, such as that at Salaga, which were under its domination. Asante had also ruled the peoples along the Volta. But the defeat of 1874 had altered the state of affairs in the region: during the next two decades the town of Salaga went into decline and the trade of the market was being slowly rerouted to new

markets to the west, such as Kintempo, and to the east, such as the market which developed at the new settlement of Kete, on the Volta, after 1880.

The situation in Salaga when Imoru arrived there around May 1892 made it impossible for him to settle permanently and teach. The town was on the brink of civil war when he arrived. There was a dispute over succession to the chieftaincy of Kpembe, the sister town of Salaga, which had developed a month earlier when Napo had taken office as the chief, or Kpembewura. The Kabacewure Issifa and his supporters contested this, but to no avail. The situation remained unresolved until December 1892 when civil war erupted and the Kabacewure Issifa, with the aid of the Dogomba from the north took power from Napo by driving him from office.

The second factor which had contributed to the tension at Salaga was the situation in the market place with the decline in trade. Imoru wrote about this disturbing situation in his poem, Tanbih al-ikhwan fi dhikr al-ahzan, and a few lines from it show his concern:

> (People) followed their whims, became corrupt, gathered money and were overproud.
>
> They abandoned the Sunna and the Jama'a, to adopt innovations and foolishness;
>
> they created enmity among themselves, hatred and distasteful cheating;
>
> they only cared for unbelievers, and feared only profligates.
>
> They glorified the heathens among them, to lead the believers astray....
>
> In their town there was much snatching: salt, meat, alum, and cowries (were taken) from the market; clothing likewise....

> (The rulers) acted so tyrannically in public
> that they made their village like a cadaver
> on which they sat like vultures.
>
> Had you seen them you would have taken them
> for cats and the village folk their mice.
>
> They shouted at every moment, abusing the Muslims
> and pushing them about.
>
> They gobbled up their property by force,
> for they were extremely oppressive.[17]

With these conditions prevailing in the market of Salaga and the leadership of Kpembe which controlled the market, Imoru chose to side with the insurgent Issifa who was the ultimate victor. The majority of the members of the Muslim community in Salaga, however, chose the status quo and when Napo was defeated they fled with his court to the developing Muslim center of trade, Kete, which was two days journey southeast on the Volta River.

The British, Germans, and their agents were actively engaged in using treaties and arms to gain control of this region of West Africa. Before Imoru's arrival in Salaga, the British had been moving inland to the west of the Volta and the Germans were moving north to the east of it. The two powers had declared Salaga a "neutral zone" in 1880, in order that both nations might benefit from trade with it, but was only a small part of the region and the rest was "up for grabs," and the Anglo-German rivalry for domination of the Volta Basin continued until the Germans were forced to withdraw during World War I.

The first European that Imoru met was the German explorer-trader-and linguist, G. A. Krause, in Salaga. Krause was not officially in the service of the German government, and was often at odds with it. While he supported that government in its struggle with the British

government, he seemed primarily interested in pursuing historical, linguistic, and botanical research in Africa. Krause once wrote the following which gives some indication of his politics: "I do not wish that the riches of Africa should serve to enrich Europeans who are already rich."

Krause was unusual in other respects. First, and foremost, he travelled unarmed. It seems fair to say that he came to live with the Africans, rather than to live off the Africans* Krause adopted the Hausa "way of life," for he spoke Hausa fluently, dressed in a Hausa riga, or gown, and took the name of Malam Musa. He was, indeed, interested in Hausa society, but we should also keep in mind Markov's conclusion about this type of European researcher in Africa;

> The German Africanists were generally of two different kinds: either they heartily supported German Imperialism and the colonial lobby, or they were research workers, apart from politics, so to speak neutrals in the struggle between the Colonialists and the Africans. To them Africa meant a source of raw material for their studies. They were interested in the Africans but by no means helpful to them. Their scientific results were rather used by the politicians for their own purposes.'-9

Imoru's younger brother, Indoli, was trading in Salaga when Imoru arrived from Hausa Land and Indoli subsequently introduced him to Krause. doth men must have been impressed: here was a Hausa scholar who spoke and wrote Arabic with ease and had a deep understanding of Hausa society and history, while Imoru must have been impressed with Krause's fluency in the Hausa language. Krause took advantage of Imoru's presence in Salaga after the civil war and pursued his study of the Hausa language, society, and institutions with Imoru for about a year before he departed from that town in August 1894.[20] This brief period of intellectual collaboration with a German research worker set a precedent which Imoru



IMAM IMORU
1858-1934

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1973

followed during the next decade in Kete-Krachi.

Imoru had not remained in Salaga after the civil war because of Krause. Rather, he had placed his hopes in the ability of Issifa to restore conditions there, and he hoped that the town would be rebuilt once more. Some of his former students and friends who had moved to Kete-Krachi tried to encourage him to come there, but as long as the court, relatives, and son of the deposed Kpembewura Napo were there, Imoru seemed to prefer to remain and teach in Salaga.

This situation was changed in May 1896, when the German, Count von Zech, marched on Salaga, burned the town, and then restored to the throne the son of the deposed Kpembewura. These actions seemed to have signalled the time for departure from Salaga, and Imoru moved to join his brothers and sister, and his friends, at Kete-Krachi.

The Muslim settlement at Kete-Krachi was less than two decades old when Imoru arrived there in 1896. Prior to 1880 there had only been the little settlement of Krachikrom which was the most important town in this region of the Guan-speaking Krachi people. Krachikrom was very important to the non-Muslim peoples of this region for it was the site of the Dente fetish. This was the most important animist shrine in this part of the Volta Basin and it drew people from neighboring lands.

The site of Krachikrom was ideal for trade. It was located on the east bank of the Volta River and traders could travel to it from the Gulf of Guinea by canoe. They could not pass it because of the rapids, and this meant the mode of transportation would have to be changed at Krachikrom and would be easier to control. But the Krachi people were farmers, not traders, and the potential had not been developed. Perhaps an even more important factor working against development of this route

prior to 1874 was the Asante domination of the region. The Asante capital of Kumasi was about 150 miles to the southwest, and it was not the policy of the Asante rulers to let trade routes develop on the periphery of the nation and draw trade away from the metropolitan areas.

The Asante defeat in 1874 changed all this. Trade in Salaga declined, and the Hausa and other Muslim merchants dispersed to other commercial centers, or formed new ones. The Hausas were prevented from entering Kumasi until the British occupation of 1896, so they settled in towns which were drawing the trade away from Salaga, or in lands which had been on the fringe of the Asante empire and were liberated from Asante domination in 1874.

The Hausas, and other Muslims, moved southwest from Salaga to the land of the Krachi people between 1874 and 1880. It was inconceivable that they would settle at Krachikrom. First, the Krachi people would never have permitted it for they were a homogeneous settled community which worshipped at a common shrine. In contrast, the newcomers were not Krachis, spoke a different language, pursued different occupations, were often transient as traders, and would never worship at their shrine. The two communities appeared to be incompatible.

The pursuit of trade by the Hausa people, however, encouraged them to remain nearby Krachikrom in the face of opposition from many of the people at Krachikrom. The traders settled two miles away from Krachikrom at a site called Kete. The Hausas say they were never concerned about spreading Islam into this region, for "the Krachis were lost."[21] This was, of course, a recognition of the strength of the Dente fetish in the region. The Hausa position was to co-exist to pursue trade; the Krachi position was to get the "strangers" out.

The history of these two neighboring, and opposed, communities during the period 1880-1894 was one of conflict. Europeans who travelled through the region in the 1880's wrote that the Hausas complained that the Krachis were restricting trade, and making it difficult for the new market - the first in the region - to prosper in Kete.[22] The Krachis wanted to be left alone.

We don't know what the outcome of this conflict would have been if the two communities had been left to resolve it themselves. At this point in West African history, such a continuing conflict could not, however, be resolved without outside interference. In the case of the dispute between the community of Kete and the community of Krachikrom, the outsiders were the Germans who settled the matter by force in November 1894. The person responsible for the settlement was Dr. Hans Gruner, leader of the Togo Hinterland Expedition. Since Gruner's actions permanently fixed the relationship between Kete and Krachikrom, and began two decades of German rule over them, it is worth while to consider his actions, and the consequences resulting from them, from the perspective of both the Hausa and Krachi people.

First, we will give the Hausa account:

> The Krachis had a yearly custom of weeding the path to the Dente fetish. It was during this festival that the Krachis entered the market in Kete and robbed and pillaged the Hausa and other traders. They also hit the chief butcher, Sarkin Fawa, on the head with a club. The Hausas resisted and a fight ensued. The priest of the Dente shrine, Dente Bosomfo, and his associate, Okra, decided that the Krachis would wage war against the Hausas and kill them. They planned to do it the following Saturday.
>
> Then the Hausas heard that the white man (Dr. Gruner) was coming. Ajamako from Accra was the only educated man in Kete and we begged him to write a letter to the white man. He did it and it was

taken by three people to Kpalime.

When the messengers reached Kpalime the white man had left. They found him at Hauri where he was going to make a war. He was told that Kete would be ruined in three days by Sarkin Turu (Dente Bosomfo) if he didn't come immediately. So he came immediately.

The white man prepared to sleep at Akurusu. The messengers told him not to and he moved on. He came to Apaso and was again told not to sleep there. He came to Otisu and was told not to sleep there. He came to Chantai and was told not to sleep there. The white man arrived in Kete at night and went to the leaders of the Hausa community, Audu Badi and Tsofo. He asked: "Where is Sarkin Turu?" They told him, "In Krachikrom." The white man went to Sarkin Turu's house, but didn't find him. He arrested his assistant, Okra, and then he went and arrested "small Okra." He took these two and sent them to Audu Badi's house where they were beaten. "Small Okra" cried in the night while being beaten, but the senior Okra didn't cry.

The white man asked senior Okra, "Where is Sarkin Turu?" The senior Okra said, "In his village." However, Sarkin Turu had been informed of the arrest of the two Okras and was told the white man was after him, so he crossed the river to Nkombi and then went to Kojoyombo.

The leader of the Krachi people, Sarkin Krachi, was called by the white man and asked where Sarkin Turu was. He told the white man, and the white man said, "You have three days to bring him to us." Sarkin Krachi replied to the white man: "I told him not to do anything and not to harm the Hausas in Kete, because we Krachis didn't have cloth, pepper, salt, or kola before the Hausas came, so we must leave them alone. But he refused to listen and said he would fight them. He sent people to close the roads to the north and south, so no Hausas could pass. I told him not to do it. He said he would never come to the side of the Hausas or the white man.

Sarkin Krachi then caught Sarkin Turu. He was brought to the white man who sent messengers to all the villages and told the Krachis to come to him. They came. The white man made preparations to execute Sarkin Turu and the senior Okra.

Sarkin Turu and Okra were forced to dig a hole from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. People watched them. I witnessed it. They were suffering. They had chains around their necks.

Then the white man said, "People of Krachi and Audu Badi, do you see them? They are finished today.

> They will be shot three times." The guns were prepared and then the white man said: "Fire! Fire! Fire!" The chains were removed and they were put in the hole and covered. Then the white man said: "Finished forever! There is no longer any quarrel between the Hausas and the Krachis." Then the white man went to Tsofo's house, and from that day there has never been a gun fight between the Krachis and Hausas.[23]

The Krachi version is as follows:

> The then Dente Bosomfo...whom the Germans met was Gyantrubi, popularly called Dade Kotokoi. He was so brave and bold...that the Germans found him to be difficult and therefore had to execute him with a firing squad....
>
> The then Dente Bosomfo...was of course not at all yielding to the colonization of the Germans. He abused the German administrator, Dr. Gruner, (by saying) that (Gruner had)...(a) mouth like a fish in the Volta known as 'Obori.' This aroused the temper of the German administrator who called for the arrest of this man, but he fled across the Volta to the Gyambae chief who was finding it difficult to stay under the rule of the Germans.
>
> The German soldiers went to the palace of this man at Krachikrom and misjudged that he was on (the) bed and...(shot) the bed, but...having discovered that Gyantrubi had escaped, he was chased to Nkomi on the west bank of the Volta and arrested.
>
> Holes were made in the large veins supporting the feet and chains were tied around the veins and the (Dente Bosomfo) was pulled and humiliated to the spot where he was executed.[24]

It was a brutal beginning for those that resisted. For the majority of the Krachi people who worked the land and worshipped at the local shrine, there was no need or place for the Europeans. They had resisted the Muslims, and they resisted the Europeans. The Muslims, on the other hand, were newcomers, an insecure minority interested in trade. The Europeans offered great trade prospects and security. Thus, the Hausas welcomed the Germans and looked forward to a period of commercial prosperity.

The Germans established their headquarters on a hill above the two settlements, and combined the names of Kete and Krachikrom, and people believe there were more reasons than Kete's larger size, for the Germans to have put the name of Kete first.

The size of Kete at this time, late 1894, was estimated to be some 2,000 dwellings.[25] Krachikrom had about 400.[26] The market was in Kete and was the center of activity. The German traveller, Heinrich Klose, passed through Kete-Krachi at that time and wrote the following about the busy marketplace:

> The market is the center of all business transactions. Around the marketplace stand stalls like the ones at home at the Christmas fair. They are square and covered with mats. All the goods a...heart could wish for are offered here. Besides the European materials from the coast, the most important articles are the Hausa cloths coming from inland. They are mostly precious robes made of blue and white cloth....Often one can see the busy Hausa tailor sewing his goods on the spot....The beautiful and strong blue and white striped African materials...are brought by the caravans from far Hausa lands....Local as well as imported cotton thread for spinning is offered in all stalls....Each stall has weapons to offer. Large Hausa swords with beautifully pressed leather scabbards are there as well as colourful war decorations with red tassles, spears, bushknives and bracelets made of wood, iron, or brass....The most beautiful (leather goods) come from the distant interior of the Hausa states.[27]

There were many more items, brought from, and taken to, the coast and interior, such as iron tools, ivory, rubber, salt, gold dust, and hides. The Hausa were building up a very strong trading center at Kete-Krachi, and it continued to dominate the trade network on this stretch of the Volta well into the twentieth century.

The Muslim community of Kete was very active, and its relationship with the Krachi people well defined, when Imoru arrived from Salaga in 1896. There were titled offices in Kete which had developed during the

1880's to handle political and religious affairs. Under the German administration their roles and authority were restricted, but they continued to handle affairs in the Muslim community. There was the political leader, Sarkin Zongo, and there was the religious leader, Imam, who led the community in Friday prayer and officiated at special celebrations and had many other responsibilities. There was also the position of Magajiya reserved for a woman who would handle many of the matters to do with women in the community.

Imoru arrived in Kete-Krachi to a mixed reception. Former students, friends, and relatives welcomed him. Others in the community did not know him and did not know of his arrival. We don't know the immediate reaction of Sarkin Zongo, Audu Badi, and the Imam Gado, but their feelings became apparent shortly. As Imoru began to teach and his home became a center of intellectual activity in the community, both the Sarkin Zongo and the Imam were envious and became hostile.

A few years after Imoru's arrival, Audu Badi was also at odds with the German administration, was jailed, denied his former position of Sarkin Zongo, and then died. One member of the community remembers the sequence of events which include the antagonistic relationship between Audu Badi and Imoru:

> Audu Badi was jealous of Imoru because he was a learned man, and Audu Badi was only a trader. He didn't want Imoru to stay in Kete-Krachi. People were coming to study under Imoru and Audu Badi wouldn't talk to him. The community split into supporters of Imoru and supporters of Audu Badi. One day Audu Badi went to Imoru and said he would jail him. Imoru replied that Audu Badi would then be jailed in heaven!
>
> At this time the Germans said there must be no buying and selling of slaves in Kete-Krachi and all of the slaves must be set free. Audu Badi had slaves and kept them in his house, in spite of the German law. The Germans found out about this and their head man

called Audu Badi into his office. Audu Badi went and was followed by his people.

The Germans told Audu Badi to sit apart from his people. The German told Audu Badi: "I will put you in jail for six months." He put Audu Badi in jail. The people were sent home.

While Audu Badi was in jail, Imoru took some money and a gown to the German administrator and said it was for Audu Badi.

When Audu Badi came out six months later, he was no longer Sarkin Zongo. He made some more trouble and then died. After he was buried, Imoru came and stood on his grave and said: "God will not be compassionate with Audu Badi! Munkara and Nakiri, ask him about everything he did in this world! Ask him daily! Don't stop!"[28]

Imoru still did not hold office after the death of Audu Badi, but the new Sarkin Zongo, Issa Laula, had been one of Imoru's students and it seemed only a matter of time. Imam Gado was stubborn, and the story is told that it was, once again, a German who resolved the differences. This time, however, the method was different.

Adam Mischlich was new to the German administration in Kete-Krachi around 1900, but he had spent much of the previous decade in the Volta Basin, south of Kete-Krachi, as a protestant missionary. He had met G. A. Krause on the coast in 1890,[29] and had now left his mission work to take up work in the German administration of Kete-Krachi which was one of the more important stations in their colony of Togo.

Mischlich had done linguistic and anthropological work prior to his arrival in Kete-Krachi, and he appears to have arrived with the intention of devoting his research interests to a study of the Hausa language and culture. These interests are what brought him in contact with Imoru, for Mischlich arrived at the time that the community was divided over who was to be the Imam. Mischlich resolved the dispute by bringing out a copy of the famous Arabic dictionary, Qamus by Firuzabadi (d. 1414), and asking each man to read from it.[30] It was

quite clear Imoru was more learned than Gado, so Mischlich consulted with Issa Laula, and other Hausas, and the position was given to Imoru.

There is another Hausa version of this event which is worth re-telling at this point:

> The German headquarters in Berlin sent Qamus to the administrator in Kete-Krachi, and said that the person who is able to read it would be the head of all the malams in Kete-Krachi. The administrator got all the malams together, but they couldn't read it. Then someone said, "There is only one malam in town who hasn't tried." The administrator said, "Bring him." When Imoru came he immediately recognized the book and began reading it. The German said he would like to learn from Imoru, and he was the first German to do so. Whenever they started reading they wouldn't stop until 12 noon. When they were reading, the German administrator would write down everything. He read lots of books with Imoru, including the Risala.
>
> Then he said that he would send what he had learned to the leader of the Germans and tell him about it. When the Germans read what the administrator had learned from Imoru, they stood up and took their hats off. They sent him a staff and he was promoted to be head of the malams. The name of the administrator was Adamu.[31]

While some Hausa people remember Adam Mischlich by the Hausa name Adamu, others remember him as Mai Bakin Gemu, or "the black-bearded one," for Mischlich did, indeed, grow a long black beard. During the first decade of the 20th century, Mischlich spent a great amount of time studying under Imoru while he was in Kete-Krachi. He remembered the experience in the following terms:

> My principal informant (sic) was for many years the intelligent and very gifted Imam Umoru (Imoru) from Kano, who having travelled through Hausaland and the Sudan, lived in Salaga, and had finally come to Kete, in Togo....He knew the entire Koran by heart and spoke Arabic easily. He didn't understand German or English, so we communicated with each other in Hausa. He was in possession of a very well stocked library, with many commentaries on the Koran, among them voluminous works such as those of Imam Mohamma Jibinu, Mariri, Mohamma Jibinu Samaili, the Kamus (Quamus), Tabari, Turmuzi, etc., besides the Ataura

> (Old Testament) and Linsili (Four Gospels). These last two Arabic works served only for debate.... Imam Umaru had seen and come to know a great part of Africa, had broadened extraordinarily his intellectual horizon, and could give any information on any matter. He knew very exactly the history of his country....[32]

It seems strange that, after having studied so long under Imoru, Mischlich would have failed to keep in touch with him after Kete-Krachi became part of the Gold Coast at the beginning of World War I and Mischlich returned to Germany. The ephemeral nature of their relationship is highlighted by the following quote from Mischlich:

> After we conversed together for many years, often daily, and he was my chief informant (sic) for research on the Hausa language, I finally went with him to Misahöhe in Middle Togo, where I administered the regional office. He was also here a great help to me in the continuation of my research on Mohammedan customs. From Misahöhe he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Since then, I have heard nothing more from him and have lost all trace of him. It appears that he disappeared on this danger-filled trip.[33]

Mischlich was far from the truth, for Imoru lived another twenty years in Kete-Krachi, and his home - which became his school - was the intellectual center for the Muslim community of this part of West Africa.

While the Europeans remembered Imoru for what he wrote and knew about Hausa society, the Hausa people remember him for what he wrote about the Europeans. During the period 1899-1904 Imoro wrote three poems about the European conquest of West Africa which was taking place during that period.[34] Here is how he describes their entry into West African society:

> I want to write a poem for my friends who are seeking news,
>
> who have woken up to see how the world is changing.

Those who are knowledgeable will benefit from what
I say,

while those who are ignorant will ignore it.

Those who argue and those who disbelieve are
ignored by me,

for I'm going to lay it out as God has instructed.

You who are experienced, listen, for you will know
what I mean.

The sun has come out from the west,
and has crossed all the regions of the world:

I want to tell you about the coming of the European.

It happened suddenly.

They came to us peacefully at first, speaking soft,
cool words which were palatable.

They said "We are here because of the market,
we have come to straighten things out:

to stop favoritism, and theft.

We will correct everything, and will listen to
those with complaints."

We didn't understand what they meant, for
we were ignorant of their ways.

They were tricking us,
feeding us tasty sweets.

We didn't know they came to rule us,
like those who ruled the world before.

They built their barracks,
and painted them different colors.

Shortly thereafter, they went back on what they
said, as God says in His speech.

Now they raised their flags in all the towns,
and the inhabitants became their servants and cooks.[35]

The most popular of his three compositions was called Nasara,

"Whiteman," for it was written in Hausa, rather than Arabic, and reached

a much wider audience. In it he describes the numerous military encounters between Europeans, with their superior weapons, and the Africans who resisted, or fled. Here are some of the encounters he describes.

> At first we are here in our land, our world;
> there were no Jews, there were no Christians.
>
> Soon it was said, "There is no kola," and people
> said there was warfare between the Asante and white-
> man.
>
> Still later it was said, "Oh Asante is finished!
> Their land, all of it, has been seized by the whiteman!"
>
> As time went on, people said, "Samory has come.
> He says that he will not run from the whiteman!
>
> He has his warriors and troops, and other things
> he will use against the whiteman."
>
> Oh, lies were being told by the people, for the
> whiteman was able to drive him from his town and
> seize it!
>
> Samory is seeking to lead, but he was behind,
> looking over his shoulder to see if the whiteman
> was coming!
>
> As time went on, Prempeh got the news. Prempeh
> heard of Malam Samory who hated the whiteman.
>
> Immediately he sent messengers to him: "Let us
> bring our heads together and route the whiteman!"
>
> But, the whiteman got wind of the news, and with
> cunningness seized Prempeh.
>
> Then they began to march on Samory: the French,
> the English, both whitemen.
>
> Then Samory found himself caught in their hands:
> caught, and taken to the town of the whiteman.
>
> Ahmadu of Segu was an important ruler. At Segu,
> the whiteman descended upon him.
>
> His brother, Akibu, was responsible for that,
> for he called the whiteman.
>
> Ahmadu was driven from the town, and went
> as Kabi, for he was angry having been driven out.

It was there that he died, may God bless his soul.

There was a brave man in the court of Sarkin Gurma,
who was rude to the whiteman.

He prepared his spear and planned to thrust;

how can you match the whiteman?

The gun was fired and he died immediately.

Oh, whiteman!

When they came to the land of Nupe,
our Abu Bakr refused to follow the whiteman.

It was there that he tried his best to kill one of them,
not knowing that it was dangerous to kill a whiteman.

Then they withdrew and prepared.

We will see that the coming of the whiteman
did not prove favorable to him.

Circumstances forced him to set out and leave
his home: he was running, being chased by the whitemen.

They were racing, Abu Bakr and the whitemen;
the whitemen were in pursuit, until they grabbed him.

It was in Lokoja that they caught him,
and it was there that he met his fate.

at the hands of the whiteman.

And in Zinder, Jinjiri made the costly mistake,
he killed a whiteman;

he caught hell, having killed the leader of
the French.

Sagarafa (whiteman) came at top speed with the soldiers;
Jinjiri confronted them;

there is destruction on meeting the whiteman.

It was there that Jinjiri was killed on the spot,
along with his people,

oh, cruel whiteman.

And then the whiteman ruled Zinder.

There is no talking back to the whiteman.[36]

Imoru had very little contact with Europeans after Mischlich departed and Kete-Krachi was incorporated into the British colony of the Gold Coast. Kete-Krachi was far from the major centers of European administration. Imoru spent most of his days at home teaching, and writing for the Muslim community.

Imoru taught all of the subjects which he had studied in Hausaland. Students came to learn more about the religion of Islam, study law, read history, and work on mastering the Arabic language. Imoru met with them in the morning and afternoon, and one of Imoru's typical days went like this:

3 a.m. - Rise and perform special prayers for one hour.

4 a.m. - Sit repeating "something" quietly, while fingering prayer beads.

5 a.m. - Go to the mosque and pray with the people. Return home at 5:30.

5:30 a.m. - Recite the Tijani wird until 6 a.m.

6 a.m. - Meet with the teachers who taught at the elementary level and discuss the program for the day. The children began arriving for elementary school about this time.

7 a.m. - Advanced students began arriving, and those reading the elementary books would begin at 7:30 and continue to 8:39 or 9. At 9, those reading the more difficult books would come in and stay until noon.

12 noon - Everybody leaves.

2 p.m. - Students return and stay until 5 p.m.

5 p.m. - He goes to his room.

6 p.m. - He comes out and prays, and then returns to his room.

8 p.m. - He comes out for the last prayer; has dinner, and goes to bed.[37]

Imoru would sit on mats placed on the floor, and his students would surround him. Depending on the occasion, the students would either read in unison after him, or recite one at a time. Imoru kept trace of the students' progress, and if a person missed class three days in succession, he would send a messenger to inquire about the student's whereabouts.

When Imoru was only 19 years old, he composed a work entitled Kitab al-sariha al-wariqa fi 'ilm al-wathiqa,[38] which was an Arabic letter writing manual. He wrote it at the request of friends in Kano who wanted outline letters they could follow in their correspondence. Imoru later used these as a teaching device in his Arabic classes in Kete-Krachi, and a brief examination of the content of this work shows some of the everyday problems which, it was hoped, a letter would resolve:

1) A letter requesting someone to buy and sell certain thing for you.

2) A reply acknowledging receipt of above letter, listing prices of things bought and sold.

3) A letter to a ruler, or a person with wealth, introduced with effusive praise, and frequent reminders that "God made some people rich and others poor," and concluding with a request for a gift or a loan.

4) A letter home to the faithful wife from the travelling husband who has heen delayed in his business venture, but reminding her that "my heart is with you," and telling her that he will soon return.

5) A letter home to the unfaithful wife who has been "fooling around" during her husband's absence, reminding her that "small things will become big things when I return," and the Qur'an says "Man is superior to woman."

6) A letter from wife to husband who is "fooling around" while away from home, telling him that she has made the matter public, and people agree that the marriage is dissolved, and she is now preparing to marry another.

7) A letter to someone with authority over you, informing him that your enemies have been lying to him and he shouldn't believe them, for "one hypocrite or liar can destroy a town!"

8) A list of 99 Arabic nouns which might appear in letters; this could be used for spelling when composing the letter, or identification when receiving the letter; the words range from "parrot" to "gunpowder," and the student penned in the Hausa equivalent.

Imoru wrote a second letter-writing manual in 1907 called Kitab Tarsil fihi Lugha,[39] which is similar in content. From this brief examination, we can imagine that there were some humorous sessions in the Arabic class!

Imoru drew students from as far off as the present day regions of Upper Volta and Nigeria, but most of them came from the Gold Coast Colony. His students were leaders in the Muslim communities of 40 or more towns, and he was especially close to those in the wealthy community of Kumasi.

Imoru travelled from Kete-Krachi from time to time. His most important trip was sometime between 1913 and 1918, when he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Contrary to Mischlich's account given earlier, Imoru made the trip by steamer from the Gold Coast.[40] He was accompanied by one of his wives, and his son, Muhammed Labbo. It is said that when Imoru left he was a member of the Qadiriyya brotherhood, but he changed to the Tijaniyya brotherhood in Mecca. There is no evidence, however, that the brotherhoods played a significant role in the Muslim communities to which Imoru was linked.[41]

Travels within the Volta Basin took him north to the land of Dagomba and Mamprussi, and at Gambara he castigated the backsliding Imam and subsequently wrote a popular poem about it.[42] He also wrote poems about impostors. One of these was the poem, Bi haqqi rabbi al-

wara,[43] in which he castigates the intruder into his classroom who poses as a more knowledgeable man than Imoru. This poem is very popular today. Another criticizes a person who poses as a reformer in the region.[44] Each of these poems was written for educational purposes.

On the lighter side, the people were fond of singing his poem called Talauci, "Poverty," which described the conditions of poverty and wealth in Hausa society. Here are a few lines to give a feeling of the variety of his works:

> This is a song in the Hausa language,
> which we begin in the name of God.
>
> Our purpose is to describe the characteristics
> of poverty;
>
> to enumerate the circumstances of the poor,
>
> and those of the rich, so all of you listen!
>
> Poverty is a black man with long matted hair,
> rounded shoulders, hunched back, and covered with sweat;
> having a stench, with eczema, a rancid odor and filth:
> a body odor akin to a smelly fish!
>
> A short neck and no nose;
>
> cheeks resembling the fruit of tumfafiya!
>
> If poverty follows a boy,
> it wears him out:
>
> it bends him, like a fishhook.
>
> If it follows an old man it will finish him off:
> he becomes emeciated, a shrivelled-up gourd, like a
> bowstring;
>
> he becomes confused, seriously affected, disoriented;
> with a garment of rags, and a small cap.
>
> As time passes, people say he has lost
> his presence of mind;
>
> he is delayed, abused,
> oh, the abuse of poverty!

If a self-respecting man becomes impoverished,
people call him immoral; but that is unfounded.

The poor man does not say a word at a gathering;
his advice is kept in his heart.

If he makes a statement on his own right,
they say to him, "Lies, we refuse to listen!"

They muddle up his statements, mix-up what he says;
he is considered foolish, the object of laughter.[45]

As the religious and moral leader of the Muslim community of Kete-Krachi, and all those other towns that were tied to his through his students, his admonitions were regularly recited by the people. The most popular of these was Mun Gode Uban Giji, in which he calls for the people to live an upright life, for this is a transient world, and one must account for his deeds upon death. Here is a bit of it:

Now listen people, as I address you,

for I am a humble student, not a teacher
superior to others.

Friends, take my advice, and fear the Almighty
who has created up all.

Repent! Stop committing adultery, and telling lies.

Stop injuring others, and destroying property.

Stop being mischievous; stop playing games of chance;
stop cheating.

Stop gambling with cards; stop informing on others;

Stop trying to outdo others, belittling them, and
injuring them.

Stop abusing your fellows!

Fear the day that death will find you,
for you will go alone, unaccompanied.

The illness has become serious,
where is the remedy?

People will hold you,
and relatives gather around you.

They say this and that,
and "we hope you will recover."

They bring medicine,
dissolve it in water.

They give it to you to drink,
hoping you will recover.

Even if all the medicine in this world
were dissolved,

and given to you to drink;

by God, on that day you will see death!

Your eyes will roll,
life is ready to leave you;

those you love can only say goodbye!

Some will be reciting sallati,
others will cry.

The men will keep on saying, "The will
of the Creator."

They will say, "Be calm, oh this wretched world!"

The power of God bypasses no soul.[46]

Imoru died in 1934. He had just completed building a new mosque to replace the old one which was destroyed by rain. Students had been invited to attend the opening. He passed away in the arms of one of his students, having recited the Qur'an for the previous fifteen minutes, on the Friday the first worship service was to be held. He was buried in the mosque which he had just completed.

Shortly thereafter, one of his students wrote the following lines in his memory:

God created the sun and the moon,
today the two have vanished.

Now, we have only the stars;
the stars which witnessed their departure.

So, I ask all the stars,
where has the sunshine gone?

We are told, our Shaikh Imoru has left us.

The grave where he lies is shining;
the light of God radiates from it.

He came into this world to teach us;
he has returned to the Creator whose light shines bright![47]

1. His given name was 'Umar, which often becomes Umaru, Omaru, or Imoru in Hausa society. After making the pilgrimage to Mecca he took the title of al-Hajj, and some European writers have chosen to call him al-Hajj 'Umar. However, his family, friends, and students called him Imam Imoru, and his son said he should be remembered by that name. I am grateful to Imam Abubakari Titibrika, who is Imoru's only surviving son, for much of the material in this chapter. Among Imoru's students who were particularly helpful with information are: the late Sarkin Zongo of Kete-Krachi, al-Hasan Biosommah, Imam Abbas of Accra, Ahmadu 'dan Limam, Malam Garba, and Malam Baba na Hananci of Kumasi, Malam Sha'ibu of Somanya, and Malam Muhammad Baba of New Tafo, Ghana. Also helpful was Matar Limam of Kumasi, who is the wife of Imoru's deceased brother, Indoli.

2. Imoru wrote a short autobiography of twelve pages for Mischlich in 1901-1902. Curiously, it has never been published. It is now in the possession of Dr. Heinz Sölken, Frankfort, Germany, who was Mischlich's student. Sölken used dates from it in his article, "Die Geschichte von Kabi nach Imam Imoru," Mitteilungen des Institut für Orientforschung, Band VII, 1959-1960, 123-162, and again in his "Zur Biographie des Imam 'Umaru von Kete-Kratyi," Africana Marburgensia, III, 2, 1970, 24-30. I have used the dates published by Sölken for the period to 1901-1902. However, the Hausa people used the Muslim calendar and Sölken only gives the Christian year. Therefore, the dates I use according to the Christian calendar may vary one year in each case; however, they are approximately correct.

3. National Archives of Kaduna, Nigeria, item no. 65. All translations of Imoru's poems are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

4. Estimates in Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, I, 509.

5. Imam Abubakari Titibrika.

6. Imam Abubakari Titibrika.

7. In Rattray, R. S., "Hausa Poetry," in Evans-Pritchard, E. E., Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman, 255-265.

8. Literally "to square," a systematic method of elaborating upon a poem.

9. Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana, IASAR/16(iv).

10. Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana, IASAR/122.

11. In al-Qasa'id al-'Ashariya, 178-196.

12. Sölken, H., "Zur Biographie...," 26.

13. Imam Abubakari Titibrika.

14. Imam Abubakari Titibrika.

15. Sölken, H., "Zur Biographie...," 26.

16. For a comprehensive account of Islam in this region see Levtzion, N., Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa.

17. Translated by B. G. Martin in Braimah, J. A., and J. R. Goody, Salaga: The Struggle for Power, 200-201.

18. Markov, P., and J. Sebold, "Gottlob Adolf Krause," Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, 2, 537.

19. Markov, P., "West African History in German Archives," Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, 3, 604-605.

20. Sölken, H., "Zur Biographie...," 26.

21. The late Sarkin Zongo of Kete-Krachi, al-Hasan Biosomnah.

22. Capt. Lonsdale, 1882, cited in Levtzion, N., Muslims and Chiefs..., 38.

23. Malam Ndako, Kete-Krachi.

24. Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana, Traditions from the Krachi Area, I, IAS acc. no. JEK/7 - Gyamboae Nkomi Traditions.

25. Killick, Inge, Klose's Journey to Northern Ghana: 1894, 39.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., 34-35.

28. Ahmadu 'dan Limam, Kumasi.

29. Mischlich, A., Über die Kulturen..., VII.

30. Imam Abubakari Titibrika.

31. Malam Sha'ibu, Somanya.

32. Mischlich, A., Neue Märchen aus Afrika, i.

33. Mischlich, A., Über die Kulturen..., VII.

34. Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana, IASAR/3(1900/1901; IASAR/4(1899/1900); and IASAR 43(1903/1904).

35. Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana, IASAR/3.

36. Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana, IASAR/43.

37. Imam Abubakari Titibrika.

38. Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana, IASAR/313; published in al-Qasa'id al-'Ashariya, 197-212.

39. National Archives of Kaduna, Nigeria, item 10.

40. Malam Garba, Kumasi.

41. Imam Abbas of Accra.

42. Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana, IASAR/117.

43. Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana, IASAR/137.

44. Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana IASAR/135; see Goody, J., "Reform, renewal and resistance: a Mahdi in Northern Ghana," in Allen Christopher, and R. W. Johnson, eds., African Perspectives ..., 143-145.

45. Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana, IASAR/77;. There is a much shorter version of this poem collected at Lokoja and originally published by J. Schön in 1885, so either this is one of Imoru's earliest poems written in Hausaland, or it is his elaboration written on an older Hausa poem of the same name. See "Wakan Talauci," in Schön, J., Magana Hausa, 205-206.

46. Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana, IASAR/160.

47. Al-Hajji Muhammad Tetemo, in Institute of African Studies, Univ. of Ghana, IASAR/238.

Chapter 2

The Rural Economy

Seven years before Imoru was born in Kano, the German geographer, Heinrich Barth,[1] arrived in northern Hausaland after completing an eleven month journey across the Sahara desert which had begun on the shores of the Mediterranean. The cereal crops had been harvested, and it was the dry season. Coming off the hot infertile desert, Barth was impressed with the grasslands of Hausaland and he gave this description of the countryside a few days' march north of Katsina:

> The whole country, indeed, had a most interesting and cheerful appearance, villages and cornfields succeeding each other with only short intervals of thick underwood which contributed to give richer variety to the whole landscape, while the ground was undulating, and might sometimes even be called hilly. We met a numerous herd of fine cattle...returning to their pasture-grounds after having been watered - the bulls all with the beautiful hump, and of fine, strong limbs, but of moderate size, and with small horns.[2]

An idyllic scene in rural Hausaland and, according to this most observant of European travellers, not an uncommon one. Barth then went east to Bornu from Katsina, only to return through Hausaland two years later on his way to Timbuktu in the west. This time he passed through Kabi, the land of Imoru's ancestors, and he gave this description of the rural economy in this most far-western of the Hausa states:

> There had been a very heavy thunder storm during the night, accompanied by a great abundance of rain....It was almost eleven o'clock (a.m.) when we...entered the open fields, where the crop was already shooting forth. Keeping alone the rocks ground bordering the valley on the north side, we soon had a specimen of the swamps which during (this) rainy season are formed in (the) deep valleys of Kebbi, while we beheld here also extensive rice-grounds, the first which I saw under actual cultivation....A trick frequented by the

> elephant, of which for a long time I had seen no traces, led through the rich pasture-ground to the edge of the water. Almost the whole cultivation along this fertile but swampy valley consisted of rice....The crop of... corn were here already three inches high, numbers of people being busily employed in the labors of the fields.... The pasture-grounds were full of cattle, and everything testified to the rich nature of the district....[3]

These observations on the state of agriculture and animal husbandry in Hausaland are among the first made by European travellers to that land in the nineteenth century.[4] They are impressive, and the reader develops a feeling that Barth is here talking about a people who have a rich and long heritage of working with domesticated plants and animals.

These impressions and observations of a transient, and perceptive European in Hausaland, are also of interest because they have titilated the imagination of many readers and now we have a new source, an African source--a man of the Hausa people--who wrote about the same period and same country with more detail and knowledge of the life and ways of his people. What follows here is an account of the rural economy of Hausaland in the nineteenth century written by Imam Imoru.

Hausaland is situated in the savanna grasslands of West Africa. These grasslands are one of three vegetational zones which extend east and west, parallel with the equator, from the Atlantic across Africa to the Red Sea. To the south of the savanna is the forest zone and to the north is the desert zone of the Sahara.[5]

These three zones are created by differing amounts of rainfall. The coastal forest zone receives heavy annual rainfall, the savanna receives moderate annual rainfall, and the desert zone receives minimal rainfall. From the perspective of the Hausa farmer, the northern desert

doesn't favor the cultivation of the savanna crops and the southern forest receives too much moisture for the grassland cereals.

There are no firm barriers between any of these zones and there are gradations within each. For example, the annual rainfall in the southern savanna bordering the northern forest fringe is about 80 inches, while the rainfall in the northern savanna which gives way to the desert is about 16 inches.[6] The borders of these vegetational zones are points of transition: the forest crops phase out as one moves north from the coast to the savanna, and the savanna grasslands dry up as one moves north to the desert where cereals can only be cultivated in oases today. Neither the forest nor the desert has served as a barrier to the movement of savanna plants to similar climates outside the West African savanna or vice verse.

These neighboring zones have not been barriers to the movement of plants and animals in the past, nor have they been permanent. Today's zonation in West Africa was probably much the same 5,000 or 10,000 years ago, but there have been substantial changes in these zones in the past. Man in West Africa was at work - consciously or unconsciously - changing them himself, and his activities were in turn conditioned by the changes in vegetation brought about by changes in climatic factors. One theory on the origin of the present-day West African grasslands is of interest here:

> The French botanist Aubreville believes that all the areas now occupied by (the southern and central regions of the savanna) were originally occupied by a relatively dense type of dry forest with little grass except in clearings. This forest existed for some time in a state of disequilibrium with the climate, until man and his fire appeared, when it was quickly destroyed. The only species that persisted were the relatively fire resistant trees and the grasses. These formed the savanna regions of today,

> which can thus be regarded as a relatively recent... type of vegetation.[7]

Aubreville assigns man a key role in creating this savanna grassland, but changing climatic factors, such as rainfall, have also been at work in the not too distant past as noted by the botanist Lawson:

> ...(while) the desert has been deeply penetrated from the north by species with mediterranean or even more northerly affinities, at least three invasions of the Sahara region from the tropics appear to have taken place....There is no reason to believe that invasions from the north could not have taken place simultaneously from the south. Zeuner, in fact, pointed out the likelihood of this happening and of the desert being squeezed out between mediterranean and tropical conditions, and subsequent evidence has tended to confirm this view. What Moreau has called the 'marching and counter-marching' of plant and animal communities backwards and forwards across land which is now desert seems an inescapable conclusion.[8]

This conclusion, however, has escaped some archaeologists and prehistorians who have taken a very narrow approach to the study of vegetational zones and agricultural history. This approach explains the development of agriculture in Africa as the result of diffusion from the Near East. Writers like J. D. Clark[9] explain the "march" of agriculture into Africa from the cradle of "western civilization," for, to them, agriculture and cereal cultivation are synonymous. Once agriculture has "spread" to North Africa, it is "diffused" south across the Sahara which had an ideal climate for this purpose prior to 3000 B.C.

It was fashionable in the past to describe fundamental change in African socio-economic organization as a result of diffusion into Africa of new modes of organization presumably developed outside Africa. Agriculture - like "divine kingship," the state, etc. - has followed the same path into Africa according to the diffusionist "school of

thought."[10]

The important question to be answered by historians of the domestication of plants and animals in Africa is this: were the climatic, floral and human conditions appropriate for an independent transition from a food-gathering to a food-producing economy present in West Africa? It appears that the conditions were present, and we should pursue this possibility with vigor. We should even postulate the possibility of an important "countermarch" from Africa to regions outside this continent.

The sooner botany comes to the aid of archaeology, the better. Aubreville's account of the origin of the West African savanna makes the concept of diffusion absolutely unnecessary: the pre-savanna and the savanna of West Africa both nourished trees and grasses - in small patches or vast expanses - and this region of Africa would have been an ideal cradle for the independent development of agriculture.

This, of course, was the conclusion reached in 1959 by Murdock.[11] It was a bold statement, progressive for that time, and many diffusionists challenged aspects of the thesis[12] - and some of these aspects were, indeed, incorrect[13] - but none were able to successfully combat the central thesis which deserves to be quoted:

> It has hitherto escaped attention...that agriculture was independently developed...by the Negroes of West Africa. This was, moreover, a genuine invention, not a borrowing from another place. Furthermore, the assemblage of cultivated plants enobled from wild forms in Negro Africa ranks as one of four major agricultural complexes evolved in the entire course of human history. Interestingly enough, the innovators have belonged to four distinct races. Along with the Caucasoids who developed the Southwest Asian complex, the Mongoloids who achieved the Southeast Asian complex, and the American Indians who elaborated the Middle American complex, we must now align the West African

Negroes as one of mankind's creative benefactors.[14]

It is the inability of archaeology to successfully handle the problem of the early domestication of plants other than cereal crops[15] that has forced us to set the approximate date of the sixth millennium B.C. for the early efforts at agriculture in West Africa.[16] The archaeologists, of course, concern themselves with the domestication of cereal crops. If, however, we look to other disciplines such as botany and geography, we find people such as Anderson and Sauer who are much more interested in the possibility that plant domestication might have preceded cereal domestication. Anderson's concept of "dawn gardens"[17] might be a fertile starting point, and Sauer makes it his central thesis that plants - e.g. tubers, vegetables, pumpkins, or other noncereal crops - were domesticated before cereal crops in the history of mankind.[18] Sauer also makes the following observation about the history of food crops in the western hemisphere:

> ...(there) were two major regions of plant and animal domestication. In the northern one crops were grown for their harvest of seeds by the planting and selection of seeds. From the Caribbean south, the dominant procedure was vegetative reproduction, planting pieces of stalks or roots....[19]

There are parallels with Africa - a northern center of grain domestication and a southern or central center of plant domestication - but what is not touched upon here - and this seems to be a key problem - are the past changes in climate and the zones like the present-day savanna which apparently were fertile for <u>both</u> plant and cereal domestication. In the opinion of this writer, the most fruitful thesis for the independent origins of West African agriculture would be that in this opportune environment man began by domesticating noncereal crops and these early efforts gave way - either because of increasing

knowledge or changing climate or for both reasons - to cereal cultivation based on summer rainfall West African wild grasses which had little in common with the winter rainfall grasses of the Fertile Crescent.

Two more points should be mentioned which weaken - if not demolish - the diffusion hypothesis. The apparently devastating blow to those who would argue for the introduction of cereal cultivation into Africa from Southwestern Asia where it was apparently first domesticated around the ninth millennium B.C.[20] is the recent evidence of much earlier efforts at experimenting with wild grasses on the continent of Africa itself. Frank Willett reports the following information in the Journal of African History:[21]

> It is difficult to tell how and when grain began to be cultivated in northern and western Africa. Wendorf, Said and Schild have described communities on the Upper Nile, in Egyptian and Sudanese Nubia, who were cultivating and grinding grain as a major part of their food already around 13,000 B.C., four millennia earlier than anywhere in the Near East.

This evidence appears to indicate, contrary to the belief of the diffusionists, that Africa's role in history was not to "receive rather than give," and agriculture - like "civilization" - was not bestowed on a people unaware of the domestic potential of the flora (and fauna) of the world in which they lived.

There are also writers who misrepresent Europe's contribution to the agricultural history of Africa. According to these writers, Europeans arrived on the shores of Africa in the 16th century to discover a people with few significant food crops. Hence, according to them, Europe introduced food crops from outside the continent which had a "revolutionary" effect on Africa, leading, presumably, to its development. It is not to be denied that the Africans - like the peoples

of Europe - have assembled their food complexes from every part of the world. But, there are two important points to be made about this claim. First, there appears to be no evidence whatsoever that Africa was wanting in food staples prior to the "coming of Europeans." There was no climatic zone in Africa in which Africans had not domesticated local flora and made it the basis of their livelihood prior to the 16th century. Second, it is very important to examine the European motive for introducing these food crops: was it to develop Africa? The answer is no, for these food crops were introduced solely to enable the European slavers to feed their "African cargo" during the middle passage from Africa to the plantations of the Americas. The food crops, then, were introduced to enable Europe to pursue its interests which lead to the underdevelopment of Africa.

Typical of the biased approach I have been talking about is Stamp:

> The slave trade conferred one lasting benefit on Africa. For the purpose of feeding the slaves herded together in the coastal barracoons awaiting shipment to the Americas and also for feeding the same slaves en route, the Europeans, especially the Portuguese, introduced many exotic food plants, since local foodstuffs were either too scarce or too perishable. In this way corn (maize), peanuts, manioc, sweet potatoes, coconuts, bananas, and cirrus fruits were introduced into Africa. The long-term results on African diets have been almost revolutionary as the introduction into the Americas by the Spaniards of such European animals as the horse and cattle or such grains as wheat.[22]

The reason the Portuguese bestowed food crops upon the coastal Africans is not in question - they had to keep the European slave trade alive - but it was most certainly not because West Africa - or any other region of Africa - was deficient in food crops. Nor, we might add, were these West African foods "mainly fruits, insects, rodents, Monitor lizards and fish," as Harrison Church would like us to believe.[23] And

let us get the origins of those crops Stamp says were introduced by the Portuguese into correct perspective: pollen analysis has shown that the lime was present in the Sahara 12,000 years ago;[24] if maize was introduced to Africa from the western hemisphere it may not have first been done by the Portuguese (or any other Europeans) for there is archaeological evidence which has been interpreted by some as indicating it was in Ife, Nigeria in 1100 A.D.,[25] and there are two other authorities who believe it to have been present in Africa before the Europeans;[26] Africans knew and cultivated the banana long before any Europeans touched West or East Africa.[27] We might suggest, on the basis of the foregoing, that Europe's role was not quite so "revolutionary."

There is a great need, therefore, to reexamine the works of those writers who concentrate on the diffusion and transmission into Africa of food crops,[28] thereby deemphasizing the role and ingenuity of the African farmer who was responsible for domesticating the major food crops of his continent. When reexamining these works, and laying the groundwork for new interpretations,[29] it might be best to begin with the modest proposal that the African roots of food crops are much deeper than many scholars have been willing to believe.

In the nineteenth century, the Hausa people called the wet season damana and the dry season rani. The break of the rains around May signalled the time to begin cereal agriculture. After sowing with the first rains, the millet was then harvested in the middle of the rainy season - around August - and the farmer went on to harvest the guineacorn, or sorghum, once the rains had come to an end around October and November.

The dry season continued for five or six months, culminating in a

period called bazara which was quite hot and uncomfortable until the break of the new rains cooled off the earth once more. Bazara was also the period of hunger, lokacin yunwa, when food could be scarce and there could be a great deal of human suffering.

The period of hunger has always been a problem for the Hausa people because it is caused by unpredictable rains resulting from the West African land formation. A regular rain-bearing southwesterly wind blows off the Gulf of Guinea and meets a dry northeasterly wind blowing off the Sahara. The point at which these two air streams meet is referred to as the intertropical front, and it is at this boundary that precipitation takes place. The intertropical front extends east-west vegetational zones.[30]

The intertropical front moves north and south across these zones where it spends more time over the forest than desert. When it moves north in April-May over the savanna, the flat land surface of this region - without outstanding mountain ranges - does not encourage the rains to break immediately and an irregular pattern of rainfall results over the grasslands.

Imoru does not refer to this period of hunger here, but he does talk about it in the chapter on Handicrafts where he tells us that grain is very expensive at that time. A present-day English economist, Polly Hill, has calculated that between 1847 and 1914, a span which covers Imoru's residence in Hausaland, there was a period of severe hunger, or famine, about every seven years.[31]

The rural economy which Imoru describes in this chapter is one of agriculture, animal husbandry, hunting and fishing. These were the day-to-day activities of the Hausa peasants - farmers, herdsmen, and

fishermen - who were the majority of the population. It was a stable rural economy which supported the producers and, as in other states of the past, was made to support the nonproducers - rulers, bureaucrats, priests, traders, and craftsmen - in the urban areas. It was upon this strong rural foundation of peasant cereal agriculture that the Hausa state was built by the urban dwellers of the distant past.

Through Imoru's descriptions of the agricultural practises of the Hausa farmer, we come to understand that the strength of the Hausa economy was centered in the practise of scientific agriculture which the Hausa peasant had developed through the ages: the recognition of grasses as indicators of fertile soil; consideration of soil types for better yields; regular weeding to increase crop yields; "mixed cropping" to make better use of the soil;[32] fallowing and modified forms of crop rotation to bring the soil back to life; the use of wood ash to improve soil often deficient in lime;[33] the use of animal manures to regenerate the fertility of the soil; careful selection of appropriate tools for the task at hand; and numerous other indicators which were the result of centuries of agricultural experimentation in the savanna grasslands. The nineteenth century was quite late in this long scale of time and Imoru was able to write about an impressive selection of plants which the peoples of the West African grasslands had domesticated.

He describes over twenty major food crops in this chapter and I have grouped them into the categories of cereals, root crops, legumes, fruits, and "others" which include cotton, indigo, shea butter, palm oil, and the shoots of the deleb palm. Cotton and indigo are discussed at greater length in the chapter on Handicrafts, and vegetables are described in the chapter on Household and Daily Life.

Since Hausaland is situated in the grasslands it is natural that their staple food would be domesticated grasses or cereals. Three indigenous cereals formed the basic grain crops: guineacorn (sorghum) and millet were most important while rice was a key crop for those people living in the region of Kabi and Sokoto. Imoru also mentions acca, a fourth cereal domesticated in the West African grasslands. The other cereals were preferred to acca, but the latter was useful because it grew in poor soils and some varieties were quick maturing.[34] It was frequently eaten in times of scarcity, hence its English name of "hungry rice."

Imoru includes an account of wheat which was a minor crop in Hausaland. It was indigenous to the winter rainfall region of North Africa and foreign to the summer rainfall region of the sub-Saharan savanna, hence it was the one cereal crop which required irrigation.[35] It was something of an "elitist" crop - being grown primarily for rulers and the wealthy - and the Hausa name of alkama, derived from the Arabic, reveals its northern origin in what was now the Muslim world.[36]

After the staple cereals, the root crops, or tubers, were the most important crops. The major savanna tubers were the coleus potatoes, yam, kokoyam, sweet potato, cassava, and the tigernut. These crops are the stable foods in the forest zone to the south, and could have been domesticated in either of these zones. The coleus potatoes are believed to have been domesticated in the savanna.[37] Yams are widespread in the tropics and West Africa was one of the many places they were probably domesticated.[38] The tigernut is said to be of North African origin.[39] Cassava was domesticated by the native Americans in northeastern South America, or the Amazon basin,[40] and the native

Americans are also credited with domesticating the sweet potato.[41]

The three legumes described by Imoru are beans (cowpeas), peanuts (groundnuts), and bambara nuts. The West African takes credit for domesticating the first (akin to the "lima bean" domesticated by the native Americans) and the last,[42] and the wild ancestors of the peanut were brought under man's control by the ever-resourceful native Americans.[43]

The evidence points, then, to a very strong core of indigenous West African domesticates which Murdock has chosen to call the Sudanic complex.[44] The person interested in the names of these crops in West African languages other than Hausa will profit by looking at J. M. Dalziel's admirable book, The Useful Plants of West Tropical Africa. Of course, Dalziel includes the Hausa names in his book too, as well as in his Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, but most readers interested in the Hausa names will be satisfied with the material written by Imoru. The reader of Dalziel's book cannot help but feel that a wealth of information about African food crops (and the equally impressive West African pharmacopoeia) can be retrieved from a proper study of the languages of the African peoples.[45]

In the accounts on animal husbandry we are told about cattle, sheep, goats, horses, and donkeys. The history of animal domestication in Africa is constantly being rewritten, and cattle is a case in point. Some European writers of the 1930's and 1940's - two of whom authored a paper "regarded...as the 'Old Testament' on African cattle types"[46] - were writing about shorthorned cattle being introduced to Africa by "invaders of Mediterranean stock," and then followed other invaders who introduced the "Hamitic Longhorn" type to Africa![47] By the late 1950's this association of cattle with invasions had been dropped, but we still

have respectable scholars like Murdock telling us that "African cattle represent varieties and crosses between two species...each of which entered the continent twice in different forms!"[48] In the early 1960's the archaeologist Desmond Clark told us that "...the evidence (does not) support the possibility of cattle domestication from one of the North African indigenous forms,[49] a position which he was compelled to modify by 1970 as evidenced in the following passage:

> Contrary to what is often said, both large (Bos primigenius) and small (Bos ibericus) species of wild cattle existed in North Africa since early in the Pleistocene so that it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that they may have been domesticated there.[50]

The donkey, cat, and guineafowl were domesticated in Africa,[51] and there is evidence from predynastic times in Egypt for what Clark says appears to be "experimental domestication of a number of different animals - gazelle, oryx, ibex, hyaena, and perhaps even the giraffe."[52] However, the records remain silent when questioned, "why did they stop these early efforts at domestication?"

Work now being done in historical linguistics and archaeology has put the study of animal domestication on a scientific footing. It is unclear at this point whether those interested in historical linguistics can provide us with firm dates about the origins of animal domestication in Africa, but recent work by Ehret has shown that the movement of cattle and sheep - and presumably other domesticates - can be traced from one African language family to another for a fairly early period.[53]

The archaeologists have been able to go deeper into the past and come up with firm dates for early periods. They have been able to date Saharan rock art depicting herds of domesticated cattle and sheep, and apparently goats, to a period of six to three millennia B.C.[54] If there

were no wild antecedents of these domesticates in West Africa, the Saharan pastoralists probably moved south to the grasslands of the West African savanna with the dessication of the Sahara which was complete about 3000 B.C.

The history of the horse in West Africa is less clear. From Imoru's account of horses in nineteenth century Hausaland found in this section and the chapter on the Social Structure, we learn that it was a highly valued animal. Fisher, in a recent survey of written documents dating back about 1000 years concludes that the horse was present in the West African grasslands before the first of the documents were written.[55] Once more, Saharan rock art gives us a clue, for two-wheeled chariots drawn by horses are present in this art work to remind us of the days they travelled from the Mediterranean shores to the Niger bend in West Africa a thousand years before the earliest written accounts in which Fisher referred.[56]

For the past five thousand years or more, the grasslands have been the most suitable West African habitat for these domesticates in West Africa. The alternating wet and dry seasons, and the tsetse fly belts which are most pronounced along wooded rivers and lakes, have imposed a pattern of transhumance on the pastoralists, most of whom are Bororo Fulani. This cycle of migrations within the savanna belt continues to this day and is described by de St. Croix as follows:

> The (annual) treks of the Cattle Fulani from the wet season grazing grounds to those of the dry season (are) part of the typical nomads grazing policy. The wet season grazing grounds are usually in the drier plains to the north, or in the upland areas....The wet season camps are left at the harvest season, when the greatest possible advantage is taken of putting cattle on to the farms from which corn and pulse crops have been recently harvested...(and) the southward

> movement to the dry season grazing areas is made slowly ....By the time the hot season has set in the cattle should have reached the area selected for grazing during that period, usually near one of the larger rivers or lakes....Soon after the first rains the trek (north) to the wet season grazing grounds is begun, following the spring of new grasses....[57]

Sheep are herded by the Uda Fulani who are inclined to keep further north than the cattle herdsmen. The rainfall pattern within the savanna once again seems to be responsible for this:

> In the wet season, in particular, sheep do not thrive well in the pastoral conditions favorable to cattle. Sheep mortality is high if they are exposed to heavy rainfall and dew and this is why the ideal wet season grazing zone for sheep is farther north than it is for cattle.[58]

Imoru's account of hunting requires no commentary, but his account of fishing is of special interest. Very little has been written about savanna fishermen, and recent work done on Northern Nigerian (Hausa) fisheries indicates the continuity of practices and fishing gear described by Imoru for the nineteenth century.[59] This recent work also enables us to place the fish of Hausaland in a much broader classification of some one hundred and fifty species,[60] which, as with plants and animals, enables us to do studies on evolution and adaptation of the West African fish.

The Hausa fishermen in the nineteenth century had access to at least a thousand miles of the rivers Niger and Benue, and more than that in creeks and tributaries. These sources, surprisingly, were not the main ones for the Hausa people and probably it was because of the composition of the soil in the areas from, and over, which they flowed. This is what has been said about these rivers:

> In general, the local rivers seem to be rather poor in fish stocks when compared to the Nile and some other

> African rivers. The beds of both main rivers and most of the tributaries are composed chiefly of coarse and pure white sand almost devoid of nutrients (unlike the Nile which has a bed of fertile black silt).[61]

The reason the Niger and Benue are deficient in these nutrients so necessary for a rich fish population has been suggested by the French agronomist Pierre Gourou[62] and is mentioned above: the tropical headwaters of these two rivers, and perhaps much of the ground over which they flow, is, unlike the highlands of Ethiopia and East Africa, deficient in these qualities.

The absence of this organic material in the main waterways has not, however, deterred the fish or fishermen from seeking better waters. In the case of Hausaland these were found in the marshes, or fadamas, to which the fish have adapted themselves and the fishermen their gear.

These flood plains around Imoru's homeland of Kabi and Sokoto are the primary source of fish for the Hausa people. The significance of these fisheries is explained this way:

> ...more important than these main channels (of the Benue and Niger) from a fisheries viewpoint is the large area of the flood plain which is inundated each year when the rivers rise as much as thirty feet in places. As the floods recede they leave thousands of perennial pools and swamps - fadamas they are termed in Nigeria - and in these fish are particularly abundant....Most fish spawn in these swamps and on the flood plains....[63]

In addition to telling us how these fish are caught, Imoru tells us which fish are caught. Upon further study we learn that many of them have adapted themselves to the precarious life in the marshes as indicated by the presence of air bladders, or accessory breathing organs, which enable the fish to breath for some time out of water. The following description of one of these types of fish, the mudfish or tarwada, is found in the government publication, Fish and Fisheries of Northern

> (in the 1940's) Welman...on a bright moonlight night, observed a school of (mudfish) cross from an isolated swamp to a river. To quote him: 'The shoal, which contained at least 30 fish, ranging from 1 to 2 feet in length, was led by an exceptionally large specimen fully 3 feet long and of distinctly lighter colour than the others. They wriggled through the grass with snake-like movements, from time to time uttering low grunts and croaks as the air was expelled from their swim-bladders or possibly from the lung-like reservoirs these fish possess. Moving in a closed column three or four feet abreast, those behind often overtook or crawled past or over those immediately in front, but none ever overtook the leader. The ground over which they passed, though slightly boggy, was entirely free of surface water, the short grass, still slightly wet from the evening's rain, alone served to keep their skins moist. It was difficult to estimate their actual speed, as individuals paused frequently to wave their barbels at passing companions, and several times the whole column stopped for a few moments, but they took nearly an hour to cross the 200 yards to the backwater. On reaching it, the large fish in the front led the shoal into the fringing sedge where they soon disappeared from view.
>
> This overland excursion took place at the end of the rainy season before the swamps had shown signs of drying up, but it was presumably made with the object of reaching permanent water, a precaution not altogether necessary for this air-breathing species.

One can imagine the variety of fish stories that must have been told over the ages!

Let us now join Imoru in the countryside of Hausaland to survey the grasses and select a site on which we will begin our work.

Farming - Ayukan gona

When a man is going to make a farm, gona, in Hausaland, he goes to an uncultivated area, jedi, and looks about until he finds a good site. He does not want a barren spot, tsandauri, nor does he want one that will flood in the wet season, fadama. He also keeps in mind the grass, ciyawa,[65] on the site. When they are good he will mark out the boundaries of the farm by surrounding it with thin strips of bark, or the fronds of the dum-palm, goriba,[66] tied to the trees. At this point it is said that a person has "seized a farm," ya kama gona, or he "seized an uncultivated area," ya kama jeji.

After that he goes with his relatives, iyalansa, quickly. If he has no relatives he will go alone with a big axe, gatari, used for chopping. He then chops down the big trees on the site. When this has been completed, it is said that a person has "chopped (the trees on) the uncultivated land," ya yi saran jeji. They don't say he has "chopped (the trees on) the farm," ya yi saran gona.

He leaves the trees to dry out and then he burns them up completely. The ash provides the fertilizer, taki, for the farm. The name of this work is "burning the bush," kunar jeji, and when the work is completed, it is said that he has "burned the bush," ya k'one jeji.

When the hot season, bazara, arrives, he goes to the site with his relatives, or alone when he doesn't have relatives, and takes a small hoe, fartanya. The name of this particular hoe is masasabi, and he uses it to hoe the grass. The work is called sasabe, and people say he is "clearing the grass."[67] He gathers them in heaps, tuli'tuli, and burns them. The ash serves as fertilizer.

Rain announces the time for sowing. The rain is called "rain

beginning the wet season," ruwan fad'uwar damana, and when it begins it is said, "today the wet season has started," yau damana ta fa'di. People remember this day to the extent that they say "this year the wet season started on such and such a day."

Then people go to the farms with a kind of thresher, susukake,[?] and a long handled hoe, sungumi, to prepare the ground for sowing. They don't do any work with the sungumi except prepare the ground by digging small holes in a row.[68]

When the cereals are being sown, one person, maisara, digs while another person, masuzuba, pours the seeds, iri, into the holes. After the seeds are in the holes, they push earth with their foot to cover the seeds, and they press on the ground with the sole of their foot. This is called "tramping the sown seed," takin shifka. When there are women and children assisting, the adult males dig while the women and children trample.

There are many towns in which this day for sowing is a festive occasion because in Hausaland the rain announcing the time for sowing falls on one day. All the people of each land travel five, six, or seven days, and then all sow on the same day.

On that day the ruler mounts his horse and rides with all his courtiers, slaves, wives, and young maid servants to his farm, gandu, where they sow the seeds as if it's a special ceremony. None of these people of the ruler's household sow their own farms until that of the ruler is completed. Then, any of these people who have no seeds ask the ruler for some, and he distributes them.

This is the way it is done in Kebi. It is also done like this in Zanfara except that the ruler, Sarkin Anka, does not go in person

for the sowing. The Caladima goes as the ruler's representative for work on the farm. Lesser rulers in Zangara, such as Sarkin Mafara, Sarkin Gumi, and Sarkin Zama, go to their farms in person.

There are very many towns where the ruler has a big farm. When it is going to be cleared, the common people, talakawa, gather from different towns and do the work because they beg cereals from him when there is famine. Likewise, the blind, makafi, and cripples, guragu, beg from him.

This is how sowing is done in Hausaland.

People sow guinea corn, dawa, bullrush millet, gero, and millet, maiwa, on the same day. Beans, wake, bambara nuts, kwaruru, peanuts, g'eda, tigernuts, aya, rice, shinkafa, indigo, baba, and the cereal grass called acca,[69] are sown afterwards.

Weeding - Noma

Weeding takes place when the hoe comes into contact with the root of the weed, and it is pulled to remove the weed. When it is done before sowing it is called "flinging away," koli, or "preparing the ground," kufurtu. This is not done everywhere, but when it is, cereals, hatsi, grow very quickly.

Throughout Hausaland they wait fourteen days after sowing before they begin weeding. The first weeding is called noman furi, a phrase which has its origin in noman cikin fari which means "weeding in the midst of a draught." This phrase is apropos because there is very little rain when this weeding is done. While weeding, they pull up the cereal by the roots, thinning it out, and leaving the cereal sprouts in groups of two or three. That way it grows faster.

They also pour manure on the farms in Hausaland: goat, donkey, and horse dung. In some towns people transport it to the farms in baskets, kwanduna, carried on their heads, but usually it is brought on donkeys loaded into bags called mangaloli which are made from the fronds of the dum-palm. The Hausa pour manure on farms which have been cultivated for a long time to enrich the soil.

Thirty days after the first weeding there is a second weeding called maimai, "repetition." After this second weeding, people in some lands do a type of weeding called fuda where they turn the soil and bury the weeds. It is done with a long implement with a wide-edged head called a garma. It's not considered to be a hoe although it is similar to one. It is said that the garma is the "burying mother," uwar rufi.

In some lands people do a third weeding called sasarya, and the cereal plant then produces its head, fida kai. In Zanfara, Kabi, Gobir, and Daura, they don't turn the soil and bury the weeds, but they do the third weeding. In Kano, Katsina, and Zaria, they turn the soil and bury the weeds, but they don't do the third weeding.

Weeding is the hardest part of farming. It is more difficult than the other activities: clearing, sasabe, sowing, shifka, harvesting, girbi, cutting of the heads, yanka, and tying it into bundles, 'dauri. Thus, it is said that "all the work of farming goes into the weeding."

There are two other types of weeding hoes in Hausaland. One is 'yar kuriga, "daughter of Kuriga," which is forged in the town of Kuriga. The other is kalme which is the Zangara type of hoe.

Weeding is done by men and their wives in some towns, but in other towns women do not do the weeding. In Zanfara, the malams' wives do not go to the farm, but the other married women weed on the farm. In

Kabi, married women do not weed their husbands' farms; they make their own farms. In many towns, only the slave women assist the men with the weeding.

Throughout Hausaland, people make ridges, kunya-kunya, in rows and sow the sees in them. People help each other make ridges while weeding. They start making the ridges together and he who is beaten is left to do his on his own while others start on new ones. People also make transversed ridges, kadada or gargare, when they stop weeding and pile earth at the boundary.

Girbi - Reaping

When the planted cereal grain germinates it is called "new sprout," sabon tsiro. About one month later, when it has begun to grow leaves, it is called "child," 'yabanya. After it has grown a bit, it is called "as high as a horse's chest," gaban dawaki, and when it is tall and mature enough to produce a head, it is called kashin bauna.

When it is about to produce a head, and it "closes its mouth," rufi baki, it is said the cereal is about to push forth its head, or it is "pregnant," 'daura ciki. When the head, zangarniya, appears they say it has actually produced its head. When it is "blossoming," fure, people say the cereal is producing bununi, for cereal pollen is called bununi. When it is producing grain, k'waya, it is said the cereal is "getting an eye," yana ido; they don't say "making grain." After that they say the cereal is ripening, muna, and then is ready to be reaped.

