THE STATE AND THE ECONOMY: THE SARAUTA SYSTEM AND ITS ROLES IN SHAPING THE SOCIETY AND ECONOMY OF KANO WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE EIGHTEENTH AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES

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dominant group and the talakawa.

The demand for revenue and other goods, particularly military equipment, made the masu sarauta to participate actively in the economic activities, thereby leading to the involvement of the state in all sectors of the economy. This constituted the foundation of the economy which expanded considerably in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. By the eighteenth century Kano had emerged as one of the wealthiest states of the Bilad as-Sudan.

But the increasing demand for revenue brought about by a considerable increase in the number of masu sarauta, the expensive life-style of this group and the rise in the cost of maintenance of security, forced the rulers to continually introduce new fiscal measures which bordered on naked exploitation of the talakawa. This gave rise to a number of revolts and migrations in the eighteenth century.

By the later part of the eighteenth century the burden of the sarauta system had become too heavy to be borne by the talakawa. This and the militant preachings of the malaman kirgi raised the political consciousness of the talakawa. Under the leadership of the malaman kirgi, they were organised to change the deplorable

ABSTRACT.

The subject of this study is the roles which the sarauta system played in shaping the society and the economy of Kano, especially in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The development of the sarauta system and its roles are traced from the period of the establishment of the state of Kano to the nineteenth century, when the system was toppled and restored.

The genesis of the sarauta state were the settlements which emerged in the various regions of Kasar Kano in the early time. It was here that the first sarakuna emerged. The parallel political developments in the various major early settlements were affected by an equal distribution of natural resources. The consequence of this was the eventual tilt in the balance of power between the regions, particularly the leading centres of power. This ultimately resulted in the emergence of a single dominant centre of power in the central region, in the area of Dala.

Employing different means and methods, the authorities of the area of Dala gradually brought under control the neighbouring settlements. One of the attendant results

of the military campaigns was the emergence of professional warriors whose numbers and influence swelled and outstripped those of the pre-existing masu sarauta.

Together with the leading members of the newly arrived groups, particularly the Wangarawa, the descendants of masu sarauta of the area of Dala and the jarumai constituted the core of a new group clustering around the newly emerged Sarkin Kano.

The accumulation of wealth by the officials of Sarkin Kano, particularly the jarumai, endangered the authority of Sarkin Kano. The response to this threat by the successive sarakuna of Kano culminated in the successful attempt made by Muhammadu Rumfa to establish a powerful institution of Sarkin Kano. The policies he introduced made it possible to establish the sarauta system on a solid foundation and his style of government set the pattern for the succeeding sarakuna and Emirs of Kano to the end of the nineteenth century, except for the short period of the reign of the first Emir at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The increase in the number and power of the masu sarauta which was accompanied by increasing inequality in access to wealth which was engendered by the sarauta system, further widened the gap between the socially

conditions under which they were living. Their movement succeeded when it joined forces with similar movements in the western parts of Hausaland, centred around Shehu Usman dan Fodio. From that association they gained moral support, experiences in organisations, strategies, and tactics.

The ensuing Jihad wars between the Jama'a and the ruling class eventually ended in victory for the former. By the end of the military campaigns, however, the rank of the Jama'a had been swelled by opportunists so that by the time they had occupied the Birni and established the Emirate, an intense struggle had started among the new rulers over offices and material gains.

The spirit of the Jihad movement, the dominance of the influence of pious malamai, and the arrival of Abdullahi dan Fodio, however, allowed sanity to prevail for some time. This resulted in the establishment of a government guided by Islamic ideals which came very close to the aspiration of the Jihadists.

But the failure of the first generation of the Jihad leaders to transform the institutions and structures of the state radically, made it possible for their successors to restore the sarauta system in order to

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ABBREVIATIONS.

A.B.C. = Abdullahi Bayero College (Kano).

A.B.U. = Ahmadu Bello University (Zaria).

B.S.O.A.S. = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

B./b./Ibn(Arabic) = son of.

C.W.A.S. = Centre of West African Studies.

Fn./fn. = Footnote.

F.R.N. = Federal Republic of Nigeria.

I.A.R. = Institute for Agricultural Research.

I.F.A.N. = Institut Francais de l'Afrique Noire.

I.U.P. = Ibadan University Press/Indiana University Press.

J.A.H. = Journal of African History.

J.A.S. = Journal of African Society.

J.H.S.N. = Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria.

J.M. = Jos Museum.

K.U.P. = Khartoum University Press.

Lit./lit. = literally.

L.U.P. = London University Press.

M. = Malam.

N.A.K./NAK = National Archives, Kaduna.

N.H.R.S. = Northern History Research Scheme.

N.I.S.E.R. = Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research.

N.N.P.C. = Northern Nigeria Publishing Company.

No./no. = Number.

O.U.P. = Oxford University Press.

P./p. = Page.

Pl./pl. = Plural.

pp. = Pages.

s./sing. = Singular.

S.N.P./SNP = Secretary to the Northern Provinces.

U.K. = United Kingdom.

U.W.P. = University of Washington Press.

Vol./vol. = Volume.

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GLOSSARY.

Note: Unless otherwise stated, all words listed are of Hausa origin.

Adalchi (Arabic)	acting justly, honestly.
Akushi (pl. akussa) ...	wooden food bowl.
Algaita	type of reed instrument.
Alewa	type of sweet made from honey, sugar, etc.
Alharine (Arabic)	various silky fabrics.
Allera	heddle of loom separating warp from woof.
Almajiri (Arabic; pl. almajirai) ...	disciple/pupil.
Almuharibun (Arabic). ...	brigands.
Alkyabba	burnous.
Amarya (pl. amare)	bride.
Angó	bridegroom.
Annoba	widespread epidemic.
Ardo (Fulfulde)	clan head.
Attajiri (pl. attajirai)...	rich merchant.
Audugan tsamiya	tamarind tree cotton.
Asali (Arabic)	origin.
Aure	marriage.
Azara	section of split tree used for roofing.

(B)

Baba	dye.
Bafade (pl. fadawa) ...	courtier.
Bagaruwa	Egyptian mimosa (Acacia arabica).
Bako (pl. baki)	guest.
Baki	black.
Bakuwa	female guest.
Bakunchi	being guest.
Balad-al-Kha'uf (Arabic)	the country of fear.
Balad-al-Sayf (Arabic) ...	the country of sword.
Balangandi	idle roving (Cochlos pernum).
Banten doki	horse tucks.
Bara (pl. barori)	client.
Baraka (Arabic)	blessing.
Bazara	hot season - just before the rains.
Bene	storey building.
Bindiga	gun.
Birni	city, urban centre.
Budi	flour.
Bunu (pl. bununuwa) ...	woman's black and blue cloth resembling gwado.

Buta (pl. butoci)	kettle.
Buzu (pl. buzuna)	undressed skin-mat.
Daddawa	locust bean cakes.
Dafi	poison.
Dagachi (pl. dagatai) ...	village head.
Daji (pl. dazuzzuka) ...	forest/bush.
Daki(n)	room (of).
Dan	son of.
Dalibi (Arabic; pl. dalibbai)	student.
Damina	rainy season.
Dan bugu	mallet.
Dankali	potatoe.
Dan tukunya	a basket made from geza shrubs for covering dye-pits.
Dawa	guinea corn.
Dillali (pl. dillalai) ...	broker.
Dinya	Vitex cienkowskii.
Dogari (pl. dogarai) ...	local administration police.
Doka (pl. dokoki)	order.
Doki (pl. dawaki)	horse.
Dorowa	locust bean tree (Parkia filicoidea).
Dukiya	wealth.

Dunguma	drive away (body of persons).
Dusa	bran.
Dutsen (lit. rock)	hill (of).
Fadama (pl. fadamomi) ...	marshy ground.
Fage	any cleared open space.
Faifai (pl. faya-fayi) ...	grass trays.
Falke (pl. fatake)	long-distance trader
Fansar kai	self redemption.
Fari	drought.
Fari	white (thread).
Farin wuta	sulphur.
Fartanya	hoe.
Figini	ostrich feather fan.
Fura	porridge.
Furi (firi)	first weeding of corn crop.
Fuska (pl. fuskoki) ...	face.
Furtali	blinders.
Gabu	cakes of pounded dried onion leaves.
Gaisuwa	homage.
Galma	hoe.
Gandu (pl. gandaye)... ...	large agricultural land.

Ganima(Arabic)...	booty.
Ganye	leaf.
Gari	(grain) flour.
Gawayi	charcoal.
Gawo	Acacia albida.
Gayauna(pl. gayauni) ...	small farm owned by member of compound privately.
Gayya	communal labour.
Gero	millet.
Geza (pl. gezoji)	mane (wild shrub).
Gida	house.
Giginya (pl. giginyoyi) ..	deleb palm (Borassus flabellifer)
Gona (pl. gonaye)	farm.
Gunduma (pl. gundumomi) ...	a sub-division under a district head.
Gwado	wooven cloth (heavier than loin cloth).
Gwanda (pl. gwandoji) ...	pawpaw/type of Kano gown.
Gyada	groundnut.
hakimi (Arabic; pl. hakimai) ...	(of recent) district head.
haram (Arabic)	unlawful.
hatsi	grains.
hendu (Fulfulde)	disease.
hijra (Arabic)	migration.

huda/noma...	ridging/farming.
hula (pl. huluna)	cap
hunturu	harmattan.
jallaba (Arabic)	mobile traders
jama'a (Arabic)	community.
jangali (Fulfulde)	cattle tax.
jarumi (pl. jarumai) ...	brave man.
jari	capital.
jaruntaka	bravery.
jakada (Arabic; pl. jakadu)	tax collector in pre-administrative times.
jigawa	sandy soil.
jizya (Arabic)...	poll tax on conquered non-Muslim.
kabba	gorriba palms.
kafi	stockade.
kaka	autumn.
kakaki	trumpet.
kalwa	seeds of locust bean tree.
kamazuru	reins.
kame	forceful seizure of maidens.
kane	younger brother.
kantu/ridi..	sesame

kanwa	potash.
kare(pl. kara)...	stalks.
karofi (pl. karofai) ...	dye-pit.
kasanki	rags for wrapping feet or hands in henna or for wrapping-up cotton goods.
kasa(r)	land (of).
kasheka	an office among Emir's slaves.
kasuwa	market.
katanga	wall built round a house.
katifa	mattress.
katsi	dried sediment of dye-pit.
kaya(n)	property (of).
kilishi	thin strips of meat dried in sun.
kofa(r) Arewa	gate (of) North(North Gate)
kore	grass-green, emerald-green.
kudi/kurdi..	money.
kuka	baobab.
kulikuli	small fried cakes made from residue after expressing oil from groundnuts.
kulki (pl. kulake)	cudgel.
kulle	purdah.
kunkuru	(lit.) tortoise.

kunu	gruel.
kuru	narrow (Maguzawa) drum tapped with hands.
kurufai	riding boots.
kurawa	ponnies.
kurkuku	prison.
kwabara	flute.
kwalkwali	a type of cap.
kwarkwaro	an object for wrapping and throwing of thread for weaving.
kuyanga (pl. kuyangi) ...	concubine.
la'ada (Arabic)	commission.
labuje	type of superior kola-nuts (from Nupe).
ladde (Fulfulde)	cancer.
lalle	henna.
lantana	brown stone used as jewellery.
laso	cement for sealing roofs and dye-pits.
laya (pl. layu)	charm.
lifidi	protective quilting for cavalry and cavalry horses.
likkafu	stirrups.

ma'aji	treasurer.
ma'auna	place where corn is sold by measure.
ma'auni	any measure.
ma'auniya	woman who sells corn by measure.
mabuga	a log on which clothing is beaten.
madaki	an important title and sarauta.
madinki	tailor.
madugu (pl. madugai) ...	headman of caravan.
mafechi	fan made from dum-palm leaves.
magaji	successor.
makadi (pl. makada)... ...	drummer
makarfo	Afromosia laxiflora.
makeri (pl. makera) ...	blacksmith.
malfa	hat.
malka	period from middle to end of wet season.
mangala (pl. mangaloli) ...	bag made of plaited dum-palm leaves.
mai-busa	musician.
mai-daki	Queen Mother.
mai-gida	head of a household.
mai-kitso	(hair) plaiter.

mai-kuge ... ... horn blower.

mai-shantu ... ... trumpeter.

mashekari ... ... wet season pastorage.

mace/mata ... ... woman/wife.

matsefi ... ... comb.

matsiyachi ... ... poverty-stricken.

mai-tuta ... ... flag bearer.

mai sarauta(pl. masu sarauta) = member of a ruling class.

massassabi ... ... axe.

masassaki.... .... wood carver.

mai-unguwa ... ... ward head.

mazarkwaila ... ... brown sugar.

mubaya'a (Arabic) ... ... paying homage.

muchiya (pl. muciyoyi) ... stick for stirring tuwo.

mujaddid (Arabic) ... ... reformer.

muhajirun (Arabic) ... ... people who performed Hijra.

murgu ... ... payment made by slave to his owner in lieu of working personally.

murtadi (Arabic) ... ... apostate.

muruchi/gazari ... ... shoot of deleb nut.

mutunchi ... ... treating others with due respect.

rangome	clemency.
ragwama	halters.
rawani	turban.
ribat (Arabic)	fortress.
ridi	Sesamun indicum.
riga (pl. riguna)	gown.
rimi (pl. rimaye)	while silk cotton tree.
ringasa	bargain, cheap.
rintsawa	sleeping.
rizga	the small edible tuber (Coleus potato).
rogo	cassava.
rubutu	writing.
ruga (pl. rugage)	Fulani cattle encampment.
rumfa (pl. rumfuna) ...	stall.
sana'a (Arabic)	occupation/trade/profession.
sabulun salo	type of Nupe soap.
sadaka (Arabic)	alms.
sha	drinking.
shari'a(Arabic)	Islamic law.
shimfida	beddings.
shuni	indigo prepared from plants.
saki	woven wrapper, cloth.

salama (Arabic).. ... ... greeting!

salga ... ... pit laterine.

sambattsai ... ... ornamented saldals.

samfola ... ... aluminium.

sarauta ... ... kingship.

sarki ... ... king.

sarkin Musulmi ... ... king of the Faithfuls.

sarkin noma ... ... king of farming.

sarkin samari ... ... leader of youths.

sirdi ... ... saddle.

soro (pl. soraye) ... ... flat-topped house.

sulke ... ... chain-armour.

su'udu (Arabic) ... ... room.

tabo ... ... mud.

tagguwa ... ... jumper.

talaka (pl. talakawa) ... commoner.

tagwayen masu ... ... twin spears.

tambari ... ... drum.

taqut ... ... tyrant.

Tara-ta-Kano ... ... an electoral council.

tozali ... ... antimony.

tsamiya ... ... Tamarindu indicus.

tsibiri (pl. tsibirai) ... island.

tsohuwa ... ... old.

tsumburrarre (pl. tsumburarru) = stunted.

turmi ... ... mortar.

tuwo ... ... cooked food.

uban kasa ... ... district head.

ulema (Arabic) ... ... scholars.

unguwa ... ... ward.

wa ... ... elder brother.

wanzami (pl. wanzamai) ... barber.

'yan alaro ... ... transporter of bulky goods.

'yan kwarami ... ... specialists in the sale of grains.

'yar ... ... daughter of.

yara ... ... children.

yumbu ... ... pottery clay.

zabuba ... ... severe pain.

zabuka ... ... saddle pad.

zalwami ... ... a type of cloth.

zane (pl. zannuwa) ... ... wrapper, cloth.

zango ... ... camping place of caravan.

zare	thread.
zaure	entrance porch (to a house).
zuga-zuga	bellows.
zakka (Arabic)	religious lithe payable on wealth by Muslims.

PREFACE.

This study of the state and the economy of Kano before the twentieth century covers wide-ranging developments from the earliest times right through the nineteenth century. Emphasis has, however, been laid on developments in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

The first chapter deals with a critical evaluation of the various sources, works, and studies which have been used for the study. Among the major aspects examined in this evaluation are the perceptions of the compilers and authors with the view to pointing out the strengths and limitations of the different sources and studies.

The second chapter describes the environment and the influx of peoples into Kasar Kano from the earliest times to the end of the nineteenth century. Regarding the former, a special emphasis has been laid on the distribution of resources in the various regions of Kano. This is necessary in order to understand how some regions became so dominant in the history of Kasar Kano.

In the third chapter an attempt has been made to trace the various stages involved in the emergence of the sarauta system and its development up to the end of the

seventeenth century. In addition, the various roles played by the state in the economy is discussed. From this discussion it becomes clear that by the end of the seventeenth century, a strong base has been established for the subsequent development of the economy of Kano.

The fourth chapter is on the proliferation in the sarauta system and the subsequent crisis which it generated in the eighteenth century. It begins with the discussion of urbanisation which was an important factor in the proliferation of the sarautu and ends with the examination of the various malpractices which gave rise to the crises, especially in the second half of the century, thus paving the way for the Jihad.

These crises culminated in the Jihad wars and the overthrow of Muhammad Alwali's region which is the subject of the fifth chapter. Among the issues discussed are: the establishment of the Emirate, the restoration of the sarauta system and the crystalisation of classes in the society.

The sixth chapter deals with agricultural and livestock production in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. This begins with the discussion of the various factors which promoted developments in these sectors of

the economy. It ends with an assessment of the quantity and quality of agricultural commodities and livestock. However, the discussion of industrial production which follows a similar pattern is treated in chapter seven.

The different aspects of internal and external trade of Kano in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries are discussed in the eighth chapter.

Finally an attempt has been made in the last chapter to draw attention to the major findings of this study.

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CHAPTER ONE

EVALUATION OF SOURCES AND WORKS ON THE HISTORY OF KANO BEFORE 1900 A.D.

For the reconstruction of the political and economic history of Kano, with special reference to the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, I have used different types of sources and works. As to be expected, each of these types of sources and works has its strengths and limitations. In order to attain a fairly balanced view of the history of Kano in the period under consideration, an evaluation of these different sources and works is necessary.

While some of the sources are central to this study and feature constantly because of the great amount of information they provide, others provide less information. This is not to imply that the last category is not important. In spite of their meagre information, they proved to be of great significance to the understanding of certain developments. A good example of the first

category is Tarikh Arbab hadha balad al-musamma Kano.[1] The second category is represented by G.L. Anania.[2]

Because of the great number of different sources and works used, it is difficult to evaluate all of them in this chapter. Also it is difficult to classify them into categories. Generally the sources and works used do not fall strictly into neat categories such as internal or external; primary or secondary; contemporary or otherwise. Even linguistic classification is hardly possible. For instance some of the Arabic manuscripts contain whole sentences or paragraphs written in Hausa language and therefore could hardly be considered completely Arabic. This is also true of the German manuscripts. Suffice to mention that in order to use effectively Tarikh Arbab, a collation of the Arabic and the Hausa versions was found to be necessary for the purpose of this study.

Just for the purpose of convenience, the various

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1. See Tarikh Arbab hadha al-balad al-musamma Kano (edited & translated by H.R. Palmer as "Kano Chronicle", Lagos, 1928), hereinafter referred to as Tarikh Arbab. For the purpose of convenience, the pages in Palmer's work will be used for citation throughout this thesis.

2. G.L. Anania, L'Universale fabrica del mondo, overo cosmografia, Naples, 1573, repr. 1596; partially translated into English by Abdullahi Smith, Kaduna, May 1977.

sources and works used in this study will be categorised into two broad groups: contemporary and others.

I. Contemporary Sources:

These are the sources which were written or compiled during the period covered by the study. This is not to indicate that they are strictly contemporary records of events they record. Some of them, like Tarikh Arbab, were compiled by several successive generations over a fairly long period of time. Therefore not all the compilers would be contemporary to all the events mentioned in the works. However, this category of sources were compiled either by participants or observers of the events they recorded.

(1) Unpublished Sources.

In this category, some of the works which were poorly translated and published were collated with Arabic and Hausa versions. Therefore they are treated here as manuscripts.

(a) Tarikh Arbab hadha al-balad al-musamma Kano.

This treats the history of the sarakuna and Emirs of Kano from the time of Barbushe, possibly before the beginning of the second millennium A.D., to the time of Emir Abdullahi, Muhammad Bello or Aliyu Babba at the end of the nineteenth century, depending upon the version one is using. The document appears to have been compiled in the seventeenth century from numerous other earlier records.[3] By the eighteenth century several versions of this document were in existence.[4] The various versions are written both in Arabic and Hausa languages. The most well-known of the versions is that of Palmer. But Palmer's translation is not satisfactory. Not only had he tended to translate away inconsistencies in the document, but he had also misapplied certain key concepts or added some key words which are not found in all known versions. These have led to a number of misinterpretations

3. Murray Last, "Historical Metaphors in the Intellectual History of Kano before 1800", paper presented to the Seminar on the History of the Central Sudan before 1804, Zaria, 8-13 January, 1979, p.3.

4. Muhammad Salih, Taqyid Akhbar Jama'at ash-Sheikh al-hadhina fi Kano wama jara bainahum wa baina al-taghut min al-hurub ...; collated and translated by I.U.A. Musa and Abdullahi Mahadi, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, April 1980.

of certain historical developments, especially regarding inter-state relations, for example between Hausaland and Borno, and between Kano and Katsina. There are also several discrepancies in writing place and personal names, omissions and additions reflecting the bias impression or ignorance of the translator. For these reasons, Abdullahi Smith and myself collated and translated several versions which I photocopied from the National Archives in Kaduna and those kept at the Arewa House, Kaduna. The version in Hausawa Da Makwabtansu was also used in the collation exercise.

The Tarikh Arbab is a unique document, because many of its assertions about historical developments from the first millennium A.D. to the end of the nineteenth century, have been corroborated by archaeological, oral, and written evidences. Many of the major developments mentioned in the document have also been corroborated by external sources.[5] It would seem therefore that, perhaps

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5. The discussion on iron-smelting and iron-working in the area of Dala in the document seems to have been confirmed by archaeological information. See Frank Willet, "A Survey of Recent Results in Radiocarbon of Western and Northern Africa", J.A.H., XII:3, 1971, p.368. The settlement mentioned in the document in the Challawa River Valley, in the area of Santolo, has been dated to about the eleventh century A.D. This information was communicated ...(cont'd

with the exception of the very early developments, the information found in the Tarikh Arbab is fairly accurate.

The Tarikh Arbab is more than a copy of king-list. One of the most important characteristics about the document is the critical attitude towards the policies of some of the rulers and the repressive social system they represented. In some of its accounts, there is a

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to me verbally by Ade Obayemi.

The arrival of Dagachi in Kano in the early fourteenth century A.D., as mentioned in the Tarikh Arbab, is corroborated by Bornoan sources. See J.A. Burdon, Northern Nigeria: Historical Notes on Certain Emirates and Tribes, London, Gregg International, 1909, p.22. Kano's contacts with scholars of North Africa in the second half of the fifteenth century, as mentioned in the document, has been corroborated in Muhammad al-Maghili's letter to Muhammadu Rumfa. See Abdullahi dan Fodio, Diya al-Siyasat.

Kano's military encroachments into the territory of Borno in the sixteenth century, as mentioned in the document, has been corroborated by Bornoan sources. See Imam Ahmed Ibn Fartuwa, History of the First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Aloma (translated & edited by H.R. Palmer), Lagos, 1926, p.30. Kano's relation with Katsina in the same period, as mentioned in the document, has been corroborated by Kitab ila ma'arifat umara kashna. Kano's commercial relations with the Volta basin, as mentioned in the document, seems to be corroborated by the findings of N. Levtzion. See N. Levtzion, Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa: A Study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in Precolonial Period, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968, pp.16-17.

Some developments in the Central Sudan in the seventeenth century, as described in detail in the Tarikh Arbab, have also been corroborated by .....(cont'd

degree of impartiality. The information it provides is quite useful, especially for understanding the processes of state formation in Kano, Kano's political, economic and military relations with the states of the Central Sudan and beyond, and the political and social situations which gave rise to the Jihad in Kano in the early part of the nineteenth century.

However, the document does present a number of problems. A number of passages, especially in the versions written in Arabic, cannot be deciphered even by multi-linguists.[6] This leaves important gaps in our understanding of developments in Kano as presented by the document.

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external documents. Kano' relations with Katsina in this period and the Kwararafa raids into Borno and Hausaland, have all been corroborated by external sources. See for example, H.F.C. Smith, "Arabic Manuscript Material Bearing on the History of the Western Sudan: A Seventeenth Century Writer of Katsina", Supplementary Bulletin of News of the Historical Society of Nigeria, vol.1, 1961, p.2.

Developments in Hausaland, Borno, and other parts of the Central Sudan in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, as described even with great precision in the Tarikh Arbab, have been corroborated by other sources. Both written and oral traditions in Kano have also corroborated the Tarikh Arbab even in greater detail.

6. I have sought the assistance of specialists in the Department of Nigerian and African Languages, A.B.U., Zaria, to solve this problem but all in vain.

Similarly, in some passages, there is no clear dividing-line between historical fact and legend. Also, like many other early records, it is often lacking in continuity and historical perspective, so that on some occasions narratives which start well are never completed, while other events are passed over in silence. Moreover, trivial events are set down in unnecessary details. Finally, the fact that the compilers of the document are not known is a major handicap in underlining their bias and consequently their colouring of the events.

The limitations mentioned notwithstanding, the Tarikh Arbab is probably the single most detailed historical document for the history of Kano before 1800 A.D. When it is used with other sources as in the case of this study, it yielded fruitful results.

(b) Waraqa Maktub fiha asl al-Wangariyin al-Muntasibin li Shaikh ....

This source is about the arrival of the Wangarawa in Kano under the leadership of Abd al-Rahman

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7. It was then published under the title: "A Seventeenth Century Chronicle on the Origins and Missionary Activities of the Wangarawa", Kano Studies, vol.1 no.4, 1968, pp.7-16. The manuscript is reproduced in this journal.

Zagaiti. It was recovered by Muhammad Al-Hajj in 1963. The authorship of the document is dated back to 1061 A.H. (1650/1 A.D.). The significance of the document lies in the fact that it corroborates the Tarikh Arbab in relation to its treatment of the arrival of the Wangarawa in Kano. The only problem is the difference in the time of the arrival of the Wangarawa in Kano as stated in the two documents. According to the Wareya Maktuba fiha ... the Wangarawa arrived in Kano in the time of Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa (c.1463-1499). But the Tarikh Arbab says that they reached Kano in the time of Sarki Yaji (c.1349-1385). M. Al-Hajj agrees with the account of the former source.