Harvest time is a joyous and festive occasion in Hausaland. While the weeding was done by a few men and many women, the men reap the cereal alone. Women do not go to reap the cereal; not even slave women are permitted to do it. When a man is alone, and has no family, he will reap the

cereal by himself.

The type of hoe used for reaping is called magirbi. It is short and has a very sharp cutting edge. The reaped cereal is arranged neatly in rows, sankace-sankace, where it is left for about seven days and then cut. This work is called "cutting the heads off the cereal," yakan hatsi. Women go where this work is being done, but the cutting is only done by men.

Women carry loads of the cut grain to an open place called fage where it is arranged on bark, or peeled hemp stalks, rama,[70] and then tied in one place into bundles. One bundle of cereal is called a dami.[71] This day, on which the cereal is tied, is an important one for the Hausa people and everybody knows that "today, so and so is tying his cereal." Lots of food is made for a feast and a great number of people - relatives, 'yanwa, and neighbors, makwabta - gather together to celebrate. When they finish tying the cereal they count the total number of bundles and everybody says, "today so and so has tied so many bundles." People from far away ask about it, and that's how it's done.

In one place a man farms 100 bundles, in another place a man farms 200 bundles, and in a third place he cannot produce this much. In Katsina there are certain towns where a man and his wife farm 400 bundles. In Zanfara there are certain towns where a man and his wife farm 500 bundles, for Zanfara is the leading cereal producer in Hausa-land.[72]

After the cereal has been tied in bundles, bins, rumbuna, are built for storing them. In some places these are made from matter reeds or grass, zanaki, and roofs are put on them. In other places they are made of clay and are styled after the flat-roofed house called kudanda,

and thatched grass, shifci, is put around them.[73]

There are small and large bins. Some hold 40 to 70 bundles, while others hold 100 to 500 bundles. There is one which holds 1,000 bundles, but a commoner doesn't need to build one this big; if his family produces 1,000 bundles it is said they have produced an unusually large amount of cereal.

I saw some bins in Talatar Mafara, Zanfara, which were said to store 2,000 bundles each, and they were for the rulers. In Zanfara I also saw certain rulers who farmed 7,000 bundles, and I heard it said that Galadima Anka's farm, gandu, produced 20,000 bundles.

After the tops are cut off in certain towns, they leave the stalks, kara, for the white ants, gara, which eat them and fertilize the soil. In other towns the stalks are gathered and taken home where they are used for fencing, shimge, and other things. In some towns they burn them after they dry and use the ash as fertilizer. Livestock also graze on them. In some places they leave the stalks and whoever likes can gather them, but in Kanoland, where there is no "bush" and firewood is scarce, the stalks are valuable and one does not touch those which do not belong to him. People sell these stalks in towns and villages for a high price.

Cereals

Guineacorn - Dawa[74]

In Kano, Zanfara, and Zazau, guineacorn, dawa, is the most common cereal crop. In Katsina, it is the most common cereal in some regions while bullrush millet, gero, is the most common in other regions. In Daura, bullrush millet is common and guineacorn is scarce.

Guineacorn and bullrush millet are sown on the same day. When the rain ceases they are nourished by the dew, ra'ba. The bullrush millet ripens after three months, and then it is reaped. Two months later, or five months after sowing, the guineacorn ripens and is reaped.

Tuwo, the staple food for most people in Hausaland, is made from guineacorn. In Zanfara, they also make fura, another staple, with it and they say it is healthier than fura made from bullrush millet. However, in Daura it is said that fura made from guineacorn causes eczema, while fura made from bullrush millet makes the skin smooth. In Kano and Katsina, they make fura from guineacorn and they make it from bullrush millet. In Kabi, they don't eat guineacorn at all; they grow it for horses!

There are different varieties of guineacorn:[75] farfara, kaura, malle, kanba, and jar-dawa. Farfara is the variety which is fed to livestock, although people make an inferior type of tuwo from it. Kaura is the best variety, and it is found in Kano, Katsina, Daura, Zazau, and Zanfara. Malle is a useless variety and is not often planted except in small quantities around the compound where it is reaped together with bullrush millet. Tuwo made from it is pure red in color. Kanba ripens in the hot season, rani, hence it is only sown near a marsh. Jar-dawa is similar to kaura and is common in Zanfara where they make tuwo and fura with it.

Bullrush millet - Gero[76]

People throughout Hausaland are very fond of bullrush millet, gero. That is why the Hausa call it Muhamman no hatsi which means "the Muhammed of cereals," and sarkin hatsi which means "the king of cereals."

There are different varieties of bullrush millet.[77] Zango has a long head, and it reaches a man's height. This variety is found in Daura. Zanfarwa does not get to be as tall as zango, but it is thicker and produces a lot of grain. Farmers say this variety has the best flavor, but the people of Daura disagree! The third variety is kuturi which has a short head yet produces a lot of grain.

Townsmen who farm have one farm behind the house for bullrush millet and another far away for guineacorn. They do this because bullrush millet grows best in a filthy place: one where refuge has been thrown, or it has been defiled with excrement, or where livestock are found lying and grazing. For this reason, bullrush millet is also called 'dan taki which means "fertilizer's son," and 'dan jigawa which means "son of the sandy waste!"

People in Hausaland devote a lot of attention to bullrush millet and they are always talking about how rapidly it grows. When it is planted with guineacorn and millet, it grows much faster than the other two. People watch for it to reach the height of a child, yabanya, and then the height of a horse's chest, gaban dawaki. It goes on like this until it produces a head and develops grain and ripens.

The first harvest activity is to pick the first ripened heads which are called tumu. The people go to the farm and look among the heads for those which are full with grain. They break them off and take them to the house where a fire is made. They are placed on the embers and when roasted they rub off the grains from the head and eat them a handfull at a time. Young and old, men and women, eat the tumu. Throughout Hausaland it is said, "people have begun to eat tumu," and it is a time for rejoicing, especially if there has been famine, for now

the hunger pangs begin to ease up.

After they have picked the tumu they return to break off shura. It is the inferior bullrush millet which has not produced much grain. They look for it, break it off, and take it home to dry. When it has dried they thresh it and eat it after the tumu.

After about two weeks have passed they reap the bullrush millet. This is a time of happiness throughout Hausaland, and everywhere it is picked at the same time: nobody starts before anybody else. This is called the harvest season for bullrush millet, kakar gero, and it is a time when food is plentiful.

When it is being tied in bundles, the poor quality bullrush mille - that which is not as tall as a child and does not have much grain - is removed. It is called bici and is piled up and then tied separately. A bundle is called daman bici.

Bullrush millet has no diseases, aibu, however both guineacorn and millet do.[78] Guineacorn suffers from bushi when the rains stop prematurely. It also gets a fungus called burtuntuna. Millet suffers from blight, domana. As a result, after the harvest is over, the poor, crippled, and elderly people in Hausaland can expect to glean guineacorn and millet, but not bullrush millet, because the millet is all healthy and therefore gathered by the farmer. People even chew bullrush millet grains to lessen hunger pangs.

War horses are fed bullrush millet, which is better for them than guineacorn, for it makes them strong and healthy.

Millet - Maiwa[79]

Not much millet, maiwa, is sown in Hausaland. But there is a

certain land west of Kabi called Arewa where they make all their food from millet. They have almost no guineacorn and just a little bullrush millet. The people of that land have tribal marks, shaushawa, like the Daurawa. It is said there are three types of tribal marks that are alike: those of the people of Arewa, Daura, and Isala.

Millet is sown at the same time as guineacorn and bullrush millet. In some towns people say millet and guineacorn ripen at the same time, bu millet actually ripens a bit earlier.

When the head appears on the millet plant it should not be touched by rain. When it produces pollen the rain removes it and the plant suffers from blight, domana, and it spoils. A person who eats food made from blighted millet becomes weak and cannot work. He appears to have drunk beer, giya, and becomes intoxicated!

Fura is not made with millet in Hausaland for it is said it is poisonous and one will get a severe stomach ache when he drinks it. I believe that a person is near death when he drinks ground millet which has not been cooked, but I have never seen a person die from drinking it. So, millet is first boiled and strained. Then potash, kanwa, is added. Tamarind is often added as a medicine for food poisoning. Then they make the porridge called kunu or koko.

There are two varieties of millet. One is maiwa and it has a long head like bullrush millet. The other is dauro and it is thick and has a short head.[80] Some people call dauro, maiwa, and that is not wrong.[81]

Rice - Shinkafa[82]

There are three water occupations, aikin ruwa, in Hausaland:

growing rice, aikin shinkafa; ferrying, fiton jirgi; and fishing, su.

When a person wants to grow rice, shinkafa, he hoes up the ground alongside a marsh, fadama, and scatters the seeds. This latter activity is called "scattering," watsi. The plants are watered by the marsh. Weeds grow up with the rice and when they become numerous the people enter the water to remove the weeds. This activity is called "removing," cira.

While the rice grows in water it is not completely covered by it. When it shows its head and has grain, the people enter the water and cut it with sickle, lauje. In some places boats called kwalolwalo, or bungubungu,[83] are made from the trunk of the deleb palm tree, giginya, to be used in harvesting the rice.

Kabi leads in rice production in Hausaland. In the regions of Hausaland where rice is the staple, fura, tuwo, and kunu are made with it. It is also cooked alone and eaten with butter and salt, or it is "cooked with everything," dafa duka: meat, salt, daudawa flavoring, onions and butter, and then it is eaten. A sweetmeat, nakiya, is made with ground rice fried in honey and butter, and then pounded and rolled into a ball. Rice is also cooked alone, rolled into balls, dipped into melted oil, and then sold as a small sweetmeat called tsala.

Wheat - Alkama[84]

Wheat is grown in Kano where it is plentiful, otherwise there is not much of it in Hausaland.

It is cultivated in a damp place like a marsh, fadama. The ground in the marsh is dug up and a bed is prepared so the wheat can be irrigated. The wheat is scattered, an watsa alkama, - people don't say

it is sown, an shifka alkama - and when it sprouts it is irrigated morning and night until it shows its head and begins to produce grain, ido, and they stop when it is about to ripen.

The ripe wheat is cut and stacked, kitila-kitila, and when it dries it is threshed, susuke, and slowly poured into large hide bags, tayuka. That is how wheat is grown and harvested in Hausaland.

The rulers in Hausaland eat a lot of food prepared from wheat flour, although wheat is not really a Hausa food. Yet, people are familiar with it, and prepare it different ways.

Small fried cakes, fankaso, are made by grinding the wheat into flour and mixing it with water. The mixture is flattened, dropped into boiling water and fried. It is made for rulers, and it is made to be sold to commoners. It is eaten with light soup, romo, honey, zuma, or alone.

Taliya, macaroni, is made with wheat flour mixed with water and kneaded into balls like the fura ball, dawo. It is then rolled into long strands of the diameter of a hen's intestine, or very thin like a worm. The latter is, indeed, called worm, tsutsa!

A small cake called gurasa is made from wheat flour mixed with tamarind, tsamiya, potash, k'anwa, and red pepper, barkono. A fire is built in a clay oven, tanderu, and extinguished when the oven is hot. The mixture is rolled into balls which are placed against the oven to fry. This is called tuyar gurasa, or "frying gurasa." It is eaten with light soup, honey, or alone. A similar wheaten food, fried the same way, is algaragis. The wheaten food called alkaki is prepared like tuwo.

Root Crops

Coleus potato - Rizga[85]

Rizga has no equal among plants in Hausaland. It is plentiful in Zazau, and it is found in Kano and Katsina. There is not much in Sokoto, Zanfara, or Kabi.

To grow it the earth is first hoed very well. Then small rizga tubers are planted and covered with leaves or grass until the rizga sprouts. As it grows the leaves rot and fertilize the plants. Rizga sends down roots like fingers; one stem will send down about 20 of them.

The rizga tuber is cooked and eaten. In Zazau they peel off the outer surface after it has cooked and then put it back into the pot. It is stirred, like tuwo, oil is added to it and it is eaten, but they don't do that in Kano.

Coleus potato - Tumuk'u[86]

The tumuk'u tuber is boiled and eaten like rizga. It is also prepared by removing the outer surface of the stem after boiling it and then combining it with light soup to eat. This is fairly tasty.

Mounds which are not as big as yam mounds are made in which to plant the tumuk'u root. It immediately grows and sends out roots that are round like a ball. These roots are not at all like those of rizga.

Tumuk'u is eaten very much in Hausaland where it is primarily a food for women and children.

Yam - Doya[87]

In Zaria there is a lot of yam, but that is the only place in Hausaland, with the exception of some regions of Kano, where it is still

called, in the old Kano language, rogon doya.[88]

To grow yams the grass is cleared from the land and mounds of earth, bunga, are piled up. The tuber is planted in the mound in the hot season, and when it sprouts it begins to creep. Sticks are driven into the mounds for the plant to climb on.

When the yam is planted, it sprouts and grows, whether or not there is rain, although it grows thicker when there is rain. The farmer waits until there is rain to dig it up because it will not produce its seed if it is uprooted when there is no rain. When it is dug up during the rain, the stem is put back into the mound and it produces a little tuber, saye, which is the seed which will be planted the next season.

Yam is either roasted or boiled. The latter is called busa. It is also peeled before boiling it, and then pounded, kneaded, and eaten with soup. It is called sakwara when prepared this way. When there is hunger or famine, it is charred on the surface, scraped, and then eaten. Yam is also used to make a small cake called dundunkwalo.

Kokoyam - Guaza[89]

If kokoyam, guaza, is not cooked with potash, k'anwa, it causes a great deal of skin irritation, k'aik'ayi, when eaten.[90] Thus, the Hausa people say that kokoyam is the "farm hyena which is not eaten unless cooked with potash to remove the acrid taste," guaza kural noma ba cin ki sai an birga. Kokoyam is cooked and eaten throughout Hausa-land; nothing else is done with it.

When they are going to plant kokoyams, they hoe up the ground and plant small kokoyams. Immediately they grow and produce very broad leaves. One root produces about 20 big round tubers which have hair-

like roots on the skin. A lot of kokoyam is eaten in Hausaland.

There are other tubers. Rogon daji,[91] is found growing wild and is eaten. Bakati[92] is similar to rogon daji. Maguraza[93] is eaten when there is a famine, as is kinciya,[94] but the latter kills people! It grows wild and is not cultivated. Rojiya[95] is another type of small tuber which has one big round root with water in it. It is dug up in the rainy season. When there is hunger or famine people dry it, pound it into powder, and make kunu with it. It is drunk to relieve the hunger pangs.

Sweet Potato - Dankali[96]

The sweet potato, dankali, is called kudaku in the Sokoto district. There is plenty of it in Hausaland and it is eaten regularly. It causes no harm unless a person has a bad stomach to begin with, and then it causes a stomach ache.

There are two kinds of sweet potato. Lawur is a fast growing white variety which people like very much. Jar dankali is the red variety, and the old Hausa sweet potato, for lawur came later.[97]

Sweet potatoes are planted in long mounds, fu'da, by sticking long sections of the sweet potato stalk in the mound: one stick is put on one side and another on the other side, for it is a creeper. It immediately sprouts and spreads very rapidly and produces roots.

Sweet potatoes are either boiled and eaten, or they are roasted and eaten. Sometimes a little sweet potato is put in fura to give it a pleasant flavor.

Cassava - Rogo[98]

Cassava is grown throughout Hausaland. That grown in Gandu is

the most palatable because of the sandy soil there.

To grow cassava a hole is dug in the ground. In it is placed a section of a stalk which has been cut up. It takes root and that's all that is done to it. It is planted after the cereal crops and harvested in the dry season ten months later.[99]

After it is harvested the rootstalk is scraped and dried. Then it is pounded into a white powder, garin rogo, and tuwo is made from it. It is also mixed with ground cereal, in times of cereal scarcity, to make tuwo. When there is hunger or famine in Hausaland, a vast amount of cassava is eaten to stave off hunger, but it is very expensive at that time.

There are two varieties of cassava.[100] One is called ganjigaga.[101] This variety is poisonous and a person nearly dies when he eats it cooked or roasted. It must first be soaked to draw out the poison,[102] and then it is dried and pounded to be used in powdered form. Tuwo made from ganjigaga which has been soaked is harmless. The second variety is maigari, and it is harmless when boiled or roasted and eaten.

Tigernut - Aya[103]

The tigernut, aya, is produced by grass of the same name. To grow the grass, sandy soil is thoroughly hoed, leaves are dumped on it, and the seeds are scattered on it the same way rice is scattered but not as far apart as the rice is scattered. As the grass grows it produces more seeds which are the tigernuts.

Tigernuts are not boiled and eaten. They are dried and eaten raw or they are roasted and eaten. They are also made into a sweetmeat called dak'uwa by roasting the nuts and grinding them into a

powder, to which butterfat is added, and this is kneaded. The Hausa people are very fond of this sweetmeat, and when going to battle it is included in the war provisions.

Legumes

Beans - Wake[104]

Beans are planted after the first weeding of the cereal crops.[105] When they blossom[106] people say it is "bean blossom time," lokacin furen wake, and when the plants begin to get pods, people pick and eat the young beans without cooking them.

When more pods are produced the beans are cooked in the shell before they dry. This type of bean is called jinbiri.

When the beans dry on the farm they are harvested and poured into a saimi, which is a receptacle made from stalks. The saimi is to beans what the dami, bundle, is to cereals.

After they have threshed the beans, they boil them, add salt, and eat them. Beans are also ground into flour and made into tuwo called tuwon wake. When there is hunger or famine, lots of food is made from bean flour: tubani, wasawasa, muimui, and gabda. Bean cakes are made by frying the bean flour in oil, and a favorite is a small round cake called masar wake.

Peanuts - Ge'da or gujiya[107]

In Kano, where peanuts are a major crop, they are called ge'da. In Zanfara they are called gujiya maigaba, and in Sokoto they are called gujiya. The people of Sokoto also call bambara nuts, kwaruru, by the same name gajerar gujiya which means "short peanut."

Peanuts are not planted at the same time as cereals.[108] Farmers

wait until the first weeding of the cereals has been completed and then plant them. They are planted in small holes in the ground, and they sprout after about one month. Many weeds grow up with the plants and weeding is done. After that the plant grows seeds, yaya, which develop into nuts, k'waya. Then they are gathered to cook and eat.[109]

The Hausa people are fond of peanuts and have many uses for them. Some of the new crop of unripened peanuts, 'danyar ge'da, are cooked and eaten without having first been dried. At this time of the harvest many houses don't make the customary tuwo for the evening meal: they cook peanuts and eat them instead.

The rest of the peanuts are harvested when they dry. People dig up the nuts with a hoe and pick them. This work of harvesting is called roro. After the harvest, poor people go to the farms to glean the left-overs. They get a lot of peanuts because they "hide" in the soil!

Before peanuts are eaten they are roasted in an earthenware vessel, kasko, which contains sand. These are called "roasted peanuts," soyayar ge'da. Dried peanuts are also cooked for eating, and burned for eating or preparing peanut oil, man ge'da or ruruwa.

When peanut oil is going to be made, the peanuts are shelled completely, because the oil is made with the nuts which are poured into an earthenware vessel, kwatarni. It rests on a three-cornered support over a fire which is fanned until the peanuts are burned and have turned black. They are then poured into a very large calabash, masaki, or another kwatarni vessel. When they cool they are mashed and put into a big pot, tukunya, which is shaken to and fro while boiling water is poured into it. The oil rises to the surface where it is skimmed and collected.

The peanut oil has many uses and a lot of it is made in Kano where it is plentiful. It is rubbed on skin to make it soft, and it is commonly used as lamp oil. Many foods are fried in it: waina, kosai, fankasau, and kulikuli. It is also added to certain foods: tubani, danbu, and fatefate. However, many people do not put it in their food, for it is believed that peanut oil added to hot food will cause leprosy, kuturta. I don't know if this is true or false.

People also remove the hard shell to pour the nuts into water to soak. After soaking them, they are roasted in a kasko vessel containing sand. After they are roasted, salt is sprinkled on them and they are eaten. If peanuts are eaten raw, without first being cooked or roasted, they cause a stomach ache.

Bambara Nuts - Kwaruru[110]

Bambara nuts, kwaruru, are not very useful. They are like a worthless peanut because they have no oil![111]

It is either dug up before it is ripe and cooked, sometimes with peanuts, and eaten. Or, they wait until the nut is dry, and the shell is removed and the nuts soaked. Then they are roasted in sand. After they are roasted they are broken up with a stone, salted, and eaten. Prepared this way they are called fashe.

Bambara nuts are also ground into a powder, fried in peanut oil, and sold to children as a cake called bakuru.

Fruit

Pawpaw - Gwanda[112]

There is the wild variety, gwandal daji,[113] and the domestic variety, gwandar gida. The latter is also called "Egyptian pawpaw,"

gwandar Masar.

The domestic pawpaw grows around the house. It grows by itself and it is also planted. The tree grows very tall, and the fruit falls easily when there is a wind. The fruit is round and has seeds which are thrown away.

Some people peel the unripened pawpaw and make soup with it. Usually people wait until it is ripe and they peel it to eat. This domestic variety is also peeled, cut up, and sold on a tray to children.

Wild pawpaw grows by itself in the wilderness and it bears the same fruit which is eaten a lot, especially when there is hunger or famine, at which time people go and pick it, eat it, or sell it.[114]

The Lime - Lemo[115]

The Hausa lime is very bitter and isn't eaten. There are many other uses for it. When women are going to apply henna to their body they mix it with lime juice. Women also stain their teeth with the lime, but it is more commonly done with the tobacco blossoms, fure,[116] as follows. The blossoms are picked and sold to women. The heads of the blossoms are snapped off, thrown away, and what remains is rubbed on the teeth which become red, then black. This is how they stain their teeth, cin fure, which literally means "eating the tobacco blossom."

Before the women stain their teeth they scrub them with sand until they are pure white. They also chew kola, preferably the hannun ruwa variety, or the shell of the bambara nut, before they apply the blossom. Women do this throughout Hausaland. No woman neglects to do it because it is a sign of beauty.

Lime juice is put in non-indigo dyes. It is also mixed with

water and used as a metal polish for brass trays, tasoshi, brass stirrups, likafu, bits, lizami, and copper and brass bangles, mundayen.

It is used as a medicine for an ulcer, gyanbo. It is cut, mixed with water, and rubbed on the ulcer. Although it burns, it is a very good medicine for ulcers. Lime juice is used as a remedy for the person who has eaten food which has caused his stomach to swell. Potash is added to the juice and it is drunk. It cures the swelling.

In Kano, limes are called 'dan Kabuga, "son of Kabuga," because a lot of lime trees grow at the city gate named Kabuga. However, there is no important cultivation of limes in Hausaland.

The citron, lemon masar,[117] which means "Egyptian lime," is found in small quantities in Kano, and it is pleasant tasting.

Other Crops

Cotton - Abduga[118]

Zanfara leads in cotton-production in Hausaland. It is followed by Zazau where two of the leading cotton-producing towns are Fatika and Kudan. Zanfara and Zazau produce more cotton than Kano, Katsina, and Daura.

Lots of cotton is traded over long distances in Hausaland. A good profit is made on the cotton transported from Zazau to Kano. It is either carried on the heads of porters, or the backs of donkeys. The raw cotton is stuffed into a big bag made from the fronds of the dum-palm. The bag is called tandali, but the people of Daura and Zanfara call it kindi. A porter can carry one and a donkey can carry two.

Clothing is made from cotton throughout Hausaland. Also, cotton

thread, zaren abduga, is combined with silk thread, farin alharin, to make a very expensive type of cloth, zanen tsamiya, or gown, rigan tsamiya. The source of the silk thread is the "seed," yayan tsamiya, made by a worm on the tamarind tree, tsamiya.[119] The "seed" is boiled and made into the white silk thread.

Cotton is always called abduga, whether it has just been planted, is growing, or is blossoming.[120] When it produces bolls, people say the cotton has produced its "fruit," yaya. When it is ripe, people say the "cotton has burst,"[121] and some people say "it is laughing." One man can plant a lot of cotton in Hausaland because the plant does not die quickly. It grows big enough to be climbed.

Picking cotton is called tabe, but the old Hausa name for picking cotton was ci. People would say ana cin abduga, meaning "cotton has been picked."

A cotton farm is called fage.

Indigo - Baba

There is a wild and domestic type of indigo, baba. The wild variety, talaki,[122] has a thick trunk which sends out creepers. The domestic variety, baban gida,[123] is the type liked by the Hausa people.

Indigo can be planted in the marshes when the water recedes. This is called tube. But indigo planted in ridges or mounds, fu'da, which are not in marshes is better. People plant the indigo seeds in the long mounds or ridges which they have prepared beforehand. When the indigo grows, it is cut and gathered into large piles called jibge, or kunkume.

The piles are left alone so the leaves can decompose and rot

from the trunk. The wood is then removed. The rotton leaves are sprinkled with water and pounded into small bits which are called "indigo bits," kantun baba, or "pounded indigo," cibrin baba. The discarded trunk doesn't die quickly: when the leaves are cut off new ones sprout, and when these new ones are cut off, still more come forth!

Some people do it differently. They cut the indigo plant and beat the wood to remove the leaves, and while they are still green they pound them up. The first method is preferable because the leaves have decomposed.

Kano has the best indigo in all of Hausaland. The Kano people grow vast amounts of it. That is why indigo is called "the wealth of Kano," dukiyar Kano. After Kano, there is the indigo of Zazau, Zanfar, and Katsina. Sakoto doesn't have much, so the people there go to Zanbara to buy it and take back to Sakoto. This indigo trade between Zanfara and Sakoto is a busy one. In the lands of Yaraba and Nufe, they only have the talaki variety and they dye with it.

Indigo seeds are ground into powder and mixed with ground cereals to make small quantities of food. It is very filling and many people can be fed with a small amount: an ordinary serving for five men, when made with indigo, will serve ten men.

A tooth medicine is made from indigo root. When a tooth is loose, the root is boiled and mixed with potash and warm water, and then gargled.

Shea-butter - Man ka'danya[124]

Shea nuts,[125] k'waral ka'danya, are used to make shea-butter, man ka'danya. The nuts are boiled and left to dry and then they are shelled and the seed is removed. It is then ground and roasted alone.

People say muruci is an aphrodisiac when prepared the following way. It is dried and pounded into a powder. This is mixed with salt, red pepper, barkono, the spice called cita, and another pepper called kinba. This mixture is then sprinkled on fatty meat which has been roasted but left rare. The meat is eaten as a medicine to make the penis strong!

Raw muruci will upset the stomach.

Animal Husbandry

Cattle - Shanu

Livestock, bisashe, is raised in Hausaland and some type can be found in each house. Cattle, shanu, is primarily raised by Baroro Fulani herdsmen, the Fulani of the countryside. They call their cattle rahaji, or dosa.

The Baroro women go to town to sell milk, nono, and butterfat, mai, and purchase cereals, bran, salt, and clothes. However, these people always live in the countryside, never in the town. They have no interests other than raising cattle. To this day they are commoners and do not care about holding office. They suffer in the same way that everybody suffers: when somebody wants to seize their cattle the Baroro are found "guilty" of an offense. When cattle destroy something in Hausaland, compensation is collected from the owner.

The Hausa have some cattle but not as much as the Fulani. You can find some Fulani cattle owners with 3,000 or more head of cattle, but it is a rare case when there is a Hausa cattle owner with more than five hundred or a thousand head. One of the exceptions was a Hausaman in Kanoland named Kyaushe. He lived in the time of Sarkin Kano Dabo

and the name of his town was Gora. It is said that he left 3,000 head of cattle when he died, and this is the truth. I have seen Kyaushe's 47 children with my own eyes. We have not heard of anyone who has left that many head of cattle after Kyaushe died.

There are some Fulani who don't have cattle. They are called "house Fulani," Filanin zaure, and they farm, sow, and do petty trading. They don't engage in long distance trading.

Cattle manure is highly prized for farming. Farmers give cattle owners money in the dry season to have them camp with the cattle on the farm for two or three months. This is what people are referring to when they say, "cattle have manured the farm of so-and-so,"shanu sun yi taki a gonar wane.

In the rainy season the cattle are grazed in the uncultivated countryside. When they go far away to graze, the herdsmen travel on horseback. In the dry season the cattle are grazed in the inhabited areas near the towns.

A herd of cattle is called a garke. Different cattle owners combine their cattle to make up a herd and they graze together. The place where they sleep is also called a garke. Cattle, except for the young ones, are tethered to a long rope called rande, or dangwali.

The calf is called maraki and the cow is called saniya. The bull is called sa, and the big bull which mates with the cow is called bijimi. The bull which has had his spermatic cords destroyed, or has been castrated, is called furtumi. A bull which has been trained to carry baggage is called takarkari, and I have never seen, nor heard of, a cow being trained to do this work. Cattle which have been grazed by butchers in order to put on a lot of weight are called turkaku.

There are different kinds of cattle. There is ceri [130] which has cream colored hair and gets very fat. There is djalli [131] which has a thin neck, very big lips, and a beautiful nose. Rahaji [132] are red and have huge horns. Kyataku, [133] which are also called muturu, [134] don't have a hump. And there is duku, [135] the cattle of the Kuluwa marsh, which are not very big, have speckled coats, and are numerous.

Milking - Tatsa

After a cow has been milked, tatsa, the milk, nono, is put in a big calabash and left overnight to separate. Then it is whisked with a whisking stick, and when it is well mixed, it is poured into a big gourd which the person then beats on the thigh. It is then poured into another large calabash and the butterfat, mai, rises to the surface and is skimmed off. The process is called "churning," tuguwa.

The butterfat is poured into a very large calabash. The cream, afari, with it is very tasty, but the Fulani do not drink it because they say it causes a fat stomach! Only their slaves drink it.

In Hausaland, people drink fura and gari with milk. But, the Hausa are not accustomed to drinking fresh milk, madara. When it is sour, it is called maitsami, or tsantsama.

The butterfat which has been removed from the milk is called man shanu, and people are fond of it. They cook with it and put it in soup and food. Women heat it and rub it in their hair when plaiting it. Some women don't bother to heat it before applying it, but this has an unpleasant odor. It is also rubbed on goatskin bags, burgamai, large hide oags, tayuka, leather wallets, zabiru, and shields, garkuwai. It is also mixed with medicines, magunguna.

It is also kneaded into balls, put in milk, and hawked in the market for 5 or 20 cowries. Others put the butterfat in a calabash until it's full and sell it as a whole. This is called danfare.

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Sheep - Raguna

The Uda are a Fulani people in Hausaland of very low status, k'ask'atatun Filani, who are shepherds. They might be called the "sheep Fulani," Filanin raguna, for both they and their sheep are called Uda. They have most of the sheep in Hausaland and it is not uncommon for one of them to have 5,000 or more. The Hausa have sheep, but not like this!

When the wet season arrives the Uda go to the uncultivated countryside to graze their sheep. When the wet season passes they return to the inhabited areas around the town. The Hausa graze their sheep around the house, and when the wet season arrives, the sheep are grazed on abandoned farms, sabra, under the care of young children. Shelters are made for the sheep in the wet season. There are also some towns where there are no hyenas and the sheep sleep in the markets.

When grazing, the rams are tethered to a peg so they won't copulate with the ewes, tumaki. To emasculate a ram the spermatic cords are destroyed, dandanke, so they will put on weight. This is done by beating the testis with an iron rod. They castrate rams, fi'diye, by cutting open the testicle sack with a razor and removing the testis. Another means of emasculating them is to push the testis up, ture, inside the lower abdomen, mararsa.

The rams are also fed on pounded bullrush millet mixed with water, cooked beans, peanut and bean stalks and leaves, so they will put

on weight, and then they are slaughtered on the day of the Big Salla, Barbar Salla.

There are certain towns where a person makes a living as the town shepherd. I have seen this with my own eyes. The shepherd is called asako because he stands at the town gate calling out, "a sako!" which means "release your sheep to me!" On Friday he is paid two cowries for each sheep, and when an ewe gives birth he receives 100 cowries. As evening draws near, the owners make their children go to the town gate to get their sheep when the shepherd returns. The asako I knew was in Jega and his name was Abdu. He was called Abdu Asako.

Goats - Awakai

There are more goats, awakai, in Katsina than Kano, and there are many of them in Daura. In fact, they are reared throughout Hausaland. Only a destitute person's house has no goats, and for this reason, children will say to each other in a quarrel: "There is not even a goat in your house!"

Goats are grazed like sheep. The Hausa drink its milk but not that of the sheep. Butchers slaughter them daily because the Hausa people prefer the fatty goat meat to the lean meat of the sheep. But, lepers, kutare, do not eat goat meat because it is believed it contributes to leprosy.

Billy goats, bunsura, are emasculated like the rams: their spermatic cords are destroyed; they are castrated; or their testis are pushed up. An impotent goat is called tabre.

Billy goats grow very big and have a bad odor. Yet, when we were children a black billy goat belonging to a blacksmith named Masoro ran with us when we rode him!

Horses - Dawakai

There are many kinds of horses in Hausaland. There is kili which is pure white like cotton, and mago is pure white with the eyes of an albino. There is bidi which is a roan having white hair interlaced with black. There is tantabar which is speckled: white here and black there, or white here and red there. Dande has four white legs, from the hooves to the knees, and a white forehead, and it is often called "dande with five white markings," no matter what the other color is. There is akawal which is jet black, and gunya which has cream colored hair. There is sari which is chestnut colored like a gazelle, barewa, hence some people call it barewa. And there is bikili which is deep red or bay colored.

A mare is called kabuma and a stallion is called ingarma. Stallions are very expensive and highly prized by the Hausa. Ponies, k'uruwa, are inexpensive and the Hausa people aren't too interested in riding them. They are used to carry baggage in the long distance kola trade to Gonja, but otherwise they are not used much for transportation. The larger horses are not used to transport baggage.

When the owner of a mare wants it mated with a stallion, he gives a bundle of cereal to the owner of the stallion so he will agree to it. Such an arrangement for copulation is called baye. The owner of the mare seeks out the owner of a dande stallion, for this is the most popular of the many horses.

After the mare gives birth there is a seven day waiting period before she can mate again. The infant horse is called dukushi until it is about one year old and has a canine tooth and is able to be mounted by a child who rides it without a saddle. When the horse is about two

years old it is acquainted with a saddle. When the horse gets old people lose interest in it and sell it cheap. An old horse is called gwabta.

There are people who train horses for a living, and these horse trainers are common in Kano. They discipline the horse and teach it a special gait called takama.

Rather than developing discipline, many horses develop bad habits which irritate the Hausa riders. For example, some are stubborn, tsayaya. The rider makes the horse gallop and then reins it sharply. When he wants to repeat this movement the horse refused, bucks and rears up! Nauyi means that the horse does not leap forward when spurred, and bauduwa means that the horse deviates from a straight path while galloping. Harbi means the horse kicks children and small quadrapeds.

There are many horse diseases.[137] There is stomach trouble, ciwon ciki, which can kill the horse in a day. Horses get an ulcer, k'anbi, called amba: it is a sore which develops on the horse's leg and looks like syphilis, tumjere, and some people do, indeed, call it "horse syphilis," tumjeren dawaki. When a horse suffers from kekashashiar agana, it doesn't put on weight, no matter what it eats, and the owner does not know where it is suffering. A disease is diagnosed as danyar agana when the horse's hooves and ligaments swell up during the rainy season. Ruwaye is a disease which develops in the horse's hoof, causing it to swell and get water, and as the disease progresses the horse becomes lame. When a horse gets the disease called rinkin, its ears stand erect until it dies. A horse is suffering from namu when it never puts on weight and its cheeks become very big.

Tending and feeding horses in Hausaland is not difficult because

is very cheap. During the hot season, before the rains, horses are fed tsari which is bran mixed with water. Another horse food is called ciushe: it is made from ground bran and the ground leaves of the wild pawpaw, which are mixed and kneaded into balls. The horse's mouth is held open and, while the tongue is pulled out, one ball at a time is put in until the ciushe is finished.

When the rainy season is about to end, people cut grass, dry it, and then gather it up to feed the horses in the dry season because it is difficult to find at that time. This is called ingirici. Horses are also fed the stalks and leaves of beans and peanuts, as well as guineacorn in some places and bullrush millet in other places. Some of the many types of grasses which are fed to horses are: kyasua,[138] harkiya,[139] gudegude,[140] burburwa,[141] karankaban,[142] abagi,[143] garagi,[144] kafar fakara,[145] datana,[146] gadagi,[147] and burugu[148] which is found on river banks.

The most expensive of the many horses in Hausaland is brought from Azben. It is called 'dan Azben, the "son of Azben."

Donkeys - Jakuna

There are many donkeys which are primarily used for long distance trade in Hausaland. They are used to transport many different kinds of goods. When a trader is engaging in the business of kwarami - purchasing cereals where they are cheap and transporting them for sale where they are dear - he uses donkeys.

They are also used to transport red sorrel, onions, sweet potatoes, a bitter tomato-like fruit called gauta,[149] cassava, and maize in bags called mangala which are made of plaited dum-palm leaves. Rice, beans,

and tigernuts are transported in large hide bags called taikuna. Donkeys also transport indigo and cotton. Manure is carried to the farms in the bags called mangala.

A female donkey is called matuwa and a male is called bingi. An infant is called afulaki. A gelded donkey - castrated like the bull called furtami - is called aguru. Donkeys also come in many different colors: aura is reddish-brown; asuwa is a deep red-brown; yadabar is black with a white stomach, and gofo, which is sometimes called jaba, has a gray body with a black mouth; yafoki is ash colored; and tantabar is speckled like the horse of the same name.

There are many donkey diseases. Anumuri is a swelling with water on the neck. Alafa affects the hoof until it eventually strips off. Akatas is a shoulder disease which causes it to be lame. Long worms in the stomach, associated with hunger, are called azurmuki. Horses get azurmuki and alafa, but not anumuri.

Donkeys are grazed on abandoned farms during the wet and dry seasons. Their feet are hobbled on the abandoned farms, but they are not tied at the house.

While donkeys and pack-oxen do a great amount of the transport work in Hausaland, camels are also used for transportation. But, the camels are only used by the Hausa rulers, the Azbenawa who come from Azben in the Sahara, and the Arabs who come from Zaila on the horn of East Africa, Tunas (Tunis), Tarabus (Tripoli), Adamus (Gadames), and Agat (Ghat). The Hausa kings load their royal drums, tanbura, on them when they go to war, but otherwise the Hausa people don't know much about the business of camels.

Hunting - Farauta

There are two types of hunters: the mafarauci who is an archer, mahalbi, and the 'dan farauta who hunts with a large group of people.

The mafarauci has a big quiver, kwari, of arrows, kibau, and a fine bow, baka. He goes to the wilderness where he builds a grass hut and waits. He builds a fence which blocks all but one of the paths used by the animals of the wilderness, and he makes a hiding place by the path that has been left open. When an animal passes by he shoots it. That's called bago, and it refers to the lying in wait for the prey, not the fencing.

One who does that is called a mafarauci. He is also called mahalbi, archer or shooter, because he shoots big animals like dwarf buffalos, bakane, roan antelopes, gwamakai, and gazelle, bareyi. He even shoots elephants, giwaye. He has no occupation other than shooting. There are many archers in Daura, in fact, the greatest number in Hausaland. There are also many in Katsina, Zanfara, Arewa, and Bauci.

The second type of hunting is done in the following way. During the dry season, when the grass has been cleared, it is announced that on such-and-such a day people will go hunting. Everybody hears the announcement and makes preparations, for it is made by sarkin daji, the "ruler of the wilderness." This position is found throughout Hausaland. In Kano it is called sarkin dawa and it is an important one.

When the day for the hunt arrives, many people go out. The drummers beat this message to call the hunters together: "It is better to have meat than drink for guests!" They keep beating the message until there is a large gathering of men: in some places they may number 5,000, while in other places they will not reach that number.

Once they have all gathered they begin walking to the distant hunting grounds. When it takes a day to get there some people sleep on the way.

When they arrive there is no drumming done because the animals would be frightened away. Everybody spreads out in all directions - north, arewa, south, kudu, east, gabas, and west, yamma - until they fill the hunting ground. Then they all shout and when the animals hear this they rise and run in every direction! The hunters follow them and block their paths until they are confused and worn out, and then they are killed.

Wild guineafowl, zabin daji, are caught in the same way. When they fly, everybody shouts and when they land the dogs chase them until they tire and are caught. Everybody who goes on the hunt has his dog, while some hunters have two, three, or more.

The group of hunters are called 'yan farauta, and on this type of hunt they may kill as many as 10,000 guineafowl, in addition to rabbits, zomaye, gazelle, bareyi, and the lesser bustard on this kind of hunt, and people don't even want to see elephants, lions, zakoki, or leopards, damisoshi!

In some towns, when it is going to be a big hunt, the ruler joins in. They ride on horses, as if going to war, and carry swords and spears. But the horses are not covered with protective quilting, lifida, nor is there bugling. But, dwarf buffalo and lions are killed when the king is on the hunt. The king goes on these hunts in Zanfara, Kabi, and Gobir, but not in Kano. However, the rulers of Kano are fond of those who shoot wild animals because they prove themselves to be excellent archers.

Fishing - Su

All fishing disputes are settled by the official called sarkin ruwa, "water ruler."[150] In Zanfara he is simply called fadama, meaning marsh, as if to say he was sarkin fadama, "marsh ruler." In Kabi he is called keara koi which is the language of Sanwai. The sarkin ruwa is installed in office by the king since all rivers, gulabe, ponds, tafuka, and marshes, fadamu, are under his jurisdiction.[151]

There are many methods of fishing.[152] Some people fish with a large fishing net called taru[153] which is thrown in the water and catches many fish. More often a man goes fishing with two small nets, foma,[154] a young boy, 'dan riko, to assist him by carrying things, a big gourd, a small club, 'dan kurki, which is used to hit the fish on the head, and two large gourds tied together and called kerta.

After the fisherman goes under water and catches a fish he comes up and his aid throws him the kerta, and he hangs on them to rest. He then takes the catch home and divides them with his aids and the head of the house who gets the biggest share.

'Yan banko[155] buy fresh fish from the fishermen, dry them over a fire, and sell them. To dry them they make a small frame and place the fish on it. The large fish are sliced in sections, and then a fire is set under the fish and kept burning until they are thoroughly dried. This is called "drying fish," banda, and people say "the fish have been dried," an badance kifi.

Other ways to catch fish are with a single pronged harpoon, darkana, and a many pronged harpoon, haruga.[156] When the water in a pond is drying up, people enter it and search for fish with their hands and catch them. This is called lalabe. Another method, called kwalfe,

is to take calabashes into a small pond that is about to dry up and bail out the water until the pond is muddy. The people then grab the fish!

Tsatsara is catching fish with a trap. A little fence is made, or pots are lined up, dangarma, in a small amount of running water.[157] They leave one opening where they put a trap made from the roots of the deleb-palm in the shape of a sack with a small mouth in it.[158]

Fishing with hook and line is called fatsa.[159] The hook, kujiya, is tied to a fibre or thread which is twisted into a tight strand before it's tied to the hook. The other end is tied to a piece of bamboo or some other stick. Meat, or some other kind of bait, is put on the hook and tossed into the water, and when a fish swallows it they pull or jerk it out. If it is a small fish it is called fatsa. These fishermen also use a calabash or bamboo float as a "bobber." Fishermen string their fish on long blades of grass which are placed through the gill and mouth. They are called leshin kifi.

The most popular fish is yauni,[160] which is followed in popularity by shanbana[161] and rajiya,[162] which has a red tail and is only fried with flour. Other types are ranboshi,[163] tarwada,[164] harya,[165] karaya,[166] gondo,[167] balli,[168] which has tough scales, mai kan'barori, tufi,[169] faliya,[170] gargaza,[171] milgi,[172] washi,[173] and keya[174] which is also called "water elephant," giwar ruwa. The latter is very big and tasty, and when it is caught in Zanfara, Kabi, or Gobir, it belongs to the king.

There are many fishermen in Zanfara and Kabi, and Sakoto has more fish than Kano. People in Katsina don't care for fish.

Footnotes to Chapter 2

1. A.H.M. Kirk-Greene has written a fine biography of this impressive nineteenth century European in his introduction to Barth's Travels in Nigeria, 1-44.

2. Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, vol. I, 432.

3. Ibid., vol. III, 148-149.

4. Clapperton visited Hausaland a generation earlier than Barth and left an interesting account available in Bovill, E. W., ed., Mission to the Niger, vol. IV, pt. 3.

5. The most satisfactory account of these vegetational zones is found in Lawson, G. W., Plant Life in West Africa, 5-48.

6. Stamp, L. D., Africa: A Study in Tropical Development, 74.

7. Lawson, G. W., Plant Life..., 44.

8. Ibid., 87.

9. The archaeologist and prehistorian, J. D. Clark, is a leading advocate of the theory of diffusion. See: Clark, J. D., "A Record of Early Agriculture and Metallurgy in Africa from Archeological Sources," in Gable, C., and N. R. Bennett, Reconstructing African Culture History, 3-24; Clark, J. D., "The Spread of Food Production in Sub-Saharan Africa," Journal of African History, III, 2 (1962), 211-228; and Clark, J. D., The Prehistory of Africa.

10. There is really not a common set of beliefs held by diffusionists. Rather, individuals explain different developments or changes in Africa as a result of diffusion. Clark, for example, does not talk about the diffusion of "divine kingship," but he does believe in the diffusion of plant and animal domestication. Oliver and Fage, A Short History of Africa, sees more in terms of diffusion, e.g., 24, 28-9, 37, 102.

11. See part three of Murdock, G. P., Africa: Its People and Their Culture History.

12. See Fage, J. D., "Anthropology, Botany, and the History of Africa," Journal of African History, II, 2 (1961), 299-309; and Baker, H. G., "Comments on the Thesis that there was a Major Center of Plant Domestication near the Headwaters of the River Niger," Journal of African History, III, 2 (1962), 229-233; and Clark, J. D., The Prehistory of Africa, 199: "It is in the (West African savanna) region that Professor Murdock has postulated that agriculture developed independently between four thousand and five thousand B.C., at the same time, that is, as it was seemingly being

introduced into Egypt from southwest Asia. Factual evidence to support this claim is, as yet, lacking...." It will be interesting to see when Clark is satisfied the evidence has been established. Nowhere does he say what this evidence must be.

13. See Murdock, G. P., Africa: Its People..., 68-70, for the list of West African savanna domesticates which he calls the Sudanic complex. The composition of this list is basically correct, and in the decade and a half since its publication there has been no new evidence presented by anyone which makes any substantial revision necessary. Imoru's accounts here, and in the other chapters, cover all the cereal grains, legumes, condiments and indulgents, and textile plants included in this complex. In the category of tubers, Imoru does not cover the geocarpa bean, nor the yam bean, although Dalziel says the Hausas have no special name for the geocarpa bean and classify it with the bambara nut, and he says it is probably not well known in Hausaland; Imoru does not mention the one leaf vegetable of okra, and he only mentions the calabash among the four vine and ground fruits, one of which may not be known in Hausaland - yergan - since Dalziel does not list a Hausa name for it; Imoru writes about the tree fruit tamarind, but not eha akee which is not a savanna plant anyway - this being one of Murdock's errors, and Imoru does not mention sesame, but does mention the oil palm and shea tree, among the oil plants. Imoru notes, as does Baker, that the oil palm is not a savanna tree. The two separate entries of coleus and rizga in Murdock's category of tubers should be combined under one common entry of coleus and noted as being two species - rizga (Coleus daza) and tumuk'u (Coleus dysentericus) after Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 459. Most travellers to West Africa will have made the observation made by Baker that the oil palm, akee, and kole trees are mistakenly noted as savanna trees. Baker's article, "Comments on the Thesis...," representing the views of an extreme, die-hard diffusionist, is a step backwards in the understanding of West African flora and the origins of domesticates, and is outdated in many respects, e.g. according to E. A. Anderson, Sir Joseph Hutchinson has surveyed all the evidence and has pinpointed Africa as the source of Old World cotton, thus making Baker's caustic remarks about Murdock's suggestion that this might be so, totally unwarranted. See Anderson, E. A., "The Bearing of Botanical Evidence on African Culture History," in Gable, C., and N. R. Bennett, Reconstructing..., 173.

14. Murdock, Africa: Its Peoples..., 64.

15. Archaeologists, evidently, cannot date early plant domestication because, unlike grain, plants such as tubers perish. Also, the grinding stone which is tell-tale evidence for grain experimentation, is not needed for plants. One wonders if it is the archaeologist who, because of these limitations - and perhaps because "western civilization" was supposedly built on grain domestication - made agriculture practically synonymous with cereals and not with yams, squashes, pumpkins, and other noncereal food crops which are also domesticated and cultivated.

16. Willett, F., "A Survey of Recent Results in the Radiocarbon Chronology of Western and Northern Africa," Journal of African History, XII, 3 (1971), 343.

17. Anderson, E., "The Bearing of Botanical Evidence...," 177.

18. Sauer, Carl O., Agricultural Origins and Dispersals: the Domestication of Animals and Foodstuffs, 25. The archaeologist Davies mentions, but does not discuss at length, the possible existence of "proto-agriculture" based on tubers prior to cereal cultivation, in Davies, O., West Africa Before the Europeans, 151.

19. Sauer, Carl O., Agricultural Origins..., viii.

20. Clark, J. D., The Prehistory..., 187.

21. Willett, F., "A Survey of Recent Results...," 347.

22. Stamp, L. D., Africa: A Study..., 14.

23. Harrison Church, R. J., West Africa: A Study of the Environment and of Man's Use of it, 95.

24. Lawson, G. W., Plant Life..., 86.

25. Noted in Miracle, M., Maize in Tropical Africa, 89.

26. "M.D.W. Jeffreys argues that maize reached the Guinea Coast from the north via the Arab World before 1492 and was being cultivated there at the time of the first Portuguese contacts," Johnson, B., The Staple Food Economies of West Tropical Africa, 26; Clark lists it as a Saharan Neolithic cereal (perhaps through a slip of the pen) in Clark, J. D., "A Record of Early Agriculture and Metallurgy in Africa from Archaeological Sources," 14.

27. Davidson, B., The Growth of African Civilization: East and Central Africa to the late Nineteenth Century, 33-34.

28. I believe that all food crops introduced into Africa were domesticated by non-Europeans.

29. The most significant work of reinterpretation of African history, and Africa's relationship with Europe, is Walter Rodney's, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, London, Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1972. Rodney is the first historian of Africa to systematically show the position to which Africa was assigned in the international system established by Europe beginning in the 15th century. Basically the non-European world was cast into a dependent role by Europe which then transferred the wealth of the non-European world to itself over a period of five centuries. This forced transfer of wealth from the dependents to the metropole (Europe) caused the non-European world to become underdeveloped and enabled the European world to become developed. Prior to the

development of capitalism in Europe, both Europe and Africa re underdeveloped. Underdevelopment, therefore, is not a permanent condition and has happened to a people through colonial rule. Because it is not a permanent condition, it is up to those who have been made - and are kept - underdeveloped to sever the bonds which keep them in that state.

30. See Buchanan, K. M., and J. C. Pugh, Land and People in Nigeria, 21.

31. Hill, P., Rural Hausa, 231.

32. "Mixed cropping" means growing two or more types of crops together. For the merits of this practice see Irvine, F. R., A Text-book of West African Agriculture, 36.

33. Ibid., 17-19.

34. Irvine, F. R., West African Crops, 148; also see Johnson, B., The Staple Food Economies..., 21.

35. It should be emphasized that the West African farmers developed a system of scientific agriculture in which there was no need to irrigate indigenous food crops.

36. The Arabic is al-qamh. Wheat and barley (sha'Īr) were the early cereal domesticates of Southwest Asian and North African people.

37. Portères, Roland, "Berceaux Agricoles Primaires sur le Continent Africain," Journal of African History, III, 2 (1962), 206.

38. Ibid. See also Clark, J. D., The Prehistory..., 205: "Until recently it was supposed that the cultivated yams were of Asian origin and introduced into Africa some time after five hundred B.C. However, it is now accepted by most botanists that the commonest yam grown in West Africa (Diocorea cayenensis) is not of Asian origin but is derived from local species. The early domestication of this yam may therefore well account for the 'Neolithic' settlements in the forest." There are many other yams in West Africa that are not of Asian origin - see Portères, "Berceaux...," 203.

39. Dalziel, J. M., The Useful Plants of West Tropical Africa, 517.

40. Jones, W. O., Manioc in Africa, 28.

41. Irvine, F. R., West African Crops, 180.

42. Stanton, W. R., "The Analysis of the Present Distribution of Varietal Variation in Maize, Sorghum, and Cowpea in Nigeria as an aid to the Study of Tribal Movement," Journal of African History, III, 2 (1962), 252.

43. Irvine, F. R., West African Crops, 193.

44. Also see the important list in Portères, R., "Berceaux...," 206-207.

45. The pharmacopoeia developed by the peoples of West Africa through the ages is as impressive as the list of the food crops they domesticated. Persons interested in this important, but neglected, field of study should begin with Dalziel's Useful Plants... which has a vast amount of information. A very useful contribution on the pharmacopoeia of the Native Americans is Vogel, Virgil T., American Indian Medicine, Norman, Oklahoma, U. of Oklahoma Press, 1970. The approach of this latter book might be useful as an approach in West Africa. It is not often acknowledged that a vast amount of the pharmacopoeia of modern American medicine is derived from the plant knowledge of the Native American. For the contributions of the Native Americans of the Amazon basin, see Gorinski, Conrad, "The Loss of Flower Power," Survival International News, 36 Craven St., London.

46. Curson, H. H., and R. W. Thornton, "A Contribution to the Study of Native African Cattle," summarized in "On the Study of African Native Cattle," Farm and Forest, vol. III, no. 4, Nov. 1942, 174-178.

47. Ibid.

48. Murdock, G. P., Africa: Its People..., 19.

49. Clark, J. D., "A Record of Early Agriculture...," 13.

50. Clark, J. D., The Prehistory..., 196.

51. Davies, O., West Africa..., 150.

52. Clark, J. D., The Prehistory..., 204.

53. Ehret, C., "Cattle-Keeping and Milking in Eastern and Southern African History: The Linguistic Evidence," Journal of African History, VIII, 1 (1967) 1-17; and Ehret, C., "Sheep and Central Sudanic Peoples in Southern Africa," Journal of African History, IX, 2 (1968), 213-221.

54. Clark, J. D., The Prehistory..., 196.

55. Fisher, H., "'He Swalloweth the Ground with Fierceness and Rage:' The Horse in the Central Sudan, pt. 1 - Its Introduction," Journal of African History, XIII, 3 (1972), 369-388.

56. Clark, J. D., The Prehistory..., 207.

57. de St. Croix, F. W., "Some Aspects of the Cattle Husbandry of the Nomadic Fulani," Farm and Forest, vol. V, no. 1, 30-31.

58. Hopen, C. E., The Pastoral Fulbe Family in Gwandu, 132.

59. Reed, W., Fish and Fisheries of Northern Nigeria. See chapter 5, "Catalogue of Traditional Fishing Gear."

60. Ibid., 144.

61. Ibid., 179.

62. Gourou's suggestion is cited in Johnson, B., The Staple Food Economies..., 23.

63. Reed, W., Fish and Fisheries..., 178.

64. Ibid., 79.

65. "The value of natural vegetation as an indicator of climate (and soil) has long been recognized. KÖppen, the most distinguished advocate of this approach, held the view that the plant is a meterological instrument which integrates the various factors of a climate....The value of knowledge of natural vegetation as an indicator of the potential capabilities of land for agriculture (has long been recognized by the African farmer). Descriptions of African agriculture frequently note the way in which native cultivators are guided by the character of the vegetation...in deciding when to clear land and in choosing the crops to be sown." Johnson, B., The Staple Food Economies..., 50. The Hausa word ciyawa means any kind of grass - which would be used for any of the 44 listed for West Africa by Dalziel - and is also applied to weeds. It seems best to translate ciyawa as grass until the land is cleared and then translate it as weed once we are dealing with land that has been cleared, keeping in mind Lawson's remarks: "To give a definition of a weed is a very difficult task. Sometimes they are defined as any plant growing out of place....They are perhaps better defined as plants other than crop plants that grow and spread due to some kind of human activity....It is a well-known fact that when land is cleared for farming many plants will appear on it which are not wanted. These are not necessarily plants that occur in nearby natural vegetation. They are plants that are quick to exploit the ground that has been bared....If land containing weeds is allowed to return to its natural condition, the weeds are unable to compete with the plants of the local flora and are eliminated by them....True weeds exist only because the activities of man reduce competition from other plants." Lawson, G. W., Plant Life..., 77-78.

66. (Palmae) Hyphaene thebaica, Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 507. For its many uses see the description of mat weaving in the chapter on the Handicraft Industry.

67. Here Imoru uses the plursl of haki, hakukuwa. Haki is synonymous with ciyawa.

68. Abraham, R. C., Dictionary of the Hausa Language, 827, says the sungumi is only used on the day of sowing (guinea) corn.

69. (Gramineae) Digitaria exilis, "Hungry rice." "Digitaria is a large genus and includes two cultivated West African species, D. exilis and D. iburua, the former being very close to the wild West African species, D. longiflora. It is an annual, 1 1/2 - 3 ft. high, with many small, long grains....Its varieties are classified by the density of the spikelets and the number of racemes. The tiny seeds are said to be 53,000 to the ounce. Hungry rice will grow in areas with 40 to 50 in. of rain on poor, sandy or ironstone soil. It gives a reasonable yield on shallow, infertile soil where other crops fair or survive only with difficulty....The crop is sown in the first rains....Seeds are broadcast and hoed in lightly. They usually germinate in three to five days and cover the ground so quickly that little weeding is necessary. Most varieties mature in 3-4 months, but some are quick-maturing....In areas of poor soil where few other crops thrive it may form a staple diet....The staw from the crop is used for stuffing mattresses or for the bedding of livestock. It is also burnt and the ask extracted with water to make potash." Acca is called intaya (Zaria, Sokoto, etc.) and firo (Sokoto). Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 526, and Dalziel, Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, 6.

70. (Malvaceae) Hibiscus cannabinus. "The fibre is comparable with jute and can be used for the same purposes. In the open country from Senegal to Nigeria it is the most widely cultivated fibre plant, and next to cotton the most used for local needs. In Northern Nigeria it is the commonest source of cordage except the Baobab. Some of the usual applications are for tying the rafters used for roof binding, plaiting ropes for drawing water, hobble ropes, fishing lines, caulking canoes, women's coiffures, etc. In Hausa several varieties are recognized...." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 127; see 127-128 for other uses including medicinal.

71. Barth makes the following remark about a "demmi" (=dami) of grain in the Hausa state of Zegzeg (=Zazau): "...in the province of Zegzeg... the kurdin kasa is a tax of five hundred kurdi levied on every fertana (=fartanya) or hoe, and a single hoe will cultivate a piece of ground capable of producing from one hundred to two hundred demmi or sheaves of grain (sorghum and pennisetum), each of which contains two kel, while fifty kel are reckoned sufficient for a man's sustenance during a whole year." Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., vol. I, 523.

72. It is difficult to know what an individual's grain requirement was for the year. Hill, Rural Hausa, 254, says: "It is commonly stated, though on what foundation it is unclear, that a mixed population (of men, women and children) in Northern Nigeria requires about 1 lb. of unthreshed grain per head per day - an adult man about two pounds....But some experts have put requirements very much higher.... Dr. I. G. Thompson, Senior Medical Officer in Kano ...concluded...that requirements were 750 lbs. annually." P. H.

Giles, in "The Storage of Cereals by Farmers in Northern Nigeria," Tropical Agriculture, vol. 41, no. 3, July 1964, 201, says that the average weight of a bundle of sorghum is 54 lbs., but the range was 20 to 100 lbs. Remembering that the size of the bundle, or dami, might have changed over the years, it is still of interest to take Barth's information in footnote 71, i.e. twenty-five dami feed a man for a year. Taking Giles' average of 54 lbs. per dami, we get a figure of 1,350 lbs. per year needed to food a man in Zazau in the 1850's. It is doubtful that this figure is of much use, but it is not too far off from present day estimates to be without interest.

73. The singular of rumbuna is rumbu. Giles, "The Storage of Cereals..." 200, notes that while granaries in northwest Hausaland are made of dried earth and plant material, as described by Imoru, those in the northeast are earthen pits, up to 18 feet deep, in which grain may be stored up to five years. He explains this practice as resulting from a lack of building earth, and the presence of impervious clay in the region. The advantages are that it is termite-, rodent-, and thief-proof, as well as fire-resistant. Clapperton described the round earthen granaries of northwest Hausaland in the 1820's as follows: Their granaries are made in for form of a large urn or pitcher, raised from the ground about three feet by stones. They are made of clay and chopped straw, and are raised to a height of eleven or twelve feet. The thickness of the sides is not above four inches, though in any part it will bear a man's weight. The diameter in the widest part may be from seven to eight feet, and the top about three or four feet, and is overlapped at the mouth like a wide-mouthed earthen jar. When the grain is put in, a conical cap of thatch is put over to keep out birds, insects, wet and moisture. The doura (=dawa) and millet will keep well in these jars for two or three years, after that period it perishes and is destroyed by worms and insects. The jar itself will last seven or eight years, if taken care of by matting around the lower part with straw during the rainy seasons; if not, two or three years is the period it will stand unimpaired." Quoted in Cardew, M., "Gobir Granaries," Nigeria Magazine, no. 67, Dec. 1060, 216-222. Cardew says: "A typical rufewa (granary) in Gobir today is about sixteen feet high, with a girth in the widest part of over 55 ft., which would correspond to a diameter of seventeen-and-a-half feet...The (guinea) corn is not threshed before storing; it is stored in the form of large bundles....A large granary will hold more than 300 bundles, which would be equivalent to about eight or ten tons," 222-223. A family will often have more than one of the very small bins described by Imoru.

74. (Gramineat) Sorghum vulgare,"guineacorn or sorghum." "Tropical Africa is rich in wild species of sorghum, and from these many cultivated species are likely to have arisen. Some appear to be Asian, having been established there for centuries, but may have come to Asia orginally from Africa. Sorghums reached America only after Columbus....(The 2 most important species of guineacorn in West Africa are) S. guineense (which) is of West African origin and

is probably the most widely grown....There are five varieties. It is grown in areas with an annual rainfall of 25-55 inches....S. caudatum, of tropical African origin, is also important. Four of its 15 varieties have been reported from Ghana to Cameroon in fairly dry regions of 20 in. annual rainfall....Grain sorghums vary in height; forms of species such as S. guineense and S. caudatum grow to a height of 4 to 7 ft....The grains vary from white, yellow, and orange to red....Sorghum thrives where there is a distinct contrast between wet and dry seasons....Irvine, F. R., West African Crops, 136-137.

75. Dalziel, Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, 22-23; and Bargery G. P., A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary, 246, list close to one hundred Hausa names for the varieties of guineacorn.

76. (Gramineae) Grain Pennisetums. "The Pennisetums are cereals of the drier areas, having the advantage of being a short season crop, and in the resions bordering the Sahara are capable of maturing during the brief rainy season," Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 539. "(The Pennisetums) will germinate with less moisture than almost any other crop and is often grown in areas with 11-16 in. of rain per annum and generally needing less than 28 in....It needs little rainfall after germination....Excessive rain harms it and the fruit needs to set in hot, dry weather. In poor conditions it does better than any other cereal crop. It is often planted when all else has failed and at times is the only crop between the people and starvation," Irvine, F. R., West African Crops, 144-145.

77. See Dalziel, Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, 37-38, and Useful Plants..., 539, for the many varieties in Hausa. Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 539, says that varieties are recognized and smooth or bristly, and Irvine, West African Crops, 144, says "different varieties mature in 2, 3, 4, or 5 months. Their distribution indicates the length of the rainy season in the different regions where they grow."

78. For diseases see Irvine, West African Crops, 140-141.

79. Pennisetum spicatum. Dalziel says this variety of millet is less popular than bullrush millet, but is eaten by the poorer people." Fire is produced by friction of pieces of stems of maiwa," Useful Plants..., 539.

80. "In Northern Nigeria the bran of dauro is used along with native potash (kanwa) by tanners...," ibid.

81. Dalziel calls dauro, maiwa: see Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, 20 and 72.

82. (Gramineae) Oryza glaberrima. "Rice, an annual plant of the Gramineae family, is one of the world's most important cereals, providing nourishment for a greater number of people than any other grain. The green inconspicuous flowers are followed by panicles of small fruits pointed at each end and covered with a strong seed

coat or husk. Seed is usually sown by farmers in May or June for harvesting in September or October....After 4-6 months the yellowing of the leaves and the increasing weight of the heads indicate when the crop is ripe." Irvine, F. R., West African Agriculture, 130, 133. Dalziel, Useful Plants..., says that "the native cultivated races...are adapted to a wide variety of local conditions, rapid change in depth of water, etc.; they shed the grain more readily than introduced rices, the grain is brittle for milling, and all are red-skinned and unsuitable for export (sic)," 533. Also see Dalziel for medicinal uses. There are twenty Hausa names for the varieties of rice according to Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 533, and on 532 he says the following about the species O. Barthii which is called nanare in Hausa: "Both species (O. Barthii, A. Chev) are often regarded as weeds in cultivated rice fields. The Hausa name bau...is generally given to such weeds, which eventually exterminate the planted crop, if both are left unharvested, but which yield an edible grain in scarcity....O. Barthii forms vast meadows in inundated areas, chiefly from Sokoto westward....The grain is so easily detached that it must be collected by basket or calabash without cutting. It is of good taste and is sometimes sold in markets. It is also a valuable green fodder....The straw is used for thatch."

83. The bungubungu can either be made from the stem of the deleb palm (Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 496), or made of "planks of dum palm, stitched together and caulked with silk cotton and Hibiscus hemp." Ibid., 507.

84. (Gramineae) Triticum vulgare, a winter rainfall crop from North Africa and the Near East which must be grown under irrigation in the summer-rainfall climate of Hausaland. The straw is often chopped up to mix with building clay. Ibid., 550.

85. (Labiatae) Coleus dazo, "Stems two or more feet high...and tuberous roots...in cultivation in West Tropical and Central Africa, south to Natal. The tubers are softly hairy, cylindrical (4 in. x 3/4 in.) clustered at the base of the stem....In cultivation it is much less amenable than C. dysentericus (tumuk'u), and difficult to reproduce from cuttings. Tubers planted in May to June yield harvest in October to November...." Dalziel, Useful Plants...,459.

86. (Labiatae) Coleus dysentericus. "Tubers planted at the beginning of the rains ripen in five to six months. In Northern Nigeria the plant has been used as an eye medicine." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 460. Irvine, F. R., West African Crops, classifies it as Solenostemon rotundifolius.

87. (Dioscoreaceae) Dioscorea spp. "Yams are grown throughout the tropics and some species are found in the subtropics. Many occur wild in Asia and a few in most parts of Tropical Africa. In West Africa there are at least seven species of wild yam, two of which are partly cultivated....Such wild or semi-cultivated yams undoubtedly played their part when West African yams were first

enobled....Few West African crops have as many varieties as yams, some having slight differences generally recognized only by farmers ....The semi-wild "bush" or "forest yam" (D. praehensilis) may be an ancestor of the white yam (D. rotundata) which thrives best in northern areas (i.e. savanna), producing such large tubers that special tools may be needed to dig them out. It is generally considered the best edible yam in West Africa....(In planting) farmers use small seed yams including those produced by "pricking"...(where) the large tubers are removed, the little 'head' left, later to form the seed yam....Most yams produce one or two tubers larger than the rest and these are generally used as food. They are cut off near the top leaving the crown with the green stem attached. This is replanted and gradually grows again in the main part of the growing season. One or two more small tubers are produced by the replanted crown and grow until the main stem dies. The tubers are then dug up and used as seed yams....In most parts of West Africa yams are planted after the long dry season has ended...from Feb. to April. Yams need a medium rainfall during the growing season but 3 to 4 months' drought does not stop growth provided that there is rain during the remaining 8 to 9 months....As the stems gradually die, harvest begins. Although some forms may be harvested earlier, the average is 8 months from planting." Irvine, West African Crops, 160-170, Useful Plants..., 489, notes the many Hausa names for different varieties and says: "Varietal names (in Hausa) refer mostly to races or qualities and the names given here may not be applicable to botanical species....Many people of (Hausaland) still collect and store wild yams (e.g. D. alata, sakata in Hausa), from which some may pass into regular cultivation. In native medicine the scraped pulp is applied to burns, yaws, etc."

88. According to the two standard Hausa-English dictionaries, Bargery, G. P., A Hausa-English Dictionary..., and Abraham, R. C., Dictionary of the Hausa Languages, the meaning of the first of these two words, rogo, is cassava. However, since yam is indigenous to West Africa, and cassava is not (being introduced, it is said, by the Portuguese in the 16th century at the earliest, and then to the coast), it would seem possible that the meaning of rogo in "the old Kano language" was more likely "tuber." Dalziel, Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, 81, says the Hausa rogon daji (= "wild cassava" according to a literal dictionary translation, or "wild tuber" according to my speculation), is "a species of vine with thickened roots...also applied to other twiners with thickened roots...." If rogo meant tuber in the old Kano language, then the meaning of rogon doya would be doya tuber.