But the reasons Al-Hajj gives for supporting his argument are not strong enough.[8] In view of the consistent way in which the Tarikh Arbab has been reporting major developments in Kano (at least from the time of Muhammadu Rumfa) and in view of the significance attached to the arrival of this group by Tarikh Arbab, it is very difficult to believe that its compilers could have made a mistake in stating the date of the arrival of the Wangarawa. Secondly, there is every reason to believe that the writer

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8. For his reasons, see Kano Studies, vol.1 no.4, 1968, p.8.

or compiler of the Waraqa Maktuba fiha ... had his motives for shifting the period of the arrival of the Wangarawa to that of Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa. Until more information comes to light therefore, Al-Hajj's suggestion that the date provided for the arrival of the Wangarawa in Kano in the Tarikh Arbab, has to be taken with caution.[9]

Apart from the corroboration of the Tarikh Arbab, the Waraqa Mahtuba fiha ... also provides, even if indirect, useful information on how the ulema intimidated the sarakuna of Kano into granting them privileges in the state, especially in giving them land, their influence and involvement in the affairs of the state and other pieces of information relating to the development of the bureaucracy in the early period.

This document has a number of limitations. Its author(s) is not known. It is also quite clear that the writer was not contemporary to the developments he related. There is also the question of the motive for writing it. According to the author(s), the reason for "the writing of this grand document is the desire to

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9. Kano Studies, vol.1 no.4, 1968, p.8.

preserve the ties of kinship".[10] The descendants of Abd al-Rahman Zagaiti were also expected "to be advisors to the Sultans /Kings of Kano/ till the day of Resurrection".[11]

It would appear that there was a struggle between the descendants of Abd al-Karim al-Maghili and those of Abd al-Rahman Zagaiti over patronage from the sarakuna of Kano. Like many of the other documents written by the ulema who maintained close connections with the courts, the Waraqa Maktuba fiha ... is featured in many parts by false assertions. For example, the writer's claims that "only Muhammad Rumfa and a few men in his court were perfect Muslims" have been contradicted both by other sources[12] and Muhammadu Rumfa's practices. It may be necessary to point out here that all court ulema through-out the history of Kano seem to have had a wrong perception of a "perfect Muslim". This influenced both their works and the type of advice they offered to the sarakuna and Emirs. This also accounts for their perpetual enemity with the malaman kirgi (litterati) who

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10. See Kano Studies, vol.1 no.4, 1968, p.15.
11. ibid., p.14.
12. vide infra, pp.182-3.

were largely pious and had nothing to do with the courts and the talakawa (commoners). Therefore whether the document is authentic or not, it does reflect the type of relationship between the ulema and the state.

(c) Diya al-Siyasat.

This document was written by Abdullahi dan Fodio in 1235 A.H./1820 A.D. It contains, among other works, a letter from Abd al-Karim al-Maghili replying Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa's letter. The reply was written in the year 879 A.H.(1474/5 A.D.). It was translated by Professor Abdullahi Smith (Arewa House, Kaduna, July 1978).

Abd al-Karim al-Maghili advised Sarki Rumfa on the principles of state craft and Islamic jurisprudence. Apart from being the first known document treating Kano's relations with North Africa and the Sahara, thus corroborating the Tarikh Arbab, it also shows Muhammadu Rumfa's determination to establish a powerful state. Like al-Maghili's other document - the Obligation of Princes -, it deals very largely with theoretical aspects of Islam and it is not known to what extent Muhammadu Rumfa translated it into practice. But it does reflect the attempt made by some of the sarakuna to use Islam to

consolidate their positions.

(d) Taqyid al-Akhbar.[13]

This document contains the history of the Jihad and other related developments in Kano in the nineteenth century. The work was completed in 1868. The author, Muhammad Salih, was a descendant of one of the leading Jihad leaders in Kano. He was the Qadi (alkali - judge) of Emir Abdullahi b. Dabo (1855-1882). He was a contemporary of three Emirs of Kano - Ibrahim Dabo (1819-1846), Uthman b. Ibrahim (1846-1855), and Abdullahi b. Ibrahim Dabo. It also seems that he was old enough to understand developments in the time of Emir Suleiman (18061819).

Two versions of his work are extant, and both of them are kept in the N.H.R.S. Library. The variation in the texts are of minor significance. It is not known whether or not one of the two versions is the archetype. But I believe that the present text may be accepted with confidence as a faithful record of what Muhammad Salih wrote. The narrative of the Taqyid al-Akhbar is basically chronological. The two versions were collated and

13. Already a draft edition and translation is prepared ready for publication next year (1983).

translated by Dr. I.U.A. Musa, assisted by me, in April 1980.

The work is the single most important source for the political history of Kano in the nineteenth century. The author provides us with impressive details about situations in Kano on the eve of the Jihad, the preparation for and processes of the Jihad wars, the revolts which broke out during the time of Ibrahim Dabo, and the restoration of the sarauta system. He also provides useful information on the internal sources of slaves and urbanisation. For the most part, the information he provides is that of an eye-witness account. In some cases he acknowledged the sources of his other information.

However, the work suffers from a number of limitations. It seems clear that Muhammad Salih was commissioned specifically to write the account of the Jihad and its aftermath. What he described gives the impression that he attempted to advocate the cause of the status quo, especially when the system was facing a crisis. Therefore this limitation is very useful for the purpose of this study, as it enables us to see how the Jihad emirate perpetuated the evils which the Jihad tried to wipe out. It would therefore not be surprising that the author

would be indulging in biased reporting of events, exaggerating the successes or achievements of the ruling regimes, and withholding information unfavourable to the ruling class. He says nothing about the power struggle among the leading members of the Jama'a, the irreligious activities of these same people, and the rampant corruption and nepotism involving the Emirs whom he insisted were still "firmly living up to the rules of Islam". These are serious shortcomings of such an important source material for historical reconstruction. Once these shortcomings are guarded against, however, the document could prove to be useful, not only for the history of Kano, but also for those of the neighbouring Emirates like Katsina and Zazzau during the nineteenth century.

(e) Diya ul-Hukkam fima lahum wa ᶜalayhim min al-ahkam.

This work was produced around 1807-8 A.D. by Abdullahi dan Fodio at the request of the jama'a (community) of Kano soon after the overthrow of Muhammad Alwali's government. Its objective was the teaching of the rulers and the ruled on how to conduct their affairs

in accordance with the injunctions of Shari'a.[14]

The work seems to lack originality. This is particularly in view of Abdullahi's scholarly attainment. It consists of various judicial works of the Umayyad and the Abbasid periods as well as those of scholars from North Africa, for example al-Maghili. It is a "hastily compiled treatise" in which several contradictions featured in relation to the theory and practice of government. The extent of its influence on the society of Kano is not quite known, but the rulers appear to have utilised those sections of it which legitimised their tyrannical policies. It was certainly a useful tool in the hands of people like Emir Ibrahim Dabo and Muhammad Salih. So as a source for the reconstruction of the history of Kano, it is useful for the understanding of the transformation of the Jihad movement from a revolution into an established order

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14. The document was translated along with Usul ul-Siyasa by Muhammad Bello for an M.A. thesis. See Shehu Yamusa, The Political Ideas of the Jihad Leaders: Being Translation, Edition and Analyses of 'Usul ul-Siyasa' by Muhammad Bello, and 'Diya ul-Hukkan' by Abdullahi b. Fodio, M.A. thesis, A.B.C./A.B.U., Kano, 1975. The manuscript is reproduced in the thesis.

    Abdullahi's Diya ul-Hukkam has also been published in Hausa language under the title: Liya' ul-Hukkami (Hasken Mahukumta) by Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria.

which stressed the factor of stability rather than change.

(2) Published Sources.

(a) Jihad Writings:

Virtually all the sources which come under this section have been commented upon in the publications and theses or papers in which they appear. However, in such comments, the translators have not brought out clearly the significance or relevance of these sources for the history of Kano. Similarly, not all the sources deal directly with Kano. Some of them cover developments in the Caliphate in general and its adjacent areas. But three of them treated in detail developments which had direct bearing on the history of Kano. They will therefore be examined in greater detail.

One of the most well-known works of the Jihad leaders is Infaq al-Maisur by Muhammad Bello. I have used one translated into English for Dr. Y.B. Usman by Professor Abdullahi Smith.[15] The document refers to

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15. The translation of this document, according to Y.B. Usman, is based on two texts of the Infaq al-Maisur. They are: (1) The C.E.J. Whitting, 1951 London Edition, and (2) The Abubakar Gummi, 1964 Cairo Edition.

certain developments in Kano in relation to the Jihad. One of these was the attempt made by the sarakuna of Daura and Katsina to give aid to sarkin Kano in his struggle against the Jama'a and the defeat of the alliance by Dan Tunku. Another useful piece of information which had not been quite known that the documents brings to light was the attempt made by Sarki Alwali to stage a come-back after his expulsion and subsequent brief stay in Zaria. Alwali was encouraged in this bid by the news of the sarkin Katsina's attack on Umaru Dallaji.

On the other hand, Abdullahi dan Fodio's Tazyin al-Waraqat provides a first-hand information on situations in Kano soon after the overthrow of Alwali's regime. This is clearly brought out in his Qasida.[16]

Similarly, Usman dan Fodio's Tanbih al-Ikhwan[17] and Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa's Raudt al-Afkar[18] mention

16. See Abdullahi dan Fodio, Tazyin al-Waraqat, Caxton Hill, Hertford, Herts/Ibadan University Press, 1963, pp.121-4.

17. Usman dan Fodio, Tanbih al-Ikhwan (translated by H.R. Palmer), J.A.S., XII & XIV, 1913-15, pp.407-14, 53-59, 185-91.

18. Abd al-Qadir b. al-Mustafa, Raudt al-Afkar (translated by H.R. Palmer), J.A.S., XV:59, 1916, pp.261-73. Palmer wrongly attributed this work to Muhammad Bello.

certain events and developments in Kano which largely serve as a corroboration of other major sources on the history of Kano.

(3) Other Published Sources.

(a) The Song of Bagauda.

This Song which was recorded in 1960 by M. Hiskett, is of considerable antiquity. It was handed down from one generation to another from the time of Bagauda to 1953. There seems to be two other versions in existence. Both appear to have been written after 1919, but before 1926.

The main strength of the Song lies in its being a song, sang by many people, that it led to the preservation of the main theme. The addition to the original trunk of the poem could not distort its main thrust. Even the paraphrasing of the Song by the singer of one version has not altered the meaning fundamentally.

This source provides us with useful materials on early occurrence of drought which set off series of migrations and the beginnings of long-distance trade in the Central Sudan. There is at the moment no specific external evidence to confirm or date these early develop-

ments. But in relation to the droughts, the encroachment of the Sahara into the grassland savanna could provide a useful clue.

There are a number of problems and limitations related to this source. Like the Tarikh Arbab, the sense of certain passages are ambiguous, while certain verses are muddled up. The chronology of the Song of Bagauda is less reliable than that of the Tarikh Arbab. Also chronologically, it seems to be reliable only as from the period of the reign of Alwali. Thus the amount of information it provides is relatively scanty, but useful in filling in the gaps left by the information of other sources, especially in the social phenomenon such as droughts and famines.

(b) Nineteenth Century Hausaland by Imam Imoru.[19]

This is a unique piece of work. The primary information provided by Imam Imoru is put in its proper context and perspective by D.E. Ferguson through his useful introduction which is provided for each chapter.

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19. The collation, translation and edition of this work was carried out by D.E. Ferguson for his Ph.D. thesis. The full title is: Nineteenth Century Hausaland: Being a Description by Imam Imoru of the Land, Economy and Society of His People, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977.

Imam Imoru was born in the Birni in 1858, educated in the traditional Islamic disciplines between 1865 and 1891. He was a scholar who had a deep understanding of the society of Hausaland and its history. He was highly gifted in the use of figures to support his account.

The manuscript which was written between 1900 and 1910 deals with the land, economy and society of Hausaland in the nineteenth century. The manuscript was published as three articles in three issues of Mitteilungen des Seminars fur Orientalische Sprachen.[20] The rest of the materials were published by Adam Mischlich in his book, Uber die Kulturen in Mittel-Sudan.

The Hausa text as they appear in Mischlich's publication are often disjointed. D.E. Ferguson, however, has arranged them substantially for continuity.

Imam Imoru's information covers wide-ranging activities from agriculture to industry, slavery to kingship. Although the work is about the entire Hausaland, Kano has received adequate attention due to the author's intimate knowledge of that Emirate. His accounts on political institutions, the social structures and the contrast between the ruling class and the talakawa and slaves

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20. D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.2.

provides an insight view of an "insider". His accounts therefore clear up some of the misconceptions entertained by several European travellers through the Sudan during the nineteenth century.

It is most doubtful if there is one single source which provides more information about the various economic activities which were carried out in Hausaland, during the nineteenth century as Imam Imoru did.

The document, however, has a minor limitation as far as this study is concerned. That is in relation to chronology and the pre-nineteenth century history of Kano and the rest of Hausaland. His accounts of state formation in Hausaland in earlier times is just based on one of the versions of the Bayajida legends.

(c) The Biography of Madugu Mohamman Mai Gashin Baki.

This work has been translated from a German document[21] titled Lose Blatter aus dem Tagebuch meiner Hausa. It contains the biography of Madugu Mai Gashin

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21. The full title of the document is: "The Biography of Madugu Mai Gashin Baki" by E.R. Flegel, 1885; translated from the German and annotated by M.B. Duffil of Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham, and Research Associate of A.B.U., Zaria.

Baki, one of the most travelled caravan traders in the nineteenth century. He was born in the Birni about the year 1828 and undertook trading expeditions from Kano to the Emirate of Bauchi, the middle and upper Benue valley, Baghirmi, Wadai and the central African regions up to the Congo basin, between 1844 (when he was only sixteen or seventeen years) and 1882. For many years he served as madugu to various caravans. The information he provides is that of a participant and it is the most important for the study of Kano's commercial activities in those regions in the nineteenth century. This covered the organisation, size and composition of caravans, the credit system, the method by which the National Africa Company agents, notably MacIntosh, ruined the commercial activities of the indigenous traders, the sources and methods of acquisition of slaves and ivory, and the huge profits reaped by the Kano and other traders from their trade with those areas. This work therefore fills in an important gap in our knowledge of Kano's commercial activities in the various areas it deals with.

(d) Nineteenth Century and Earlier Travellers' Accounts.

The accounts of the pre-nineteenth century travellers used are those of Leo Africanus and Giovanni Lorenzo de Anania. It is doubtful whether anyone of the two visited Kano or any part of Hausaland. Most likely they collected their information from other people who had visited Kano. Leo Africanus passed through Agades on his way to Timbuktu in c.1510-1515, and the information he collected was written down in his History and Description of Africa[22] whose earliest manuscript was dated 1526. He provided useful pieces of information on early concentration of population and urbanisation in Kano, the level of agricultural and livestock production as well as on commerce[23] and the wealth of those involved in it. All of these appear to have been corroborated both by internal and external evidence.

But some of his assertions in relation to Kano, one of which has influenced the works of later writers, were not based on first-hand information. He claimed that

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22. Al-Hassan b. Muhammad al-Wazzan al-Fasi (henceforth referred to as Leo Africanus), History and Description of Africa, vol.I, London, 1896, p.lii.

23. ibid., vol.III, pp.829-30.

there "are many deserts and wild woody mountains containing springs of water" in Kano. Also equally errorneous is his claim that Songhai once over-ran Hausa-land, including Kano, and reduced it to the payment of tribute.[24] Such inaccurate information might have been passed to him by either other travellers or merchants. Moreover, it must be noted that the Arabic manuscript which he wrote is not extant. Our knowledge about it is from successive translations from Arabic to Latin, and then either to French or English, and all these translations were carried out by Europeans in the sixteenth century when the knowledge of Europeans about Bilad as-Sudan was very meagre and distorted.

For Ahmad Baba makes no illusion to any expedition of Askia's three years after the first. Indeed, "such expedition is", Barth affirmed, "wholly impossible, on account of the hostility of Kanta, who made himself independent of Songhay, the second year after the expedition to Katsina (A.D. 1514), and there was no road from Songhay to Kano except through Kebbi".[25]

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24. Al-Hassan b. Muhammad al-Wazzan al-Fasi, op.cit., vol.III, p.849.

25. See ibid., vol.III, p.849, foonote no.17.

Moreover, the Tarikh Arbab which gives detailed account of Kano's relation with the states of the Bilad as-Sudan, does not say anything about Kano's subjugation by Songhay. If it had actually happened, the event would have been so important that it could have been missed by the compilers of the Tarikh Arbab.

G.L. Anania, who was born in Calabria in 1545, had his work, L'Universale Fabrica del Mondo, Overo Cosmografia published in Naples in 1573, Venice in 1582, and was reprinted in 1596. The work was partially translated for me by Professor Abdullahi Smith in May 1977. Some of his information was derived from Leo Africanus. But much more significant is the information he obtained from Vincenzo Matheo, a merchant of Ragusa, who lived in the Birni for several years.[26] This source provides the earliest information about a bustling commercial activity in the Birni. According to him, there were "many white gentlemen [who] live there having gone there from Cairo many years ago".[27]

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26. Lange & S. Berthoud, "L'Interieur de l'Afrique Occidentale de apres Giovanni Lorenzo Anania (xvi siecle)", Journal of World History (UNESCO), XIV:2, 1972, p.342.

27. G.L. Anania, L'Universale fabrica del mondo, overo cosmografia, Naples, 1573, p.341.

Other merchants, according to this document, came from Algiers.[28] The significance of this information is that it shows the diverse nature of the areas with which Kano maintained trading relations and it faults the impression created in published works that there was only one trade route between Hausaland and northern Africa over which Kano was involved in perpetual struggles with Katsina[29] over the control of the Saharan trade.

The source also gives an idea of the social formation in Kano in the sixteenth century. Many of the merchants "have their own stables and like lords are served by numerous slaves".[30] This source therefore is important for the economic and social history of Kano in the sixteenth century.

The seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries are characterised by a black-out on information from travellers. The only evidence of developments in Kano which is referred to indirectly by a traveller is that of Friedrich

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28. G.L. Anania, op.cit., p.339.

29. For a discussion of this issue, see Y.B. Usman, The Transformation of Katsina, c.1796-1903: The Overthrow of the Sarauta System and the Establishment and Evolution of the Emirate, Ph.D. thesis, A.B.U., Zaria, 1974, p.79.

30. G.L. Anania, op.cit., p.341.

Hornmann who travelled from Cairo to Murzuk in the years 1797-98. This traveller mentioned the intensity of textiles production and dyeing in Hausaland in the eighteenth century.[31] Most likely a great number of the textiles reached the central Saharan regions from Kano.

Due to the lack of information on developments in Kano from foreign travellers in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries and the abundant information provided by European travellers who passed through Kasar Kano and other parts of Africa, particularly Barth, in the nineteenth century, many writers on the economy of Kano in the nineteenth century came to believe that its prosperity was only a nineteenth century phenomenon.[32] As the following chapters of this study would prove, such ideas could hardly be accepted. Therefore the problem is that of consulting the correct sources, especially the internal ones, and interpreting them in a proper manner.

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31. E.W. Bovill, Missions to the Niger, Part IV - The Bornu Missions, 1822-25, Cambridge, Hakluyt Society, 1964, pp.114, 115, 117.

32. For a discussion of this issue, see Abdullahi Mahadi, "The Genesis of Kano's Economic Prosperity in the Nineteenth Century: The Role of the State in Economic Development up to 1750", paper presented to the 23rd Congress of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Zaria, 4-8 April, 1980, pp.3-13.

Moreover, some of the modern scholars preferred the colourful and fanciful reports of travellers like Barth rather than looking for oral information in the absence of written data. The consequence of this was the production of distorted and unbalanced aspects of the history of Kano for the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

For the nineteenth century, there is a considerable increase in the amount of information provided by travellers who passed through Kasar Kano. The first traveller to arrive in Kano during the nineteenth century was Clapperton. He passed through Kano on three occasions: in 1824 he arrived in the Birni from Borno on the 20th of January and departed for Sokoto on the 23rd of February. On his way back from Sokoto, he arrived in the Birni on the 22nd of May and left for Borno on the 3rd of June. Finally, in 1826, he arrived in the Birni on 20th of July and left for Sokoto on the 24th of the same month. He died in Sokoto in the same year.

On his way to Sokoto from Borno, Clapperton followed the route which passed through Katagum, Katanga, Tsangaya, Nasarina, Garko, Tsakuwa, Dawaki Ta Kudu, Birni, Tofa, Gadanya. Farin Ruwa. Gyaza. Rada. Zurmi. and Sokoto

route.[33] On his way to Sokoto in 1826 he entered Kasar Kano from the south. He travelled along the Zaria, Roma, Bebeji, Birni, Tofa, Kiyawa, Koki, Jaza (in Katsina), Sokoto route.[34]

Clapperton's information is significant for three main reasons: firstly, he made his journey through Kasar Kano just a few years after the Jihad wars. He has, therefore, given us a first-hand information on the effects of the Jihad wars on the demography of Kano. Secondly, he travelled through Kasar Kano in different directions. So the information he provides represents that of almost all parts of Kano. Thirdly, being "[a] man of no education", and having "contended himself with noticing objects and things as they appear to him and conversations just as they were held",[35] it enables us to

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33. Denham, Dixon and others, Narratives of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa in the Years 1822, 1823 and 1824, Extending the Great Desert to the 10° of Northern Latitude and from Kouka in Bornou to Sacktou, the Capital of Felata Empire, London, J. Murray, 1828, pp.27-33.

34. H. Clapperton, Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo, London, Frank Cass & Co., 1966, pp.163-78.

35. Ibid., p.xviii.

see the facts as they occurred and we are left free to draw our conclusion. Unlike those of Barth, there is no theory, no speculation, scarcely any opinion advanced throughout the whole of his journal.[36]

In his accounts, he provides a first-hand information on the environment, the concentration of population, level of agricultural production, industrial production, and the intensity of internal trade. An interesting aspect of information which he provides on internal trade is the centrality of the Birni to the trade and the maintenance of the high level of trade even in the middle of the rainy season. Even by the latter part of July, the roads were still "thronged with passengers, asses and bullocks loaded with goods and grains, going and coming from Kano/Birni/".[37] He also provides information on Kano's re-export commodities to the middle Niger region and Yorubaland. He describes vividly the processes of business transactions in zangos and in houses in the middle Niger regions.

One of the problems with his work is that all the names of places he mentioned and the Hausa words he used are mis-spelt and distorted beyond recognition or under-

36. H. Clapperton, op.cit., p.xviii.

37. ibid., p.167.

standing. It is in this context that Bovill's edition of Clapperton's first journey is useful.[38]

As for Barth, he visited Kano two times. In 1851 he stayed in the Birni from 2nd February to 9th of March. In 1854 he was in Kano from the 17th of October to the 21st of November. In the course of his journey through Kasar Kano, he passed through the following towns and settlements: Danzabuwa, Gwarzo, the settlements of Taraurawa, Jimbedawa, and Bagadawa; Dawanau, Birni, Gezawa, Gabasawa, and Garki.

Barth's trips to northern and central Africa were sponsored by the British Government for political and commercial reasons. Partly because of this and partly because of the level of his education, he proved to be one of the "most observant of European travellers in the Central Sudan".[39] The information he provides on the various aspects of developments in Kano in the nineteenth century is more detailed and more diverse than any other traveller. His comments on the environment, settlement patterns, the agricultural and other estates of the ruling

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38. This is found in E.W. Bovill, op.cit., vol.IV, Part III, pp.637-64.

39. D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.41.

class and agricultural production generally, and the intensity of industrial production are of considerable value for this study. His observations on the internal and external trade are equally important. He describes vividly Kano's trade with different parts of Africa and Europe and provides very useful information on the value of each of them. His information makes it possible to appreciate the extent of the wealth of Kano and the group who controlled the wealth, the ruling class.

The value of Barth's accounts, however, is only limited to the nineteenth century. But even for this period, some of his observations, especially those concerning the conditions of the slaves and social justice, are contradictory and misleading. His assessment of the economy is not balanced. He seems to have equated Kano with the Birni and neglected the other towns, settlements and the countryside in relation to industrial production and trade.

His accounts of the pre-nineteenth century history of Kano in some respects is misleading and it has to be cross-checked with other sources. In this respect, Barth misleads more latter writers than any other European traveller through the Sudan. Two examples could be

provided to illustrate this point. His claims that by the second half of the sixteenth century the fortress of Dala must have been the only part of Kano in existence[40] is false. But his most misleading account which has been widely quoted by most writers who have written on the economic history of Hausaland is that related to pre-nineteenth century economy of Kano. According to Barth, before 1807 the Birni was not an important commercial centre.[41]

The three other European travellers who visited Kano in the nineteenth century were: Paul Staudinger, who was in the Birni from the 29th October to the 5th of November, 1885; P.L. Monteil, from 23rd November, 1891 to 19th of February, 1892; and C.H. Robinson, who was in Kasar Kano from the 16th of December to the 16th of April, 1893. Their missions and accounts, as well as strengths and limitations of these accounts, are similar to those of Clapperton and Barth.

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40. H. Barth, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, vol.I, London, Frank Cass, 1965, p.504.

41. ibid., vol.III, p.505.

Like Barth's, Staudinger's reports,[42] especially in relation to the alleged control of the economy of Kano by the Arabs,[43] appear to have influenced later writers. This is in spite of the fact that the traveller stayed in Kano only for about a week. His assessment is only confined to the Birni. He was also very much impressed by the luxurious life-style enjoyed by the Arabs.[44]

P.L. Monteil, who stayed in Kano for a much longer period (for nearly two months), has said that Kano's trade with North Africa which was really controlled by the North African merchants, amounted to only about one-fifth of Kano's trade.[45] Monteil in fact emphatically stated that the commercial activities of Kano was predominantly in the hands of the Kanawa, whom he referred to as the "Hausa".[46] Monteil's reports on the transformation

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42. Staudinger's reports was published in Berlin in 1889 under the title: Im Herzen der Haussalander ("In the Heart of the Hausa Countries"). For a translation of this work, see Johanna E. Moody, "Paul Staudinger: An Early European Traveller to Kano", Kano Studies, no.3, 1967, pp.38-53.

43. ibid., p.48.

44. ibid., p.45. He was entertained by the Arabs on several occasions.

45. P.L. Monteil, De Saint-Louis a Tripoli par le Lac Tchad, Paris, Ancienne Librairie Germer Bailliere & Co., 1895, pp.290-291.

46. ibid., pp.290-291.

of the environment in the central region of Kano is also interesting.

Robinson's missionary background and his apparent contempt for Islam appears to have coloured his reports.[47] The "Hausa Association" with which he is closely identified was nothing more than a Christian missionary organisation. This organisation was also a tool for effecting colonisation of territories in Africa in general. This explains why his reports, especially about slave raiding and slavery, appear to have been exaggerated.

On the whole the accounts of the European travellers, their limitations notwithstanding, are important, especially for the economic history of Kano in the nineteenth century.

II. The Studies.

(1) Published:

(a) Books.

The books which treat the history of Kano could be divided into two categories: one category has been

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47. Robinson's reports was published in 1900. See C.H. Robinson, Hausaland, or Fifteen Hundred Miles Through the Central Sudan, London, Mauton & Co., 1900 (1896).

written specifically on the history of Kano. The other have dealt with Kano as a part of the history of the Sudan, Hausaland or Sokoto Caliphate. Neither of them seems to provide comprehensive information on the history of Kano in the pre-colonial period.