89. (Araceae) Colocasia esculenta. "This is one of man's oldest food crops and, like maize, its wild ancestor has never been traced. It came from India and probably from other parts of Southeast Asia ....Colocasia can be grown several degrees further north and south of the tropical zone than some cultivated yams (Dioscorea), so that it has a worldwide distribution....The starchy underground stems are corms....Corms are planted during the rains and harvested from November onwards. Cocoyams take 12 months or more to mature." Irvine, West African Crops, 174-176.

90. "The tuber (or corm) contains an acrid substance, irritating to the digestive tract, which is dispelled in cooking or by repeated washing." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 481. Irvine, West African Crops, says this substance is crystals of calcium oxalate, 176.

91. (Ampelidaceae) Ampelocissus grantii. "A vine. They have herbaceous or half-woody stems usually prostrate, and produce graps at the end of the rains....The root is long, thickened and half-succulent, sometimes forming almost tuberous swellings..." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 300. See Dalziel for uses.

92. I am unable to classify this tuber.

93. (Dioscoreaceae) Dioscorea praehensilis. "A species of wild yam, doyar dajii....In the wild state the top of the tuber or cluster of tubers is hard and woody, and protrudes above ground with a thorny armature of roots curving over....Common throughout West Africa, wild and brought into cultivation as the parents of many races....As a wild yam the tubers may be edible, or only so in famine, or only medicinal." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 492. See fn. 87.

94. (Araceae) Stylochiton Warneckei. "In Northern Nigeria the thickened rhizome is eaten in famine, cooked after repeated washing in lye of ashes." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 483.

95. (Asclepiadaceae) Raphionacme brownii. "The tuber is sometimes large and turnip-like, with milky juice, and is eaten....Barth describes the katakirri (Kanuri for rojiya) as very refreshing and nutritious: 'a man may travel for a whole day with nothing to eat but this root.' Travels 2:387...." Barth quoted in ibid., 389.

96. (Convolvulaceae) Ipomoea batatas. "The 'sweet potato' is probably of South American origin as the Spaniards found the Indians of Central and South Africa sowing it in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Since then the sweet potato has spread to most tropical and subtropical countries. It is a dependable crop and valuable reserve in times of famine. It is more abundant in grass and savanna areas and orchard bush country than in closed forest areas. The three recognized West African varieties are 'white,' 'red,' and 'yellow'....The crop is planted at any time during the rainy season with 9 to 12 in. stem cuttings....The growing period generally varies between 3 and 4 or even 5 months, depending on the variety. In 5 or 6 months, when the plant flowers, the tubers are ready for harvest...." Irvine, West African Crops, 180-182.

97. Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 437, makes the same remark: "The red varieties were those first known or are the forms originally grown in the northern areas (e.g. Hausaland), as the white tubers are recognized as an introduction."

98. (Euphorbiaceae) Manihot utilissima. This account of cassava in Hausaland in the 19th century is of particular interest because,

hitherto, some authorities did not believe it was cultivated in Hausaland prior to World War I. Irvine, for example, in West African Crops, 153, wrote: "It was not known north of the Niger and Benue rivers (i.e. in Hausaland) before 1914...." Jones, W. O., Manioc in Africa, 80, without citing Irvine, makes a similar remark: "Manioc was not known north of the Niger and Benue Rivers in Nigeria before World War I...."Barth noted it in the 1850's. Barth, Travels and Discoveries..., vol. III, 124-126. Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 151, says it is a "native of Brazil, where its name is Mandioc or Munioc. in the West Indies and the United States known as Cassada or Cassava (originally the Haiti name)....A chief food plant of Tropical America, originally imported by the Portuguese to Africa...."

99. Irvine, West African Crops, 153, notes: "There are many varieties, some maturing from 5 months onwards, others taking up to 15 months or more....The varieties themselves show variations from one district to another." Dalziel, Useful Plants.., 152, remarks: "...if (the tubers) are intended for flour they may be retained even up to two or three years...The tubers remain in good preservation in the ground, and are often left to be dug up whenever required for food."

100. The two varieties are distinguished as a "sweet" and "bitter" variety, explained by Irvine, West African Crops, 153-154, as follows: "Bitter varieties contain more bitter juice in the roots, and the bitterness is associated with a glucosite which forms the poisonous hydrocyanic acid on hydrolysis. This is also present in sweet cassava, but in much smaller quantities, so that it is driven off as HCN when the cassava is cooked....Most of the glucoside, especially in sweet cassava, is found in the outer layer of the roots and as this is peeled off before cooking there is very little danger of poisoning from HCN."

101. Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 152, notes that there are a number of different Hausa names for cassava based either on the lngth of time they take to mature or the type of soil in which it grows. He says that ganjigaga is the type which is ready in two or three years.

102. See fn. 100.

103. (Cyperaceae) Cyperus esculentus. "Originally of Mediterranean and Western Asia, cultivated and often naturalized in many warm countries. The 'nuts' have been found in tombs of ancient Egypt ....In the interior (of Nigeria) it is grown chiefly by Hausas, and 2 crops can be obtained in the rainy season...." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 517, "This grass-like plant grows to 2 ft. high, with the triangular leaves which show it to be a sedge. The spherical underground tubers or nuts are edible and have a sweet, nutty, flavor like almonds....The nuts are ready in 3 to 4 months." Irvine, West African Crops, 187.

104. (Papilionaceae) Vigna unguiculata, "cowpea." The Hausa word wake is general for beans. The cowpea "is the common cultivated bean... which is trailing; semi-wild forms are common....Several of (the) uncultivated forms or species are occasionally used in scarcity.... The seeds vary greatly in size, shape, and colouring...The pods are up to 6 in. or more long....In West Africa, Vigna is ordinarily interplanted with cereals, the seeds being intended for human food and the haulms with leaves and husks for dry fodder." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 267-268. For the numerous varieties in the Hausa language see ibid., and Dalziel, Hausa Botanical Vocabulary 100. As noted by Stanton, "The Analysis of the Present Distribution...," where he gives its classification as Vigna sinensis,"...(its) botanical analysis points to a long period of development in situ in the 'Sudan' zones." Irvine, West African Crops, 200, notes: "...in West Africa...wild forms of other species of cowpea...are sometimes used as food in times of scarcity."

105. "The time of sowing is probably more critical with cowpea than with any other crop, and affects the yield....In...Northern Nigeria...it is sown in July to August." Ibid., 201.

106. "Flowers appear in 9 to 11 weeks, the seeds ripening in 12 to 15 weeks...." Ibid.

107. (Papilionaceae) Arachis hypogaea. The Hausas have names for some 20 varieties. "The probable country of origin is tropical South America where ten or more putative species...are recorded." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 229.

108. Irvine, West African Crops, 194, says: "The seeds are sown in the first rains, March to April in the south, and June in the north. The crop flowers in six to seven weeks...."

109. "...(The crop) matures 3 to 5 months from sowing, depending mainly on local conditions...(It is)...harvested...in the north from October to November." Ibid.

110. (Papilionaceae) Voandzeia subterranea. Like the peanut "it develops its pods underground. It differs from (the peanut) in having 3-foliated leaves (while the peanut has 4 leaflets), and spherical usually one-seeded pods with varieated stems...." Dalziel, Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, 68. "The Bambara groundnut is a small herb growing to 1 ft. in height...The fruits are almost 1 inch in diameter, rounded, and wrinkled when dry. The seeds are about 1/2 inch in diameter....It is ready for harvesting 4 to 5 months after planting." Irvine, West African Crops, 209.

111. "Various analyses agree in placing...the oil content low....It is thus not to be classed as an oil seed...." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 270.

112. (Caricaceae) Carica papaya. "A native of tropical America.... (The fruit is eaten and, in West Africa) the milky sap of the whole

sap...has the property of...softening...the fibrous tissue of flesh, and is popularly used to make meat tender..." Ibid., 52.

113. There is another fruit with the same name, but with a different description from the common pawpaw. Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 2-3, classifies it as (Angiospermae) Anonaceae senegalensis and gives the following description: "The fruit, yellow when ripe and about 2 in. long, is edible and pleasant. The flowers are used to flavor native foods. The leaves, turning yellow on the plant, look like pawpaw fruits....The root and leaf are sold as ...medicines in Hausa markets."

114. Barth, Travels and Discoveries..., vol. I, 463-464, observed the following in the Katsina market: "I observed in the market...the beautiful large fruit of the (pawpaw)...which had just begun to ripen; however (it) was rather dear, considering the low price of provisions in general, a fine pawpaw being sold for from twenty-five to thirty kur'di (cowries), a sum which may keep a poor man from starvation for five days. In Kano I afterward saw this fruit cut in thin slices which were sold for one 'uri' (cowrie) each."

115. (Rutaceae) Citrus aurantifolia. "The most familiar citrus fruit of West Africa is the lime....The 'indigenous' lime is hardy and yields well...." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 305. Lawson notes that "the technique of pollen analysis has been adapted for such unlikely areas as parts of the Sahara desert with surprising results. Pollen taken from what were probably swampy parts on high ground of the northern and central Sahara bout 12,000 years ago indicates that such trees as cedar, pine and oak, and even lime, maple and alder were common enough then." Lawson, G. W., Plant Life..., 86. Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 305-306 tells us that "the juice of the lime is much used in native medicine, usually in mixture with other herbal medicines (e.g. for eye disease, jaundice, dysentery, sore throats, applied to wounds, sores, etc.)." Irvine, West African Crops, 79, notes that "most of the fruits of the citrus family occur wild in south and southeastern Asia...."

116. (Solanaceae) Nicotiana rustica, "Turkish or East Indian tobacco," and Nicotiana tabacum, "American or Virginian tobacco." Dalziel notes that N. rustica is the species usually grown in the savanna. The Hausa word for tobacco is taba, and Dalziel lists the other Hauss names in Useful Plants..., 430-431. The environment for tobacco is described by Irvine in West African Crops, 55-56, as follows: "In northern areas of West Africa, where there is one main rainy season...tobacco is grown as a dry season crop....A rich soil is of little importance in growing tobacco...(for it) can be grown under the most varied conditions....Two or three months after planting, leaves begin to mature."

117. (Rutaceae) Citrus medica, "citron." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 306.

118. (Bombacaceae) Gossypium spp. E. A. Anderson makes the following important statement about the origin of cotton: "Fortunately... cotton has been the most extensively studied of all the world's crops." Recently, Sir Joseph Hutchinson, one of the leaders in this international effort, wrote "The History and Relationships of the World's Cottons," a critical summary of the evidence. Although the beginnings of cotton cultivation in the New World are still obscure, there can no longer be any doubt that the Old World cottons began in Africa, probably as oil seeds." Anderson, E. A., "The Bearing of Botanical Evidence...," 173. Wrigley adds this information: "It is well established that the wild ancestor of the true cottons was G. anomalum, a desert shrub which grows only on the fringes of the Sahara and the Kalahari....Cotton was being cultivated in Africa before 3000 B.C..." Wrigley, C., "Speculations on the Economic Prehistory of Africa," Journal of African History, vol. I, no. 2 (1960), 192-193. In this same connection M. G. Smith's conclusion is not necessarily correct when he suggests that because the cotton industry, or cotton, was not mentioned in the beginning of the Kano Chronicle it was "apparently unknown" in tenth century (A.D.) Hausaland. Smith, M. G., "The Beginnings of Hausa Society, A.D. 1000-1500" in Vansina, J., Mauny, R., and Thomas, L. V., The Historian in Tropical Africa, 341-342. At the same time, Dalziel makes an interesting remark in his Useful Plants ..., 124, for which he gives no source, hence it is of very questionable value: "Kano has been a cotton market since the ninth century." Also see Dalziel for medicinal and other uses of cotton. Barth, Travels and Discoveries..., says that cotton was widely cultivated in Zanfara at the beginning of the 16th century when Leo Africanus visited this region (vol. III, 100), and Barth himself observed cotton in Zanfara: "While crossing a small rocky ridge, we were joined by a troop of people bearing large loads of cotton upon their heads, which they were carrying to the considerable market of Badarawa. This cotton was distinguished by its snow-white color, and seemed to be of very good quality. (Ibid.) Irving gives these facts about the climate, environment, etc., for growing cotton in West African Crops, 48-49: "Cotton exhausts the soil and thrives on rich, deep loams and clay loams....Sandy soils are unsuitable. It does best in those regions which have a distinct wet season for growth, and a dry season during which the crop may mature. Cotton is usually sown in early July and often intercropped with maize or other cereals which shade it during its first growth." See Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 122, and Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, 5, for Hausa vocabulary pertaining to cotton. Also, see section on weaving in chapter on Handicrafts.

119. (Caesalpiniaceae) Tamarindus indica. "Spontaneous through the Sudan, growing particularly well in the neighborhood of towns and villages, elsewhere planted; probably originally African and introduced long ago to India and not vice versa....The tree is a host of one of the wild silkworms...." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 200-201. See chapter on Handicrafts for further material on the silkworm. See Dalziel, above, for material on foods prepared from the tamarind fruit, medicinal purposes for which it is used, etc.

120. "After 2-2 1/2 months, according to the variety, the yellow, dark-centered flowers appear, the flowering period varying with the variety between 4 and 8 months...." Irvine, West African Crops, 49.

121. "In the dry season the cotton matures and the bolls burst from December to January, or even February, the cotton hanging from the fruits for several days. As soon as enough bolls have burst, the cotton is picked...." Ibid.

122. (Papilionaceae) Lonchocarpus cyanescens, "West African or Yoruba wild indigo." See Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 249, for medical uses, and dying. Also, see Imoru's chapter on Handicraft industry.

123. (Papilionaceae) Indigofera arrecta. "...It is an erect, bushy shrub 4 ft. or more high, with bluish-green compound leaves, small red flowers, and numerous cylind rical dark-brown pods, about 1 in. long, produced in masses along the stem at some distance from the tip....It has a deep root system...and is a valuable soil improver." Irvine, West African Crops, 216. See Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 243, and Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, 10, for Hausa vocabulary pertaining to indigo and dying with indigo. Also, see Imoru's chapter on Handicrafts.

124. The source is the shea butter tree, (Sapotaceae) Butyrospermum parkii. "The shea butter tree occurs wild in the West African savanna, north of the oil palm belt. It is a small tree, which can grow to 40 ft., or more, if it is protected from fire....The fruits ripen between March and June. They are green and the nuts are embedded in a fleshy layer...which is sweet and edible when ripe. Each fruit contains one or two nuts, and the white kernel of the nut is rich in oil known as shea butter." Irvine, West African Crops, 68. "In Northern Nigeria the trees are often protected and inherited...unless in districts where they are abundant....From some areas it is unaccountably absent." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 350.

125. "The nut is generally single...with brown smooth shell....The kernel contains about 45-55% by weight of fate...." Ibid., 351.

126. "Native uses of shea butter are as a cooking fat, an illuminant, a medicinal ointment and dressing for the hair, and for soap...." Ibid., 353.

127. "Sheat butter appears in markets in the form of loaves, commonly about 5-6 lbs. in weight...or in small balls...." Ibid., 352.

128. (Palmae) Elaeis guineesis. Irvine, West African Crops, 25, says that "the palms do not grow well to the north of the forest." For a description of the oil palm and its products see Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 499-507.

129. (Palmae) Borassus aethiopum, called giginya in Hausa. See Dalziel for other uses of the parts of the palm. Ibid., 496-497.

130. Perhaps ceri is the type called kuri, or budumu, described as follows: "They are large, humpless cattle with extremely large lateral horns and a comparatively short, broad head. The Budumu breed is found mainly in the Chad districts." Morton, J., "Some Notes on Nigerian Breeds of Cattle," Farm and Forest, vol. IV, no. 2, June 1943, 78.

131. Morton calls this breed Jali and describes them as follows: "These are medium-sized animals, brown and white in colour, with a comparatively large hump and short horns. Their body conformation and size resemble the ketaku (=kyataku, see fn. 133)." Ibid., 79.

132. According to Morton, a breed of Zebu or humped cattle: "These are very large animals, dark-red in colour with long horns. They are extremely wild and prefer damp areas for grazing. Area - Most of the Northern Provinces." Ibid.

133. "The Ketaku or Kettije breed is found chiefly in Borgu, southern Sokoto, and northern Ilorin. These cattle have a small cervical hump, horns not unlike Ayrshires, and have evolved from a cross between muturu and Zebu. They now breed true to type and produce a sturdy animal, not large but compact, giving very good meat as well as providing good milkers. They can also be used successfully as work beasts and stand up well to trypanosomiasis." Ibid., 78.

134. As noted in fn. 133, Morton does not consider this breed, muturu, to be the same as kyataku, but rather a descendant of it. "The Muturu or dwarf cattle are found in the southern parts of Nigeria. They are generally of a reddish black or black and dun colour, and about 3 ft. high. They have degenerated as a result of in-breeding, lack of pasture, and the ravages of protozoic disease. They are humpless, shorthorn cattle, tolerant to fly and tick-borne diseases but extremely susceptible to infectious diseases such as rinderpest." Ibid.

135. Unable to classify.

136. The following information comes from J. P. Maule, "The Indigenous Breeds of Sheep in Africa and their Improvement," Tropical Agriculture, vol. 31, no. 2, April 1954, 83-94. "Very few sheep are found in the equatorial humid tropics...the largest concentration being in the dry, savannah-type country....Large numbers are also found all along the North African coast and, perhaps, surprisingly, in Ethiopia. Most of the indigenous African types or 'breeds' are hairy coated, there being very few coarse-wooled sheep, other than those in North Africa...The main types tend to fall naturally into different geographic zones. Thus, the woolen sheep occur only in the northern belt (i.e. North Africa), and in one area in West Africa where there are about one million Macine sheep....The comparatively large African long-legged sheep extends across the widest part of the continent from French Guinea to Abyssinia. The fat tailed and fat rumped types extend all down

the eastern region from Abyssinia to the Cape. Dwarf sheep are found in the humid, wetter regions of equatorial Sudan and the Niger(ia) coast." Maule also gives a description of the main types.

137. This writer is unfamiliar with the literature on horse diseases, but a careful reading of Dalziel, Useful Plants..., will provide a good deal of information about remedies, e.g. the following two: "The leaves of (gwandar daji - see fn. 113) and similarly the powdered roots, have a beneficial and tonic effect on horses, being given in bolus form with natron and bran (to which a sludge of spent indigo may be added), or mixed with cereal cakes. As a remedy for worms in horses, and for mucous diarrhoea, the dry leaves are sold in markets....the bark and root are similarly used as a vermifuge....They are also applied as a dressing...for the condition known as "yaws" in horses...," 2. "(Shea butter) is...used both internally and externally for horses, applied to girth galls and other sores...The bark or the root-bark boiled and pounded is applied to Chronic sores in horses," 353-354.

138. (Gramineae) Pennisetum spp. There are a number of species covered by the Hausa name. All are considered good fodder. See Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 536-538. Also, (Gramineae) Setaria pallidifusca, "bristly foxtail grass" which is considered an excellent fodder for all stock, ibid., 543.

139. (Gramineae) Digitaria debilis, "fingergrass." "The group comprises several excellent fodder grasses for horses and cattle.... The seeds are eaten in scarcity." Ibid., 525.

140. (Gramineae) Dactyloctenium aegyptium, "comb-fringe grass." An excellent fodder....The seeds are collected by nomads and by others in scarcity, and ground up to make porridge." Ibid.

141. (Gramineae) Eragrostis ciliaris and other species. "The group includes some of the most valued fodders....The grain of several is collected for food in scarcity...." Ibid., 528.

142. (Gramineae) Diheteropogon hagerupii, which "includes some other marsh grasses." Ibid., 526-527.

143. Unable to classify.

144. (Gramineae) Brachiaria distichophylla. "...much used as a fodder ....The grain...is collected for food." Ibid., 521.

145. (Gramineae) Chloris pilosa. "A good fodder and pasture grass, eaten by cattle and horses at all stages...." Ibid., 523.

146. (Gramineae) Thelepogon elegans. "A coarse grass, somewhat resembling rice in habit, distinctly bitter in taste, but affords a coarse grazing for cattle, etc. In Northern Nigeria it is gathered at harvest time or after the rains, chopped up and fed to

horses for about 10 days to counteract the effects of too long green feeding." Ibid., 549.

147. (Papilionaceae) Alysicarpus vaginalis and A. violaceus. "A fodder for all kinds of domestic stock, used fresh, but preferably cut after fruiting and stored as hay...." Ibid., 227.

148. (Gramineae) Echinochloa stagnina. "A swamp grass resembling a wild rice; forming a large part of the sudd in various African river basins. A particularly rich fodder for cattle and horses, both in the green state and as hay....The grain is edible and collected in scarcity." Ibid., 527.

149. (Solanaceae) Solanum incanum. "This includes the forms known to Europeans as Garden egg...with waxy white or violet-purple fruit." Sometimes called "bitter tomato" a common vegetable. Ibid., 433.

150. Today, in Imoru's homeland in northwest Hausaland on the Sokoto River there is an annual festival which opens the fishing season after the agricultural work has been completed. The three individuals who are in charge of the festival are the Homa, the traditional chief of the fishermen, Sarkin Ruwa, the Water Ruler, and Sarkin Jirgi, the Chief of the Ferrymen. See "Su: Argungu Fishing Festival," Nigeria Magazine. no. 55, 1957, 294-316.

151. Today, "the fishing rights to most of the numerous swamps and fadamas in the region (of Kabi) are traditionally owned and controlled by fishermen who live near to them...." Reed, W., Fish and Fisheries of Northern Nigeria, 184.

152. "The change of seasons often necessitate an almost complete switch-over to different types of fishing gear several times per year. When the water level is rising rapidly a certain type of trap might be used in an area: a few weeks later at the highest water level, the same place is perhaps unfishable....Another month or so passes and as the water leaves the flood plain and fish try to reach the perennial pools and creeks they are pwrhaps captured by another type of trap or not which is useful for only this limited period. Then at the beginning, and often again towards the end of the dry season, more changes of gear are likely to be needed to meet the new situations which repeatedly present themselves....There has developed and evolved a vast array of traditional fishing apparatuses. Most of these are extremely efficient - often about the optimum for the problem in hand." Ibid., 144.

153. Imoru mentions that fish nets are woven with a twisted thread, in the chapter on Handicrafts. Reed notes how this practice has changed: "Prior to the introduction of nylon, some ten to fifteen years ago, local nets were hand braided from a variety of the fibers of certain local plants. On rare occasions one still finds nets made of traditional materials, but almost all nets are now tailored from imported nylon webbing, which is for sale in even the smallest

riverside fishing villages." Ibid., 145. The fishermen of Kabi - farmers in the wet season, fishermen in the dry season - have many different types of fishing nets. It is not clear which type Imoru is referring to here. Reed says that the "large beach seine nets" are called babban taru, which means "big taru" so perhaps Imoru is referring to this type of net "which are frequently used in the main rivers and swamps during the dry season." Ibid., 150. There are also small seine nets called kelli-kelli, another type called kusa-kusa, gill nets called kalli, drifting gill nets called howkun kassa, lift nets called dambey, and the most important and, in terms of numbers of fish caught, which is the cast or throw net called birgi. Ibid., 149-152. For a listing of poisons used in fishing see ibid., 201.

154. These are often called butterfly or twin clap nets: "Twin clap nets - homa, koma, or foma as they are named in most local languages, are probably the most common and widely distributed fishing gear in the region....Koma are used in a variety of different ways, either alone or together with certain traps and fish fences. They are commonly used in the dry season to catch fish in isolated pools or swamps." Ibid., 147-147.

155. This name means "daughter of banko," and I am unable to give a meaning for banko. It is said that fish marketing is almost entirely in the hands of women. Ibid., 182.

156. "Separate names are often used for the different designs of (harpoons or spears)....The spear heads are usually fastened to wooden hafts some two meters long and these have a bouyant wooden bulb on the end. Fish spears are sometimes used alone, but they are generally used in conjunction with the flimsy nets and weak lines of local fishermen and few fishermen go out without a spear in their canoe." Ibid., 175.

157. "As the floods recede, most owners (of the fadmas) screen the connecting channels between the swamps and the river or creek with traditional materials - saba or camba... - to prevent all but the smallest fish from leaving the perennial pools. Fishing is delayed until the water level falls below the line of vegetation. The date of opening each swamp to fishing is known well in advance and fishing operations are frequently arranged in the form of festivals...and there is usually intense fishing activity in each fadama for a few weeks per year....Then they remove the screen to let in more fish the following season, and move on to another swamp." Ibid., 184.

158. "When used to block the connecting channels to swamps, saba (fences) usually have one or a series of openings, to which are attached a variety of catching chambers." Ibid., 162.

159. Hooks are used with different types of fishing gear today and presumably in the past. Today, fishing pole, hook and line gear is called kongoli in Hausa. There is also assoka, or drifting

baited hooks which are attached to floating calabashes. Calabashes are used in other ways: "Hausas...operate mari-mari (longlines) from large calabashes on which they float around tending their many hundreds of yards of (longline). Their unusual calabash boats have a hole in the top and are partly filled with water, enabling the fish to be kept alive until they return to camp." Ibid., 159. Longlines are made by stretching a line underwater between stakes. The line has hooks placed along it at intervals. Most fish are impaled on the hooks, which is not as unlikely as it may seem to people accustomed to fish with many scales, for many of these fish, which have adapted themselves to the special circumstances of the swamps, are soft-skinned and without scales like the catfish. Ibid., 157-159.

160. (Gymnarchidae) Gymnarchus niloticus, "trunkfish." The Hausa also call it 'dan sarki ("son of the chief," because both he and the fish are greatly respected, ibid., 211), and the juveniles are called zawo salbali. "(This) species (is) unmistakable and extraordinary....The body is long and eel-like, attenuated gradually to a cylindrical and pointed, rat-like tail....(It) attains a length of more than 1,500 mm. and a weight of exceeding 15 kg. They are speared by fishermen as they swim around their nests (built of grass about a meter in diameter and with the perimeter extending several centimeters above the water, except for a small opening through which the fish enters and leaves). They are also caught in traps and longlines, both baited and unbaited ones. The flesh is very oily and has a strong, rich flavour and is greatly esteemed by most Africans. Irvine recorded the same in Ghana as did Sandon in Sudan. It is also relished when smoked....They are frequently offered as the traditional tribute to the leaders and chiefs at the beginning of the fishing season and on ceremonial occasions...." Ibid., 31-32.

161. (Bagridae) Bagrus spp., "silver catfish." Other Hausa names are doza, dinko (B. docmac niger), and ragon ruwa ("ram of the water" because "fishermen claim that when a school of these fish is seen under water, it resembles a white ram." Ibid., 211). "The genus Bagrus has three species, all of which have moderately elongated, slightly compressed bodies of a bluish-grey or slightly iridescent colour....Their father flattened heads have the nostrils widely separated and there are four pair of long simple barbels. Bagrus inhabit rivers and swamps....All three species are fairly common throughout the year....They are captured with most types of fishing gear....The flesh is white, of firm texture and excellent flavour - one of the finest eating fishes in this area.... It is also suited to smoking, after which it has good keeping qualities (They grow) to at least 700 mm. and a weight of 5 kg. or more." Ibid., 66-67.

162. (Characidae) Alestes nurse, "silversides." Other Hause names are jan wutsiya ("red tail), and garin kundundu (kudundu is the fruit of the ce'diya tree in Kabi). "There are at least nine species in these waters of the genus Alestes, all of which have medium to

elongated silvery bodies....Most species of Alestes are common, perhaps numerically the most important in the region. They are numerous in swamps, small creeks and rivers...." Ibid., 37-41.

163. (Clariidae) Heterobranchus spp., "African pike." In Hausa, also called mari, and fussan. "The genus Heterobranchus is similar in many respects to Clarias (mudfish)....They live in the swamps and rivers, but prefer the former habitat. Heterobranchus are caught in nets, traps, fish-fences and on longlines, chiefly on the receding floods. They are very common and form a significant part of the commercial catch, particularly in the areas where there are many swamps....(The species H. bidorsalis) is very common and grows to about 1.2 meters and a weight of 30 kg." Ibid., 81 and 206.

164. (Clariidae) Clarias spp., "mudfish." Other Hausa names are kullumi, hana noma ("prevent farming," because "the spines inflict a wound which can prevent a fisherman from tending his farm." Ibid., 211), and 'dan lakoko ("son of lakoko"). "Clarias, or mudfish as they are appropriately named, have long bodies with dorsally-flattened heads enclosed by bony plates. They have large terminal mouths and four pairs of simple barbels....Clarias have accessory breathing organs attached to the gills. They can live out of water for several hours or in damp muddy places for months...The oily flesh of Clarias is greatly relished by most...people, either in a fresh condition or after smoking." Ibid., 78-80, and 205.

165. (Schilbedae) Eutropius niloticus, "butterfish." Other Hausa names are balo, nalanga, and peko. "....The colour of adults is bright silver on the sides and usually bluish on the back. The fins are clear....They grow to a length of about 300 mm....The flesh is soft and of excellent flavour...." Ibid. 77 and 205.

166. (Mochokidae) Synodontis schall, "catfish." Other Hausa names are gunguru, and jabar ruwa. "The genus Synodontis, known commonly as catfish, or as kurungu in Hausa, is represented in local waters by the bewildering variety of about twenty species....(They) are very common throughout the year, and are probably more important in the commercial catch than any other genus. They are caught by most types of fishing gear....The flesh of all species is of similar quality - white in colour, slightly soft, and of excellent flavour....They are also suited to smoking...after which they have excellent keeping qualities." Ibid., 85-86, 209.

167. (Polypteridae) Polypterus spp., "sail-fins of Bichirs." Other Hausa names are gartsa, robai, and gwando dua (P. endlicheri). The family Polypteridae contains the least modified survivors of the ancient group known as Palaeniscoids, one of the earliest true bony fishes which flourished in the Paleozoic epoch, around three hundred million years ago. All members of the family have long slender bodies covered by bony...scales with a smooth enamel-like...surface....The air bladder is a genyine breathing organ and it is divided into two unequal parts like the lungs of higher

animals....Polypterus can breath air and are capable of surviving for many hours out of water....The flesh is not oily and has an excellent flavour." Ibid., 9, 208.

168. (Osteoglossidae) Heterotis (Clupsudis) niloticus, "mudfish." Other Hausa names are berigi, 'dan shakata, and nakantala (juveniles). "Heterotis are easily recognized by their unusual, long, regular shape, their spineless dorsal and anal fins and their small, rounded tail, seemingly out of proportion to the size of the body which grows to about a metre in length and exceeds 6 kg. in weight ....(It) lives mostly in swamps and creeks where the current is not strong....(It has) large bony scales....They are caught throughout the year, but particularly on rising river level, i.e. June to August, when they are captured chiefly in traps, with spears, and in seine and gill nets...The flesh is fairly tough and dry, with low oil content, and thus they keep in a fresh condition better than most other fish....When smoked they keep particularly well.... Ibid., 15-16, 205.

169. (Ophiocephalidae) Ophiocephalus obscurus, "snakehead." The other Hausa name is dunu. "Their elongated cylindrical bodies are covered, also on the head, with...scales. The scales on the head are large and rather like those of a snake, hence the generic name...(They) possess accessory breathing organs, somewhat like those of Clarias, with which they are able to breath air....This makes them particularly suited to life in swamps..." Ibid., 109-110, 207.

170. (Citharinidae) Citharinus spp., "moonfish." Other Hausa names are zolu, and kirajo (C. distichoides). "They are distinct fish, with strongly-compressed, silvery bodies....(They) inhabit rivers and swamps....(They) are caught throughout the year. Small ones of 80-120 mm. length are caught in large numbers during Oct., Nov., and Dec., as they leave the flood plains where they were spawned. At this time, catches of up to a hundred fish have been observed in a single throw of a cast net....The largest species (reaches) a length of about 600 mm. and 10 kg. weight." Ibid., 50, 205.

171. (Cichlidae) Tilapia spp., "tilapia, mango fish." Other Hausa names are karfas, bugu, falga, holinga, bulkuba, jinka, bakaba. "The family Cichlidae includes several hundred species of rather generalized freshwater Percoid fish....They are a conspicuous element in the freshwater fauna of Africa and tropical America.... The group is highly successful....Tilapia...with many species, forms the object of some of the largest freshwater fisheries in Africa." Ibid., 123, 209.

172. (Mormyridae) Mormyrops sp., "mormyrides, or trunk fish." Other Hausa names are sangwami, mai sanyin jiki ("cool body," for "its movements are generally slow and gentle." Ibid., 212), lali, tako (M. hasselquisti), and idon rago (M. phthalmus) ("eye of a ram"). There are three species and the flesh is tasty. Ibid., 21-22, 207.

173. Presumably the fish which is today called warushi, marushe, durukulli, and tandu (Bagridae) Chrysichthys spp., "silver catfish." "Three species of the genus Chrysichthys are found in this region. All have moderately elongated, silvery bodies and a relatively large head with protruding, oval-shaped, bulbous eyes. They have four pair of simple barbels, including a pair from the nostrils....The flesh...is of excellent quality." Ibid., 68, 204.

174. (Centropmidae) Lates niloticus. "Niger perch, or Nile perch." "Giwa ruwa," another name meaning "water elephant" is given to it because of its size: "It grows to the truly magnificent size of about two metres long and a weight of up to 80 kg." Ibid., 111, 207.

Chapter 3

The Origin of the Hausa People and A Survey of Their Lands

In this chapter, Imoru tells us two legendary accounts of the origin of the Hausa-speaking people, and two versions of the legendary division of the Hausas and their neighbors into the seven Hausa lands, Hausa bakwai, and the seven spurious lands, banza bakwai. He also gives us his observations on the characteristics of his countrymen and their lands in his time.

The Hausa-speaking people have many legends about their origins. The most widespread is the Bayajida legend which has come to us in many versions.[1] Imoru's first account is one of these versions. The second is less popular and more fanciful. These legends developed through the ages and were not the creation of a single individual. While they arose from, and belonged to the people, they were recited from memory - or read from manuscripts - by the Hausa malams who were fond of entertaining the people with the delightful myths and legends which had come down from the days of old.

The Bayajida myth was especially popular because, in addition to explaining the origin of the Hausa people, it accounted for the origin of the Hausa language which, as much as their land of birth, defines them as Hausa people. It also gives an explanation for the close ties the Hausa-speaking people have with the Arabic-speaking world across the Sahara, and the Baribari people of Bornu, on their eastern flank, who speak the Kanuri language.[2]

As the people listened to these legends, they felt the change

and continuity in their past: the legends tell of the days when women were important hunters and rulers, but the times had changed for these were now male occupations. Yet, the manner in which the women beautified themselves had not changed,[3] and the institution of slavery and the walled cities were present in Imoru's days, as they had been "in the beginning" when the Hausa states were supposedly founded by immigrants from the east. There was both the familiar and unfamiliar in these delightful tales.

It is doubtful that the legends can tell the historian much of value about the history of the Hausa-speaking people. If there is a central theme in the Bayajida legend that has been pursued by historians, it is the account of immigrants coming into Hausaland and laying the foundation for the state and all its ramifications.[4] Imoru's version tells us that the "spark" for change was the arrival in the future Hausaland of two brothers, and their wives, from the land of the Arabs: from this modest beginning arose the impressive Hausa states of the nineteenth century.

There are a number of writers who have handled these legends as if they were, indeed, serious historical documents. The sources have responded by forcing a very narrow interpretation of the Hausa past: because the written records - historical chronicles[5] as well as legends of origin - only go back about a thousand years, these writers have been forced to conclude that the social transformation which led to the state in Hausaland took place sometime during the past millennium, or after the arrival of the immigrants.[6]

There have been a few historians who have challenged these traditional accounts and have suggested that the foundation of the Hausa

state(s) was laid prior to the earliest extant written records, and prior to the arrival of these mysterious outsiders from the east. Thomas Hodgkin was one of these writers who sought the roots of the Hausa state formation in the period before these written records:

> It has often been said that the first millennium A.D. was a period in which organized states were first established in the savannah region; and that 'white peoples' - Berbers, Arabs, and others - played a significant part in the state-forming process. This is a doubtful hypothesis, developed at a time when dispersionist anthropology, and the idea of the 'white peoples' as the carriers of civilization, were much in vogue. Given that in some cases, for example Kanem and the Hausa States, Berber invaders probably played a part in the founding of new dynasties, organized states may well have already been in existence when the invaders arrived. There is at least no certain evidence to the contrary.[7]

Hodgkin made this statement in 1960, and "evidence to the contrary" is still not forthcoming. Rather, current research is now taking us further along the path in our search for a Hausa origin for the Hausa state. The most interesting work along these lines is being done by Abdullahi Smith of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, which was once the Hausa state of Zazau in Imoru's days. Smith takes us beyond Hodgkin's statement as follows:

> ...the conclusion can hardly be avoided that in the complete absence of any evidence for substantial Berber migration into Hausaland before or during the period c. 1000-1250 (when the Hausa Bakwai were probably founded) it is quite unsound to base any theory of state-formation in the area on Berber influence.[9]

If it seems unlikely that Arabs from the east, or Berbers from the north, came and built the Hausa states, what do we suggest as an alternative? Smith suggests that we begin with the Hausa-speaking people themselves and seek out the conditions which would bring about the political transformation leading to the state. He is seeking the

conditions which disturbed the balance between family groups living in hamlets which did not dominate each other, and lead to the nascent state centered in the walled capital or birni. This is his theory:

> ...the big change comes when a (hamlet) develops as a settling place for many unrelated immigrant lineages (because it is a center of attraction for some reason) and becomes a...town requiring a ruler (sarki) maintained by the support of the (hamlet/town quarter heads) and a type of government whose authority altogether transcends that of individual family groups in the community. These town governments are the embryonic state-governments, and the full development is realized when the authority of the (town ruler) is extended over the surrounding countryside (kasa) to embrace many (hamlets) and even (other towns). The expanding (town) then becomes the birni: the capital with its substantial industrial and commercial populations, its dependent arable land and its developed fortifications. The establishment of the birni with its dependent towns and hamlets marks the final stage of development of the Hausa state. Thereafter, expansion is merely a matter of gaining control of additional territory and its inhabitants....[10]

This transition from the small hamlet with a population united by kin ties, to a large fortified city with a population of many kinship groups, was a slow and gradual one. It was also an uneven one where some regions made the transition more rapidly than others. The process of change from the one political formation to the other was hardly uniform and it is highly likely, as suggested by Smith, that there were many false starts and the process was repeated more than one time in many regions.[11]

Migrations, or movements of peoples, have been mentioned in Smith's account as one element in the formation of the state, for the population of the birni is no longer a village group united through kinship and claiming descent from a common ancestor. The point to be stressed in these movements of peoples, however, is that they need not be movements of people into Hausaland: they could easily be people speaking the

common Hausa tongue, moving about within the region itself. The theory is, therefore, that these were not movements of people from distant lands bringing a new and different culture into Hausaland:

> It would indeed rather seem that migration within Hausaland has been a more important factor in the foundation of states than invasion from outside.[12]

The theory is an interesting and promising one, but the key question which remains unanswered is this: what are the conditions which caused the transition from the political unit based on the hamlet to the political unit based on the fortified city?

Perhaps a look at the nature of the relationship between the fortified city and the rural hamlet will give us a clue to the answer. The early Hausa state was characterized by a rural-urban dichotomy. The wealth of the early state was grain. It was produced by the rural peoples. A good amount, however, was drawn within the walls of the capital through tribute and taxation. The capital was, from the perspective of the countryside, the storehouse of the wealth. The tribute and taxation in grain was used to feed those who were not engaged in the productive process: rulers and the royal court; full-time religious functionaries; craftsmen who may or may not have been in the service of the royal household; and traders. In return, the ruler and his army "protected" the rural peoples from conquest by other rulers, for "his" rural peoples were the source of his livelihood.

It was not outsiders or insiders with "advanced political ideas" who laid the foundation for the Hausa state. This foundation was laid by the Hausa peasant who had experimented with the wild savanna grasses and over a long period of time brought them under his control. This enabled him - either by choice or under duress - to produce an agricultural

surplus. The surplus had all kinds of ramifications: settlements could increase in population and become more permanent. The cereals could be stored for longer periods than noncereal crops, leading to a more stable population. However, these were not the only developments. The most important seems to be that, somehow, this surplus was successfully claimed by people who did not produce it. Just how this small minority was able to successfully make and enforce this claim seems to be a central problem in this process of state formation, for this storehouse of grain in the fortified capital was essential to the survival of its inhabitants, and it was fundamental to the development of trade: if grain was not traded to regions in need of it, it was certainly used to feed the artisans who made the goods which were traded. It is suggested, therefore, that we must seek the origins of the state in Hausaland in the conditions which enabled a surplus to be produced by the rural farmer and transferred to an urban elite which had withdrawn itself from the basic productive process.

Another factor which should be taken into consideration is the rainfall pattern in the savanna. As noted in Chapter 2, the rainfall is unpredictable and famine occurs fairly often in Hausaland. While the sedentary life of cereal agriculture enabled the population to grow, the unpredictable rains resulted in periods of hunger and famine which could, and did, lead to starvation - unless food could be gotten in neighboring lands. It is suggested, therefore, that periodic famine in the savanna, and perhaps the southern Sahara, set peoples in motion, seeking food in regions - or storehouses- where it might be more abundant. A fortified city would be the best means of defense against "hungry people on the move" if there was a concentration of wealth to protect.

This explanation for the origin of the Hausa state, based on the climate and an agricultural surplus created by the rural Hausa farmers and claimed by the urban Hausa rulers and others, eliminates the necessity of calling in outsiders to build it. It also gives us a much longer period of time for the many trials and errors necessary for its growth, and it suggests that the origins go back further than Hausa written sources indicate.

By Imoru's time these states had experienced many ups and downs: their boundaries had changed, and their strength and fortunes had varied through the ages. Imoru tells us of the division of the Hausa lands into the Hausa bakwai and banza bakwai: the former seven were the original Hausa lands, and the latter seven the banza bakwai, subsequently came under the influence or control of the Hausa bakwai. According to Imoru, the bond that united the original seven was that of dialect similarities.

It is worthwhile noting that there are different versions of which lands are to be included in the original seven lands and the spurious seven lands.[13] Imoru gives us two of these versions. Presumably the Kano version is the older of the two, and the composition of the Hausa bakwai in this version is similar to that in the Bayajida legend which he tells us.[14] The Sokoto version is probably more recent, judging from the composition of the Hausa bakwai which it gives: it has dropped Biran, Auyo, and Rano, and added Zaria (Zazau), Kabi, and Zanfara. These changes can probably be accounted for by historical and geographical factors. As noted by Imoru in his observations on the conditions in the nineteenth century Hausa states, Biran, Auyo, and Rano were states of the past and no longer existed as political realities.

On the other hand, Zaria, Zanfara, and Kabi had developed as impressive states during the decline of Auyo, Biran, and Rano, and were significant Hausa states in the nineteenth century. Also, Zanfara and Kabi were geographically and historically closer to Sokoto than were the three which were dropped in the Sokoto version.

Both of these versions, however, include Kano, Katsina, Gobir - perhaps the most significant Hausa states of the past - and Daura which, according to Imoru, is called "motherland," uwar k'asa in all the Hausa dialects.

The Bayajida legend gives us a very amusing account of the origin of the Hausa language from the Arabic language. In many people's minds there was probably a need for an explanation of the close association between the two: the Hausa people were Muslims and the language of the Qur'an was Arabic; some of the Hausa vocabulary was drawn from Arabic; and the Hausa language was written in the Arabic script. All of these factors reveal the contact which the Hausa-speaking people have had with the Muslim world for a millennium or more. Today we know that the origin of the Hausa language is not found in the Arabic language. Rather, the two had a common proto-language in the very distant past, so long ago, in fact, that linguists have not hazarded a guess as to when that early proto-language existed.[15]

According to Joseph Greenberg's classification of the languages of Africa, the Hausa language belongs to one of five language groups which he calls the Afroasiatic family.[16] The five groups of the Afroasiatic family are: Semitic (to which Arabic belongs); the extinct ancient Egyptian language; Berber; the Cushitic languages of East Africa; and the Chad languages to which Hausa belongs.

There are eight other languages related to Hausa which Greenberg includes in the Chad group.[17] They are all spoken in the savanna zone between Hausaland in the west and the central region of the modern Republic of Chad in the east. These nine languages originate from a common "proto-Chad" language, but their separation into nine different languages was still long ago:

> These languages (of the Chad group) are so distinct from Hausa as to indicate that the latter separated out from them several thousand years ago.[18]

While Hausa has been a separate language for thousands of years, it has not been an unchanging one. For over a century linguists have been studying this most widely-spoken of West African languages, and one of the areas of greatest interest has been the study of words loaned to Hausa from other languages. Arabic loan words in Hausa have been studied most thoroughly, and the areas in which these loan words have been taken are of interest to the historian: techniques, tools and crafts; trade; parts of the body, functions and diseases; household and personal items; political organization and law; literacy and mathematics; and abstractions and religion.[19] More recently, Mervyn Hiskett has come to these conclusions about the contributions of the Arabic language to the vocabulary of the Hausa language:

> ...the basic vocabulary of Islam, together with some equestrian terms, became naturalized into Hausa approximately within the period 1350 to 1450....(and) a core of basic trade terms, particularly those contained in the Koran, are also likely to have become naturalized during this century. A further category of loan-words, associated with theology and the law are passing into Hausa mainly through Hausa religious poetry. Until and unless (other) evidence is forthcoming...we must date the beginning of this phase of the borrowing process, at the earliest, at the end of the eighteenth century.[20]

Kanuri, the language of the Baribari people of Bornu, has also been studied for its contributions to the Hausa vocabulary. Joseph Greenberg came to these conclusions as a result of this study:

> ...it may be said that a relatively small number of basic nouns having to do with the religious, political, economic and social spheres of Hausa culture are certainly, or in some instances, with high probability, borrowed from Kanuri and bear witness to a long continued and important influence upon the Hausa of their eastern Kanuri-speaking neighbours.[21]

This borrowing would be expected because of the long periods of domination of greater and lesser regions of Hausaland by their powerful neighbor to the east. To the west, the most powerful neighbor had been the empire of Mali, followed by the empire of Songhai which dominated much of western Hausaland in the early 16th century. Very little work has been done on the comparison of the language of the Songhai-speaking people and the Hausa language, but occasional references to the Sanwai language, as Imoru called the language of the Songhai-speakers, indicates that people in the far west of Hausaland were familiar with it. Skinner has suggested that the origin of the name Hausa may have come from the Songhai language:

> The main purpose of this short paper is to offer a solution to the problem of the origin of the name 'Hausa'....Westermann several times mentions accounts of the Hausa as having come from the east - as for example, the traditional account of Bayajidda, founder of the seven Hausa states....Now east and west are of course relative terms, and whereas the Egyptians and Sudanis might think of the Hausa speakers as westerners or southerners, to the men of Songhai and to those Arabs of the Maghreb who got their information from them...they might very likely be 'easterners.' And, in fact, the Songhai word for 'east' is hausa which would seem to be fairly conclusive.[22]

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that all of this study of loan words in the Hausa language has not been undertaken because the

Hausa language has not been undertaken because the Hausa language was in any sense deficient or weak, or incapable of expression, in any of these areas of borrowing. We know this is not the case. It has been undertaken, however, to help us understand how a language changes and the historical influences at work in the past of the Hausa-speaking people. From these studies we gain confirmation of what we know from other sources about the history of contact between the Hausa-speaking and non-Hausa-speaking peoples, and a deeper understanding of Hausa as a rich, resilient, and expressive language. We can expect that future linguistic studies will show how Hausa, in turn, has influenced neighboring languages. All of this contact has been a source of enrichment for the Hausa-speaking people and an indication that the institutions and language of Hausaland have been ever-changing.

With this in mind, let us return to Imoru and his account of the origin of the Hausa language and the people who speak it, and the characteristics of their lands in the nineteenth century.

The Origin of the Hausa People - Asalin Hausawa

The origin of the Hausa people dates back to the emigration of two brothers from the land of the Arabs. Each was accompanied by his wife and the small group settled in the wilderness at a place called Gabi near the land of Bornu.

They built huts with fences around them. They were archers and were shooting the wild animals. People came from Bornu and other towns to buy meat from these archers and eventually Gabi became a town.

They were settled at Gabi and the wife of the younger brother gave birth to a daughter. She was named Fatima. Her nickname was Dauratu which means "to roam" in Arabic. It was apropos for they had, indeed, roamed about the world until they arrived in Gabi and gave birth to her.

Dauratu never spoke until her mother died when she was about nine years old, and even then, they could not understand her first utterance. So they ignored her, but she repeated it many times. Her parents said, "haza kalamu hausa," which means "this is a foolish utterance" in Arabic.[23] Her utterance was not Arabic, nor was it the language of the Baribari people of Barnu and it wasn't the language of the people of Azben.[24]

They could not understand her language but she could understand theirs. She grew and had reached the age of puberty when the wife of the elder brother died. Dauratu learned how to shoot and she was an excellent archer like her parents. She tied a leather loincloth around her waist and wore the other cloths and trappings of a huntsman.

Many people came to understand her speech, but when they went to a place and spoke it they were asked, "what kind of utterance is that?" to which they would reply "kalamu hausa." Then they would be

asked, "what is kalamu hausa?" and they would reply, "a foolish utterance!"

It went on like that until her relatives died. Dauratu inherited their paraphanalia and she knew all the magic associated with shooting. She became a very successful hunter and people came to depend on Fatima Dauratu.

It was that way when the king of Bornu's official, Murima, came to Gabi and appeared before Fatima Dauratu. Murima in the Baribari language means "stable chief." He explained that he fled to her because he had committed a crime against the king of Bornu. She asked, "what crime did you commit?" and he gave the following reply. The king had a beautiful horse which he rode and there was no other horse like it in Bornu. The Murima, however, agreed with one of the king's sons to mate this horse and another was born exactly like it. The son conveyed his thanks to the Murima. But, when the king was told he was furious. As a result, a state of enmity now exists between the king and his son, and the king said he would kill the Murima! Now do you understand?

The murima said he wanted to marry Dauratu. When she heard this she replied, "Oh, dear me! No man sleeps with me because I have magic which can be contaminated!" He said, "Well, let us arrange the marriage so I will not sleep with you." She agreed and the marriage took place.

Dauratu had many female slaves. She gave a fine one to Murima and said, "This is the woman you will sleep with." He said "very well" and he slept with this slave until she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. The Murima named him Kusoto, a word from the Baribari language, which means "stranger," bako, in Hausa. That is why the name Bako is common among the Hausa people. But the mother called her son Karafzaure.

By this time some people had begun calling Fatima Dauratu, Fatima Daura, and others simply called her Daura.

Kusoto's mother despised her owner, Daura, intensely, and eventually when Daura spoke to her she replied "wo."[25] Well, this continued until one day when Daura became furious and untied her leather loincloth and threw it away. She removed all the men's clothing from her body, including the charms and armlets. She removed her archer's thumb ring and abandoned hunting and the magic associated with it.

Daura washed herself with soap, combed her hair and plaited it, rubbing in indigo which had been prepared beforehand. Then she applied henna to her hands and feet,[26] and rubbed on different kinds of perfume. She wrapped women's body cloths around herself and hung beads around her neck. She put on an anklet and a bangle, and applied eye makeup around her eyes. Then she drank kalgo[27] to redden her lips, and stained her teeth with tobacco blossoms.[28]

That day she became a very beautiful woman. She went to her husband and he slept with her. They had intercourse, she became pregnant, and gave birth to a boy. The Murima named him Fatoma in the Baribari language which means "head of the house" in the Hausa language, but Daura preferred to call him Bawo, meaning "there is no wo."

It is said that the king of Bornu died at this time and his son, whom he hated, succeeded him as ruler. He sent for the Murima who returned and then sent for his sons to follow him to Bornu, but Daura forbade it.

That is how the language spoken by Daura spread everywhere. Her son, the son of her slave, and their very large families, all spoke it. In her speech, which is the Hausa language, some people call it kalamu

Hausa which means "Hausa utterance," while others call it maganan Hausa which means "Hausa language," and still others simply say Hausa.

The relationship between Daura and her slave, and Bawo and Karafzaure as well, was unpleasant. However, Bawo eventually became strong and everybody liked and followed him because his mother had everything. It was like that until Karafzaure's mother died and he departed for a place near Bornu where he settled. He married a Baribari girl named Zara and she gave birth to a son whom Karafzaure named Birankane.

Karafzaure, his wife, son, and growing family, stayed there until his people were numerous. Today that place is called Biranta gabas, eastern Biran. But Karafzaure's name was no longer pronounced correctly for he was called Kazaure. His descendants are called Kazaurawa, "Kazaure's people."

When the town became overpopulated the site was changed and the town was called Kazaure after their founder. The town is there today in the land of Kazaure.[29]

Well, Bawo also married a Baribari woman who gave birth to a son whom Bawo named Gabi after the wilderness region settled by the first people. A big town developed there, and a wall was built around it. People called it Birnin Daura. That is why, when people are talking and someone says Birnin Daura, the Hausa say Gabi kan kasa, meaning "Gabi, head of the land."

Bawo's wife gave birth to another son and Bawo gave him a name which has been forgotten today. He is remembered as the one who would always reply ka shina, "you know?" to everything asked him by his father. He gave this reply everyday until it stuck to him like a name, hence he

he is called Kashina.[30]

While his name is completely forgotten, his father loved him dearly. That is why his land was originally bigger than the land of Bawo's other sons, but eventually Kano surpassed it.

Bawo's wife gave birth to another son whom Bawo named Kanu, meaning "fire" in his father's tongue, the language of the Baribari people. Today people say Kano.

She gave birth to another boy whom Bawo named Gobir. A sixth son was given the name Rino, like the metal skewer used for roasting meat, but people say Rano today. He was Bawo's youngest son.

These were Bawo's six sons. People who know no better add Biran and say Bawo had seven sons. However, Biran is definitely the son of Kazaure.

Bawo lived a long life - until his sons grew up - and then he died. He blessed Kashina and gave him certain things in secret before he died. After he died his children scattered. Auyo, the eldest, settled at a place that became a town. A wall was built around it and today it is called Birnin Auyo. But it is old, dilapidated, and abandoned.

Gabi became Birnin Daura, while Kashina established himself at Kumayau. Later he moved and settled at Zaye which was called Zuwa in old Hausa. It grew to be a big town and a wall was built around it. It was called Birnin Kashina, but in the dialect of the people it was called Birnin Katsina. The people there are named Katsinawa, "Katsina's people" and the land is called Katsina. Today when the Hausa are conversing and someone mentions Birnin Katsina, people always say zai ta Korau, meaning Korau's Zaye. Korau was the youngest son of Katsina.

Kano settled in wilderness at Birinbirin and then left and went to Gaya. Then he went to Sheshe where people gathered and built a town wall. It has been called Birnin Kano to this day.

Gobir settled at a place noted for its acacia trees west of Katsina. He built a house under a "lizard acacia," gawon gazau, for gazau means lizard in old Hausa. That place became Birnin Gobir. The people are the Gobirawa, "Gobir's people," and their territory is the land of Gobir.

When Rano was young he settled on the southern side of Kano and built a town called Birnin Rano. It is still there today.

Well, this is the story of the origin of the Hausa people told to me by Malam Kutshisu. I also heard it from Malam Barmani, a Kabi man, who has the name given him on his naming day.

However, Malam Ahmadu gives a different account of the beginning of the Hausa people. He says there were two boys and a girl making three children in all. They grew and when the elder boy reached the age of six years, neither he nor his younger brother or sister could speak.

They used to take a cow, sa, from their house to an abandoned farm to feed. Their family also farmed, but one day when nobody but the children were there the elder boy spoke. He said hau sa, "climb on the cow." The girl replied, ba sa,"there is no cow." The younger boy later said hauka, meaning "madness," and it was evident he was unable to pronounce hau sa correctly!

The elder boy's language was what is called Hausa. Today the girl's language is called Basanci, "Basa language,"[31] and her people are still on the land and are called Basa. The language of the younger brother is called Hauka today. If somebody is insane and does not know

what he is saying, people say he is talking Hauka, "madness." Hausa people who have no sense are called Haukawa, "Hauka's people," as if they are descended from the younger brother!

The eldest daughter of Auyo gave birth to the Warjawa.[32] The eldest daughter of Gabi gave birth to the Hadejawa,[33] and the eldest daughter of Katsina gave birth to the Kabawa.[34] It is said that Bawo had a daughter who gave birth to Zazau.

This is the origin of the name Kabi. Katsina's daughter gave birth to her first son and when he was about nine years old his grandfather, Katsina, asked for the boy to be brought to him. People brought him and Katsina gave him a lot of advice. When he finished he said to the boy, ka bi foro na, ka bi fa, ka bi! This meant "Follow my advice, follow it, follow it!" So his mother called him Kabi, "follow it," and the land is still called Kabi today.

Kabi had a daughter whom certain hunters married and took to the wilderness near the bank of the river Kwara, Niger. They settled there and hunted wild animals. After one year they returned to greet Kabi and they brought him a lot of jerky, yawara. That is the reason he called them Yawarawa,[35] "jerky people." Today people call them Yawurawa.

Gobir was the father of many daughters, one of whom was an albino called fara, meaning "white." She did not marry and had an illegitimate child. Gobir was furious and drove her away. Certain hunters found her and sheltered her, and she gave birth to a girl in their company. They asked her origin and she told them she was the daughter of Gobir. They went to him and did their best to calm him and they were successful. They said they wanted to marry her, Gobir consented and gave her to them.

She settled with them. Later the men came to greet Gobir and people

said mazan fara, "Fara's husbands," have come! People kept saying mazan farawa, "husbands of Fara's people," until it became Zanfarawa,[36] "Zanfarawa's people." They settled by the stream named Zurmi and made a town there called Banga, and their population grew.

It is said the Gurmawa[37] originated from the Hausa. When king Soba of Gobir became powerful he said he would wage war up to the river's edge. He crossed the river Kwara, Niger, on his campaign and went and set up a war camp at that place. It was wilderness then. But, his people didn't want to advance beyond that point. They were having lengthy deliberations and there was a lot of vacillating. The king heard about this and was furious. He left the camp without making preparations.

Many young slaves were out gathering grass and when they returned they didn't find the warriors. So, they remained there with the slave girls who had gone for fire wood. They married, had children, and became the Gurmawa. They are still called that today.

The Ingoi[38] have a different story. It is said that the king of Gobir's official, the Majidadi, was sleeping with the daughter of one of the king's lesser officials, the Baraya. He had not finished and the king came in. The king saw them and said sanunku da aiki, "greetings at your work!" The startled pair rose saying ingoi, ingoi, a return greeting in the Songhai language, and ran away as fast as they could! They left their clothes behind and were absolutely naked. They ran and climbed to the top of a rock which was very high. There they built a hut and settled. Eventually they had children and today these people are called the children of those who said ingoi, ingoi. Some people simply call them Ingoi.

The Seven Hausa Lands - Hausa Bakwai

There are seven authentic Hausa lands, Hausa bakwai. The composition of these seven lands is different according to the people of Zano and Sokoto.

The people of Kano say Bawo's children are all Hausawa, Hausa people. That is why they say the seven Hausa lands begin with Biran in the east. It is the first land. The second is Auyo, the third is Daura, the fourth is Katsina, the fifth is Kano, the sixth is Gobir, and the seventh is Rano. These are the seven authentic Hausa lands as far as the people of Kano are concerned.

The people of Sokoto say the first of the seven authentic Hausa lands is Daura, the second is Katsina, the third is Gobir, the fourth is Kano, the fifth is Kabi, the sixth is Zanfara, and the seventh is Zaria. These are the seven genuine Hausa lands according to the people of Sokoto.

They are called the seven Hausa lands, Hausa bakwai, because they are composed of Hausa people. Each understands the others' speech, maganganu, but their dialects, halusa, differ. Thus, when a Hausa person speaks, his land is known because of his dialect.

All seven dialects are close to each other although the lands are often far apart and people are often not familiar with the other lands. The dialect of Kano is close to that of Katsina. The dialects of Zazau, Auyo, Biran, and Rano are like that of Kano. The dialects of Zanfara, Kabi, and Gobir are closest to each other. There is no difference between the speech of the peoples of Kabi and Gobir.

The dialect of Daura is very similar to that spoken in Kano and Gobir. However, it sometimes differs with all of these. There are many unique things the people of Daura say and no other people in

Hausaland say it that way. On the otherhand, whatever the people of Zanfara say, some others in the seven Hausa lands say it like that: all their speech is in common with the others.

In Daura the name for "play" is gyauga. There are no other people in the seven Hausa lands who call "play" gyauga. In Kano, Katsina, and Zaria, they say wasa. The people of Zanfara, Kabi, and Gobir say wargi. This latter holds true for the Sokoto dialect because Sokoto is in Gobir today.

There are many other things like that.

The Seven Spurious Lands - Banza Bakwai[39]

The composition of the seven spurious lands, banza bakwai, differs according to the people of Kano and Sokoto.

The people of Kano say the first of the seven spurious lands in Zaria, the second is Zanfara, the third is Kabi, the fourth is Yawuri, the fifth is Wargi,[40] the sixth is Korarafa,[41] and the seventh is Basa. These are the seven illegitimate lands according to the Kano people.

The Sokoto people say the first of the seven illegitimate lands is Yawuri, the second is Kamuku,[42] the third is Ingoi, the fourth is Korarafa, the fifth is Guari,[43] the sixth is Basa, and the seventh is Bangi, the Dakarkari people.[44] These are the seven spurious lands according to the people of Sokoto.

Songhai is different. It is neither included in the seven spurious lands, nor the seven authentic Hausa lands because its language is different.[45]

The Lands of the Hausa People - K'asashen Hausawa

Daura is "motherland," uwar k'asa, in all the Hausa dialects.

She is also called "Gabi, head of the land," Gabi kan k'asa. The Hausa speech in Daura is the oldest of all Hausa dialects and is only spoken there. It has not been learned in other regions except by people who are nearby.

Daura borders Bornu, Katsina, and Azben. It is of moderate size - not very large - and there is not much wilderness. Food is inexpensive and they have excellent bullrush millet, gero, which is very tasty. People say it is the best in Hausaland for making the staple food called fura. Their most common drink is bullrush millet flour mixed with milk, gunba da nono.

There is a scarcity of water in Daura and, what there is, is drawn from wells, riwoyi. Every town has one dug by communal labor: they are sometimes dug to a depth of sixty feet before water is reached.

The land of Auyo is next to Daura. In the early days the Auyo rulers dominated a wide region but now they are weak: all the old towns are deserted and the name of Birnin Auyo is no longer mentioned. Even the people of Auyo are practically gone: only a few remain and they are poverty-striken and have nothing. Hadeja is located in the land of Auyo.

The land of Katsina was originally the largest of the Hausa lands. Birnin Katsina was also the principal market in Hausaland, but Kano has taken its place today. The Katsina dialect is only spoken in Katsina.

Katsina borders seven lands: Azben, Bornu, Gobir, Zanfara, Nufe, Zazau, and Kano. It is a long and narrow land which is biggest in the southwest: from Birnin Katsina, Kotarkoshi, Kunbashi, Bini, Bena, Kotankoro, Kuyanbana, Kusharki - all these rocky regions - to Wanba and Kamuku. Their dialect is like that of the Kano people up to the rocks which are near the Badakare people near the land of Yawuri. All of this

makes up the land of Katsina.

There is a lot of wilderness in Katsina. Northwards from Birnin Katsina there is nobody, not even a farm: it is wilderness as far as Birnin Maradi.

There are large walled cities, birane, and there are villages, anguna, in the land of Katsina. There are also many heathens called Maguzawa.[46]

There is no shortage of drinking water: in some towns they get it from wells while in others it comes from streams.

There are many goats in this land and there is a lot of guinea-corn, dawa. The bullrush millet is good and preferable to that of Kano.

The people of the land of Katsina don't care about fancy dress: even though many of them have fancy clothes they don't wear them!

The majority of the people of this land are not miserly. However, they are arrogant and despise everybody: they look upon all other Hausa people as their slaves. They like to quarrel with others because they do not like others to get the best of them: if they go somewhere and somebody annoys one of them, all the Katsina people gather together and quarrel with the person.

They do not fear their rulers in the slightest, and when they go to other towns they praise the Katsina rulers.[47]

The land of Kano has been blessed with prosperity. It is a highly populated land with more people than Katsina. There is no wilderness and the land is well laid out: Birnin Kano is in the middle and the land encircles it on the east and west, south and north.

Kanoland borders Bornu, Katsina, Bauci, and Zazau, land of the Zagezage people. There is only one river in Kanoland, and it is called

the Jdil river after a town on the riverbank.

The land is well endowed with food. Guineacorn, dawa, is the most common cereal crop, and they call it kaura. They have lots of beans, wake, peanuts, ge'da, very large kokoyams, guaza, sweet potatoes, dankali, tasty cassava, rogo, deleb-palm shoots, muruci, rizga, very big onions, albasa, the bitter tomato-like fruit called gauta, tomatoes, tamatur,[43] and long thin red peppers called tugande.[49] Wheat is grown in some towns: a lot is grown in the town named Bagoi. There are also many cattle, shanu, sheep, tumakai, and goats, awakai, in Kanoland.

Kano has a lot of indigo, baba, in fact, more than any other Hausa land. The Kano people are very good at dying with indigo dye, rimi. There is no town without a dye pit, karofi, unless it is very small.

There are many walled cities with markets. The market of Birnin Kano does not close, but the others close on a rotating basis: some close every other day, others close every third day, etc.

In Kanoland there are rich people, tajirai, and there are poverty-stricken people, matsiyata, who barely eke out a living.

Kano has more diseases and illnesses than any other Hausa land. There is a vast number of sick people there: many lepers, kutare, cripples guragu, blind people, makafi, and people with spinal deformities, kusanbi. There are also mentally ill people, mahaukata, some of whom walk about spitting. Some of these sick people drag themselves about on their bottoms while others lean on sticks.

In all the towns there are many sick people who sleep in the markets: when the market closes they remain there as if it were their home. It's like that in Birnin Kano: there are always insane people in the market and they sleep there.

The lepers' quarter of Kano is very near our house: we are their neighbors. The lepers are still there today. The blind have their separate quarter behind a rock called Dala in Birnin Kano. That section is like a small town. There is even a "ruler of the blind," sarkin makafi. When we were children, one day we heard it said that the blind in Kano were counted: there were 1,300 blind men, women, children and elderly people.

There are also many bad people in Kano: thieves, barayi, insolent people, masu rashin kunya, prostitutes, karuwai, who have refused to marry, and those people who borrow on credit with no intention of repaying, masu hage.

The people of Kano fear their king very much: when he speaks everybody trembles. Everybody - young and old - is afraid and does whatever he says.[50]

Everybody engages in handicrafts, sanaoi, in Kanoland, even the king's sons and the malams. There are women in the land of Kano who are very good at spinning cotton and making thread.

The land of Gobir is not too large, but in times of old they had jurisdiction over many lands. Sokoto and Wurno are in the land of Gobir. This land borders Azben, Kabi, Zanfara, and Katsina.

There are rivers in Gobir, thus there is a lot of rice, shinkafa, and fish, kifaye, two of the three staple foods, and the third is bullrush millet.

The people obey the king's command, but the king's daughters do not fear him and his sons rebel against him, tawaye!

The people of Gobir are the most courageous warriors in Hausaland: if they lose a war many of them are killed because they don't run

away easily. But today, the very old towns of Gobir are all in ruins because of the violent disputes of the past.[51]

There are not many wealthy people in Gobir, but there is good health and not much disease. There is also a lot of magic, magunguna, in that land which resembles fetishism, tsafi.

In the land of Kabi they speak the dialect of Gobir. Kabi borders Songhai, Yawuri, Zanfara, and Gobir. Sokoto is built on the border of the lands of Kabi and Gobir and that is why some people say half of Sokoto is in Gobir and half is in Kabi. That is incorrect for all the land of Sokoto belongs to Gobir. However, Bodinga, Jega, and Gwandu are in the land of Kabi.

The first capital of the people of Kabi is in ruins and nobody lives there. It was near Surami or Silami which is the name of a big stream.[52]

There is no wilderness in Kabi except for the wilderness of Foga. That is one of two places in the land of Kabi where salt, gishiri, is found. This kind of salt is called "son of Yalu," 'dan Yalu, after the name of the town. Suru is the other location for salt and it is called "son of Suru," 'dan Suru, after the town.

The land of Kabi has a river which makes a big marsh, fadama. There they catch a lot of fish and they cultivate a good amount of rice.

The Kabi people grow rice very well and they are primarily "marsh-workers."[53] They are not traders, 'yan kasuwa, and there are only a few markets in their land. They don't know how to buy and sell!

They often talk foolishly, but on the other hand they are the most honest people in Hausaland. When a person from Kabi tells you something, you shouldn't forget it because it's the truth.[54]

There is not much disease in this land, hence there are not many sick people. The Kabi people are afraid of sickness: if they see a person with a serious disease or illness they become frightened and flee from him. There are a few blind people in Kabi, and some lepers, cripples, and some men suffering from swollen testicles, masu goiwa.

They like to tease, and if a woman fornicates and it is discovered, she is ridiculed very much. They also tease a person who is a coward in warfare.