Abubakar Dokaji's Kano Ta Dabo Cigari covers the history of Kano from the time of Barbushe to the end of the nineteenth century. He appears to have used materials from the Tarikh Arbab, the Song of Bagauda, and the Bayajida Legend.

The work was commissioned by Emir of Kano Muhammadu Sanusi in 1954[48] and it therefore represents the official view of the history of Kano. While the coverage of the pre-nineteenth century period is affected by the author's apparent contempt for the "Habe", his treatment of the nineteenth century developments in Kano bears similarity to that of Muhammad Salih.[49]

The other published books on Kano are those of

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48. Abubakar Dokaji, Kano Ta Dabo Ci Gari, Zaria, Gaskiya Corporation, 1956, "Gabatarwa" (Introduction).

49. Abubakar Dokaji was a direct descendant of the leading Jama'a families of the nineteenth century. He held many important offices in Kano.

Mohammed Adamu Fika[50] and Polly Hill.[51] These deal essentially with the period of the colonial rule and post-colonial periods. Polly Hill's coverage of or references to the pre-colonial rule period do not bear any relation with the reality of the situation. Her assertions that:

> "In Kano Emirate most towns, whether walled or not, were small on any standard - judging from later demographic material ..., it would seem that their model population might have been of the order of 1,000-1,500; and there must have been very few places (if any) with populations exceeding, say 5,000 - they are unlikely to have numbered more than three in 1920",[52]

seems to be referring to urbanisation in the pre-colonial rule period. If this is the case, then she must be mistaken.

H.L.B. Moody's Walls and Gates of Kano City[53] is one of the useful sources for the reconstruction of the history

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50. Mohammed Adamu Fika, The Kano Civil War and British Over-rule, 1882-1940, Ibadan, O.U.P., 1979.

51. Polly Hill, Population, Prosperity and Poverty: Rural Kano, 1900 and 1970, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1977.

52. ibid., p.4.

53. See H.L.B. Moody, The Walls and Gates of Kano City, Lagos, Department of Antiquities, 1969.

of the Birni.

The other published books which treat the history of Kano as part of the history of the Central Sudan, Hausaland or Sokoto Caliphate, have used various legends about migrations and state-formation as if they were, indeed, accurate historical documents. These sources have in turn responded by forcing a very narrow interpretation of the past of the various states, of which Kano was one. The treatment of Kano's relation with the other states of the Central Sudan by similar sources have also posed more problem than attempting to solve them by mystification of issues and misinterpretation of the available data.[54]

(b) Articles.

The published articles on the history of Kano, though also few, appear to be more useful in throwing more light on the history of Kano before the twentieth century than published books. It is, however, not being suggested that all of the published articles are equally

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54. For a discussion of this issue, see Abdullahi Mahadi, "A Little More Light on the Nature of Inter-State Relation in the Central Sudan: The Dominant Factors Which Determined Kano's External Relations before 1804 A.D.", a contribution to Essays in Honour of Professor Abdullahi Smith, December 1979, mimeo.,

important as source materials for the reconstruction of the history of Kano.

One of the earliest published articles on the Hausa states in which the early history of Kano is treated adequately is that of A. Mischlich.[55] This writer not only dismisses Barth's claims that "as late as the second half of the sixteenth century only the rocky fortress of Dala, which had been able to resist the attacks of the Bornu king, but no town of Kano existed", he goes further to cite the case of Ahmad b. Baba, Umar b. Muhammad Aqit, the grand father of Ahmad Baba, in the reign of Sunni Ali (869/1464 - 898/1492) who gave series of lectures to great crowds of students on, among other subjects, the Mudawwana of Sahnun.[56] Another scholar, Mahluf b. Ali al-Balbali (died 940/1533), is also said to have read his lectures in Kano and Katsina.[57]

This study therefore is very important for the history of urbanisation, the spread of Islam and the level of scholarship in Kano during the fifteenth and the

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55. See A. Mischlich, "Contributions to the History of the Hausa States", J.A.S., 1904-5, pp.456, 460-63.

56. ibid., p.460.

57. ibid., p.460.

sixteenth centuries. If scholars from Timbuktu (the intellectual centre of the whole of Sudan by then) went to Kano in about 1500 A.D.[58] to give lectures, we may justifiably assume the prevalence of mental activities in the Birni. Mischlich's work also seems to confirm[59] R.S. Rattray's[60] assertions about the irreligious activities and evil-doings of Muhammadu Rumfa.

M.G. Smith's "The Beginnings of Hausa Society, A.D. 1000-1500",[61] however, presents a distorted view of developments in Kano. This is because he accepted uncritically the data provided by his sources. Virtually every development which took place in Kasar Kano and its adjacent areas, from the founding of settlements, formation of state, to the introduction of kayan sarauta (regalia), came from outside, especially Borno.[62] He also believes that it was

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58. A. Mischlich, op.cit., pp.460-61.

59. ibic., p.462.

60. R.S. Rattray, Hausa Folklore Customs, Proverbs, etc., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969, p.20.

61. M.G. Smith, "The Beginnings of Hausa Society, A.D. 1000-1500", in The Historian in Tropical Africa, ed. J. Vansina, R. Mauny & L.V. Thomas, London, O.U.P., 1964, pp.339-57.

62. ibid., p.351.

Kano's location on the trans-Saharan trade route that enabled it to outstrip the other Hausa chiefdoms. All these are only partially or not true at all.

J.N. Paden's"Urban Pluralism, Integration, and Adaptation of Communal Identity in Kano, Nigeria",[63] is very useful for the understanding of immigration into the Birni over the centuries, the processes of integration and the antagonism between those Fulani who advocated the cause of the Jihad and those rich Fulani group who refused to participate in the Jihad. The significance of this information lies in its demystification of the widespread view that the Jihad was a Fulani affair..

Another useful article is P.J. Jaggar's "Kano City Blacksmiths".[64] This study provides a very useful information on the mechanism by which the ruling class controlled and appropriated the labour of craftsmen, notably the blacksmiths.

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63. J.N. Paden, "Urban Pluralism, Integration, and Adaptation of Communal Identity in Kano, Nigeria", in R. Cohen(ed.), From Tribe to Nation in Africa, New York, Chandler Publishing Co., 1970, pp.242-68.

64. P.J. Jaggar, "Kano City Blacksmiths: Precolonial Distribution, Structure and Organisation", Savanna, vol.2 no.1, June 1973, pp.11-25.

H. Solken's Die Geschichte von Ada[65] is a very important document for the study of immigration, urbanisation, political intrigue and struggle among the princes, the multiplication of the masu sarauta and the methods of the creation of sarautu in Kano in the eighteenth century. Solken is not quite known, but he appears to be the Dr. Heinz Sölken who was Mischlich's student.[66] Solken has written a number of articles on the Sudanese states and he was therefore well acquainted with developments in Hausaland in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. His family or former University may also be in possession of valuable documents on Hausaland and other states of the Sudan.

Alan Frishman's article on the historical growth of the Birni[67] is quite interesting. But his reliance on the figures provided by the European travellers who passed through Kano in the nineteenth century, has marred his otherwise useful computations.

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65. H. Solken, "Die Geschichte von Ada", in Mittheilungen des Seminars fur Orientalische Sprachen (Berlin), XL, 1937.

66. H. Solken and A. Mischlich appear to have collected useful information from Hausa scholar-merchants and settlers in the Volta basin. One of these scholars was Imam Imoru.

67. Alan Frishman, "The Population Growth of Kano, Nigeria", in African Historical Demography, University of Edinburgh, 1977.

Murray Last's reconstruction of the dynastic chronology[68] of the Emirates of Zaria and Kano, based on the Taqyid al-Akhbar and in response to the criticism of M.G. Smith's construction of the dynastic chronology of Zazzau by Abdullahi Smith, provides very precise dates for the succession of the various Emirs of Kano to the throne in the nineteenth century. This could prove to be useful in re-adjusting H.R. Palmer's dating of the periods of the sarakuna of Kano before the nineteenth century.

Finally, another very useful and interesting article is P.J. Shea's "Economies of Scale and the Indigo Dyeing Industry of Precolonial Kano".[69] The article is based on his stimulating research into the dyeing industry in Kano and prompted by the refusal of Western economic historians to accept the awareness on the part of the Kanawa on the importance of economies of scale in production in precolonial times. One of

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68. D.M. Last, "A Solution to the Problems of Dynastic Chronology in Nineteenth Century Zaria and Kano", J.H.S.N., vol.III no.3, 1966, pp.461-9.

69. Philip J. Shea, "Economies of Scale and the Indigo Dyeing Industry of Precolonial Kano", Kano Studies, N.S., vol.I no.2, 1974/77, pp.55-61.

such historians is A.G. Hopkins.[70] In this article, P. Shea has provided indepth analysis of economies of scale and in the process, he gives a useful, even though hypothetical information, on the stages of the development of dyeing industry in Kano over the centuries. It will be very interesting if he follows up these studies with greater vigour.

(2) Unpublished:

(a) Theses.

C.N. Ubah's thesis discusses the political developments in Kano in the nineteenth century.[71] It contains some information on Kano's relations with the neighbouring Emirates and states. It also provides limited information on urbanisation in Kano in the nineteenth century.

The study, however, lacks indepth analysis or critical examination of developments which took place in Kano in the nineteenth century. This is due to his

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70. Philip J. Shea, op.cit., p.55.

71. C.N. Ubah, Kano Emirate in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Political Development. M.A. thesis, University of Ghana, 1965.

acceptance of the accounts of his sources uncritically.

P.J. Shea's thesis[72] has been very useful for this study. Like in his other works, his description and analysis of the various processes of production are quite lucid. His work is a major departure from the usual pattern of study on economic history of Kano and other parts of Hausaland. Almost for the first time an entire study of this magnitude has been devoted to production. His treatment of the various aspects of dyeing is very enlightening.

However, his futile attempt to trace the origin of the art of dyeing to Arabia and beyond is nothing more than re-echoing the dispersionist theory. There is no reason why the art of dyeing could not have been developed locally in Hausaland, quite independent of other areas. This is particularly in view of the various species of wild indigo plants found in Kasar Kano. The use of linguistic evidence to trace the origins of dyeing borders on absurdity.

His implied suggestion that the shift from the

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72. P.J. Shea, The Development of an Export Oriented Dyed Cloth Industry in Kano Emirate in the Nineteenth Century. Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1973.

dyeing in clay pots to laso-lined pits took place as recently as the nineteenth century is not tenable. Had the shift taken place during that period, dyeing in clay pots, at least in some few localities, could have survived to the latter part of that century. If this were the case, at least some informants interviewed in various parts of Kano could have recalled the period when dyeing was carried out in pots.

Finally, Halil Ibrahim Said's thesis.[73] Like that of C.N. Ubah, it covers the political history of Kano in the nineteenth century. At least by the title of the thesis, he seems to believe that the Jihad was a Fulani affair.

There are a number of problems with this study. The periodization of the pre-nineteenth century period, to which he gives little attention, is difficult to understand. From his periodization, he seems to believe that the period of statehood in Kano did not start until the seventeenth century. Kano, according to this periodization, did not establish its relations with other

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73. Halil Ibrahim Sa'id; Revolution and Reaction: The Fulani Jihad in Kano and its Aftermath, 1807-1919. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1978.

states until the eighteenth century. There does not seem to be any justification for regarding the period between 1463 and 1499 as that for ascendancy of Islam.

The coverage of the nineteenth century period, presents even greater problems. It is characterised by contradictions, assumptions, and the use of concepts like 'Islamic theocracy" and "Hausa city-states" which make little sense. He seems to agree that the Jihad wars were fought by common men of both ethnic groups and yet he thinks that the Jihad was a Fulani affair.

He believes that there is no record of Fulani as having fought on the side of the Hausa king. He needs to clearly establish the identity of the court ulema who shuttled between Alwali and the Jama'a in the course of the Jihad wars before he reaches this conclusion. There is no reason for believing that only a few ulema of Hausa origin joined the Jama'a, except that Muhammad Salih said so. But as a propagandist of the established order, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, Muhammad Salih had his reasons for minimising the participation of non-Fulani groups in the Jihad.

On the whole, this study is not based on a clear

understanding of the society of Kano before and during the nineteenth century. The actual issues at stake have been passed over. The uncritical acceptance of the accounts of the various sources used by the author of this study has affected the quality of his work.

(b) Articles.

There are quite a number of articles presented at various History departmental seminars, national and international conferences, which are useful. These include P. Shea's paper on "Kano Black Cloth" and his other paper on "Kano and Silk Trade".[74]

III. Archival Materials.

Historical information about the period studied in these sources is derived from oral traditions collected by British colonial administrators. A large proportion of the information was collected in the early years of the twentieth century. The information was intended to guide them in the making and execution of

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74. P. Shea, "Kano and Silk Trade", paper presented to the Postgraduate Seminar, Department of History, Bayero University, Kano, April 1980.

colonial policy. For the purposes of tax collection, the colonial administrators on the spot went into great details in finding out about the various forms of taxes levied on agricultural, livestock, and industrial products as well as on commercial transactions before the British occupation of Kano and other areas of Hausaland. Also, in order to obtain information on sources of commodities like tsamiya (silkworm), hides and skins, the British colonial administrators, working in close cooperation with the various British trading companies, collected information on the commodities, trade routes, markets and rich merchants. These pieces of information have been found useful.

One of the major weaknesses of these records is that most of the administrators who collected the information, especially through interviews, had a very poor working knowledge of the Hausa language. They therefore relied on the services of interpreters whose English was poor. The possibility of misunderstanding, particularly when the administrator thought that he understood Hausa very well or his interpreter assumed that his English was excellent, was considerable. The suspicion generated by the colonial situation was also a major obstacle to

acquisition of accurate information. All these have resulted in the prevalence of numerous mis-spelt place, personal and institutional names, distortion of actual figures in relation to incomes of merchants and a lot of narration and interpretation of dubious value. The chronology of events in these records is also a problem.

The filing system and the pagination also make the documentation of the records difficult. Some pages carry as many as four or five numbers.

IV. Oral Sources.

Before starting the series of interviews, I, in the company of officials of the Emir of Kano and Alhaji Hamza Bichi (one of my former students), travelled to virtually all the districts and major settlements. The visits to smaller settlements were undertaken in the course of conducting interviews. These visits took place weeks or months before starting the interviews. The aim was to introduce myself to the various authorities in whose territories I was to conduct the interviews, explain to them the aim of the study, and familiarise myself with the areas.

Immediately on arrival at every town or settlement

during the periods of the interviews, I always requested, in fact where necessary, insisted to be taken round the walls or stockades of the respective towns and settlements. While going round, I always asked my informants if the town or settlement we were going round had always existed in its present place, and if not I tried to trace the original settlement. In the process I was able to identify several abandoned settlements.

In the course of going round both the inhabited and abandoned settlements, I made detailed notes on the layout and structures of the walls, the extent of fields which were enclosed, and the directions of the gates.

Interviews were conducted in Hausa and recorded in my files. On a few occasions I had the interviews taped. Most of the interviews were held with groups of people. Others, mostly in private houses, were held with individuals. I always started with exchanging of greetings and jokes about my poor pronunciation of certain words. Most of the Fulani, taking me for a Kanuri, always teased me as being a descendant of their former slaves. The jokes were very useful for easing tension and suspicions.

No procedure was fixed for interviews. If the group

or individual I was to interview started off immediately, I just listened and made notes. If they waited for me to start, I opened with a question on a specific topic, normally with what I regarded as popular, relatively easy and less suspicious questions, for example the founder of the settlement or the ancestor of the informant, if, for instance, he was a descendant of a famous merchant.

Some contributors in group interviews who tended to dwell too much on certain issues or who the other members of a group regarded as ignorant of the issue or topic under discussion, were often shouted upon and this sometimes resulted in misunderstanding. But after pleading to both parties, we resumed again. Whenever I identified among a group an informant whom I thought to be knowledgeable in particular fields, I always traced his house either after the group interviews, usually in the evenings, or some weeks or months later.

In an attempt to establish a chronology of events, I used certain important developments in the history of Kano as milestones. Among these were the periods of Muhammadu Alwali, the "zamanin Shehu Usman dan Fodio" (era of Shehu Usman dan Fodio), "zuwan Turawa" (the coming of the British) and so on. Within this broad

periodization, there were specific and important developments which I used as milestones. In this, my pre-interview knowledge of Kano was very useful.

In most cases, groups of inhabitants of the towns and settlements in which I conducted interviews, enjoyed the narration of the history of their settlements or ancestors, and at least on one occasion a very learned ulema took detailed notes of what was being narrated. This facilitated my interviews.

Oral information which I have used extensively for this study has been very useful particularly on statecraft, the structure of the central government, the relationship between the centre and the localities in the countryside, and the operation of the political system. Equally important are the accounts provided by informants on burtali (cattle route), agricultural and industrial production in the towns and settlements throughout Kano, methods of business transactions, trade routes and the prevalence of rich attajirai especially in the major towns. The information has served to balance the reports of especially European travellers who concentrated theirs on the Birni.

The limitations of all oral information apply to

those I collected in Kano. There has been, for instance, elements of exaggeration in the accounts. The inhabitants of each of the towns or settlements interviewed often claimed that their settlements or towns was the oldest in Kano or led in the production of one commodity or the other. Inspite of these limitations, the oral sources have been important particularly for the nineteenth century history of Kano.

It must be stressed that in addition to sources and works on Kano, other accounts and works on other states and Emirates have also proved to be very useful, especially in corroborating the sources on Kano as well as putting the history of Kano within the context of Hausaland and the Sudan and its adjacent regions.

It is also to be mentioned that most of the recent studies, particularly the unpublished works, have proved to be rich in data. This trend is a clear indication that students of Kano history as well as the other states and Emirates of the Sudan are moving forward in their attempts to reconstruct the history of this area. This is made possible by the use of a variety of sources and the development of new conceptual framework.

CHAPTER TWO

LAND AND PEOPLE IN KASAR KANO BEFORE THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

I. Location of Kasar Kano:

Kasar (land of) Kano lies on the western margin of the Chad basin. It occupies the area between latitude 10° 30'N and 13°N and longitude 7° 40'E and 10° 35'.

It was bounded by the Kingdoms of Katsina[1] in the west, Rano and Zazzau in the south and south-west, before the political incorporation of Rano into Kasar Kano in the nineteenth century;[2] while the region which

1. In this study the term 'Kingdom' refers to the political units in Hausaland before the nineteenth century. The term 'Emirate' refers to those political units which came under the control of Sokoto Caliphate.

2. For the incorporation of Rano into Kasar Kano, see Tarikh Arbab hadha al-balad al-musamma Kano, ed. & trans. by H.R. Palmer as Kano Chronicle, Lagos, 1928, p.131 (henceforth to be referred to as Tarikh Arbab); Muhammad Salih, Taqyid Akhbar Jama'at Ash-Sheikh al-hadhina fi Kano wama jara bainahum wa baina al-taghut min al-hurub ...., collated & trans. by I.U.A. Musa and Abdullahi Mahadi, Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria, April 1980, pp.21b, 22b.

constituted Bauchi Emirate in the nineteenth century bordered Kasar Kano in the south-east.[3] The determination of the boundaries of Kasar Kano in the east and the north-east poses a problem. Before the nineteenth century the boundaries were mainly with Borno, shifting according to the changing political circumstances. But in the nineteenth century there were relatively established boundaries, especially with the emergence of Emirates of Bauchi, Hadejia and Katagum in the south-east and north-east. As for the north, before the nineteenth century Kasar Kano was bordered by the Kingdoms of Daura and the regions to the north of the Sosebaki (Tsotsebaki) polities.[4] While in the nineteenth century the borders were mainly with the Emirates of Daura, Gumel and Kazaure, in addition to Damagaram, a dependency of Borno.

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3. In this study the reference to the different political entities which constituted Bauchi Emirate in the nineteenth century are referred to as "Bauchi region" whenever reference is made to them in the pre-nineteenth century period.

4. Tilho, Documents scientifiques de la mission Tilho, 1906-1909, partially translated into English by A.E. Owoyele, preserved in N.H.R.S., A.B.U., Zaria, pp.4, 6. The political allegiance of these polities alternated between Kano and Borno before the nineteenth century.

II. Distribution of Natural and Human Resources:

In spite of the location of Kasar Kano in the Sudan ...na belt of West Africa and in spite of its nearly uniform landscape, many of its parts had special features, both geological and geographical, which exercised varied influence resulting in uneven distribution of human and natural resources. Consequently they played important roles in the political and economic developments of the area.

The uneven distribution of natural and human resources resulted in the development of specialisation of occupation between different parts of Kasar Kano and within the different sectors of the economy. These stimulated exchange between different areas and communities, hence resulting in the development of internal trade, an important factor in the development of Kano's economy over the centuries.

In recognition of the peculiarities of the various parts of Kasar Kano and for the sake of convenience and clarity in presentation, the treatment here and in certain parts of the succeeding chapters will be on a regional basis.

(1) Northern and North-Eastern Region.

This was roughly the area to the north of a line stretching from Dumbulum on the Kano-Katsina borders in the west, through Richi, Kunya, Gabasawa, Ringim and finally stopping at Kwanda on the Kano-Bauchi borders in the south-east.

(a) Rainfall and Vegetation.

The location of this region of Kano almost in the extreme northern part of the Sudan Savanna rendered it to be relatively the driest part of Kasar Kano. This climatic situation appears to have remained largely the same for several centuries. Among the pieces of evidence which show that a considerable part of the region experienced a dry climate in the past include the prevalence of dunes and sand ridges especially in the north-eastern parts of the region. Such sand dunes and ridges were formed when these regions, particularly the areas of Chad basin and the northern part of Kano, suffered from desiccation.[5] Because the annual rainfall

5. K.M. Buchanan and J.C. Pugh, Land and People in Nigeria: The Human Geography of Nigeria and its Environmental Background, London: University of London, 1966, p.7.

had been fluctuating in amount, the region continued to suffer from occasional but severe droughts both in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.[6]

The amount of annual rainfall received in the region as well as the types of soils found here have favoured the growth of the "Tropical grassland and Savanna, with low grass".[7] Generally therefore the vegetation consisted mainly of shorter and more feathery grass. The number of thorny plants, usually associated with the species of acacia were greater here. Kabba (gorriba palms) plants were also found in dense concentrations especially in the extreme northern parts of the region. These various species of acacia plants and kabba as well as the low grass played important roles in the economy of Kano. The products of kabba, for instance, were utilized in a variety of ways. They were used for weaving different types of mats, baskets, faifai (grass trays), ropes, hats, and above all

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6. For the occurrence of severe droughts in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in the middle and later parts of the eighteenth century, see Tarikh Arbab, pp.116, 126, 127.

7. H. Fullard (ed.), Philips Modern College Atlas of Africa, London: George Philips & Sons, 1971, p.36.

mangaloli (containers placed on the backs of donkeys for carrying loads) which were vital for transportation of manure from the towns to the fields and farm produce to the towns. In the internal and external trade the products of kabba were both used as articles of trade and containers for transporting articles of trade, including grains, kolanuts, potash, cotton and indigo.

Similarly the fruits of bagaruwa (Acacia arabica) for which this region was famous has been indispensable for tannery industry. Apart from being extensively used in Kasar Kano, the fruits of gabaruwa also formed an important article of external trade. Other economically important trees found in this region included tsamiya (Tamaridu indicus). Products of this tree were used for preparation of kunu (gruel) and other drinks meant to perform medicinal roles. The fruits of tsamiya were also important articles of trade.

(b) Soils, Population Distribution and Grazing Grounds.

Climate, vegetation and time as well as parent rock which have always determined the nature of soils anywhere, also greatly influenced the fertility of soil found in this region. The most widespread type of soil

found here is that which had been developed on former sand dunes overlying the sedimentary rock of the Chad basin series. While the type of soil has been suitable for the cultivation of crops which required light soil, for instance, millet and groundnut, crops requiring heavy soils such as cotton, guinea corn or indigo did not grow well here. This limitation as well as the vulnerability of especially the northern parts of the region to droughts enabled it to support only a relatively sparse population density. An exception was the fertile area of Hadejia River valley.

From about the middle of the eighteenth century, farmers from the central part of Kasar Kano moved to this region because of decline in the productivity of the land or because of heavy taxation or both.[8] Also, people from Borno and the Sahel in general moved into the region.[9] A considerable part of this region was

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8. NAK, Kanoprof., Hist/4 - History of Kazaure, p.1.
9. ibid.

covered by dazuzzuka (forest).[10] In other words the region remained relatively sparsely populated in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. This made it possible for nomads as well as the sedentarised population to raise large numbers of livestock - particularly goats, sheep and cattle. Apart from the almost tsetse fly-free low grass which has been ideal for the grazing of livestock, the region has been traversed by several rivers, including Hadejia, Thomas and Gari, which contained at least pools of water in their courses almost all year round. There were also several small lakes, especially around Miga, Agafa, Hantsu, Harbo Tsohuwa, Doro, Kakkum, Shintali and Gwarai, which contained water all year round.[11]

These favourable conditions made the region attractive especially to nomads who immigrated into the region from the Sahel in the north, Borno in the east,

10. W.F. Gowers, Gazetteer of Kano Province, London: 1921, p.5. By forest here is meant land that is covered by virgin woodland which has not been tampered with either completely or over a long period of time for cultivation of crops. Such forests may simply have been covered by low grass or a mixture of forest and savanna vegetation.

11. AAH, NM, AMM, IMG (Jahun), 8/4/79.

and Gobir in the west. There were also other nomads who moved into this region from other parts of Kasar Kano. Livestock and livestock products from this region constituted important items of trade, especially between this region and the central region to the south, where the large concentration of population of the area provided an important market.

(2) The Central Region.

This region covers an area which centred around Dala hill with a radius of about twenty-five miles.

(a) Rainfall and Vegetation.