Some of the Kabi people go to war. There are not many wealthy people in that land, nor were there in days of old, but the food was cheap and very good.

The Kabi people respect malams.

There is no separate land of Rano: all of it is in Kano.

Zazau is the land of the Zagezage people. There are also people who speak different languages in that land. It is vast and has many streams and rocky outcroppings. The capital city is Zaria, and the land surrounds this city on the east and west, south and north. It is big in the south where it stretches as far as Kuker, Gitata, Kafi, and Kogarko.

The land of Zazau borders Kano and Bauci. Bauci is the land of the Jarawa. Because they speak a different language[55] they are referred to as Bauci. Zazau also borders Katsina and Nufe. All the Gwarawa[56] are in the land of Zazau. To the north there is not much land.

There are many different kinds of food in the land of Zazau. There are yams and the rizga plant. There are big tigernuts which are called "Zaria tigernuts," ayar Zaria. There is a lot of sugarcane, rake, and the people of Kano call it Zaria sugarcane, takan'dar Zaria.

The people of this land are great farmers. That is their occupation except for sewing, 'dumki, and dying with indigo, but not like Kano.

The land of Zanfara is of moderate size. The capital city is Anka and every king of Zangara stays there. The land borders Katsina, Gobir, Kabi, and Yawuri. It has uninhabited land and a great deal of water. The river Gindi passes through the middle as does the river Gusu. There are also large ponds, tafuka, which hold many fish.

The people of this land have eczema, kirci, because they drink water from bamboo, gora. There are also many blind people in Zangara. There is even a town named Takare which is almost a town for the blind, for there are not many people there who can see.

There is a lot of guineacorn in Zanfara and it is the ingredient of their staple foods of tuwo and fura. There is also a vast amount of cotton, abduga, and calabashes, duma, so people travel from other towns to buy cotton and medium and large sized calabashes in Zanfara.

In this land they like to fight with each other a lot. After they install a king and he has ruled for awhile, they say they don't like him and they drive him away. So, he goes to another town and gathers supporters and then returns to wage war against the people who drove him from his capital. As a result, the land is always in ruins.

There are not very many wealthy Zangara people, except for strangers who have settled there because they were driven from their lands by warfare.

The following were originally in the land of Zazau: Munci, Arago, Mada, Kukuku, Kadara, Koro, Lumunu, and the Afawa people. They are different types of heathens but they speak Hausa like the people of Kano.

Footnotes to Chapter 3

1. For other versions see: Skinner, N., Hausa Folk Tales and Miscellanea, vol. I, 219, 226, and 270; Palmer, H. R., Sudanese Memoirs, vol. III, 133-163; Hogben, S. J., and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirates of Northern Nigeria, 145-155; and Smith, M. G., "The Beginnings of Hausa Society," in Vansina, J., et. al., The Historian in Tropical Africa, 340-341; and the most recent outline and analysis of the Bayajida legend is found in Hallam, W. K. R., "The Bayajida Legend in Hausa Folklore," Journal of African History, VII, 1 (1966), 47-60.

2. The Hausa people call them Baribari; others call them Kanuri. See the interesting account of Kanuri past and present in Cohen, R., The Kanuri of Bornu.

3. See Imoru's account of marriage in Chapter 6.

4. For example, see Palmer, Hallam, and Smith cited in footnote 1, above.

5. The most frequently used chronicle for historical reconstruction is the Kano Chronicle which accounts for the origins of Kano society about 1000 years ago: see Palmer, H. R., Sudanese Memoirs, vol. III, 92-132.

6. Palmer, Hallam, and Smith cited in footnote 1, above.

7. Hodgkin, T., Nigerian Perspectives, 21.

8. See Smith, Abdullahi, "Some Considerations Relating to the Formation of States in Hausaland," Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, vol. V, no. 3, Dec. 1970, 329-346.

9. Ibid., 335.

10. Ibid., 338.

11. Ibid., 339.

12. Ibid., 343.

13. Hogben, S. J., and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirates..., 145-150, has a different version, as does Smith, M. G., "The Beginnings...," 340, and Hodgkin, T., Nigerian Perspectives, 56, fn. 1.

14. Biran often differs: see Hogben, S. J., and A. H. M. Kirke-Greene, The Emirates..., 149.

15. A very useful bibliography of works about the Hausa language has been compiled by D. W. Arnott in Westermann, D., and M. A. Bryan, The Languages of West Africa, 251-258.

16. See Greenberg, J., The Languages of Africa, 42-46.

17. Ibid., 46.

18. Smith, Abdullahi, "Some Considerations...," 331.

19. Greenberg's classification as quoted in Goerner, M., and Y. Salman, "Arabic Loan Words in Hausa," in Goerner, M., et. al., Two Essays on Arabic Loan Words in Hausa, 2-4.

20. Hiskett, M., "The Historical Background to the Naturalization of Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa," African Language Studies, VI, 1965, 26.

21. Greenberg, J. H., "Linguistic Evidence for the Influence of the Kanuri on the Hausa," Journal of African History, I, 2 (1960), 212.

22. Skinner, N., "The Origin of the Name 'Hausa,'" Africa, XXXVIII, 3, July 1968, 256. For other accounts of the possible origin of the name 'Hausa,' see Westermann, D., "Some Notes on the Hausa People and their Language," in Bargery, G. P., A Hausa-English Dictionary..., ix; and a more fanciful account, akin to Imoru's second account, in Palmer, H. R., Sudanese Memoirs..., vol. III, 135.

23. A nice play on words: it does, indeed, mean "this is a foolish utterance" in Arabic, but in the Hausa language it means "this is a Hausa utterance!" Here Dauratu represents the future Hausa-speaking people, and the Hausa language which she is introducing is not understood by her Arabic-speaking parents.

24. North of Hausaland in the southern Sahara.

25. Bargery, G. P., A Hausa-English Dictionary..., 1091, says it means "booing." Thus, the response can be taken as an insult or sign of contempt.

26. (Lythraceae) Lawsonia inermis. "In West Africa the henna shrub is always planted; it is believed to be of Asiatic origin, the name being Persian....The green powder of the dried leaves is sold in the markets for its cosmetic value. It is soaked in water to which a little lime juice is added, and applied for tinting the hands, feet and nails. The usage dates from the time of ancient Egypt, and mummies have been found wrapped in henna-dyed cloth showing the tint on the nails. The application is commonly made by bandaging for several hours, or by immersing the hand in a cylindrical gourd containing the preparation....The effect on the nails is believed to promote healthy growth and to act as a preventive of inflammations. In Egypt and E. Sudan women add the henna powder with lime juice to their kohl, which is said to be rendered more durable, and also to prevent eye-strain by absorbing the light rays and by having a notic effect on the eyelids and preventing swelling." Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 40, consult this source for medicinal and veterinary uses. For its use in Imoru's time, see his account of marriage in Chapter 6.

27. (Caesalpiniaceae) Bauhinia Thonningii. An infusion of the bark of the leaves is used for many medicinal purposes, including relief from toothache. The root-bark is also chewed by women in order to redden the lips. Ibid., 175.

28. Refer to the account of this practice in the section on limes in Chapter 2.

29. Between Daura and Katsina.

30. = Katsina.

31. The Basa language has been classified by Greenberg as belonging to the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger-Congo family of languages. Greenberg, J. H., The Languages of Africa, 164.

32. They live near the Niger-Benue confluence, and their language belongs to the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger-Congo family. Ibid.

33. People living in Hadeja kingdom in Northeastern Hausaland.

34. People of Kabi.

35. People of Yawuri, south of Kabi. One of the banza bakwai according to both the Sokoto and Kano versions. "...most likely founded by emigrants from Hausaland proper..., Smith, A., "Some Considerations...," 337.

36. = the Zanfara people.

37. This is curious, for these people live west of Hausaland in southeastern Upper Volta and speak a language which Greenberg has classified as belonging to the Gur (or Voltaic) sub-family of the Niger-Congo family: Greenberg, J. H., The Languages..., 8. The distance in time between this language and Hausa is much too great for it to be recalled in oral tradition.

38. = Agwoi who speak Kamuku belonging to the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger-Congo family. Ibid., 167. They live in southwest Hausaland.

39. The Hausa word "banza" is translated as spurious, illegitimate, bastard, etc.

40. This name puzzles me.

41. After the 15th century, this state to the south of Hausaland in the Venue valley was often a threat to, or paying tribute to, one or more of the Hausa states. The speak the Junkun language which Greenberg classifies in the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger-Congo family. Ibid., 166.

42. The language is classified in the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger-Congo family by Greenberg. Ibid., 167. The people live in southwest Hausaland.

43. West of Zaria and south of Zanfara.

44. Dakakari language belongs to the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger-Congo family. Ibid., 165. The people live north of Kontagora in western Hausaland.

45. One of six branches of the Nilo-Saharan family of languages according to Greenberg. Ibid., 130. Their home is primarily in eastern Mali.

46. The Hausa-speaking people who hold to traditional non-Islamic religious beliefs and practices. "Maguzawa (singular Bamaguje) is probably derived from the Arabic majūsī, 'a Magian, Zorastrian.'... it is applied in the later Arabic literature to all kinds of heretics and unbelievers; for instance the Normans of Sicily...." Greenberg, J. H., The Influence of Islam on a Sudanese Religion, 13, fn. 7.

47. For other entertaining accounts of the character of the Katsina people, see Skinner, N., Hausa Folk Tales..., vol. I, 238, 247, 249, 284, and vol. II, 98.

48. (Solanaceae) Lycopersicum cerasiforme. "(This) native variety is... commonly used as a soup and sauce sweetner, often dried and preserved." There are many medical uses for it. Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 430.

49. (Solanaceae) Capsicum annuum, and C. frutescens, "chili pepper." Tugande is a large and less pungent variety. Dalziel, Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, 13. Indigenous to Tropical America and naturalized in West Africa. Many medicinal and veterinary uses too. Dalziel, Useful Plants..., 427-428.

50. For additional accounts of the character of the Kano people, see Skinner, N., Hausa Folk Tales..., vol. I, 234, 247, 249, 284, and vol. II, 98.

51. For other accounts of the people of Sokoto, see ibid., vol. I, 205, and vol. II, 371.

52. See Hogben, S. J., and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirates..., 241-243, and Skinner, N., Hausa Folk Tales..., vol. II, 369.

53. See ibid., vol. II, 408, 409 for rice cultivation in Kabi.

54. Another account of the character of the men of Kabi is found in ibid., vol. I, 238.

55. Greenberg classified Jarawa in the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger-Congo family, but then indicates that it is to be omitted.

Greenberg, J. H., The Languages..., 166. Westermann, D., and M. A. Bryan, Languages of West Africa, classify it as follows: "dialect cluster?" Confusion apparently exists about its proper classification.

56. Gwari people.

Chapter 4

Religion

The religion of Islam had its beginnings in Hausaland more than five hundred years before Imoru's birth. Its impact had not been uniform and the various states fell short of being administered according to Islamic principles prior to the nineteenth century.[1] At the beginning of that century the Fulani Muslims of Hausaland attempted to improve the situation by taking power in all the Hausa states and instituting reforms which would bring the states and the people they ruled into accord with the basic tenets of the religion.[2] This effort to revitalize and strengthen the practice, principles, and dogma of Islam was well under way when Imoru was studying to become a member of the clergy shortly after the middle of the century.

In this chapter, Imoru is only concerned with the history of Islam to the extent of explaining its close historical association with Judaism and Christianity. His primary concern is that the reader understand the doctrine and ritual if Islam, as well as the definition of a "heathen" and the description of fetish practices such as the bori cult which was widespread in his day. The role of the clergy is covered in this account, and in the following chapter; here we read about the imam who leads the public or communal worship, salla; in the next chapter we read about the different types of malams and their various duties which range from teaching elementary school to advising the king, and the alkali, the judge, who is a master of Islamic jurisprudence.

Islam was introduced to Hausaland. The religion was originally revealed to the Prophet Muhammad[3] who was born in the Arabian city of

Mecca around 570 A.D. God's revelations to His Messenger, Muhammad, were made during his residence in Mecca and after his emigration, hijra, to Medine in 622 A.D., a date which has been chosen to begin the era of Islam. The name for the religion, Islam, means "submitting" oneself to the will of God; the corresponding adjective, Muslim,[4] is applied to the adherent, "one who submits" himself to the will of God; and the book in which these revelations have been embodied is called the Qur'an[5] which is derived from the Arabic root meaning "to read, chant, or recite aloud."

The language of the revelations was Arabic, and this is the language of the Qur'an. As its name indicates, the Qur'an is meant to be read, and recited, by Muslims. It has been said that "the Koran was designed for oral recitation, and it must be heard in order to be justly appreciated."[6] The book serves as much more than a compilation of the tenets of a religious faith; it is the source of a way of life. Philip Hitti writes about this all-encompassing role:

> Not only is it the basis of the religion, the canon of ethical and moral life, but also the textbook in which the Moslem begins his study of language, science, theology, and jurisprudence.[7]

It is this total way of life which has developed along with the religious beliefs, which has enhanced the impact of Islam in the regions of the world to which it spread.

The reader might be surprised at the close historical association which Imoru writes about for Islam, Judaism, and Christianity. It is, however, fact. Islam was the third great monotheistic religion founded in the Near East and it shares a great deal with its predecessors.

H. A. R. Gibb has noted this common origin and similarity in doctrine in the following passage:

> At all times and to all peoples...God has sent messengers or prophets to preach....Muslims are required to believe in them without distinction....Several require special endowments and rank above others (in the Qur'an), particularly Adam, Noah, the house of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. The last or 'Seal' of the Prophets is Mohammed who is God's Apostle to all mankind....The doctrine preached by all the Prophets is essentially one and the same although in matters of detail there has been a gradual evolution in their message towards the final and perfect revelation. These stages are represented also by various 'books' or scriptures granted to several of the major Prophets.... To Moses was given...the Tawrah, the Jewish Torah,...to Jesus the Injil, the Evangel or Gospel, and to Mohammed the Qur'an....All confirm one another, and the Koran in particular not only confirms earlier scriptures, but, as the final revelation, clears up all uncertainties and is the repository of perfect Truth.[8]

The economic, social, political, and religious milieu in which Islam was founded and grew had a great influence on the content of this most recent of monotheistic religions. Both Mecca and Medine were cities in a state of flux. It was a great period of transformation in Arabia: nomadic, agricultural, and commercial peoples were brought together in the urban milieu; the rural community united by blood ties was giving way to the urban community united by commercial ties; the provincial encampment or hamlet was becoming more and more dependent upon the cosmopolitan city. Here is a description of the city of Muhammad's birth:

> Mecca was then the scene of a radical socioeconomic change involving the transition from a partly Bedouin to an urban society. It was on its way to becoming the capital of the area. Its leading tribe, the Quarysh, was becoming mercantile as a result of the control it exercised on the caravans. The city lay on the crossroads of trade routes between the frankincense and spice island of Yaman and the Mediterranean seaports to the north....The sensitive would-be social reformer must have noted with concern the widening gap between

> the settled, wealthier people and the poorer nomads. He had himself experienced both ends of the economic spectrum.[9]

The water of the well of Zamzam drew the desert caravans to Mecca. Its inhabitants were all the more dependent on trade because the surrounding land was barren and agriculture was not possible.[10] One tribe, the Quarysh, dominated the commerce which drew the foreigners, and the pantheon of local dieties which were worshipped by the heterogeneous population of the city and surrounding territory.

Medina was different. The people there were not so dependent upon trade because the land was arable and the people agriculturalists. The structure of society was different because there were a number of clans competing for political control, and the economy was not dominated by one tribe. The differences between Medinese and Meccan society, however, were not that fundamental and there was a basic similarity between the two:

> ...the malaise from which both cities suffered was basically the same. The Medinese country was in a state of transition, passing from a nomadic to an urban culture, with the concomitant dislocation in the economic, social, and psychological structures.[11]

It was in a setting of socioeconomic transformation with its corresponding contradictions which needed to be resolved, that the social, religious, economic, political and other institutions associated with Islam were worked out. The foundation for the legal system was laid piece by piece:

> As a legislator Muhammad treated specific situations as they arose....In addition to rules governing prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, and many other religious practices, there are ordinances relating to marriage and divorce, usury and slavery, food and drink, war prisoners and booty. The legislation is totalitarian in the sense that it covers the entire spectrum of human activity.[12]

Thus, Islam was not simply a religion in the narrow sense; it developed as a way of life with answers to the problems created as a result of the transition from a rural way of life to an urban way of life.

The socioeconomic context into which Islam was born, and the institutional problems to which it subsequently sought solutions, were not unique to the peoples of Mecca and Medina. These are problems faced by all peoples at some point in their history. Presumably any other society undergoing this uneven and disruptive transition from an economy based on the rural community to one based on the urban community, and on to the state which united the two communities, would find in Islam the answer to many problems. The answer to the problem of diversity - of deities, legal systems, rules for succession to office, patterns of inheritance, marriage, political authority, etc. - or the problem created by the absence of necessary institutions - regulations on slavery, usury, currency, weights and measures, etc. - could be found in the ready-made solutions of Islam. It is suggested that this was one of its major attractions for the ruling groups and merchants in the cities of the nascent West African states.

Islam was taken into North Africa in the seventh century by militant conquest, but it was not taken south across the Sahara by these same means. Rather, it penetrated peacefully with the Muslim caravans of merchants and clerics across the Sahara desert to the savanna centers of trade.

The earliest West African states for which we have written records are ancient Ghana to the west of Hausaland, and Kanem-Bornu to the east of Hausaland in the area of Lake Chad. Kanem-Bornu is believed to have had independent links across the Sahara with the

Muslim world of North Africa in the 9th century A.D.[13] The records tell us that the first ruler of Kanem-Bornu to become a Muslim was Umme Jilmi towards the end of the 11th century.[14]

At the same time in Ghana, to the west, Islam had already made headway in the urban population as noted by al-Bakri who wrote in 1076:

> The city of Ghana consists of two towns lying in a plain, one of which is inhabited by Muslims and is large, possessing twelve mosques, one being a jami', each having their imams....[15]

These early records indicate that Islam was moving south across the Sahara along trade routes to the east and west of Hausaland. The movement into this region was slow. It was more successful in those states where commerce was important, but even then the impact was not uniform on the social structure. It made its greatest inroads among the rulers and merchants, giving it the appearance of a "class religion." J. S. Trimingham has written of the class nature of Islam in these early states as follows:

> It was a class religion of chiefs and traders, with a professional class of clerics, but it did not become the religion of the people.[16]

The explanation for the different response between the "ruling class" and "the people" can be sought in their position in the state: the former were concerned with ruling peoples of diverse origin, or carrying on trade with merchants from the Muslim countries of North Africa. It was to their advantage to adopt Islam. The people of the rural areas held to their traditional religions - which adequately explained their rural world - and their provincial ways of life: their activities did not call for a new religion and associated institutions.

The earliest written references to Islam in Hausaland are found in the Kano Chronicle, and a list of the kings of Katsina, both of

which appear in H. R. Palmer's Sudanese Memoirs. According to the Kano Chronicle, it was during the reign of Sarkin Kano Yaji, A.D. 1349-1385, that "the Wangarawa came from Melle (Mali) bringing the Muhammadan religion."[17] It is said in the list of the kings of Katsina that Islam was introduced during the reign of Sarkin Katsina Muhammed Korau who is said to have ruled around A.D. 1320.[18]

The Katsina king list does not name the carriers or the direction from which Islam came to that state. It seems strange that Kanem-Bornu is not mentioned in either of these sources as having a role in transmitting Islam to Hausaland. Imoru gives us one account elsewhere, which says it entered Hausaland via Bornu, and he claims that the account has been "pulled out from the Hausa malams and elders" and is authentic.[19] There is internal evidence in that account which makes it impossible to tell the approximate date of introduction, however,

so that source does not have a firm answer to the question. Recently, Joseph Greenberg, has raised the question once more:

> Since Islam seems to have been established among the Kanuri speakers already in the eleventh century, and the Kanem Empire was an important political power during the next several centuries, it seems on the face of it, likely that it would have exercised important cultural influence on the relatively weak and disunited Hausa states immediately to the west.[21]

The empire of Kanem-Bornu did, indeed, make a strong start with Islam prior to the beginning of the state of Mali. When Mali was getting its start in the mid-thirteenth century, Kanem-Bornu had already had Muslim rulers, at least one of whom had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and had recently built a hostel for Kanemi pilgrims and students studying in Cairo.[22] Thus, Hausaland was flanked on the east by a developing Islamic state at the time when Mali was being founded.

Most writers, however, stick to the word of the Kano Chronicle and date the entry of Islam into Hausaland in the 14th century from the west. Mervyn Hiskett supports this interpretation and suggests the motives for its introduction:

> ...the Kano Chronicle...indicates clearly that the introduction of Islam was not associated with Arab trade or missionary activity, but was due to the arrival of non-Arab Moslems from the west. It seems probably that these persons came primarily as middlemen to operate the slave trade in the country between Hausaland and the Niger Bend to which the Arabs had not yet penetrated, or...in search of gold, and that their missionary activity was secondary.[23]

This suggestion of an economic rather than religious motive for the introduction of Islam into Hausaland is quite interesting, and seems very plausible. The history of Islam in Hausaland from the fourteenth century to the nineteenth century would lead one to believe that principles of Islamic statecraft and administration, so necessary for the Muslim to practice the tenets of faith, were not pursued with vigor. It is highly likely that it was the commercial and economic aspect of the religion which primarily occupied the attention of the Hausa rulers.

It was in this historical and social setting of a population only partially converted to Islam, and governments professing, but not practicing, Islamic tenets of rule, that the Muslim Fulani took power in all the Hausa states in the early nineteenth century with a program of religious reform.

As noted earlier, Imoru does not write about the conditions of Islam in Hausaland before the Fulani took power some two generations before he was born. Imoru's concern is similar, however, for it concentrates on doctrine, the correct performance of ritual, and the

obligations and prohibitions for a Muslim in Hausaland. He describes the dogma of Islam based on the "five pillars" of faith: belief and declaration that there is but one God and Muhammed is His Messenger; prayer, which is made up of the required communal prayer, salla, and the voluntary invocational prayer, adu'a; almsgiving, which consists of the obligatory zaka and the voluntary sadaka; fasting, azumi; and the pilgrimage, haji.

The ritual of communal prayer, salla, is spelled out in great detail. The Friday prayer, sallar juma'a, is the time for all members of the community to join together in public prayer, and uniformity unites the community of believers in this common profession of faith. This public prayer takes place in the mosque which is named masallaci in Hausa. The name - a combination of the prefix "ma" signifying "place of" and salla - designates the masallaci as the house of prayer.[24]

In Hausaland, as in other regions of the Muslim world, the mosque is a prominent landmark in the community. Imoru's account of the mosque is of great interest, and his reminder that it must be a square or rectangular building serves once again to distinguish the institutions of Islam as being different from those of the autochthonous people: in this case the latter people of the rural areas live in round dwellings.

The role of the mosque in Muslim society has been nicely put by G. von Grunebaum in the following passage where he makes frequent reference to the Friday mosque, jami':

> The full-fledged Muslim town...has two focal points - the Friday mosque and the market. The jami' as the spiritual center, is in general appropriately placed along the main thoroughfare....Next to the jami', we find the principal building, be it the palace of the

> ruler or the official residence of his deputy. The jami' is the political as well as the religious center of the settlement. Here it is where the inhabitants will gather to hear the proclamation of their rulers...In any event, it is in the Cathedral Mosque that the hatib or preacher calls down every Friday the Lord's blessing on the ruler...in the hutba, or religious address....The mosque is also the intellectual center of the town. The fuqaha and the 'ulama' (malams) will assemble in it to discuss and teach....[25]

In contrast to the community of believers, Imoru concludes with a description of the "heathens" and their fetish practices. These were the people who were one of the primary "slave reservoirs" in the past: the slave estates of the rulers and administrators of the Hausa states were drawn from these rural non-Muslim peoples. Imoru notes, however, that these people could continue their heathen ways, unmolested, if they would submit to Muslim rule and agree to pay tribute to their Muslim overlords.

The Muslim Hausa use the term Maguzawa for all the non-Muslim Hausa-speaking peoples under their rule. The way of life of this segment of the Hausa-speaking population has been described by Greenberg:

> These Maguzawa are practically identical in language and material culture with the Moslem population that surround them. It is only in certain aspects of their social organization and religion that they reveal significant differences when compared to the Moslem Hausa.[26]

It is the difference in religion between the Muslim Hausa and Maguzawa which is the theme of Imoru's account of "heathens" and "fetishes." When one compares his accounts of the religion of these two sectors of the population, one is struck by the close association between the Maguzawa and the flora and fauna of their savanna world. The basic Maguzawa dogma, which is in such sharp contrast to that of

the more recent dogma of Islam, is the recognition and elevation of iskoki, which are called "spirits" for lack of a more precise term, which are everywhere in the savanna:

> The iskoki are found...in the sky, the forest, the hills, in bodies of water and in the cities of men. Those whose names are known, and who have a definite cult, generally have a favorite kind of tree or some other specific locale where they like to stay. Here sacrifices consisting of sheep, goats, or fowl are offered to them, each spirit having its appropriate animal....It is not the object itself, however, as the naive observer might conclude, which is receiving the sacrifice, but the spirit associated with it.[27]

These pre-Islamic religious practices have not remained unchanged in face of the spread of Islam in Hausaland. A number of elements of Islamic worship have been incorporated into the worship of iskoki, as indicated in this passage:

> The Maguzawa freely admit that Allah is the ultimate control for the universe. Yet he does not occupy the central role in their beliefs and practices that is so characteristic of the Moslem Hausa. Among the Maguzawa there are no rites connected with the belief in Allah, and all supernatural response to worship, whether good or bad, is attributed to...iskoki.... The iskoki only perform their work with the permission of Allah, but the Maguzawa in their traffic with the supernatural consider it sufficient to deal with the iskoki, and ignore Allah as being remote and uninterested in the affairs of men.[28]

The devotees of this religon are called 'ya'yan bori, "children of bori." Bori is a Hausa name which refers to the possession of the worshipper by the "spirit." A. V. King describes this state of possession:

> ...possession is invoked by trained devotees known as ('ya'yan bori)...among whose number women often predominate....The act of possession is likened to riding, the iska is stated to mount (hau) its devotee the horse....The state of possession is induced with the aid of music which, depending on circumstances, may vary from a simple rhythmic hand clap to an elaborate performance....[29]

As one reads Imoru's account of the bori cult in his time, it is worth remembering that many of the female devotees claimed to be Muslims. It would appear that this cult appeared to those who clung to tradition and remained outside the Islamic social system - although they were really assigned a place at the bottom - and the women within the Muslim system who were powerless because Islam kept them subservient.[30] To these people, the "spirits" in the world about them may, indeed, seem closer than the religion which has assigned them an inferior position in Hausa society.

The traditional religion as practiced by the bori devotees is, therefore, not without historical and social significance. Its widespread practice in Muslim Hausa society today seems to verify Imoru's comment about the practice of the bori cult in his time: "All this is fetish worship, but in the people's opinion, these are not fetishes."

Religion - Adini

Three religions, adinai, have spread over this world: they are different branches from a common root.

Moses, Musa, the son of Abraham, Imrana, came with the religion of Judaism, Yahudanci. One who practices it is a Jew. Bayahude or Bayahudi, and many are called Jews, Yahudawa. Moses' book is the Old Testament, Ataura.[31]

Jesus, Isa, the son of Mary, Maryama, came with the religion of Christianity, Nasaranci. One who practices it is a Christian: the male is Nasara or Ansara, the female is Banasaria, and many are called Nasarawa. Jesus' book is the New Testament, Linjila.[32]

Muhammed, son of Abdullahi, came with the religion of Islam, Musulumci. One who practices it is a Muslim: the male is Musulmi, the female is Musulma, and many are called Musulmai or Musulmi. Muhammed's book is al-Qur'an. Here I am going to write about Islam and ignore the other two: I have mentioned them merely as a stairway to Islam.

The first requirement in Islam is for a person to know in his mind, profess in his heart, and say with his mouth: God is Unique. He has no son, 'da; He has no daughter, 'ya; He has no grandson, jika; He has no granddaughter, jikanya; He has no mother, uwa; He has no father, uba; He has no elder brother, wa; and He has no younger brother, kane.

He does not eat, ci, nor does He drink, sha. He does not resemble anything, nor does anything resemble Him. He is neither male, miji, nor female, mare, although people refer to Him as a male. He is not compelled to do anything, nor is He prevented from doing anything.

He does not become fat, kiba, or thin, rama. He does not become ill, ciwo, He does not become old, tsufa, nor does He die, mutuwu.

As He desires things, so He does them: He does not do something so He will be rewarded. He does not stop something to prevent something being done to Him. People don't say to Him, "Why did you do it?" nor do they say, "Why didn't you do it?" When a person knows all this, he should profess it in his heart.

The Muslim also knows and professes that all the prophets of God, anabawan Allah, are truthful and none are dishonest. All of them are righteous, magargaru, and none of them are evil, murgu. Their story is one and the same: everything they say is true. When the last prophet came, he testified to the veracity of his predecessors.

If their story varies later on, the difference is superficial for deep down it is the same one. It is as if a ruler sent two messengers to summons the same man. They went, met him, and told him, "You have been called," and he answered "Let's go." One messenger returned to the king before the other who also reached the ruler before the man. The first told the king, "We saw him and he is coming." The second said, "We don't see him and he hasn't come."

If a person fails to reflect, he will say these are contradictory statements. But they are not contradictory. The second messenger merely said, "We don't see him and he hasn't come," but this doesn't mean he isn't coming.

When he knows this he should profess it in his heart. Then he should also profess that all God's angels, malaikun Allah, are truthful and do not contradict God's commandments.[33] They do not come to do something unless He tells them to come and do it, nor do they leave

unless He tells them to leave. When he believes this, and says it with his mouth, he will then profess that the Heavenly Books - in all they say - are true. When they differ, it's only as I have written above.

He believes that all people, bad and good, will one day rise from the dead. He believes there is hell, wuta, and heaven, aljana: the bad are put in hell and never die, and the good are put in heaven and never die.[34]

He knows the origin of all three religions is the same: God is Unique. He has no friend with Him. It is from this firm rooting that all three religions develop and branch in different directions. One who does not know these things and does not profess them is not a Muslim: he is deceiving himself if he calls himself a Muslim.

There are five pillars of Islam, shikashikan musulumci.[35] I have been speaking about the first one which is called the "Uniqueness of God," dayauta Allah. The second pillar is the five daily ritual prayers, salloli biyar: azuba,[36] performed sometime between the first streak and the time the sun appears; azuhur,[37] in the early afternoon; la'asar,[38] in the late afternoon; magariba[39] or almuru, between sunset and dark; and lisha, between the fall of darkness and midnight. The person who intentionally omits one of these is not a Muslim. If he omits one unintentionally he must make it up. I will write about how these prayers are performed in the account of ritual prayer, salla.

The third pillar is fasting, azumi,[40] during the month of fasting, watan azumi, which is named Ramadan, Ramalana. It is the ninth month of the year: as if it were September, Shatumbar, in the year

beginning in January, Yanayar.[41] Fasting is done by those who have reached puberty, but women do not fast if they are menstruating or have had a child in the previous sixty days. Men are exempt if they are ill or engaged in long distance trade, but they must make it up when they recover or return home.

When the new moon, wata, is seen which begins the month of fasting,[42] people prepare to fast: men and women resolve to do it and pray that night. This evening is called Asham or Tarawui. With the approach of dawn, people wake to eat the meal called sahur or safur before dawn breaks. If they are late and dawn breaks, they do not take the meal and must fast without it: fasting without the sahur meal is called 'dorere.

After the sahur meal is taken, people do not eat, drink, or sleep with women until the sun goes down: then water is drunk and food is eaten. This evening meal is called "slightly opening the mouth," bu'da baki: people greet each other saying, "Greetings as you refresh yourself with water!", barka da shan ruwa.

A bit later people make the asham prayer, sallar asham, and then they rise again and eat when it's time for the pre-dawn sahur meal. This continues until the end of the month and the moon "dies": the month lasts 29 or 30 days.[43] This is what is called the fasting of Ramadan, azumin Ramalana.

The fourth pillar is the religious tax, zaka.[44] When a person has wealth and the year has ended, he will count it, bit by bit, and then give alms, sadaka, because of God, not because of man. The saka is not much: if the value of a man's possessions is 100,000 cowries,[45] he gives 2,500. Likewise, when he harvests ten bundles, dami, of

cereal, he gives one because of God. If he has had to irrigate his farm, he gives one bundle for every 20 harvested.

If a person has domestic animals, bisashe, he gives zaka because of God: for five camels, he gives one goat as zaka; for 30 cows he gives one cow as zaka; for 40 goats and sheep, he gives one.[46]

There is no zaka for horses, donkeys, or slaves. There is no zaka paid on garments - even if they are expensive - and none is paid on jewelry made by smiths, k'erek'eren ado.

There is the "bowl tax," zakar nono, which is also called the "eating tax," zakar ci. On the morning the fast is finished, safiar salla, every Muslim gives four measures, mudu, of cereal, because of God, to any commoner he likes; the recipient must be a Muslim, for nothing is given to an animist, kafiri.[47] This tax is given for a man, his wife, and the rest of his family. That is zaka.

The fifth pillar is the haji,[48] the pilgrimage to Mecca which enables the person to pray in the Meccan mosque called Kaaba.[49] This is obligatory only if the person is healthy and has the means to go. The route must also be safe: there must not be disruption or warfare. That is the haji.

These are the five pillars of Islam. If a person intentionally refuses to do any of them he is not a Muslim. There are many voluntary obligations in Islam, but these five are compulsory.

The Muslim makes a sacrifice, laiya, when the month of the pilgrimage, watan haji, is ten days old.[50] It is done on the day of the Great Prayer, Babar Salla:[51] all Muslims get dressed up in their best clothes and go outside the city wall, or to the outskirts of the town and pray between 7 and 10 a.m., hantsi. I will tell how it is

done when I write the account of ritual prayer, salla. That is the Great Prayer and everybody, male and female, slaughters a ram because of God. The ram is called the "sacrificial ram," ragon laiya, and the slaughtering is called "sacrifice," laiya.

The person does what he wants with the meat: he can distribute allof it as alms, sadaka: he can distribute half as alms and eat the other half; or he can eat it all. The person without money does not perform the sacrifice: he does not borrow money which will be a burden on him to make it. A ram is also slaughtered on the naming day of a newborn child. I wrote about that in the account of childbirth, haifuwa.

A Muslim does not eat anything which has died, or carrion, mushe. He does not eat meat which has been slaughtered without God's name being mentioned. He does not eat anything which has been slaughtered for a fetish, nor does a Muslim eat pork, dog meat, domestic donkey meat, or flesh-eating animals. He does not touch this forbidden meat, nor does he drink blood from the slaughtered animal.

God has forbidden the Muslim to drink giya, a fermented grain. Something is done to it - like is done when preparing porridge, kunu - and then it is left to sit until it becomes very sour: when it is drunk, the person becomes intoxicated. That is giya. Everything else like giya which, when drunk, intoxicates, is forbidden and the Muslim doesn't drink it.

God has forbidden fornication, farka, to Muslims: intercourse takes place only in marriage. God has forbidden sodomy, lutsu, to Muslims.

God has forbidden Muslims to lie, defraud, and commit highway robbery. The Muslim is forbidden to steal, tyrannize, and plunder.

He is forbidden to covet, which includes slandering another, being malicious, or wanting something to happen to someone else. God has also forbidden arrogance, hypocrisy, suicide, false witness, fraud in trade, and making use of something entrusted to you.

There are many other things forbidden to a Muslim. Some Muslims do these forbidden things and are still practising Islam. They think God will forgive them because Muslims say that God will forgive a Muslim that sins, as long as he does not practice idolatry.

There is no limit to the number of concubines, korakorai, a Muslim may take because they have not been forbidden. He may marry up to four wives,[52] but a Muslim who takes five wives is killed. A Muslim who conceals a fetish, gumki, in his house is killed: if he prays or repents it is not accepted.

If a Muslim says, "From this day on I will no longer perform the ritual prayer, salla," he is first told, "So and so, repent and pray," and he may be tied up. If he repents then it is accepted; if he doesn't, he is killed and buried. A person is killed if he says God will not command Muslims to do the ritual prayer, and he refuses to pray in the company of other Muslims, he is killed: even if he repents, his confession is not accepted, and he is not even given a pauper's burial, turbu'de.

After a Muslim man and woman sleep together they wash or perform an ablution: this is called "washing after intercourse," wankan janaba, or "purification ablution," wankan tsalki. I wrote about the washing of the bridegroom and the bride in the account of marriage.

In Islam, the man feeds the woman, even if she is wealthy. And, in Islam, God says women should remain in their homes: they

should not go out and walk about. A man's wife should not see the husband of another woman, nor should a women's husband see the wife of another man. No man should go to see any woman unless in the presence of a maid, yarinya kankanwa, an old woman, tsofua, his mother, uwa, his daughter, 'ya, his elder or younger sister, 'ya ko k'anwa, or his son's or daughter's daughter, 'yar 'da ko 'yar 'ya.

When a woman is going out for good reason, she first covers all her body, so no part of it can be seen. But slave women, bayi mata, do not have to cover their bodies because there is nothing wrong with female slaves going out and about.

God forbade a man to sleep with his mother, daughter, elder sister, or younger sister, nor can he sleep with a woman during menstruation, jimin haila, or for a period of sixty days after childbirth, biki,

A man cannot marry his father's wife, his son's wife, his wife's daughter by another marriage, or his wife's mother. Nor can a Muslim marry an animist or take her as a concubine.

Muslims have many obligations.

Ritual Prayer - Salla

The second pillar of Islam is ritual prayer, salla, which is done five times a day. Before one can make the salla he must purify himself, tsalki:[53] he washes his penis, taloto, if he has urinated, fitsari, and washes his anus, shakira, if he has deficated, kashi.

After he has purified himself, he makes an ablution, alwala, as follows. His hands, hanaye, are washed on both sides up to the wrists, wuya, three times. His mouth, kurkure, is washed out three

times: he takes in water, rubs it around inside with his finger, and spits it out. Water is then drawn into his nose, hanci, three times and blown out three times. His face, huska, is washed three times. His forearms, damutsan kasa, from the wrists to the elbows, kusurwarsa, are each washed three times. Then the head, kai, is rubbed with water: he begins at the forehead, goshi, and continues to the back, keya, and then rubs from the back to the forehead. After that his ears, kunuwa, are rubbed with water on the inside and outside, and then his feet, kafafuwa, are washed up to the ankles, idanu, three times each. With that, the ablution is completed.

Then one enters the mosque, masallaci. If there is no mosque, people go to a clean place, tsatsalka, where people have not defecated or urinated. The worshippers stand upright in a line and face the direction of the Kaaba, the mosque of Mecca. They make a good guess as to its direction: when they have approximated correctly it is excellent, but there is no harm if the guess is inaccurate, as long as the error was not deliberate.[54]

After that, one resolves[55] in his heart that "we are about to do such-and-such salla," or "I am about to do such-and-such salla." Both hands are raised up high and the person says, Allahu akbar, "God is greatest."[56] This is followed by recitation of the fatiha[57] which is the first sura of the Qur'an. I wrote about it in the account of the children's school, makarantar yara. After completing the fatiha, any one of the short suras of the Qur'an is recited.

Then one bends over while saying "Allahu akbar," and places the hands on the knees and leaves them there briefly: this is called ruku'u.[58] The head is then raised while saying "God hears the one who

praises Him," Sami Allahu liman hamida. Everybody stands upright and then drops to the ground together, pressing upon it with the palms of their hands, saying Allahu akbar. The forehead is touched to the ground while saying, "God, I have been unjust by doing wrong: pardon or forgive me," Allahuma, inni zalamtu nafsi waa miltu suan fagafirli. Touching the ground with the forehead and nose is called sajada.[59]

Then he lifts his head and sits on the ground saying Allahu akbar. He does not remain in that position long and he returns to the prostrate position and makes an invocational prayer, adua, as done previously. Then he presses on the ground with the palms of his hands and rises to an upright position saying Allahu akbar. He has completed one raka'a.[60]

He begins the second raka'a by reciting the fatiha as before, and then recites a sura which is shorter than the first one he recited. He makes a ruku'u and raises his head as before. He does two sajada, but when he raises his head after the second one he sits down and recites tahiya[61] which is a type of invocational prayer, adua, and when he finishes that he has completed the second raka'a.

If that particular salla consists of two raka'a, he has completed it, but if it consists of three or four raka'a he rises and stands upright again saying Allahu akbar. But this time he doesn't lift his hands. He recites fatiha, but does not recite another short sura. He goes on to make a ruku'u, raises his head, and then makes two sajada as done previously. If the salla consists of three raka'a, he sits down after these two sajada and recites tahiya. Then he makes sallama saying "Salvation and peace be with You," asallamu alaikum, and he has completed the salla.

When the salla consists of four raka'a, he puts the palms of his

hands on the ground and rises to an upright position after the second sajada which completed the third raka'a. He then recites fatiha, but does not add a sura. He makes the ruku'u, raises his head, and then makes two sajada as done previously. Then he sits down and recites tahiya and males sallama, and with that the salla is completed. That's how the salla is done.

The five salla have their different rituals, ka'idodi. The early morning salla, sallar azuba, has two raka'a, and recitation of the fatiha and sura is done aloud in each raka'a. The early afternoon salla, sallar azuhur, consists of four raka'a, but the recitation of the fatiha and sura is done silently in the first two raka'a, and the fatiha is recited silently and the sura eliminated during the last two raka'a. The late afternoon salla, sallar la'asar, consists of four raka'a, and the rituals are the same as the sallar azuhur.

The post-sunset salla, sallar almura, has three raka'a: in the first two raka'a, the person recites the fatiha and sura aloud, and the fatiha is recited silently and the sura eliminated during the final one. The evening salla, sallar lisha, has four raka'a: in the first two raka'a the fatiha and sura are recited aloud, and only the fatiha is recited, silently, in the last two.

These are the five salla and a Muslim does them daily: any Muslim, male or female, who does not do them has abandoned Islam.

Ablutions are not made with impure water, ruwa maitsalki: water with a bad odor, wari, a pleasant odor, kamshi, water that is sour, tsantsama, sweet, zazaka, bitter, maidaci, spicy, maivayi, or astringent, maibauri. Salla is not made unless one wears clean clothing: it cannot be soiled by urine, excretia, blood, jiki, or semen, maniyi. Salla

is not made with a filthy body, jiki maikazamta.

The salla called "standing in the night," tsayuwar dare, is made at midnight, tsakar dare. If one likes, he can do it but there is no harm if he doesn't. Another salla called "morning salla," sallar waluha, is performed at mid-morning, hantsi, and whoever likes, can do it: there is nothing wrong if one doesn't do it.

Azumi, the fast of the month of Ramadan, is finished the day a new moon, wata, comes up or "stands." This new moon is called "the moon of the Small Prayer," watan karamar salla. When morning, safiyar, comes, people say it is the first day of the "month, or moon, of the Small Salla," watan karamar salla, or "salla morning," safiyar salla.

Around 9 a.m., nantsi, the people assemble outside the city wall, or on the edge of the town. Everybody dresses up in fine clothing and people ride horses. When everybody has assembled, the ruler comes with the imam, liman, who leads the salla. Immediately people stand upright and face the east, gabas, and form into rows, safu-safu. The imam goes to the front and says "Allahu akbar," while he raises his hands, and everybody repeats it after him. He repeats it again, they repeat it after him, and it is done seven times.

Then everyone stands quietly while the imam recites the fatima and a sura aloud. When he finishes, they make a ruku'u, raise their heads, and make the sajada, like I wrote for the five salla. The people stand upright and say, "Allahu akbar." The imam then says "Allahu akbar," the people say it five times, and this is followed by the recitation of the fatiha and a sura aloud. When he finishes, he makes a ruku'u and sajada as before, and finishes by reciting tahiya and making sallama. That is what is called the salla of the Small Salla,

feast, idin karamar salla.[62]

The twelfth month of the year begins with the rise, or "standing," of the new moon of the hajji, watan hajji: it's like December, Dujanbar, in the year beginning with January, Yanuyar. This month is called the "month of the Great Salla," watan Babar Salla. On the tenth day of the month, at about 9 a.m., a salla is made of two raka'a, like those of the Small Salla. On that day a sacrificial ram is slaughtered. I have written about it in the account of religion, adini.[63]

There is a "drought salla," sallar fari, which is called the "salla seeking rain from God," sallar neman ruwa ga Allah. It is made about 9 a.m. like the Small and Great Salla, but people don't dress up and ride horses, nor is there drumming: people go in humility and return in humility.

There is a "sun salla," sallar rana, which is called the "salla of two nights," sallar dare biyu. This is done when the sun is eclipsed and it becomes like night although it is day. When this happens, the ruler, imam, elders, and the rest of the people light lamps and go outside the city wall and make a salla of two raka'a. This salla is very difficult and only a great malam is able to perform it.

There is the Friday or congregational salla, sallar juma'a, which is of paramount importance to all Muslims. It takes place on Friday, ranan juma'a, just after noontime, ranar tsaka. The muezzin, ladan,[64] climbs the minaret, sumaya,[65] and calls for the salla: this is called wazana. Everybody washes, dresses properly, and starts coming to the Friday or congregational mosque, masallacin juma'a. I will write about it in the account of the mosques, masallatai.

When people have assembled, the imam comes and enters the mosque.

He immediately mounts the pulpit, minbari,[66] which is a square wooden "box," asanduki, fixed like a platform for the imam to stand on. It can be made of earth if there is no wooden structure available. He squats on his heels after he climbs the altar and the muezzin rises in the minaret and calls again for the salla

When he finishes, the imam rises and recites the hutsuba,[67] an admonition which instills fear into the congregation. After that the people rise for the salla, and the ikama[68] is recited: it is a type of recitation made when every obligatory, lale, salla is about to begin. After the ikama is finished, the salla is performed.

The salla is made of two raka'a, and the fatiha and sura are recited aloud. When it is finished, the tahiya is recited and the sallama made, as I have previously written. That is the sallar juma'a, the Friday or congregational prayer.

In the towns where the king is a malam, he leads the people as imam in salla. It is like that to this day in Kano because Sarkin Kano Ibrahim Dabo was imam before he was installed as king: he did not stop leading people in salla until he died, and the practice has continued in Kano to this day.

There is also the "funeral salla," sallar jana'iza.[69] After a Muslim, man or woman, has died, been washed, and put in a shroud, likafani,[70] the body is brought out and placed on its side with the head facing south, kudu, the legs pointing north, arewa, and the face looking east to the Kaaba.

The imam, or any eminent malam, then stands behind the deceased, exactly at the midpoint of the body, and the mourners stand in rows behind him. The malam raises his hands saying, "Allahu akbar," and the

people say "Allahu akbar." He stands silently making an invocational prayer in his heart, saying, "Dear God, have mercy on this person and forgive him. Dear God, if he has been bad, forgive his sins, and if he has been good, make him even better." When he finishes he again says "Allahu akbar" and the mourners repeat it four times.

In this salla the people do not bend over because there are no raka'a or sajada: they remain standing until it is finished. When the imam says asallamu alaikum, "salvation and peace be with you," the body is immediately lowered into the grave, kushewa. I will write the rest of the story when giving the account of "death," mutuwa.

When the full moon, farin wata, darkens on a night when it shouldn't darken, the Hausa people say "the sun has caught the moon," rana ta kama wata. A type of salla is performed then, but everyone does it in his house and people do not gather.

These are the salla of the Islamic religion.[71] The funeral salla is not made for a person who has not performed the salla during his lifetime, nor is it made for the person who dies outside Islam: the latter person - a Muslim who later leaves Islam to enter another religion - is an apostate, ridda.

"May God protect us and may God keep us in the faith!"

The Mosque - Masallaci

In Islam, mosques, masallatai, are built so people can perform the ritual prayer in them, for congregational prayer is more rewarding than solitary prayer: because of the congregation, praying in the mosque is more praiseworthy than praying in the home.

Anyone who likes can build a mosque: nobody will be prevented from building one. But it is not advisable to have mosques very near

each other: it is sufficient to have one mosque in each town quarter, angua: nobody should build a second mosque there. If somebody does build another, it is a mosque to impress others, and people will say, "So-and-so is God-fearing. Look, he has built a mosque!"

People enter the mosque for ritual prayer. Men and women, young and old, go into it, but the young are excluded if they do not have the good sense not to play. People do nothing in the mosque except pray: they do not sew in it, nor do they weave; worldly matters are not discussed in it; strangers do not sleep in it unless it is a village mosque; a person does not even kill lice in the mosque!

There is a Friday mosque, masallacin juma'a, in every town in Hausaland. It is called "the great mosque," baban masallaci. The ruler builds it near his house: when the building is finished a minaret is built with a stairway for it because it is very high. Water pots are set down or fixed in the ground for people to make ablutions.

A pulpit is not made in every mosque, but every Friday mosque has one: it is the elevated platform, with two or three steps, on which the imam stands and recites the sermon, hutsuba. If there is no wooden pulpit, one will be made of earth, and steps are made for it.[72]

The Friday mosque is a square or rectangular building with four corners: they do not make it circular.[73] It is covered with a roof, and the floor is made smooth by beating it or pouring fine sand on it. Mats are spread out over the entire floor, after it has been prepared, as if it were the mosque built by the ruler of the town.

On Friday at azuhur, shortly after noontime, the call to prayer is not made in any mosque except the Friday mosque. People do not talk in the Friday mosque; fingernails are not pared inside; people

don't spit nor do they blow their nose; and if a man expectorates he must spit on his clothing. It is this way in all mosques.

The mosque is called the "House of God," dakin Allah, for nothing is done in it except ritual prayer and worship, ibada.[74] Worship is the "work of the hereafter," aikin lahira,[75] and all work pertaining to the hereafter is called ibada by the Hausa people.

The rich man and the poor man are equals in the mosque, nor is a distinction made there between the ruler and the ruled. One does not give up his place to another, nor does he move for another to take his place in the mosque.

A person is not compelled to build a mosque, nor is a person's land seized to build a mosque, unless it is required and then it is purchased from him.

Halwa or ka'daita is done in the mosque: in Hausa that means "sitting in solitude." The person doing this fasts because of God even if it is not the month of fasting. He sits alone, talks to nobody, and softly calls the names of God and sanctifies them. He has nothing to do with anybody else for 10, 20, or 30 days, perhaps two months or a year. That is what is known as halwa. If a person likes, he can do this in his house, or he can do it in the mosque because it is a form of worship. Since the mosque is also built for worship, it is called the "House of Worship," dakin ibada.

There are four stars in the heavens and their names spell mosque. The Hausa people also call Mecca, mosque.

Invocational Prayers - Adu'o'i[76]

Invocational prayers, adu'o'i, are made to plead with God,

rokon Allah: when a person wants something he sits down and invokes God's aid, calls His names and says, "God give me this thing." This is different from worship.

When a person has an illness he begs God to make him well. He says, "God, I beg you to restore my health," or "God, please cure me." Or, one can pray for another person by saying, "God, make this person well." So, when a person wants something, he pleads with God to give him that thing: that is invocational prayer.

When something undesirable is about to happen, people gather together and make an invocational prayer: God's names are called and people say, "God, our Father, we beg you to ease the impact of this event upon us and help us recover from it." In addition to the names of God, the names of the prophets and angels are called.

If the impending event is very serious, like a war involving the people, and they fear it, they gather in front of the mosque, but not in it, and open the Qur'an. They share out the pages among the malams who read them, and when the whole Qur'an is finished, an invocational prayer is made saying, "God, on the might of the Qur'an, help us withstand the impending event!" Then the ruler gives alms, or something else, in equal amounts to the malams. When there is no ruler, the elders of the place give out the alms because of God: they are shared among those who have read the Qur'an. When this happens it is said, "People were afraid and the Qur'an was read."

When a serious disease comes to town, money or something else is accumulated in great quantity. The malams gather and the pages of the Qur'an are shared among them. When they finish reading them they invoke God's aid by saying, "God, our Father, we plead with you to

protect us from this disease. Drive it away from us on the strength of the Qur'an and the honor of the prophets and your angels!"

When there is drought, the people from a number of towns gather together to read the Qur'an. They collect money, or other things, and give them as alms because of God, and they are shared out as alms between those who read the Qur'an because of God. They make a very serious effort to solicit God's help through prayer so He will give them rain.

Adua means pleading with God: some days He accepts the plea while He does not accept it on other days. Thus, people must continue to invoke his assistance: if something is about to happen or people want something, they return to prayer because "beggers do not tire."

In some places the malams come together three days after a person has died and they are given money, or something, to make an invocational prayer for the deceased. They say, "May God have mercy on him." This is repeated after 7 days, 40 days, and one year. For each of these invocational prayers different kinds of food are prepared - some with honey, some with milk, and some with small cakes - and they are given as alms because of the person who died. The malams pray saying, "God, have mercy on your slave, so-and-so who died. Forgive him." Then they share the money and food among themselves. That is the alms for the dead, and they are called alms of the third day, alms of the seventh day, alms of the fortieth day, and alms of the full year. In certain towns these are not performed because people say they are of no use.

There are different types of individual prayer. There is salati: that is when a Muslim praises the prophet Muhammed, saying, "God, elevate

our prophet Muhammed above the other prophets." There is istingifari:[77] that is when a person calls God's name so He will forgive his sins. There is tasbihi:[78] that is when a person glorifies the name of God so he will be rewarded. Then there is adu'a: that is when a person wants something from God, and he mentions the names of God and begs Him to give him the things he wants, as I wrote earlier.

Invocational prayer, ritual prayer, and recitation, karatu, are all different from each other.

Heathens - Azna

A true heathen, azna, is one who performs fetish rituals: he serves a fetish, gumki, stone, dtusi, tree, itace, human idol, mutum-mutumi, or some other thing. In Hausaland there are many different kinds of fetishes and I have written about them, in the account of the fetish, turu.

The Muslims call many people heathens. One who wages war against a Muslim is called a heathen. One who is not in the Muslim religion is called a heathen. One who denies the prophethood of Muhammed is called a heathen, whoever he may be.

Likewise, one who falsifies the Qur'an is called a heathen. One who has five, six or seven wives - or any number beyond four - is a heathen. One who eats carrion is a heathen. One who does not perform the ablution after intercourse is a heathen, as is the man who is not circumcised.

In Hausaland, those people who eat carrion, drink "fermented grain," giya, do not perform the ritual prayers, and do not wage war against the Muslims, are called Maguzawa, or "those who pay tribute," amana.[79]

Muslims wage war against the heathens: they kill, seize, and sell them because they refuse to follow God and his Messenger. This kind of war is called jihad. It differs from the war between kings who rule lands and practice the Muslim religion: this is called "enmity," gaba. It also differs from "house enmity," gabar gida, which develops when a king dies, another is installed in his place, and yet another of the deceased king's sons wants the position. He leaves, goes to another town, and mobilizes supporters. He returns to wage war against the one who has been installed. This kind of war is also known as a "kingship struggle," fa'dan sarauta.

When heathens are afraid of Muslims they come and say, "Listen, we are heathens but we will follow you." The Muslims agree, but the heathens pay tribute in money, ku'di, and when the Muslims want some work done they call on the heathens and make them do it: the heathens come and build, and carry loads of wood for the Muslims. They pay a tax, gandu, for farming on the Muslim ruler's farm.

When a Muslim goes to the heathen's town he does whatever he likes; when the heathen comes to the Muslim's town they are treated harshly, but nothing is taken from them.

When a Muslim goes to war against the heathens, and the heathens say, "We surrender, and we will follow God, His Messenger, and the religion," they are left alone and war is not waged against them again. But when heathens follow Muslims and subsequently refuse to follow them, the heathens are called "rebels," masu-tawaye, and they are said to have made a rebellion. Also, if the people of a certain town in a great land refuse to follow the king who rules the land, it is said they have made a rebellion and they are known as rebels.

A Muslim does not eat anything slaughtered by a heathen, except meat slaughtered by a Jew or Christian. A Muslim does not marry a heathen woman, except for a Jew or Christian. A heathen caught during a war of "house enmity" is sold, while many people are killed in the war.

One who says the next world, lahira, does not exist, or scoffs at it, is a heathen according to Muslims. Those who do not perform marriages are heathens. One who disputes even the smallest account told in the Qur'an is a heathen. One who performs any kind of magic is a heathen.

There is a state of war between Muslims and heathens, except when the Muslims are weak or the heathens have surrendered, tuba, follow the religion as tribute-payers, amana, and pay tax, gandu,

Fetish - Turu

The most important Hausa fetish is bori. It is widespread in Hausaland, and is popular with women who practice it a lot.

Women initiate each other: when a woman wants to be taught bori she goes to the leader of the "bori people," 'yan bori, and gives her money. She tells her, "I would like girka to be made on me." Girka is the name for the bori initiation. The leader replies, "Go and buy a black billygoat, and find a big cooking pot."

Roots are gathered - hankufa,[80] dama rafi,[81] kukuki,[82] and other roots - and they are steeped in the cooking pot. When they have been steeped, the initiate begins to drink the liquid, and while she is drinking they make certain utterances: the leader begins the utterances and the initiate repeats them after her. They say evil things

in these utterances.

When that is finished she buys clothing: small sandals like those worn by an infant, a small fez, fular dara, a string of cowries, a short turban, a rosary, tasbaha, a short gown, and a white cloth. She puts them in a lefe basket and says, "This is for Malam Alhaji" - that is the name of a bori, for all the bori have different names.[83]

The most important bori is Malam Alhaji, followed by "Dan Galadima, Makau who is a slave Jan Zari, Na Gozo, Gangan, Ina who is Doguwa the "tall one," and many others. Each woman has only one, not two, and they know all the bori.[84]

All the bori have different songs. When people want a woman to work herself into a trance, or "climb her bori," they sing the song of her bori, and the woman's body begins shaking. The woman groans and starts frothing at the mouth. Then she slaps her bosom very hard with her hands, leaps up and falls down, which is called "throwing," jifa, by the "bori children," 'ya'yan bori. She groans and butts her head against the wall and then leans over. At that point it is said, "So-and-so has climbed her bori," or they say "Bori has seized her."

Men also practice bori, but female devotees are much more common. A man who practices bori is called "bori's son," 'dan bori, while the woman is called "bori's daughter," 'yar bori. Many devotees are called "bori's children," 'ya'yan bori.

Women go and call their bori and plead with it to give them a child. Or, when something gets lost, the bori children call that bori so it will tell them where the thing is. Likewise, when something is about to happen, they claim bori knows it and he tells them. The bori children also say that bori can make people ill when an offense is

committed against it.

The Hausa people do not build and serve human idols: I have never seen one nor have I heard of it. But, they have a lot of fetishes which I will write about here.

There is a fetish practice among the Hausas where they take honey, or fresh milk, and pour it into the "house" of the black ant, tururua, and plead with it: they believe evil spirits are in the black ants' living quarters.

Some people sweep beneath the tamarind tree and pour out some threshed cereal, sour milk, honey, or a piece of meat, and make a lot of utterances. They plead, saying, "Where is the "tall one," Doguwa, "the mother of the wilderness," uwar dawa, and the hyena, kure?"

Other tie a black, or red and white, goat at the base of the tamarind tree, and say they have given it to the evil spirits, aljanu. Others sleep at the base of the tamarid tree on a new mat with a white cloth in order to get the evil spirits. All of this is called the "tamarind fetish," tsafin tsamia.

Others go to the base of a big tree and remove all their clothing: they sit absolutely naked, putting their hands back, and making utterances. They fall and get up, saying, "we follow you, we like you, we are your slaves."

Others slaughter, or strangle, roosters and then break off mistletoe, kauci, from a tree and make magic, magani, with it. Others say they understand the speech of snakes. Others make blasphemous statements, and make magic with this kind of utterance, while others write the name of God, combine it with certain things, and make a fetish of it.

Others make a fetish with birds: when a certain bird cries they say, "this means that." Others put a vulture egg under people's beds and talk with it during the night.

Others make a cylindrical belt, guru, and rub snake oil on it. When they slap it on the ground it looks like a snake. When they make this belt they look for the head of a black snake called kumarci: they pour black help seeds in its mouth and plant it in a grave, and when the hemp grows, its bark is added to the belt.

There is an old fetish in Hausaland for a woman who continues to lose children in infancy. When she gives birth to a son, to prevent him from dying, she immediately calls a friend, or somebody like her brother, and says to him, "I've got a slave, will you buy him?" He agrees to buy him and she says, "I'll give him to you for three cowries," and he replies, "I'll buy him!" When he brings the money he tells the baby, "You see, I've bought you. Don't die and make me lose my three cowries!"[85]

All this is fetish worship, but in the people's opinion, these are not fetishes.

Footnotes to Chapter 4

1. Smith, H.F.C., "A Neglected Theme of West African History: The Islamic Revolutions of the 19th Century," Proceedings of the Leverhulm History Conference, September 1960, 145-158; Hiskett, M., "An Islamic Tradition of Reform in the Western Sudan from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. XXV, 3 (1962), 557-596; Hiskett, M., "Kitab al-farq; a work on the Habe Kingdoms attributed to 'Uthman dan Fodio," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. XXIII, 3 (1960), 558-579; Al-Hajj, M. A., and D. M. Last, "Attempts at Defining a Muslim in 19th Century Hausaland and Bornu," unpublished manuscript delivered at the Lagos Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria," December 1964.

2. See Last, Murray, The Sokoto Caliphate, Smith, M. G., Government in Zazzau, and Smith, H.F.C., "A Neglected Theme...."

3. Variations in the spelling of Arabic names in English are common, due to a lack of consensus on the part of writers in the English language. Some of the variations which will appear in quotes in this paper are Muhammed, Mohammed, and Mohammad.

4. The same as Muslim; see footnote 3.

5. Often spelled Koran in English; see footnote 3.

6. Nicholson, R. A., A Literary History of the Arabs, 161.

7. Hitti, Philip K., Islam: A Way of Life, 27.

8. Gibb, H.A.R., Mohammedanism, 58-60.

9. Hitti, P. K., Islam..., 4-5.

10. Watt, W. Montgomery, What is Islam?, 94.

11. Hitti, P. K., Islam..., 15.

12. Ibid., 27.

13. Hodgkin, Thomas, Nigerian Perspectives, 8.

14. Ibid., 21-22.

15. Trimingham, J. Spencer, A History of Islam in West Africa, 52.

16. Trimingham, J. Spencer, The Influence of Islam upon Africa, 11; also see Trimingham, J. Spencer, Islam in West Africa, 138-144.

17. Palmer, H. R., Sudanese Memoirs, 104.

18. Ibid., 79-80.

19. In Mischlich, Adam, "Beitrge zur Geschichte der Haussastaaten," Mittheilungen des Seminars fr Orientalische Sprachen, Jahrgang VI, 1903, 158-224. Imoru wrote this history of the introduction of Islam into Hausaland for Mischlich in 1901. Apparently it was copied from Imoru sometime between 1907-11 by a Malam Shaihu who was working in the service of R. S. Rattray. Rattray subsequently published it in 1913 in his Hausa Folklore, Customs, Proverbs, etc.,vol. I, 1-35. A comparison of Imoru's and Shaihu's copy brings to light some copy errors made by the latter. One example is the change of the name of Abdu'l-Karimi al-Maghili (in Imoru's copy) to Abdu'l-Karimi al-Mukaila (sic) in Shaihu's copy.

20. For example, the second caliph, 'Umar (A.D. 634-644), is said to send a messenger to Bornu, and he, in turn, sends Abdu'l-Karimi al-Maghili (the Maliki jurist of the late 15th and early 16th century) to Kano!

21. Greenberg, Joseph H., "Linguistic Evidence for the Influence of the Kanuri on the Hausa," Journal of African History, vol. I, 2 (1960), 206.

22. Hodgkin, Thomas, Nigerian Perspectives, 22.

skett, Mervyn, "Northern Nigeria," in Kritzeck, J., and W. H.
289.

of the Arabic name masjid which means

lam: Essays in the Nature and Growth of
5-146.

e of Islam on a Sudanese Religion,

33. "In the imagery of the Koran the angels are represented generally as God's messengers. They are, like man, His creatures and servants and worship Him continually; they bear upon His Throne, descend with His Decrees on the Night of Power, record men's actions, receive their souls when they die, and witness for or against them at the Last Judgment, and guard the gates of Hell." Gibb, H.A.R., Mohammedanism, 56-57.

34. "(On the day of judgment) each man's guardian angels will bear witness to his record, his deeds will be weighed in the Balance, and his book will be placed in his hand, the right hand of the blessed, the left hand of the damned. Then the blessed...those who have suffered and been persecuted for God's sake...shall be summoned to enter the Garden of Paradise...where they shall dwell forever by flowing rivers....But the covetous, the unbelieving, the worshippers of gods other than Allah, shall be cast into the Fire, to abide there forever, with no release from its torments, fed with boiling water....No description can indeed convey the terror of the Koranic portrayal of Hell." Ibid., 61.

35. Singular is shisshike meaning "a forked post used as a support for the ridge-pole of a roof." Bargery, G. P., A Hausa-English Dictionary..., 944.

36. Also asuba. Arabic, ṣubḥ.

37. Arabic, ẓuhr.

38. Arabic, 'aṣr.

39. Arabic, maghrib.

40. Arabic, ṣaum.

41. There is, however, a difference since Ramadan is fixed according to the lunar calendar and September according to the solar calendar. Ramadam "is the ninth month of the lunar year and progressively moves through all seasons (and months) of the solar year." Hitti, Islam..., 36.

42. "The opening of the month of Ramadan is fixed, as in the case of all other months, by the appearance of the new moon. The beginning of the fast, and also its end, are, therefore, dependent onastronomical observation that no previous forecast can replace. The state of the atmosphere...sometimes makes impossible or difficult the direct observation of the event. It is permissible to accept the affirmation of two trustworthy witnesses. But, in the towns, it is the religious authority...who gives a definite decision. Local circumstances can give rise to disputes on this point between personages of equal authority. The fast can thus last for twenty-eight, twenty-nine, or at most, thirty days." Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions, 103.

43. See footnote 42.

44. Arabic, zakāt.

45. Shell used as currency, see chapter 6.

46. For information on the Maliki guide of Zaka to be paid on domestic animals, according to the Mukhtasar of Khalil ibn Ishaq, see "The Details of Tithes," in Skinner, N., Hausa Folk Tales and Miscellanea, 273-280.

47. Arabic, kāfir.

48. Arabic, ḥajj.

49. Arabic, meaning "cube or cubic structure." It was an important sanctuary for the worship of the many idols of the pantheon of dieties in Mecca at the time Islam was revealed to Muhammad. The Quraysh, who dominated the commerce of Mecca, were "the hereditary possessors of (this) venerated sanctuary of the gods and the wealth which they drew from the annual pilgrimage to the Ka'ba...." Guillaume, A., Islam, 31. As guardians of this lucrative shrine of gods, the Quraysh proved to be hostile to the monotheistic religion preached by Muhammad. When Muhammad overcame them, there was no compromise and the idols were destroyed, and the Ka'ba became the sanctuary of Allah. The Ka'ba was originally "a primitive, roofless, cube-like structure, from which came the name Kaaba ("cube"). The earliest description of the Kaaba showed that it was, in Muhammad's time, 'the height of a man,' with a threshold so low that heavy rains would flood the structure. Destroyed by fire caused by a woman burning incense, the building was rebuilt by a Christian who alternated layers of wood, from a ship wrecked at Jeddah, and stone. The style of construction suggests Abyssinian origin. Youthful Muhammad, it was said, was given the honor of setting in its corner the Black Stone, to which the building evidently owed its sanctity. Hitti, Islam..., 156-157. For a description of the Ka'ba today, the rites that are performed around it, and the other aspects of the pilgrimage, see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions, 81-102.

50. Watan haji, "month of the pilgrimage," corresponds to the month of Dhū'l-Hijja in the Islamic calendar. The months of the calendar in Hausa and Arabic are:

Hausa	Arabic
Wowo	Muḥarram
Bawan gane	Safar
Gane	Rabī' I
Warewaran farko	Rabī' II
Warewaran tsaka	Jumādā I
Warewaran k'arshe	Jumādā II
Azumin tswaffi	Rajab

Sha ruwan tswaffi (=sallan tswaffi	Sha'ban
Azumin gari duka	Ramadān
Salla karama	Shawwāl
Bawa	Dhū'l-Qa'da
Salla babba (=watan haji)	Dhū'l-Ḥijja

51. Arabic, al-'Īd al-kabīr, the "Great Feast." It is the most important and feast of the year. See Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions, 94, and Trimingham, J. S., Islam in West Africa, 80.

52. The Qur'an retained the practice of polygamy customary in Muhammad's time. "Polygamy is a feature closely associated with Islam in the Western mind. The authorizing passage is one of the most controversial in the entire text (of the Qur'an); 'Marry such women as seem good to you, two, three, or four; but if ye fear that ye will not be equitable, then only one, or what your right hands own (slaves)'....The prescription is usually taken to mean no man should marry more than four wives. It them limits rather than introduces the plurality of spouses. It may, however, be taken as encouraging men with only one wife to marry as many as three other wives." Hitti, Islam..., 29.

53. "Through the observance of the Prayer the worshippers draw near to Allah, and that fact gives to his person a momentarily sacred character. He must prepare for this act by submitting to special conditions of personal and external purity." Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions, 71.

54. In Muhammad's mosque in Medina "the worshippers arranged themselves in parallel rows facing north, towards Jerusalem. In 624 when the revelation came to change the direction (qiblah) while Muhammed was in the midst of prayer, all he did was to turn south to face Mecca." Hitti, Islam..., 157.

55. Arabic. nīya, "intention."

56. Arabic, takbīr.

57. "The Qur'an is divided into one hundred and fourteen chapters, or suras....The first sura...the fatiha, 'that which opens,' the book, and the last two...are very short...The other hundred and eleven have been arranged in descending order, from the longest, which is second, to the shortest." Guadefroy-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions, 64.

58. Arabic, ruku'.

59. Arabic, sajada, "to bow down."

60. Arabic, rak'a.

61. Arabic, tahīya.

62. Along with the feast of the Great Salla, this feast, called al'īd al-saghir in Arabic, is one of the two principal feasts of the year.

63. See footnotes 50 and 51.

64. Arabic, al-adhan, the call of the muezzin (Arabic, mu'adhadhin).

65. Arabic, ṣauma'a.

66. Arabic, minbar. "The pulpit...could be a wooden erection mounted on wheels, as was the antique minbar in the Ka'ba....(These) moveable pulpits were, during the week, pushed back against the wall.... There were also fixed wooden pulpits, or there might be an erection of stone or marble...." Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions, 79.

67. Arabic, khutba.

68. Arabic, iqāma.

69. Arabic, ṣalat al-janāza.

70. Arabic, kafan.

71. For a recent study exploring the ties between congregational prayer and military movements in West Africa, see Fisher, H. J., "Prayer and Military Activity in the History of Muslim Africa South of the Sahara," Journal of African History, XII, 3 (1971), 391-406.

72. See footnote 66.

73. As noted in footnote 49, the Ka'ba was a cube-like structure. "However, it was not the mosque that arose around the Kaabah, but the mosque of the Prophet in Medine that became the prototype for religious buildings in Islam. The Prophet's Mosque was a bare structure with no architectural pretensions. It began as a quadrangular courtyard open to the sky. It was later partly roofed as a protection against the sun, by palm branches covered with mud and supported by trunks of palm trees....A palm stump served as a stand for Muhammad to use while addressing the congregation.... The first muezzin was an Abyssinian ex-slave named Bilal who at the proper moment would climb to the flat roof of the adjacent building and attract by his stentorian voice all believers. This simple Medinese structure had in embryo all the essential features of the future congregational mosque: sheltered courtyard, pulpit, qiblah (niche in the wall to indicate the proper direction of prayer), and minaret." Hitti, Islam..., 157.

74. Arabic. 'ibāda.

75. Lahira is from Arabic, al-akhira.

76. Arabic, ad-du'a.

77. Arabic, istighfāra.

78. Arabic, tasbīha.

79. Arabic, amān, "protection."

80. (Sterculiaceae) Waltheria americana. "A common erect weed or undershrub with soft leaves and small yellow flowers; used medically." Dalziel, J. M., A Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, 47.

81. (Convolvolaceae) Ipomoea repens. Leaves are used medically. Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants of West Africa, 439.

82. (Sterculiaceae) Sterculia setigera. The gum of this tree has medical uses. Ibid., 109.

83. "The spirits which play such an important role in Maguzawa religious life are generally held to be infinite in number, though certain of them are known by name and have definite personalities and powers ascribed to them." Greenberg, J., Influence of Islam..., 27. Malam Alhaji's distinguishing characteristics are: "A pilgrim dressed in white. One possessed by him performs ablutions and counts the beads on a rosary." Ibid., 37.

84. For a list of names and characteristics, see ibid., 30-39.

85. In Imoru's original text he includes some more naming practices which I have omitted because they are out of context.

Chapter 5

The Social Structure

Kingship, positions of power and authority in the state structure, and the institution of slavery are the main topics of this chapter. Imoru writes about the royal court, the manner in which a king rules, and how his successor is chosen and installed in office in different Hausa states. He writes about the roles of the various state officials in choosing a new ruler, administering the state, and operating the judicial system. From these accounts, we see that there is a great deal of pomp, wealth, and power at the top of the Hausa social structure. At the bottom, in contrast, there are those who are powerless, enslaved, and impoverished, as his account of slavery shows us. Nineteenth century Hausa society was highly stratified; it was a society of extremes.

Imoru tells us that there were greater and lesser kings, and the institution of kingship varied throughout Hausaland. He writes about the states of Kabi, Zanfara, and Kano, which were the Hausa states he knew best. While his accounts are by no means complete, they are first hand and different: they are the refreshing and insightful views and opinions of an "insider and, as such, are to be welcomed as a complement to all the political histories of nineteenth century Hausaland written by "outsiders."

This highly stratified society, made up of the nobility and wealthy on the one hand and the commoners and slaves on the other, was a result of a long period of development. In the introduction to earlier chapters, we have suggested a pattern of state formation based

upon a rural agricultural economy. The cultivation of cereals made it possible for an agricultural surplus to be produced by kinsmen resident in the village hamlet. Once there was the potential for a surplus, there was the potential for it to be alienated from those who produced it.

Through conquest, and subsequent taxation and tribute, these rural farmers were made to feed those people in the city who had withdrawn themselves from the basic activity of food production. Instead, those people in the city devoted their efforts to ruling and controlling these rural and indispensable sources of rural wealth. Once the wealth was transferred from the rural to urban areas, the rulers were in a position to support a growing state administration and the urban craftsmen who laid the basis for long distance trade.

These basic conditions which gave rise to the differentiation of the once homogeneous population of Hausaland into a population of rulers and ruled - and made necessary the institution of the state to stabilize these two opposing forces - were present in Hausaland long before A.D. 1000. That date, however, is a convenient base-line from which to begin our introduction because written records date from that time. The Kano Chronicle is the earliest of these records and it claims to go back to A.D. 999. Here are some extracts from this source which highlight the process of state formation in the land of Kano:

1. In the reign of Tsaraki (A.D. 1136-94), the city walls were completed. He raided neighboring rural peoples and compelled them to pay tribute.[1]

2. Tsaraki's son, Naguji (A.D. 1194-1247), "collected a land tax of 1/8 of the crop from all husbandmen."[2]

3. In the reign of Kanajeji (A.D. 1390-1410), he "sent to the Kwararafa and asked why they did not pay him

tribute. They gave him two hundred slaves. Then he returned to Kano and kept sending the Kwararafa horses while they continued to send him slaves." He conquered Umbatu and they gave him a thousand male, and a thousand female slaves, their own children. They also gave him another two thousand slaves."[3]

4. In the reign of Kanajeji's son, Abdulahi Burja (A.D. 1438-52), the state official, Galadima Dauda, "Was in the south making war on the pagans every day, conquering them and taking them as slaves. Every month he sent a thousand slaves to Sarkin Kano....The Galadima was sung as follows: 'Gatherer of the axes (=hoes?) of the south; Gatherer of the youth of the south; Drum of Wealth, Galadima; Drum of land, Galadima.' He stayed several years in the south. Slaves became very numerous. The Sarki sent to him to tell him to come back, so he returned. When he was returning, he stopped every three miles and built a town. He left at each a thousand slaves, five hundred males, and five hundred females. He thus founded twenty-one towns, before he came to Kano. On arriving there he gave the Sarki three thousand slaves....[4]

5. Abdulahi Burja's son, Yakubu (A.D. 1452-63), "sent ten horses to the Sarkin Nupe in order to buy eunuchs. The Sarkin Nupe gave him twelve eunuchs."[5]

6. Yakubu's son, Mohamma Rimfa (A.D. 1463-99), "began the custom of giving to eunuchs the offices of state."[6]

These accounts cover a period of some three centuries of the slow growth of the state of Kano. As a result of the conquest of the rural peoples, and the consolidation of their rural holdings, there emerged the clear division of the population and this was a new social formation which was quite different from the earlier social formation of equal units of kinsmen, none of which dominated the other. In this new society, brought together by conquest, were the urban dwellers - kings, state officials, clerics, urban craftsmen - of whom most lived off the rural peoples through tribute and taxation.

The state was the apparatus developed to unite these two different groups into one society, and this political institution was quite advanced by A.D. 1500. M. G. Smith suggests that the characteristics

of the Hausa states around that time were as follows:

> (The urban rulers) were Muslim in outlook and allegiance, units in the widespread system of Sudanic and Saharan trade and committed to large-scale slave-raiding for tribute, commerce, and local production by forced labour. The once pagan priest chief whose power rested on ritual had become a Muslim, taught to regard the conversion or oppression of his pagan subjects as a religious duty. The ritual support which the chief lost when he became a Muslim was made good by new sources of power, especially by eunuch administrators and squads of slaves who could serve as guards, police, soldiers, or messengers as required. His palace was set in the midst of his slaves like a garrisoned citadel....Royal perogatives increased to include seizure of women and property rights to levy corvee on subjects. The primitive chiefdom had become a city-state, the primitive chief a king. Leading lineages of the old regime were now transformed into hereditary aristocrats who ruled and farmed by slaves. Free Hausa citizens, the commoners (talakawa), found that they were now subjects.[7]

This form of state organization continued to develop along these lines in subsequent centuries and was not fundamentally altered when the Fulani people took power in almost all of the Hausa states at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Imoru's account tells us how the state was governed and administered through a series of titled offices or positions. From his account we see that the names of these offices varied from state to state, but they were the key positions in all states and the material rewards for those holding such positions were great, as noted in the following description about the 20th century, but applying equally to the nineteenth:

> Traditional and modern government proceeds through a system of titled offices (sarautu, singular sarauta) each of which...(has) definite rights, powers and duties, special relations to the throne and to certain other offices, special lands, farms, compounds, horses, praise songs, clients, and, formerly, slaves.[8]

It was this system of offices which enabled the various sectors of the

ruling class to enrich themselves, for "office has always been the principal source of wealth among the Hausas."[9]

One should not get the impression that these offices were open to all aspirants. Each office was reserved for certain lineages, or a small segment of the population. Imoru writes that some offices were reserved for freemen while others were reserved for slaves and eunuchs. The number of offices reserved for the latter two groups varied among the states. It is not clear whether or not there was any pattern to this variation, but some evidence suggests that the greater the slave population in the state, the fewer offices reserved for slaves.[10] This would indicate a policy of "divide and rule."

Not too much should be made of the above suggestion because the evidence is so limited. We do know, however, that slave officials were without kin ties of any depth in the population and were more dependent than the freeman on the ruler, and, perhaps, more loyal.

By the nineteenth century, a complex system of urban and rural administration had developed. As a whole, the state was composed of urban areas, and a rural area of slave villages, fiefs, and vassal states. To administer these various sectors of society Imoru tells us there were the "section heads," masu unguwai, in the city, and the various slave officials, territorial administrators, hakimai, and sons of the king, who had control over the rural holdings. Each was known as "father of the land," uban kasa, and ruled his rural holdings from the capital through lesser officials down to the village headman, or dagaci. The term fief seems appropriate for these holdings:

> The fiefs through which (the) local communities were administered and which themselves formed the principle

> administrative units of the Hausa emirates...generally consisted of scattered communities which accidents of history had placed under the administration of a common office....Except in Sokoto, and to a lesser degree in Kano, fief holders lived in the capital as members of the court, administering their fiefs through staffs of titled agents (jakadu), who were drawn from their kin, clients, and slaves.[11]

It was through a complex system such as that described above that the Hausa states of the nineteenth century were administered.

One of the merits of Imoru's works is that he writes about other sectors of society, as well as the ruling class. In this chapter he gives us a brief, but first-hand, account of the institution of slavery in his day. It is impossible to estimate the size of the slave population in Hausaland during the nineteenth century. M. G. Smith says that there "were probably as many slaves as free persons" in Zaria, while "considerably less than one-quarter of the population could be classified as slaves" in Daura.[12] In 1851, Barth estimated the stable population of the city of Kano at 30,000,[13] and made the following comments about the slave population of the province and city:

> The number of domestic slaves (in Kano province), of course, is very considerable; but I think it hardly equals, certainly does not exceed, that of the free men, for, while the wealthy have many slaves, the poorer class, which is far more numerous, have few or none.... As for the town itself, their whole number, of every sex and age, does not, in my opinion, exceed 4000; but with regard to the whole country I can give no opinion.[14]

Slaves were valued primarily as a source of cheap labor. Imoru tells us that the females worked in the household, and sometimes on the farm, while the male slaves worked at crafts or on the slaveowners' farm. The Fulani people, having taken power in most of the states at the beginning of the nineteenth century, noticeably enriched themselves

through their slave estates, as indicated in the following passage:

> Until 1900, when Lugard proscribed slave-raiding and the slave trade, the dominant Fulan depended mainly on the produce of their slave settlements (rumada), or on the levies of office, the latter being especially valued for the opportunities to acquire slaves which it provided.[15]

Imoru's comment in this chapter is especially meaningful here:

> In Hausaland, commoners buy slaves, but they are unable to buy 1000 of them. Officials have more than 1000 because they do not buy them: they seize them during war campaigns.

"Outsiders" have drawn different conclusions about the condition of the slave in Hausa society. During his travels through Hausaland in the middle of the nineteenth century, Barth drew the following conclusion:

> The quiet course of domestic slavery has very little to offend the mind of the traveler; the slave is generally well treated, is not over-worked, and is very often considered as a member of the family. Scenes caused by the running away of a slave in consequence of bad and severe treatment occur every day with the Arabs, who generally sell their slaves...but with the natives they are very rare. However, I was surprised at observing so few homeborn slaves in Negroland...and I have come to the conclusion that marriage among domestic slaves is very little encouraged by the natives; indeed, I think myself justified in supposing that a slave is very rarely allowed to marry. This is an important circumstance in considering domestic slavery in Central Africa; for if these domestic slaves do not of themselves maintain their numbers, then the deficiency arising from ordinary mortality must constantly be kept up by a new supply which can only be obtained by kidnapping, or, more generally, by predatory incursions, and it is this condition which makes every domestic slave appear so baneful and pernicious.[16]

Imoru's account will clear up some of the misconceptions entertained by Barth, such as the lack of slave marriages, and it will set the reader to thinking about the condition "which makes every domestic slave appear so baneful and pernicious." Imoru's observation that

"people have nothing but contempt for slaves in Hausaland" makes one wonder if, indeed, the condition of slavery was so very different here?

Warfare was the primary source of slaves, we are told by Imoru. His account of kidnapping, raiding, and the various types of warfare in this chapter would lead one to believe the truth of his assertion.

Imoru also describes the legal system in Hausaland in great detail. His eyewitness account seems to be unique in historical materials on the operation of the judicial system in the nineteenth century. We are told about the various aspects of the system, from the summoning of defendants, the presentation of cases, the court procedure, to the sentencing of the person found guilty. The punishments for the various crimes described by Imoru are those prescribed by the Maliki school of Islamic law to which the Hausa people adhered.[17]

Throughout this chapter we read of the many roles of the Muslim literati, the malams, in Hausaland. Some filled important state offices: they were the clergy, the judges, the royal secretary, and the king's advisors. We can presume that these were positions which had developed from the early days of acceptance of Islam by the Hausa rulers. They had powerful positions, and, according to Imoru, "had little to do with the commoners."

On the other hand, there were the "malams of the skin," who had nothing to do with the royal palace and were not part of the official state structure. They spent their time with the common people, as teachers, scribes, and clerics. Imoru writes about these malams from first-hand experience.

He also reminds us that there are the "venal" malams, those who would compromise Islam with pagan practices, or would do unscrupulous

things for money. Those readers familiar with the history of Islamic reform movements[18] will recall that these corrupt malams have always been a "thorn in the side" of the pious and a cause for reform.

Now we join Imoro who begins his account with the institution of kingship.

The King - Sarki

I am writing what I have observed in Hausaland because there are lesser kings and great kings and the institution of kingship varies from place to place throughout the land.

In Zangara,[19] the king of Anka, sarkin Anka, is great. When he wants a wife his people go about looking for one: when they see a beautiful young maiden, no matter whose daughter she is, they return to tell the king. The king tells them: "Go with a camel and take these body clothes to wrap her in. Put her on this camel and bring her here." This is how she becomes the king's wife, and it's done the same way in Kabi.

Silver anklets, bracelets, rings, and expensive silk clothing - scented with various perfumes - are made for the king's wives. But, throughout Hausaland they do not go out in the daytime: they are not seen and they do not see anybody. On special occasions they go out at night in the company of the king's eunuchs, babani, who also accompany them in times of war. But the king does not take his wives when he goes to war: he takes concubines, korakorai, who ride on camels and mares and are accompanied by the eunuchs who guard them. Men dare not go near them: if they do they are beaten mercilessly, until they fall to the ground.

They make palace tuwo from rice and it is eaten with pleasant tasting soup, mia. It is scooped into large wooden bowls, the soup is poured in, and it is shared; ten people eat from one bowl. The food is eaten very hot: if it's not eaten hot the king says, "You are afraid and will not make good warriors!" so they are compelled to eat it that way.

In Zanfara the very big fish belong to the king, as do all the horses; nobody owns his own horses.

The king has an official named majikira who never leaves the king and he must respond when the king calls. Another official is the magawata: he tells the king when the new moon comes out. This is an important position in Zanfara, Kabi, and Gobir. Another official is 'dan kwana, "son of sleep," whose work begins when people are asleep and something happens in the night. He goes to inform the king: if there is a woman with the king he tells her to leave, and when she hears his voice she runs! Then he enters and tells the king what has happened.

The official called akusa takes food to the king's houseguests. The official called magajiyar gari is responsible for the feasts, and the king sometimes takes guests to lodge in her house. She takes the king's guests delicious tuwo and fura, and should the king want something in the night for a guest, she is the one who provides it, and she is very embarrassed if she does not have the food.

In Hausaland, the king's entire palace is constructed of earth: a grass house is not built for him. His palace is surrounded by an earthen wall, garu; a corn-stalk fence, darni, is only built around his farm house.

Great kings - like those of Kano, Katsina, and Zaria - have a

special house built called the "king's chamber," fagaci. It is a big rectangular room: the floor is beaten to make it hard and a platform, tugufa, is made: on top of the platform is placed the king's couch and hide mats on which he sits every day.

A similar room is built in the palace: it is called the "resting place," mashayar iska,[20] or the "inner room," soron ciki. When morning comes he sits there and the members of his household come to greet him, saying, "May God give you a long life," Allah ya ba ka yawan rai, or "May your life be long," ranka ya dade, or "May God grant you success," Allah ya ba ka nasara. These are the greetings for a king throughout Hausaland.

After the members of the household finish greeting him, the slave officials, manyar bayi, and eunuchs, babani, enter to greet him: the eunuchs enter first and are followed by the slave officials. There are seven of these officials and, while their names differ, they are found in every capital. I included those of Kabi in the account of "succession to office," nada sarauta.

In Kano one finds the following seven. The first is shamaki: he looks after the king's horses. He is also called jatau, "overseer of the slaves." The second is 'dan rimi who is the king's top slave official: there is a big family in his house and all the weapons are kept there. The third is salama, "one who knocks at the door," and people call him aljifun sarki, the "king's pocket" or "half the king," or shashin sarki, the "king's bosom friend." The fourth is kasheka: he shares out the household supplies to the king's wives. These last two officials are eunuchs and are among the slave officials.

The fifth official is the "guardian of the inner room," turakin

soro. The sixth is abin fada, "go-between": telling something to him is like telling it to the king. The seventh is kilishi: he is the one who prepares the sitting place with the hide mats for the king.

These seven officials are called the "slaves of the inner house," bayin cikin gida. When they greet the king in the morning, they sit and talk with him in a very attentive manner: one does not talk nonsense and there is no joking.

Then the leader of the king's bodyguards, sarkin dogarai, assembles the bodyguards to await the entry of the king. Going to the place where they stand in wait for him, they pass by the king's chambers but they do not go to the inner room. They go to a shelter in between the two where they are not seen by the people of the king's chamber or the people of the inner room, and the bodyguards do not see the king, eunuchs, or slave officials.

At this time of the morning, others gather at the king's chamber: the territorial officials, hakamai, who live in the capital; the king's elder sons; the messengers, jakadu; the rest of the king's slave officials; the court malams, and the male and female plaintiffs, masukara. There is a special place for everyone to sit.

Among the sons of the king of Kano, there is ciroma who is the most important and leads the others. He is called dauda, yariman Kano. Galadima is called "the elder one," baba, "light of the palace," hasken fada. There are important territorial administrators who are powerful men in the town but are not the king's son; madawaki, sarkin dawaki, mai tuta, 'dan ruwa, makama who points out the road the king should follow when a crossroad is reached; sarkin bai, and sarkin lifida. All of these people gather together with the court malams.

When they have assembled, the kilishi comes with the king's couch and prepares the hide mats. It is as if he is saying the king is ready to come out, so the gathering gets comfortable and sits at attention.

When he returns, the king prepares to come out: he ties his turban and passes it across his mouth, and he puts on sandals decorated with ostrich feathers. Then he holds his staff, kanditi, and the eunuchs and slave officials say: "Step forward, Lion!" cirawa zaki! The king walks slowly, and half the entourage walks in front of him while the other half follow him.

Meanwhile, the horse is saddled and kept with the bodyguards who hold it. When the king meets them, they slowly lift him and mount him on the horse, and say all together, "Ride well and alight safely, Lion!", hawan lafiya sabko lafiya zaki! This is said quite loud and when the people in the king's chamber hear it they know the king is approaching. When he arrives at his chamber he dismounts immediately and sits on the "hide of justice," karagar sharia, while the horse is taken away and returned to the house of the shamaki.

He comes out about 9 a.m., waluha, about the time of the departure of the soldiers, soja. After he is seated, his elder sons, the territorial administrators, and the malams, go to greet him, saying: "May your life be long, may God grant you success, and may God give you a long life!" ranka ya dade, Allah ya baka nasara, Allah ya baka tsawon rai! The king replies with his hand, or in a whisper people cannot hear.

The work begins when they have finished these greetings. If any of the territorial administrators, king's sons, palace malams, or

slave officials, have done something wrong it will be discussed first. The king asks him, "So and so, why did you do that?" They will listen - whether he tells the truth or not - and decide whether he will be forgiven, deposed, or imprisoned.

When they finish, the kilishi will rise and enter with the male plaintiffs before the king. The kilishi talks to female plaintiffs and returns alone to tell the king because women do not appear before the king in his chamber. I wrote about this in the account of jurisprudence, sharia.

This is called the "king's audience," zaman fagaci, and it goes like this until midday, tsaka, when his horse is brought and it's as if someone has said, "the king wants to rise and depart." The king suddenly rises, and when he does this all the people stand up. The guards keep saying, "the Lion has risen!", zaki ya tashi!, and the king is quickly lifted onto his horse. The seven slave officials, accompanied by the guards, go with the king until they reach the stopping place for the guards: there the king alights and leaves the horses with the guards, while the slave officials accompany him as far as the inner room, and they return. Only the female messengers, jadadu mata, accompany the king as far as the door of his personal room, kofar baraya.

This is the king's daily routine. A great king does not walk about and he does not go to anybody's house. However, he goes about during the night: he disguises himself in order to hear the town gossip which he would not otherwise be told.

The king does not incur debts, hage. There is the treasurer, maaji, who keeps the king's wealth; he buys and pays for the things

the king wants: when even the king wants something he tells the maaji who immediately goes and buys it because the king's money is in his house.

There is an office, held by a woman, called "mother of the inner room," uwar soro: the king's many female slaves are with her. She prepares various kinds of food and small fried cakes: when the king wants to make a gift of food, he sends to her house and she gives what is requested. If they cannot get the food from her, she has done the king a great disservice and she is removed from office.

A great king shares the towns of his land with the territorial administrators, his elder sons, and his slave officials. Each of these towns has a resident ruler whose house is in the town: he is usually called dagaci, but in Sokoto he's called makoshe, and in Zanfara he's called bagare. The person to whom the town belongs lives within the wall of the capital city: his name is "father of the land," uban kasa, and above him there is the king who owns all.

The dagaci and the uban kasa rule on small cases in the town. There is also the town messenger, jakadan gari, who is sent with messages: when something happens in the town the dagaci sends a message to inform the "father of the land" who, in turn, tells the king who makes the final decision.

When a king dies in Hausaland the market becomes vacant and the roads are unsafe because people's belongings are plundered. Then the galadima orders an announcement to be made that the town or land is under his control and anybody who touches another person's belongings will be dealt with by the galadima, just as if he were the king. Once this announcement is made, the roads become passable and the markets

return to normal until a new king is installed.

The new king appoints city section heads, masu unguwai, in the capital, each being responsible for a certain number of houses: 100, 150, 200, or more, and a respected elder is in charge. In Kano there are many section heads: I think there are about 30.

There are "gate-keepers," safakunan kofafi, who build their houses near the city gate and close it when night falls, and open it when morning comes. When strangers, coming to the market, are about to enter the city they are taxed: those bringing animals give him 40 cowries each, and those with headloads give him 20 cowries each.

There is 'dan safka: this is the name of the official who buries people who have died in the market as a result of a serious physical or mental illness.

There is the "supervisor of roads," sarkin tafarki: if someone obstructs the road with his building, sarkin tafarki will make him alter it or demolish the building. There is also "construction supervisor," sarkin gina: this is an important office, for this person builds the king's palace, and handles affairs with builders.

There is sankurmi: he looks after, and has control over, the market. The market of Kano is called kurmi, "wooded area," or kasuwar kurmi, "wooded area market," because there was a wooded area there before the market. The kurkuku is his house: that is the place they imprison bad people and thieves.

There is the judge, alkali, whom I wrote about in the section on the malams. There is kauni: he executes people and the king rewards him. There is sarkin dare, "the night watchman": he walks around when people are asleep and if he sees a man or woman he catches them and says

they are bad, and puts them in prison. There is the "head of the muezzins," sarkin ladanai: he calls people for salla at the Friday mosque.

The king also has "lead horses," dawakin zage. These are very beautiful horses which are led behind the king when he rides. There are twelve or more of them and they have fine saddles and lovely trappings, but they are not mounted. They are present because of the king. It is said that when they go to war and the horse of a well-known warrior is killed, one of these is given him to ride. The main reason for the group of horses is this: when the king's horse tires, he exchanges it for one of them.

Mounting the King on a Horse - Hawan Sarki Kan Doki

When the king wants to ride to war, or to reconnoitre, or aid somebody, or simply ride somewhere for pleasure, he tells the people two or three days in advance: "On such-and-such a day we will ride to such-and-such town."

On the day of departure, a trumpet is blown early in the morning to convey the following message, "ready riders, ready riders!" harama barade, harama barade! and cymbals are beaten to convey this message, "Untie the hobbles, horsemen!" Then the horsemen mount and gather at the palace gate together with the king's sons, 'dan sarki, the territorial administrators, hakimai, riders on horses with protective quilting, masu lifida,[21] and trumpeters, drummers, and praise singers, marok'an baki.

The king's horse is saddled and a saddle cover, yifi, is thrown over it. The horse is led to the vicinity of the king's inner room.

All the "runners," zagage, gather around the horse; along with the king's bodyguards, dogarai, and men wearing protective helmets, 'yan kolkoli.

Eunuchs, babani, enter the king's room and ready him with his riding attire and suspend a very expensive sword from his shoulder. When he finishes, they come out with him to the horse. He is then placed on the horse while his bodyguards press on its hindquarters and the runners stand in front of it: all of them have different kinds of blankets, barguna, thrown over their shoulders and some have metal water jugs, sintula. They say to the king: "Have a good ride and alight safely, Lion!", hawa lafia safko lafiya zaki!, and they accompany him out to the crowd.

When the king comes out the trumpeters, masu kakakai, blow twelve long metal trumpets together with this message: "here he is, here he is!" Another twelve trumpeters, masu kafo, blow this message: "one who fills the void, one who owns the world!", cika sarai, mai dunia.

Riders gather in front of the king, and they are followed by the helmeted men who are followed by the runners, and then comes the king. Two royal drums, tanbura, are carried on a camel and the chief drummer, sarkin tanbura, rides it and beats them next to the king: nobody goes between him and the king. Horses surround the king on all sides and his face cannot be seen for he is wearing a white hooded gown, farar alkeba. Nobody else but the king does this, and it continues in this fashion until he reaches his destination.

When the journey is a long one, he dismounts about 9 a.m. to rest, and when he dismounts everybody else is obliged to dismount. The

horse is held and a saddle cover is put over it. When the king finishes resting, he rises and mounts his horse to continue the journey.

When they go into battle, and the king is along, he becomes the "mother," uwa: he does not fight. When his people are driven back where they meet him, he rebukes them, and they turn back to advance and press back their opponents. If their adversaries have their king along too, he reprimands his people and they, in turn, advance. This is the method of battle, daga.

Fighting in Battle Formation - Daga

When a king approaches the land of another king to wage war against him, the latter hears about it, prepares to fight, and goes out to meet the aggressor. The approaching king hears about this, but he does not turn back. When the two armies meet, they draw up in battle formation, suna jan daga, and the long lines charge. That is daga.

In Hausaland, people abhor daga because it is damaging: the people on both sides are able to see their own ruler and nobody is willing to retreat.

War - Yak'i

There are three kinds of war: jihadi, yak'i, and basasa.

Jihadi is a war waged by Muslims against heathens because of religion.

Yak'i is war waged against a people because they will not submit to rule by others. The people are captured, sold, or disposed of in whatever manner the conqueror chooses.

Basasa is a civil war or "struggle for kingship," fa'dan sarauta. When one of the king's sons takes office and another says he does not

agree, warfare ensues.

When warfare is stopped, it is said, "peace has been made," an yi lafiya, or an yi da'di.

Raiding - Hari

When there is enmity between two lands, there is war between the people of those lands.

The people of one land send out a spy, majewayi, to find out information about the others: where they graze their cattle, where their women draw their water, where they farm, or where the dwellings in small villages are located.

Then they mount their horses and, under cover of darkness, they enter the land of the others and hide. When they see cattle, or people, they leap forward and quickly capture them. They turn around and shout as they leave.

Those who have been raided mount and give chase: this is called gudumuwa, "giving aid." Perhaps they don't overtake the raiders, who have a head start, but they will retaliate one day.

Kidnapping - Samame

Kidnapping people, satar mutane, when there is enmity between the people of two lands is called samame.

People on foot, dakaru, kidnap others by taking their food and drink and hiding in the wilderness: when they see women and children, they catch them.

The kidnappers, 'yan samame, even go near towns, and when night falls, they enter the town and buy food because they are not recognized.

When a kidnapper, 'dan samame, is caught, he is killed, and is the spy, majewayi, and the traitor.

Succession to Kingship - Nada Sarauta

Discussion of kingship is complicated because succession to kingship does not follow one fixed rule, but I will write about what I have seen and heard.

The king's successor is not selected the same way throughout Hausaland. In some capitals, when the king dies, the city elders choose the person they want to succeed him and they install the choosen person as king: in Kabi and the capital of Zangara, it is done that way up to this day.

There, the king's death is not announced to anybody until night-fall when it is told to his senior slave officials. They gather and say "Great God, today our father has died!", Allahu akbar yau ubangijinmu ya mutu. There are seven of these slave officials in Kabi: the prime minister, galadima; stable-master, barga; treasurer, ajiya; gate-keeper, garka; herald, kofa; general, uban dawaki; governor, magajin gari.

When they gather on that evening they close the gate of the king's palace so they can dig his grave in privacy, and when they finish digging it, they begin deliberations to choose a successor: they choose whomever they want.

When they reach agreement on a successor they call in the palace imam, limamin ciki, and tell him: he remains seated with them and is forbidden to leave. Then they call the town imam, limamin gari, and tell him and he remains seated with them. The deputy imam, kadu, is then called in and told, and he remains seated with them. Then they

call in the na'ibi imam, who ranks below the kadu, and the "moon-watcher," magawata: they are told and they remain seated with the others. Then asarki is called in: she is the "women's representative." She is told and she replies that the king should be bathed: the kadu bathes him and when he finishes, the body is wrapped in a shroud, likafani, but the face is not covered.

Then the seven slave officials tell the town imam the person they want as successor. He replies that the candidate is a good one: if he says the candidate is not a good one, and the candidate goes on to take office, he will kill the imam! Then they say to kadu and asarki, "go and call him."

When he arrives, they point to the king's corpse and say: "You see the king is dead. Look at his face." The candidate replies, "God is Great," Allahu akbar. The imam and asarki say to him: "Well, you have seen your elder brother, wanka, who died. We have chosen you to succeed him: you are the one we want because we know you will guide us well. We refused the office to so-and-so, and so-and-so, and so-and-so, because their character was inappropriate. We are making you the daylight - do not make us the night!" He answers, "May God help each and all of us."

Asarki rises and brings the vestment, rigar nadin sarauta. It is already intact because it is only worn on the day of investiture. After they have installed him in office it is removed and hidden in a basket, lefe, until the day another king will succeed to office. That is why it doesn't wear out.

She also brings the turban, rawani, sandals, takalma, staff, kandiri, handknife, wukar hanu, which is called the slaughtering knife,

wukar yanka, sword, takobi, spear, kasausawa, ring, zobe, red fez, fular dara, and large trousers, wando. Then she says, "People, we are about to install the king!" and they answer, "We want him!"

Then the imam rises and puts the vestment on him, and the king puts the trousers on himself. Then the imam puts the red fez on the king's head and wraps the turban around it. He puts the new sandals on the king's feet, the ring on his finger, and the knife sheath on his wrist, and then says to him: "You see the royal paraphanalia? Today they are yours. Today you are the king of Kabi. It is God who has given you this position, not us."

Then asarki says: "Today you have become king. Do you see your elder brother's palace? Today it is yours. Today his horses are yours, and today his land is yours. Today, we, the people, are your possessions. Today you are the greatest person in this land: nobody has more prestige than you. But you must be patient: patience has beneficial results; impatience has undesirable consequences." And then she says, "Imam, pray for him."

The imam makes this invocational prayer: "May God assist you in caring for your people and your land. May God give you a long life, and may God enable you to triumph over your enemies. May God ensure good health and prosperity in your land during your reign. May God drive away pestilence and hunger during your reign. He concludes by saying "amen."

The asarki then rises and honors him by sprinkling dust, afi, around the king who says, "Please stop, asarki, please stop mother!" daina asarki, daina ina! Then the slave officials sprinkle dust and he says, "please stop!" ku daina! The malams do not sprinkle it.

Then the assembled people say: "We have a king and we want to bury the corpse of the old king because we can't have two kings in one town. Help us bury it." The king holds the deceased king's head while they hold his body and legs and carry it to the grave. The corpse is put into the grave and buried, while the new king weaps. The people say, "Stop weaping king! Please, king, do not weap!" and they wipe away the tears while he replies, "I'm thinking of the day this will be done to me."

Then they send for the chief trumpeter, sarkin busa, and the chief drummer, sarkin tanbura. When they arrive with the trumpeters and drummers, they stand at the palace gate. The chief drummer is told, "Start beating all twelve drums,"and the chief trumpeter is told, "Sound all twelve trumpets," and they add, "Sound the news that so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, has departed. May God give him forgiveness."

Immediately the whole town shakes; there is commotion everywhere! The king's sons ask, "Who has been installed?" Everybody replies, "I don't know!" The palace gates are closed and nobody enters. The king's family is inside the palace where they have all come with their weapons. They gather and sleep at the palace gate, and they all have on waist belts, damaru, and are well armed with weapons, makamai.

When the commotion has ceased and the town is quiet, the asarki says, "Chief trumpeter, blow the news that so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, has mounted the "throne," gado, and he should be followed for he has become king." After the news has been sounded, everybody knows who is king: some people rejoice and others are sad.

When morning arrives, the rest of the viceroys, and all the king's sons and slave officials, come and sprinkle dust around the king

while the rest of the malams pray. Then the king goes back inside the palace and does not come out for seven days. On that day, people gather and the king appears in royal dress: people gaze at him as if he were the "new moon ending the month of fasting," watan salla. He greets the people, says whatever he wants, and lays down his ordinances, doka.[22]

That is how a successor is chosen and installed in Kabi. In Zanfara, the procedure is the same, but the slave officials have different names: there is the minister, kayaye, and the general, rafi.

The investiture ceremonies are similar to each other throughout Hausaland - as I have written for Kabi - but the time of day on which they take place differs. And the work of choosing a successor is basically the same throughout Hausaland, but there are these differences.

In some towns, when the ruler dies the people go to another town where the king is installed for them. In other towns, when a successor is to be installed, they send to a certain town and a letter is returned from it announcing the name of the person to be installed.

There is this variation too: in some towns, the investiture takes place in one day; in other towns, it takes seven days before the ruler is installed; in others it takes two weeks, and in some it takes three weeks, before the new king is installed.

Here are some other diferences: in one town the king is installed at the palace gate, while in another the investiture ceremony takes place in front of the mosque. In some towns, women do not go to the investiture ceremony, while they are permitted to attend in others.

There are certain towns where the ruler's eldest son succeeds him and there is no dispute over succession. There is another town

where the bravest warrior becomes the new ruler, and still another where the person who gives the best gifts takes office. There is also a town where the person whose character surpasses that of all the king's sons takes office.

In some parts of Hausaland, a person becomes king while his father's elder brothers are living and are able to witness it. There is also the place where a person becomes king while many of his elder brothers are living.

In Hausaland, a king can appoint a regent, marabus: when the king becomes senile, and has a very wise son, he calls the people together and removes himself from office and installs his son: the king remains, but not as ruler. The king's other sons do not like this arrangement, and on the day their father dies, they will quarrel with the regent, and they may even go to war with him. I have seen much of that happen.

When a viceroy dies in Hausaland, the ruler's sons give a bribe to the king who installs the successor in office: everybody does it in order to be installed! The wealth required in Hausaland to be installed as ruler is substantial: when a lesser king is installed, he gives the person who installs him, ten horses, lots of garments, and a million or more cowries.

Throughout Hausaland, the kingship of Kano is the most enjoyable, because that land has a vast population which is useful to the king: the people of that land follow him obediently, as I wrote earlier when discussing the character of the people of the various lands. The king of Kano has more power over the commoners than any other Hausa king. When work is done on the city wall of Kano, people

from all over the land gather to do it. The wall is measured with a rope and the work of building, or rebuilding, is shared among the people. Nobody goes home until his share of the work is completed: that is the way I saw it.

The king is installed on a couch, karaga, which is called the "throne," gadon sarauta. When the king is installed, people say, "today, so-and-so has mounted the throne," yau ya hau gadon sarauta, ko ya hau gado.

Now, in Sokoto, Kano, Katsina, and Zaria, a ruler is installed around 8 or 9 a.m., on Friday or Monday morning. When the installation ceremony is completed, all the elders rise and shake hands with him, and congratulate him saying, "May God help you," but they don't sprinkle dust around him.

In Hausaland, on the day a ruler dies, all the officials he has installed lose their authority until a new ruler is installed: he leaves in office those he likes and removes those he doesn't like.

Whenever a ruler is about to be installed, he is told, "You have no recollection of the past." This means he should forget the wrongs people did to him before he was in office: "Don't retaliate now for the wrongs of the past; you are only to pursue truth!"

In Hausaland, when the ruler dies, he has many sons who want to succeed him: his sons and his younger brothers all want to assume the kingship. That is why I said there is no fixed principle for succession to kingship: nobody assumes office except the person to whom it is given.

I saw this when Abdu, king of Kano died: his son, Yusufa, wanted to become king; another son, Ciroma Musa, wanted to succeed him;

a third son, Wanbai Shehu, wanted the position; another younger brother, Muhammad Bello, wanted it, and so did Galadiman Kano. Then Sarkin Musulmi Umaru, Sultan of Sokoto, installed Muhammad Bello as king.

I also saw what happened when Sarkin Musulmi Maazu, Sultan of Sokoto, died: Marafa Yusufu 'dan Bello wanted the office; Malam Saidu 'dan Bello wanted it; Umaru 'dan Buhari wanted it; Bubakar 'dan Ahmadu Rufai wanted the position; and Umaru 'dan Alu wanted it. The people chose Umaru 'dan Alu and installed him in office.

In Jega, the method of selecting a new ruler causes no dispute: the eldest of the king's sons is the one who takes office. It is also done like this in Gandu.

In Hausaland, on the morning a ruler is being installed, a great crowd gathers about the time the investiture ceremony is to take place: malams, slave officials, praise singers, trumpeters, and drummers. When the ceremony takes place these people accompany the ruler to his palace, beating the drums, blowing the trumpets, and the women are making shrill cries. The children shout, "We like him, we like him," muna so, muna so.

When a lesser ruler or viceroy dies, his people come before the king for a successor to be installed, and many of the king's people accompany the new ruler to his town regardless of the distance, because installing a ruler in Hausaland is a momentous occasion.

The Literati - Malamai

The literati, malamai, are the malams and they are important people in Hausaland. Here I will write about the "palace malams,"

malaman fada, who handle all the king's affairs. They are his counsellors, abokan shawarori, whom he consults about everything. They are his confidants as well: he discusses confidential matters with them; they know his secrets; and they are with him day and night, except for the short time he rests in the afternoon or sleeps at night. The "malams of the hide," malaman kirgi, consider them courtiers, fadawa.

These palace malams are very learned and they tell the ruler the truth. The ruler provides them with their livelihood: their food, drink, animals to ride, and clothes to wear. He gives them everything, including servants, bayi, and female slaves, kuyangi. These malams wear expensive and elegant clothing like that of the ruler, and their saddles and horse trappings are like those used by the ruler.

They have little to do with the commoners, talakawa, who fear them. The malams of the hide look upon the palace malams as people who are not God-fearing, but there are, indeed, God-fearing men among them.

Four erudite men from among the palace malams are chosen to sit with the ruler at the judicial court. When he wants to pass judgment he asks their opinion because they know more than the ruler.

One of the palace malams who is an excellent scribe, and is conscientious, is chosen to be installed in the office of secretary, ma ga takarda. This is an important office for a malam: he sees the ruler's correspondence and writes the letters the ruler sends to other rulers. He knows all the ruler's secrets: when a letter is brought to the ruler from any place, the secretary is the person who opens it and reads it to the ruler. The palace malams vie for this position.

One of them is also installed in the office of palace imam, limamin ciki. The people of Kano call him the "imam of the spear,"

limamin kasausawa. He leads the ruler's wives in prayer and he teaches them how to read, if they want to learn. When they go to the Friday prayer, sllar juma'a, or a religious feast, idodi, he corrects the town imam if he strays or makes a mistake.

Some of the palace malams take the position of judge, alkalanci, and the best of them is installed in the office of "chief justice," alkali. These judges decide minor cases, hukumtoci, which involve: borrowing and lending money, bashi, marriages, aure-aure, head injuries, rotsa, knife wounds, wukake, disruption of trade, batacin ciniki.

The important cases are left for the ruler: murder, kashin kai, farm disputes, cutting the hands off thieves, and the problem of lesser rulers who are tyrannical, makosai. All these are decided by the ruler. Inheritance cases, hukucin gado, can either be taken to the judge or the king, it doesn't matter.

There are certain malams, masu gargadi, whose work is advising or admonishing people. They bring prosperity to towns and markets throughout the lands. They only say things because of God and they fear nobody. They are unable to force people to comply with their admonitions. Some of them ride mares and are accompanied by servants as they go about from town to town; others go about on foot. Some give counsel in their homes and don't go to anybody else's home: if a person wants their advice, he goes to their home and listens.

The greatest amount of advice is given during the month of fasting. They make a big shelter, or they use a compound entryway, and lots of people gather: men in one group and women in another which cannot be seen, but which is able to hear.

These malams translate great books: some translate the Qur'an,

some Samarkandi,[23] some Ashifa,[24] and some Buhari.[25] Some teach children how to read, and others teach advanced students. Some are scribes who write extracts from the Qur'an and other books and sell them. Some have fine voices and they sing songs in praise of God, and people give them alms.

There are also some who tell lies to women, children, and the uninformed: these malams claim to have magical powers that enable them to know what will happen tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, or next year. They say things not found in the books so they will be given money. These malams are called malaman kundi.

They are not to be included among the malams: they are considered liars. But, there are many of them in Hausaland. Those who don't know better, think that all Hausa malams are like that because there are so many of this kind and they travel everywhere. But this is not the case: there are these and there are those who tell the truth.

These are the ones whose work resembles that of the idolators: they write the name of God in the blood of an animal, like a dog, and say it is magic for something and they make charms, layu, with it.

Slavery - Bauta

There are two sources of slavery in Hausaland. The original source is warfare. When a war is fought and a person is caught, he is a slave: he can be put to work, given as a gift to someone; sold, or set free.

The second source is the marriage of a male slave, bawa, and a female slave, baiwa: if she gives birth to a boy, he is a slave; if she gives birth to a girl, she is a slave. If the male and female

slave have the same owner, the children are the owner's cucanawa. If they have different owners, the owner of the female owns the children: they are his cucanawa.

People have nothing but contempt for slaves in Hausaland. The slaves suffer: people look at slaves as worthless creatures; they do not consider them human beings; and they treat them harshly.

A freeborn woman, 'ya, will not consent to marry a slave unless she is a good-for-nothing. If a freeborn woman marries a slave, her children, 'ya'ya, are free because she is freeborn.

When a slave runs away, and is found, he is punished. He is not killed, but he is tied up and humiliated very much: no elder or important person will go to his aid because running away is a grave offense for a slave.

Ordinarily, a slave will not quarrel with a free man, 'da, because he has a higher rank. If a slave does quarrel with a free man, the latter will squabble with the slaveowner, because he and the slaveowner have the same rank.

A slave owner can make the slave work on a farm, or do some other type of work, or pay a tax called murgu. If he makes him pay the tax, it can be paid daily, weekly, monthly, or annually. When he is planning to impose this tax he calls together people to discuss the matter: if the slave's occupation brings him money, a high tax is imposed on him; if it doesn't bring him much money, he does not pay much tax. The slave who is taxed is not put to work, but one who does not pay the tax is made to work day and night.

When a slave commits an offense against his owner, the owner punishes him, by caning him, imprisoning him, or whatever he likes:

there is nothing to stop him except the pleas of the slave. The owner is not prevented from tying him up to prevent him from running away.

If the slaveowner feels like it, he may make a handsome slave - with a full beard and grey hair - undress and go to the market with only a loincloth on. An attractive female slave, on the other hand, might be sent to the market in silky attire, with her hair plainted, and wearing anklets on her legs, and rings on her fingers or suspended from her neck. If he likes, he will sell her.

When slaves, who are going to be sold, are given to a slave broker, dilalin bayi, both the male and female slaves sleep in the slave broker's house until they are sold. In all the markets in Hausa-land, there are shelters for slaves who are being sold. The slaves sit down in them, stretching their legs out on the ground, and the prospective buyer comes and looks for the one he wants by examining them as if they were pack animals.

When a man sees a beautiful slave and likes her, he keeps it a secret. He sleeps with her regularly and she becomes his concubine, korkora. When she bears once for him she becomes a free woman: he doesn't sell her, he doesn't give her away as a gift, nor will he make her pay a tax, but he continues to discipline her as he likes. If she has a marriage, all is the same. When he dies, she can marry anybody because she is a free woman, just like all freeborn women.

If a slave does well, he can be freed, or a slave may be freed by an owner who wants to be rewarded by God. When a person is about to be freed, people gather and they are told: "We want to let so-and-so have his freedom," and a malam is called in order to record the event.

They change the slave's name to that of a free person, for the names of the enslaved and free are different, and his name as a free person is written on the paper. The malam also writes the names of all the witnesses, both male and female, the name of the town, and the time it was done: the day, month, and the year. If this is not done, one day the ex-owner's children will claim the ex-slave as their slave. So, the freed person is given the paper and keeps it with him.

The slave who has been given his freedom still has his ex-owner as his "representative," wakili, and the children of the ex-owner and the "representatives" of his children as long as they stay in the same place together.

The slave can buy his freedom: this is called "self-redemption," fansar kai. When he wants to redeem himself a lot of people gather and the slave is called: they seize everything he has with him and everything people have seen him with, thus, when a slave plans to buy his freedom he first hides all his possessions somewhere. After the arrangements have been made for him to buy his freedom, he begins paying bit by bit until he has paid the full amount and then a receipt is issued for his freedom.

When arrangements are being made for him to buy his freedom, he's asked to pay a lot of money because he wants his freedom and that is something dear to a slave who has no rank: he cannot be a witness, shaida, in court; he does not go to the Friday salla; he does not slaughter a ram at the Great Salla; and he cannot do the work of a free person, 'yanci.

In Hausaland, where owners have both female and male slaves, the female slaves are bought to work for the free women: they fetch

water and grind the food.

There are slave owners in Hausaland who have purchased 100 or 200 slaves, and there are some slaveowners with 400 or 500 slaves. But, in my lifetime, I have heard of only one person who was not an official, who had 1,000 slaves in Kano: his name was Kaushe.

In Hausaland, commoners buy slaves, but they are unable to buy 1,000 of them. Officials have more than 1,000 because they do not buy them: they seize them during war campaigns.

When a slaveowner dies, his slaves are shared among all his children. That's how it's done.

Jurisprudence - Sharia

The judge, alkali, dispenses justice when people bring a complaint, kara, to him. He has helpers, the most important being the mukadam: he is the candidate for the judge's seat. Another is 'dan wanka: he is the one who enters with the plaintiff, mak'araci. And there are numerous baliffs, barwan alkali: they are the ones who summon people who have complaints made against them.

The person who makes the complaint pays the summons fee, ijara, which is fixed at certain rates: those for the city are different from the village. In the city of Kano, the fee is 100 cowries when the house is near the judge's house; in others it is 200; in others 300; in our quarter it is 400; and in some it is 500 cowries. If the summoned lives outside the city wall and not too far off, the fee is 1,000 cowries; towns a bit further off are 2,000, and approaching Rano it is 5,000 cowries.

The work of the bailiff is summoning people. When a visit is made to the summoned, and he is obstinate and a second visit is required

to summon him, he is the person who will pay the second summons fee. If there is a third visit the same thing happens: he pays the second and third summons fee.

When a person is going to make a complaint against somebody, he goes to the judge's house and sits at the place for plaintiffs until 'dan wanka comes, and he will tell him, "I have a complaint to make." When he takes him before the judge he says, "May God forgive, Malam," Allah ya gafarta, malam, and the judge responds with "amen."

Then the plaintiff says, "I've come to make a complaint against so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, of such-and-such quarter of the city." The judge then asks the bailiffs, "Do any of you know the person whose name he has mentioned?" If one of them responds, saying, "I know him," he is sent. If none know him, the judge tells one of them: "So-and-so, go to the head of that quarter and tell him to point out so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, to you. When he points him out to you, tell him that I say to him, 'respond to the call of justice!'"

When the person is told this he immediately comes with the bailiff. Then 'dan wanka says, "Where is the person who has made a complaint against so-and-so?" and he responds, "Here I am." He is told, "Here is so-and-so. He has come." The plaintiff comes before the judge. The plaintiff and defendant sit close to each other. The plaintiff tells his whole story while the judge listens. When he finishes, the judge asks the defendant, "Have you heard?"

If the plaintiff contradicts himself, he is told that he should produce witnesses, shaidu, because the judge does not pass judgment without witnesses. When he brings witnesses, and the defendant says they are lying, people must be brought to verify this testimony before

the judge agrees.

If a person complains that a debt has not been repaid, yet the debtor says he has repaid it, the plaintiff has to seek witnesses. If he can't produce witnesses, the defendant has to produce witnesses to testify that he has paid. If he cannot produce witnesses, the lender is made to take an oath on the Qur'an in order to be paid: if he takes the oath, the debtor pays; if the debtor also takes the oath, the judge will divide it between them. If there are not witnesses, and the lender refuses to swear on the Qur'an, the debt is cancelled.

In a case where there is no witness, the plaintiff chews an amulet, laya, bearing on what he has said: it's sufficient for him to be paid. When his testimony is not accurate, the judge turns him out.

When a man is to chew an amulet, he is handed over to 'dan wanka who takes him to a bathing place: there he will give him water which is very pure so he can wash and make the ablution. This is the reason they call that person 'dan wanka, which means "son of bathing."

After he finishes they take him to the Friday mosque where he is told to stand before the altar, munbari, and the complete Qur'an is brought out and opened. He is told to say: "wallahi, tallahi, billahi, allazi, la ilahu illa huwa, zancen haka haka ya ke," which means "By God, by God, with God, He whom there is no God but Him, the story is this...." He says that while standing and then the Qur'an is closed. That is it: he has "eaten an amulet," ya ci laya, and that is what is called "swearing on the Qur'an," ya sab'a al-Qur'an.

The majority of the cases in the judge's house involve women because that is the court where marriage cases are judged. There is a place for women in the judge's house where they tell their story: it

can be heard, but the women cannot be seen.

Women frequently complain about their husbands on the grounds that the wife is not fed, or is not given clothes - or is not given clothes suitable for her rank - or the husband's make them suffer, or do not sleep with them, or have become impotent.

When a woman complains that her husband is impotent, he is called quickly and asked, "Is it true that you are impotent?" If he says it is not true, the woman is told, "Your husband has made a liar of you." She replies, "He is telling lies himself!" So, witnesses are searched for and they all go to a room: he, she, and the witnesses. A partition is put between the witnesses, and the husband and wife: the man and woman are behind the partition and soon the witnesses know who is telling the truth!

When somebody is a debtor, bashi, and fails to pay, he can be reported to the judge who has the authority to imprison him or give him a sentence which is fitting for that debt.

When a person injures another person's head, the case is called rotsa and is heard in the judge's house: some wounds require compensation of 10,000 cowries, others compensation of 20,000, 30,000, 40,000, and some of 100,000. The wound is measured, therefore some require more compensation than this.

If someone's hand is broken, the case is heard in the judge's house, and compensation of 500,000 cowries is given. Likewise with the loss of one eye or the cutting off of an ear. The loss of a tooth is 100,000 cowries. If a one-eyed person loses his good eye, he is given compensation equivalent to the loss of both eyes, because that one good eye served him as two eyes serves the ordinary person.

When a woman says her husband has divorced her and he says it is a lie, she is the person who brings witnesses. If a woman does not like her husband, the judge can separate them, but when the people are asked about his faults, and they say there are none, the woman pays the sadaki, and then the judge gives her an annulment paper, takardar shiki.

Those people who are dishonest in trade, or disrupt it, kiyagun cinuka, are seen in the judge's house. He also hears cases involving lost and found goods, tsintua, as well as disputes over pay for labor, ijarorin ayuka, and transportation, ijarorin kaya.

If something is found and the owner is unknown, it is taken to the judge's house to be kept. He places it in front of the Friday mosque: when the owner sees it he brings witnesses before it is given to him. Living things, like domestic animals, are tied near the mosque: when the owner sees them he brings witnesses plus a reward for feeding them before he takes his animals.

The judge does not have contempt for any case taken to him, no matter whether it is a small one or a big one: he gives his undivided attention to all cases that he judges. When he makes a judgment on a man's case, and the man does not agree with it, the man takes it to the king to judge it for him. When the king judges his case the man is compelled to abide by the decision because the king does not get bribes, toshi.

A corrupt judge takes bribes on a case. When he receives a bribe, and it is discovered, he is removed from office. When the judge commits a very serious offense, the king executes him. When we were children in Kano I saw the king execute the judge, Rufai, and I also heard people say that the Kano judge, Zangi, was executed by the king.

I also saw Judge Sulaimana removed from office, and he fled for fear of being executed.

The Friday mosque is between the king's house and the judge's house, because that is the place people "swear on the Qur'an," whenever the judge or king says this should be done.

The king is better known for his correct decisions than the judge, but it is very difficult to have a case taken before the king. A person may go to the king's palace daily for sixty days, in order to lodge a complaint, and still be unable to do it: some spend more time than that. But, the day he sees the king and tells him about his complaint he will be satisfied: the king will complete his case immediately and satisfactorily.

The king wants people to bring before him complaints involving village headmen, dagaci, in order that he may deal immediately and severely with them. He also likes people to bring cases before him involving his slave officials, or his sons, so he can handle them quickly and soundly.

There is a very big shelter, with cool shade, in the king's palace. That is where the female plaintiffs sit, but they do not see the king, nor does he see them or hear their voices: the kilishi asks them about their complaints and tells them to the king.

When a woman takes a case to the king, he helps them: he thinks these women are probably right because it is very difficult to come to the king. If she is not deceived, she will be able to go there, and that is why the king gives these women favorable judgments.

In front of the place where the king sits to hear cases, there are guards with long sticks standing at attention and looking from side

to side with glaring eyes which frighten people. These guards number 100 or more. When a man comes in to make a complaint they tell him, "Hey you, speak with deference!" They teach him how to sit before the king by grabbing his head, pressing it down, and telling him: "Tell the truth, for you have come to the place where people do not lie!"

After the plaintiff has spoken, the king says, "Quickly, go and bring the defendant, the one against whom the complaint is lodged!" The king's messengers are not given a fee because the king pays them.

The king's summons is more serious than that of the judge, and the messenger goes running. When he has summoned the person, they return running together, and when they arrive, the king says, "Bring him in immediately!" Then the king asks him about the charges: if he pleads not guilty, the king asks, "Any witnesses?" and it is just as I wrote in the account of the judge.

When the plaintiff has told the king the case, he says the plaintiff should be taken out. A bit later he says he should be brought back in, and the king renews his questioning. If he repeats the story as before, the king says he should be taken out again. After awhile, the king says he should be brought back, and he questions him again. If he answers as previously, that's all. However, if during the question he changes his statement, the king, himself, rebukes him and the guards immediately throw him to the ground and pull him.

When a person is found guilty, the king says: "Seize him, he's a dishonest person!": he's immediately caught like a baby bird and flung down before being tied up.

When someone is reported to the king for failing to repay a debt, the king is very severe: if the person has no money, his belong-

ings are seized, and if they are not sufficient, his house is sold. If he has no house and no possessions, he is given a bad time and different types of punishment are administered to him, including tying him up.

The king imposes more severe penalties than the judge: if a thief steals, and there are no witnesses, the king orders his hand cut off. There is no case to judge when a person kills another person: he is also killed. Anybody who comes from an enemy land to "seek the news of the land" is a spy, majewayi: he is killed immediately when killed, as is the person who purchases weapons to take to the land of the enemy.

The person who becomes intoxicated drinking giya is ordered caned 80 times. The person who slanders another person, and there are no witnesses, is given 80 strokes with the cane. On none of these cases is money charged.

If a youth deflowers a maiden, he is given 100 strokes with the cane: she is also given 100 strokes if she did it willfully. When a man commits adultry, and there are four witnesses who saw him in the act, a hole is dug and he is embedded in it and everybody is told to throw things at him: they throw bones and potsherds at him until he dies. But this is a difficult case, for if the statements of the witnesses vary, they will all be given 80 strokes with the cane.

If a commoner is deceived and wants to take his case before the king, but doesn't get the chance, he goes to the Friday mosque and starts crying out: "King, help me because of God and his Prophet!" and the king knows he is in trouble.

If a gate-keeper closes the gate and afterwards opens it to let in somebody, he is killed if the king hears about it because it is said

he will one day open the gate to let the enemy enter, and this is a very serious offense in Hausaland.

One who sells children will be tied and punished severely. One who hides in the wilderness and seizes the goods of passers-by will be severely punished and then banished. Anybody who says he is a sherifi, a descendant from Muhammed, and he's not, will be beaten until he is almost dead.

The punishment for sodomy is 300 strokes of the cane. When a person is riding an animal and it damages something, he must make compensation for whatever it damages; it's the same if he is driving or pulling the animal.

One who speaks maliciously to the judge is given ten strokes with the cane, as is the one who shows contempt for the judge. The person who has been summoned by the judge, but refuses to go, will be taken by force and beaten. The person who is questioned by the judge and remains silent, refusing to answer, will be beaten and forced to reply. The person who comes before the judge and laughs while the case is being heard will be beaten.

A person who steals in the market will be beaten, but his hand will not be cut off. A thief's hand is not cut off unless he steals from a locked room, and it is not cut off if he steals from a room he enters daily.

When the hand of a thief is to be cut off, he is knocked down and pressed to the ground. His wrist is held tightly and rubbed until it is soft. A fire is started, three stones are put around it, and a new pot with oil in it is placed on them. Then a very sharp knife is used to cut it just before the wrist: it's done very rapidly and the

arm stump is dipped into the boiling oil. The man faints and doesn't know what is being done, and then water is poured on him until he regains consciousness. That's how it's done, and then he goes where he likes. When it heals, the stump reaches the shoulder when the arm is bent.

The right hand is cut off. If he goes back to steal, his left foot is cut off. If he returns to steal again, his left hand is cut off, and if he steals once more his right foot is cut off. If he returns again, he's caned.

If a person breaks the hand of his slave, or gouges out his eye, or shaves the head of his female slaves, the king will set the slave free.

Anybody who frightens a person until he becomes insane, pays 1,000,000 cowries in compensation, as does the person who slaps another person in such a way as to deafen him. Anybody who calls a person a bastard, and he's not a bastard, will be given 30 strokes.

A person who kills another person's slave must pay the cost of the slave: the king will also pass judgment on him, but he will not be killed. It's the same for the person who kills his own slave: judgment will be passed on him, but he will not be killed.

A person who beats a free woman - not a slave woman - who is pregnant, forcing her to have a miscarriage, gives compensation as if he were buying a slave, e.g. 300,000 cowries: he will not be killed unless the woman dies, for a person who kills a free woman is killed.

Footnotes to Chapter 5

1. Palmer, H. R., Sudanese Memoirs, vol. III, 101.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 107.

4. Ibid., 110.

5. Ibid., 111.

6. Ibid., 112.

7. Smith, M. G., "The Beginnings of Hausa Society, A.D. 1000-1500," in Vansina, J., et.al., The Historian in Tropical Africa, 352.

8. Smith, M. G., "The Hausa of Northern Nigeria," in Gibbs, J. L., Peoples of Africa, 132.

9. Smith, M. G., "The Hausa System of Social Status," Africa, XXIX, 3 (1959), 241.

10. Ibid., 242.

11. Smith, M. G., "Hausa Inheritance and Succession," in Derrett, J.D.M., Studies in the Laws of Succession in Nigeria, 235.

12. Smith, M. G., "The Hausa System...," 242.

13. Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 510.

14. Ibid.

15. Smith, M. G., "Hausa Inheritance...," 231.

16. Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 527-528.

17. For information on the Maliki school of law see Coulson, N. J., A History of Islamic Law.

18. See Hiskett, M., "An Islamic Tradition of Reform in the Western Sudan from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. XXV, 3 (1962), 577-596.

19. For a concise history of Zanfara see Hogben, S. J., and A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, The Emirates of Northern Nigeria, chapter 28.

20. Literally, "place where one drinks air."

21. Sarkin Kano Kanajeji (A.D. 1390-1418) is said to be the first Hausa ruler to have introduced cotton protective quilting (singular, lifidi). Palmer, H. R., Sudanese Memoirs, III, 107.

22. See Hiskett, M., "Kitab al-farq: a Work on the Habe Kingdoms attributed to 'Uthman dan Fodio," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, vol. XXIII, 3 (1960), 573.

23. Unable to trace this name.

24. Ashifa, or al-Shifa' fi ta'rif huquq al-Mustafa, by Qadi 'Iyad b. Musa b. 'Iyad al-Sabti (d. 1149). A well-known work of Qur'anic exegesis, the science of interpreting the Qur'an.

25. Al-Bukhari (d. 870) whose work, Sahih, is one of the two outstanding collections of hadith, or Apostolic Traditions.

Chapter 6

Social and Domestic Life

Different Hausa customs, ceremonies, and institutions which mark the transition from one phase of life to another are the subject of this chapter entitled "Social and Domestic Life." It is a potpouri of different facets of Hausa life which involve the whole community.

The family is the basic social and domestic unit in Hausaland, but this is a much broader grouping than the small unit of husband, wife, and child. Imoru's definition includes the father, uba, mother, uwa, children, 'ya'ya, slaves, bayi, domestic servants, baruwa, and the father's brother's children, 'ya'yan dangi.

This domestic group resides in a compound, gida, under the authority of the senior male, mai gida. The size and complexity of the compound varies according to its location and the means of the family:

> The compound (gida) is a rectangular enclosure; if the householder is wealthy or the compound is in the capital, it is surrounded by high mud walls; more common in rural areas are fences of guineacorn stalks. It is entered through a round mud hut with a conical thatched roof known as the zaure....The zaure leads into a fenced or walled forecourt, which contains one or more round thatched huts as sleeping-quarters for the adolescent youths of the household....Entrance to the interior of the compound (cikin gida), the women's quarters, may be through another hut...with a partition preventing a direct view...or merely through a gap in the fence....The wives' huts are to be found in the cikin gida, and it is an important rule that each wife should have her own hut in which she keeps her possessions, and in which her young children sleep. The husband in a polygamous marriage may or may not have a separate sleeping-hut of his own, opposite those of his wives.[1]

Often brothers and their families would live together as an economic unit as well as a domestic unit. In the rural areas this unit is called a gandu. It has been described as follows by M. G. Smith:

> In the nineteenth century...the gandu, which was the primary type of organization for farming, included slaves and their descendants. They were assimilated in some degree as kinfolk of the gandu-head....Sometimes the slaves' huts were situated within the same walled or fenced enclosures as those of the owners' family, though in a different section....(It) functioned as a single unit for production and consumption of food, the payment of tax, the provision of farm tools, and seeds, the common exploitation of land...and other resources, and the provision of brides for members of the group.[2]

Thus, we see the gandu as an extension of the single family unit described by Imoru. The function of this extended family unit was the same as that of the single family unit described by Imoru in the following direct language: "A man's family works for him; in return he feeds, clothes, and marries them off."

Lots of outsiders have written about Hausa domestic units where the husband has more than one wife, but few Hausa men or women have written about it. As a result, Imoru's opinions about what makes for a harmonious household are of interest here. According to him, one man and one woman "live happily together and do not quarrel." Perhaps this was an exaggerated reminiscence of "the good old days," for he had more than one wife when he wrote this! What about the situation in the household where there was more than one wife, or the wife had to share familial activities and responsibilities with a concubine? Once more, Imoru comes through loud and clear: "When a man has more than one wife they quarrel with each other all the time, and the wives do not like each other at all!" Furthermore, a "wife quarrels a great deal with the concubine, doesn't like her at all, and would like her to die, run away, or be taken and sold in the market!" Perhaps these types of feelings in the household account for the fairly high frequency of divorce in Hausa society.[3]

Many readers will find the account of the educational system the most interesting in this chapter. Having been a student and teacher for many years himself, Imoru knew this system well. His description is a rare account of elementary and secondary school education in the nineteenth century, and it confirms what others have suggested, or known: girls seldom went to school, nor did a majority of boys. Perhaps this was because the content was not directly related to the demands of making a living, and perhaps it was because few people could afford to "give up" a helping hand around the house or farm.

Food is an important part of many of the ceremonies which Imoru describes in this chapter, and he devotes some pages to an account of the different types of food and drink of the Hausa people. Here we learn about the staple food called tuwo, and the most common drink called fura. He tells us how they are made, along with the other types of food, drinks, and sweets enjoyed by the Hausa people.

One of the merits of Imoru's account of food and drink - it could be a rather mundane topic - is the attention he devotes to regional preferences for the various foods, and the eating habits of the different social classes. The rich are, more often than not, likely to have a delicious meal of tuwo with meat, and wheat cakes with honey. On the other hand, the poor are sometimes forced to live on beans, or bran; often even without salt to give it some flavor.

Imoru tells us about important periods of transition in the lives of the Hausa people: childbirth, which begins the family and brings a new member of society into the world; weaning, when the child leaves his mother; circumcision, when the boy becomes a young man, but still not an adult; marriage, which marks the transition to the status of an adult;[4] and death, which is the transition from this world to the hereafter, for the Muslims.

Each transition is marked by ceremonies, celebrations, and observations, which extend over a period of days or weeks, beginning in the first case with those anticipating childbirth and continuing with the naming ceremony through to the ceremonial washing of child and mother. Imoru also describes all the activities associated with the circumcision rites, the marriage ceremonies, and other community activities, culminating in the funeral and burial of the deceased.

When the child is weaned, according to Imoru, he goes to his grandmother's house and "forgets his father, mother, and house." The child has a special relationship with his grandparents - one understands it well from his description - who adopt him, for adoption of the first-born is a common practice in Hausaland.[5]

We will read in these accounts about the common childhood diseases, as well as the disciplinary practices of the different Hausa people. According to Imoru, his people of Kabi were the most severe. But, children had fun too, and he describes the many games they played. He also tells us about the games youths and elders played, and the various types of musical instruments used to accompany dancers, singers, and for other purposes. Thus, we get a balanced account of the leisure and recreational activities of the Hausa people.

Childbearing - Haifuwa[6]

In Hausaland, when a woman is pregnant, ciki, she is called "a woman who possesses something inside," mace mai ciki. People do not quarrel with her, and if she offends someone, they take it easy with her.