The nature of the climatic conditions in this region in the earlier periods could be discerned from the traditions[12] of the area, particularly those connected with the immigration of people into the region. The earliest known migrations were occasioned by the occurrence of droughts in the various parts of the Central Sudan,[13] even before the emergence of the

12. M. Hiskett, "The Song of Bagauda: A Hausa King-list and Homily in Verse", B.S.O.A.S., XXVIII, 1965, p.115.

13. Here, Central Sudan is the same as that defined by Abdullahi Smith (see Abdullahi Smith, "The Early States of the Central Sudan", in J.F.A. Ajayi & M. Crowder (eds.), History of West Africa, vol.I, London: Longmans, 1971, pp.158-9.

centralised state systems in Hausaland.[14] The regions from which people are believed to have immigrated into Kasar Kano in this early period were those which had always been susceptible to ravages of droughts. Virtually all of the immigrants mentioned in the traditions settled in the central region of Kano.[15] Over the centuries many of the immigrants from the northern parts of the Central Sudan and elsewhere also settled in the region. This suggests that the area received adequate supply of rainfall for cultivation of crops and other economic activities. This has indeed been supported by the recording of rainfall over a fairly long period of time from the early part of the first decade of the twentieth century.[16]

The species of trees found in the region are, in many cases, of the same species as those found

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14. Hausaland was the area where the majority of its inhabitants spoke Hausa as their first and only language and the cultural and social traits often associated with Hausa people prevailed. The territorial extent of Hausaland, however, did not remain static. For a detailed definition of Hausaland, see Mahdi Adamu, The Hausa Factor in West African History, Ibadan, O.U.P., 1978, p.1.
15. M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.115.
16. W.F. Gowers, op.cit., p.6.

in the other regions to the south which received heavier rainfall. Some of the species belong to those of the extreme southern parts of the Sudan Savanna and to some extent Guinea Savanna. These include kadanya (shea butter) and dorowa (Parki alivorti). Due to the intensity of human activity in the central region, over a long period of time, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the actual nature of vegetation of this area.[17] Over the centuries, with particular reference to the late seventeenth century through the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the proportion of land which had been progressively brought under cultivation had reached more than ninety percent by the last century. The extent of human transformation of land in the central region by the end of the nineteenth century was probably more complete here than anywhere in Central Sudan.[18] Pieces of evidence indicate the nature of this transformation, which began to take shape in the middle

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17. Though the region lies in the belt of the Sudan savanna of West Africa, it must be noted that even in the extreme northern part of the belt, there were certain areas which carried mixed forest type of vegetation.

18. vide infra, footnote no.20.

of the eighteenth century and reached an advanced stage in the nineteenth century. Oral traditions mention movements of people from densely[19] populated parts of this region to the north in search of farmlands.

Imam Imoru's assertion that "there is no wilderness [in Kano] and land is well laid out" is no doubt referring particularly to this region of Kano.[20] The

19. vide supra, footnote no.8.

20. Imam Imoru, "The Lands of the Hausa People - Kasashen Hausawa", in D.T. Ferguson, Nineteenth Century Hausaland. Being a Description by Imam Imoru of the Land, Economy and Society of his People, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1974, p.144. European travellers who passed through Kasar Kano, including Clapperton in the early 1820's, H. Barth in the early 1850's, F. Staudinger in the 1880's, and Monteil and Robinson in the 1890's were all fascinated by the extent of the human transformation of land in this part of Africa. See Denham, D. and others, Narratives of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa in the Years 1822, 1823 and 1824, extending across the great desert to the 10th degree of Northern Latitude and from Kouka in Bornou to Sackatoo, the capital of the Felatah Empire, by D. Denham, Captain Clapperton and Dr. Oudney, London: J. Murray, 1928, pp.26, 28, 30; H. Barth, Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa, vol.I, London: Frank Cass, 1965, p.494; H. Clapperton, Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo, London: Frank Cass, 1966, pp.167, 173, 174; P.L. Monteil, De Saint-Louis a Tripoli par le lac Tchad, Paris: Ancienne Librairie Germer Bailliere & Co., 1895, partially translated into English by Adejir, Dept. of French, A.B.U., Zaria, July-August 1981, p.281; C.H. Robinson, Hausaland or Fifteen Hundred Miles Through the Central Soudan, London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1900, p.100.

significance of this development is that the central region came to depend on the other regions of Kano for its requirement of forest products. As the most important single industrial and commercial region in Kasar Kano, the need for such products as tools, raw materials, fuel, and articles of trade for "re-export" to both other parts of Kano and other states and communities was considerable. This therefore stimulated trade between the region and other parts of Kasar Kano.

(b) Soils, Minerals, Water Supply, Population Density, and Industrial Production.

As has been the case with rainfall, the major soil type of this region has been quite adequate for the cultivation of a variety of crops. The soil consists largely of "brown and reddish-brown soils of arid and semi-arid regions with lithosols on ferruginous crust".[21] Like the groups of soils of the sand dune fields in the north, this group of soils had also developed upon wind-transported dune sands. But the soils

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21. M.J. Mortimore, "Population Distribution, Settlement and Soils in Kano Province, Northern Nigeria, 1931-1962", in J.C. Cardwell & C. Okonjo (eds.), The Population of Tropical Africa, London: Longmans, 1968, p.302.

had also been derived this time largely from the underlying rocks of the Granitic Basement Complex.[22] Its major advantage over the other soils is that it possesses a larger proportion of silt or clay and the small organic matter present is well distributed throughout the profile of the soils.[23] Like the other soils, however, it lacks a well-developed profile and the quantity of organic matter in it is not quite high. But being situated over granitic rocks it is inherently richer in mineral contents and it has been suggested that deep-rooted trees could and do tap this supply and re-distribute the minerals, particularly phosphates to the crops which have much shorter roots and rootlets.[24] This and the heavy application of manure, which has for centuries been an important feature of agricultural production especially in the region have enabled the farmers here to practise intensive cultivation for numerous generations. Unlike the groups of soils in the

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22. This forms the foundation rocks of most parts of Northern Nigeria.

23. M.J. Mortimore, op.cit.(1968), p.302.

24. ibid., p.302.

north and north-eastern region, being heavier, the soil of the central region was more amenable to the cultivation of a greater variety of crops, including guinea corn, cotton, and indigo, which would normally not be cultivated with equal success in the former region.

The success of the farmers of the central region in the production of these crops was such that many observers attributed it to the soil-type found here, which they described as one of the most fertile in the world.[25] The group of soils has indeed been fertile. But it has not owed its fertility completely to natural endowment as has often been assumed.[26] In order to understand the success of agricultural production in this and other regions of Kano in the pre-twentieth century periods, it is important to take note of the development of agricultural methods which the inhabitants of the region had achieved through the

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25. These included European travellers who passed through Kasar Kano in the nineteenth century, particularly H. Barth. See H. Barth, op.cit., p.512.

26. See for instance, K.M. Buchanan & J.C. Pugh, op.cit., p.59.

ages.[27] The recognition of grasses as indication of fertile soils, the selection of certain plants for domestication, the tending of manure-yielding plants such as gawo (Acacia albida), mixed cropping to make better use of soil, crop rotation, and above all the intensive application of different types of manure to regenerate the fertility of the soil as well as the careful selection of appropriate tools for various stages and types of cultivation clearly show the advanced stage which these farmers reached in their attempts to master their environment for maximum agricultural production.

The major concern of the farmers in the densely populated central region and elsewhere in Kasar Kano, as well as in the different parts of Hausaland, was the maintenance of soil fertility. Two striking methods, among several, by which soil fertility was maintained were, as has already been mentioned, the selection and

27. People like H. Barth and R.K. Udo have implicitly related the high yields in Kasar Kano solely or mainly to the natural fertility of the soils rather than looking into other factors such as methods of cultivation and the heavy application of manure to the farms. See. H. Barth, op.cit., p.512; R.K. Udo, Geographical Regions of Nigeria, London: Heinemann, 1971, p.178.

tending of certain trees, particularly the gawo and the heavy application of manure. It would appear that gawo were purposely transplanted or tended on the farms after the farmers had realised its agricultural importance.[28] This species of acacia has in fact been endowed with all the attributes of ideal farm tree, because it is not frequented by grain-eating birds, it does not compete with field crops and it contributes to the maintainance of soil fertility.[29]

But even a more obvious attempt at maintaining soil fertility was the concerted efforts made by farmers to apply all types of manure to their fields. The importance which they attached to manuring their fields can be gauged by the amount and length of time devoted to this aspect of agricultural activity.[30] In addition to

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28. For the various roles performed by gawo, see G.R.G. Kerr, "Gawo: The Ideal Farm Tree", Farm and Forest, vols.2-3, 1941-42.

29. According to a research conducted in Niger Republic (to the north of Kano), sixteen to twenty gawo trees per acre, forming a close canopy, permit continuous cultivation of millet on land which would otherwise require several years of fallowing. See H.A. Luning, An Agro-Economic Survey in Katsina Province, Kaduna, 1961, p.37.

30. P.L. Monteil, op.cit., p.70. For a fairly detailed analysis of the application of manure on farmlands in the central region, see M.J. Mortimore and J.W. Wilson, Land and People in Kano Close-Settled Zone, Dept. of Geography, A.B.U., Zaria, Occasional Paper no.1, March 1966, p.47.

the application of all sorts of household wastes to the fields the farmers also entered into contractual or friendly agreements with nomads so that the latter could camp on the fields during certain times of the year in the processes of which the droppings of the animals enriched the soils.

In these ways the farmers succeeded in maintaining the fertility of their lands for a long time and therefore the land continued to be cultivated by succeeding generations. The orderly methods of agricultural practice, especially in the central region, were believed by agricultural experts to have made the area unique in Africa.[31]

Apart from fertile soils this region was also endowed with strategic minerals - iron ore and salt. The former was particularly significant in the political and economic history of Kano. It would appear that the early concentration of population in the region was made possible by the use of iron implements in cultivating crops such as gero (millet) and dawa (guinea corn) - two important commodities which launched Kano into a

31. NAK, SNP.17/3 562 - Kano Province, Annual Report 1937, p.3.

leading position of long-distance trade probably even before the end of the first millennium A.D.[32]

Early iron-working technology in Kano made the tilling of soils easier. Moreover adequate supply of rainfall in the region resulted in the emergence of a flourishing sedentary community, at least during the first millennium A.D.[33]

This, in addition to other factors attracted immigrants from the neighbouring regions and distant areas of the Central Sudan from the earliest time.[34]

Another mineral which features prominently in the written traditions[35] of the region is salt. This appears to have been exploited in the Chalawa river bend, near the settlement and later, town of Tsakuwa.

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32. M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.115.

33. F. Willett, "A Survey of Recent Results in Radio Carbon of Western and Northern Africa", J.A.H., XII, 1971, p.368. It would appear, however, that Kano, at least in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, depended on imported iron ore and smelted iron for its expanding needs. It is most likely that it became cheaper to import iron ore and smelted iron than to exploit the iron ore deposits of the area (Kano). See infra, pp.

34. M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.115.

35. Tarikh Arbab, p.99.

The mining of salt was so important in the early period (probably even before the emergence of the state of Kano) that it necessitated the appointment of Sarkin Ruwa (King or Chief of Water) possibly to regulate its mining. This commodity probably constituted one of the earliest articles of internal trade.

This region also had adequate sources of water supply. In addition to a relatively high water table,[36] the region has been traversed by several rivers and streams such as Chalawa, Wudil, Jakara, Thomas, Watari and Kano. Water obtained from these sources to a very large extent satisfied the domestic and industrial needs of the region. The valleys of these rivers therefore attracted nomadic Fulani in large numbers. The favourable grazing conditions resulted in the early sedentarisation of the Fulani in the area.

The valleys of these rivers also played significant roles in agricultural production. The fadamomi (flood

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36. Alan Frishman, "The Population Growth in Kano, Nigeria", in African Historical Demography: Proceedings of a Seminar held in the Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 29th and 30th April, 1977, p.214.

plains) were intensively used for the cultivation of crops and vegetables such as sugar cane, wheat, onions, pepper, tomatoes and maize. The extent to which the fadamomi were utilised was such that, in spite of their prevalence in Kasar Kano, many people from here often travelled to the neighbouring Emirates during the dry seasons to utilise the under-used or unused fadamomi.[37]

The processes of irrigation of crops in the river valleys involved two methods. The first was the use of handscoops for watering vegetables cultivated in small areas. The second and most important method was the use of shadoof. The shadoof was a useful device to enable water flowing in the beds of the man-made channels to reach various parts of large orchards or vegetable gardens. Irrigation enabled the farmers to grow crops twice or more a year instead of once and since even in this part of Kano, climatic constraints have been, from time to time, a limiting factor in the economy, one obvious way devised to minimise the effects was the

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37. A.T. Grove, "Population Densities and Agriculture in Northern Nigeria", in K.M. Barbour and R.M. Prothero (eds.), Essays in African Population, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961, p.125.

intensification of the utilisation of the water from the rivers and the streams.

The favourable conditions in this region enabled it to attract and sustain people of diverse origins and occupations from the earliest time to the end of the nineteenth century. Consequently this made the region the most densely populated. This had both political and economic implications. The concentration of population in the central part of the region in the early period was an important factor in the emergence and development of the centralised state of Kano. This was also crucial to its emergence as a leading industrial region of the Central Sudan particularly in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.[38] This region, therefore, dominated all other parts of Kasar Kano politically and economically particularly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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38. The significance of population density in relation to the level of industrial production and commerce is discussed in the relevant sections of the various chapters which follow this one. Vide infra, pp.543-554.

(3) The South-Eastern Region.

This region covers the area to the south of northern and north-eastern region and south-east of the central region. It is separated from the southern region by a line stretching from Wudil, through the southern boundary of Sumaila and Rimi to the Kano-"Bauchi region" boundary.

(a) Rainfall and Vegetation.

Due to its geographical location this region or at least a greater part of it received more rainfall than the two regions which have already been discussed. This is particularly in view of the fact that the greater part of the region lies either on or below the latitude on which Dan Gora is situated. Since the area around Dan Gora has been observed to have received heavier rainfall[39] than the area around Birnin Kano.[40]

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39. W.F. Gowers, op.cit., p.6.

40. Originally birni meant a walled town. But the term has increasingly gained the connotation of the city as used in the modern sense. Henceforth the town or city of Kano will be referred to as birni. This is in order to avoid confusing the town or city with the area of the study. Both the city and the territory of Kano have born the same name. Many people within Kano however, have often referred to the city of Kano simply as birni.

The nature and density of vegetation, where there was no human interference, reflected the amount of annual rainfall received in the region. Other indicators of relatively heavier rainfall in this region in pre-colonial time also included the types of crops cultivated in the area. These included crops which required relatively heavier rainfall such as guinea corn and some variety of indigo.

A substantial part of the region, particularly its southern part, has been covered by dazuzzuka (forest) up to the end of the nineteenth century.[41] Other notable tracts of forests were those of Duduru, which stretched from Sumaila through Gaya to Jahun and those around Kiyawa. The significance of the forests lay in the variety of species of trees and the products obtained from them. Among the trees for which the region became renowned throughout Kasar Kano and whose products formed important articles of internal and external trade included dates, giginya (Borassus flabbelifer) and kabba (gorriba palms). Date trees, found in very large

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41. NAK, SNP.7/10 5570/1909 - Kano Province Assessment 1909-10, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida and Gumel Districts.

concentrations particularly in and around Dutse Gadawur, Birnin Kudu and Kila, produced large quantities of date fruits which found their way into other parts of Kano as articles of trade. Similarly fronds of gorriba palms were utilised in the weaving of mats, baskets, trays, hats, ropes, fans, roofing materials and other containers. These products also formed important part of articles of trade.

Equally important were the products of giginiya plants. For countless generations azara (timber) obtained from giginiya plants have provided a most reliable material for the building of houses. Trade between the birni and this part of Kano in azara has been extensive. The azara are resistant to attacks by white and other ants as well as against decay. They were therefore much more reliable and suitable materials for the construction of soro (flat-topped rooms built of mud which have been the commonest type of building in many or most parts of Hausaland), bene (storey building), and salga (pit latrine). Similarly fruits from giginiya, as well as muruchi (young shoots sprouting from fruits of giginiya when buried in the ground) have been regarded as a delicacy and a stimulant

and often found their way to the birni and other parts of Kano, in large quantities.

Skins and meat as well as scent obtained from wild animals which were found in large numbers in the forests of this region, were also valued greatly either for long-distance trade or for preparation of different types of medicines.

(b) Soils, Minerals, Population Density, Water Supply, and Grazing Lands.

The two major groups of soils found in the region are the brown and reddish-brown soils of arid and semi-arid regions, with lithosols and ferruginous crusts and the ferruginous tropical soils.[42] While the former is found in the northern part of the region the latter is confined to its southern parts. As has already been pointed out both groups of soils have been quite suitable for the cultivation of different types of crops, including cotton, indigo and guinea corn.

As in the case of the central region, the northern part of the south-eastern region, especially the area around Gaya, was renowned in the traditions of the area for iron mining and smelting in the early period of Kano

42. M.J. Mortimore, op.cit.(1968), p.300.

history.[43] As in the central region it is likely that iron-working technology played a significant role in agricultural production in the early period. It is not known for how long the inhabitants of this part of the south-eastern region continued to rely on the iron ore deposits of the area. The only other known metal found in the region was gold which appeared to have been exploited only in the twentieth century.[44]

In addition to adequate rainfall, especially in the southern parts due to their proximity to the high lands of "Bauchi region", the region has also been traversed by several rivers. These included Kwajali, Dogwalo, Kiyako, Fatake, Igiji and Katagum. Several of them contained water all year round.

In spite of the favourable conditions for human settlements, a substantial part of this region, especially the areas along the Kano-"Bauchi region" boundary, remained sparsely populated from the earliest time (especially from the fifteenth century) to the end

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43. P.J. Jaggar, "Kano City Blacksmiths: Precolonial Distribution, Structure, and Organization", Savanna, vol.II no.1, June 1973, p.14.

44. Gold mining in Kasar Kano started in 1923. By 1940 annual production of this mineral amounted to only seven ounces.

of the nineteenth century. This was due to the subjection of the areas to series of raids by the successive rulers of Kano for the purpose of acquiring slaves.[45] It would appear that a substantial proportion of the population of the central region originated from the south-eastern parts of Kano. This suggestion is particularly valid if the time-span over which people were forcibly removed from here to the central region is taken into account: from about the first half of the fifteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century people were continually removed in hundreds and sometimes in thousands.[46]

One of the important effects of this policy was the depopulation of the southern part of the region, while its northern part, especially the areas around Gaya and Dutse Gadawur, carried higher concentration of population. The depopulation of the southern part led to the increase of population in the central region. While the concentration of population in the latter

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45. These raids have been extensively discussed in Tarikh Arbab and Taqyid al-Akhbar. See Tarikh Arbab, pp.123-4, and Taqyid al-Akhbar, pp.27a-30a.

46. Tarikh Arbab, p.110.

influenced industrial production, the sparse population distribution in the former enabled the inhabitants, especially new arrivals, to concentrate on production of grain through the continuous use of virgin lands in the region. This production of grain, in addition to cotton, was in such large quantity that in spite of the continued raids, it was used as surplus for trade particularly with the central region.

The extensive tracts of unoccupied lands also attracted nomadic Fulani, especially from the eighteenth century, in large numbers. Many of the Fulani who settled in the region originated from Borno. Many of those of them who settled in the area of Birnin Kudu and Dutse Gadawur have been known as Fulata Borno (Fulani of Borno).

(4) The Southern Region.

This is the area to the south of the central region. It is limited to the north by a line stretching from the town of Kumurya to Bunkure, and to the west by a line stretching from the town of Kura through Chiromawa and Chutar Buki to the Kano--Zazzau border.

(a) Rainfall and Vegetation.

This region receives more rainfall than any other region in Kasar Kano. This is due to its location. Much of it lies below the latitude on which Dan Gora is situated. Secondly the southern part of the region lies close to the highlands of central Nigeria, an area which receives an annual rainfall of from 60 to 80 inches.[47]

Due to the relatively heavy rainfall, heavy soil and sparseness of the population distribution, especially in the southern part of the region, the vegetation here, where there was no human interference, has not only been thicker but the trees have also been taller than those found to the north of this region. The commonest species of trees included kadanya (shea butter), dinya (Vitex cien kowskii), dorowa (Parkia filicoidia), rimi (Ceiba pentadra). These species of trees played important roles in the economy of Kano. In terms of the concentration of economic trees, this region was the most important.

From the forests of this region, masassaka (wood

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47. K.M. Buchanan and J.C. Pugh, op.cit., p.26.

carvers) produced a great variety of items ranging from chairs, stools, doors and door frames to mortars, pestles, mallets, handles for hoes, axes, sickles and ploughs. Some of these products could only be produced from a certain species of tree. 'Yan tama (smelters) also obtained their gawayi (charcoal) for various aspects of smelting and blacksmithing from certain species of trees found in this region. A wide range of fibres were also obtained mostly by a process of retting which is followed by beating and combing. Tough and durable bast fibres which are used in the manufacture of code, ropes, and crude cloth were obtained from baobab trees.[48] These were used for tying animals, loads or bundles of, for instance, kolanuts, or potash, thatching, construction of walls of cornstalks especially around gardens, weaving of mats and baskets.

The fruits of kadanya and dorowa were important sources of oil and foodstuffs. Oil obtained from kadanya (shea butter) was used in cooking and lighting lamps as well as for medicinal purposes. Similarly dorowa trees have played a variety of roles

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48. K.M. Buchanan and J.C. Pugh, op.cit., p.176.

in the economy. There has always been great demand for its budi (flour), kalwa (dried seeds), and daddawa (an important ingredient used in preparation of soup - to give flavour) have been universal throughout the Sudan and other regions of West Africa. Some of the dorowa products have been invaluable in time of food shortages.[49] By-products of dorowa trees have also been used for plastering walls of dye-pits and houses. Other species of trees also yielded other products which have been important items of internal and external trade.

(b) Soils, Minerals, Water Supply and Population Distribution.

This region was also famous for production of indigo, cotton, and guinea corn. Large-scale production of these crops (and several others including tobacco and ridi (sesame)), was made possible both by ample rainfall and the fertile groups of soils found in the region. The greater part of the region is covered by the ferruginous tropical soils of the Zaria

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49. A good example was the year 1912 (see NAK, SNP.7, 4055/1912 - Kano Province, Dan Iya Sub-District Assessment Report).

type.[50] These have been derived from drift and weathered materials overlying acid granitic rocks. They are much richer in organic content than any of the other groups of soils in Kasar Kano. They also have larger proportions of clay and silt. They are therefore very suitable for the cultivation of crops which demand heavy soils.

This region formed part of a belt stretching from east to west between Kano and Nazzau territories and which curves to the north-west through southern parts of Kasar Katsina to Zamfara. This was the "cotton belt" of Hausaland. Cotton and indigo were produced in the belt on a very large scale. The prevalence of these important industrial crops in this region plus the ample supply of water resulted in its emergence as an important area of weaving and dyeing industries. Water supply was obtained from several rivers, including Kano, Garanga, Murna, Zungur, Duku and Gindua which traverse the region.

The younger granitic rocks of the southern part of the region contained some deposits of tin ore, tungsten, cassiterite and columbite. It is not known, however,

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50. M.J. Mortimore, op.cit.(1968), p.302.

whether any of these minerals were exploited before the twentieth century.

Like the south-eastern region, population distribution, especially in the southern parts of the region, was sparse. Parts of the region were also subjected to occasional slave raids. In the nineteenth century the southern part of the region was rendered unsafe by the Ningawa.[51] Unlike the short grassland areas to the north, this region appears to have been infested by tsetse flies. Therefore although many of the burtali (cattle tracks) met in this region, it would appear that relatively fewer Fulani settled in it, especially before the great period of sedentarisation of the nineteenth century. Due to the sparsity of the population, shifting cultivation was the main feature of agricultural production in the region. But due to the fertility of the virgin lands the region was a leading area of guinea corn production.

(5) The Western and South-Western Region.

This is the area to the north-west of the southern region and west of the central region. Its boundary

51. vide infra, pp.650.

with the central region is marked by a line starting from Bunkure in the south through Garun Mallam, Madobi, Kabo and Butubutu, then finally stopping at Bichi in the north.

(a) Rainfall and Vegetation.

Much of this region lies to the north of Dan Gora and west of the central region, on the same latitudes, with the latter. It is, therefore, most likely that they have been receiving almost the same amount of rainfall. Due to the minimal interference with the environment, sparse distribution of population, and the heavy and fertile soil especially in the extreme western and south-western parts of the region, the vegetation cover here was quite dense. There were several large tracts of forests especially in the extreme south-western parts of the region. Most notable were those in the regions of Gwarzo and Falgore. The various species of trees found in this region such as dorowa, kadanya, gawo and kuka, performed the same economic roles as those found in the southern and central regions.

(b) Soils, Minerals, Water Supply, Population Distribution and Grazing Land.

The region is covered by two major groups of soils. The extreme southern and western parts of the region are covered by ferruginous tropical soils. The other part of the region, which forms part of the western extension of the central region, has the same type of soils as the latter. About half of the region lies in the "cotton belt" of Hausaland. This same area of the region was very famous for its indigo. It is even believed that the best type of indigo was cultivated in this area.[52] Particularly in the nineteenth century this part of Kano became famous for its dyeing industries. Iron ore appears to have been mined or smelted around the towns of Godia and Getso. This was exploited in the former mainly in the early period of Kano history.

Before the nineteenth century, the region was relatively sparsely populated. Due to this fact and the relative proximity of the region to the Kaduna and other river valleys, and due to the ample supply of water provided by the rivers which traversed the region, the region attracted large numbers of Fulani. The

52. MUM (Birni), March-April 1980.

earliest Fulani settlements in Kasar Kano were established in this region in places such as Jahun, Shanono, Kiru and Bebeji.[53] As a result of such attraction, by the second half of the eighteenth century, the region probably had more concentration of Fulani population than any other.

This concentration of Fulani in the region had economic implications. Since most of them were engaged in pastoral activities, especially in the period before the nineteenth century, they depended on the agriculturalists and manufacturers for their supplies of grains and other commodities and goods. This stimulated the expansion of internal trade in the region. With the changing political, social and economic conditions in the nineteenth century, a considerable number of the Fulani participated either in agriculture, trade or administration.

From the foregoing discussion, Kasar Kano was endowed with vast material and human resources. The uneven distribution of these resources was significant

53. JMA (Kiru), 9/2/79; MMM (Bebeji), 9/2/79; ABD (Shanono), 30/12/78.

in the development of the economy. The early exchange of commodities between the various regions inculcated in the people the habit of trade - both internal and long-distance trade. Trade was vital for the promotion of production. Of particular significance was the intensity of the production of industrial crops such as indigo and cotton.

III. Seasonal Climatic Changes and the Cycle of Economic Activity:

One of the dominant factors affecting the climate of this part (Kasar Kano) of the savanna region of West Africa has been the movement of the Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone. This involved the movement of air masses with tropical front which have largely determined the annual distribution of rainfall and temperature.

The climate of Kasar Kano has been characterised by high temperature and marked seasonality of rainfall. The two major seasons are rani (dry season) and damina (rainy season). The rani which lasts from about October to May (in some years to June) can be

sub-divided into hunturu (hamattan) and bazara (hot season).[54]

The main economic activity undertaken during this period is the harvest of kaka crops. Generally this starts in September when crops like gero (millet) are harvested. This period is called kaka gero.[55] Trade and commercial activities are also carried out during this time of the year. By this time agricultural produce which form a substantial part of the items of trade have been harvested.

The bazara is the hottest part of the dry season; it lasts from about March to May and sometimes June. During this period the temperature rises sharply, reaching a maximum of 100.8°F in April. From the point

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54. Results of weather observation in the early part of the twentieth century have shown that the mean maximum temperature which rises from 88°F in September to 90°F in October falls to 87.1°F in December. The lowest point of 85.6°F has been recorded in the month of January. The mean minimum has been lowest in the months of November, December, January and February, with 61.6°F, 56.9°F, and 59.5°F respectively.

55. Imam Imoru, "Farming - Ayukan Gona", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.67. Almost every crop has its kaka. In addition to kaka gera (from about September to October), there is kaka dawa (from about October to November).

of view of agricultural production, even in irrigated areas, this time of the year is marked by relative inactivity. Towards the later part of bazara, farms are cleared and the heaping of different types of manure is intensified. Tree crops such as tsamiya (Tamarindus indica), dorowa (Parkia filicoidia) and rimi (Ceiba pentandra) are harvested. Secondary occupations (to those who undertake them on part-time basis) like weaving, tanning, carving and making of pots are undertaken during this time.

Due to water shortage and exhaustion of grazing lands, the bulk of the cattle from several parts of Kasar Kano are moved southward, especially to Kaduna river valley for pasture and better source of water. Some of the cattle in the northern parts of Kano as well as some from Borno, Daura, Katsina and other parts of the Sahel region are moved to the regions of Miga, Ringim, Harbo Tsohuwa and the valley of Thomas, where water in the river-beds and lakes is available all year round.

The first signs of damina (rainy season) include the appearance of concentration of clouds in the sky. At this time violent dust storms are often followed by

tornadoes. With these signs, preparation for agricultural activities is intensified. People who have been away from home for reasons of, for instance, trade, return home. The arrival of the rains is the most critical period of the farming calendar. Planting cannot start until the ground has been softened by moderately heavy rainfall and the date of planting may vary remarkably from one year to another. If the first rains are not followed by additional rains within, for instance, about one week to ten days, the drought may necessitate another planting. Variability of rainfall affects not only the annual totals, but also the proportion of the occurrence within each month so that not even the wettest month can be relied upon for a consistent supply.

The average intensity of rainfall is high, with the attendant problems of rapid surface run-off, soil erosion and water-logging. As in the beginning, the end of the rains is often uncertain, although sometimes agriculturally less crucial. In so far as the times of the onset and conclusions of the wet season are determined by the arrival and departure of the Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone, the rains tend to end early in those

years in which they had began late.[56]

It is essential that the staple foodcrops, dawa (guinea corn) and gero (millet), are planted first in order to take advantage of the rainfall. Other crops such as beans, cotton, indigo and rice are sown afterwards. The whole family including children, except for women in purdah, especially in the nineteenth century, turned out to plant the crops. As soon as the crops had been sown, animals, especially goats and sheep which had been allowed to roam freely on the cleared farmlands, were confined to community pasture grounds or to houses and fed on fodder collected on a daily basis. Secondary economic activities either ceased or are reduced in scale. After about two weeks of the germination of dawa and gero, gyada (groundnut) is planted, sometimes in the spaces purposely left in between the stands of the first crops.

In some years the first weeks of damina may be followed by irregular rainfall. This is regarded as fari (drought). If the fari persists for a long period, the Sarkin Noma (King of Farming), the Kings and later on the Emirs of Kano would order people to perform

56. M.J. Mortimore and J.W. Wilson, op.cit.(1966), p.2.

traditional and Islamic rituals for rainfall. In a normal damina, with regular intervals of rainfall, aikin gona (farm-work) is carried out smoothly throughout the malka(wet period). Between June and July when the rains become heavier, the principal activity consists of weeding. The first weeding takes place about fourteen days after planting the crops and the second weeding takes place about one month after the previous one.[57] Each crop is weeded at least twice.

The intensity of rainfall between July and August is largely responsible for the fact that in such a relatively dry area crops are often lost as a result of too much rain especially in August.[58] At that time of the year, depressions and sloping areas become water-logged. River valleys, particularly those of the Hadejia river, are prone to overflowing.

By the end of August or the beginning of September the ripening of millet commences and the next season, the harvest period which lasts till November or even December, starts. From now on the pace of agricultural

57. Imam Imoru, "Weeding - Noma", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.61.

58. R.K. Udo, op.cit., p.181.

activities slackens. Groundnuts are lifted from October. In November the harvest of guinea corn takes place. By about December cowpeas are harvested and shelled. Trade, weaving, and other economic activities are taken up again on a greater scale.

IV. The Peopling and People of Kasar Kano:

Although immigration of peoples into Kasar Kano has been taking place imperceptibly through the ages, certain periods stand out as great epochs of large-scale movements of peoples into the area.

The earliest known period of large-scale movement of people into Kasar Kano took place probably towards the end of the first millennium A.D.[59] This appears to have been occasioned by widespread famine brought about most likely by drought. People from all parts of the Central Sudan, particularly from the northern parts of the region, moved into the central region of Kano. These included people from the areas which came to be known as Borno, Adar, Daura, and Air.[60]

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59. M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.115.

60. ibid., p.115.

The establishment and expansion of centralised and large-scale states in the Central Sudan were accompanied by a number of economic developments. This included the opening up of major trade routes between the various states of Central Sudan on the one hand and between these states and communities or states of the Volta region.[61] This commercial expansion and other related developments in the spheres of agricultural and live-stock production, mining and manufacturing eventually opened up opportunities for investments to merchants of the various parts of the Sudan. Kasar Kano, but particularly the birni and its environs which were important areas of economic activities, attracted several groups, including those of Kanuri, Wangarawa, North African communities, and probably Nupe immigrants. Immigration into Kasar Kano was not just due to economic reasons. Other factors were also at work. Droughts and political conflicts, especially resulting from dynastic disputes in neighbouring states, particularly Borno, often resulted in the immigration of large groups of people into Kasar Kano.[62]

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61. For a detailed discussion of this subject, see infra, pp.

62. Tarikh Arbab, p.109.

In the eighteenth century several groups of people, especially Fulani and to a lesser extent the Kanuri, settled in various parts of Kasar Kano. These emigrated from Gobir and Borno respectively.[63] Other immigrants into Kano in the eighteenth century included the Nupe-speaking people.

The establishment of Sokoto Caliphate in the nineteenth century which resulted in greater expansion of economic activities also led to the influx of people into Kano territory. Towards the end of the century, the invasion of Borno by Rabeh led to large-scale movements of people from that land into Kasar Kano.

Other groups of people were also forcibly brought into Kasar Kano in the form of slaves. These came mainly from the "Bauchi region", the middle and upper Benue valleys, and some regions of Central Africa.[64] These slaves were brought into Kasar Kano, at least,

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63. vide infra, pp. 225-226.

64. Central Africa in this study refers to the areas to the east of the Upper Benue river valley and the Bamenda highlands and to the south of the Shari-Logone river system as far south as the Congo basin. For a detailed discussion of Kano's trade with this region, vide infra, pp. 722.

from the fourteenth century,[65] a process which continued up to the beginning of the twentieth century. They were sometimes imported in hundreds or even in thousands.[66] Therefore they formed a substantial part of the population of Kano.

These series of immigrations which had been taking place over several centuries resulted in the emergence of a complex society in Kasar Kano. The complex nature of the society has been shown particularly in the urban centres of the state. In this case the birni has been the best example. Many of the old[67] unguwowi (wards) of the birni seem to have been founded by the immigrants.[68] The complex nature of the birni has been, however, merely

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65. Tarikh Arbab, p.106.

66. C.H. Robinson, op.cit., p.130.

67. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, pp.507-8.

68. Useful sources of information on various wards of the birni in the pre-twentieth century period include: H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, pp.507, 508, 509; C.J. Greenhill(ed.), Kurmi Market Study, Metropolitan Kano Planning and Development Board, 1972, pp.68-71; John Paden, "Urban Pluralism, Integration and Adaptation of Communal Identity in Kano", in Ronald Cohen (ed.), From Tribe to Nation in Africa: Studies in Incorporation Processes, New York: Chandler Publishing Co., 1970, pp.242-68.

a reflection of that of the entire Kasar Kano. Kasar Kano may indeed be regarded as a "melting pot" of the Central Sudan.

Economically this was of tremendous advantage. The stream of immigrants brought with them new skills, new crafts, capital and wealth. They created markets for Kano products in their former countries or regions through the maintainance of permanent contacts with these regions. These countries or regions were also valuable sources of raw materials and other goods which were used as "re-export" to other regions.

(1) The Early Inhabitants of Kasar Kano.

Despite the variety of the groups of people who had been settling in Kasar Kano for centuries, the majority of the inhabitants of this country, at least in the early periods, consisted of the sedentary agricultural communities whose ancestors had been occupying the area which came to be known as Kano before the arrival of the first groups of immigrants. These early inhabitants of Kasar Kano belonged to the Afro-Asiatic language groups. Not only did they constitute the earliest and the main stream of the society into which most other successive

immigrants were eventually absorbed and integrated, their agricultural produce and products also had been vital in the establishment of the foundation of the state and the economy of Kano. The surplus grains they produced sustained the members of /ruling class, the /the industrial and commercial groups, as well as the nomadic Fulani. They also produced and supplied the raw materials, for instance, cotton and indigo for Kano's manufacturing and dyeing industries. Although many or most of them remained essentially agriculturalists, they also participated in the manufacturing and commercial sectors of the economy.

These early inhabitants of Kasar Kano were not, however, homogenous. Although they did eventually develop a common identity and common cultural traits, it has been possible to discern in the early period of their history what may be called sub-groups among them. These sub-groups included the Rumawa, Kutumbawa, Kurmawa, Aurawa, Diryawa, Ajawa, Warjawa, and "Maguzawa". These are believed to have belonged to the Afro-Asiatic language group.[69] Two other groups who began to inhabit

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69. J.H. Greenberg, Languages of Africa, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1966, pp.165, 171.

the area of Kano before the main period of the study but who belonged to another linguistic group - the Benue-Congo -, were the Butawa and Kudawa.[70]

The "Maguzawa" seemed to have been widespread in Kasar Kano in the nineteenth century. They were largely found in the areas of Wudil, Gaya, Rano and Karaye. According to Meek these are the descendants of the people who inhabited Kasar Kano at the time of one of the large-scale influx of other groups, including probably the Kutumbawa. This took place possibly towards the end of the first millennium A.D. The ancestors of the "Maguzawa" are believed to have come from Azben.[71] While it is reasonable to believe that some of the early inhabitants of Kasar Kano, including probably the ancestors of the "Maguzawa", gradually moved into the area of Kano, no sufficient evidence has been provided to justify the assertion that they

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70. C.L. Temple (ed.), Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of Northern Provinces of Nigeria, Lagos: C.M.S. Bookshop, 1922, p.483; J.H. Greenberg, op.cit., pp.164, 167. For certain, in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, the Butawa and the Kudawa inhabited the south-eastern region of Kano, particularly along the Kano-Bauchi borderland. See Tarikh Arbab, p.124.

71. NAK, Kanoprof, H.3/5.

originated specifically from Azben.

The "Maguzawa" seemed to have been displaced from the central region of Kano (especially from the Dala region) during the processes of the establishment and expansion of the state.[72] From their original settlements some of them moved to the area around Fungwai and in the course of the subsequent wars, especially during the conquest of Santolo and some areas of Kano, they appear to have been dispersed all over the country.[73] The "Rumawa" was another group which occupied the central region in the early periods. Nothing is known about them. Their willingness to cooperate with the invading and conquering groups before or during the period of the creation of the centralised state in Kano enabled them to continue to occupy their territory which does not appear to have been far from the area of Dala hill.[74]

The Ajawa, Warjawa and Aurawa appear to have inhabited the areas between the Dala hill and Kano

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72. Tarikh Arbab, p.104.

73. For the conquest of Santolo and its adjacent regions, see Tarikh Arbab, p.106.

74. Tarikh Arbab, p.104.

before the fifteenth century.[75] In the later part of the fourteenth century they were pushed to the south-eastern parts of Kasar Kano. By the end of the nineteenth century they were found mainly in the south-eastern parts of Rano, Sumaila, Birnin Kudu, and Gwaram. The Ajawa formed the bulk of the people inhabiting the area to the east of the Yarji river, while the Diryawa, relatively small group, occupied two of the hamlets to the south-west of Fagam and Gwaram.[76] The Diryawa claim to have been driven westwards by Kanembu from Dirya in Borno. They arrived and settled in this part of Kano under the leadership of one Gobara.[77] This has not yet been verified. However, it should not be discarded in view of the fact that people over the centuries were constantly moving from Kanem and Borno areas into Kasar Kano.

Moreover, two other smaller groups, Kuramo and Dambaro, inhabited the area of Tudun Wada in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. A substantial number of "Maguzawa" also inhabited this area.[78] There were

75. Tarikh Arbab, p.99.

76. NAK, Kanoprof, Hist/5.

77. ibid.

78. IAU, ABT (Tudun Wada), 9/2/79.

also other groups who had been moving gradually southward into Kasar Kano from the earliest time to the end of the nineteenth century. These included the Tokarawa and Agalawa.[79] Both were found mainly in and around the birni, dominating the Durmin Arbabi ward,[80] as well as other commercial centres such as Bebeji,[81] Tamburawa,[82] Unguwar Agalawa, Madobi, Gora, Lambu, Kura, Bunkure, Kumurya, Garko, Utai, Kunya and Rano.[83] Unlike the other sub-groups, the Agalawa and Tokarawa were predominantly long-distance traders. They were particularly renowned for trade in grains.

The distinctions between these various sub-groups do not appear to have been fundamentally based on ethnocultural foundations. Distinctions were brought about by other factors, particularly religion. A "Bamaguje"

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79. M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.115. The term 'Tokarci' mentioned in this source refers to Tokarawa.

80. C.J. Greenhill, op.cit., p.70.

81. NAK, SNP.7, 2084/1909 - Assessment Report, Bebeji and Kofa Districts.

82. NAK, SNP.7, 4055/1912 - Kano Province, Dan Iya Sub-District, Assessment Report.

83. P.E. Lovejoy, The Hausa Kola Trade (1700-1900): A Commercial System in the Continental Exchange of West Africa, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Wisconsin, 1977, p.145.

(pl. "Maguzawa"), for instance, is recognized as such if only he refused to accept Islam and followed the "pagan" rituals of his ancestors. Upon admittance into Islam he automatically became a Bahaushe (pl. Hausawa).

The time of the arrival of the sub-groups in Kasar Kano is difficult, if not impossible, to establish. It is possible that the majority of them moved into the area which came to be known as Kasar Kano from the various regions of the Sudan. Generally, however, the pattern of movements of populations into Kasar Kano in the early periods, as many of the sources show, was from the north and north-east to the south and south-west. Movements of people from the north to the south may have started during or before the last millennium B.C.[84]

People who have been identified as Hausa-speaking in ancient times are believed to have inhabited the central Saharan regions in very large numbers. According to Gautier, areas occupied by the Hausa-speaking people extended as far north as the foot of the Atlas mountains - as far as the Jedi regions.[85] He supports

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84. Abdullahi Smith, op.cit.(1971), p.184.

85. E.F. Gautier, Sahara, The Great Desert, New York: Frank Cass, 1970, pp.126-7.

his assertion with pieces of evidence which include arrow heads and mortars which he believes could only have been used by the Hausa-speaking groups. Since these findings do not appear to have been subjected to rigorous examination, analysis and comparisons by other archaeologists, the view may be accepted with caution. Probably a more reliable piece of evidence which links the Hausa-speaking groups with the regions to the north is linguistic evidence. Since the Hausa language belongs to the Afro-Asiatic group of languages, it is reasonable to believe that the Hausa-speaking groups may have lived in the same region with the other Afro-Asiatic groups who inhabited this region in the ancient times.

The movement of people southward was accelerated by the gradual desiccation of the Sahara. The relatively well-watered regions of Kano became attractive to many of the immigrants, while others found their

way into the other Hausa states.[86]

(2) Immigration into Kasar Kano in the Later Periods.

Even before most of the earlier groups had settled permanently in various parts of Kasar Kano, more and

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86. Quite a number of materials on the gradual movements of people from the dry regions to the north into the southern parts of the Sahel and the Sudan savanna regions to the south are available. These include: M. Hisket, op.cit(1965), pp.114-5; Tarikh Arbab, p.99; T. Monod, "The Late Tertiary Pleistocene in the Sahara and the Adjacent Southerly Regions", in F.C. Howell and F. Bourliere (eds.), African Ecology and Human Evolution, London: Methuen, , p.132; Abdullahi Smith, op.cit.(1971), p.184; Abdullahi Smith, "Some Considerations relating to the Formation of States in Hausaland", J.H.S.N., vol.V no.3, December 1970, p.458; N. Levtzion, "Early States of the Western Sudan to 1500 A.D.", in J.F.A. Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds.), op.cit.(1976), p.115; T. Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspectives: An Anthology, London, O.U.P., 1975, p.23; Djibo Hamani, "Courants migratoires AYR-HAUSA avant le XIX siecle", History of the Central Sudan before 1804, Zaria, 8-13 January, 1979; NAK, 376/1914 - Report No.47 on Kano Province for Half-Year Ending 30th June, 1914: Submission of, pp.25-26. In this Report it is stated that many of the villages to the north and north-east of Kano were deserted due to partial failure of crops in 1913. Most of the able-bodied people migrated southward in search of food. Most or many of them were Azbenawa and other groups of the Sahel region. The latest example of large-scale southward movement of people took place between 1970 and 1974 due to the occurrence of drought in the Sahel region and parts of the Sudan savanna regions. Many of these immigrants have since settled in Nigerian towns.

more groups of immigrants arrived and settled here. These included the Wangarawa (sing. Wangara). One of the first groups is said to have arrived in Kano under the leadership of Abdurrahman Zaite in the time of Sarki Yaji (c.1349-1385).[87] This was followed by other immigrations from "Wangara". These included Zeitawa, Dururawa and Sankawa. These settled in some of the oldest wards like Madabo in the birni.[88]

Although the earliest arrivals were closely associated with Islamic, judicial and administrative work, over the centuries the Wangarawa who settled in Kasar Kano increasingly came to be associated with manufacturing and long-distance trade. Largely urban in settlement, they became famous for their industrial output, especially textile and leather production.

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87. For the term and coming of Wangarawa in Kano, see Anonymous, Waraqa Mahtuba Fiha asl al-Wangariyin al-Muhtasibin Ili Shaikh Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b Ibrahim b. Muhammad Qithima (trans. and ed.) by Muhammad Al-Hajj as "A Seventeenth Century Chronicle on the Origins and Missionary Activities of the Wangarawa", Kano Studies, vol.IV, 1968, p.8. See also Tarikh Arbab, p.104; Anonymous, Hausawa Da Makwabtansu, Zaria: N.N.P.C., 1971, p.29; and Abubakar Dokaji, Kano Ta Dabo Cigari, Zaria: N.N.P.C., 1956, p.23.

88. J.N. Paden, op.cit., pp.246, 249.

Among their products were footwear, bags, loin cloths, cushions and fans. They were also renowned for tailoring expensive gowns. The Wangarawa communities which emerged and developed along the trade routes ... formed a widespread network of trading families and relations. These ties were quite advantageous to the Wangarawa communities of Kano. They were of particular importance as regards kola trade in which they were among the earliest participants. Other members of this group (i.e. the Wangarawa) performed the functions of brokers, fatoma,[89] and most likely financiers.

Another group of people who moved into Kasar Kano, from the west, but whose earliest date of arrival is unknown, were the Fulani. However, in general, their arrival in Hausaland is reported to have taken place in the second half of the fifteenth century.[90] Judging by the great number of cattle in Kano, reported by Leo Africanus, it is reasonable to say that by the first

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89. Fatoma is a Kanuri word which means landlord. But the fatoma performed other functions besides lodging his guests. These included making arrangements for the disposal of the trade goods and the acquisition of goods and other services for his guests.

90. Tarikh Arbab, p.111.

decades of the sixteenth century the Fulani might have been numerous in Kasar Kano.[91] But their large-scale immigration into the whole area took place in the eighteenth century.[92] These included wealthy families.[93]

While those who had arrived in the earlier periods settled mainly in and around the birni, Bebeji, Shanono, Kiru, Jahun and Sankara, those who arrived in Kano in the eighteenth century settled mainly in the northern, north-eastern and south-eastern parts of Kasar Kano. This reflects the directions from which they had arrived. They settled in large numbers particularly in and

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91. Leo Africanus Joannes, The History and Description of Africa and of the Notable Things Therein Contained (trans. into English in 1600 by John Pory, ed. by R. Brown), London, 1896, p.829.

92. H. Solken, "Die Geschichte von Ada", Mittheilungen des Seminars fur Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin, 1937, pp.148-56; NAK, Kanoprof., Hist/4 - History of Kazaure; NAK, SNP.7, 5585/1909 - Wombai District Assessment Report 1909; NAK, SNP.7, 5585/1912 - Kano Province, Danburam Chiroma's District Assessment; A. Maikano, "History of Dutse" (unpublished MS); Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., p.38.

93. NAK, Kanoprof., Hist/4 - History of Kazaure; NAK, SNP.7, 4817/1912 - Kano Province, Jaidanawa Sub-District, Assessment Report; NAK, SNP.7, 1267/1909 - Administrative Divisions in Provinces: Maps of; Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., pp.38-39; W.F. Gowers, op.cit., p.10.

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93. NAK, Kanoprof., Hist/4 - History of Kazaure; NAK, SNP.7, 4817/1912 - Kano Province, Jaidanawa Sub-District, Assessment Report; NAK, SNP.7, 1267/1909 - Administrative Divisions in Provinces: Maps of; Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., pp.38-39; W.F. Gowers, op.cit., p.10.

around the towns of Kunya, Dambatta, Ringim, Miga, Dutse Gadawur, Kiyawa, Takaliya and Birnin Kudu. They also settled in large numbers in and around Minjibir, Utai and Kura. By the nineteenth century they appear to have outnumbered the other groups of inhabitants of some of these settlements.[94]

By the end of the eighteenth century several wards in, and at the outskirts of the birni, were being identified with different Fulani clans. The Sullubawa largely inhabited the Kuri ward, the Dambazawa inhabited the Yolawa ward, the Mundubawa inhabited the area between the birni and Dawakin Tofa, while the Donejawa inhabited the Danejawa ward. Others included Ga'e, who under the leadership of Ardo Ga'e settled in the birni in the time of Sarki (King) Alwali (c.1781-1807).[95] Although a number

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94. A good indication of this may be the great number of Fulani clans which were scattered all over Kasar Kano. These included Sullubawa, Yerimawa, Kurawa, Ba'awa, Jahunawa (Jafunawa), Bebedawa, Tubawa, Azorawa, Sindawa, Ja'e or Ga'e (hence Jaidanawa), Mundubawa, Kokinawa, Badumawa, Katsinawa, Shuwarbawa, Gaiyaji, Danejawa, Ingawa, Kawaji, Bogwoiyawa, Geroji, Abawa and Sankarawa. Most of these names have been derived from the towns, settlements, or kingdoms of their origin or the areas in which they settled.

95. NAK, SNP.7, 4817/1912 - Kano Province, Jaidanawa Sub-District, Assessment Report; W.F. Gowers, op.cit.; H.A.S. Johnston, The Fulani Empire of Sokoto, London, O.U.P., 1967, p.65.

of the Fulani, especially the elderly ones, were employed in the services of the state, some practised cultivation of crops and a few engaged in other crafts; the main occupation of the majority of them was pastoralism.

By the nineteenth century, in terms of number, the Kanuri probably occupied the third position after the Hausa and Fulani. While the Kanuri have been continually moving into Kasar Kano over the centuries, their large-scale migration into this area appears to have taken place during three notable periods. In the early part of the fifteenth century due probably mainly to the political instability in Kanem and Borno and partly, as has already been indicated, due to the opening up of the trade routes between Borno and Kano and between Kano and the Volta regions, sizeable groups of Kanuri immigrants arrived in Kasar Kano. Their immigration in large numbers into Kasar Kano in the middle and in the closing decades of the eighteenth century were caused mainly by severe droughts of that time.[96] In addition, Rabeh's invasion of Borno accelerated the migration of the Kanuri

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96. P.E. Lovejoy and S. Baier, "The Desert-Side Economy of the Central Sudan", The International Journal of African Historical Studies, vol.VIII no.4, 1975, p.570.

and other groups into Kasar Kano. These groups included Shuwa, Nanga, Bolewa, etc.

The first recorded large-scale movements of Kanuri (and probably other related groups) into Kasar Kano took place in the time of Sarki Dauda (c.1421-1438). They arrived under the leadership of Dagachi, a Borno prince. They were settled in the birni. With the establishment of regular trade links between Kano and Borno from about the first half of the fifteenth century, the number of Kanuri immigrants into Kasar Kano increased substantially.[97] In Sarki Kisoki's time (c.1509-1565) a group of learned men, including Shiukh[98] Karaski, Magumi and Kabi arrived from Borno. They were shortly followed by M. Sherif, Tamma, Gesu and Wuri, who came from the regions of Logoni or Baghirmi.[99]

The influx of Kanuri and other groups from Borno, Baghirmi and other adjacent regions took place continually

97. Tarikh Arbab, p.111.

98. The plural of Arabic word shaikh, meaning a learned man or a notable.

99. For the migration of people from Borno and its adjacent regions into Kasar Kano, see Tarikh Arbab, pp.109, 114; H. Solken, op.cit., p.148; H. Clapperton, op.cit., pp.166-7; NAK, Kanoprof., Hist/4 - History of Kazaure Emirate; Abdullahi Maikano, Tarihin Dutse Gadawur, Kano, p.2.

so that by the end of the nineteenth century they were found in all parts of Kasar Kano. They were particularly found in large concentrations in Dutse,[100] Birnin Kudu,[101] Karaye, Rano and Kiru Districts.[102] Others inhabited the industrial area of the "cotton belt" of Hausaland. Their main centres included Karo, Zarewa,[103] Fellatan, Belli, Rogo, Gwarzo and Guruzi.[104] While some became fatoma, who in addition to other functions rented houses for visiting merchants,[105] others specialised in dyeing and the distribution of dyed cloth.[106]

There were also large concentrations of Kanuri in and around the birni. They were found in Beriberi (a Hausa word for Kanuri), Gabari (formerly part of Darma ward), Zangon Beriberi, 'Yan Doya and Fagge wards.

100. AAA (Dutse Gadawur), 3/2/79.
101. AHS (Birnin Kudu), 6/2/79.
102. JMA (Kiru), 9/2/79.
103. M. Smith, Baba of Karo: A Woman of the Muslim Hausa, London: Faber, 1954, pp.37, 181.
104. Philip J. Shea, "Black Cloth: An Export Oriented Industry in Kano", paper for the Seminar on Economic History of the Central Savanna of West Africa, Kano, 5-10 January, 1976, p.17.
105. NAK, SNP.7, 2084/1909 - Assessment Report, Bebeji and Kofa Districts.
106. Philip J. Shea, op.cit., p.17.