When it is about time for her to give birth, she is called "a woman who possesses something old inside," mace mai tsofon ciki. Then her husband begins collecting firewood, gumogumai, and twigs, kiraruwa, a cloth for carrying the baby, zanen goyo, natron/potash, kanwa, and the spice called cita.[7]

When she starts feeling contractions, nak'uda, a midwife, gozoma, is called and told, "Perform the job of midwifery for this woman," and she says "Very well," and stays with her until she gives birth.

Nagudia is called to announce the birth of the child: if it is a boy she cries out three times, and if it is a girl she cries out four times. But she does not do this until the uwa falls: that is the placenta, mahaifa. The midwife digs a hole and buries it along with the umbilical cord, cibiya, which she has cut.

She combs the newborn child's hair and gives it a warm bath which is called the jego bath, wankan jego.

Immediately, bullrush millet, gero, is mixed with water to make gunba, and the following ingredients are added to make the drink called kunu: natron/potash, the spices cita and kulla,[8] two types of red peppers, barkono[9] and tsidifu,[10] black pepper, masoro,[11] and fasakori.[12] They make a lot of it, and she drinks it while it is very hot, and it is shared among the other women. This is a sign that one has given birth.

In the later afternoon, marece, a big pot is filled with water

and placed on the three stone supports, murfu, around the fire which is fanned with vigor until the water boils. Then it is poured into a big calabash and the woman who has given birth sits near it on a stool.

She is covered with a lot of cloth - even her feet are covered - so the vapor will enter her body, and they tell her, "Open your mouth to let the vapor enter." She remains like that until she is sweating profusely, and then she opens her clothing to get some fresh air. The water is taken away behind the house, as is the stool. She goes and sits on it, while a leaf is placed in the water, dipped up and down, and then this very hot water is sprinkled on her body. She squirms while she is being held, and eventually the water cools and she is bathed with it. This is her jego bath.

In Kano, the leaves used for this bath are from the runfu tree[13] and they are sold in the market. But in other lands it is not bought: it is picked in the wilderness. This bathing can also be performed with leaves other than those of the runfu tree.

The bathing is done in this fashion for the first 40 days or two months; some people do it for three or four months. The Hausa people say that the woman who has not undergone this will swell and die.

Four days after the woman has given birth, her husband buys eight or twelve cows'feet, and roasts them well. When they are well cooked and juicy, he puts on cita spice, black pepper, masoro, kinba,[14] and kulla root spice, and gives it to his wife. The jaw of a cow is also placed with these feet, and when it is cooked, she is given the jaw, and as much of the cows' feet as she wants to eat, and she drinks a lot of broth. Then the women share the rest with the people: relatives,

friends, and women companions, share it together.

The sharing of the food takes place on the fifth day, because it takes one day to cook it. This is what the people of Kano call kauri, and the people of Sokoto call it langabu. Sharing it among the people is called "drinking kauri," shan kauri, and once it has been shared, the news fills the town: "Today, kauri was drunk in so-and-so's house!"

On the sixth day, the child's father informs the people, "Tomorrow there will be the naming ceremony."[15] They go from house to house telling others, while some share kola: some people give two kola nuts to those they tell and others give four. People say, "Today, the naming ceremony kola has been shared in the house of so-and-so." Others go about announcing it without distributing kola, until everybody knows that the naming ceremony will take place on the following day.

That night, the child's father goes and tells the name he wants given to his child to the malam who officiates at the ceremony. And then, at dawn, the malams gather with leading people, and the parents of the woman who gave birth, in one of four places: in the child's father's house; in the house of his elder brother; in the house of the head of their town quarter; or in front of, but not in, the mosque.

The distinguished malam, or the imam, makes an invocational prayer. Then he says, "The name of this child is so-and-so." Immediately an old woman cries out at the top of her voice: "May God give a long life to so-and-so," and everyone hears and rejoices.

The women in the house of the new mother give the old woman 100 cowries: this is called "the money for accouncing the name," ku'din fadin suna. If there is no old woman to announce it, a praise singer, karoklin baki,[16] calls out the name and is given the money.

Some people do not perform this naming ceremony until around 8 or 9 a.m. and a lot of people gather, including drummers, praise singers, the lame and the blind. After the name is given, kola is again shared among the people.

A great feast is made on this day: the parents of the woman who gave birth, and the husband's relatives all make a lot of very good dumplings, tuwo, with butter in the soup, and meat, and some slaughter a chicken. The food is shared among the people, and some eat it in the "naming house."

The distinguished malam, or the imam, who gave the child his name, is given about 400 cowries, although he is only given 200 in some places, while in others he might be given 1,000, plus the tuwo and very tasty soup. The other malams who came to the naming ceremony are given small amounts of cowries, and the tuwo is shared with them by taking it to their houses. Kola is shared among the people who came there: all are given a nut or half of one. Then when the prayer is completed, and these things have been shared out, the people disperse. Then either a ram, ewe, or male or female goat is slaughtered. It is called the "naming ram," ragon suna.

The people who were told about the naming ceremony all help, whether they were told by being given kola or by word of mouth: it's all the same. Each gives according to his ability: some give 100, others give 200, 400, or 500, while there are some who give 1,000 or 2,000 cowries. This is called the "ceremony money," ku'din buki.

When the malams and other people disperse, the praise singers, masarta, go to the child's father and say, "May God give him a long life," Allah ya raya, and he says "Amen" and gives them a few cowries:

some get 50 or 100, and some get 200.

The women also make a ceremony on that day and they give financial help to the woman who has given birth. She, in turn, gives money to the female praise singers.

On this seventh day, the child's head is shaved. The leader of the shavers, sarkin aski, comes along with many other barbers, wanzamai, and they all sit down. They say, "Bring the baby," so they can shave him. The widwife then holds him until he has been shaved.

The barbers are given a lot of money on that day. While they are doing the shaving, the women throw cowries in front of them on the mats which they have spread out. If the father is a rich man, he will give the leader of the shavers a gown for compensation.

When the shaving is finished, the young women play games in the house: they clap their hands, dance, and sing. Others have drumming done for them. This is called "name playing," wasan suna. Then the naming ceremony is finished.

At that point, the father gives his wife a fine cloth for carrying the baby. Forty days after the child's birth, she makes gunba or tuwo and gives it out as alms, and she says she is grateful to God for taking care of her child for forty days. On that day, people begin to stroll about with the child, and they begin to hang amulets, lawaye, on him.

When the days after the child's birth are being counted, the day of birth is not included: they begin with the one following it.

The woman eats, drinks, and nurses the child, mai jego, and has nothing to do with her husband and he has nothing to do with her: he does not sleep with her, nor does he go near her, for two years, and in

some cases three years. Then the child is weaned, yaye, and the wife plaits her hair and rubs prepared indigo in it; covers her hands and feet with henna, lalle,[17] puts on perfume, and goes to her husband who sleeps with her. That's how it is done in Hausaland.

If the husband sleeps with her during the nursing period and she becomes pregnant, it is called "premature stomach," konika, and people laugh about it. It's humiliating to the woman, thus she will not agree for the husband to sleep with her while she is nursing.

The child drinks his mother's milk for three months, and then she begins to teach him how to sit while he continues drinking from her breast. When he is eight months old, she begins to give him cereal with her milk, and he eats food and drinks her milk until he's two years old and then he's weaned.

In Hausaland, the woman and the man do not call the name of their first born son. If a person calls the son's name, people call him a fool: he has no sense of propriety.[18]

Children - Yara

In Hausaland, when a child reaches the age to be weaned, yaye, his maternal grandmother, kaka, weans him. If he has no maternal grandmother, his paternal grandmother, uwar uba, weans him. If she is not there, the father's younger sister, k'anwar uba, weans him.

The child is weaned on Friday. In the morning he's wrapped up and taken to the house of the one who will wean him. The child's mother cooks rice and beans, and adds oil, and gives it out as alms. The child is also given very tasty food: chickens are slaughtered, and dumplings are made with butter rubbed on them.

The one who weans the child fondles him very much: she treats him as she likes and gives him the things he wants. When the child is weaned, something like a sickness happens to him for he becomes thin: this is called "giving up the breast," karayal mama.

The child remains there and doesn't return to his house again, except on the day of the Small Salla, or Great Salla, or when there is some celebration in the house. He forgets his house.

He also forgets his father and his mother: he only knows the person who is weaning him. She buys him different kinds of fine clothing. When the child is a female, she buys her fine clothing, and puts beads around her waist and neck.

Some people also wean the child of a friend: the boy stays with him and grows up like his son. Likewise, a girl can wean the child of her younger sister, k'anwa, or a younger sister can wean the child of her elder sister, ya, and he stays with her.

In Hausaland, some people are strict, foro, with their children: they don't want them to become spoiled. Some go to the extent of denying them a lot of sleep from infancy, and they let them become accustomed to hunger: they only give them food at certain times. Others, however, leave their children alone and do not discipline them: like animals, they eat, drink, and sleep. There are also people who give their children a good beating when they ask for something to eat at another person's house.

In Hausaland, when small children quarrel, even to the point of inflicting flesh or head wounds, people don't mind: they say, "That's nothing, only a child's quarrel!" Of all the Hausa people, those of Kabi are the most serious about discipline: they put their children to

work from an early age. And, in all the lands of the Hausa people, the butcher's children are considered useless: some people don't even consider them to be humans!

When children are young they eat together, but when they reach the age of about 4 years, the boys and girls eat separately.

The children in Hausaland have a lot of sicknesses as they grow up. There are four which are most common: loose bowels when they are cutting their front teeth, zawon fitar hak'ora; loose bowels when the molars appear, zawon fitarda gaboda; loose bowels when being weaned; and smallpox, zanzama. Some also get measles, k'enda. All these are common, and all children have to suffer them.

When a child is still carried on the back, he is administered medicine: his buttocks are warmed with water which has medicine in it so he will not have a sickness which is called "anus protrusion," fitar tsuliya: it kills many children.

In Hausaland, they catch birds for children so they can play with them. They also make earthen horses for them. Girls play with different kinds of bone dolls: they even tie cloth around them, decorate them, and tie waist beads around them.

Circumcision - Kaciya[19]

When a boy finishes losing his milk teeth, fira, he is circumcised,[20] kaciya, but not alone. Many boys are circumcised together. Thus, when it is time for circumcision, the parents of the boys of the same age, come together, deliberate, and reach agreement, saying, "In such-and-such month we will circumcise our sons." But, they do not let the boys hear this.

When the time approaches, the parents prepare chicken, rice, honey, and butter, and gather big logs for firewood. Then they tell their barbers, while in some places they tell the leader of the shavers, sarkin aski: in Zanfara and Kabi they tell the sarkin aski.

When the day arrives, the boys are gathered together at the first streak of dawn, asusuba, and prevented from leaving. The barbers are called when the sun rises. They bring their shaving instruments with them, along with the instrument for circumcision. The people gather and dig a hole, and then one boy is brought and made to sit near the hole.

He is told "Spread your feet!" and if he refuses they are spread by force. Then a big strong man stands over the boy, and another bends over and presses forcefully on his feet, while the barbers hold the legs apart. Then old women, and his grandmothers, come and say to him, "Don't cry. If you don't cry, very beautiful clothing will be made for you when you are well. If you cry, we won't do it for you, and people will laugh at you."

Then the barber holds the foreskin, sulli, pulls it while measuring with the tip of his finger. Then another man covers the boy's eyes with the palms of his hands, and the barber cuts off the foreskin with a swift cut, and drops it in the hole, while the boy bites his lip.

Then the barber makes an incision in the mucous membrane, faral fata, with his fingernail and cuts it. The boy cries out because this is the most painful part. If he does not cry aloud, these old women make a shrill cry, for they are happy, and money will be poured on him. But, these barbers take the money!

The barber chews the seeds from the Egyptian mimosa tree, gabaruwa,[21] and spits the juice on the wound which is bleeding, and the

bleeding stops. Then the boy is finished. He's taken away and another boy is brought to be circumcised, and this continues until they have all been circumcised, no matter how many of them there are.

When they are finished, they are taken to a big room where the floor has been covered with fine sand, and they are told, "This is your sleeping place." Immediately a fire is built with the huge logs and it does not go out until they are well. Then porridge, kunu, with natron/potash is made for them from millet or bullrush millet: mixed with it is cita spice, the smallest and hottest variety of red pepper, tsidifu, and a lot of black pepper. This is drunk while lukewarm.

Then the guard is brought in, given a cane, and told: "Use this cane to strike anyone who scratches or touches his penis with his hand, or sleeps in a strange way."

Women and young girls are prevented from going to that place. However, young boys and young men can visit them. They are brought food from everywhere: from the houses of their father's relatives and their mother's relatives, their father's friends, and their mother's friends. They sleep on the ground without mats, and that is why the fine sand is spread on the floor. They are not given anything to cover themselves, and that is why the fire is built.

When they are recovering from circumcision, they throw stones at chickens and people don't get angry, because it is said, "They are circumcized boys," 'yan kaciya. Likewise, if a girl selling something goes to their place, and they steal her goods, it doesn't matter because it is forbidden for women and young girls to go there.

They do not run short of food: throughout the recovery period there are different kinds of foods, making it like a feast. Some take

four weeks to recover, some take five, and some take six weeks.

Circumcision is done in the dry season, rani, when it is cold, dari, for this is the time that wounds heal quckly. When they all heal, new loincloths and clothing are made for them. Then it is said, "Tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, the circumcised boys will go out."

When this day comes, the boys are all bathed, their heads are shaved, and antimony, tozali, is lined around their eyes. Then they are given their loincloths and the clothing which has been made for them, and they are told, "Very well, go roaming about!" They stroll about town, and everywhere people greet them, saying "Well done," madela. The boys have recovered and have left seclusion, and people are proud of them.

The people of Nufe perform circumcision on the naming day, but they are not Hausa people. All seven Hausa people, Hausa bakwai, perform circumcision. The seven spurious peoples, banza bakwai, also perform circumcision, except for half of Bangi, and half of the Gwara people. Women are not circumcised in the seven Hausa lands, but in the seven spurious lands some of the women are.

When a boy reaches the age for circumcision, and it is not done for him, children laugh and call him, "possessor of a foreskin," mai sulli.

In Hausaland, a boy is called "boy," yaro, until he grows up: everything has to be given to him, for he has nothing of his own.

Hausa people do not like eating with their children, so the children eat with their friends or their relative's children.

The children of rulers and rich men are taught from childhood how to ride horses, and butchers children are taught how to butcher animals.

In Hausaland, small children follow a king's son a lot. They go around with him and throw stones at people's chickens. They catch them to roast and eat! If the king is told, he talks harshly to his son and may even tie him up: but he is not told! Those who follow him are the children of the commoners, and their fathers speak to them, beat them soundly, and may even tie them up.

Children have wrestling contests, wasan kokuwa, and they are not told to stop. However, they are told not to gamble, wasan caca.

When girls lose their milk teeth, they are taught to spin thread, grind food, and pound food. They are taught girki, which is cooking. Some are taught how to string beads, while others are taught how to fry small corn cakes, waina, or wheat cakes, gurasa, or dumplings, foce.

When a girl is four years old, she is admonished not to go about naked. First, a waist cloth of silk, called darazau, is made for her, and then, when she grows older, a bigger waist cloth, muk'uru, is made. After that, cloths are made for her to secure around herself and cover her head, bangles are made for her feet, and a ring is made for her finger, and earrings, kawane kune, are made for her.

Girls are not given the same work as boys. However, in Zanfara, girls farm and swim, and in Daura, girls do whatever they like. A young woman, budurwa, does not fear anybody in Daura, until she is married. The people there say a young woman is a cow!

Elementary School - Makarantar Yara[22]

In Hausaland, some people send their children to school and some do not. I have observed that those who do not send their children to school outnumber those who do, except in Kano where those who send their

children to school are in the majority. Very few girls are sent to school anywhere in Hausaland.

When a boy knows how to count, 1, daia, 2, biu, 3, uku, 4 fudu, 5, biar, 6, shidda, 6, bakwai, 8, takos, 9, tara, 10, goma, the Hausa people send him to school, even if he is not circumcised.

His father chooses the teacher, malam, and sends his son with a cane and 1,000 cowries which is called "shackle money," kur'din mari. Then he tells the malam: "I have given you this boy, teach him to read for me. I don't need his work, he is of no use to me. I don't need him now, so I am giving him to you: he is yours, not mine, until he finishes reading the Qur'an." The malam replies, "Very well, I accept him."

After this they agree on a fee, ijara: some make it 20,000 cowries, while in other places, 30,000 may be given.[23]

After this has been done, the malam begins teaching the boy to memorize or "read from the head," karatu da kai. He doesn't use a slate, alo,[24] until he is able to recite eleven short chapters, surori.[25] Each chapter is called a sura. The first of these eleven is at the beginning of the Qur'an: it is called "the beginning," fatiha,[26] and each ritual prayer, salla, begins with it. The other ten are the short ones at the end of the Qur'an.

When the boy knows them by heart, his father cooks beans and gives them as alms, sadaka. He sends half of them to the malam's school and he shares the food with the school children.

After that, the boy is given a slate on which are written the consonants of the Arabic alphabet, babaku,[27] and he studies them until he is able to recognize them. Then the vowels, farfaru, are added: these are called wasula.[28] When he knows them he is taught pronunciation,

tatashe, and after that, it is said the boy "knows his alphabet," or he has "made an eye," ya yi ido.[29]

When children are sent to school they work for the malam as if they are his servants, and they do whatever he wants done. They do not work at their own houses: they only work at their teacher's house.

The children go to school or "read," karatu, for four consecutive days: Saturday, asabar, Sunday, lahadi, Monday, litinin, and Tuesday, talata. On Wednesday, larba, they go to gather firewood for their teacher: this wood is called "Wednesday wood," itacen larba. The very small children who are not strong enough are given 20 or 40 cowries by their father to take to the malam.

The boy's mother's relatives also give the malam many gifts: whatever they get, they give to their children and say, "Take this to your teacher!"

When a boy completes one of the sixty sections into which the Qur'an has been divided, izufi,[30] people make lots of tuwo, and a chicken is slaughtered, and these are given out as alms. Half of the food is taken to the teacher's house. The same thing is done when the boy completes the second izufi, or one-thirtieth of the Qur'an, but when he completes the third izufi, or one-twentieth of the Qur'an a ram or billy-goat is slaughtered and cooked along with lots of tuwo, and it is given as alms. Once more a portion is sent to the teacher's house and he shares it with the children and his friends. This is also done when he completes ten, twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty izufi.

When he completes sixty izufi, he has completed reading the Qur'an. At this point, the boy's father looks for a big ox and buys it. He also buys expensive clothing for the boy: trousers, a gown, a red fez, and a

turban. Then he says, "On such-and-such day I will have the walima for my son." The walima is the name of the celebration.[31] He goes about informing all the people because it is a great occasion. It is celebrated on Wednesday or Friday: in Kano it is celebrated on Wednesday.

When the day arrives, the malams gather about 9 a.m. and many people join them: school children are included so they will see and strive hard to read like this boy. When the crowd has gathered, the malam says, "Bring out the boy who has completed reading the Qur'an."

The boy is dressed up in all the expensive clothing: the red fez is on his head, and the new turban is wrapped around it; over his body he is wearing a bournous, alkyeba. He is called out and his friends accompany him: some are in front and some are behind. He strolls calmly, and his face is hidden by the bournous. He comes out slowly until he reaches the gathering, and then he takes a seat among the people, in front of the malam. Children gaze at him as if he were the "new moon ending the fast of Ramadan," watan salla.[32]

Everyone quiets down and the boy begins to read from the beginning of the Qur'an, very slowly. The people listen to him while he completes one izufi, or an eighth of an izuri,[33] sumuni daia, or in some towns he only reads five verses, aya, and then people say he has completed it.

After that, his teacher gives him his blessings, albarka, and the crowd does the same. Then the pages of the Qur'an are shared out amongst the people and it is read section by section, izufi izufi, until the Qur'an is completed.[34] Then the father gives the malam a gown, and money as alms, and he shares 30,000 cowries, maybe more, maybe less, among the malams who have come to the gethering.

Then the ox is slaughtered: this is called the "finishing ox," san safka. A portion of the meat is given to the malam, some is shared among the other malams and people present, a portion goes to the boy who shares it with the other school children, and his house gets some.

On that day, a lot of food is made to be shared among the people, and a celebration is made. The boy then becomes a "king" among the other boys for seven days, after which the celebration is ended.

If the boy's father is a rich man, he then finds a wife for his son, and marries him to her. If his son is too young to marry, he looks for a girl of his age and makes the customary transactions, ada, and people say that will do until they are able to marry. That's that.

If the plans are for him to become a malam, they take him to the "school of books," makarantar litatafai, to a young teacher who teaches the elementary books. When he has done much reading, he enters the "advanced school," babar makaranta, where he reads the more difficult books.

If he doesn't want to become a malam, he enters any trade, sana'a, he likes, or he becomes a long distance trader, fatauci, or a trader in the market, kasuwanci.

That's all.

Adult School - Makarantar Manya

The school for adults, makarantar manya, is the school of knowledge, makarantar shina.

When a malam has read many books, and knows them well, he is said to be erudite, babban malam. He remains in his house which becomes a school, and whoever wants to read for knowledge comes to him, and he

teaches that person because of God: if the man brings the malam anything or money, he says, "May God bless you," madela, but if he brings nothing it does not matter.

This type of malam is called the "malam of the oxhide," malamin k'irigi, or the "malam of the mat," malamin shinfida. He has nothing to do with the ruler and the ruler has nothing to do with him. This type of malam is feared by the ruler, because he is God-fearing, and he has no other dealings apart from teaching. Wealthy people, and others, in the town, send him alms regularly, and he is also sent some of the tax, zaka, when people give it because he does not have any occupation, sana'a, apart from teaching.

Students go to read for five consecutive days, Saturday through Wednesday. They rest on Thursday, alhamis, and Friday, juma'a, until the Friday, salla, is completed, and then anyone who wants may go to school.

Students in adult school take money to their teacher on Wednesday and Saturday, but this is not compulsory. When one of them finishes a book, he takes money to his teacher who says an invocational prayer for him. Or, when he is about to start a book, he takes some money to begin the book. That is how the adult students give gifts to their teacher.

If the malam wants work done, they come themselves, along with their children, and help him with the work.

The students have a great deal of respect for the teacher, and they fear him. In his house the malam is king, and he is above all rulers in thought. He does not accumulate money: if he is given some, he gives it out. He does not desire political office, sarauta. He is

not arrogant and he does not speak nonsense. Throughout the town, people pay him respect.

Games for Youths - Wasan Samrayi

Boys play a water game called waha. When they are going to play it, they cut a piece of guineacorn stalk the size of a man's finger, or they use a piece of broken calabash. Then the boys gather together and one of them puts the stalk in the water, and they all scramble for it! The one who picks it up is able to hit whoever he likes, thus, when one person picks it up, the others scatter and dive under the water while he follows them quickly. This is waha and it is played a lot.

Boys play another game called takai. When they are going to play it they put on big pants, either kamun k'afa, surfani, or b'arage. Then each holds a short stick, and the drummer beats the drum. They go around the open place singing and hitting each other with sticks.

Elders do not like this kind of game because the boys include obscenities in the songs!

Young girls play when there is moonlight or "white moon," farin wata, or when there is an occasion to be happy about. Drumming is done for them with either the kalangu or dundufa drum, or they sing and clap without the drumming. They dance and fall on each other, and they are caught. It is a common type of play for girls, and they do it all the time.

Children play tamola. It is a game where they take an old cloth, or rag, roll it up and throw it at each other. They also play zure which is a kind of petty gambling, by making a small hole in the ground and trying to roll in something. The one whose thing goes in, wins.

Boys do a type of dance called mako, and it is done a lot in Zanfara.

Children make earthen horses, and they make saddles and a small rider for them. They make a shield, sword, spear, and brass stirrups, for him. They even install one of them as king. They war with these men on horseback.

Boxing, danbe, is a butcher's sport. They punch and knock each other down. But, this sport is only done at the palace gate, or in front of the house of one of the king's sons, or the house of the section head. When somebody knocks down another person, he's given a billygoat by the person for whom the match is being performed.

They wrestle, kokuwa, and it is the same: the one who puts down the other is given a billygoat.

There is a Fulani game called sharo, and they beat each other with switches. This game is not good.

Another game called carafke is played with small stones. One is thrown up, and before it falls another must be picked up from the ground and the falling one caught. If it is not caught, he loses.

Young girls make dolls or "bone children," 'yar kashi. They marry the dolls, and perform ceremonies like those for the bride, but it's all play.

There is a game played by the animist Maguzawa, called kwaraya. They make a sharp metal thing and strike each other with it; they even strike another's ear or shoulder. This game is not good to watch.

There is a game with fire called wawo. It is done on the 10th night of the first month of the year, which is Muharram. That month is called the "month of the fire game," watan wasan wuta.

There is the game of tobastaka, which is played between different tribes, iri, or cousins, 'dan mace da 'dan ne miji.

Game of Dara

There is a game called dara which is played very much in Hausa-land. It is played most often in Gobir, Kabi, and Zanfara. They don't play it much in Kano and Katsina.

In Zanfara, the elders, officials, and king's sons play it. They do not win money, for it's only done for fun: they say "So-and-so's been beaten," an kasa wane,and laugh at him! When a man has been beaten twelve times in a row, it means he's been hung!

There are two kinds of dara. One is played with small stalks and stones, and the other is played on a board.

In the game played with the small stalks and stones, they make 36 holes, or "houses," and one man has the stalks and the other, the stones. When one man puts one here, the other man puts one there. This is called "planting dara," shifkar dara, and while "planting," they take or "eat," ci, each other's pieces. The one who gets all the other's pieces, wins.

It's the same with the board, komi. It is made in the shape of a boat, but only twelve holes or "houses" are made in it. Again, one "beats" another, ana kasa wani, in it. Women play this second type, but not that with stalks.

Gambling with Cowries - Caca

When men are going to gamble with cowrie shells, caca, they select those with holes on their backs, kur'din masubaki, and they do with them what they do with money. They scatter them to beat one

another, and this is called caca.

The cowries which they scatter are called "children," 'ya'ya, or "dogs," karnai. Scattering them is called "throwing," jifa or sab'i: people say, "so-and-so threw caca," wane ya sab'a caca, or wane ya jefa caca, or they say "So-and-so hit caca," wane ya buga caca. Winning is called "eating," ci.

There is a type of gambling in Hausaland where a person takes a fistful of cowries and says to another person, "Even or odd?" cika ko mara? He replies as he likes, say, for example, "odd," mara. The cowries are then poured out and they are counted: if they turn out as he said, in this case an "odd" number, he wins. If they did not turn out as he said, he's been defeated, and he gives that amount to the winner, yana bada kaman su. Throwing cowries is common everywhere.

Gambling with Four Cowries - Dikam

They select four good cowrie shells with holes in the backs to play dikam.

One man shows money, kur'di, or some other valuable and says, "I stake this," na rik'a: this is called "holding," rik'o. Another person takes the four cowries and scatters them. When all four "open," bu'de, or all four "closes," rufe, or two open and two close, the one who threw them has won. But, when three close and one opens, or three open and one closes, he has been defeated and people say he has "lost," ya yi talata. This is dikam and it is the first gambling, caca ta farin.

Two, four, or more people play it, and among the different types of gambling, it is the one where victory happens quickest, hence they call it "conflagration," gobara.

Gambling with Two Cowries - Abataya

Three people play abataya. Each puts in two cowries which he has marked as his own. Then one of the men says, "I stake this thing." Another picks up all the cowries and scatters them. He wins when they all close, or all open. He also wins when they all open, except for one or both of his own. The other two people then give him money equal to the stake.

In Abataya, when all the cowries close, and one opens, the owner of that cowrie wins, even if he did not throw them; it's the same when two open, as long as they belong to the same man. When they are scattered and all of them open, except for one, or two belonging to the same person, which closes, the owner of the closed cowrie(s) wins.

Gambling with Six Cowries or "Elepant" - Giwa

Six cowries with openings are selected and they are scattered as in dikam. When they all close, or they all open, the one who threw them wins. He also wins if two close and four open, or two open and four close.

When three open and three close, the one who threw them loses, and it is said, "He has lost," ya yi talata. He also loses when one closes and five open, or one opens and five close.

In Hausaland, when they are gambling with a lot of money, the king puts a stop to it.

Gambling with Three Cowries - Uku da Uku

Two people play this game and each puts in three cowries, uku da uku. Then one of them stakes a valuable or money.

Then one picks up all the cowries and scatters them. When they

all open, or all close, the one who threw wins. He also wins when all open, and one or two of his cowries close.

But when the cowries all close, and one or two belonging to the other person opens, the other person wins, even if he did not throw them.

Likewise, when they all open and one or two cowries belonging to one man close: he wins, whether or not he threw them.

Dancing - Rawa

Children smear sticky substance on their chin and cheeks and attach cotton to it. They wear a big hat, hang an old bag over their shoulder, hold a cane and walk hunched over. Other children follow this one, and they clap for him, saying, "Dance mala, dance!" He replies, "What? An important man like me? I don't dance!" Then he dances hunched over! It is one of the games played during the month of fasting, azumi.

Not all Hausa people dance. There are people who dance, and are looked upon as entertainers, mutanen banza, and while they dance people stare at them and laugh, and give them money. But, in Hausaland, a person who is not one of those who dance, does not dance, even if he is going to be given a great amount of wealth. Young girls, women, men, and 'yan bori dance.

There is the "foot soldier dance," rawar dakaru, which is like a war dance, and it's not for entertainment only, rawar banza. They beat a drum called kurya, and draw out swords, and then they dance and shout before the commander of the foot soldiers, sarkin sati.

There is a banba'dawa dance which is done when their women give

birth, or their children are going to marry. There is drum beating done, and the men and women dance. They are praise singers, marok'a.

There is the lepers dance, rawan kutare, and men, women, young, and old do it. They put on red loincloths decorated with velvet and small mirrors, and they beat a gourd rattle, caki, and dance very well.

There is the butchers dance, rawar mafauta. When they are going to dance, they bring in a fierce bull. The kalanguna drums are beaten and they dance and touch the bull's forehead. It butts them, and it goes on that way until they leap and climb onto his horns. They call this dance "climbing the bull's horns," hawan k'afo, and they don't do it until the Salla feast.

There is a smiths dance, rawan mak'era, and when they do it they lick fire. They have "medicine," magani, which enables them to step on the fire. They put a smith's hammer in the fire and blow it up until it is red hot: then they lick it and put it on their head.

Both male and famale 'yan bori dance to a stringed instrument called goge. When it is played they leap and fall. This is called "climbing bori," hawan bori.

There are professionals who do different dances for money: these are the praise-singers, marok'a.

There is a kind of dance called zuga. Drumming is done and men and women go about town dancing. This dance originates with the people of Azbin, and those who do it today are called Agalawa, and the dance is called dawara.

Drumming - Ki'de-ki'de

They do different types of drumming, ki'de-ki'de, in Hausaland,

and everything used for drumming has its name.

There are drummers, maka'da, whose wives dress up with a burnous and beautiful kerchief and beat metal trays while their husbands drum.

There are different types of drumming and there are different types of drums. People say tanbari is the "father of the drums," uban ganguma. They also say, "When you hear tanbari, the king is coming!"

Tanbari is a big wooden bowl, akushi, which is carved and covered with an untanned oxhide. A drumstick, maka'di, is made for it from twisted hide rope, and they beat the drum hard with this to sound it.

There is a big tanbari which is only beaten on important occasions. It is beaten when news is to be passed on to the people so everyone can know something is happening. If it is wartime, those who live in the village, k'auye, enter the walled city, birni. When it is time for the Small Salla, or the Great Salla, they beat the tanbari for seven days. When they are going to war, two tanbari are put on a camel; but this is only done with important kings like the king of Kano.

There is also the snakecharmer's tanbari, tanbarin gardi, which is for play.

There are three types of drums called gangi, which are brought together on the farm for farm drumming. One is duma, a big gourd which is split and opened, and covered with a cow hide. Another is gangi which is a long drum with two open ends, or "mouths," baki, which are covered with goat hide. The hides are smeared with a resin, nake. Kanzagi also has two openings covered with goat skin.

Kalangu was originally the drumming of the butchers. It is a drum which is long and thin with two openings covered with goat skin. A small type is called kuntukurum, and it is not very long. It is

beaten together with kalangu and it sounds the same. They usually beat kalangu for young girls when they dance, or when they are building a city wall, they beat kalangu.

Ganga was originally the drumming of the long distance traders. When they are going to make the ganga drum, they cut and carve a section of a tree trunk, and hollow it out. It is larger than kalangu and it has the two openings covered with goat skin. The rest of the drum is covered with a cloth called muharrama, so the wood is not seen.

Ganga is beaten for the caravan leader and for brave warriors. There is one brave warrior for whom they beat twelve ganga.

When they are going to make an important proclamation, the ganga is beaten at the market entrance and people gather around to hear it. The name for this type of drumming is gangami. Likewise, when war with another land has ended, and there is peace, lafiya, they beat gangami.

Dundufa is drumming for the entertainment of young girls. The drum is made by cutting and carving a long section of the 'dumya trunk. There are two openings, one of which is bigger than the other, and they are covered with goat skin. When they are going to beat the dundufa, the drummer sits on a mortar with one of the dundufa on his right and another on his left. It cannot be hanged from the shoulder: it is only carried on the head.

There are many of these in Kabi, Gobir, and Zanfara, where the elder women even dance when it is beaten!

There is a type of war drumming called tsintsima, but it was originally the drumming of hunters. The drum is carved, and it has a big opening and a small base. When they are going to beat it, they hang it over the shoulder and it touches the ground. There are many

in Zanfara, Arewa, and Daura, but not many in Kano and Katsina.

Kotso is war drumming. To make the drum, they cover one of the openings with goat skin, and the other is left uncovered. This drum is bigger than kalangu, but it looks the same.

Three Stringed Guitars - Molaye

A calabash is covered with a hide, and a stick is fixed to it. They tie on hair from an animal's tail, izga, and touch the hair with the hand to make it sound. This is called a molo.

There are many types. There is gurmi, garaya, and kwafsa. The latter is made with a guineacorn stalk, and I think it is the molo of the Yaurawa.

There is a type of molo which is not played with the hand. To play it, they make a thing like a small bow, and tie hair from an animal's tail on it. This is rubbed on the hair of the big one. The instrument is called goge.

Originally this was used for bori music, but today it's done for entertainment, although it is more common for it to be used for bori.

Marriage - Aure

Seeking marriage, aure, is a great concern in Hausaland. In some regions people seek marriage with money, kur'di, while in other regions they seek it with labor, aikin jiki. This is why the Hausa people say a wife is not obtained free: there must either be "labor service," bautar jiki, or "bag service," bautar jaki.

In the lands of Kabi, Zanfara, and Daura, people seek marriage through labor service. When a person wants a wife, he begins working for his future parents-in-law, sarakuci, when the future bride is only

7, 8, or 9 years old. He goes to her parents' house and works for them, and he mends their fence, darni, when it is in need of repair. During the farming season, he invites a group of youths to work on their farms; if they have livestock he gets grass for them. When something is wanted from the wilderness, he goes, gets it, and takes it to them. When fish are plentiful, he takes big, delicious, ones to them. When he meets them on the road, he kneels and greets them. This goes on until everyone knows about it, and people say, "So-and-so is laboring for the parents of so-and-so."

When she reaches the age for marriage, he becomes her husband, miji. Her father calls people together and tells them, "I want to give so-and-so to so-and-so," and the people reply, "That's good!" Then he tells her mother and she says, "How come you are asking me? I have nothing to say in the matter!" However, she does have a part: she gets together all the wedding presents.

And her mother's influence can be understood from this story. In Kabi there was a musician, a guitarist, mai molo, who did the labor service for the girl, but was refused when it was time to marry her. He made a song about her parents and mentioned all the things he had done as labor service. In the song he said, "I prepared the soil on the farm, I weeded it, I poured the rice in the bin, I threshed it, and I piled it - and I cut grass for the daughter of an old mare!"

In Kano, Katsina, Sokoto, Zaria, and Jega, they do "bag service." When the girl approaches the age for marriage, the young man who likes her buys meat, and takes it with kola and money to her parents. He gives some to her father, his younger brothers and sisters, and his children. He also gives some to her mother, her younger brothers and

sisters, and her children.

If another fellow likes her, he does the same. If a third fellow wishes, he may do likewise, and it goes on like this until the time for marriage arrives.

Then, the one who is chosen, or the one the young woman wants, is called. He is told to get people to come and seek her. So, he arranges for elder men to come, early in the morning, to the father and they say to him: "We beg you for so-and-so. We want her to become thewife of so-and-so." At that moment, some fathers say, "We have given her to you." Others say, "Go home while we talk it over," and then they send to them, saying, "We have given her to you."

Then one calabash of kola, or half a calabash, or 4,000 cowries, is brought and a short invocational prayer is said: "May God bless them," Allah ya sa da albarka. In Kano people call this "searching with a prayer," neman da adua, but in Sokoto they call it "a gift," baiwa, and in Daura they call it "a gift," baiko. Then everyone knows that so-and-so has been given to so-and-so and those that were refused reckon their expenses, and the groom-to-be reimburses them. However, if her parents are good people, they will reimburse the unlucky fellows.

Then the young man's mother and her sisters, and the young woman's mother and her sisters, gather in the house of the young woman's parents and talk about it. They set a marriage date: "Next month, or the month after next, on the 15th, so-and-so and so-and-so will be brought together in marriage." But in Sokoto they say, "Henna will be put on so-and-so." Everyone hears the news as it spreads throughout the town.

Then the young man is told to bring lefe,which is a gift of beautiful marriage clothes. He brings 8, 10, or 12, and two kerchiefs.

The mother and maternal aunts of the bride-to-be keep these clothes with them until the time for the marriage.

On Sunday, the young man and young woman are seized. However, earlier in the day the young woman has run and hidden in her girl friend's house, gidan abuya, and the young man has run and hidden in his friend's house. So, after darkness falls, old women prepare henna and search for the young man and the young woman. When they find them, they rub henna on them. The young woman cries, people hear her, and they say, "Today they have seized so-and-so!"

The young man does not cry. He is taken to his parents' house and seated in a room. He does not go out. Young men gather with him and keep him company, and this is called "being a bridegroom," angoci.

The young woman is taken to her parents' house and her hair is combed. She is forbidden to go out, and young girls gather around her and keep her company. This is called "being a bride," amarci. The young girls do not go to their houses: they sleep with her.

She is called the "bride," amarya, and the other girls are called the "bride's maids," matan amarya. The young man is called the "bridegroom," ango. He gives the girls money and they make food to eat and a portion is made for him and they bring it to him. Food is also made in their houses, and he eats it with the youths.

In the late afternoon on Monday, people gather at an open space: praise singers, masarta, girls, and young men. Then a seat is brought and set down, and mats are spread throughout the open space for people to sit on. A small shelter is made for the groom, and he sits in it while the young men and young women sit around him.

Then the bathing woman, arwanka, comes, accompanied by old women

who have mixed henna, and they apply it to his feet. The young girls sing while the young men give out money called "tying," kumshi. When the groom is finished, they go to the bride and do the same thing to her,[35] and the groom's companions give out money there too.

In the late afternoons on Tuesday and Wednesday, people are told, "Tomorrow, Thursday, the binding of the marriage between so-and-so and so-and-so takes place." Some people share kola and call it "the kola for tomorrow's marriage," goron 'damrin aure gobe.

Early on Thursday morning, or later, around 9 a.m., people gather at the bride's father's house, or the house of his elder brother, with malams, praise singers, the father and brothers, and an important malam or the iman, who performs the marriage ceremony.

The lefe is brought, along with kola in a brass bowl, and money. They are put down before the malam, and the father says to him, "Unite this young man and woman in marriage." The malam asks, "How much is the brideprice?" nawa. The father replies, "So many thousand, but then the bridegroom's father, or his friend, says, "No, it is this many thousand." It's like bargaining, ciniki, and it continues until the fathers reach an agreement.

Neither the bridegroom nor the bride comes to where this is taking place. If the bridegroom has money, he gives the brideprice at that point. If he does not have money, it becomes a debt to be paid at a future date: however, he must give 1,250 cowries immediately.

Then the malam says, "People, listen! Pay attention and witness that so-and-so, the father of this girl, has authorized me to unite her in marriage with so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, for such-and-such brideprice. Do you witness it?" Then two people from the gathering

become witnesses, shaidawa, and the malam prays. Money is then given to the officiating malam and the other malams who came, kola is shared among the people, and the ceremony has been completed, an 'damra aure.

In the late afternoon, people gather like they do for kumshi, and a mortar is brought, put down, and the groom sits on it. Then the "woman who baths," arwanka, comes with old women, and they bring henna. They wash the groom and he removes his garments except for his loincloth. The young girls sing and the young men give out money until they finish washing him. This is called "washing the groom," wankan angó. It has its origin in teaching the groom the correct method of washing after coitus, wankan tsalki, which is the janaba washing, wankan janaba. But now it is play and has no value. Amarya also undergoes this and it is called "washing the bride," wankan amarya.

After dark, lisha, the bride is rubbed with lots of perfume, and nice new clothes are secured around her. Then four old women secretly take her to her husband's house, and neither she, nor they, talk while they are walking.

Later on the bridegroom is told, "Bring thanks, so a wife will be brought to you," and he gives thanks with a saddle and hooded-gown. The bride's girl friend, abuyar amarya, who is called k'awar amarya in Kano, wears the hooded gown and mounts a horse. She rides it and gives thanks, and cries, and the young girls sing. The youths from the groom's group are behind her, and another group is in front of her with some lamps, and their destination is the groom's house. This is called "carrying the bride," 'daukar amarya, but she is called "the false bride," amaryar k'arya.

Well, the groom sleeps with the real bride that night. If she is

a virgin, budurci, people are delighted with her and they make shrill cries, saying, "Splendid!" madela. If she is not a virgin, people say, "So-and-so has thrown away her loincloth," wace ta yada baute. She stays three days, "being a bride," amarci, and she does not eat food from the bridegroom's house: food is brought from her house until the fourth day, which is Monday.

On Monday, utensils, tarkace, are brought to her from her parents' house: calabashes, korai, brass bowls, tasoshi, mats, shinfidu, food made from bean flour, wasawasa, macaroni, taliya, and cooking butter, man shanu, in hide vessels, tandaye. These are called "wedding presents," gara,

On that day, the groom and his youthful companions mount horses and go about the town: they dress up, and the girls sing songs. This is called "the riding of the bridegrooms," hawan angaye. On this day too, the bride's hair is plaited, and the ceremony is completed.

This is a description of the first marriage for a young woman and a young man. There is also the marriage of a woman who has been married before, saure. When a man sees a "once married woman," mace zaura, and he likes her and she likes him, it is not difficult. She tells him, "Go to my father or so-and-so." He goes and asks for her, and if he is given her, he brings two or four cloths, and people gather in the father's house, and the marriage is made with a small brideprice.

On that day, she comes to him to do the "marriage sleeping," kwanan aure, and two or three days later she goes to stay in the husband's house.

This is how I have seen it with my eyes.

One Wife - Mata Daya

When a man has one wife, they live happily together and do not

quarrel. She sleeps with him regularly: they share the same bed. His possessions are hers, and her possessions are his.

He gives her different kinds of clothing. If he has the money, he purchases a female slave, baiwa, or redeems a beautiful young slave girl, kuyanga. He does not marry her, but he sleeps with her because she is his slave. She is called "concubine," k'ork'ora, while the woman to whom he is married is called "wife," matar aure, because he is married to her. If there is no concubine, there is no senior female slave, shamagia.

The wife makes tuwo, pounds the fura in the mortar, mixes it, fetches the water, and does the threshing. When there is a concubine, she fetches the water and makes the tuwo, while the wife pounds the fura and makes the soup, mia. The concubine does not mix fura because she has no gidauniya, which is the calabash reserved for use by the head of the household only. The concubine does all the work outside the house, while the wife does all the work inside the house.

It is customary for the wife to sleep two nights with the husband, and the concubine to sleep one night with him. If there are many concubines, it works the same way: each of them sleeps with the husband one night, and the wife sleeps with him two nights.

The wife quarrels a great deal with the concubine: she doesn't like her at all. She is always annoyed with her and would like her to die, run away, or be taken and sold in the market!

She also quarrels with her husband because of the concubine. Everyday, she either quarrels with him or her. If there are many concubines, she quarrels with all of them. They are afraid of her, for the wife is a queen among the concubines.

In Hausaland, a man may have a wife and no concubine, or a concubine and no wife, while some may have one of each. Others may have one wife and two concubines, while some may have ten or more concubines.

Two, Three, or Four Wives - Matan Aure Biyu ko Uku ko Fu'du

When a man has more than one wife, they quarrel with each other all the time. This is called jealousy, kishi. They do not like each other at all, and they also quarrel with their husband.

The first wife is called "mother of the house," uwar gida, or kwari. She tells her husband, "You do not like me because you have a new wife!" The second wife tells him, "You do not like me, you only like kwari!" They quarrel daily, and that is very bad.

They "share the work," raba aiki, which means "sharing the nights," rabon kwana, with him. One works two nights - sleeping with the husband - then the other does the same. That is how it always is.

But if one of the wives gives birth, she will not sleep with him again until she has weaned the baby. However, on her "working day," he has nothing to do with the other wives: if he does, she quarrels with him and may even take word of his offense to the elders, judge, or the head of her section of town.

The one who "works for the day" has the say in the house for that day. She has rights over the meat for the meal, and everything: the others have no say. Their "work" is completed in late afternoon, on the day they finish. If there are two, three, or four wives, it is all the same. If there are concubines too, each "works" a day, while the wives "work" two days.

The concubines do not make soup, mia, or mix fura: this work is

shared among the wives. The wives eat together, and they make soup for the concubines on the days the concubines "work," but the concubines stir the tuwo.

That's that.

Families - Iyalai[36]

All people have families, iyalai, although one person may only have a few members, while another person may have many.

The "core," farko, of the family is the wife, mata, children, 'ya'ya, slaves, bayi, servants, baruwa, and the brother's children, 'ya'yan dangi.

A man's family works for him: in return, he feeds, clothes, and marries them off. When he has money, he disciplines them, and punishes them - to the point of tying them up - when they wrong him. If he does not lock his storehouse, taska, securely, they take from him. But, this is not considered stealing: when he sees them taking something, he does not take them to court because they are his family. He punishes them himself.

When a slaveowner has both a female, baiwa, and male slave, bawa, he has them marry. When she has a child it is called bacucane, which means "one born in slavery of slave parents." It's the same when there are many slaves.

When there are many slaves, the slaveowner builds a separate house for them called rumji.[37] If he is a farmer, he makes them a house, or hamlet, on the farm and it is called kauya. He, his male and female children, and the young male slaves, magudantai, all live in the same house, although the slave lads sleep in the "entry room," zaure.

If the slaveowner has a horse, they gather grass for it and they clean the place where it is tethered. The slaveowner gives them 10 or 20 cowries for gruel, koko, in the morning, or they make millet porridge, kunu, for them to drink, or they reheat the tuwo left over from the previous day, for them to eat.

The man of the family is like the ruler of the town: he disciplines his dependants frequently and they fear him.

This is how I saw it as I grew up from childhood.

Foods - Abincai

The most common food, abinci, in Hausaland is tuwo and soup, mia.

Women make tuwo by grinding or pounding cereal, and separating the course flour from the fine. They place a pot on a three-stone support, murfu, over the fire and fan the flames.

They pour water in the pot and add the course flour when the water boils. They stir it slowly with a stirring stick, mucia, until it becomes thick like kunu: the name of this type of kunu is talgi.

They leave it over the fire for a long time until it is well cooked, sulala, and they pour in the fine flour while they are stirring it and it thickens: this is called tuwo.

It is left until it is well cooked and then it is dipped out with a "ladle," mara: it is a calabash fragment, sakaina, shaped like the palm of the hand. They dip it out into calabashes, or on trays, fayafayi, until it cools. That is tuwo.

To make soup, mia, women place a small soup pot on the murfu and pour water into it. They cut up meat and drop it in the water. Then they pound the seeds of the locust-bean tree, dadawa,[38] and add them to

the soup. If it is a leaf soup, miar ganye, they chop up the leaves and add them, and if there are any onions, albasa,[39] they cut them up and put them in.

Then they set the fire and fan it until the water boils. The pieces of meat are in with these other ingredients, and they are cooking. Then salt is added and they taste the soup until they are satisfied that the right amount has been added.

If it is not leaf soup, they cook the meat and broth, romo, add the salt, and these other ingredients; dadawa, red pepper, barkono, and then they sprinkle in ground baobab leaves, garin, ganyen kuka.[40] This is stirred briskly with the whisker, burkaki, which is called "beating the soup," ka'din mia.

Different kinds of leaves are put in the soup: turgunawa,[41] karkashi,[42] and yakuwa.[43] All these are cooked with meat. That's soup, mia, and melted butter is added to it.

Then the tuwo is portioned into bowls: one person is given one ladle full, two people are given two ladles full, three people get three ladles full, and so on, and then the soup is poured into it. It's eaten after darkness falls in the evening, lisha, and it is called "evening tuwo," tuwon dare. This is how it is done throughout Hausaland.

The common people, talakawa, make their soup without meat, and the destitute, matsiyata, are forced to make it without salt and it is called "tasteless," lami. Some people, due to poverty, cook beans and eat them with salt at night. Some even cook beans to eat at night without salt, and again, this is because of poverty.

The rulers and rich people in Hausaland make a fine rice tuwo, tuwon shinkafa, which they eat with a very tasty soup in the evening.

Some people place a pot over the fire, pour in water, and pieces of meat with a lot of fat on them, and start the fire. When the water boils, steamed rice, gume, is poured in and left to cook, and salt and butter is added for taste. It is poured into wooden bowls, and it is called "all cooked," dafa duka.

Other people fry very nice small cakes, waina, made of cereal, hatsi, or rice, and they dip them in honey, ruwan zuma,[44] and eat them. Some people eat wheat cakes, gurasa, alone, while others eat them with soup, or dip them in honey. Some people have cereal cakes, shinashir, cooked for them and they are eaten with honey or stew, romo. Others have wheat cakes, fankaso, cooked for them and they are eaten the same way as the shinashir.

Some people eat unsalted soup with spiced chaff, kudukuduri, and karkashi greens in it. Others make danbu, which is flour steamed with hemp leaves, ganyen rama, or onion leaves, ganyen albasa, and it is eaten with butter or shea-butter, man kadanya.

Some people eat bando, which are "water dumplings," tuwon ruwa, eaten with stew, romo, or with kodo, which are pounded cakes made from the seeds of the locust-bean tree, dadawa, mixed like kunu, and salt is added. Some have tubani made with bean flour and they eat it with oil. Some people eat gabda, which is made with bean flour, while others eat lulaye, which is made from beans, although some people prefer to make it with red beans, tsararia, and eat it.

Other people cook cassava, rogo, and eat it: they make mashed cassava, fatefaten rogo, and eat it with oil. Some people eat sweet potato, dankali, some eat rizga, and some eat tumuku, by stirring it like they do tuwo.

Some people make kodo with hemp leaves,[45] and other people make it with tafasa[46] and eat it. Some people eat rumace, which is made with flour and hemp, or tafasa leaves.

Some people mix bran, dusa, and drink it because of poverty. When there is a famine, some people eat the root of the gwandai plant, kincia,[47] after prolonged boiling; others eat maguraza which is like wild cassava. Some people eat the cooked leaves of a kind of tree called ingidido.[48]

Shashaka is also made in Hausaland: it is a small cake with holes in it, and it's eaten with honey. A child's food called kosai is made from bean flour mixed with water and fried in oil. Peanuts are ground up and made into a paste, and fried in oil to make another food for children called kulikuli.

Butchers slice meat and jerk it. When it is dry, they mix dadawa until it is thick, and they add salt and pepper, and then dip the jerked meat into it. The dry meat is called kilishi, and they like it in Hausaland: rulers, rich people, elders, men, women, and children eat it. That's how it is done in Hausaland, and the kilishi of Katsina is the best, because that is where it was first made.

Drinks - Abinshai

There are many kinds of drinks, abubuwan sha, in Hausaland. The most common is fura which is either made from bullrush millet, gero, guineacorn, dawa, rice, shinkafa, or millet, maiwa. That made from the bullrush millet is the best of all.

The people of Daura drink more fura than any other Hausa people, and then follows Katsina, Gobir, Kabi, and Zanfara. In Kano and Zaria,

tuwo is more common and there is not much fura.

When they are going to make fura, they pour bullrush millet grain into a mortar and add water. They start pounding to remove the bran, and to remove it completely they shake it up and down. They wash this grain from which the chaff has been removed: it is called hatsi. Then they leave it to stand for awhile to soak. Then they pour it back into a mortar, pound and separate it until it is flour.

They place a pot on the murfu, pour water into it, and start the fire. When the water is boiling, they mould the flour and drop it into the boiling water, and once they are cooked, they are removed and put back into the mortar where they are pounded and mashed with some water. The name of the whole process is "pounding fura," kirb'in fura.

After it is pounded, it is removed from the mortar and placed in a calabash. It is then moulded into small or large balls, whichever one prefers, and this is called "kneading fura," cibrin fura. The ball is then put into a calabash bowl, gidaunia, and milk and water are added while it is thoroughly mixed, and then it is drunk. In all Hausaland it is prepared and drunk this way. Quite a bit is drunk in Kano where it is called surki.

Other people mix the fura with honey, while still others add neither milk nor honey, and mix it only with water.

The people of Daura like their fura made from bullrush millet, and they do not like it made from guineacorn. The people of Zanfara like their fura made from guineacorn, but not from bullrush millet. The people of Katsina like their fura made with either of those two cereals, while the people of Kabi like theirs made from rice and they do not like it made from either guineacorn or bullrush millet. The people of Gobir

like it made from rice, or bullrush millet, or guineacorn!

In Zaria, people grind guineacorn flour, mix it with water and drink it. It is called ga dagi.

In Kano, people drink kunu in the afternoon. It is made with lumps, gudaji, and it is called kadabulai. Kunu is also made in Hausaland with the pulp from the seeds of the locust-bean tree, dorawa, and it is called kunun dorawa. It is made with lumps like the bullrush millet, and tamarind seeds, tsamia, are added because dorawa has poison in it: tamarind seeds neutralize the poison.

Koko is drunk in the morning. That is why the family is given money for koko. I have written this in the account of the family.

Drinks in Hausaland have their appropriate times for consumption: koko in the morning, fura in the afternoon, and tuwo in the evening.

I have seen the things about which I am writing and I am not writing from hearsay.

Death - Mutuwa[49]

When a man dies in Hausaland, all the people in his house begin weeping: children, men and women, and the elderly and very old women. People say, "Alas, today so-and-so has died!"

When they cease crying, they tell his brothers, friends, the malams, and everybody else. Then they take an adze, dundurusu, digging rod, dagi, hoe, fartanya, and go and dig a grave, kabari.

Someone enters the room where the corpse lies, and he measures the length of the body with a long stick, because they want to make the grave the exact length of the corpse.

Then a lot of white cloth, zugu, is brought to prepare the shroud:

they make pants, a gown, a cap, turban, and a burnous with it.

They look for "the one who bathes the corpse," mai wanka, and the corpse is bathed as is done in the janaba bath. The deceased is first purified, tsalki, and then they make the ablution, alwaya: each of the limbs, gab'ob'i is washed three times.

When the first washing is finished, the deceased is washed a second time. This time they prepare a solution with the leaves of the jujube tree, magarya,[50] and water, and pour it into a huge calabash. It is beaten and it foams, and they use this foam to rub on the corpse. That is the second bathing. A third bathing is done with perfume, turaruka.

When this is finished, they perfume the shroud with the roots of kajiji,[51] and fragrant resin, k'aron albarka, or some other perfume. Then they put the shroud on the body and the deceased is moved out of the room. People then make the salla which I wrote about in the account of salla.

When this is finished, he's quickly taken in the bier, makara, to the grave. When he is put in the grave, he's laid on the ribs of his right side, hakarkari dama.

Short sticks or potsherds are arranged in a row at the edge of the grave, and then mud is mixed and spread like a plaster on top of the grave, and loose sandy soil is spread over that. A mound, tozo, is made on top of the grave and water is sprinkled on it. Then people wash their hands.

Mourning, makoki, and invocational prayer, adua, follow.

I stop here.

Footnotes to Chapter 6

1. Smith, M. G., Introduction to Smith, M. F., Baba of Karo, 23.

2. Ibid., 22.

3. "Girls are married between the ages of thirteen and fourteen and probably remarry two or three times, on average, afterwards." Ibid., 25.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., 21.

6. For different accounts of childbirth see: Rattray, R. S., Hausa Folk-Lore, Customs, Proverbs, Etc., vol. II, 186-188; Skinner, N., Hausa Folk Lore and Miscellanea, vol. I, 242; and Taylor, F. W., Labarun Al'adun Hausawa..., 15-37.

7. (Zingiberaceae) Aframomum melegueta, "Grains of Paradise," or "Guinea Pepper." Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 471.

8. (Balanophoraceae) Thonningia sanguinea. Ibid., 298.

9. (Solanaceae) Capsicum annum, "Guinea Pepper." Ibid., 427.

10. Ibid.

11. (Aristolochiaceae) Piper guineese, "West African Black Pepper." "A widely distributed forest species, occasionally cultivated.... The product is generally obtained from the wild plant. The dried black berries, and even fresh red fruits, are sold in all markets as spices...." Ibid., 16-17.

12. (Rustaceae) Fagara xanthoxyloides. "The fruits are small, 1/4 inch long, splitting to show the shiny black seed; they have a strong spicy cinnamon-like taste." Ibid., 308.

13. (Caesalpiniaceae) Cassia goratensis. Ibid., 180.

14. (Labiatae) Hyptis pectinata. Ibid., 460.

15. J. S. Trimingham says the naming festival takes place on the "eighth day." Islam in West Africa, 154. This is incorrect. He does not take into account the fact that the Muslim day differs from the Christian day, and local convention colors the picture. Freeman-Grenville writes: "Whereas the Christian day is reckoned from midnight to midnight, the Muslim day begins at sunset....For this reason the days of the week are...reckoned by Muslims from sundown to sundown...." Freeman-Greenville, G.S.P., The Muslim and Christian Calendar, 3. The Hausas do not count the first day. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions, 159, has it on the seventh day.

16. =marok'i. For a detailed account and analysis of the praise-singer in Hausa society see Smith, M. G., "The Social Functions and Meanings of Hausa Prise-Singing," Africa, XXVII, 1 (1957), 26-43.

17. (Lythraceae) Lawsonia inermis, "Henna."

18. Smith, M. F., Baba..., 21; Greenberg, J., Influence of Islam..., 21 notes the same practice among the pagan Hausa.

19. See different accounts in Rattray, R. S., Hausa Folk-Lore..., vol. II, 192-200; and Taylor, F. W., Labarun Al'adun Hausawa..., 41-47.

20. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions, 161, says: "Circumcision is a rite which is very strictly observed throughout the whole Muslim world....It is practised either on the seventh day, or the fortiety, or in the seventh year...." Rattray, R. S., Hausa Folk-Lore..., vol. II, 192, says age 10; Taylor, F. W., Labarun Al'adun Hausawa..., 41, says age 7 to 9; Imoru's method would seem to cover all!

21. (Mimosaceae) Acacia arabica, "Egyptian mimosa." For its many uses see Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 203.

22. For a present-day version, quite similar in detail, see Bala Abuja, J., "Koranic and Moslem Law Teaching in Hausa Land," Nigeria, 37, 1951, 25-28.

23. This compares favorably with the situation in Masina under Shaikh Hamid who is said to have "fixed teachers' fees at 500 cowries per hizb memorized or 30,000 cowries for the whole Qur'an." Quoted in Trimingham, J. S., Islam in West Africa, 80. The rest of the quote is also of interest: "If the parents were unable to pay this amount, he defrayed it from state funds."

24. Arabic, lauha. It is covered with chalk or clak and dark ink to write on it.

25. Singular, sura. "The Qur'an is divided into 114 chapters, or suras, each of which bears a name referring to some part of its content and contains a varying number of verses (ayat)" Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions, 64.

26. After "fatiha" the suras "have been arranged in descending order, from the longest, which is second, to the shortest. In a general way those which are last in the book contain the earliest revelations." Ibid.

27. The consonants are written in script from right to left and the vowels appear as diacritical marks above and below them. For an interesting account on the history of the script, see Nicholson, R. A., A Literary History of the Arabs, 201.

28. Also called shakali in Hausa, a word derived from the Arabic shakala meaning "to hobble, or provide with vowel points."

29. Bargery, G. P., A Hausa-English Dictionary..., 473, says ya yi ido cikin karatu, which means "he knows his letters and can write them."

30. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions, 64, says: "The ceremonial practice of reciting the Qur'an in equal sections which is employed in Muslim ritual...was not able to adhere to the divisions into suras which are of unequal lengths, and it has adopted a division into thirty juz', sixth hizb (=izifi) and one hundred and twenty rub'" Izufi = Arabic izifi.

31. In the Arab world this celebration is called khatma and the Arabic word walima is used for another celebration. Ibid., 131, and 161.

32. The new moon at the end of Ramadan signifies the breaking of the month-long fast. Ibid., 103-104.

33. Trimingham, J. S., Islam..., 159, footnote, notes that each izifi is divided into eighths.

34. Today, in some parts of West Africa, all the people read at the same time and complete it in a matter of minutes!

35. This is done in other regions of the Muslim world. See Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Muslim Institutions, 131.

36. Singular, iyali.

37. A more common usage of rumji, or rinji, is for hamlet. See Smith, M. G.,Government in Zazzau, 81.

38. (Mimosaceae) Parkia filicoidea. "The most typical tree of the park savannah....Every locust tree in inhabited districts has an owner...." Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 218-219.

39. (Amaryllidaceae) Allium ascalonicum, "Shallot," and A. Cepa, "Onion." Ibid., 184-185.

40. (Bombacaceae) Adansonia digitata. Ibid., 112-115.

41. (Tiliaceae) Corchorus olitorius. A port-herb, similar to spinach. Ibid., 97.

42. (Pedaliaceae) Ceratotheca sesamoides. Also, Sesamum indicum, "Sesame," which is "very probably originally of Tropical Africa." Ibid., 446-447.

43. (Malvaceae) Hibiscus Sabdariffa, "Red Sorrel." Ibid., 129.

44. For an interesting description of one of the many types of beehives made by the Hausa people, see Taylor, J. E., "Honey and Beeswax Production at Zaria," Farm and Forest, vol. III, 1 (1942), 11.

45. (Malvaceae) Hibiscus cannabinus. Ibid., 127.

46. (Caesalpiniaceae) Cassia Tora. Ibid., 183.

47. (Araceae) Stylochiton Warneckei. Ibid., 483.

48. (Capparidaceae) Crataeva Adansonii. Ibid., 21.

49. Other accounts can be found in Taylor, F. W., Labarun Al'adun Hausawa..., 137-147; and Rattray, R. S., Hausa Folk-Tales..., II, 204-222.

50. (Rhamnaceae) Ziziphus jujuba. Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 299.

51. (Cyperaceae) Cyperus articulatus. "A wild plant but often cultivated, especially by women, to develop the fragrant tuberous rhizome." Ibid., 516.

Chapter 7

The Handicraft Industry

The Hausa manufacturing and commercial city of Kano has always made a favorable impression on visitors from Europe. During his mid-nineteenth century visit, Heinrich Barth described the city as "this African London, Birmingham, and Manchester,"[1] and described the industry of its inhabitants in the following terms as he strolled about:

> Now a busy 'marina,' an open terrace of clay, with a number of dying-pots, and people busily in various processes of their handicrafts: here a man stirring the juice, and mixing with the indigo some coloring wood in order to give it the desired tint; there another, drawing a shirt from the dye-pot, or hanging it up on a rope fastened to the trees; there two men beating a well-dyed shirt, singing the while, and keeping good time; farther on, a blacksmith busy with his rude tools in making a dagger which will surprise, by the sharpness of its blade, those who feel disposed to laugh at the workman's instruments; a formidable barbed spear, or the more estimable and useful instruments of husbandry; in another place, men and women making use of an ill-frequented thoroughfare...to hang up, along the fences, their cotton thread for weaving....[2]

Early in the twentieth century, the British journalist and author on African affairs, E. D. Morel, passed through this busy savanna metropolis and was equally impressed by the handicraft industry in which the Hausa people were engaged. He describes his impressions in the following terms:

> Hoe-handles, mortars, pestles, beds, doors, gins, spindles, bobbins, looms, shuttles, saddles, riding-boots, sandals, slippers, bridles, scissors, razors, rope, fishing-nets, earthenware cooking pots, lamps, water-bottles and pipes are among the innumerable articles turned out by the artisans in Northern Nigeria. Indigo dye-pits are to be found in many towns, but the great tanning center is Kano. Cloth beating is a recognized branch of the former industry. After removal from the circular pits...the cloths are hung up to dry and then handled over to the beater. In a dark

> and spacious hut perspiring men kneel in rows facing one another on either side of a huge log of wood, stained black and smooth-polished with constant use, upon which the cloths are spread and vigorously beaten with rounded wooden mallets....The product (of the Kano tanneries)...are astonishingly excellent. The completed skins, deep dyed red or orange with native dyes, the roots, leaves and bark of sundry shrubs and trees being utilized in the many processes through which the raw hide passes, are as soft to the touch as Russian leather.[3]

These are but two of the many fascinating accounts of the industry of Kano left by travellers. Now, these craftsmen are the subject of Imoru's attention and he makes them the topic of this chapter. He describes the activities of the scribes, wood carvers, builders of pots and houses. The many phases of work in the cloth, leather, and metal industry, and the products turned out by these craftsmen are described by Imoru in detail: the manufacture of thread and cloth and the associated trades of dying and tailoring; the manufacture of leather to make saddles and caparisons, sandals, slippers and riding boots, sheaths for knives and swords, wallets, vessels and bags in which to carry and store goods and possessions, as well as bellows made for the smith; the many manufactures of the blacksmith such as hoes, axes, the adze, knives, swords and spears, razors, tweezers, scissors, awls, and needles.

These goods, and many others, made for internal use and external trade are described in this chapter, and the next chapter is devoted to a description of buying and selling in the local market place, and trading these goods over long distances. These goods of local manufacture formed the basis for a wide network of trade throughout West Africa in the nineteenth century and Imoru writes about that. Barth gives us a hint of this vast trade network in this passage:

> The great advantage of Kano is, that commerce and manufactures go hand in hand, and that almost every family has its share in them. There is really something grand in this kind of industry, which spreads to the north as far as Murzak, Ghat, and Tripoli; to the west, not only to Timbuktu, but in some degree even as far as the shores of the Atlantic, the very inhabitants of Arguin, dressing in the cloth woven and dyed in Kano; to the east, all over Bornu, although there it comes in contact with the native industry of the country, and to the south it maintains a rivalry with the native industry of the I'gbira and I'gbo, while towards the southeast it invades the whole of 'Adamawa, and is only limited by the nakedness of the pagan sans-culottes, who do not wear clothing.[4]

This Hausa manufacturing industry had developed over a period of many centuries, and by Imoru's time it is very likely that many of these crafts had easily been practiced for a thousand years. By the year A.D. 1000, the Kano Chronicle tells us, there were eleven pagan chiefs in Kano and each was the head of a clan that specialized in a different occupation.[5] Some of the occupations were mining, smelting, smithing, brewing, and medicine. Presumably tanning hides and building pots were more general skills not confined to any one clan.

Mining, smelting, and smithing, dominate the list and highlight the important role of iron in the Hausa economy of one thousand years ago. And, we must remember that the written records only take us back that far. As more archaeological work is done in this region the dates for the beginning of iron-working in Hausaland are pushed further and further back. Evidence from an iron-working furnace by the Dala Hill in Kano city has been dated to A.D. 635.[6] It is worth noting that Dala Hill is one of the two major sources of laterite bricks used as building materials which Imoru describes in this chapter. Those familiar with the mineral composition of laterite tell us that it gets its red color from its iron oxide content.[7] So, perhaps the high iron content of the

soil of Dala hill is the reason that the settlement of Kano developed at that place.

The Hausa people have a saying which goes like this: "Iron is only valuable when the rainy season comes."[8] This points out the importance of iron in the agricultural economy of Hausaland, and other lands as well. With the smelting of iron and manufacture of hoes, the people were able to expand their production of food crops. This enabled the population to increase and the peoples to better their control of the environment, and neighbors as well. The economic and social consequences of the development of iron-working in a society which previously used stone tools were great, and they have been well described in the works of Basil Davidson.[9]

In addition to the crafts of mining, smelting, smithing, brewing, pot building, tanning, and medicine, it is quite likely that weaving is a very old occupation in Hausaland. After a long period of dispute about the center of origin of Old World cottons, it is now known to be in Africa[10] where it was cultivated before 3000 B.C.[11] In his authoritative book, The Useful Plants of West Tropical Africa, J. M. Dalziel says the following about the history of cloth in West Africa:

> Cotton cloth, as a sample of indigenous industry, was brought to England from the Guinea coast in the sixteenth century. Kano has been a cotton market since the ninth century, and the method of weaving is pre-Islamic, and may well have come from India through East Africa. The term shigge, still used in the Western Sudan for cotton cloth, was used as far back as the eleventh century.[12]

Since Dalziel's early date for the cotton market in Kano has not been adopted by historians of Hausaland, it is clear that more work needs to be done. But, the fact that historians have not challenged or refuted

this early date is of interest, and it remains to be seen whether or not botanists and archaeologists can help solve the problem of the origin of the cotton cloth industry in Hausaland.