Whereas the earlier arrivals were mainly known for the establishment of schools, and associated with or employed by the ruling class, the later arrivals were more involved in economic activities such as the establishment of lodging houses for traders, selling of horses, salt, potash, slaves, and making of awaiki. All these economic activities may indicate the relationship between economic specialisation and places of origin.

In view of Kano's early trading relations with the middle Niger regions, most likely some Nufawa started to settle in Kano before the eighteenth century. The Nufawa, for sure, settled in Kano in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[107] They settled largely in the birni and its neighbourhood. In the birni, they were found in large numbers in Tudun Nufawa (formerly part of the old Jigau ward). Most of the inhabitants of this ward came from Bida.[108] Nufawa were also found in substantial numbers in Bakin Ruwa (Hausa - black water), Dalma, Madungurum and Marmara wards. One of

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107. C.J. Greenhill, op.cit., p.68, Nufawa a plural of Nupe in Hausa.

108. ibid., pp.68-71.

their greatest areas of concentration outside the birni was in and around Bebeji. They specialised in weaving, dyeing and production of saki gowns. Being great traders they linked Kano commercially with the markets of the middle Niger and the confluence regions as well as the other regions to the south. In this the Nufawa were assisted by some Yoruba immigrants who are believed to have settled in the birni more than three hundred years ago.[109]

Another economically important group were the Tuaregs, who were mainly from Azben and Agades and known as Azbenawa and Agadasawa respectively. Like all or most of the groups who immigrated into Kasar Kano, they too were largely economically motivated to settle here, though some migrated and settled in the other parts of Hausaland over the centuries.[110]

The Tuareg of the Sahel regions and the sedentary communities of the Sudan savanna have always been in close economic contact for centuries. In Kano they settled in different regions. They were particularly found in great concentration in and around the birni,

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109. J.N. Paden, op.cit., p.257.

110. P.E. Lovejoy and S. Baier, op.cit., p.553.

in the area of Bichi[111] and in Kura (especially in the nineteenth century). According to Barth the village of Bichi partly belonged to the Tuareg who were involved in large-scale agricultural production here and in the environs of the birni.[112] There were also several Tuareg colonies in the northern parts of the central regions and the southern parts of the northern and north-eastern region. Notable among them was the village of Damergu.

The flourishing dyeing industry of Kura, especially in the nineteenth century, also attracted Tuaregs in such large numbers that it resulted in the appointment of a Tuareg as the Sarkin[113] Kura.[114] His descendants

111. H. Barth, op.cit., p.486.

112. ibid., p.526.

113. The correct title for the ruler of Kura during this time would be dagachi (village head). But a dagachi was referred to as "sarki" by his subjects and sometimes even in official correspondence with the Kings and later Emirs of Kano. Strictly, however, the term sarki universally referred only to the King or Emir of Kano (within Kano, that is).

114. Kura District Note-Book. In colonial times, virtually every district in Kano had its notebook (with a hardcover file) in which the political and economic activities and history of each district were recorded. These District Note-Books are now kept in the Ministry of Local Government, Kano State.

in conjunction with another ruling family (Alkalawa) have, except during the civil war of 1893, continued to rule Kura town. In this town the population of Tuaregs and their descendants dominated several wards. The Tuaregs were also found in large numbers in Birnin Kudu,[115] Bebeji, Gwarzo and in the birni, where they were concentrated in the Agadesawa and Durmin Arbabi wards.

The Tuaregs were engaged in a variety of economic activities. In addition to agricultural production, they were also involved in textile production and distribution, especially in the Sahel and the central Saharan regions. Equally important was their involvement in the provision of commercial infrastructures, including constituting themselves into urban communities of brokers, financiers, landlords, as well as providing facilities for storage of trade goods for their customers and rural grazing sites for camel herders.[116] Another major contribution which they made to the development of the economy of Kano was their role as forwarding and transporting agents particularly for

115. AHS (Birnin Kudu), 6/2/79.

116. P.E. Lovejoy and S. Baier, op.cit., p.564.

the North African merchants.[117]

Another important group of the Kano society who immigrated into Kasar Kano from the north were the Arabs and other people of North African origin. These have also been settling in Kano for centuries. The first known or recorded period of their arrival in Kasar Kano was in the first half of the fifteenth century.[118] From then on, due largely to the expanding economies of the states of the Central Sudan, they continually settled in Kano (and elsewhere). Among the earlier arrivals were Muhammad b. Abd al-Karim b. Muhammad al-Maghili al-Tlimsani who arrived in Kano in the time of Sarki Muhammad Rumfa (c.1463-1499). Others arrived under the leadership of Shaikh Tunus, Shaikh Abdusalam and Dan-Goron-Duma in the time of Sarki Kisoki (c.1509-1565). By the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries their number had become substantial especially in the birni.[119] Others were found in towns like Bebeji.[120]

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117. Vide infra, pp.672-674.

118. Tarikh Arbab, p.111.

119. ibid., p.126; H. Barth, op.cit., p.507.

120. Rano District Note-Book.

In the birni they inhabited several wards, which included Dala, Chediya, Sheshe, Dalma, Dandalin Turawa, Jigau, Zaitawa, and Bakin Zuwo. The descendants of Abd al-Karim al-Maghili established the Sharifai ward. Through inter-marriages with the other members of the society, a large number of al-Maghili's descendants had developed in the birni and these had continued to regard themselves as Sharifai.[121]

The North African merchants in Kano had been closely associated with commercial activities with their area of origin as well as the Volta region. With the latter they were heavily involved in the kolanut trade.[122] Some of these merchants played, direct or indirect, political and military roles in the affairs of Kano.[123] They served as advisers, judges, treasurers

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121. All sharifai or those who claim to be sharifai regard themselves as direct descendants of Prophet Muhammad. Over the centuries the members of this group in Kano enjoyed special privileges. They were exempted from taxation and are believed even to have received grants from the public treasury. During periods of upheavals, for instance, the period of the civil war of 1893, the sharifai ward was regarded as a neutral ground and anyone who entered the sharifai mosque secured a sanctuary. See J.N. Paden, op.cit., fn.7, p.269.

122. Muhammad Uba Adamu, "Some Notes on the Influence of North African Traders in Kano", Kano Studies, vol.I no.4, 1968, p.44.

123. ibid., pp.44, 46.

and scribes. They also wielded a lot of influence in the "Arabisation" of the court especially in the times of Sarki Muhammad Rumfa and Babba Zaki. They contributed to the development of the power of kings by encouraging the consolidation of hierarchical political and administrative institutions which led to the expansion of their trade. At the same time they encouraged the consumption of luxury goods which later on had corrupting effects on the sarauta system, particularly in the eighteenth century.

Apart from these influential groups, there were also many other lesser groups. These included Auyokawa, Asirkawa, Ngizimawa, Shirawa, Lerawa, Kwayamawa, various groups of Jukuns, Gwari, and many others who were brought into Kano from the "Bauchi region", the upper and middle Benue valleys and parts of central Africa as slaves.

It is important to note that many of these groups immigrated into Kano as groups of professionals, for instance as blacksmiths, as weavers, as tanners, and as merchants. They wanted to and did take advantage of the economic opportunities provided by Kano. Immigration into Kano of the various groups should not

therefore be viewed in ethnic terms. If any of the various groups tried to maintain their ethnic identity over a period of time, the explanation could be found in economic motivation. As has been indicated, continued maintenance of links with their former countries enabled them to establish their positions as fatoma, a position which they tried to maintain so as to use their countries of origin as markets for goods manufactured in Kasar Kano as well as importing raw material and goods from these countries which were highly demanded in Kano for processing, assembling or reprocessing and then re-exporting either to the same areas of origin or to other areas.

(3) Processes and Factors of Assimilation and Integration.

A most remarkable development in relation to the various ethnic and economic groups who had been settling in Kasar Kano from the earliest time to the end of the nineteenth century had been the process of assimilation and integration into the main stream of the society. This eventually resulted in the development of an awareness of identity among the members of the society - hence

the emergence of the concept of Kanawa (people of Kano). Over the centuries, most of the immigrants or rather their descendants, gradually ceased to think of themselves as members of particular clans or ethnic groups to which they had belonged. On the contrary they regarded themselves as members of the new and larger society. As has already been indicated, the concept of asali (origin - normally family or ethnic origin) was invariably preserved for a period of time. Also as has already been indicated, the retention of the concept of asali was intended to maintain and facilitate trade and commerce with the original home country. But this was mainly within the larger framework of the nationality of Kanawa.

The process of integration was facilitated by a number of factors. These included the nature and pattern of settlement, concentration of urban centres in Kasar Kano, Hausa language, Islam, the policy of assimilation of cucunawa (children born to slaves) and other young slaves, manumission, and the policy of allowing slaves (only male slaves) to emancipate themselves, and time.

Hausa language has been a universal vehicle of

communication not only in Kano but also throughout Hausaland and probably the greater part of the Central Sudan. The language has also been widely spoken in other parts of west and Central Africa. To communicate effectively the commercial and industrial groups as well as the owners of large estates (these included the North Africans and Tuaregs) had to adopt the language of the area, which happened to be learned in a short time, given that the Hausa language is one of the easiest languages to be learnt. This appears to have been facilitated by the absence of any other major language which could compete with Hausa in many of these areas. The succeeding generations of immigrants also automatically became socialised to the language and the culture of the dominant group (speakers of Hausa language) through the neighbourhood Quranic schools, markets and other institutions which brought the different members of the society together. Since many of the immigrants were Muslims (at least nominally), it was easy for them to learn to speak the language since a substantial part of its vocabulary has originated from Arabic.

The rapid pace of urbanisation in Kasar Kano, especially in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries,

also greatly facilitated the integration of the different ethnic groups. As most of the industrial establishments, particularly dyeing industries, were established mainly in the urban centres, the immigrants who were attracted into them, either in order to establish their industries or to seek employment, were eventually assimilated through interaction with their neighbours, employers or employees, colleagues and customers. The pace of integration and assimilation could certainly be faster in urban centres than in dispersed settlements of the countryside, where individuals or groups of immigrants interacted less frequently with their neighbours whose houses or settlements were invariably situated at a distance from their own. Probably the best example of the role of urbanisation in the integration and assimilation processes in Kano was in relation to the sedentarisation of the nomadic Fulani. The settling down of the Fulani, especially those of them who did not belong to the ruling class, in the urban centres, resulted in their assimilation through intermarriages, taking up of employment in the various industrial establishments and the adoption of Hausa language.

Islam has also been an important factor of integration. The existing religious homogeneity, especially in the large towns, allowed for inter-marriage between the different ethnic and economic groups. The settlement pattern was of significance. Unlike in other areas where immigrants lived largely in separate towns for the purpose of protecting their economic, religious and social interests, there were no such phenomenon whereby the immigrants established a town outside the pre-existing one.[124] Both domestic and foreign merchants lived within the walled and other towns and villages. Daily contacts between the various communities greatly facilitated integration.

An important element in the forces of integration were the slaves. As has already been indicated, slaves, most of whom were non-Hausa speakers, especially in the earlier periods, were continually brought into Kasar Kano in hundreds and and sometimes in thousands, from

124. The only exceptions were the temporary settlements of nomadic Fulani which were, for obvious reasons, established outside the towns and settlements. The bulk of the Fulani, especially from the nineteenth century, however, resided in towns and villages. The zango were largely used as campsites (situated at the outskirts of towns) by long-distance traders. They were merely temporary settlements.

different parts of West and Central Africa. From the fifteenth century onwards chains of slave colonies were being established in different parts of Kasar Kano.[125] In addition to slave colonies, slaves also formed a substantial part of the population of the towns and villages. The birni provides the best example of the extent to which the slaves formed an important part of the society of Kano. In the early part of the nineteenth century, for instance, slaves are believed to have formed about one-half of the population of the birni.[126] By the middle of the century, Barth implied that the population of the slaves in the birni fell just short of one-half

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125. Tarikh Arbab, p.110.

126. Denham, D. and others, op.cit., p.38. It would appear, however, that by this period, that is by the 1820's, the population of slaves in Kano exceeded that of free men. Clapperton, was, for instance, told by a number of people in the birni that the ratio of slaves to free men was thirty to one. This, of course, betrays a great deal of exaggeration, but it does indicate the preponderance of slaves in the society during this period. It must also be pointed out that this was the period when the Jihad wars were being fought in different parts of the Central Sudan and beyond. In the process large numbers of slaves were being acquired; vide infra, pp.435-440. As for the proportion of slaves to free men in the 1820's, see H. Clapperton, op.cit., p.171.

of free people.[127] By the middle of the last decade of the nineteenth century, Robinson estimated the population of the birni at 100,000. He asserted that about one-half of this consisted of slaves.[128] As has been indicated, these figures may not be regarded representing the accurate population of the birni or Kasar Kano. They are, however, very useful in determining the extent of the number of slaves in the society - at least during this period.

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127. H. Barth, op.cit. Barth is said to have estimated the population of Kasar Kano at 200,000 by the middle of the nineteenth century (see Alan Frishman, op.cit., p.225). This figure is certainly too low in view of the fact that by the first half of the century, the population of the birni, Bebeji (by the 1820's Clapperton put the population of the town of Bebeji at about 25,000; see H. Clapperton, op.cit., pp.166-7) and Garki (by the early 1850's H. Barth put the population of the town of Garki, a relatively small town, at about 15,000) alone amounted to about 100,000. These were only three out of the numerous large and medium size towns in Kasar Kano. Besides, all European travellers who passed through Kasar Kano in the nineteenth century commented on the concentration of population in the countryside, that is those residing in dispersed settlements other than the towns and large settlements. This meant that a substantial proportion of the inhabitants of Kano resided in the countryside. It would also mean that the population of slaves in Kano during this time may well have exceeded 200,000.

128. C.H. Robinson, op.cit., p.113.

The slaves, due to their social circumstances, were more easily assimilated into the various families and the society of Kasar Kano, a society dominated by "Hausa culture". By virtue of their numerical strength, and due to their ability to adjust to the culture of the main stream of the society, the slaves strengthened the forces of integration in the society.

Time was also an important factor in the integration of the society. After residing in Kasar Kano for generations it was inevitable that the immigrants' communication with their (and those of their ancestors, in the case of the descendants of the immigrants) original home countries was bound to come to an end and the only alternative was identification with community in which they lived.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EVOLUTION OF THE KINGDOM OF KANO AND ITS ROLES IN THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES BEFORE THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

From the foregoing discussion, it seems to be clear that the environment, both physical and human and the interaction between them, greatly influenced the emergence and development of settlements and settlement patterns in Kasar Kano. It also influenced the emergence of social and political organisations in the settlements. In the final analysis it was from these developments that the central political authority emerged in Kasar Kano.

In this chapter an effort will be made to examine the development of this process. As will be shown, economic factor played a cause and effect role in that development. It is therefore important to discuss the stages of the emergence of central authority in Kasar Kano and at the same time examine its roles in laying the foundation for economic activities in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

I. The Early Settlements and the Emergence of Central Political Authority:

At the moment, it is difficult to say when exactly the early settlements were established. This is due to the fact that, in some cases, both oral and written sources give rather conflicting and incomplete information on the issue. Further archaeological and other investigations are therefore necessary for a better understanding of the antiquity and the process of development of the settlements.

Time and environmental factors brought about differences in the antiquity and concentration of settlements in the different regions of Kano, thereby giving each of them some distinct features and cultural traits. Some of these played significant roles in the political and economic developments in the area. The study of the settlements therefore will be undertaken on a regional basis. This will help in bringing out the distinct patterns of their development and the effects of such differences.

From the discussions in the previous chapter, it is to be expected that the central region would have a high density of population and consequently a greater

number of settlements and therefore a higher degree of development and influence over other regions. However, it has to be noted that both oral and written traditions strongly emphasize the relationship between the origins of the people (within Kasar Kano) and the establishment of the settlements or their development. This strong relationship reflects the impact of the migration of people from one area to another especially within Kasar Kano, on the emergence, evolution and influence of the settlements. This indicates that the various regions of the area were closely related through crisscross movements of population and hence the overlap in the discussion of the settlements in the different regions can hardly be avoided.

(1) The Establishment and the Evolution of the Early Settlements.

(a) The Northern and North-Eastern Region.

Of all the regions of Kano, the northern and north-eastern region presents the greatest problem in relation to sources on early settlements. The sources provide only indirect evidence. While settlements in most of the other regions are fairly well known to have been in continuous existence since the first millennium A.D.,

no existence of settlements of such antiquity could be supported by direct or indirect pieces of evidence in the northern and north-eastern region.

The first known nucleated settlements in the region are associated with the Sosebaki[1] polities of Washa, Miriya, Dungas, Illela, Kofan Kano, and Ganua. These had/fairly high degree of population density. /a The settlements which emerged here may be dated back to the first millennium A.D. For it is reported that Bagauda, on his way to the central region of Kano, passed through this region, establishing "cities" such as Talutawa or settling in pre-existing ones such as Adirani, Barka, Garazawa and Sheme; settlements which already had their respective chiefs.[2]

The increase in the number and the population of these settlements may have been influenced by their

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1. In tradition, the word tsotse-baki is said to have been derived from the Hausa phrase tsotse baki, meaning "suck your lip". It was used in reference to Muhammadu Na Farko as a ruler. It however continued to be used as a reference to states or polities which continued to be controlled by Muhammadu Na Farko's descendants (see Tilho, op.cit., p.1).

2. Tarikh Arbab, pp.98-99.

proximity to Borno and their geographical location between the Sahel and the Savanna regions. Therefore for political or economic reasons or both, people either temporarily settled in this region before proceeding westward or southward, or settled here permanently. A good example for the former is the movement of population southward led by Bagauda.[3] An example for the latter was the coming into the area of Sosebaki by Muhammadu Na Farko and his followers. The latter displaced a number of people in parts of the Sosebaki area. Some written traditions attribute the establishment of the birni[4] to these displaced persons.

That geographical conditions influenced the pattern of settlements in this region is borne out by the fact that settlements in the southern parts of the region were founded later than those in its northern parts. According to some informants, Chamo, Aujera, Doro and

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3. Tarikh Arbab, pp.98-99.

4. According to Tilho this probably took place at the beginning of the second millennium A.D. (Tilho, pp.1-5), while Abdullahi Smith suggests that the process took place in the fifteenth century. However, he does indicate his doubts about the time when Muhammadu Na Farko arrived in this region (Abdullahi Smith, op.cit., 1970, p.342).

Birnin Jiga were established during later periods than those discussed earlier.[5] Unfortunately in this region, unlike in most of the others, the early settlements were not established in or around durable landmarks such as large rocks or hills. Therefore, once they had been abandoned, they eventually vanished due to erosion and the building up of sand dunes.[6] This may account for the fact that signs of early settlements or information about their existence has been difficult to come by.

(b) The Central Region.

Unlike the previous region, the central region is dotted with hills and rocks where the early settlements were found. The two major areas of clusters of early settlements were those of Dala and Santolo. Each of them seemed to have constituted a political unit with satellite settlements which were politically, economically and culturally linked to their respective centres especially during annual festivals.[7]

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5. AAH (Jahun), 8/4/79.

6. For the role of sand dunes in such developments, see A.T. Grove and R.A. Pullan, "Some Aspects of Pleistocene Paleography of Chad Basin", in F.C. Howell and F. Bouliere (eds.), African Ecology and Human Evolution, London: Methuen, 1963, pp.328, 329, 240.

7. Tarikh Arbab, pp.97-98.

The centre of the Dala group was Dutsen Dala. The immediate settlements which were linked to it were Goron Dutse, about half a mile to the west, Magwam, consisting of several piles of broken rocks, and Jigirya about four and five miles respectively to the east. These were surrounded by another group, consisting of Danisau, a mesa which lies five miles to the north, and Tanagar, a rock cluster lying about thirteen miles to the east.

An important factor in the development of the Dala early settlement group was the Jakara river around which many of the early settlements clustered. Its banks, especially in the area which came to be occupied by the birni, appear to have been covered with very thick vegetation. Written traditions speak of grove of trees, including a large tamarind tree in the neighbourhood of Dutsen Dala. Traditions also indicate that this part of the central region was relatively densely populated for a long period of time, probably even before the beginning of the second millennium A.D. The several rock clusters were inhabited by different clans which were ruled by their respective chiefs who appear to have had large followings.[8]

The historical traditions of the people speak of an epoch of giant hunters who inhabited the early settlements of the Dala group. Among these was Gagiwa "who was so strong that he caught elephants with rope".[9] These giant hunters of the Dala region represent in the collective memory of the people the hunting communities of probably the Late Stone Age[10] whose ways of life gradually vanished with the introduction and increasing use of iron implements probably before or in the middle of the first millennium A.D.[11] The discovery of abundant microlith materials in this and the neighbourhood of the area lends support to the pieces of information derived from the above mentioned traditions.

Therefore this area appears to have been one of the known areas where transition from the Late Stone Age to the iron-using technology and permanent agriculture took

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9. Tarikh Arbab, p.97.

10. R.S. Soper, "The Stone Age in Northern Nigeria", J.H.S.N., vol.III no.2, 1965, p.192; W.F. Gowers, "Gazetteer of Kano Province", in Gazetteers of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, vol.I - The Hausa Emirates, London: Frank Cass, 1972, p.8.

11. Angela Fagg has excavated an iron-working furnace near Dala hill. This has yielded a date of A.D. 635 ± 95. See F. Willet, op.cit., p.368; B.E.B. Fagg, "Archaeological Notes from Northern Nigeria", MAN, XLXI, 1965, pp.49-57.

place. The last stage of this transition represents a major landmark in the history of Kano. The importance of iron for the manufacture of agricultural tools, craft implements and weapons, is obvious. The development of agriculture capable of supporting large and permanent concentration of population, and in the later period, for producing surplus for trade and sustenance of non-farming groups, was made possible only after the development of iron tools like masassabi (axe), fartanya (hoe), and galma (hand plough). The spread of the use of these iron tools must have accelerated the rapid growth of population concentration on the fertile and easily tillable soils of the area of Dala. This, therefore, would explain the continual attraction of people especially from the drought-hit areas to this region.

The second major group of early settlements centred around Santolo to the south of Dala. Like the area of Dala, Santolo appears to have been an important political and cultural centre. It features prominently in the early traditions of Kasar Kano.[12]

This area is dominated by a number of inselbergs

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12. Murray Last, "Early Kano: The Santolo-Fungwai Settlement System", Kano Studies, N.S., forthcoming.

standing either singly or in clusters which provided ideal placesfor early settlement. Part of the Santolo early settlement group included Fungwai, about five miles to the east and then Fallau. Between Fallau and Fungwai is a site of an early settlement through which a stream has cut a trench about three yards deep, exposing the stratigraphy of one of the settlement mounds. In the area of the last settlement the prevalence of numerous potsherds, bones, and charcoal of remarkable antiquity suggest that this area carried a remarkable concentration of population, probably since the eleventh century A.D.[13]

Bono was another cluster of early settlement in this area.of Santolo. It was situated near the rock of Musilun, about five miles to the south-east. Bono has cultivable fields protected by rocks. There are several flat spaces on the summit which are suitable for occupation. On the settled eastern side, a gully exposes potsherds at varying depths. The surrounding areas are also littered with numerous potsherds both old and

13. Ade Obayemi, an archaeologist of long standing experience, who has visited the area, communicated to me verbally that some of the materials collected at Gano have been dated to the eleventh century A.D.

relatively new. There are also salt ponds which may include those mentioned in the early traditions of the central region. As has already been mentioned in Chapter I, the exploitation of this mineral lasted for a long time and may have involved many people.[14]

Like that of Dala, the area around Santolo and other adjacent areas, due to several favourable conditions including adequate supply of water from rains and rivers, sustained a dense concentration of population which stimulated the emergence of nucleated settlements and therefore political and administrative institutions and organisations. The extent of the concentration of population and the level of political organisation in this area before the emergence of the centralised state which controlled a large area of Kasar Kano in the early period could be discerned from the nature of the struggle between it and that of Dala.[15]

(c) The South-Eastern Region.

In this region three major early settlements are known to have emerged. They are Gaya, Dutse Gadawur,

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14. vide supra, pp.74-75.

15. Tarikh Arbab, pp.100, 105.

and Birnin Kudu. Of these, the most well known in the oral traditions of Kano is Gaya.

Gaya is believed to have been founded about two hundred years before the establishment of the Birni.[16] The original settlement of Gaya is believed to have been at Jibide, a place near Dudurun Gaya.[17] Its walls could still be seen, but it is not known when or why the settlement was abandoned. A number of microlith materials have been recovered in the neighbourhood of the settlement[18] which indicate that the settlement dates back to the Late Stone Age period.

Oral traditions of mining of iron ore and smelting of iron in the area have been widespread.[19] It would appear, however, that the quantity and probably quality of the iron ore deposits found here during that time may not have been as good as those of the area of Dala. This may explain widespread oral tradition of migration

16. IAU (Gaya), 22/12/78. Most of the informants in the various towns that have developed on or around the early settlements have claimed that these towns were founded before the birni. These claims, however, have to be regarded with caution because they reflect bias in favour of their respective towns.
17. AAB (Gaya), 22/12/78.
18. R.A. Soper, op.cit., p.192.
19. AAB (Gaya), 22/12/78; W.F. Gowers, op.cit., p.8.

of blacksmiths from Gaya to Dala.[20] The early use of iron implements in the area of Gaya, however, could have had the same effects for developing organised sedentary life in this area as it did in the areas of Dala and Santolo.

The early settlement of Dutse Gadawur is said to have been founded by a hunter from the area of Birnin Kudu.[21] Dutse Gadawur was one of the largest early settlements in Kasar Kano. The centre of the settlement which is known as Unguwar Garu is situated on the summit of its hills. The hills encircling the settlement constituted a natural fortification which is encircled by another series of hills. There are a number of passages provided by the natural passes and river valleys.

Dutse Gadawur was an ideal place for an early settlement. The plains, encircled by these hills, contained large areas of daji (forest) and extensive fertile arable land which included fadamomi (flood plains). Some of the streams which flowed from the top of these hills contained water all the year round.

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20. W.F. Gowers, op.cit.(1921), p.8.

21. AMD (Dutse Gadawur), 4/12/78. A. Maikano, Tarihin Dutse Gadawur, unpublished MS, p.2.

These factors attracted many groups of people to settle in the area.

To the south-east of Dutse Gadawur lies Birnin Kudu. The original name of the settlement is said to have been Baudam.[22] About half a mile south-west of the old and abandoned early settlement of Birnin Kudu are several clusters of rocks. Most of them contain rock shelters which carry polychrome cave paintings as well as rock gongs.[23]

The first group of paintings is found in Dutsen Mesa. The paintings, four main styles and four sub-styles, are exclusively of domestic cattle, with the exception of the enigmatical drawing which may possibly be a sketch plan for a cattle pen. Two main types of

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22. NMN (Birnin Kudu), 5/2/79; also mentioned in Tarikh Arbab, p.124. This is most likely referring to the same place. According to informants in Birnin Kudu, the name is derived from a Kanuri word kulu, meaning pustules. It is said that one of the Mais of Borno was going on an expedition against Zazzau when his daughter who accompanied him was attacked by Kulu while in the area of the settlement of Birnin Kudu, hence the name Birnin Kulu. Birnin Kudu is therefore an adulteration of Birnin Kulu.

23. Federal Ministry of Information, Nigerian Review, no.9, 1977, p.6; Thurstan Shaw, Nigeria: Its Archaeology and Early History, London: Thames & Hudson, 1978, pp.56-59.

cattle are pictured: a long-bodied, long-legged humpless breed with long-spreading or converging, sometimes lyre-shaped horns and a short-horned humpless breed. Other rock paintings are found in Dutsen Murufu and this group has a representation in white paint of horned bull. Dutsen Zano contains further important series of paintings. In the clusters of rocks are also several groups of rock gongs. These are natural exfoliations which rest or are wedged in a position favourable to the production of musical notes. It has been suggested that the rock gong may have been used as ensemble instruments by several players. The rock gongs of Birnin Kudu appear to form part of the rock gong sites which stretch across the northern part of Nigeria - through Bauchi, Plateau, Zazzau and Sokoto. The gongs may have been used during ceremonies for entertainments or in connection with religious rituals. If each of the rock clusters was occupied by different clans, as was the case in the area of Daln, then this area of the south-eastern region carried a fairly large population.

The rock paintings are similar to those found in Aheggar, Tibesti, and Tessali. This similarity may indicate that the people who made the drawings in Birnin

Kudu may have moved into the area from the Saharan regions during the period of desiccation in those regions. If this view is accepted it means that the sites were ancient and continually populated by people moving from the north as a result of climatic changes.[24]

(d) The Southern Region.

One of the earliest settlements of this region was Jaji. It is situated immediately behind Tsohon (old) Rano. This and other settlements mentioned in Tarikh Arbab, but which are yet to be identified, may be associated with one of the settlements established or occupied by Barkin Rano.[25]

It has been indicated in Tarikh Arbab that "he /Yaji/ drove the Barkin Rano from Zamma Gaba".[26] Zamma Gaba has been identified with the low inselbergs on both sides of Chalawa-Matage at Tamburawa and Gun Dutse near Dan Hassan.[27] Therefore, one may conclude that the first

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24. I have discussed the rock paintings of Birnin Kudu with Dr. K. Effah-Gyamfi, an archaeologist in the Department of History, A.B.U., Zaria. I am grateful to him for these interpretations and conclusions.

25. Tarikh Arbab, p.100.

26. ibid., p.104.

27. Murray Last, op.cit., p.15.

settlement of Rano before the fourteenth century was located in the central region. This fits in with the traditions of large-scale movements of people from the central region to the southern region, especially from about the middle of the fourteenth century. This southward shift in the location of the settlement of Rano may suggest that the settlement was independent of Kano kingdom. But the current oral traditions in the area categorically assert that Rano was under the suzerainty of Kano kingdom long before the nineteenth century. In the absence of any concrete evidence which suggests otherwise, one is inclined to believe in the account of these oral traditions.[28]

The displaced people, most likely, found refuge in the well-protected settlement of Jaji which was situated at the eastern end of a plain which is completely surrounded by hills - of Mabuga, Chichida and Jiddar. From here the settlement stretches for about three quarters of a mile westward. Within this enclosed area are found fields quite suitable for cultivation of crops. At the eastern end of the area is a huge mound, which looks like a raised round dais, and it measures

28. IGS (Rano). 10/2/79.

about twenty to thirty feet across and about ten feet high (that is from the surrounding ground level). Its edges are lined with stone walls. Both the plain and the hills which surround the valley are believed to have been heavily populated in the past.[29]

The natural fortification provided by the hills was reinforced by building series of walls across the passes and over low hills. The longest of the walls was that which connected dutsen (hill of) Tafashiya with dutsen Damushi, extending as far as Baizo. However, the time of the initial occupation of this settlement is not known.

Behind Jaji lies Tsohuwar Kano which was also an old settlement, but larger than Jaji. Like Jaji, it is surrounded by hills on three sides and a series of walls were built across the passes and over the low hills. Within the settlement itself are also found several traces of walls which have been used to separate certain wards from each other.

There are also several other early settlements in this region. These include Tarai and Durba. Tarai is

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29. IGS (Kano), 10/2/79.

reputed to be forty years older than the Birni,[30] while Durba is said to be older than both. The early inhabitants of Tarai appeared to have mined and smelted iron on a fairly large scale near a large rock.[31]

(e) The Western and South-Western Region.

In this region, there were relatively fewer early settlements and these were situated far from one another. These settlements were believed to have been founded by related people. This was the case with Godiya, Getso and Badari.[32] Among the settlements of the region, Karaye features prominently in the early written traditions of Kano. The first settlement of Karaye lies about four miles north of the present town of Karaye. The early settlement whose walls could be barely traced (except in the northern part where some of them still stand about two feet above the surrounding ground level), measures about one mile in diameter. Except for a few recent settlers the settlement is completely deserted. Apart from the walls the other indication of early

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30. AAA (Tarai), 10/2/79.
31. ibid.
32. HGH (Godiya), 30/12/78.

occupation are the kuka (baobab) trees which stand in clusters in the north-eastern part of the settlement. No informants in the area knew when this settlement was established or abandoned. The first reference to Karaye in the Tarikh Arbab goes back to about the middle of the twelfth century A.D.[33] This may have been referring to the abandoned settlement.

About six miles to the south-west of the present town of Karaye lies Tsohuwar Getso. The settlement which has been completely deserted is surrounded by several hills bearing different names. This settlement was larger than that of Karaye. Like most other early settlements, a series of walls was built across the passes separating the hills. The fortification was reinforced by a wide and deep moat, dug through hard rocks, especially near Kofar Arewa (Northern Gate). This may explain the fact that Tsohuwar Getso had been an important place of refuge for the people of the surrounding neighbouring plains during the period of raids into the area.[34]

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33. Tarikh Arbab, p.101.
34. IMM (Getso), 29/12/78.

In addition to the fortification, people were attracted to the settlement of Getso because it was one of the most important centres of iron smelting in Kasar Kano. Near the arewa gate are to be found many iron-working pits which, like in Tarai, were bored into the hard rocks of the area. But this early settlement is said to have been abandoned about one hundred years ago due to annoba (outbreak of epidemic).[35] However, it seems there is more to it than good defences and availability of iron-ore, because the present town of Getso is located in a very fertile and important agricultural area. Therefore the opportunity provided by the agricultural potentiality of the area may have attracted more and more people, both out of Tsohuwar Getso and other areas, to the new settlement.

Another important early settlement which was almost naturally fortified by hills lies to the north-west of Getso and almost on Kano-Katsina boundary, is Dutsen Dan-Bakoshi, which was reputed to have been occupied one hundred and fifty years before the Birni.[36] It bore the name of its founder, Dan Bakoshi.[37]

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35. IMN (Getso), 29/12/78.
36. BAH (Dutsen Dan-Bakoshi), 29/12/78.
37. ibid.

Other early settlements located in this region included Godiya, also said to be older than the Birni. Apparently this settlement was an important iron-working centre.[38] It seems that its importance diminished because there are traditions reporting movements of craftsmen, especially blacksmiths and dyers, from Godiya to Gwarzo.[39]

Bebeji and Kilu (Kiru[40]), Badari, Gumai, and Farin Ruwa were important settlements in the region and may date back to the twelfth century A.D.[41]

II. The Emergence of Central Political Authority.

(1) Emergence of Political Authority in the Early Settlements.

From the foregoing discussions of the early settlements in different parts of Kasar Kano, it would appear that some or many of them had already emerged and started to expand during the first millennium A.D. and

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38. HGH (Godiya), 30/12/78.

39. HJS (Gwarzo), 30/12/78.

40. JMA (Kiru), 9/2/79. According to this informant the original name of the present town of Kiru was Kilu.

41. Tarikh Arbab, p.101.

consequently the political authority began to develop in them.

Already references have been made to chiefs who controlled the inhabitants of the various settlements. This would mean therefore that long before the establishment of a centralised state in Kasar Kano, an important development to which the origin of the ruling class in the area may be traced. Fundamental to this process were the gradual development of social relations of production and spiritual influences of certain individuals who consequently gained control over basic resources and sanctions in the use of or threat of use of force in the various settlements.

These developments could be perceived in the utterances of some of these early dominant individuals, such as Barbushe,[42] as well as title-holders, for example Sarkin Ruwa,[43] Sarkin Noma (King of Farming), Sarkin Samarai (King of Youth), and the chief herbalist. The latter group gradually succeeded in establishing their

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42. Tarikh Arbab, p.98.

43. The Sarkin Ruwa (King of Water) appears to have gained control over a salt-mining area located in one of the fadamomi (flood plains) or river beds of this region (see Tarikh Arbab, p.99).

control over certain strategic occupations and institutions from which they derived power which was eventually institutionalised. In other words, in some respects the customary holding of certain responsibilities on behalf of the entire members of the respective communities by certain individuals or families would give them certain privileges. These privileges, in course of time, was consolidated through acquiring wealth from the tributes for the services they rendered to their respective communities. Therefore this enabled the influential individuals or families to have a following transcending that of blood relationship. A good example for this development was the evolution of concept of masu gidaje (heads of households), where membership was not based solely on blood bonds. It is the contention of the writer that these developments constituted the basis for the emergence of the sarauta (kingship).

At this early stage of the development of sarauta a clear-cut division of labour had not yet taken definite shape. The institutions as well as their functions were not sharply defined. The study of the crystallisation of the institutions and their functions as a result of division of labour in the society will

help in understanding the development of the sarauta (kingship) as a social process and hence would explain the emergence of political centralisation. The central region, with all its economic potentialities and demographic composition, which gave it an edge over the other regions, provided the necessary conditions and sufficient factors which favoured the emergence of the centralised political system. It was therefore able to develop its sarauta and to expand in the area which formed the kingdom of Kano.

(2) Emergence and Expansion of the State of Kano: Centralisation.

The distribution of wealth, an important source of power both on personal and regional bases, was not equal. This was crucial to the emergence of a centralised state in the central region of Kano, in addition to other conditions and factors. It is important to note that the period of the establishment of the centralised state in Kano witnessed large-scale accumulation of wealth by some of the inhabitants of the central region.[44] For instance, the dominant position of Bagauda over his

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44. M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.115.

rivals seemed to be related to the amount of wealth he commanded. He was not only associated with the introduction of indigo plants and the art of weaving,[45] but was also noted for the distribution of gifts to the cult priests and leaders of the autonomous settlements. Such activities enabled him to control those settlements and to win the support of the people.

One of the most important conditions that gave rise to the emergence of a centralised political system in the central region was the availability of iron-ore for manufacturing not only farming implements but also weapons, which enabled the inhabitants of this region to gain the upper-hand over those who did not possess such an advantage. Once the military balance had been tilted in favour of the forces of Bagauda and his successors, the momentum of the conquests of the neighbouring settlements increased. The fact that Bagauda and his immediate successors found it easier to conquer areas which were relatively far away from Dala instead of

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45. F. Edgar, op.cit., pp.275-6. The figure referred to in this source may be the same person as Bagauda. Also see Ibrahim Tahir, Scholars, Sufis, Saints and Capitalists in Kano: A Pattern of Bourgeois Revolution in African Society, Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1975, p.181.

of subjugating all the inhabitants of the nearby settlements who most likely possessed iron weapons, shows the advantage of possessing such weapons.

Military conquests went hand-in-hand with the policy of consolidation of the Sarki's power. In order to consolidate his position the third Sarki, Gijimasu (c.1095-1134), embarked on the fortification of the area around Dala hill.[46] This was an important development in the process of the evolution of the state of Kano. Apart from being used as a base for launching series of expeditions against the neighbouring settlements, the fortification also played an important role in the restriction of the authority of the apparently powerful chief priest of Tsumburburai and the extension of the powers of the sarki.

Even before the completion of the building of the new birni, however, a number of measures had been taken to bring the surrounding settlements and countryside

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46. There is a dispute as to who actually started the fortification of the settlement of Dala. According to the Tarikh Arbab, some attributed this work to Gijimasu, while others asserted that it was his son, Tsaraki, apparently moving out of one of the settlements to the north of Dala hill, who founded or built the settlement near or around Dala (see Tarikh Arbab, p.100).

under control. As has already been pointed out, wealth played an important role in this process. Sarki Dijimasu, for instance, was reported to have beguiled the chiefs and other clan leaders with gifts which led to the acceptance of his leadership. Similarly, he won over people who participated in the building of the birni by providing them with ample amount of food and meat.[47]

By the end of his period a substantial size of territory had been brought under control. His territory during this period extended as far as the boundaries of Gano and Dab in the south and to the boundaries of Ringim in the north.

In spite of this success during this period, the resistance of the chief priest of Tsumburburai had not been completely overcome. The initial attempt to subdue Santolo had also met with failure.

While postponing a decisive onslaught on the chief priest of Tsumburburai and his followers as well as on Santolo, the fifth ruler, Tsaraki (c.1136-1194), opened a new sector of military activity in the south-west. An expedition was sent against Karaye[48] (about forty-

47. Tarikh Arbab, p.100.

48. ibid., p.101.

five miles from the birni). After campaigning in the area around Karaye for several months, Tsaraki was able to reduce several settlements to submission.

The sixth Sarki, Naguji (c.1194-1247), launched another expedition against the settlements to the south. Generally, he succeeded in forcing the people to accept his authority.[49] But he failed in the case of Santolo. Because of this set-back and the revolt which was hatched by the priest of Tsumburburai, the sarki was forced to cut short his military activities in the south. Although he was able to nip the revolt in the bud and execute several of the leaders of the rebellion, he failed to control the cult of Tsumburburai, the spiritual power base of his enemies. This failure continued in spite of the generosity and persuasive policies adopted by the succeeding ruler towards the followers of the priest of Tsumburburai. The persistent resistance of the chief priests of Tsumburburai to yield to the power of the sarki was out of fear of losing their privileged position and the command over their followers because they equated their survival with the maintenance of the secrecy of their cult which they used

49. Tarikh Arbab, p.101.

as a rallying point for their followers.

Sarki Tsamiya (c.1307-1343), urged by the need to consolidate the conquests of his predecessors and encouraged by his enhanced military strength[50] in the form of increased number of jarumai (warriors) and the introduction of military equipment such as shields, resolved to end the intransigence of all the groups which had hitherto succeeded in maintaining their autonomy within the conquered areas. The ensuing struggle resulted in victory for the sarki's forces. This was followed by the dispersal of many of the defeated groups from the area of Dala into various parts of Kasar Kano. Others simply surrendered and submitted to the authority of the sarki. By this victory the sarakuna based at Dala, for the first time, succeeded in establishing their authority over the central region.

Thus for the first time all or most of the settlements which had been controlled by dominant individuals were brought under the control of a single ruler based at Dala. The increased power of the ruler was symbolized by the introduction and blowing of the kaho (horn)

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50. Tarikh Arbab, p.103.

which was later on replaced with kakaki (trumpet).[51]

While these developments were going on several others were also taking place. These were meant for strengthening the authority of the sarki. One of the most important of such developments was the introduction of/centralised system of administration meant to /a replace the functions and powers of the hitherto dominant individuals in the various settlements. This new administration was dominated by a newly created bureaucracy centred around the sarki and the descendants of the leading followers of Bagauda, for instance, Buram, Isa, Baba, Kududdufi, and Akasan.[52]

. Being interested in the effective control of their newly created kingdom, the sarakuna of Kano relied on loyal elements who were instrumental in the establishment of the regime. Later on, however, the sarakuna found it necessary to infuse new blood into their administrative and military establishments. This explains the recruitment of people according to merits such as military prowess and special skills. The latter included people

51. Anonymous, Hausawa Da Makwabtansu, Littafi Na Biyu, Zaria: N.N.P.C., 1971, p.28; henceforth referred to as Hausawa Da Makwabtansu.

52. Tarikh Arbab, p.100.

with religious influence who were used by the sarakuna to tighten their grip on their subjects. Therefore they incorporated some of the custodians of tsumburburai and tsibiri[53] and later on the Wangarawa;[54] as well as the Bornoan mallams[55] and the Saharan and Maghriban sheikhs[56] into the administration.

The fact that some of the dominant individuals in the settlements and the custodians of tsumburburai resisted the conquests or integration into the new centralised sarauta system, is a clear indication that some of the previously dominant social forces were still strong and therefore one could understand the attempts made by Sarki Tsamiya (c.1307-1343) and his successors especially in the fourteenth century to marry

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53. Tarikh Arbab, p.104.

54. Anonymous, Waraqa Mahtuba fiha asl al-Wanqariyin al-Muntasibin lil-Shaikh .... Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. Muhammad Qithima (trans. and ed. by Muhammad Al-Hajj as "A Seventeenth Century Chronicle on the Origins and Missionary Activities of Wangarawa", Kano Studies, vol.4, 1968, pp.7-16), henceforth referred to as Waraqa Mahtuba fiha asl al-Wanqariyin; Tarikh Arbab, pp.104-5; A. Dokaji, op.cit., p.23; Hausawa Da Makwabtansu, p.29.

55. Tarikh Arbab, p.113; Hausawa Da Makwabtansu, p.24.

56. Tarikh Arbab, p.111.

the old dominant forces and the new ones. Therefore the fourteenth century represents a turning point in the process of shaping the sarauta system in Kasar Kano.

Thus the society in Kasar Kano continued to consist of two distinct social groups: privileged and underprivileged ones. What happened in the opening decades of the fourteenth century was the consolidation of the position of a ruling family in alliance with the previously dominant individuals and groups. This explains why some offices continued to be left open to the non-members of the royal family. These offices included those of barde, jarmai, madaki, sarkin tsibiri, alkali, scribes, Imam, and ma'aji. The holders of these offices became so influential and powerful in the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century that they actually dictated policies in the state.

(3) The Peak of Territorial Expansion and the Rise of Powerful State Officials, c.1343-1463.

Having eliminated or absorbed most forces of opposition, consolidated their hold on the conquered territories and established relatively adequate political and

administrative structures, the sarakuna of Kano embarked on what may be seen as the second stage of their military conquests. The most important step taken in this direction was the elimination of the major obstacle to their advance in the south. This obstacle was Santolo. Much importance was justifiably attached by the sarakuna of Kano to the conquest of Santolo because of its strategic position for the conquest of the southern settlements. The difficulty in the conquest of Santolo was due to the strong fortification they had built and the moat they appeared to have dug;[57] as well as the high density of the population. The authorities attempted to prepare the population for the battle by providing them with military equipment such as spears, battle axes, etc. and by using local religious sentiments to mobilise the people for the defence of their settlements.

In order to overcome these problems, Sarki Yaji (c.1349-1385), in addition to mobilising his local material and human resources also employed the services, expertise and resources of a recently arrived Muslim

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57. Tarikh Arbab, p.105.

group, the Wangarawa,[58] which tilted the balance of power in favour of Yaji. These Wangarawa were noted to be rich merchants and versed in Islamic disciplines. Among whom were mallams who provided psychological and motivating force crucial to the morale of the fighters. The Wangarawa also seemed to have contributed to Yaji's power by providing vital military equipment and hardware such as horses, quilted armour, the lance, the broad sword and chain mail.[59] Because of those services, the Wangarawa and their descendants were given certain privileges in the form of offices, trade facilities and later, even land grants.[60]

In order to maintain the momentum of his military conquests generated by his victory against Santolo, Yaji moved against Zamma Gaba from where he expelled "Sarkin

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58. Tarikh Arbab, pp.105-6. The Wangarawa might have come to Kasar Kano in different waves of immigration. Therefore there does not seem to be any contradiction between the accounts of Tarikh Arbab and the Waraqa Mahtuba fiha asl al-Wangariyin. While the former might be referring to one of the waves of immigrants who arrived in Kano during Yaji's time, the latter may be referring to another wave which arrived in Kano in the fifteenth century.

59. Ibrahim Tahir, op.cit., p.185.

60. Tarikh Arbab, p.105; Waraqa Mahtuba fiha asl al-Wangariyin, p.14.

Kano". The conquest of the settlements of the southern region was continued until he extended Kano's frontiers into the country of the Warjawa and Umbutawa, as far as the "Bauchi regions".

Kano's drive southwards resulted in the devastation of part of Kuffar Zazzau. These developments took place in the time of the thirteenth ruler, Kanajoji (c.1390-1410).[61] He is reputed to have hardly lived in the birni. Instead he secured various regions, conquering settlements as well as consolidating the gains of his predecessors. In the course of extending the frontiers of his territory in the south and south-west, Kanajoji introduced new military weapons and equipment especially kwalkwali (iron helmet) and sulke (coat of iron mail).[62]

The process of expanding the territory of Kano was continued by the succeeding sarakuna in the first half of the fifteenth century, especially by Sarki Abdullahi Burja (c.1438-1452) who conquered the areas in the north as far as Hira. During this period annexation was not just by military conquest. Quite a number of settlements

61. Tarikh arbab, p.107.

62. ibid.

submitted peacefully out of fear of the military might of Kano as well as the consequences of defeat. The submission was also, possibly, due to the realisation by the leadership of the various settlements of the advantages of associating with a powerful neighbour. Those settlements which submitted peacefully had the advantage of maintaining the position of their leaders. Therefore, leaders of several settlements flocked to the birni to make their submission.[63]

By the second half of the fifteenth century, the territorial expansion had largely reached its peak. This may be due to the fact that the second half of the fifteenth century was a period of the expansion of other centralised states in Hausaland and consequently boundaries became relatively stable. Any attempt to expand by one state at the expense of others often resulted in intensive military conflict. Probably the best example was the struggle between Kano and Zazzau which had begun earlier than the second half of the fifteenth century. In an attempt to extend Kano's territory in the south, Sarki Kanajeji penetrated the plains of Zazzau, going as far as Turunku, where he was defeated. Although in a

63. Tarikh Arbab, pp.110-111.

second military expedition he achieved military success, he failed to annex the conquered area from Gedar to Shika. Henceforth, the rulers of Gao concentrated their efforts on the internal political and administrative institutions by consolidating the old ones or modifying them, or introducing new ones. This process resulted in the strengthening of the _Askiya_ system.

Among the various developments which accompanied the wars of expansion was the emergence of powerful officials. The leading state officials, including _farma_, encouraged the various _sarakuna_ to launch series of military expeditions. The _farma_ were motivated by the opportunity of acquiring booty in the course of such expeditions. Over the years these officials, especially the _farma_, accumulated vast amounts of wealth. With this wealth they were able to gather large numbers of followers, especially in the form of _borori_ (clients) who enhanced their influence in the state.[64]

Among other factors which aided the emergence of the powerful officials in the state was the expansion in economic activities, notably long-distance trade.

64. _Tarikh Arbab_, pp.110-111.

Another factor in the emergence of powerful officials was that some of the kings of Kano who ascended the throne in the first half of the fifteenth century were weak. The state officials, especially the military officers, found good opportunity to strengthen their position. Prominent among these were the Galadima and the Wadaki. The increase in the power of these officials is an indication of the strong dominance of the social group which emerged, especially in the fourteenth century. This dominance may be traced to the time of Sarki Umaru (c.1410-1421). This king came under the influence of his powerful officials as well as the members of the ulama (literati) such as Ibn Furdamus, Ibrahim, and Aoubaker, who were increasingly becoming influential in state affairs. As a result of this, Sarki Umaru devoted much of his time to religious activities at the expense of his temporal responsibility. This may be seen as a retreat on the part of the Sarki either to please the ulama, who were part of the dominant social group, or as a resignation as a result of the usurpation of his power. The apparent power vacuum created by the withdrawal of the king from public affairs was filled by the powerful state officials,

particularly the Galadima. In the time of Sarki Umaru, Galadima Dana became virtually the king of Kano. By the time of Sarki Abdullahi Burja (c.1438-1452), his Galadima, Daudu, took over what, at least until that time, was the responsibility of the king - the command of the army during military campaigns.[65] The Galadima used the opportunity to accumulate vast amounts of wealth to the extent that "all people flocked to him".[66]

Another official who accumulated much wealth during the same period was Dagachi. This he did when he was temporarily put in charge of the affairs of the state during the absence of the sarki from the capital. Dagachi became so powerful that he embarked on a serious rebellion.[67]

In an attempt to secure the loyalty of the various officials, Sarki Abdullahi Burja married the daughters of several of his officials. He married the daughters of his powerful Galadima and Sarkin Rano.[68] Although this policy might have helped the sarki to curb the

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65. Tarikh Arbab, pp.109-110.
66. ibid., p.110.
67. ibid., p.112.
68. ibid., p.110.

influence of the dominant officials, he was not able to restore his complete control over them. On Sarki Abdullahi's death, Galadima Daudu put on the throne a dumb man so that he could manipulate the political situation in the state. When he discovered that this did not serve his purpose, he deposed the sarki and installed a new one, Sarki Atuma, who stayed in office only for few days and was deposed by the same Galadima.[69]

It was largely an attempt to reconcile the conflicting interests of the ruling family with those of the socially dominant group which dominated the policies of the succeeding sarakuna from the time of Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa. He introduced a number of policies which were of great importance to the subsequent history of Kano. These policies aimed at strengthening the position of the sarki who became not only the symbol of the ruling family but also representing the interest of the dominant social group.

Among these policies were the measures taken by the sarakuna to make the important officials reside in the capital,[69] a policy which became a permanent feature of the sarauta system to the end of the

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69. Tarikh Arbab, p.118.

nineteenth century. Such policies ensured the centralisation of authority around the sarki because if such wealthy and influential officials would be allowed to reside in the countryside, they could easily constitute divisive forces in the state. Such fears became clear in the time of Sarki Dauda.[70] In the light of this discussion, the policies carried out by Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa to consolidate the sarauta system could be seen in the correct historical perspective.

III. The Consolidation of the System:

In his determination to strengthen the power of the sarki in the state in alliance with the socially dominant group, especially the ulema, Muhammadu Rumfa took a number of measures. First, he attempted to apply Islamic principles of government in the administration. This was an attempt to create a wider political loyalty based on the utilisation of Islamic religion to transcend local, regional and ethnic loyalties. Moreover, the application of such principles served the interest of the ulema among whom

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70. Tarikh Arbab, p.109.

were many influential merchants. Those who were involved in the application and implementation of these policies were given a number of privileges which were extended to their descendants. These could be seen in the privileges which were granted to the Wangarawa, the Bornoan mallams and the sharifai.[71]

The objectives of these policies are evident in the reply of Muhammad al-Maghili to the letter which had been written to him by Muhammadu Rumfa as well as in treatise of al-Maghili entitled The Obligation of Princes which al-Maghili wrote to guide Rumfa.[72] In both documents, al-Maghili placed the position of the sarki in the centre of the administration of the state, supervising his officials, applying punishment, collecting revenues and obliging the subjects to obey the rulers.[73]

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71. This term is applicable to the descendants of the Prophet. But in Kano it has been referred to descendants of al-Maghili and some of the other immigrants from North Africa.