The Kano Chronicle does little more than mention the occupations which were associated with the clans of Kano around A.D. 1000. Presumably the crafts were pursued on a part-time basis during the year: agriculture was the pursuit during the wet season, and crafts during the dry season. However, as wealth was accumulated in the capital, and external markets of trade were opened up, the material basis for full-time occupational specialization was laid.

By Imoru's time there were both part-time and full-time craftsmen. Most of these artisans were men, but some were women; some were free and some were enslaved as noted in Kano by the English explorer, Captain Clapperton, a generation before Imoru's birth:

> The male slaves are employed in the various trades of building, working in iron, weaving, making shoes or clothes, and in traffic; the female slaves in spinning, baking, and selling water in the streets.[13]

The free women made pottery, thread, and horse trappings, as Imoru tells us in his accounts of these occupations.

Some of the occupations were hereditary, and the others were open to any prospective artisan. Those which were hereditary were more prestigious.[14] There was also a system of ranking occupations as noted by M. G. Smith:

> The masu-sarauta (officials), the mallams, and wealthy merchants (were) at the top, and the butchers, mat weavers, drummers, praise-singers, and buglers were at the bottom.[15]

Along with those at the bottom, Imoru would include the calabash mender, for, in his words, "Calabash mending is the last way to make a living;

after that, may God give one the means to survive!"

The craftsmen pursued their trades in different quarters of the market. The activities of the market will be discussed in the next chapter, but it is worthwhile to return to Morel's account of the Kano market at this point in order to get a picture of how the craftsmen displayed their wares. Here Morel describes the cloth, leather, jewelry, and pottery quarters in his walk about the Kano market:

> Each trade has its quarter. Beneath the shelter of the booths vendors sit cross-legged, their wares spread out before them. Cloths of every hue and texture under the sun, it would seem absorb one whole quarter, and form, perhaps, the most important article of sale, although the more valuable clothes are seldom seen, for the Kano market is essentially a retail one, transactions in objects of more costly worth taking place within the shelter of private houses. You will see enough in the cloth quarter, however, to appreciate the diversity of quality and design. The products of native looms from towns hundreds of miles distant, enjoying special renown for some attractive peculiarity, are purchaseable here, together with the manufactures of Europe. The former, are almost infinite in diversity, and each has its particular uses. Black, white, and blue gowns, brocade, striped brocade, striped shirting, white shirting, shirting with a red border, white and black checks, drill, red baft, cloths for turbans, caps, fezzes, expensively embroidered trousers, sleeveless under-vests, velvet - all in endless variety.
>
> In the leather quarter, you will find great quantities of saddlery from Tripoli, and also of local manufacture, highly ornamented bridles, stirrup-leathers, despatch-bags, Korans in leather cases, purses, red slippers, sandals, quilted horsecloths, undyed goatskins and cowhides, swords in scabbards, many of them admirable in workmanship.... Passing out of the leather quarter you will find silver, brass, and tin ware; among the former necklaces and ear-rings which would not disgrace a London jeweller's shop-window, ruder bangles and anklets, partly tin, partly silver; brass urns and bowls, and glass bracelets from Bida. Neck-laces of beads, Venetian and local...of cheap European coral; of different kinds of bright-coloured local seeds. Rough pottery, but often of elegant design, such, for example, as the small lamps used for burning ground nut (=peanut) oil....[16]

Barth's reflections on the nature of industry in nineteenth century

Kano will conclude this introduction:

> We must remember that this province (Kano) is one of the most fertile spots on earth, and is able to produce not only the supply of corn necessary for its population, but can also export, and that it possesses, besides, the finest pasture grounds. In fact, if we consider that this industry is not carried on here, as in Europe, in immense establishments, degrading man to the meanest condition of life, but that it gives employment and support to families without compelling them to sacrifice their domestic habits, we must presume that Kano ought to be one of the happiest countries in the world....[17]

Handicraft - Aikin Hannu: Writing - Rubutu

Handwork, aikin hannu, is a craft, sanna'a.[18] Among the various crafts there is copying or writing, rubutu.

There are many malams in Hausaland who are scribes and they sell their work. They copy or write out the Qua'an and decorate it: the vowels, wasali, are made with red ink, koya,[19] and the decorating is done with a yellow pigment, zarnihi, and zanzar. They make very beautiful illuminated designs, zayanoni, and they make fine stuff covers, tadarishi, to hold the pages, and a small bag, gafaka, to hold the book. They copy other very important books and sell them.

There are many excellent scribes, marabuta, in Kano. There are many scribes in Bornu too.

Spinning - Zare[20]

In Hausaland, women make cotton thread, zare, and the craft is called spinning, ka'di. Men do not make it because it is women's work.

The women buy cotton, abduga, and take out the seeds, angurya: this activity is called gurza. When the cottonseeds have been removed, the cotton is called taffa.

After that, they card it, sab'i, and after the cotton has been carded it is called sab'i. This cotton is put in a basket, lefe, and taken out bit-by-bit, and spun with a spindle, mazara, which is placed on a leather rest in a shallow basket called tayani. This is how they make thread. After they make it, the women take it to the market and sell it to weavers, masak'a.

The women of Kano are excelient spinners. The women of Zazau spin, and in Sokoto and Zanfara the women have no other occupation.

There are different types of thread. There is abawa which is very thick, but weak, and there is arafiya which is very thin - like a hair - and is used for fine weaving.

Both women and men make the silk thread called tsamiya, and both thread beads, shirin dutsi. Women make two types of very expensive necklaces from threaded beads: mak'are and dunbuje.

Weaving - Sak'a

There are numerous weavers, masak'a, in Hausaland. When one is going to weave, sak'a, a small shelter is constructed. Then two forked sticks, turaku, are erected, and another called takala is placed across them. Then a place is made to sit in the shelter.

When one is ready to weave, the thread, zare, is arranged in lengths between two, or more, small forked sticks which have been placed some distance apart: the thread is put around one and then the other, and this is kept up until the thread is finished. This activity and the thread are both called wa'dari. The thread is then ready to weave different things.

The weaver uses different tools. There is the "tortoise," kunkuru: it is a heavy stone, or the base of a mortar, in which a hole has been bored. A strong thread is put through it and the wa'dari is tied to it. Another implement is the kwarkwaro: the thread is wrapped around it and thrown. There are two heddles, allera, which are made with thread, and the comb, matsefi, works with the heddles. The cakarkari is the nut of the dum-palm, goriba, or the turkurwa palm,[21] in which a hole has been bored, and weaving implements are hooked on it.

Different kinds of cloth are woven in Hausaland.[22] There is

barage which is made of white, fari, and red, alharin, thread. The woman's garment is called barage cloth, zanen barage, and the man's garment is called barage gown, rigar barage.

The cloth called tsamiya is woven with cotton thread and silk thread, tsamiya:[23] the woman's garment is called tsamiya cloth, zanen tsamiya, and the man's garment is called tsamiya gown, rigar tsamiya.

They weave sak'i from black thread, bak'i and blue thread, shu'di: the woman's garment is called sak'i cloth, zanen sak'i, and the man's garment is called sak'i gown, rigar sak'i. It is also woven into trousers and caps, and this cloth is worn a lot in Hausaland because the people are very fond of it.

They also weave zalwami with black and blue thread, but they do not make a man's gown with it: they only make the woman's cloth. They weave gwanda, which, in Zanfara, is called "donkey's back," ban jaki: it is woven from blue and white thread, and a gown is made from it.

Jimada is woven from black and red thread. There is a black and white cloth woven in Zanfara called keke. Ridi is only woven in Kano: it is blue and black, and a woman's cloth is made from it, but they do not make a man's gown with it.

They weave a sheath sling called hamila in Hausaland, by twisting old cloth, tsumma, like a rope and wrapping it with red cotton thread.[24] The process is called "weaving hamila," sak'ar hamila. They make a tassel for it called "hamila's head," kan hamila, along with a red fringe and small balls called "hamila's children," 'ya'yan hamila.

They weave siliya: it is a cord made with red cotton thread and

it is hung around the neck. The process is called "weaving siliya," sak'ar siliya.

Mats, tabarmi, are woven from the dum-palm frond, and this is called weaving. They also weave a small bag called ruzu: it is a piece of cloth made like a net and cowries are put in it.

Big fishing nets, raga, are woven, and small nets, foma, are woven with a twisted thread, zare tubk'ak'e. Two-handled bags called sanfuna are woven with the dum-palm frond, as are very large hats called malfuna, trays called fayafayi, and another type of bag called mangala. They are all woven.

In Hausaland, it is most common to weave white cloth because it is dyed with indigo, rina, to make gowns, kora, and cloth, turku'di.[25] They also weave white garments in Hausaland and dye them blue, shu'da, and wear them.

There are many different types of cloth woven in Hausaland which are exclusively for the adornment of women, and men do not wear them.

There are people who mend old garments. People send their old clothes to them, and they cut out the worn out pieces and replace them with new pieces. This work is called "garment patching," fiton tufa, and many people do this work in Kano.

Dying with Indigo - Rini[26]

To dye with indigo, baba, a very deep pit, like a well, is dug and a large smooth stone is put on the bottom so the water will not seep out quickly. Then the pit is lined with a "cement," laso.[27] When that has dried they smear the sides again, and when that dries they do it a third time.

The name of the dye-pit is karofi and the dyers are called

"people of the dye-pit," 'yan karofi, or "dyers," marina. They dig about fifty of these pits in the same place - the whole site is called karofi - and everyone has his own.

When they are ready to pour in the indigo, they fill up the pit with water. Then they pour in wood ash, tokar itace: people say the ask of the "chew-stick" tree, marke,[28] is the best. Then they pour in the ash of stalks: people say the as of the maize stalk, karan masara, is the best. Then they put in the blocks of indigo, kantunan[29] baba: they may put 5, 7, or 10 blocks of it in the dye-pit, and then they leave it for two days.

After that they pour in pit sediment - like white ash - which has been dried and burned by the dyers: it is called katsi or zarta. They stir the dye with a long pole called muciya, and foam covers the surface of the dye-pit. It is stirred every day for about ten days before they begin dying.

"Putting the hand in," sa hannu, is the term used when one begins to dye, and people say, "Today, so-and-so has put his hand into the dye." Once they have begun they continue for ten days: after that, the dye is called dagalo because it is too weak to be of further use.

The standards for indigo dying, ka-idar rini, are well known in Hausaland. When a man gives money to a dyer and he does a poor job, people say, "This job does not merit that money!" When the dyer does a good job, and the owner of the article wrangles with the dyer over the price, people say, "This job of dying deserves the money he demands!"

When a man wants thread dyed, he gives money to a dyer who does

When the landlord wants to swindle a stranger, he goes to the broker and bargains for a thing, offering, for example, 10,000. If the broker agrees to his offer, he then says, "Wait until I am seated with my stranger in the stall and then bring it." When the broker brings it, the landlord says to the stranger, "Let's buy that, it's a good one!" If the stranger says "very well," the landlord bargains for it at 12,000 in front of him. When the price is agreed upon, they give the money to the broker who secretly puts aside 2,000 for the landlord.

There is a lot of deception, rashin gaskiya, in Hausa trading. It has no fixed rules, k'a'ida tsayayiya: people bargain and later the price is reduced.

Long Distance Trade - Fatauci

There are many long distance traders, fatake, in Hausaland. They are men who pick up, or buy, goods, haja, in one town and take them to another town. They do a great amount of trading over long distances.

The men who trade between Kano and Adamawa are called fataken Adamawa, and they have a lot of money. They hire porters, 'yan sufuri, and buy donkeys to carry the goods. When the fataken Adamawa are preparing to leave Kano, they buy vast quantities of glossy black cloth, bak'i, which is sewn in strips, turkuda, or made into gowns called kore.

In Adamawa they buy ivory or "elephant teeth," hak'oran giwa, and bring it to Kano where they sell it to traders from Zaila (Red Seo), Adamus (Ghadames) and Agat (Ghat), in the Sahara, and Tarabus (Tripoli), in North Africa. There are many wilderness regions where the fataken Adamawa are robbed, and if often happens at a place called jejin Kitata, which means "the wilderness of Kitata."

Fatake also trade to Kuka. From Kano they take black and blue cloth, bak'i da shu'di, to sell in Kuka, where they buy solid and powdered natron, kanwa ungurin da tsabage, horses, pack-oxen, and slaves from different tribes - Sara, Ilum, Mujugu (Musgu), Shiwa (Shiwu) - and from other places, such as Bagirmi.

Some fatake trade between Kano and Wadai where they purchase slaves and camels to bring to Kano.

Trading is done to Nufe from all parts of Hausaland. The atake take solid and powdered natron, saltpeter, cattle, horses, sheep, leather which is dyed red, jar fata, blue-green, korino, and yellow, yarana, large hats, malfuna, sandals, takalma, and leather necklaces, kwaro.

In Nufe they buy different kinds of cloth, such as zalwamin Nufe, a black and blue cloth which is in great demand because it is more beautiful than the Hausa cloth. Theybuy Nufe pepper - kinbar Nufe, kinbar zane, kinbar ta yaji, and masoro - which people like very much. They purchase Nufe gowns of black, blue, and white cloth, riguna Nufe na sak'i da farfaru, which are very popular and expensive in Hausaland, and two types of cloth called gwanda and bununuwa. They buy the variety of kolanut - hannu ruwa - which has many sections and is very slimy: pregnant women eat it to settle their stomachs, and it is very popular in Bornu. They also bring the spice called citta, soap, sabulun salo, and various kinds of glass beads, kararen hannu, which are worn on the wrist.

There is trade from Hausaland to Yaraba. The fatake take natron and lantana which is a very expensive brown stone used for personal adornment: it is chipped from rocks along the river Niger, Kwara. I entered one of the caves where it is quarried and had a look around,

but I didn't stay very long because I was told the cave falls in on people and I was afraid! From Yaraba, the fatake bring black and blue cloth, bununuwa, and black and blue gowns called rigunan sak'i.

There is long distance trade from Hausaland to Adar. The fatake take slaves and black cloth, bak'i, and bring back red cows, shanu jajaye, and sheep.

There is trade to Liftaku: the fatake only take the black cloth, bak'i, from Hausaland, and they buy ostrichs and ostrich feathers in Liftaku.

There is long distance trade to Bauci where the fatake buy slaves, ponies, smelted tin, darma, spice cakes used for flavoring, daudawa, and beautiful white gowns, farfarun riguna, which the Hausa people like. There is ivory in Bauci, but not as much as in Adamawa. To the people of Bauci, the fatake take swords, takuba, kolanuts, gora, hooded gowns, alk'eba, and red fez caps, fulunan dara, which come from Darfur.

There is trade from Kano to Katsina where the fatake purchase goats, black and white cloth, alkillu, mats, tabarmi, and ponies.

There is also trade to Zazau where traders purchase cotton, abduga, and the mats called tabarmin hannu, which are the most beautiful of those woven in Hausaland.

I have not seen fatake going to Azbin from Hausaland: it is very difficult to go there unless one goes on camel.

Long Distance Trade to Gonja - Fataucin Gonja[51]

In Hausaland, the most important long distance trade is to Gonja. Many traders go to Gonja in caravans of one hundred or more people. They travel with women and children, and there are leaders and guides. This is how the trade to Gonja is done.

When the Gonja traders want to leave from Birnin Kano, or Sokoto, Katsina, Zazau, Jega, or Nufe, the caravan leader, madugu, goes and asks a malam for a propitious day to depart: this is called "seeking good luck," neman sa'a, and money is given to the malam. When the malam has told him the day, people say, "The caravan leader has good luck: it was that way in the past and it's that way today."

Everyone who wants to join the caravan makes preparations before the day of departure. On that day, the caravan leaves the town in the morning, and many people come to see it off, and some accompany the caravan to the outskirts of the town. Other well-wishers even accompany it as far as the first campsite, zango. The caravan is called ayari, and a specific caravan is called "Leader so-and-so's caravan," ayarin madugu wane.

Those who trade to Gonja buy all kinds of things in Hausaland to take to trade. There is nothing they neglect to take: they buy dried onion cakes, gabu, leather needle cases, malufa, small receptacles for tobacco, battoci, leather vessels for ointments, tandaye, lanyards, k'waro, large hats, malfuna, sandals, takalma, black cloth, bak'i, and different kinds of beads, dutsin wuya.

The caravan leader appoints a guide called jagaba who is his helper or assistant. When night falls the guide comes and asks the caravan leader, "What is our destination tomorrow?" The caravan leader tells him because he is his confidant: the guide knows all the caravan leader's plans.

When they approach the wilderness, and are uneasy, the leader gives money to those people living on the wilderness fringe to escort the caravan. Carriers and horsemen do the escorting, and if the wilderness

is vast, they will spend days crossing it. The escorts will not return home until the caravan has crossed the entire wilderness region.

The caravan leader also has a drummer, maigangan madugu, and a deputy with the title of uban dawaki. They stay at the rear of the caravan with the leader.

Organization of the Caravan - Amukali

When the caravan members are all together, the leader says to the guide, "Tomorrow we will organize the caravan," Gobe ana jera amukalai.

When morning comes, people rise and the guide shouts for attention causing everything to come to a standstill. Then the guide puts his pack-animals in front and says, "So-and-so's pack animals will follow mine, and those of so-and-so will follow so-and-so," and he continues arranging them in this fashion until he comes to the deputy's pack animals which are next to last. Those belonging to the leader are last and the leader follows his pack-animals.

The caravan leader stays behind because he is the "ruler," sarki, and the members of the caravan are "his commoners," talakawansa; or, the ruler is the man, miji, and the commoners are the women, mata. If robbers strike at the rear of the caravan, he is there; if they strike at the front, he sends help to chase them off.

There are important people in the caravan who stay behind with the leader: some are on horseback and some are on foot. They help him with the problems and difficulties encountered in leading a caravan: when someone falls, the leader gives him encouragement; when an animal falls from exhaustion, he gives assistance; or when someone is sick, the leader puts him on a horse, ox, or mule.

The pattern of organization which has been arranged for the caravan lasts until they arrive at Gonja. Everybody knows his place in the caravan: if a person changes places and others do not agree to it, he is told, "This is not the place assigned to you." Also, when the assignments for position in the caravan are being made, some people try and avoid being assigned to the rear, near the leader, so robbers will not steal their pack-animals.

Robbers usually strike at the rear when they are raiding, and the caravan leader is sometimes killed, and there are many raids made where only the pack-animals of the caravan leader are stolen. I have seen with my own eyes the murder of these caravan leaders: Dan Buzu, Mazawaje, Abarshi, Mairugu, Dan Tofa, Tsofo na Nasarawa, Mijimyawa, and many others. I have heard it said that Dan Kada and Mainasara were murdered too.

Building a Camp - Aikin Zango

There are wealthy traders, tajirai, who load their goods on different types of pack-animals: ponies, kuwaru, oxen, shanu, and horses, dawakai. The very rich traders have mules, alfadarai.

The wealthy traders have followers or dependents, iyalai, who set up camp for them, and unload and load the baggage on the pack-animals. Some traders have only one or two animals, while others may have 5, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, or 60. There are also those people, called 'yan gurunfa, who carry goods on their heads.

When the caravan reaches a campsite, the wealthy traders don't set up camp: they find a shady spot and sit on their hide mats, keeping watch on their goods, while their followers build the camp for them. The camps are set up because the Gonja traders do not settle in a town: when they approach a town where they will spend the night, they pass by

and go to the outskirts, or the wilderness, and unload their goods.

Unloading the baggage is called gabce kaya, and when this work is completed, the followers take a tool bag, kubaru, made from an old leather water bottle, salka, in which there are tools: an axe, gatari, sickle, lanje, iron digging rod, dagi, small hoe, fartanya, stirring stick, muciya, and a branding iron, curakai. It is untied and everybody takes his tool and they go into the wilderness and soon return: some bring thin flexible sticks, maitsuma, some bring grass, masuhaki, and others bring straight sticks, masusayi, suitable for fencing.

They build rectangular shelters, adada, and cover them with ox hides, for the wealthy traders, and the commoners build huts of sticks and grass, buka da zanko, for themselves. Everybody builds a fenced-in area, except men without wives. The traders are each allotted a section, tirika, which is called safu, in the camp. When they finish setting up the camp, they bring grass for the pack-animals.

Each wealthy trader has a youth who is a herdsman, makiyayi, and he doesn't do anything except tend and feed the pack-animals. After the goods have been unloaded, he hobbles, dabaibaya, the animals and drives them to the pasture and gives them water.

Well, this happens in every camp going to, and returning from, Gonja. There are towns where the caravan rests more than one night: people know them all.

Ferrying - Fito

In Hausaland, ferrying, fito, is often done on a platform which is securely tied to four big gourds. This is most common in Kano and it is called "gourd ferrying," fiton gora.[52] It is also done in a boat,

it for him. When a person wants to make an indigo-dyed gown, kore, he takes a white gown, gare fara, and it is dyed until it is black, and then it is beaten to give it a sheen.

A man wears a white gown, faraf rige, until it is dirty and then he pays the dyer to dye it blue. Still later, he pays them to dye it black, and if he likes, they will make a kore gown from it. Likewise, a man wears a white gown for awhile and then, if he likes, he sells it to the dyers who buy it quickly because it is cheap. They dye it and make a kore gown with it: one made this ways is just like new! That's the way it's down in Hausaland.

Women like indigo-dyed cloth: it is the favorite cloth of the women of Zangara. The women of Kano prefer silk cloth, zanuwan alharin. The women of Sokoto are fond of cloth of black and blue thread woven into a checkered pattern, hautsina bak'i da sak'i. The women of Zazau like the dyed cloth. The women of Bornu like dyed cloth that is long enough to trail on the ground, babaku'u manya-manya. Women only wear white cloth when they are mourning.

Throughout Hausaland, rulers receive money from the dye-pits.[30]

Dying with Dyes other than Indigo - Turi

They dye with the stalk of the dafi plant, karan dafi:[31] it is a type of guineacorn with red bark, bawo. The bark is pounded, mixed with water, and then natron, kanwa, is added to it. When a white thing is dipped into the solution it immediately turns red. That is how red dye is made. A lot of this plant is grown in Hausaland because the dye is used frequently: tanners, majema, buy the stalks and dye leather red with them; and dyers color dum-palm fronds with it to decorate mats

and large straw hats. Many other things are dyed with it.

There is a plant called turi,[32] which is also called "son of Canba," 'dan Canba, after a place in Bornu. It is used, along with lime juice, lemo, to dye things yellow, and they are very beautiful. When 'den Canba is mixed with water, natron, and lime juice, the mixture will dye things green.

Yellow dye is also made from turmeric, gangamo, as well as from the rawaya root.

God willing, I will write about dying leather red in the section on tanning!

Beating Indigo-dyed Cloth to give it a Sheen - Bugu[33]

There are many clothbeaters, mabuga, in Hausaland, who beat indigo-dyed cloth to give it a sheen. But there are none like those in Kano and Zazau where they make a vast amount of the indigo-dyed gown, kore, and the indigo-dyed cloth, turku'da.

When garments are going to be beaten, a big, smooth tree - one without protrusions - is felled, and the bark is removed so it will be as smooth as a slate, which is very smooth. It is called mabuga.

Then a work party, gaiya, is called together - young men and drummers, maka'da come - kola is given out, and they roll the log to the house: this work is called "rolling the log," mirginar mabuga. It is a big occasion for the clothbeaters: different kinds of food are prepared - tuwo, fura, fried and boiled meat - and given to those who did the work.

At the house they prepare a big room, like the large covered entrance to the compound, zaure: a shallow trench the length of the

tree is dug, and the tree is put in it. This is called "securing the log," kafin mabuga. Then, two 'yan buga are made: it is a short thick stick which has been debarked, and a handle and a big head - like a paddle - are made on it.

They beat both new and freshly washed garments. They spray the garment with water when they are about to beat it, and then it is folded and put on the log and beaten with the 'yan bugu: this is called "beating the garment," bugun tufafi. It is done a lot in Hausaland: every new garment dyed with indigo, and every one that is freshly washed, is beaten.

The kore gown requires more beating than the turkudi cloth. The kore gown is made by dying a gown very black, and then they soak the gum of the "chew-stick" tree, k'aron marke, and spray this mixture on the garment. After that, they rub on prepared indigo, shuni,[34] and the garment is spread out on the log and beaten with the 'yan bugu. It takes two people to make this gown: one person cannot do the work by himself.

After the kore is beaten, it is rubbed and scraped to give it a sheen, and then wrapped with paper: people say "Paper has been put around the kore." Then this is wrapped in an old piece of cotton cloth, kasanki, and tied with twine, labu. That is more. Turku'di is done the same way, but it is a type of cloth, not a gown. Well, this is how indigo-dyed cloth is beaten to give it a sheen.

Sewing - 'Dumki

Tailors, ma'dumka, are common in Hausaland: some sew garments and then sell them; others sew on request for pay; and others sew

caparisons, kayan doki.

When a person wants sewing done for him, he calls the tailor and tells him, "I want such-and-such a thing done," and the tailor replies, "Bring a length of woven fabric," kawo sawaye. When he brings it, the pattern, shiryawa, is arranged with the tailor and it is cut out in front of the purchaser: if the tailor takes it to his house without first cutting it he will alter the pattern!

The tailor then says to him, "Where is the thread?" If he has thread, he gives it to him; if he has none, he gives him money to buy some. Then the tailor tells his fee, ijara, and the man replies, "Well, I've heard you. Do it well and I will give you that amount."

If one wants a lovely embroidered design called a "face," fuska, on the gown, it will cost more than the gown without one. On the face there are two or eight patterns, aska, which are very costly. The gowns with the embroidered designs are very popular in Hausaland.

The neck of the gown is embroidered with a thread of twisted strands called sharaba, so the neck will be strong. This thread is also used around the bottom of trousers.

Gowns are made with decorated pockets and different things can be put in them: perhaps a small container of perfume, battar turare, a container of antimony for eye-makeup, tandum kwalli, a little money, a rosary, tasbaha, kola to chew, or a needlecase, malufi, or anything a person likes.

There are different types of gowns. There is gare which is common because it is dyed with indigo to make the kore gown. It has very long sleeves, hannuwa da yawa. The fuska is sewn on it and they are worn by malams and important people.

There is the gown called girke which is also called sabada: it is made of strips of cloth, maialbadu, and the fuska is sewn on it. Another gown is the taguwa, but the fuska is not sewn on it. A short sleeveless gown is called alkashafa, and zulunbu is an extra large gown, waiyawa, without decorations.

Tailors sew different kinds of trousers, wanduna. There is one with ankle-bands called maikamun k'afa.[35] It is very popular in Kano: even the king wears it. It is decorated on the legs with red silk, or green cotton thread, or the two are combined. It is difficult work decorating the legs of maikamun k'afa: it takes about ten days to complete the decorations on a single pair of trousers. After this has been done, they make another decoration called "birds," tsuntsaye,[36] with green, yellow, and blue cotton thread. The king's sons in Kano make lovely maikamun k'afa, and sell them in the market. They are also made with the design on the ankles alone - none on the rest of the trousers - and sold: these are called dungun k'afa.

There are other decorations for maikamun k'afa which are very expensive and only the rulers and rich people can afford them, and there are the less expensive decorations for those with less money, and there are even some for children.

Another type of trouser has "open chain-stitch embroidery," wando maisurfani, from the thigh to the ankle. These are made a lot in Nufe and Yaraba, and many are brought to Hausaland to be sold. There are two kinds of wando maisurfani. One is shamiya which is woven with silk thread on which the chain-stitching is done. The other is sak'i which has no silk thread in it.

Another type of trouser is balar: it has very wide legs like

those worn by the white man, nasara! And, adamusanci are trousers with very narrow legs which can only be entered with difficulty.

Tailors sew different types of caps, fuluna. There is marafiya which is a white cap with a pattern bitten into it and then pierced with a needle and thread until the decoration is made. It is the most popular cap in Kano: they really don't like any other type of cap! There is also a white cap sewn without a pattern bitten into it, and another cap called sak'i is sewn without decoration. There is a hat called fatima, but it is also called "crocodile jaw," hab'ar kada, because it has two points used to cover the ears, and it looks like the jaw of the crocodile! There is also a cap from Bornu called kacalla bilal.

Tailors sew different kinds of loincloths, bantuna. Darazau is a loincloth for young girls decorated on the edges with red velvet, mulufi. There is a loincloth for a man which is made from black and blue sak'i cloth, and another made from red cotton, and still another made from white cotton.

The pattern for the loincloth is cut out and straps, called "tails," wutsiyoyi, and also called "the ears of the loincloth," kunuwan bante, are made for it.

The Hausa people like loincloths very much, and some elders even wear them: in Zangara, Kabi, and Gobir, very old men have loin cloths. Children and young boys wear them in Kano, while young girls wear nothing but loincloths in Daura until they are of a marriageable age. I haven't seen girls wearing loincloths in Kano.

There is a loincloth for a horse, banten doki,[37] which is very expensive and only the rulers have them: there is a regulation, ka'ida, that a commoner cannot have one on his horse.

Tailors make other comparisons.[38] They make different kinds of saddle blankets, kafuna. One type is shajib'i: it lacks decoration, is inexpensive, and is put directly on the horse's back. Another is suka duba: it is very expensive for it has lots of decorations, such as red velvet around the edge, and it is put over the shajibi'i, and the saddle sits on it.

They sew the katifa, which is like a "saddle gown," rigar sirdi, and they stuff it with kapoc,[39] abdugar rinu, to use as a cushion when they sit on the saddle. Another "saddle gown," zagin sirdi, is like the first, but it is highly decorated and very expensive. There is a regulation in Kano prohibiting commoners from using it even if they are wealthy. Women make a lot of them in Kano because they remain in their house and do not go out.

The women sew other types of horse trappings, such as a beautiful embroidered saddle gown called jalali which can be work on anybody's horse.

There is a type of cap made for a horse, and it is called "donkey's stomach," tunbin jaki. It is like the marafiya cap made for a person. It is inexpensive and not very nice.

Tanning - Jima[40]

There is a lot of hide tanning down in Hausaland. When they want to tan, jima, they buy rawhide, fatu 'danyu, and then pound and grind up a substantial amount of bagarua seeds and pour them into a big cooking pot along with water. The hides are dropped in and left until they are cured, rub'a. They make a stench!

Then they are removed and placed on a wide thing like a big slate.

The tanner, majemi, takes a stick which he uses like a knife to scrape the hair off the hide. The place where this work is done stinks, and a person who is not used to it cannot stay there.[41]

After the hide has been scraped, they pound up the bark of the dafi stalk and mix it with potash/natron. They spread out the hide on something and rub on the mixture and the hide immediately turns bright red! The mixture is rubbed on the "meat" side and it soaks through to the "hair" side. This hide, which has been dyed with the dafi stalk, is called "red hide," jar fata, and the whole process is called "tanning hides," jimar fatu.

Tanners also grind up turmeric, gangamo, mix it with water and lime juice, and rub this mixture on a scraped hide which immediately turns yellow. This kind of hide is called "turmeric," gangamo, or "yellow," yarana.

There is a kind of plant called rawaya[42] and hides are dyed yellow in a solution made from its root. This type of hide is called rawaya. There is also a tree called balagande[43] and its root is used to dye hides yellow too, but those dyed with rawaya are more beautiful.

Tanners make a dye using sour milk: they pour in iron filings, dusar k'arfe, copper, gaci, brass, farin k'arfe, ground salt, lime juice, and flux.[44] These ingredients are mixed together and left to sit overnight. Leather is then tanned blue-green with it, and it is called korino: not all tanners make it, but they prepare a lot of it in Sokoto.

Hides are also tanned with a solution made from pounded up k'uduji,[45] a reddish flowered weed, which is mixed with water: when a hide is dipped into this solution it immediately turns black. They make

a leather apron, walki, with it and some people wrap it around themselves like a loincloth.

A tanner also tans a hide, dries it, and sells it without dying it. This type of hide is called kilago and long distance traders buy them. They rub butterfat on them to make them waterproof, maganin ruwa, and when the rain falls they cover their baggage with them. They also make shelters with them.

There is a lot of hide tanning done in Sokoto where they make a large quantity of blue-green dyed leather and yellow dyed leather.

Leatherworking - Dukanci

A man who works with red leather is called baduku, and many of them are called dukawa. He is also called "leather sewer," ma'dumkin fata. Their craft is called leatherworking, dukanci, or "sewing leather," 'dumkin fata. There are many of them in Hausaland, and the greatest number are in Sokoto.

Leatherworkers sew talismen, layu, which are covered with red leather and sewn with sinew, jijiya. A loop or "nose," hanci, is made on it so it can be hung.

They also sew a belt, karfu, which is called guru: it is cylindrical, and made of twisted strands of red leather or cotton which is knotted to hold talismen, and tied around the waist. It is also made by covering and sewing leather over tree bark, and tying it around the waist. Men, and sometimes women, wear it.

Leatherworkers work on straw hats. They sew red, blue-green, and yellow leather on them, and add leather chin straps, maratayi, so the wind will not blow the hat away. They also put on a leather top,

k'ok'uwa, so it will not fray quickly.

Saddle - Sirdi[46]

A saddle, sirdi, is made from the wood of the geiya tree.[47] After the tree has been cut, the wood is put in a solution of worn-out indigo dye, dagalo, to soak for a long time so it won't get a wood-boring insect called gum'da after the saddle has been made. Then they carve two kociya: the pommel is small and has a head, while the rear support is big and broad.

They make the "saddle pad," zabuka, by pounding the hair removed earlier from the leather and stuffing it into a small cotton bag, jaka k'arama. Two of these are made, and one is placed under each side of the carved wood. The wood is then covered with red leather, the two pads put in place, and it is tied up. The leather is rubbed with butterfat to strengthen and condition it. That's how a saddle is made.

There are fine saddlemakers in Sokoto where they make beautiful saddles. There is also a town named Dunbulum in the land of Kano where the people are very good saddlemakers. They make a lovely saddle in the land of Nufe too, but it is too big and the Hausa people don't like it: it fills up the back of the horse! The Bornu saddle is small and the pommel is curved: some Hausa people like it and others don't.

Leatherworkers make long leather cords of red leather, kinami, to which the stirrups, likafu, are tied and it is tied to the saddle. They also make a "saddle hat," fular sirdi, with red leather decorated with blue-green leather and put on the pommel. Blinders, furtali, are made to cover the horse's eyes, and a fringe, geza, is added to protect against flies. The blinders are secured to the horse's forehead. They

make a leather thing called lallafa which is tied to the chest or halter, ragama, so the horse won't raise its head.

That's it.

Sandals - Takalma[48]

There are two types of sandalmakers, masutakalmi, in Hausaland. There are those who make ornamental sandals with cross bands of red and yellow leather which are called sanbatsai, and also called tajawankal, or "women's sandals," takalman mata. The others make a cheap sandal called fa'de, and also called "pull the strap over the heel," b'antala duduge, or "men's sandals," takalman maza.

When they are going to make sandals in Hausaland, they buy untanned oxhide, k'irgi, and put it in a damp place. Then they beat it on a smooth rock with a club until it is supple, and then they put the leather to the person's foot, measure it, and cut it, and make the heel, joint, and front, mara da kumatu.

When they are making sanbatsai, the oxhide is folded four to six times, pierced and then sewn with sinew or something else. Then they put straps or "handles," ma'daukai, on them and make "noses," hantuna, which they calledthe"sandal nose," hanci takalmi. In Sokoto they make many of these and they make them well. They are not as expensive as those made in Kano where they also make a lot of them. The Katsina people make a lot of them too, and they have the reputation for making better ones than the people of Kano.

When they are making the fa'de, they cut the oxhide, make the mara and kumatu as they do for the other sandals, but they put an untanned oxhide strap on it, while a red and yellow leather strap is put on the

sanbatsai.

The fa'de don't have folded oxhide soles, and these sandals are inexpensive: when we were children I saw them being sold for 80 cowries I saw them being sold for 80 cowries, but now it is more than that.

Shoes and Riding Boots - Kubutai, Kurufai

Leatherworkers make shoes, kubutai, by beating untanned oxhide like they do for sandals, and cutting the sole, malaha, the size of the man's foot. After that, they cut and combine red and yellow leather - yellow on top and red underneath - and put them on the sole. Then they insert a piece of wood the shape of the man's foot so the leather is taut, and they make a heel for it and the front is enclosed. The shoes are sewn with black and white thread which is twisted very thick, and they are sewn very well so they will last a long time without tearing.

There are many houses where very nice shoes are made in Kano, and most people wear them there. However, in Sokoto they prefer sanbatsai sandals, and they do not wear the shoes. In Bornu they are very good at making shoes, but they are more expensive than those made in Kano.

There is a type of hightop riding boot called kurufai, made for horsemen: they are made "like pants up to the knees."

I have seen the people from Tripoli wearing a kind of shoe made of red leather, but it does not have the hide shoe sole, nor is it folded in two. The shoe is made like the small knitted bag called ruzu, and it is called 'dan ciki.

When the sole of the shoe is made from dwarf buffalo hide, fatar b'auna, is is very expensive, because it is very difficult to

get this hide.

There are also shoes with spurs, kubutan k'aimi. That's all.

Sheath - Kube

A sword sheath is made in Hausaland by cutting four pieces of tanned oxhide, kilago, the same length as the sword. They rub an adhesive, kafa,[49] on the hide, combine two and stick them together. They put the sword between them and secure it until the adhesive has solidified and then they make a design on it. They also put a sharab'a on it: it is made of forged metal and put on the sheath tip because of the dew, and to prevent it from being pierced. That is the sword sheath, kuben takobi.

They make highly decorated sword sheaths in Kano and they are very expensive. They make a lot in Sokoto too: these last longer and are less expensive because they are not decorated.

A knife sheath, kuben wuk'a, is made the same way as the sword sheath, but a blue-green leather tip is put on the sheath rather than a metal one. They also make sheaths for the razor, aska, scissors, almakashi, and for the needlecase, malufi: it is a small bag stuffed with kapoc, abdugar rimi, often called the "needle house," gidan alura.

Hide Vessel - Tandu

Leatherworkers make three types of hide vessels, tandaye. One is a small vessel called tandun kwalli: powdered antimony is put in it and used as a cosmetic around the eyes. Another is called tandun alaye: it holds honey, fried meat, and sweetmeats called dak'uwa and nakiya. The third vessel is called tandun mai and it is used to store butter for cooking.[50]

When they are going to make a hide vessel, they begin by curing an untanned oxhide, and then they strip the hair off the hide. The hairless part is called kura, and the part with the hair is called 'dake: the hairless part is used for making the vessel, and the strips of hair are added for decoration.

After they have prepared the hide, they build an earthen model of the vessel, with a big base and a long neck. This is surrounded with the kura and exposed to the sun. When it dries, they break up the earthen model and pour it out, and the hairless hide has become the vessel.

Small hide receptacles called batta[51] are also made with the kura and an earthen model. They make many of these small containers, as well as big ones in which people keep things: some of them are for snuff, battar tuba, while others are for butterfat or ointment, battar mai, and perfume, battar turare. There is also a four cornered receptacle, batta kusurwa fu'du.

There is a big section of Kano called "hide vessel," tandu, where they are made and sold: they make many of the tandun alaye and sell them to the long distance traders. They also make excellent hide vessels in Yawuri and Gandu.

Shield - Garkuwa[52]

The shield called garkuwar walwaji is the most expensive type because it is brought to Hausaland by the people of Azbin. Walwaji is the white oryx, a kind of wild animal whose hide is used to make the shield.[53] It is difficult to get, and today there is a shield made with the hide of the rak'umin daji,[54] and it is called walwayi! It is a square shield, murabaa, on which they sketch an iguana lizard,

damo, crocodile, kada, or a monitor, guza.

Another shield is the kutafani, made with a supple tanned oxhide which has not been dyed. They make a mound of earth and spread out the oxhide on it, and it is embedded there until it dries: it becomes like a large piece of a broken cooking pot. This is a horseman's shield, garkuwar mahaya, because it protects both rider and horse. The shield called kunkeli is made the same way, but it is small and only used by foot soldiers.

Throughout Hausaland, men go to battle with shields: foot soldiers, horsemen, even the king has one. But the king does not carry it himself: it is carried by an official called garkuwa or garki, "the shield," who is installed in office by the king. When they go to war the shield is in his hand until the fighting becomes intense, and then the king says: "Where is garkuwa? Give me my shield!" When the people see the king take his shield, they know the battle has become very serious.

The king's shield is kept hidden in a bag, kankandi, and is only seen in warfare.

Wallet - Zabira[55]

Barbers hang a wallet, zabira, and put their razors, asake, and shaving equipment, kayan aski, in it. Leatherworkers make them with red, yellow, and blue-green leather. Some are made with four or five sections, a cover, and an ornamental fringe.

There are wallets for horsemen. They are made with leopard skin, fatar damisa, which has the hair left on it. It is decorated with blue-green leather and a plaited fringe, and that used by the brave

warriors, zarumawa, is best. The horsemen put their journey provisions on it: fried chicken and sweetmeats.

Kumaro is a type of small wallet which children buy and hang around their necks: they put cowries, peanuts, and sweetmeats in it. Another type of kumaro is called alabai: a cover is made for it and valuables are stored in it.

Tankolo is a type of wallet made round like a calabash, k'warya, and decorated with yellow and blue-green leather.

There is a type of wallet which holds a book: people who see it will think it is a zabira, but it is not called that in any part of Hausaland. It is called gafaka.

Narrow-mouthed Leather Bag - Sulkumi

There are different kinds of dressed goatskin bags, burgangami, and they are called sulkuma. A lot of them are made in Hausaland with red and yellow skins, but they don't make them with blue-green skins.

Sulkumi is a leather bag with a small opening or "mouth," baki. Cowries are put in it, but they are also made to hold cereals, hatsi, beans, wake, and tigernuts, aya.

Some people make identification marks, shaida, on their bags, so if one is stolen they will recognize it when they see it. This happened one day in the town of Romo in Zanfara. Somebody stole a man's sukulmi containing 20,000 cowries.[56] The man from whom it was stolen remained quiet about the loss for three days and then he went around town as a beggar, saying: "Who has an old sulkumi I can buy? Here I am, begging for one. I have threshed grain with no place to put it!" Then a woman said to him, "Here is an old sukulmi you can buy."

He went to her and saw that it was the one which had been stolen from him. The thief was discovered!

When something is poured into a sulkumi, people call it "a sulkumi of such-and-such." For example, there is a type of salt called beza which is put into the sulkumi and then it is called a sulkumi of beza salt. The people of Azbin bring dates, dabina, in a sulkumi which is called a date sulkumi.

There is a wide-mouthed sulkumi, sulkumin maifa'din baki, which is made a bit larger and has something to hang it by, and threshed guineacorn, dawa, or bullrush millet, gero, is poured into it and hung around the horse's head. The horse puts its mouth in to eat, and the grain will not pour out. It is called a "horse bag," burgamen doki.

There is a type of sulkumi which is very long and has a wide mouth and a strap. It is called mala, and blind men, makafir, wear it while they beg, bara. When they are given something as alms, sadaka, they put it in the bag. They also put meat, cowries, cereal cakes called masa, bean cakes called k'osai, threshed beans, and cereal in it. Hunters have a type of mala which looks like a wallet, zabira: if a person doesn't know it is a mala he is likely to call it a zabira.

There is another leather bag called kuiwa.

Larger Hide Bag - Taiki

There is a type of sulkumi which is long and has the opening, or mouth, in the middle. It is big, and only donkeys, oxen, or ponies carry it. It is called taiki. It is made of red leather, with the "meat" side of the skin on the outside, and it carries cereal, hatsi,

beans, wake, wheat, alkama, rice, shinkafa, peanuts, ge'da, and bambara nuts, kwaruru.

Cereal is sold by the bag full, gaba 'daia: when the Hause see a taiki[57] of cereal they know the price of the cereal. When there has been a poor harvest, and it is a time of hunger, lokacin yunwa, they know the price, and when there has been a good harvest, and it is a time of abundance, lokacin k'oshi, they know the price.

In Kano, where cereal is bought by the taiki, and throughout Hausaland, people ask, "How much is a taiki in such-and-such town?" When they are told it is expensive, it means there was a poor harvest and there is hunger; when they are told it is cheap, they know there was a good harvest and food is abundant.

When a taiki of cereal is sold in Kano for 2,500 or 3,000 cowries, it means food is abundant. When it is being sold for 4,000 or 5,000, there is neither hunger, nor is there an abundance of food. When it is sold for 6,000 or 7,000, hunger is approaching, and when it is sold for 10,000 cowries, there is real hunger.

When we were children in Kano and it was sold for 10,000 cowries, there was serious hunger, but today, I hear people say that a taiki is sold for 30,000 cowries when there is hunger in Kano, and some people have told me that they have seen a taiki being sold for 40,000 cowries in birnin Kano.

While cereals are always sold by the taiki in Kano, Katsina, Zazau, and Sokoto, they are sold by the bundle, dami, in Zanfara.

There is a type of bag, like the taiki, which is called gurara, and donkeys carry two of them. They are made by the Baribari people who bring them to Hausaland, but now the Hausa have learned to make them too.

Reins - Kalmazuru

A lot of reins, kalmazuru, are made in Sokoto and Kano, but the best ones are made in Katsina. Both men and women make them by cutting leather into strips and twisting it into strands. It is dipped into a black dye, kwaloko, and they add a blue-green plaited fringe, rabaja. Ornamental fringes, gezani, are made at the end or "tail," wutsiya, and two fastening loops or "noses," hantuna, are made for it.

Kwaloko is a dye leatherworkers make by soaking iron ore nodules or "eggs," kwan tama, with the pods of the Egyptian mimosa tree, bagaruwa, the juice of the fruit of the 'dumya tree, alewar 'dumya, and wrought iron, bak'in karafe. This is kwaloko, and when it is rubbed on red leather it turns as black as ink, bak'ar tadawa.[58]

Leatherworkers make a horse halter, ragama, from red leather, and some of them are very expensive. Some are decorated with blue-green tassels, made of leather, and silk thread: this type is called tinjima. The common people do not use this type in Kano: only the king and his sons use it.

Horse talismen, layun doki, are made from filed calabash fragments, sakaina, over which blue-green leather is sewn, and they are attached to a rope, igiya, which is plaited like the guru belt and covered with red leather. These horse talismen are made for decoration, not for magic.

The horse is led by a rope called asalwayi which is made of red leather plaited like a rope. A loop is made and it is attached to the halter. There is a type of halter called shafurji which is made with leather and brass. There is no prohibition, hana, against it, and everybody uses it.

Leatherworkers make a leather band called gwali which is worn worn around the horse's neck. In Kano it is called k'waro and in Zanfara it is called "make it and hang it on," ka ci ka rataya. It is made from the epidermis of the hide, 'dake, and forty or more strands of it are woven like thread and it is dipped in kwaloko and dyed black. It is hung around the horse's neck by men and women. They know how to make it very well in Kano, but the best are made in the town of Bebeji. It is sometimes made in Katsina, and it is made in Sokoto, but not as well as in Kano. People are very fond of k'waro in Hausaland: it is hung for decoration and they put talismen on it.

Blacksmithing - K'ira[59]

There are blacksmiths, mak'eran bak'i, who forge iron, bak'in k'arfe, and there are smiths, mak'eran fari,[60] who cast brass, copper, and tin/lead. Here I am going to write about the blacksmith.

There are people who smelt[61] the iron ore, dafuwar tama. When they are going to do this, they travel to the wilderness where there is iron ore bearing gravel, maitsakuwan taman bak'in k'arfe. They build huts, and they build a big clay furnace, runbu. They make a hole in the top of the furnace, and another is bored in the base. They pour the gravel into it until it is full.

They make a lot of charcoal, gawayi, from the k'irya tree.[62] Then a fire is made at the bottom of the furnace and they blow it up with big bellows, zugazugai, made from large goatskins: while they blow it up, they pour charcoal in on top of the gravel. They continue doing this until the gravel is bright red, and that is the ore: it is what the blacksmiths buy to forge implements like hoe blades of the fartanya[63]

and galma varieties.

There are towns where they smelt and forge large quantities of iron ore. One of these towns is Kuriga where they forge hoe blades, fartanya, in bulk: thus, the fartanya hoe is called "daughter of Kuriga," 'yar Kuriga.

There is a town called Jife, in the land of Nufe, where they do a lot of forging, and they forge a lot of the fartanya blades there too. I have been to that town and have seen, with my own eyes, large numbers of iron ore "eggs" or nodules which have been cast aside. There are slag heaps like huge rocks.

Blacksmiths forge different types of axes called gatari. One is made for chopping wood, and another called kurada - which is smaller with a broad blade and short haft - is made for cutting grass. They also forge dagi, a type of gitari axe with a hole in the blade, manifago, through which the handle is inserted.

There is an adze called dundurusu, which is made broader and bigger than the axe for chopping wood, and it has a big thick haft, k'ota, and head: it is made for digging earth. A variety of the dundurusu is made with two edges, one which is broad and one which is pointed. Another variety is called tsiko and it has one edge which is long and pointed, and it is used for quarrying stone, saran duwatsu: in Kano they quarry laterite, marmara, with it.

There are war axes, gaturan yak'i, with a number of different names: gitta in Kano and Zanfara; barandami in Kano and Daura; gafiya in Sokoto; citaka in Zanfara; and walwa'da, which is a Fulani word. Perhaps these are all the same axe with different names in the dialects, halusa.

Blacksmiths forge a sickle called lauje: it is made like a knife and then bent, and a handle is made for it. It is used for cutting grass and indigo, and some people cut cereal with it. They forge very big sickles in Zanfara and Jega.

They also forge big and little knives, wuk'ak'e, and make handles for them. There is a big knife called ceru which is fastened to the waist: some people call it wuk'ar gutsu.

Razors to shave with are forged, and barbers buy them. Blacksmiths also forge scissors, almakasai: it is a tool which is used for cutting by repeated chopping, datse, and it is made with two pieces, and places like rings are made for inserting the fingers. The two pieces are crossed over each other and a nail, k'usa, is driven through to fasten them together. They are used to cut many things.

They forge tweezers, hantsakai, for removing thorns:[64] it is made with two sides which are pressed together to seize the thorn and pull it out. They also forge a big needle called masilla, and they make a "nose" in it and pass hemp fibre, rama, through it. They use it to sew up grass mats to hold cowries, kesan kur'di, and cereal, kesan hatsi. It is used to sew other types of mats. They forge the awl, tsinke, which is a needle-like thing - like a meat skewer - which leatherworkers and gourd or calabash menders, gyartai, use regularly.

Two types of arrowheads, kibau, are forged by the blacksmiths. The suku is like the awl, or meat skewer, and isn't much good: children use it to learn to shoot, or they shoot birds with it. Archery contests are also made with it. Maikune, "possessing an ear," is the other type and it is made with barbs or "ears," kunuwa. It is a very dangerous arrow, and when they are going to remove it from a man's skin, it tears

out the flesh. After the smiths forge arrowheads, they are secured to the shaft with one of two types of grass reed:[65] k'amare or zamark'ai. Sinew is then wrapped on the edges of the reed tie. Tying on the point is called hayi.[66]

Blacksmiths forge chain,[67] sark'a, and shackles, maruruwa. Big shackles called gigar, and sometimes called mulwa, are forged to shackle recalcitrant slaves, and people say, "Gigar is the medicine for a runaway slave." They are also used to shackle troublesome criminals, and insane people. Small shackles are made for schoolchildren, 'yan makaranta, and are put on those who run away from school.

There are shackles for horses which are made like a chain. They are put on because of horse thieves, and they are put on a horse that runs away frequently so it will not escape during the night.

Bellows - Zuga[68]

Bellows, zuga, are made with goat skins which have no holes in them. They are made with a small opening, or "mouth," in them through which air can escape. A valve, or "door," is made of red leather and put where they are held so air can enter: when the bellows are opened, the valve opens, and when they are closed, the valve closes. As the bellows are opened and closed, the air enters through the "door" and escapes through the "mouth."

The "mouth" is put where they have the fire, charcoal, and metal to be forged, and a small boy called "son of the bellows," 'dan zuga, works them while a man does the forging.

Smiths also roast meat on their forging fire and eat it with their children. They also have their wives cook it. Smiths eat meat

regularly in Hausaland, and people say, "Smiths are the people who eat a lot of meat!"

The anvil is called the "smith's mother," uwal mak'era: it is made of iron and it is thick with a broad head or striking surface. The metal being forged is beaten on the striking surface with the masaba, which is a piece of thick round metal. The tongs, awartaki, have two sides which have been brought together and nailed: they are used to hold the hot metal.

There are two kinds of files, zarton k'ira, used by the smith. There is the cutting file or saw, zarton yanka, and the rubbing file, sarton guga, which is used to sharpen the metal.[69] When a knife becomes blunt, it is sent to the smith who beats it, ko'da, and sharpens it with this file. This is also done to the axe, gatari, sickle, lauje or lausche, barber's razors, asaken wanzamai, spears, masu, and hoes, fartanya; sharpening swords are called akaras.

When a person has guineaworms, kurkunu, he is taken to the smith. He puts the tip of an arrow in the fire, which is blown up, and when it is red-hot he takes it out and punctures the spot, sakiya, and lets out the pus. He is given 20 cowries.

Swords - Takuba[70]

The people of Azbin, Azbinawa, are fond of swords. They sharpen them with flint, k'ank'ara, until they are extremely sharp. They are highly skilled with the sword, and that is why people say, "The Azbinawa don't bother with bows and arrows, only swords!"[71]

The Hausa people keep swords, but they prefer bows and arrows, kwari, and these are the weapons of the Hausa people. Only a few Hausa

people know how to strike well with a sword.

Swords are brought to Hausaland from Zaila, Adamus, Tarabus, and Agat. There is also a very expensive sword brought to Hausaland which is called findi: I believe it is the sword of India, k'asar Hind. Only the blade, ruwa, is imported: the "head," and sheath, kubai, is made locally.[72]

Swords are forged in Hausaland, but they are not of good quality. They are called tamamai because they are forged with iron ore, tama, which has been smelted in Hausaland. One type is called tamagashi: it is hung from the shoulder and it is very popular. However, the Hausa people know iron is inferior for sword blades, so they mock those people who carry iron swords from their shoulders, by saying: "Strike him this year, and he dies next year!"

There is a type of sword called fatefate. The people of Zanfara like it, and it is hung in front of the king. There is also a kind of bent sword, a throwing weapon, called gariyo, which is forged in Bagarmi and brought in small quantities to Hausaland: it is very sharp and thrown from afar.

An ornamental end for the hilt of the sword is made and called "sword head," kan takobi, or "dung beetle," buzuzu. They make a "neck," wuya, which is the handle, and a "shoulder," kafa'da, and strap where they tie the hamila cord or sak'i.

In Hausaland, people like the sword that is flexible and can be bent, mailankwasuwa.[73]

That's it.

Spears - Masu

Smiths in Hausaland forge blades, ruwa, and make different types of spears, masu, with them. There is kuyukuyu which is small and made like an arrow: it goes very far when it is hurled. There is tubulbula, a type of spear with a long shaft and a short broad-edged point, and there is kasausawa which is long and pointed.

After they forge the blade, they make the shaft which is called "spear bamboo," gorar mashi, regardless of the type of wood used for the shaft, although bamboo is generally used.

Horsemen in Hausaland carry one or more spears. Foot soldiers use a sword, as do some horsemen. The people of Kabi, the Kabawa, are the best spearmen in Hausaland. The people of Gobir are second-best, and the Fulani are excellent archers.

That's how it is.

Metal Casting - Zubi[74]

There are smiths, mak'eran fari, who cast brass, farin k'arfe, copper, ja or gaci, and tin, darma.[75] When they are going to cast one of these metals, it is put in a casting pot built of clay, yunb'u. The pot is placed on charcoal and more charcoal is piled around it until it is covered with it, and then they blow up the fire until the metal melts.

The molten metal is poured into a casting mould, or "casting boat," jirgin zubi, which is long like a boat, jirgi, with a depression in the middle. The metal is poured into the depression, left to cool, and put in the sand. Then it is given the desired form. For example, tin is cast and made into rings, zobba, which are worn on the fingers. Iron is not made into rings, except for the archer's ring, mak'a, which

is worn on the thumb: this is not cast.

Silver, azurfa, is also cast in Hausaland, but they do not cast iron, and I have never seen them cast, or forge, gold, zinariya, in Hausaland.

Bangles - Mundaye

Metal bangles worn by women on their legs are called mundaye in Sokoto and Zanfara, and k'arfen sawu in Kano and Daura. They are cast in moulds, and big "heads" are made on them and designs are added to them.

In Kano they are very fond of brass, while the people of Gobir prefer copper. So, in Kano the bangles for both legs are made of brass. Young girls and women wear them, but older women don't. In Sokoto and Zanfara, a brass bangle is made for one leg, and a copper bangle is made for the other leg. These are also made with big heads which have designs on them. In Kabi and Gobir, the bangles for both legs are made of copper.

Many other ornaments are made with brass. Stirrups, likafu, for example, are made with it, but there is a prohibition, doka, against common people tying brass stirrups to their saddles. However, when the king honors a man, perhaps a malam or a rich man, he ties brass stirrups to his saddle. When a man has brass stirrups in Hausaland, his children are proud and happy.[76]

Horse halters called gumika are made with brass ornaments and red thread: they are very beautiful and anybody can put them on their horse, for there is no prohibition against it.

That's all.

Building - Gini[77]

When someone wants to build a house in Hausaland, he moulds bricks, tubala, and leaves them to dry. Then he marks out where the structure is to be built, and lays out the plans, fasalta. In Kano there are people who make building plans, and when somebody wants to build a new house, he calls one of them to lay out the plans.

When the planning is finished, they dig a trench for the foundation, harsashi. They begin construction in the trench by filling it with laterite, marmara. When the trench is filled with laterite, the foundation is finished, and they continue building with bricks.

The bricks are lined up in groups of five at the beginning. As the wall increases in height, they are arranged in groups of four, and when the wall is high, they are arranged in groups of three. When it is very high, they arrange them in pairs, until they finally put them on one at a time to complete the wall. That is how the wall, garu, is built.

When a soro - a flat-topped rectangular house - is being built, they construct the wall to a height of about six kamu, or about 12-18 feet. Then they lay a section of wood, azara,[78] on the building, and this is called "securing azara," 'damra azara. They make small holes in which they place the wood sections, and then they plaster them with mud. This is continued until all the sections are in place, and then they are left for two or three days to dry.

After that, they spread grass mats, zanaki, over these wood sections, and dump millet stalks on the mats and spread them out. Then they put damp earth on the stalks, and this whole process is called "covering the soro," rufin soro. When it is dry, they pour finely-

divided earth, barbarkia, and dye-pit sediment, katsi, on the roof and spread it out.

They make a top, rawani, on the wall which extends up beyond the roof, and they make a waterchute from wood, clay, or earth, and install it, and spread cement, laso, around the mouth of the chute. This waterchute is called indararo in Sokoto and Zangara, and azururu in Kano and Daura.

When there is to be an upper storey, soron bene, they erect another building on top of the first, soron k'asa, after its roof has been covered with earth.[79] They beat the roof to make it smooth, and when the walls are five kamu, or 10-15 feet high, they cover it. They also extend the wall above this roof, rawani.

A man doesn't build an upper storey in Hausaland unless he is wealthy. When people see a person building one, they say, "So-and-so has money!"

They make a vaulted ceiling, 'damrin guga, with four sectors to its arches, k'afa fud'u, another with eight sectors to its arches, k'afa takos, and still another with twelve sectors to its arches, k'afa goma sha biyu. They also make a ceiling called hancin 'dani, and also called bakan gizo, which is like the foregoing, but it has two half-arches, 'kafa biyu.

In Kano there are people who mould bricks and sell them. They are made at Dala hill, and Jakara pond, within the city wall and near the market. The Jakara bricks are a cowrie each, while the Dala bricks are two cowries each. The common people buy the bricks made at Jakara, and the wealthy people buy those made at Dala.

There are people who carry loads of bricks after someone has

purchased them. The usual price is one cowrie per brick, but if the house is not far from Dala, then it is two bricks for a cowrie. When the house is far off, it is one brick for two cowries.

There are people who quarry laterite, marmara, and sell it. They quarry it with the pointed adze called tsiko at Dala. People buy the laterite for 20 cowries each, but later I saw them being bought for 40 cowries each. To have laterite carried it is 20 cowries each, but I later saw it being carried for 40 cowries each.

Building is begun with laterite, and the men who quarry it also make a lining, 'damrin rijiya, for wells and they are paved. They also dig and line a cesspit, masai, with it, and clean it out when it is filled with waste.

In Kano there are lots of masons, magina, and there are construction workers, masuaikin k'asa. When a man is building a house and he has no children, these men help him with the work and he pays them. Construction work is done from morning until close to sundown, fa'duwa. The person who employs the construction workers prepares plenty of food to keep them satisfied. They are given tuwo, or beans cooked in butter-fat with salt, but they don't particularly like this unless there is no alternative. However, different food, which is very nice, is made for the masons: tuwo with fatty meat, or chicken and butter, and fura mixed with milk or honey, and kola to chew.

When the work is finished, the personswho mixed the mud, mai kwab'a, are given 300 cowries each, and the mason is given 1,000 cowries.

When they are going to plaster, yab'e, they pile up earth and mix it with donkey dung, kashin jaki, horse dung, kashin doki, and dry grass, ciyawa. Then it is left for seven days. After that it is mixed until

it ferments, and they call the mason. The mixture is kneaded into balls, given to the mason who adds grass, and then he plasters it to the wall, bango. This activity is called plastering, yab'e, and it is done annually: if a person fails to do it the plaster falls from his walls!

Building Pots - Ginin Tukane

Pot builders in Kano are called banba'dawa, and there is a separate section of town for them called Jingau. The women, and a few men, spend their time building cooking pots, tukane, and water pots, tuluna. In Sokoto, most people call pot builders maginan tukane, but some people call them dundunge.

There is a type of water pot in Hausaland called "little hump," 'dan tozo. Water is carried in it, and it is the men who make it everywhere. It has a big base or "stomach," ciki, and a small mouth. It is popular because it is built with thin walls and it is not heavy. It is built with clay which is commonly called yunb'u, but the Kano people call it dandank'uwa. Many containers are made with this clay: bowl-shaped vessels, kasake, water jugs for ablutions, butoci na alwalla, basins, kwatarni, tuluna and 'yan tozo water pots, and big water pots, randuna.

Different types of lamps, fitilu, are built with it. There is the bride's lamp. fitila na amare, which is decorated: it has four or five "heads," like the bride's water jug, butocin amare. Lamps shaped like guinefowl, zabo, are made for girls, and designs are made with something that blackens, called karmatako.

Pot builders build a lot of pots, let them dry, and say, "On such-and-such a day we will fire them." On that day, they gather the

pots together and dump old thatch, bunu, on them and make a fire, saying "Today, the pots are being fired."

Children build play horses with clay, and in Sokoto, pot builders make dolls or "bone people," 'yan kashi, of clay rather than bone.

Pots, vessels, or any clay objects are not expensive in Hausaland.

Mats - Tabarmi

The most beautiful mat is tabarmar hanni. Its name comes from tabarma heno, which is a combination of the Hausa and Songhai languages: tabarma means mat in Hausa, and heno means beautiful in the Songhai language. A mat in Songhai is tagare. Lots of these tabarmin hannu are made in Zazau.

Mats called shedari are woven with deleb-palm fronds, and these are mats for the common people. In Katsina and Kano there is a kind of mat called karamun which is one kwarya in length. It is also called kalanga. There is another type of mat woven to hold cereal or cowries, and it is called wundi. In Kabi they weave a type of mat called "elephant sole," tafin giwa: rulers and elders sit on it.

A mosquito net, gidan sabro, called habu is woven with dum-palm fronds, kaba, as is a raincoat, rigar ruwa, called kabido.

Big hats called malfuna are woven with dum-palm fronds, and when one of these is going to be completed, it is placed over a bowl-shaped earthen vessel and the apex, k'ok'uwa, is sewn on it. There is a town called Dingadi, in the land of Kabi but near Sokoto, where the women weave fine malfuna: there is no hat in Hausaland as nice as that of Dingadi.

Fans, mafuci, are woven in Kano and Sokoto. That of Kano gives more air, while that of Sokoto is more beautiful and expensive. When

they are going to make a fan in Sokoto, they dye dum-palm fronds different colors: red, yellow, and black. These three colors are used along with the natural color to make four colors. The edge of the fans are sewn with blue-green leather. The Kano fan is only woven in three colors, natural, red, and yellow, and the blue-green leather is not sewn around the edge.

The people who weave the fans use palm fronds to weave sieves, rariya, and two-handled bags called safuna. The big two-handled bag is called kwazwago.

Tethering ropes for horses, gindayen dawaki, and horse hobbles, dabaibaya, are made with fronds. Rope, igiya, is also made with fronds which have been dyed in tab'o, because the rope will break when it dries, if it is not dyed first. A three-ply rope, tsawo, is made with the palm frond stalk, karerin kaba.

A horse tethering rope is also made from hide smeared with butterfat. It is more expensive than those made with palm fronds. They don't use it on the horses in the wet season, because the horses in Hausaland are not kept in stables, and when this rope is beaten by the rain it rots quickly.[80]

Trays - Faifai

Women, and a few men, weave circular trays or mats with dum-palm fronds.[81] They are called faifai. The most expensive of these trays is called bigimi, and it is woven in Gwanbi, a town between Bauci, Karekare, Tangale, and Kano. They weave many of them and bring them to sell in Kano. Women call this type of tray "son of Gwanbi," 'dan Gwanbi.

In Kano they weave a kind of broad tray called baka. It's not

very nice. Women put it on the ground when they are going to grind something, and the powder pours into it. This type is called "grinding tray," faifan nik'a. Sweets are also hawked on it. There is also a type of baka which is very big and made in the shape of an earthenware basin: it is used for hawking meat and pieces of salt, yankan gishiri.

Kindai are trays made with fronds dyed like those used in the Sokoto fans, and the edge is sewn with the blue-green leather. They use this for measuring things like cereal: they say two kindai of cereal, three kindai of cereal, and so forth. Women are fond of them, and they buy them, decorate them, and put their things inside them.

They weave the lefe basket with dum-palm fronds. It is in two pieces, like a calabash basin: one of the pieces is the cover, and people say the lefe has a "son and a father," 'da da uba. Women keep cloth and their ornaments in it.

A basket called taskira is woven a lot in Hausaland. Marriage cloth is put in it and given to a woman who is going to marry. The name of the cloth is lefe, and they say: "They have brought so-and-so's lefe."

A type of small lefe basket is woven and called kwatashi, or taskira. Women buy it and keep small things in it: containers of antimony, kwalli, a mirror, madubi, razor, aska, a woman's small knife. and a container of perfume. It is like a woman's pocket.

A small bag for salt is woven with dum-palm fronds: it is called lange. Foga salt is poured into it and it is called a lange of salt, langen gishiri. Another type of bag is woven with deleb-palm fronds and called tadali: raw cotton is put in it, and it is called a tadili of cotton, tadalin abduga.

Gourds - Duma

Duma is the generic name for the fruit - gourds and calabashes - which grow on a creeping plant. Some of the varieties are: gorina, a large bottle-shaped gourd; luduwa, bottle gourds; and kurtuna, a round gourd.

Zanfara has the greatest number of gourds in Hausaland: people go there and buy very large calabashes, masuk'a, and brides' calabashes, k'oran amare. Numerous calabashes are sent to the bride when she marries in Hausaland.

Mafafa are people who split open and prepare the gourds and calabashes for use. There are many of them, and this is the work of a poor man. When a man has calabashes, he sends them to the mufafa and tells him the design he wants made on them, and he pays them and they do the work.

The mufafa also buy gourds and prepares, decorates, and sells them. Some of those which are frequently used are k'orai, ludaya, and gorina, and designs are made with sharp knives on them.

Calabash designs are also made with fire, but only in Kano. One with this type of design is called luduwa, and is given to the bride.

Calabash Menders - Gyartai

The person who sews up broken calabashes is called gyartai, and there are many of them in Hausaland. The Hausa people say, "Calabash mending is the last way to make a living; after that, may God give one the means to survive!"[82]

When a calabash breaks or gets chipped, it is put aside until a gyartai comes along. They give it to him, he sews it, and is given a

few cowries for his work: two or three, perhaps five for a regular job, and ten for a big job. He sews the calabashes with the root of the dum-palm,[83] or the climbing palm, kwagiri,[84] or jijiyar saba'da.[85] He soaks them in water in a gourd basin. He uses awls, tsinkuna, with very sharp points to bore holes in the calabashes.

He goes about from section to section in the town, calling, "gyartai, gyartai!" Women tell their children, "Call the gyartai!" When he comes he sits in front of the house and people with broken calabashes bring them to him, and settle on a price to be paid for the work. In Sokoto he is called gyartab'ari, and he goes about saying, "gyartab'ari!"

In Hausaland, when a man is accused of doing something he didn't do, he says "If I did it, may God turn it into a gyratai!"

Woodcarving - Sassaka

There are many woodcarvers, masassaka, in Hausaland. They carve axe and hoe handles, and implements, madub'a, for beating earthen floors smooth. They also carve wooden food bowls, akusa - the best of these are made by the people of Bauci - and spoons, cokula, slates, aluna, stools, kujera, waterchutes, indararai, and clog-shoes, 'dangarfai. The latter are worn in the wet season, damana, because of the mud.

All of these things are carved and sent to the market so whoever wants can buy them.There is a place where they sit in the market called "handle people," 'yan k'ota, and that is where the carvers sell the pestles, tab'are, and mortars, turame, which they have carved, along with the other goods.

Smiths do a bit of carving. They carve handles for knives and

the long needle-like awl, tsinke. There are also carvers who carve doors, k'auraye, but after they carve them the smith fit them.

They carve drums, but they do not start one until a drummer, maka'da, requests one. They carve many different types: dundufa,[86] kanjau,[87] kotso,[88] tafshi,[89] kurya,[90] and tsintsima.[91] All of these are made at the request of the drummer. The royal drums, tanbura, are carved only by the most important carvers, for this is work for the royalty: a poor carver doesn't attempt it.

They also carve the gurmi, a small stringed instrument like the molo. Carvers also make small containers called mudu for measuring things like guineacorn chaff, kono. They carve implements called 'yan buga which are used for beating indigo-dyed cloth.

They carve tethering posts for horses, and make heads for them. They make keke which is a throwing stick used by hunters.

Carvers say that tamarind wood lasts the longest when carved, and they also carve handles from ebony, itachen kanya.[92]

Only the best carvers attempt boat carving, because it is very difficult. When they are going to carve a boat, jirgi, they go to the wilderness and search for a good tree. A work party is called together to chop it down, and then it is carved. When they finish, another work party is called together to transport it to its destination.

A Trap - Tarko

There are many people who trap birds. They use a type of trap called asuta which catches them quickly. It is made with the root of the dum-palm, and the 'doruwa tree, and thread. A peg, kangalai, is made to fasten it in place where the birds feed, and it immediately

catches birds. This type of trap is used to catch marsh birds and wild guineafowl.

There is a type of trap used by children. It is made with thread, the hair from an animal's tail, izga, and a clay ball, gululai. Children put it where threshing is done and they catch the spotted weaver bird, gado, the gray sparrow, gwara, and other very small birds.

There is a kind of trap called b'urma which children make to catch mice. It is made from clay and given a door and a potsherd cover. When a mouse enters and touches the peanut, the potsherd closes the door and they have caught the mouse.

There is a type of trap called bima which is made like a shed. They put meat in it to catch wild animals, such as the leopard, damisa, or hyena, kura.

There is a type of hyena trap made by digging a hole, and a small mound is left in the center and a young goat is tied to it. The hole is covered with sticks and grass is spread over them. When the hyena comes to pounce on the young goat, it falls in the hole.

There is a type of snare trap called katawa, which is made by children to catch mice, b'ere. It is bent like a bow and set on the path used by the mice.

Footnotes to Chapter 7

1. Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 486.

2. Ibid., 298.

3. Morel. E. D., Nigeria: Its Peoples and Its Problems, 121-122.

4. Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 511.

5. Palmer, H. R., Sudanese Memoirs, III, 99.

6. Willett, Frank, "A Survey of Recent Results in the Radiocarbon Chronology of Western and Northern Africa," Journal of African History, XII, 3 (1971), 368. The full passage reads: "A single radiocarbon date has been obtained which must be considered with due reservation: A.D. 635 + or - 95." It should be noted here that the Nok culture was working iron, and perhaps tin, as early as 440 + or - 140 B.C. Ibid., 356-357. The peoples whose material culture has been given the name "Nok" by archaeologists lived north of the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers. There are no geographical barriers between this region, to the south of the heart of Hausaland, and the main region of Hausaland. Thus, we can presume the peoples of these two regions were in touch and there is a strong possibility that the date for the origin of iron working in areas like Kano will be pushed further back in time with more archaeological work in that region.

7. Here is a description of the formation of lateritic soil, from Lawson, G. W., Plant Life in West Africa, 67: "Leaching is the washing out of the soil of certain soluble substances by water.... The important thing in connection with leaching is the amount of rainfall. Usually heavy continuous rainfall means that there is more leaching of the upper layers of the soil....In areas of moderate rainfall, there is less leaching and in hot areas of low rainfall, where there is a lot of evaporation, water actually moves up in the soil, bringing with it dissolved substances....Salt, for example, may crystallize out on the surface in desert places.

   In soils of cooler climates, aluminum and iron are leached from the upper layers of the soil....On the other hand, under tropical conditions although iron and aluminum are leached from the upper layers, silica is removed even faster. Therefore, iron and aluminum accumulate in the upper layers relative to silica. Iron in an oxidized form is red in colour and this gives rise to the... lateritic earths characteristic of the tropics."

8. Skinner, N., Hausa Folk Tales and Miscellanea, I, 307.

9. See Basil Davidson, A History of West Africa.

10. Anderson, E. A., "The Bearing of Botanical Evidence on African Culture History," in Gable, C., and N. R. Bennett, Reconstructing African Culture History, 173.

11. Wrigley, C., "Speculations on the Economic Prehistory of Africa," Journal of African History, I, 2 (1960), 192-193.

12. Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 124.

13. Bovill, E. W., ed., Missions to the Niger, vol. IV, pt. III, 654. For information on slave occupations in other regions of the savanna see Meillassoux, Claude, ed., The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa, 53.

14. Smith, M. G., "The Husa System of Social Status," Africa, XXIX, 3 (1959), 248.

15. Ibid.

16. Morel, E. D., Nigeria..., 126-128.

17. Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 512.

18. Arabic, san'a.

19. "Various kinds of red earth and red-coloured stones used in making red ink...." Bargery, G. P., A Hausa-English Dictionary..., 625.

20. Here is Captain Clapperton's account: "Cotton, after it is gathered from the shrub, is prepared by the careful housewife, or a steady female slave, by laying a quantity of it on a stone or a piece of board, along which she twirls two slender iron rods about a foot in length, and thus dexteriously separates the seeds from the cotton wool. The cotton is afterwards teased or opened out with a small bone, something like an instrument used by us in the manufacture of hat felt. Women then spin it out of a basket upon a slender spindle. The basket always contains a little pocket mirror, used at least once every five minutes, for adjusting or contemplating their charms." Bovill, E. W., ed., Missions..., 658. For more Hausa vocabulary to do with the cotton industry see Dalziel, J. M., A Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, 5-6; Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 122-126; and Bargery, G. P., A Hausa-English Dictionary..., 43.

21. (Palmae) Raphia sudanica, "Bamboo or Wine palm." Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 511-513.

22. For Barth's description of the types of cloth found in Kano, see his Travels and Discoveries..., I, 510; also see 211, 440, and 512-513.

23. For an account of the silkworm which produces this silk, see Golding, F. D., "The Wild Silkworms of Nigeria," Farm and Forest, III, 1, Mar. 1942, 35-40.

24. See Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 446.

25. "A cotton cloth consisting of 12 strips of cloth sewn together." Bargery, G. P., A Hausa-English Dictionary..., 1063. Barth saw it being work in various places as he travelled south across the Sahara; see Travels and Discoveries..., I, 211.

26. For other accounts, see Clapperton in Bovil, E. W., ed., Missions..., 658-659; Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 444, 484, 557, and III, 98, 147; and Taylor, F. W., Labarun Al'adun Hausawa..., 195-207.

27. See Bargery, G. P., A Hausa-English Dictionary..., 721.

28. (Combretaceae) Anogeissus Schimperi. Marke is also used as a dehairing agent in preparation of skins for tanning. See Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 73-75.

29. See kantu in Bargery, G. P., A Hausa-English Dictionary..., 557.

30. See Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 523; also Morel, E. D., Nigeria..., 120, from which comes this passage about the system of craft taxation: "The Hausa system provded that taxes should be levied upon basket and mat makers, makers of plants for cotton-spinners, bamboo door makers, carpenters, dyers, blacksmiths and whitesmiths, as well as upon bee-keepers, hunters, trappers and butchers. Exemption from taxes was granted to shoe-makers, tailors, weavers, tanners, potters, and makers of indigo; but market taxes were imposed upon corn measurers, brokers, sellers of salt, tobacco, kolas, and ironstone (=laterite)."

31. Dalziel says karan dafi is the red "leaf sheath"; Dalziel, J. M., A Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, 24.

32. Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 473, classifies it with gangamo as turmeric, (Zingiberaceae) Curcuma longa, and describes turmeric as follows: "Indigenous to South Asia, where it is cultivated.... In West Africa it is cultivated along with ginger in the forest area, and north of the forest it is not uncommon in native compounds, grown as a dye plant. The rhizome is sold cut in slives and is one of the yellow dyes...widely used in West Africa.... As a dye turmeric is of very ancient use in the East."

33. See Clapperton's account in Bovill, E. W., ed., Missions..., 659.

34. See Ibid., for other uses of shuni.

35. See Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 345.

36. See ibid., 345 and 446.

37. Bargery, G. P., A Hausa-English Dictionary..., 79, says it is "a cloth which covers the hind quarters of a horse." A banten lifide is quilted armour for the hind quarters of a horse. Ibid.

38. See Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 446.

39. From the rimi or "silk-cotton" tree, (Bombaceae) Ceiba pentadra. Dalziel says the origin is believed to be in tropical America and it may have been introduced to West Africa by the Portuguese. Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 118-122. In his New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, published in 1704, Bosman describes the "capot-trees" (=capok-trees) on the West African coast and said the capok was "very popular for fitting of Beds...in this country where Feather-beds are much too hot." Quoted in Lawson, G. W., Plant Life in West Africa, 117.

40. For other information and accounts see Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 514; Clapperton in Bovill, E. W., ed., Missions..., 600; Rattray, R. S., Hausa Folk-Lore..., 244-248; and Taylor, F. W., Labarun Al'adun Hausawa..., 193-195.

41. Morel, E. D., Nigeria..., 121, remarks: "The Kano tanneries are... in odours surpassing anything that can be imagined."

42. (Cochlospermaceae) Cochlospermum tinctorium. "The rootstalk affords a yellow or brownish-yellow dye, called in Hausa rawaya...and often included with other yellow dyes under the Hausa word tiri. It is used for cloth, thread and mat fibers, and also mixed with indigo to give green tings. Leather is dyed by its use in some regions.... Either the fresh root is rubbed in or a paste made with the pulverized dry root." Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 45.

43. Dalziel sees it differently and says balagande is the word for rawaya in Sokoto and western Hausaland. Ibid.

44. Shinadiri, sal ammoniac.

45. (Scrophulariaceae) Striga senegalensis. "In West Hausa (Kabi, etc.) the plant is...fermented and mixed with the indigo plant, (and) it is said to deepen the colour. It is said to dye also when used alone, pounded, with addition of red natron and ashes of Guinea-corn stalks, etc., and the cloth dipped as with indigo...." Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 442.

46. On saddles, see Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 301-302.

47. (Rubiaceae) Mitragyna inermis. Another spelling of this word is giyayya. Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 401-402.

48. See Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 513.

49. Bargery, G. P., A Hausa-English Dictionary..., 523, describes kafa as follows: "A blancmange-like food sold wrapped in leaves. It is made of the cereal most common in the district. In Kano, until recently, it was used mainly by leatherworkers as an adhesive."

50. See Clapperton in Bovill, E. W., ed., Missions..., 660.

51. See Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 297, 323-324.

52. The Kano Chronicle says that shields were first used in Kano during the reign of Yusa (A.D. 1136-1194). Palmer, H. R., Sudanese Memoirs, III, 101. Different types of shields are described by Clapperton in Bovill, E. W., ed., Missions..., 647.

53. According to Barth, the antelope leucoryx, which he frequently saw in regions of the southern Sahara, see Barth H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 403, 404, 454. He notes that the Tuaregs of Azben make their shields from their skins.

54. Literally, "wild camel," but Barth says rak'omin dawa (=rak'umin daji) is the giraffe. Ibid., 408.

55. See ibid., 514.

56. Barth says the takrufa (=taiki?) holds 20,000 cowries. Ibid., 442-443.

57. See ibid. and ibid., 105 where he mentions a takrufa of rice.

58. For another account of how kwaloko is made, see Rattray, R. S., Hausa Folk-Tales..., II, 248-251.

59. For a different account, see Taylor, F. W., Labarun Al'adun Hausawa..., 207-215.

60. Literally, "whitesmiths."

61. For an excellent description of iron smelting in Africa, see Cline, Walter, Mining and Metallurgy in Negro Africa, 30-56.

62. (Mimosaceae) Prosopis africana. "It is very hard and heavy, solid, brittle and cross-grained, hard to saw...(and) hard enough to blunt the axe....It is regarded as one of the best timbers...." Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 222-223. Also, see Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 432.

63. See Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 311.

64. Barth wrote that while travelling across the southern Sahara "I became acquainted with the troublesome nature of the karengia (= bur grass)...which together with the ant, is to the traveler in Central Africa his greatest and most constant inconvenience. It was just ripe, and the little bur-like seeds attach themselves

to every part of the dress. It is quite necessary to be always provided with small pincers, in order to draw out from the fingers the little stingers which, if left in the skin, will cause sores." Ibid., 313.

65. A third type is shasari.

66. See Dalziel, J. M., A Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, 67, "kwankwani," and 145,"tinya," for arrow poison.

67. They also made wire; see Cline, W., Mining..., 109-110.

68. For additional material, see Cline, W., Mining..., 102-109

69. For additional material on forge equipment, see ibid., 89-90.

70. For an interesting historical account of the swords of Hausaland, see Bivar, A.D.H., Nigerian Panoply: Arms and Armour of the Northern Region. Also, see Clapperton in Bovill, E. W., ed., Missions..., 647.

71. Also noted by Barth who said the Tuareg were "on horseback bearing besides the spear, the sword, and the dagger, the immense shield of antelope-hide, with which they very expertly protect themselves and their horses." He adds that "some of them use bows and arrows even on horseback, like many of the Fulbe (=Fulani)....A few have muskets...." Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 289-290.

72. See Bivar, A.D.H., Nigerian Panoply..., 9-27.

73. I.e. steel. See ibid.

74. For a different account, see Cline, W., Mining..., 82-89.

75. For a discussion of the alloys brass and bronze, see ibid., 78-79. For information on mining and working tin, see ibid., 76-77; Willet, Frank, "A Survey...," 357; and Perham, M., ed., Mining, Commerce, and Finance in Nigeria, 2-6.

76. See Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 316.

77. For an interesting account of building and house types in Zaria, see Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., Decorated Houses in a Northern City.

78. The split stem of the deleb palm, (Palmae) Borassus aethiopium. "The stem of the old male palm is solid, hard, and resistant to insect attack or decay. The stout base and outer layers of the stem are specially hard....(It is) sometimes used for...termite-proof beams in flat-roofed houses. The split stems are called in Hausa azara, izara (Katsina)....The stems are hollowed out to make water gutters used on flat roofs." Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 496.

79. Clapperton in Bovill, E. W., ed., Missions..., 651, describes the two storeyed houses of Kano as follows: "The houses are built of clay, and are mostly of a square form, in the Moorish fashion, with a central room, the roof of which is supported by the trunks of palm trees, where visitors and strangers are received. The apartments of the ground floor open into this hall of audience, and are generally used as store-rooms. A staircase leads to an open gallery overlooking the hall, and serving as a passage to the chambers of the second story, which are lighted with small windows. In a back courtyard there is a well and other conveniences. Within the enclosure in which the house stands, there are also a few round huts of clay, roofed with the stalks of Indian corn, and thatched with long grass. These are usually very neat and clean...."

80. Barth makes the following pertinent remark in his Travels and Discoveries, III, 96: "The inhabitants of the village proved to be industrious and sociable and, soon after we had encamped, brought me several articles for sale, such as good strong ropes, of which we were greatly in want. In general, a traveler can not procure good ropes in these countries, and, for an expedition on a larger scale, he does well to provide himself with this article. The ropes made of ngille or the dum bush last only a few days; and those made of hides, which are very useful in the dry season for tying up the legs of the camels, and even for fastening the luggage, are not fit for the rainy season."

81. (Palmae) Hyphaene thebaica. "The fronds (Kausa, kaba...) are used...in plaited strips (Hausa, lufa) to make mats, hats..., baskets, strainers, woven bowls or dish covers (faifai), fans, rope, etc." Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 508.

82. See Skinner, N., Hausa Folk Tales and Miscellanea, I, 311, #181.

83. Called gizgirin kaba. Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 508.

84. (Palmae) Ancistrophyllum opacum. Ibid., 495.

85. The inner lining of the pod of the locust bean tree which is a tough membrane used in strips. Ibid., 219-220.

86. "A long narrow drum which stands on the ground while being played." Bargery, G. P., A Hausa-English Dictionary..., 277-278.

87. "A long narrow Barebari drum, held between the legs and beaten with the hands and fingers whilst in a standing position." Ibid., 552.

88. "A drum with only one diaphragm, to which a piece of wax is affixed." Ibid., 625.

89. "A conical drug with one diaphragm only, the other end being of wood and too small to allow the drum to stand unsupported. It is beaten with the hand alone. A bit of wax is affixed to the diaphragm." Ibid., 1009.

90. "Both ends are covered with hide." Ibid., 656.

91. "A drum about 30 inches long, with one end left open, used by hunters." Ibid., 1039.

92. (Ebenaceae) Diospyros mespiliformis. Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 347-348.

Chapter 8

Markets and Long Distance Trade

Imoru's accounts of marketing and trade in this chapter complement his descriptions of the rural economy and the handicraft industry, and complete his account of the Hausa economy in the nineteenth century.

Of particular interest is what he writes about the organization of the market, and the organization of a caravan for long distance trading to Gonja. In his account of the market we read about the units in which goods are displayed and sold: the pile of five, the stack of twenty, a calabash full, or a bag full. We read about the landlord and his commission, and the broker and his commission. He writes an entertaining and lively account of how the buyer bargains for the item he wants to buy.

His description of the organization of the caravan to Gonja gives us an insight into this aspect of long distance trade. We are no longer confined to an account of places and goods. Now we are told about the zango, or camping place for the caravan; we are told about taxes paid by the caravan as it passes through different lands along the route; we are told how goods are ferried across the rivers; and we are told how the caravan organizes to protect itself from bandits along the way.

Imoru concludes his account with information about two major items of Hausa trade and consumption: kola and salt.

A market is a place where people meet to trade. We presume that the earliest markets were places where bartering took place, and one good was exchanged for another. A regular currency, scheduled market days, officials, etc., are a later development. The early markets in

Hausaland were a result of internal developments which gave rise to, and were associated with, the walled fortifications which dotted the agricultural countryside of Hausaland before the earliest written records were kept. They were a result of regional differences in soil, rainfall, and agricultural output; seasonal variations in rainfall also played a part. The growth of markets was also stimulated by the division of the population into rulers and ruled; city-folk and country-folk.

This local trade within the West African savanna, and regional trade between savanna people, forest people, and desert people, predated the penetration of Islam into West Africa in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Since the trade was probably on a small scale, and written records were not left by the peoples in the savanna until the arrival of the Arabic script with the Muslims, we are forced to rely on indirect evidence from outside the region. We presume, from the following type of information, that the West African savanna peoples were engaged in some type of long distance trade, sporadic as it may have been, with the North African peoples a millennium or more before the Muslim traders began making contact with the peoples of the West African savanna. The Ghanaian historian, Adu Boahen, writes about this early pre-Islamic trade as follows:

> The caravan trade, a strong chain binding Barbary, the Sahara, and the Negro territories together, was of very remote antiquity. Mauny and Lhote have convincingly shown that as early as 1000 B.C. chariots were being drawn across the Sahara long two main routes: a western route...and a central route from Tripoli through Cydamus (Ghadames), Ghat, and Hoggar to Gao on the Niger. By the fifth century B.C., the desert traffic - mainly in animals such as monkeys, lions, panthers, and elephants, in precious stones like carbuncles, emeralds and chalcedony, and in slaves - had become so important that 'the Darthaginians began their great Sahara expeditions in an effort to cut out all the intermediaries and to get into

> direct contact with the source of the riches in which they traded.' Three centuries later the Saharan trade was centered on the Tripoli-Fezzan-Bornu route...and constituted one of the main sources of the riches of Carthage. The phenomenal development of this desert traffic did not take place, however, until the introduction of the camel into Tripolitania by the Romans probably in the first century A.D.[1]

When trade with the Muslim world of North Africa picked up a millennium later, it was carried in caravans along these well-travelled routes. We cannot deny, however, that there was a great increase in this trade - and presumably a corresponding expansion of the markets of the savanna - once the Muslim merchants - North African or Saharan peoples - established regular contact with the markets of the West African grasslands. Boahen writes that the trans-Saharan traffic reached a peak in the period 1490-1590,[2] a period when the powerful empires on the West and East of Hausaland - Songhay and Bornu - controlled the trade and provided the security desired by the merchants and needed for continuation of the markets.

It was this period of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Songhay and Bornu were dominating the trade - and dominating Hausaland to some extent - that the trade of the Hausa people expanded rapidly. Here are some extracts from the Kano Chronicle for the fifteenth century which illustrate this:

1) In the reign of Dauda (A.D. 1421-38),..."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 ten thousand kolas to her. She first had eunuchs and kolas in Hausaland. In her time the whole of the products of the west were brought to Hausaland."[3]

2) His successor, Abdulahi Burja (A.D. 1438-52), "opened roads from Bornu to Gwanja (Gonja), (and) the (Kano) market of Karabka was made in his reign."[4]

3) His son, Yakubu (A.D. 1452-63), saw the people of Azbin come "to Gobir, and salt became common in Hausaland. In the following year, merchants from Gwanja (Gonja) began coming to Katsina. Beriberi came (from Bornu) in large numbers, and a colony of Arabs arrived."[5]

4) His son, Mohamma Rimfa (A.D. 1463-1499) "established the Kurmi market in Kano."[6]

It is this commercial revolution taking place in the fifteenth century, and continuing into the sixteenth century, which was selected by the compiler(s) of the Kano Chronicle to begin the written accounts of trade and marketing in Hausaland. It was an expansion internally and externally: internally more markets were being built as newcomers from neighboring and distant lands arrived to trade; externally new trade routes were being opened up, or old ones reopened, to the south, west, east, and north. With this commercial expansion, we presume that the basic pattern of marketing and trade was established for the next three centuries.

Imoru classifies Hausa markets into "big" and "little" markets, presumably on the criteria of the frequency of the market days; the political importance of the city or town in which they are found; the volume of trade; and, to some extent, the antiquity of the market. In his day, he tells us, the most important of the big markets was Kano, and the most important of the little markets was Jega. The history of both of these markets illustrates the internal factors which gave rise to them and ensured their success.

Kano was built around Dala Hill, a source of iron for its early blacksmiths, and a shelter for the inhabitants of this flat savanna country.[7] It did not develop as a southern terminal for the trans-Saharan trade, or as a "transit-city" for trade goods being shipped to

other destinations, although it did play both these roles. First, and foremost, Kano developed as a manufacturing city, and the majority of the trade routes radiating from it, linked it to the nonmanufacturing cities, towns, and villages, of West Africa. Barth noted this when he was in Timbuktu, and contrasted that city with Kano:

> The great feature which distinguishes the market of Timbuktu from that of Kano is the fact that Timbuktu is not at all a manufacturing town, while the emporium of Hausa fully deserves to be classified as such. Almost the whole life of (Timbuktu) is based upon foreign commerce...which, owing to the great northerly bend of the Niger, finds here the most favored spot for intercourse....Almost the whole clothing of the natives themselves, especially that of the wealthier classes (is) imported...from Kano and Sansandi....[8]

In contrast to the ancient market of Kano, the Jega market, situated in the land of Kabi in the far west of Hausaland, was a product of the nineteenth century. Like Timbuktu, goods manufactured elsewhere were sold in this market, and it too owed its success to its proximity to river transportation:

> As regards transport, Jega is singularly well situated... It enjoys the great advantage of being situated on the (river Gindi) at the highest point which can be used by large canoes all the year round, so that it is at all times accessible from the Niger by a navigable waterway ....[9]

The markets of Kano and Jega did, however, owe their success in the nineteenth century to the same factor: the warfare and turmoil associated with the Fulani struggle for power at the beginning of the century. In the case of Kano, its competitor Katsina was destroyed because of the protracted struggle there. Barth had read about Katsina in the works of earlier travellers and he was surprised and disappointed at the state of decay of its market resulting from the struggle.[10] On the other hand, Kano enjoyed prosperity because the market was secure

there.

Jega developed as an important nineteenth century market in western Hausaland because Birnin Kabi, the important city of the Kabi people, had been destroyed in the fighting with the Fulani at the beginning of the century. When the Fulani had taken power in most of the Hausa states, consolidated their hold over the empire, and established the twin capitals of Sokoto and Gwandu in the northwest, Jega assumed a key commercial role in this region:

> Sokoto and (Gwandu)...(were) closely situated in the basin of the (river) Sokoto, the former eighty miles from Jega and the latter only thirty. Sokoto, however, the original capital of Shehu (Dan Fodio), was by far the more important and became the political hub of this part of Africa with a large and expanding population. Tribute from all parts of the (Fulani) dominions came pouring in to Sokoto, and from it there radiated roads leading to all quarters.[11]

Jega developed as the entrepot for the southern and western trade of Sokoto and Gwandu, and to its markets passed the goods from the coast at Badagri, kola from Gonja to the southwest, and salt from the nearby source at Foga. Jega became a market for the wealthy population of Sokoto and Gwandu.

The big markets which met on a daily basis inside the city walls were the hub of a network of rural markets which alternated their market days. Farmers, craftsmen, brokers, and traders went from market to market as the market days rotated. M. G. Smith notes how these rural markets were dependent on the principal centers of trade:

> Communities which have weekly or bi-weekly markets differ from those in which the market meets every day; and it is useful to regard this as a criterion differentiating village and town....Markets which meet daily have a composition, turnover, volume, complexity, and a range of commodities which differ in kind as well as degree from those which meet only once or twice a week. The daily market acts as the major

> distributive center for the surrounding country, and exercises corresponding influence on dependent rural markets....[12]

The basic market pattern which had developed in Kano and Katsina by A.D. 1500 involved the use of currency. Presumably a number of currencies were used at that time, reflecting the somewhat provincial nature of exchange and trade. Some of the different types were the following:

> Cloth, salt, and metal goods such as arrowheads or knives served as currency, along with slaves and horses for larger values.[13]

As this trade network expanded, a uniform currency replaced the regional currencies. This currency was the cowrie shell which is said to have been introduced to Hausaland in the early 18th century.[14] Many writers have assumed that cowries were introduced by Muslim traders coming from the north or east, but recent work by Hiskett has suggested that they entered from the south via Nupe.[15] If this is the case, it would seem to indicate a growing southern influence in trade and exchange resulting from the activities of the African states in the forest zone and the European traders along the Guinea Coast.[16]

Cowries were the currency in Imoru's day, and traders worked through brokers in the markets.[17] Strangers to a big market would lodge with a landlord who would help him sell his goods for a commission. These landlords, brokers, and the many market officials, reflected the high degree of organized commercial activity in the Hausa market place: all played their role in marketing and exchange, and all profited from it.[18]

Imoru begins his account of long distance trade routes with Kano, for this manufacturing city was the center of commercial activity in

Hausaland in his opinion. It was the center of a savanna network of trade which extended north to the desert and south to the forest. It is quite likely that Kano's role as a center of trade to which the trading peoples of the desert and forest were somewhat dependent, was more important than its role as a southern entrepot in the trans-Saharan trade network.

According to Imoru, the most important trade routes radiated to the east, south, and west from Kano. Those to the northern desert country of Azbin were not frequented by the Hausa trader because, in his words, "it is very difficult to go there unless one goes on camel."[19] The Hausa traders were most accustomed to using oxen, donkeys, ponies, and human porters, and did not frequently use camels.

The trade which went north from Hausaland along the Azbin-Ghadames route were carried on by merchants from those desert cities.[20] The main exports from Kano to the north in the nineteenth century were slaves, kola, and leather goods manufactured in Kano. The main imports to Hausaland coming from the north were weapons, such as steel sword blades from Germany, hooded gowns and fez caps worn by Muslims, salt from various localities in the central and southern Sahara, and other manufactured goods from Europe which competed on the Kano market with those manufactured locally.

To the east, the Hausa traders went to Kuka and Wadai - in Bornu and beyond - taking manufactured goods such as Kano cloth, and bringing back slaves, horses, oxen, and some camels. They also brought back natron which had culinary, medicinal, veterinary, and industrial uses in Hausaland and the forest lands to the south.[21]

To the southeast the Kano long distance traders took manufactured

goods to Adamwa where they sought ivory[22] which was then brought back to the Kano market and sold to merchants from North Africa and East African ports on the Indian Ocean. African ivory was highly prized by the craftsmen of South Asia and the Far East because it was softer and easier to carve than Indian ivory.

Traders also went southeast to Bauci with swords, kola, and other goods to trade for ivory, slaves, ponies, and tin. They also brought back daudawa spice cakes which were widely used for flavoring in Hausa-land. This was an important item of trade throughout much of the region as noted by Barth during his journey from Katsina to Sokoto:

> When we again reached the direct road, the neighborhood of our friends was distinctly indicated by a very strong and not quite aromatic smell, which proceeded from the luggage of those of the caravan of native traders (or fataki) who had attached themselves to our troop. The merchandise of these small traders consisted for the most part, of thos vegetable cakes called dodowa (daudawa)... which constitute an important item of trade, as the dorowa...from the fruit of which those cakes are made, thrives in great abundance in the province of Zegzea (Zazau), while it is comparatively rare in the provinces of Kebbi (Kabi) and Gober (Gobir). Three thousand of these cakes constitute an ass-load, and each of them in general is sold in Sokoto for five kurdi (cowries), having been bought on the spot for one uri (cowrie); so that the profit, being not less than 500 percent, makes this commerce attractive for poor people....The return freight which these petty merchants bring back from Sokoto generally consists of the salt of Fogha (Foga)."[23]

Imoru tells us that the Hausa traded south to Nufe, or Nupe, and beyond that country to Yaraba, the land of the Yoruba people. To these regions the Hausa traders took livestock, natron, and leather goods, and brought back fine Nufe cloth, and products of the forest region such as kola, different kinds of black pepper, and spices.

Libtaku was up the Niger to the northwest,[24] and Adar was to the north of in the southern Sahara. To those two destinations the Hausa

traders took cloth and slaves, and returned with cattle, sheep, and ostrichs whose feathers were used for decoration.

One of the busiest trade routes was that leading southwest to the land of Gonja, north of Asante, where the Hausa merchants exchanged the many manufactured goods of Kano - cloth, leather goods such as sandals, hide vessels, leather receptacles for tobacco, leather needle cases, and every other manufacture of the Kano craftsmen - for the kola of that region.

The longest section of this chapter is Imoru's account of the organization and movement of the caravan of long distance traders from Hausaland to Gonja. Different routes were followed depending upon whether conditions were settled or unsettled along the different routes. Included in his account is a description of the different means of ferrying the caravan across the Niger and other rivers which had to be crossed along the way. Bovill has written about the problem of crossing the Niger in this passage:

> The disturbed state of the country was only one of the obstacles which impeded the traveller, and hampered trade. Circumstances compelled traders to travel together in large bodies for mutual protection, and caravans thus formed sometimes numbered several thousand souls, besides all manner of pack animals. For these huge caravans the crossing of a river as big as the Niger was an undertaking not to be lightly carried out at any chance point on the river bank. The riverine tribes had established ferries at convenient points and levied tolls on those making use of them....In the early years of the nineteenth century the two principal ferries were at Raba...and at Komie, about fifty miles higher up.[25]

These two ferry points were in Nupe, to the south of Hausaland, and there were many other points where the Niger could be crossed closer to Sokoto. Illo and Gaya, for example, were not far west of Jega in the

in the land of Kabi, and these two points were convenient for crossing the Niger. The smaller caravans, according to Imoru's accounts, sometimes crossed rivers in the wilderness where there were no well established tolls.

For many centuries the kola of Gonja had been a major attraction to the Hausa people. This cannot be explained by the fact that the Hausas are Muslims and do not drink alcohol, as has been suggested by many writers,[26] for kola is a stimulant like coffee and tea, not a depressant that reduces bodily functions like alcoholic drinks. The chemical composition and medicinal action of kola has been explained by Dalziel:

> Kola is generally supposed to contain about equal quantities of caffeine and theobromine, but the latter occurs only in traces. The fact, long known, that kola nuts eaten at night tend to prevent sleep was confirmed in Sierra Leone by Dr. Daniell in 1865, and corroborated by analysis, which demonstrated the presence of alkaloids similar to those of tea and coffee....The principal action is that of caffine, viz., stimulation of the nerves and direct muscular excitation; it acts as a restorative, stimulting the nervous system and counteracting overstrain and depression, thus improving both the physical and mental state....The principal physiological action, increasing the number, strength and duration of the muscular contractions and deepening the respiration, explains the effects attributed to it by persons undergoing prolonged exertion or physical training. The sense of fatigue is prevented and a longer and more sustained muscular effort is encouraged.[27]

A number of writers have used Barth and other European travellers to trace the routes from Hausaland to Gonja, and while a few have gone into the organization of the trade, we do not know of any that have included a discussion of the pertinent botanical information about kola, so brief mention of it will be made here. T. A. Russell, formerly Senior Botanist with the Department of Agriculture, Nigeria, has described kola as follows:

> Cola is a Tropical African genus...of which over 40 species (are known)....They are evergreen trees of the forest, mostly small or moderate in size though a few rise to some height....Most of the species of Cola have seeds which are hard and inedible. Those with seeds which are good to eat...are comparatively few and probably refer to six species.[28]

The species indigenous to the West African forest zone are not evenly distributed throughout the region. The most palatable species indigenous to Nigeria is that favored by the Yoruba people.[29] It enjoys, however, only a limited trade because the Hausa people do not like it. Nor do the Hausa care for the kola of Adamawa to the southeast of Hausaland, as Imoru explains in his account of the varieties of kola.[30]

The species which the Hausa people prefer is that which is indigenous to the forest zone of Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, and modern Ghana.[31] Gonja was situated just north of Kumasi and was, therefore, the closest source, for the Hausa people, of this species which has proven to be the most important West African commercial species.

In addition to this geographical factor, there was also the political and economic factor. The powerful state of Asante had a vested interest in the success of this trade to the northeast, just like they did in the gold trade which followed the Mande trade route to the northwest of Asante. As Levtzion notes in his account of the northern Asante trade, there was a shift in the flow of gold from the north to the south towards the end of the seventeenth century, and this stimulated the flow of kola to the north:

> The trading centers on the north bank of the Volta River were the meeting-point for traders from Mande and Hausa. Until the end of the seventeenth century the Mande trade seems to have been more important than the Hausa one. At that period the flow of gold to the north was affected by the intervention of the European factories on the coast. Kola nuts instead of gold became the main export

product of the forest to the north.[32]

We should note that Imoru mentions one type of kola which the Hausa people like which is found much closer to Hausaland. That is the kola Imoru calls Labuje and he says the Hausa people "like it very much, but it is scarce and hard to get." The rest of his information is correct, for it was grown in the forest around the Nupe town of Lobozi (Labuje), and the king controlled the trade in it. Nadel, in his study of the people of Nupe, writes the following about this royal monopoly:

> Till the days of British rule, the (Labuje variety)... could be procured only by members of the nobility; no commoner or peasant had any opportunity of obtaining Labozi (labuje) nuts. The trade in these nut as a strict monopoly of the (king) of Nupe, the kola-nut growers being forbidden to sell their crop to anyone except his own agents. Stories are current of traders smuggling the precious fruits out of Labozy by night, lest they should be seen and caught by the men of the king.[33]

Presumably this tight royal monopoly prevented the expansion of this trade to the volume which would supply the Hausa markets, hence the Hausas continued to receive the bulk of the preferred kola from Gonja. It is also worth noting that this species called Labuje is not indigenous to Nupe, or Nigeria, being the same species as that of Asante.[34] The Nupe legend about the origin of Labuje kola in Nupe tells how a Hausa man was passing through Nupe from the west and gave them in appreciation to a Nupe woman.[35] Was this a Hausa trader returning from Gonja via Nupe? Were these the variety of kola which the king of Nupe gave Queen Amina of Zaria in the early fifteenth century according to the Kano Chronicle?[36] Does this mean that this trade with Gonja was well under way prior to the fifteenth century? At this point, we can

only ask these suggestive questions and hope that one day we will know more about the origin of this fascinating trade of this most unusual product.

Imoru concludes this chapter with a description of the salt trade. The account is of great interest for two reasons. First, we learn that there is more than one kind of salt; it is prepared in many different ways; and it is sold in many different forms which all have different names. Second, his account deals primarily with local sources of salt, and this raises a number of pertinent questions.

Hitherto, many writers have written about the salt trade into Hausaland as if the Hausa people were totally dependent upon this desert source. Perhaps this perspective is determined by Barth's many colorful descriptions of the salt caravans moving from such places as the Bilma oasis south to Bornu and Hausaland.[37] However, the fact that there were observable caravans moving south from the desert doesn't mean that the Hausas were dependent upon it; it probably does mean that the people of the desert were dependent upon it.[38]

It is suggested here that the desert people were more dependent upon desert salt than the savanna people were. It is also suggested that the majority of the salt consumed in Hausaland may have been from Hausa sources. That coming from the desert may have been liked, or even preferred, because of its quality, taste, color, etc., but we can ask if the desert source was able to meet the demand of the Hausa people?

Imoru tells us that the Hausa people produced salt from plants. Barth made this observation when passing through Hausaland,[39] and Dalziel's Useful Plants of West Africa has information on a number of plants which were used to make salt.[40] More important, however, to the Hausa people, were the other savanna and forest sources of salt mentioned

by Imoru.[41] The most important of these sources was that at Foga, just east of the Niger and west of the market of Jega in the far west of Hausaland. This was the land of Kabi, and Imoru told us that these people - his people - were "march workers" who did best when raising rice or making salt. According to Imoru's account, this Hausa source of salt was, indeed, an important one.

Let us conclude this introduction with a pertinent quotation from Barth, written when he visited the Foga "salt works":

> The site of our hamlet was highly interesting to me, and I soon set out for a stroll around this artificial mound of rubbish. It was of considerable size, measuring about 200 yards in length and the same in breadth, with an elevation of 50 feet toward the bottom of the valley, and about 20 toward the edge of the bank, the whole of this mound bearing evident proof of its artificial character, consisting as it did of nothing but the soil of the valley itself, from which the saline particles had been extracted. The salt is here prepared in the following manner. The earth is taken from the bottom of the vale, and put into large funnels made of straw and reeds, when water is poured upon the earth, and strained through the funnels, after which it is caught in vessels placed underneath, and then boiled, and the sediment formed into the shape of a small loaf.
>
> That it is the earth which contains the saline particles, and not the rank grass which grows here, I am quite sure, although in other places there is no doubt that salt is extracted from the grass growing in such localities; but this can only be done by burning, the salt being extracted from the ashes; and no such process is pursued here. The salt is of a grayish-yellow color, and quite fit for cooking purposes; it is of a much better quality than the bitter salt of Bilma, although, no doubt, far inferior to the beautiful crystal salt of Taodenni, of which I here saw the first specimen with some Songhay pilgrims, who had left Hombori four months previously on their way to Mekka. However, such a mode of proceeding is only practicable in the dry, or toward the beginning of the rainy season; for at the end of the latter the valley is quite full of water, which then is fresh, and is said to contain plenty of fish, the saltish properties of the soil being too scanty and inconsiderable to impregnate such a large body of water....It is only the salt which induces the inhabitants to remain in this locality ....[42]

The Market - Kasuwa

Butchers, mafauta, grain sellers, ma'auna,[43] and retailers, 'yan koli,[44] are the "mothers"[45] of the market.

The markets of the major cities of Hausaland - Birnin,Kano, Sokoto, Gandu, Jega, Zazau, Katsina, and Daura - are held daily within the city wall. Those of Sokoto, Gandu, and Jega,[46] rest on Friday, and I believe that every market held outside the city wall has one or more days of rest each week.[47]

Some of these markets have special days for marketing: there is the big market held on Friday, Jumu'a ; another is held on Sunday, Lahadi; another on Monday, Litini; another on Tuesday, Talata; and another on Wednesday, Larba. I have never seen a big market held on Thursday, Alhamis, or Saturday, Asabar.

There are also markets which have no big market day: they meet one day, skip the next and meet the following day, and so on. Some markets skip two days between market days. On the day the market is held, people say, "today is market day," kasuwa tana ci yau. On the day market is not held, people say, "today it is resting," yau tana fashi.

Throughout Hausaland the markets have roofed stalls. When market day is held in the big markets, lots of people come from other towns to trade, buy and sell. On the days the markets rest there is nobody in them except old women selling peanuts, sweetmeats called dak'uwa, boiled cassava, sweet potatoes, fura and milk.

There is no small town with a market like that of Jega, and there is no big town with a market like that of Kano. The major trade items in the Kano market are the indigo dyed cloth and kolanuts. People come

to the Kano market from Bornu, Bauci, Yaraba (Yoruba), Zaila,[48] Adamus (Chadames), Tarabus (Tripoli), Katsina, Daura, Wadai, and Zinder.

Bargaining - Ciniki[49]

Trading, ciniki, takes place when a man sees something being sold and he wants it. He asks, "How much is this?" and he's told, "It costs such-and-such." He says, "I will only pay this much," and he is told, "That is not enough." Then he adds a bit to his offer and he is told, once more, "Not enough." It goes on like this until he's told, "It has been sold to you. Where is the money?" an sallama maka ana kur'di? That is bargaining, ciniki, and it is done this way throughout Hausaland. For example, when meat, nama, or cotton, abduga, is going to be bought "as a whole," gaba 'daia, it is traded in this fashion.

This method of bargaining, however, is not done for things which are arranged and sold in separate piles, ana kasa. However, in Hausaland, they give a small extra amount, gyara, with whatever has been arranged in piles. Peanuts, for example, are arranged and sold in small piles, and when a man buys a pile he is given a small extra amount free, gyara.

Peppers, barkono, karkashi leaves, red sorrel leaves, yakuwa, and many other leaves used for cooking are sold in piles of five, and pumpkins or marrow, kabewa, are cut and sold in piles of five. Onions, albasa, the bitter tomato-like fruit called gauta, and many other things are piled in a stack of 20. Meat is cut and piled in a stack of 20 and sometimes in stacks of 50, or even 100 or 500 pieces. In Kano, the cornstalks, kara, are piled in groups of 20 or 40, and fire wood is piled in bundles of 20 or 50, but in Sokoto it is piled in bundles of

5 or 10. Salt is sold in units of 20, and they also put it in a measure, mudu, of 20 or 100.

When a buyer comes to purchase something sold in a pile, he asks, "How much is a pile?" and he is told, "a pile costs such-and-such." Well, if he wants it at that price he buys it. If he doesn't want it at that price he leaves, because there is not much talk about what has been piled there. But, if somebody piles something and sees that it is not being bought, he adds a bit so people will buy.

The Broker - Dilali

There are many brokers, dilalai, in Hausaland. The trade of brokerage, dilanci, is this: people give their things to the broker who sells them. That is a broker's work and he makes more money in Kano than any other place.

There is a broker for clothing, a broker for horses, one for cattle, one for goats, and a broker for bags of cotton, tadula. There is the broker for natron, kanwa, there is one for salt, and there is one for black cloth, bak'i.[50] There is a slave broker, and there is a broker for kolanuts who sells one hundred to the calabash, kwaryar goro, and I have written about the latter in the account of kola.

There is a female cereal broker called alkwararo and many of them are called alkwararai, but in Zangara they are called almudu. They sell cereal by the measure, ma'auna, the largest measure being the "queen," sarauniya.

In Hausaland, when a stranger comes to town with something to sell, such as livestock, he immediately goes to his lodging place where he says to the house owner, maigida, "I have such-and-such a thing to sell. Here it is, give it to a broker." The landlord replies, "very well,"

accepts if from the stranger and gives it to the broker of his choice.

The broker goes with this thing to the market and hawks or displays it, yana talla. When someone offers to buy it, the broker goes and tells the landlord, but the broker says nothing to the stranger. The landlord tells the stranger, "Someone has offered to buy your thing at such-and-such price." The stranger replies, "That is not enough," and the landlord tells the broker, "He says it is not enough."

The broker returns to display his goods once more. When a bigger price is offered, he goes and reports it to the landlord: it goes on like this until the landlord finally says to the stranger, "That is the price of this thing in our town," so the stranger says, "Very well, I accept the offer." The landlord says to the broker, "He has agreed to the offer," and the broker asks, "Where is the person who counts the money?"

If the stranger has a boy with him, the lad follows the broker who takes him to the buyer. The broker receives his commission, la'ada, and the boy counts the money. If the stranger has no boy, he either goes himself or the landlord sends his boy. This is the work of the broker.

If the stranger wants to buy something in Hausaland, he tells his landlord, "I want to buy such-and-such a thing," and the landlord replies, "Let's go to the market." When they arrive at the market they sit in the stall of the landlord, but if he has no stall, they sit in someone else's stall. The landlord tells the stranger, "Look, and when you see the thing you want, I will do the bargaining for you."

When they see the thing they want, they say, "You, broker! Bring that thing!" When he comes, the landlord says to him, "How much is that

thing?" and the broker replies, "20,000 cowries." The landlord says, "I'll give 7,000," and the broker replies, "Not enough!" The landlord raises his offer to 7,500, but the broker says, "No deal!" So the landlord offers 8,000, but the broker is not impressed and says, once more, "Not enough." The landlord then says, "Go and tell my offer to the owner." The broker agrees and goes, while the landlord says to the stranger, "If they won't sell it, let's raise our offer," and the stranger agrees.

When the broker returns, he replies, "Not enough," and the landlord says, "Well then, it's bought for 8,500!" But the broker replies, "No deal," so the landlord says, "Well, 9,000, and we will stop if it is not left at that." The broker says, "Very well, keep it while I go and tell the owner." He goes and waits, and returns. He says to the landlord, "Very well," and the landlord says to the stranger, "You have bought it!" Well, that's bargaining!

Brokers do not go about hawking or displaying slaves of pack-animals. The slaves are sold in stalls, and there is a place for tying pack-animals and the buyer goes there to make his purchase.

There is the dishonest landlord who swindles the stranger. A broker does the following when he wants to cheat the owner he is selling for. When someone offers 7,000 for the item, the broker tells the owner that 6,000 has been offered. If the owner says, "Not enough," and the offer is increased to 8,000 he tells the owner it has been increased to 7,000. Well, if the owner agrees, the broker goes to the buyer and says, "The offer is agreeable, give me the money." When he receives the money, he sets aside 1,000 for himself. Then he calls the owner and gives him 7,000, and the owner then gives him his commission!

bungubungu, made from the trunk of the deleb-palm or some other wood. It is also tied with tanned oxhide. There are no big boats in Hausaland and they don't put horses or cattle in these small boats. Rather, people sit at the back of the boat and hold them while they swim. Nufe is an exception where they have large boats and horses are put on them.

When long distance traders are in the wilderness, and there are no towns nearby, they do the following when they come to a river. They take the large hide pads, laferai, from the pack animals, roll them, and draw them together with a piece of rope to make them airtight, and when put in the water they float. The baggage is placed on it and one person swims behind pushing while another person swims in front pulling until they cross the river. This is called "oxhide ferrying," fiton kilago, and it is only done by long distance traders. Perhaps it is only done by those long distance traders going to Gonja.

In every land where there is a river there is a "river ruler," sarkin kogi, who settled disputes over ferrying. Ferry money goes to the king, and a portion goes to the "boat ruler," sarkin jirgi.

Road Tax - Garama

The tax paid on the road is called garama. It is not one fixed amount: the rulers don't say "each animal costs such and such amount"; rather, they look at the size of the caravan before they say how much they want.

This is why the caravan leader has a malam who keeps a record of road taxes and individual contributions for him: he is called the "accountant malam," malamin takarda. At each town they come to, the caravan leader receives contributions from the traders and gives them

to the malam who makes a record on paper; each thing is recorded separately.

In the caravan there are "camp section headmen," iyayen safu, to whom the members of that section give their contribution, and they carry it to the leader. Their names are recorded. The people of the camp section call this headman, "father of our section," uban safunmu, and he calls them "people of our section," 'yan safunmu.

It continues like this until one day the caravan leader says to the guide and deputy, "Tomorrow we are going to count up the pack-animals." At the break of dawn, the guide goes and intercepts the caravan at a place where the road meets a stream. The accountant malam and guide are with him, and the guide counts the pack-animals while the malam records and the deputy keeps watch. If someone wants to argue, the deputy shouts at him. This activity is called "counting the pack-animals," k'idan bisa. When they finish, they add up all the figures and then say, "The caravan has such-and-such number of pack-animals." That's all.

When they arrive at a big town near Gonja, the caravan leader tells the guide, deputy, and malam, "On such-and-such a day we will total up the road taxes and each will pay his share." This is repeated until everybody knows about it. When the day arrives, they gather together under a big shady tree. The caravan leader is there too: a wealthy caravan leader is never present at the counting of the pack-animals, but every caravan leader goes to the place where they compute the individual contributions to the road tax.

When they finish the gathering, the caravan leader says, "Malam, bring the accounts of the pack-animals." The malam brings them and the

tallies on the pack-animals are all added up. Then he said, "Bring the accounts of the individual contributions along the way," and they tally up the contributions which were given all together. Then they say, "The contributions that we gave are valued at so many million cowries, and our pack-animals number this many. Well, malam and deputy, you figure out the individual contributions to the road tax!" The malam and deputy add it up and say, "Every animal has this much tax." It is said that two porters have the price of one donkey. This activity is called "computing the contributions to the road tax," fasa garama.

They add up everyone's contribution. The person who has contributed more than the tax on his pack-animals has given an extra amount, and they say "He is owed such-and-such," and he is paid. The person who contributed goods valued at less than the tax on his pack-animals must increase his payment: it is said they "are owed by him" and they record the debtor's name and the amount of his debt.

The pack-animals belonging to the guide, deputy, malam and caravan leader, are not counted because these men bear the burden of the caravan. Caravan leaders have plenty of problems and the weak cannot do it.

The drum, gangu, is very useful in the caravan. If people go to the wilderness and get lost, the drum is beaten so they will hear it and know the location of the camp. Also, when it is about time to leave a big town where they have stayed a number of nights, the caravan leader says, "Drummer, tonight beat the departure drum!" The drummer beats this message on the drum: "It's been a long camp, it's been a long camp, let's go!" and the people know they will depart in the morning.

There is the very wealthy caravan leader, and there is the caravan

leader who has no wealth aside from that made in his trade. When the caravan returns to its town of origin, the ruler does not probe or ask the caravan leader about anything he might have done to the traders along the way.

Kola - Goro[53]

The Hausa people are so fond of kola or the kolanut, goro, that it will buy anything: a man can give it as payment and it will be accepted.

When people are going to buy kola they bargain for a calabash measure, k'warya guda, of 100 kolanuts. When a price is agreed upon for one calabash, they measure the total number of calabashes in the lot. An extra kolanut, "son of counting up," 'dan k'ida, is added free to each calabash measure.

In Hausaland, when a stranger with kola is staying in the house of one man, and a potential buyer is staying in the house of another man, they bargain over the kola and on each calabash they set aside two kolanuts, "sons of counting up," 'yan k'ida, as a gift: one goes to each of the landlords.

In the market there are kola brokers, dilalin goro, who have stalls for selling kola. When a man is going to take kola to the market, he adds one 'dan k'ida for each calabash of kola, and when it is sold the broker takes the 'dan k'ida for each calabash sold as his commission. He picks the one he wants - they are not picked for him by the buyer - but he doesn't take his commission until they are sold. If they are not sold, the kola is returned to the house along with the 'yan k'ida.

There are many men and women in Hausaland - some of whom are important people - who buy kola in bulk from long distance traders and

sell them one by one. These people are called "basket people," 'yan tererai, because they hawk the kola in small baskets, tererai.

Kola is sometimes scarce and sometimes abundant. A calabash sometimes sells for 10,000 cowries, and at other times it may sell for 15,000, 20,000, 25,000, or 30,000 cowries.

When long distance traders take kola to a place to sell, they sort it into five groups.[54] First, they sort out those that are split, b'ab'are, and then they sort out the white ones, farashe, the small ones, menu, the medium sized ones, saran waga, and the big ones, marsa. Some also take out the very big ones, goriya, while others don't bother.

The Baribari people of Bornu like the big ones very much, and they don't like the small ones at all. They buy the middle sized ones when they cannot get the big ones.

Varieties of Kola - Irin Goro[55]

Jan karago[56] is the nut which the kola tree bears at the beginning of the harvest season. When it is pure red, jan, it is taken to Hausaland where it is highly prized, and considered "new kola," sabon goro.

Gama gari[57] is available in the middle of the harvest season: it is the kola of the hot season just before the rains, bazara. It is called gama gari, "all over town," because it is abundant and harvested in large quantities.

Nata[58] comes at the end of the harvest season: it is produced during the rainy season. It is often ruined by insects, and it is said the name originates from this saying: Goronto (nata). Ita wa? Ita sankara! Since nata means "her" in Hausa, the saying means: "Her kola. Who is she? She is the insect which ruins it!"

These three varieties of kola are from the same tree, and they are Asante kola, but the Hausa people call it Gonja kola. It is the kola which is best known, best liked, and traded most in Hausaland.

In Adamawa there is a variety of kola called ganjigaga.[59] It damages easily by breaking into sections, and it has a rough surface. It is worthless and people don't like it. A second kind of kola from Adamawa is called "son of Laka," 'dan Laka,[60] after a town. People don't care for it much, but it is better than ganjigaga. A third type from Adamawa is called "son of Kotafo," 'dan Kotafo,[61] after a town. It's not popular in Hausaland, but it is better than 'dan Laka.

In Nufe there is a variety of kola called Labuje.[62] People like it very much, but it is scarce and hard to get. In Nufe there are nine towns, one of which is named Labuja, where it is found. The ruler owns the forests in which it grows. A second variety of kola there is named hannu ruwa,[63] and the forest where most of it is found is named Alofa. It damages easily by breaking into sections, and it is slimy. Women like to stain their teeth with it, and it is very popular in Bornu. There is a type of hannu ruwa called gazari,[64] which is very large, but people don't like it much.

In Yaraba land there is a variety of kola named ibi, and the Hausa people call it goron biri, "monkey kola."[65] It is very bitter and people don't like it. In Kong there is a variety of kola called "white kola," farin goro,[66] and at Shika there is a type of kola which people like, but it is not brought to Hausaland very often.

When kola sits for a long time and ages, people call it dabshe and it is cheap.

Kola Pests and Diseases - Cutocin Goro

Sankara is a major kola pest.[67] It is a type of white worm which enters and eats the nut. The nut becomes black and eventually sankara eats it all. When it eats the nut it grows wings and flies. Turi also turns kola black, like donkey dung.

Masasara is when a whole load of kola spoils at the same time. It stinks and is useless, so it must be thrown away.

Bakin bakaba is black kola, and the reason it has turned black might be age. Another problem is "sun," rana, which is not caused by a pest: it is the heat of the sun which completely destroys the kola. Dried kola are made with these nuts: when kola is scarce, or expensive, people wet them and eat them.

There is "withering," yaushi: it is not a disease because it is caused by the dry wind. When kola is not tied securely in containers, the dry wind comes into contact with it and causes it to wither.

There are people in Hausaland who are addicted to kola: if they don't eat it, they feel like vomiting.

In Hausaland, there is a type of tree called durumi,[68] and its fruit has the bitter taste of kola. Some poor people, and children, eat it as if it were kola, but it is a worthless substitute!

Salt - Gishiri

In Hausaland, the most important salt, gishiri, for trade is Foga salt, gishirin Foga. The name comes from the marsh, flooded in the wet season, called Foga in the land of Kabi.[69]

This salt is made by boiling the marsh water. When people want to make it, they go to Foga and take up the damp soil and let it drip. They catch the water and pour it into a small earthenware bowl, kasko,

and boil it until the water "dries up" and has become like "soil": this "soil" is Foga salt. Small bags are made to transport it, and it is an important item of long distance trade: about 20,000 donkeys carry Foga salt each year.[70]

Another source, near Foga, in the land of Kabi is the Kulwa marsh. The salt is called "son of Suru," 'dan Suru, after a town at the mouth of the marsh. The salt is boiled there, but the sale of Foga is superior to it.

There is a type of red salt called Beji after the source in the land of Adar. There is the salt of Awai called "son of Awai," 'dan Awai, from the place by that name near Kefi in Zazau.

There is a type of salt called zarmaganda, after a place near Songhai. It is not good: it is bitter and people do not like it.

Bilma salt is named after the town of Bilma north of Lake Chad. The people of Azbin bring a lot of it on camels to Hausaland. It is not boiled. It is mixed into a paste and kneaded into a conical shaped block. This salt is consumed in such vast quantities in Kano that one would think it was Kano salt.

There is Beza salt from the town of Beza in Azbin. It is a type of white salt which is brought in small mouthed leather bags from Azbin. It is superior to Bilma salt, and the rulers and wealthy people use it.

From Lake Chad in Bornu comes the salt called mangul. It is like mud, tab'o, which is put into a small round earthenware vessel and roasted. The container is then broken and the round "ball," cibri, of salt is taken out: the "ball" is called "mangul vessel," kaskon mangul. There is also a type of mangul called mandu which is black.

There is a kind of marsh salt called gallo. It is white and

extracted from water. It is made into a long, broad sheet which is called a "gallo shield," garkuwar gallo, or a "shield of salt," garkuwar gishiri. It is from Todana, or Toadeni, in the land of Azbin, and is traded at Timbuktu, Kunare in Masina, Garnati in Libtako, and long distance traded to the lands of Moshi and Kong.

Foga salt is put in bags called langaye, and Bilma salt is made into conical blocks called kantuna, and slabs called asurmai. The salt of Awai is packed into a load called baura, and that of Zarmaganda is packed into a load called adila. Mangul salt is made into a "ball" the shape of the vessel, kasko, while gallo is made into a shield, garkuwa, and Beza salt is poured into small-mouthed bags, made of goat or sheep-skin, called sukulmi.

In the land of Gonja, there is a town called Daboya. There is a kind of salt at Daboya which is boiled like Foga salt, and put into a kororo bag called faifai made from palm fronds. The salt of Addah, at the mouth of the Volta River, is not boiled: it is scooped from the lagoon.

The salt of Kakanda, a town in Nufe, is pure white, but I believe it has been brought to them by the Europeans.

There is a type of worthless salt called zakankan: it is made from the ash of "water lettuce," kainuwa,[71] a floating plant which is gathered and burned for this purpose.

Footnotes to Chapter 8

1. Boahen, A. Adu, "The Caravan Trade in the Nineteenth Century," Journal of African History, III, 2 (1962), 349.

2. Ibid.

3. Palmer, H. R., Sudanese Memoirs, III, 109.

4. Ibid., 109-110.

5. Ibid., 111.

6. Ibid., 112.

7. Note Barth's remark in Travels and Discoveries..., I, 505: "With regard to the growth of the town, we have expressed testimony that Dala was the most ancient quarter. The steep rocky hill, about 120 feet high, naturally afforded a secure retreat to the ancient inhabitants in case of sudden attack...."

8. Ibid., III, 357,

9. Bovill, E. W., "Jega Market," Journal of the African Society, XXII, LXXXV, Oct. 1922, 56-57.

10. Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 463, 476.

11. Bovill, E. W., "Jega Market," 58.

12. Smith, M. G., "Exchange and Marketing Among the Husa," in Bohanna, P., and G. Dalton, Markets in Africa, 310.

13. Ibid., 304.

14. Palmer, H. R., Sudanese Memoirs, III, 123.

15. Hiskett, M., "Materials Relating to the Cowry Currency of the Western Sudan - II," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, XXIX, 2 (1966), 366.

16. Hiskett, ibid., 355, suggests that cowries came to Hausaland in large numbers from the south to pay Sharefa for slaves.

17. For a brief, late 18th century account of the brokers, see Shabeeny in Hodgkin, T., Nigerian Perspectives, 187.

18. For an earlier account see Captain Clapperton in Bovill, E. W., ed., Missions..., 651-653.

19. For a short history of the camel in Africa, see Bovill, E. W., The Golden Trade of the Moors, 41-42; also see 17-18.

20. The most important trans-Saharan trade route in the nineteenth century, according to Boahen, A. Adu, "The Caravan Trade...," 352.

21. See Bovill, E. W., ed., Missions..., vol. II, pt. 1, 183; Mauny, R., Tableau Geographique de L'Ouest Africain au Moyen Age, 334; and Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., I, 312, 439, 503, 533, 539.

22. See Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., Adamawa Past and Present, 40, 54.

23. Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., III, 98.

24. See ibid., III, 147, 201, 205; also Trimingham, J. S., A History of Islam in West Africa, footnote on page. 37.

25. Bovill, E. W., "Jega Market," 53.

26. Goody, J., and T. M. Mustapha, "The Caravan Trade from Kano to Salaga," Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, III, 4 (June 1967), 612.

27. Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 103.

28. Russell, T. A., "The Kola of Nigeria and the Cameroons," Tropical Agriculture, 32, 3 (July 1955), 211.

29. (Sterculiaceae) Cola acuminata, Abata Kola. Ibid., 214.

30. Presumably Cola anomala. Ibid., 221.

31. Cola nitida. Ibid., 218.

32. Levtzion, Nehemia, Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa, 18. An interesting account of the 19th century policy of Asante toward Hausa trade is Wilks, I., "Asante Policy Towards the Hausa Trade in the Nineteenth Century," in Meillassoux, Claude, The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa, 124-145. It is also worth noting that these Mande traders might have been taking kola north from Asante along the gold route at an early date, for according to Mauny, al-Omari refers to what was most likely kola in the 14th century Mali. Mauny, R., Tableau..., 249. Of course, the forests of Ivory Coast, Liberia, or Sierra Leone might have been the source for Mali, or for Cape Verde, based on Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 104: "Early accounts (sixteenth century) mention that the people of the Cape Verde region chewed kola nuts to enable them to go without food, to quench thirst, and (like the olive in Europe) to improve the quality of drinking water."

33. Nadel, S. F., A Black Byzantium, 90.

34. Russell, T. A., "The Kola...," 219.

35. Nadel, S. F., A Black Byzantium, 231-232.

36. Palmer, H. R., Sudanese Memoirs, III, 109, during the reign of Dauda (A.D. 1421-1438).

37. Barth, Travels and Discoveries..., I, 370-391-392, 452-453; and III, 613.

38. For an account of desert salt, see Mauny, R., Tableau..., 321-334.

39. Barth, H., Travels and Discoveries..., III, 164.

40. Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., (Salvadoraceae) Salvadora persica, Salt brush, 292-293; (Pedaliaceae) Sesamum indicum, Sesame, 447-449; (Acanthaceae) Hygrophila spinosa, 451; (Palmae) Hyphaene thebaica, 508; also Dalziel, J. M., Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, "kankami," 56; also see Mauny, R., Tableau..., 334.

41. Also see Kirk-Greene, A.H.M., Adamawa Past and Present, 109.

42. Barth. H., Travels and Discoveries..., III, 164-165.

43. "those who sell by the measure."

44. or, petty traders.

45. I.e., it's not a market without them.

46. However, he subsequently says that "jega is a small town but it has a Friday market," hence it is not clear whether or not there was a Friday market in Jega.

47. This is one of the few places where there is ambiguity which makes it worth while to include the full Hausa passage: A Hausa manyan garuruwa kasuwansu suna cikin birni: birnin Kano de Sakoto da Gandu da Jega de Zazau da Katsina da Daura. Su ne kuwa ba su fashin ci, ina tamaha kasuwa duka da ta ke wajen birni, tana fashin ci, don hakanan kasuwa Sakoto cikin gari ta ke amma tana fashin ci; ranan Jimau ta ke ci, haka Gandu, haka Jega, amma kasuwar birnin Kano ba ta fashin ci haka birnin Zazau haka Katsina.

48. East African port on Indian Ocean at mouth of Red Sea.

49. For other accounts of bargaining, see Taylor, F. W., Labarum Al-adum Hausawa..., 222-225; and Rattray, R. S., Hausa Folk-Tales..., II, 222-232.

50. This is indigo dyed cloth which is deep blue-black in color.

51. For other accounts, see the Krause mss., Mitteilunger des Seminars fUr Orientalische Sprachen, 1928. These appear in Olderogge, D. A., Zapadnyi Sudan, as articles 15, 26, and 27. T. M. Mustapha has done an English translation which appears in Goody, J., and T. M. Mustapha, "The Caravan Trade from Kano to Salaga," The Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, III, 4, June 1967, 611-616.

52. Barth notes these gourd, or calabash, ferries far from Kano, Travels and Discoveries..., I, 581; and III, 35, 190-191

53. See ibid., III, 363-364.

54. See ibid., 363; and Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 101.

55. For more Hausa vocabulary, see ibid., 101-102; and Dalziel, J. M., A Hausa Botanical Vocabulary, 41.

56. "A rough skinned nut (possibly resulting from insect infestation) from a premature or early crop (Feb.) which spoils easily." Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 102.

57. "A crop which matures at the height of the season and remains several months on the trees." Ibid.

58. Dalziel, ibid., has a different account: "A red smooth nut, usually small and said to be the product of an early immature crop readily spoiling."

59. "A pale or white nut from Adamawa with several cotyledons, viscid and of inferior quality." Ibid.

60. "A pale nut like hannun ruwa ("watery hand"), but much larger." Ibid.

61. "'Dan kwatahu or 'dan katahu...a pale, red, viscid nut regarded in Adamawa as the best locally, grown or found wild in forests and ravines south of the Benue, in Cameroons from Yaunde, etc; this variety...is of great repute and sent for from long distances by persons who know it." Ibid., 101.

62. See discussion in introduction to this chapter.

63. "A pale red nut with several cotyledons with viscid juice sticky to the touch, an inferior grade chewed with tobacco flowers to make the mouth red....A proverb contrasts the flesh of the vulture with good meat as the hannun ruwa with true kole." Ibid.

64. "A viscid red nut like hannun ruwa of several cotyledons, said to be grown in Nupe and south of the Benue. Ibid., 101-102.

65. Called obi-edun in Yoruba, it is "probably a form of Cola verticillata....This variety is so bitter as to be considered unfit for eating. It is, however, used medicinally...." Russell, T. A., "The Kola...," 221-222.

66. "Kola nuts are classed according to the colour, red, white, or pink. White are preferable and command a much higher price...The same tree may bear nuts of different coulours..." Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 102.

67. The kola weevil, (Curculionidae) Balanogastris kolae. "The presence of the pest ir speedily recognized when the nuts are split by the occurrence of holes and tunnels in the tissue...." Russell, T. A., "The Kola...," 227. It should be noted that the Hausas took preventive measures: "Pawpaw juice, along with a cold fusion of the bark of Rauwolfia vomitoria is used by Hausa traders in Sierra Leone as a preservative for kola nuts against weevils, etc." Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 52. Russell, T. A., "The Kola...," 228, remarks: "The chief measures taken by the kola trader to reduce spread of the pest are the frequent inspection of his product, the removal of any nuts seen to be infested, and sometimes the application to the stored nuts of 'medicines' such as ground capsicums (red peppers) or chopped lemon-grass (Cymbobogon citratus)."

68. (Moraceae) Ficus polita. "The figs are more or less edible, or the juice may be sucked without swallowing the flesh and seeds. In some parts they are said to be chewed like kola and sold in the markets for that purpose under the name 'dan kumasa, probably referring to Kumasi and the association of the tree with Ashanti." Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 281.

69. According to Barth, Travels and Discoveries..., III, 166, the valley of Foga forms the boundary between the Hausa and Songhai languages. Thus, we can see how Mauny might think these salt works were in the land of the Djerma, or Songhai-speaking peoples. Mauny, R., Tableau..., 332.

70. In an article published in 1922, Bovill says the Foga salt works have "an annual output of about 700 tons of salt." Bovill, E. W., "jega Market," 57.

71. (Araceae) Pistia stratioties. "The ash of the burnt plant is called in Hausa zakankau, also dalam, an article used in place of salt.... Medicinally this is specially used to apply to ulcerative conditions of the mouth and tongue....It is also taken internally...." Dalziel, J. M., Useful Plants..., 483.

CONCLUSION

Imam Imoru has provided us with a learned and fascinating account of Hausa society in the nineteenth century. It is rich in detail and unusually comprehensive: nothing is contrived; he describes the society as he knew it and the institutions as he experienced them.

This description is also unique. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Africa were a period of European invasion, conquest, and domination. African independence, initiative, and creativity were stifled. The conquerors rewrote the history of the Africans, and described the pre-colonial African societies as being in need of European "civilization." Conquerors are seldom just to the conquered.

Imam Imoru's account of pre-colonial Hausa society is one of the few African accounts which survived the period of European rule. Its strength lies in its authorship: it was written by an African who speaks for his people. It is quite clear that Imoru was a perceptive and outstanding historian and poet, and his African background should give his works an enduring quality and ensure that they remain a primary source of information for nineteenth and early twentieth century West African history.

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