72. Muhammad al-Maghili's reply to Muhammadu Rumfa has been reproduced in Abdullahi Dan Fodio's Diya al-Siyasat, 1235/1820, translated by Abdullahi Smith from MS no.88/4, N.H.R.S. Collection, A.B.U., Zaria (Kaduna, July 1978). The treatise was edited and translated by T.H. Baldwin, The Obligation of Princes, Imprimerie Catholique, Berrouth, Leban, 1932.

73. See al-Maghili, The Obligation of Princes, pp.7,8, 11, 17, 19. See also Abdullahi Dan Fodio, Diya al-Siyasat, p.2.

This Islamic theory of government furnished Rumfa with religious grounds to introduce new offices in order to enhance the authority of the sarki. The introduction of these offices was one of the major steps taken by Rumfa to consolidate the position of the sarki. Among the first offices introduced was a governing council made up of nine leading officers of state which came to be known as Tara ta Kano.[74] Among the members of the council were the sarki's leading slave officials. The members, in their order of precedence, were: the Galadima, Madaki, Wombai, Makama, Sarkin Jarumai, Sarkin Bai, Barde, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida, and Turaki.

The fact that a number of important slaves of the sarki were among the members of this council would indicate that one of the most important functions of the council was to buttress the prestige and the power of the throne, because the slaves were very loyal to their master, the sarki. In addition, it would seem that the council was to neutralise the influence of powerful individual officials[75] and perhaps to harmonise the conflicting interests of the dominant social groups.

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74. Tarikh Arbab, p.112.

75. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

The latter function could easily be understood when it is realised that one of the most important functions of the council was the selection and appointment of Sarkin Kano.[76] The relatively complex nature and functions of this council is a clear reflection of the increasing complexity of the social order of Kano society.

Muhammadu Rumfa also enlarged the state bureaucracy, but being aware of the conflicting interests in the dominant social group, he was careful enough to make sure that most of those recruited for the new offices would be loyal to him. For this the slaves were the most ideal. Slaves who had been uprooted from their different communities, or those who were descendants of slaves who had died in the service of the king, came to develop considerable sense of dependence on the sarakuna and normally could be more trusted than the free men. Even the princes could not be trusted because their behaviour was characterised by intrigues and double-dealing.[77] Whereas princes often entertained the hope of ascending the throne or obtaining important posts, the slaves were quite aware of their limitations.

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76. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

77. ibid.

It seems that Muhammadu Rumfa favoured the appointment of eunuchs to certain important state offices. Their disability made them, in certain cases, more loyal and reliable than other categories of slaves and so, sometimes, were assigned distant territories to administer.

The new members of the bureaucracy were given the responsibilities of running the treasury[78] which was newly institutionalised, the administration of the affairs of the birni, the palace guards, the king's household, the maintenance of communication between the central government and the sarakunan garuruwa,[79] dagatan Kano,[80] and the maintenance of security generally.

For the purpose of protecting the state against internal and external attack, Rumfa strengthened the military forces by introducing the Dawakin Zaggi. This consisted of the best available horses in the state,

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78. Tarikh Arbab, p.112.

79. These were the rulers of larger settlements who enjoyed some measure of autonomy; for instance Gaya, Karaye, and Dutse Gadawur.

80. These were the territories which were administered through dagatai (village heads) by state officials who resided in the birni, on behalf of Sarkin Kano. Such territories were scattered throughout Kasar Kano.

kept mainly for military purposes; often used as reserve in military expeditions and campaigns by leading jarumai if the need arose. Their numbers varied from time to time - ranging from twelve to twenty-four or more.[81] In his bid to strengthen/position of sarakuna as well as for military and economic reasons, and most likely due to the increase of the population of the birni, Rumfa extended the birni walls from Kofan (door of) Dagachi to Kofan Mata. From here the latter walls were extended further to Kofan Gertawasa and Kofan Kawayi, and from Kofan Maissa to Kofan Kansankali.[82]

Before the time of Rumfa the sarakuna resided in Unguwar (ward of) Kadabo.[83] But it seems that when he enlarged the birni, he also built Gidan (house of) Rumfa, which is also referred to as Dakin (hut of) Rumfa. This building became the residence of the kings and later on the emirs of Kano. It has been referred to

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81. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

82. Tarikh Arbab, p.112.

83. Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., p.29; H.L.B. Moody, The Walls and Gates of Kano City, Lagos: Department of Antiquities, 1969, p. ; R.S. Rattray, Hausa Folklore Customs and Proverbs, vol.I, London: O.U.P., 1969 , p.22.

as Gidan Magajin Rumfa (house of Rumfa's successors or heirs).[84]

The enlargement of the birni and the building of a new palace are a clear indication of the established social order which the birni came to represent in all its complexity. Moreover, the building of the palace is a clear recognition of the fact that the sarki was accepted as a symbol of the social order, residing in a city within a city, with elaborate organisation which went hand-in-hand with royal splendour, figgini (ostrich feather fan) and ostrich plume slippers became conspicuous and permanent features of the royal regalia. In addition, during this time, the size of the kwarakwarai and kuyangi were expanded by the imposition of kame, according to which virgin daughters of commoners' origin were made to join the royal seraglio.[85] It is important to point out here that the high ranking officials began to imitate the life-style of the sarakuna to the extent that their houses and dresses were fashioned after theirs (the sarakuna).

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84. In Tarikh Arbab, there is an indication that he built the palace. It is stated that "the next year he entered his house". See Tarikh Arbab, p.112.

85. Tarikh Arbab, p.112; Ibrahim Tahir, op.cit., p.196.

These developments contributed to the transformation of the power of the state in the hands of the sarki. As has been shown, new elements and symbols of power were added to the institution of the throne. The increase in the prestige and power of Sarkin Kano had a corresponding effect on those of the state officials, particularly the sarakunan garuruwa.

The concentration of power in the capital weakened the sarakunan garuruwa and dagatai. These increasingly fostered their dependence on the sarki and the central government. The developments also adversely affected the position of the talakawa. The increasing power of the sarakuna became more pervasive and consequently the obedience of the subject was seen by the rulers as a right. For instance the claims of the sarki to the ownership of land gave him or his representative the right to the property of the subjects.[86] Therefore the significance of Muhammadu Rumfa in the history of Kano lies more in his effort in harmonizing the interest of the ruling family with those of the socially dominant group and hence strengthening the power of the state rather than introducing Islamic reforms. To this end

86. vide infra, pp.449.

he utilised Muhammad al-Maghili's principles of government and also over-stressed the public Islamic rituals. For instance, the introduction of kulle (purdah) and the performance of idi (public prayers performed during the Id-el-Fitr and Id-el-Kabir celebrations). These aspects would not constitute an Islamic reform of a state because to have that the affair has to be directed by the Islamic values and principles and not to be used to serve personal or group interests.

This then would lead to the refutation of the widely held view that Muhammadu Rumfa was an Islamic reformer in his own right and that his reign was a period of Islamic reform or revival.[87] Apart from what has been mentioned earlier, one has to add that there were many non-Islamic aspects in his practices and policies. All of these were designed to strengthen his throne and what it represented. For instance, it was charged that he contributed to the spread of paganism, asking people to prostrate themselves and put earth on their heads before saluting him, forbidding people to use his parents' names, and selling free men as slaves.[88]

87. Abdullahi Smith, op.cit.(1971), p.198.

88. R.S. Rattray, op.cit., p.20.

So it is not strange that some of the ulema who were not part of the dominant group criticised Rumfa's practices, attitudes and policies, as non-Islamic. Also it is not strange that he refused to listen to such people and even went as far as persecuting them because they undermined his authority and the basis of the established social order. Such was the case of Shehu Muhammad Zari who scoured the countryside preaching against Muhammadu Rumfa's excesses, before the Shehu was murdered by the sarki.[89]

The quick departure of al-Maghili from Kano may indicate that he was disappointed in the objectives of Rumfa's policies, bearing in mind the fact that al-Maghili's experience in the Maghrib caused him to search for an ideal Islamic ruler who would revive Islam in the face of the internal decadent conditions of the Muslim society and the formidable external danger facing it. Hence al-Maghili, during the later years of his life, moved from one place to another in search of such a ruler.

These processes of harmonising different interest groups, strengthening the authority of the sarki and

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89. Ibrahim Tahir, op.cit., p.197.

consolidating the authority of the regime continued after Rumfa. The expeditions to the south and the south-west continued to be launched for the acquisition of slaves, while the expeditions to the north-east were meant to check the encroachment of Borno on Kasar Kano.[90]

Also the introduction of new offices and titles continued in the subsequent centuries, particularly in connection with the court. In the time of Sarki Muhammadu Zaki (c.1582-1618) a special group of uniformed security men known as dogarai who carried kulki (knobkerries) was established. The dogarai were to police the birni, impose and execute royal commands and demands, apprehend highway robbers and other offenders, as well as provide security to the sarakuna. A special brigade of cavalry slave warriors was also established. Known as 'yan banga-banga, they rode several columns deep around the sarki.[91]

All these indicate the security problem reflecting the complexity of the society especially in the birni.

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90. See Tarikh Arbab, pp.112, 118; Imam Ibn Fartuwa, History of the First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Aloma (trans. and edited by H.R. Palmer), Lagos, 1926, p.113.

91. Ibrahim Tahir, op.cit., p.200.

So more prisons were founded. This necessitated the creation of a sarauta known as Yari or Sankurmi. The office was initially given to a royal slave.[92]

Within the court, access to the king by members of the ruling family and the nobility was possible only through title-holders who were mainly court slaves. This was formalised later on with the creation of the institution of Kofa. Most significant among the court offices was that of Shamaki.[93] The sumptuous splendour of the court was elaborated further during the reign of Sarki Kutumbi (c.1623-1648). On ceremonial occasions he was accompanied by 100 eunuchs gorgeously dressed in gold and silver ornaments, 40 mounted drummers, twenty-five mounted trumpeters and numerous other musicians. The practice of establishing multiple residences for the sarki appears to have started during this period. This is in view of the fact that Sarki Kutumbi was noted

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92. Ibrahim Tahir, op.cit., p.200.

93. The sarautu of Shamaki, Dan Rimi and Salama became powerful particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They came to form the Kofa (lit. door) and regulated communications between the kings and all other state officials. It is possible that the sarautu of Dan Rimi and Salama, as was the case with Shamaki, were created during the time of Sarki Kutumbi.

for building a number of royal houses in different places.[94]

It is to be pointed out that these developments were not confined to the sarki alone. All other masu sarauta, both those resident in the birni and in the countryside, patterned their style of life on that of the Sarkin Kano. The masu sarauta also created their sarautu for their followers, both barori (clients)[95] and slaves.

The introduction of such offices which continued throughout the remaining part of the seventeenth century, increasingly widened the social distance between the court and the nobility, and between both and the talakawa (commoners). A good example was the introduction of the Kofa and the increasing importance attached to it.

Inequality of access to wealth which was engendered by the system was also a major factor in widening the gulf between the members of the masu

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94. Tarikh Arbab, p.119.

95. Barori consisted of free men who in most cases attached themselves to the members of the ruling class due mainly to deterioration in their economic position and social status.

sarauta and the socially dominant group on the one hand and the talakawa on the other. The masu sarauta, in addition to the wealth they derived from various forms of taxes which were continually being introduced and imposed on agricultural produce, livestock, industrial establishments and products, and on trade, which was expanding at a fast rate, also derived a lot of revenue from sales of slaves acquired through raids and expeditions, especially into the south-eastern parts of Kano and the "Bauchi regions", and the numerous slave estates and gandayen sarautu (large agricultural estates) which were established throughout Kasar Kano. It is important to note that the socially dominant group were largely exempted from such taxes. So they had the chance to accumulate wealth nearly on equal footing with the ruling family. This involvement of the dominant group, especially the masu sarauta, in the economic activities made them to utilise the power, structure and institution of the state to promote these activities.

IV. The Role of the State Economic Activities Before the Eighteenth Century.

At least from the fourteenth century the state played various roles in the economy of Kasar Kano. The sarakuna realised the importance of wealth for acquiring power and its consolidation. With development of the state, more and more resources were needed for the maintenance of the expanding bureaucracy to procure horses, camels, donkeys, swords, spears, shields, chain mail, and in the later period guns and muskets for the military. Resources were also needed for the acquisition of ceremonial materials such as trumpets, drums, flutes, as well as exotic dresses which were absolutely necessary for the image of the sarki and all categories of masu sarauta. There were also the various needs of the numerous courtiers such as some members of the ulema (literati), barori (clients) and slaves. These were expensive to maintain.

To meet their financial needs the rulers had to provide for conducive conditions for economic prosperity or they were left with one of two options: either to participate directly in the various economic activities or to burden their subjects with heavy taxes. The rulers

knew perfectly well, however, that there was a limit to which the talakawa (commoners) could be expected to continue to pay their taxes. Excessive taxation often resulted in rebellions and emigration.[96] Instead of depending completely on taxes and other related means, for instance gaisuwa,[97] the rulers tried to diversify their sources of revenue. They knew that wealth also lay in land, in its produce, in mineral and forest resources, in the use of the labour of the talakawa, slaves and manufacturing and commerce. They, therefore, pursued policies which were geared towards the promotion of these various factors.

The sarakuna paid attention to the promotion of agricultural production. From the first half of the fifteenth century, numerous agricultural estates were established in the various parts of Kasar Kano which were cultivated by slaves and forced labour of the talakawa.[98] These estates provided surplus foodstuffs

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96. Tarikh Arbab, p.124.

97. Literally, this means greeting. In the context of political economy of Kano, it refers to the presents - usually in the form of money - given to rulers when subordinate officials and merchants, among other groups, paid their homage to their respective superior masu sarauta. vide infra, pp.325-7.

98. See Tarikh Arbab, pp.110, 118.

and raw materials which were essential for promotion of the economy by stimulating industry and commerce, as well as contributing to the urbanisation process. The royal estates in particular became a model which was imitated by members of the dominant social group. They imitated them in term of size, organisation and labour, being slave or talakawa labour. The latter form of labour was mainly utilised in the form of gayya.[99] These estates, royal or private, were considerably enlarged in the subsequent centuries. They were called gandaye (large agricultural estates) and constituted the basic feature of agricultural production, giving the maximum production and form of exploitation of labour.[100]

(ii) /In the sphere of industrial production, the roles of the rulers in the earlier periods appeared to have been indirect. But they were significant. From the earliest period they adopted a policy of encouraging the immigration and settling down of skilled craftsmen in Kano. From their agricultural produce the rulers ensured constant supply of foodstuffs to areas, thus

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99. vide infra, pp.475.

100. vide infra, pp.484, 500

contributing to stability in those areas and attracting labour to the industrial establishment. Also the military expeditions, most likely, provided the industrial producers with skilled craftsmen from among the captives.

The rulers also played significant roles in motivating, initiating and participating in internal and external trade. Internally, by establishing several markets and providing security in form of the fortification of towns and protection of trade-routes as well as their quest for goods, they stimulated trade and commerce. Externally the rulers established trade links with the various states of the Central Sudan and the other distant regions. In order to sustain the long-distance trade in the early periods the state supplied a number of items of trade which were much needed by different communities and regions. Horses and slaves formed part of such trade.

(1) Promotion of Large-Scale Agricultural and Industrial Production.

The first half of the fifteenth century witnessed the phenomenon of gandaye (large agricultural estates). In the time of Sarki Abdullahi Burja (c.1438-1452)

several slave settlements containing thousands of slaves were established by Daudu, the Galadima of Kano.[101] These settlements, judging by the number[102] of slaves in them and their concentrations in the central and south-eastern regions, substantially contributed to the production of large quantities of grains and other produce. As has already been pointed out, the succeeding rulers continued with the policy of establishing large agricultural estates. Sarki Kutumbi (c.1623-1648) for instance, was reported to have established gandaye at Indabu, Gandu, Tokarawa, and Rimin Kwashe.[103]

By the early part of the sixteenth century Kano appeared to have witnessed a remarkable degree of agricultural prosperity. Leo Africanus was particularly impressed by this development. According to him, "here

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101. Tarikh Arbab, p.110.

102. In each of the settlements the Galadima settled about 1,000 slaves. Since he and other succeeding masu sarauta adopted a policy of settling both male and female slaves in the settlements, it is reasonable to assume that the population of the settlements continued to increase through reproduction and replenishment (see Tarikh Arbab, p.110).

103. Tarikh Arbab, p.118.

/Kano/ grows abundance of corn, of rice and of cotton".[104]

Leo Africanus was also struck by the number of herdsmen who were found in Kasar Kano. By the early part of the seventeenth century quite a number of Fulani h settled in Kano. They included the Jahunawa, Ba'awa, Danneji and others "too numerous to mention".[105] The prevalence of livestock was very important for agricultural production because the manure of cattle, sheep and goats was important for the fertility of the soil. The needs of the large numbers of nomadic Fulani in the area stimulated agricultural and industrial production. Exchange of commodities encouraged interdependence between the two occupational groups: the nomads and the sedentary.

Much of the agricultural produce was used in feeding the non-agricultural population who largely lived in the birni, the other towns, and the nomads. Taxation, mostly in kind, was an important means of transferring the agricultural surplus from the country-

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104. Leo Africanus, op.cit., vol.III, p.829.

105. Tarikh Arbab, p.119.

side to the birni and other towns.[106] Reports about the transfer of surplus from the countryside into the birni feature prominently in the early written tradition of Kano. For example:-

(1) On the completion of the building of the city wall, Sarki Tsaraki (c.1136-1194 A.D.) raided the neighbouring rural peoples and compelled them to pay tribute.

(2) Tsaraki's son, Naguji (c.1194-1247 A.D.) collected a land tax of one-eighth of crop from all husband-men.

(3) In the time of Tsamiya (c.1307-1343 A.D.) the jizya was collected.

(4) In the time of Bugaya (c.1385-1390 A.D.) taxes were being paid to the state authorities.[107]

Although the payment of taxes and tribute was made also in livestock and slaves, there is every reason to believe that grains constituted a much greater part of it. Increasingly therefore the birni and the other towns became the centres of wealth.

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106. The concept of surplus has been used here in the context of political economy. It means surrendering a portion of one's property involuntarily.

107. Tarikh Arbab, pp.101, 103, 119.

The production, acquisition and accumulation of surplus had all kinds of ramifications. With abundant surplus of grains, settlements could increase in population and become permanent as people from both near and far away areas could easily be attracted into such settlements and towns. The increase in the development of urban centres was significant for manufacturing. It was mainly in the large settlements and towns and their satellites that weaving, tanning, dyeing, sewing and several other occupations were undertaken on a large scale all year round. It was also in the large towns that merchants were found. Their concentration in the towns allowed for the development of economic infrastructures such as the institutions of fatoma (landlord) and credit facilities. These were important in the development of internal and external trade.

Thus the policy of transferring surplus from the countryside into the towns which the state pursued gradually resulted in the development of economic relations between the urban dwellers and the rural farmers. Whereas the greater part of the population of the urban dwellers constituted themselves into a group of manufacturers and traders, their counterparts in the

countryside concentrated on agricultural and livestock production as well as the tapping of abundant forest resources. The increase in the tempo of exchange between urban dwellers and their counterparts in the countryside facilitated interaction between the two groups. This in turn resulted in the development of specialisation within the different sectors of the economy. Specialisation was important for large-scale production of a great variety of goods.[108]

Before the eighteenth century the extent of manufacturing and other forms of industrial production in Kano is not quite well known. It is, however, reasonable to assume that the increase in military activities, hence requirements for weapons, and the demand for farm implements especially in the gandaye (agricultural estates) as well as expansion in trade, may have resulted in the expansion of iron-smelting and iron-working industries which had started as far back as the second half of the first millennium A.D. near Dala hill.[109] The increase in the importance of

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108. This specialisation will become clear in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See pp.

109. F. Willet, op.cit., p.368.

iron-working was reflected in the appointment of a chief for the blacksmiths in the area of Dala by the beginning of the second millennium A.D.[110]

Similarly, very little is known about the extent of textile production in Kano before the eighteent century. A number of writers have dated back the start of weaving in Kano to the end of the first millennium A.D. According to Dalziel, "Kano has been a cotton market since the 9th century and the method of weaving is pre-Islamic".[111] Some recorded traditions of Hausa-land appeared to have dated the introduction of dyeing into Kano during the time of Bagauda.[112] Since the time put forward by the writers in connection with the times of cotton and the art of weaving and dyeing in Kano has not been supported by concrete evidence, the dates are to be regarded as tentative until more research is carried out, especially by botanists and archaeologists. However, in view of the antiquity of other industries, for example iron-smelting and iron-working industries,

110. Tarikh Arbab, p.99.

111. J.M. Dalziel, The Useful Plants of West Tropical Africa, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1916, p.124.

112. F. Edgar, op.cit., p.276.

the possibility of the art of weaving dating back to this period may not be completely ruled out.

By the early part of the sixteenth century, it would appear that the art of weaving was practised on a large scale. By this period cotton was produced in Kasar Kano in abundance.[113] Other industrial undertakings, for instance dyeing,[114] tanning, wood-carving and pottery may also have been undertaken on a fairly large scale during this period. This could be deduced from the expansion of internal and external trade of Kano before the eighteenth century.

(2) The Regularization of Internal Trade.

The role of the state in the development of trade and commerce was both direct and indirect. Its creation of favourable conditions for specialisation between the

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113. Leo Africanus, op.cit., vol.III,p.829.

114. Throughout Kasar Kano are to be found mounds of waste materials from old and abandoned dyeing industries. These are found in great concentration especially in the wards of old towns such as Dutse Gadawur, Birnin Kudu, and the Birni. Oral traditions date back some of these mounds to the seventeenth century or even earlier - MUM (Birni), 20/4/79; AAA (Dutse Gadawur), 3/2/79. But these have to be verified by archaeological dating or other sources before they could be used confidently.

towns and the countryside, and within the different sectors of the economy, resulted in large-scale production of agricultural and industrial commodities which in turn resulted in the creation of surplus.[115] Trade and commerce, both internal and external, originated directly from these surpluses.

Exchanges in commodities among the various communities who inhabited different regions of Kasar Kano and other parts of the Central Sudan started even before the emergence of the centralised state in Kasar Kano.[116] The differences in topography, soil, vegetation, rainfall and population between the different regions of Kasar Kano made it necessary for exchange of surplus for their needs. This provided one of the major stimuli to the development of trade between neighbouring settlements, between different regions of Kasar Kano and

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115. The concept of surplus is used here in economic context. The increase in production in all productive sectors of the economy which was motivated by the desire of accumulation of capital and acquisition of goods regarded both as a necessity and luxury by those who did not produce them, gradually resulted in the generation of surpluses.

116. For early trade in Kano with other regions of the Central Sudan, see M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), pp.114-5.

between Kasar Kano and other states and regions. The trade in grains which came to have its own group of specialised traders, the 'Yan Kwarami, also favoured the growth of larger communities in the central region of Kasar Kano. Recorded traditions of this area has it that some of the earliest farmers who cultivated some parts of the central region of Kano accumulated considerable wealth in term of slaves and horses when one of the famines forced people to come and buy grains from them.[117]

As the dominant individuals, including leading attajirai (rich men) acquired more and more grains obtained from the large estates and through taxes, trade in this and other commodities was established on a regular basis. The earliest markets seemed to have been formed around the activities of ma'auna of grains. The ma'auniya also seemed to have combined dealing in grains with the preparation of food for sale in market places. There is a recorded tradition of an old woman called Kurmi who lived near Dala hill and who used to sell small foodstuffs such as anaisura. People from different parts of the birni used "to go

117. M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.115.

to the Kurmi's market and buy /their/ provisions".[118] This may be the origin of the famous Kurmi market.

In addition to trade in grains, eventually other commodities were included. It is most likely that trade in salt took place before the emergence of the centralised state, in view of the recorded traditions in connection with its mining and the appointment of an official with a title of Sarkin Ruwa in one of the settlements.[119] With diversification of commodities there was expansion in the network of the trade routes. The commodities included pottery products, grinding stone, iron ore and cotton.

In order to make exchange in various commodities between the different settlements and regions effective, the state established several markets. This enabled the traders and other groups to meet regularly. Among the earliest markets to be established was that of Karabka, by Dagachi in the first half of the fifteenth century.[120] Muhammadu Rumfa also established the Kurmi market.[121] Another market was established by Sarki

118. Waraqa Muhtuba fiha asl al-Wangariyin, p.12.
119. Tarikh Arbab, p.99.
120. ibid., p.110.
121. ibid., p.112.

Kisoki at Bani Buki.[122] There were several other markets which were established in Kasar Kano in this early period. Among these were 'Yan Katsari, which was said to be of very old standing, "having been founded a few days before Kasuwan /market of/ Kurmi and a month after that of Mundawari".[123]

Apart from the policy of establishing markets, there was also a policy of fortifying the major towns and expanding the other settlements by encouraging immigrants to settle in them. Building of walls around the towns, especially the birni, was continually undertaken. After the initial effort of Sarki Gijimasu and the expansion of the walls by Muhammadu Rumfa, the next attempt was effected by a state official, Wombai Giwa, in the early part of the seventeenth century. The extension of the walls of the birni may have been brought about by the increase in the population and the need for protection. The Wombai extended the walls

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122. Tarikh Arbab, p. 112.

123. NAK, SNP.7, 4055/1912 - Kano Province, Dan Iya Sub-District, Assessment Report. Mundawari is one of the oldest wards of the birni. This name seems to have been derived from the Wangarawa immigrants who arrived in Kano in the fourteenth century. See Tarikh Arbab, p.104.

from Kofan Dogo to Kofan Dukawuya, and from Kofan Dukawuya to Kofan Kabuga and finally to Kofan Kansankali.[124]

The building of the walls was part of the policy of creating economic infrastructures. As has already been indicated, some of the towns, at least in the early periods, emerged as centres of immigration particularly of skilled craftsmen and traders. These were important sources of recruitment into the various sectors of the economy. The craftsmen were attracted into the birni and other towns by the demands for skilled craftsmen and their products under urban conditions. In this way the craftsmen were given the opportunity to practise their trades where their skills were most needed and utilised. Opportunities were also provided to young men in the towns to learn these skills. This resulted in the multiplication of skilled craftsmen. The concentration of craftsmen in the birni and the other towns resulted in the large-scale production of a great variety of manufactured and assembled[125] goods.

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124. Tarikh Arbab, p.117.

125. vide infra, pp.543-4.

Equally important was the position of the towns as market centres. Early organised markets in Kasar Kano (as elsewhere in Hausaland) were closely associated with walled towns which dotted the plains. The growth of markets was greatly stimulated by the division of the population into rulers and ruled; the city folk and country folk; manufacturers and merchants in the towns; and farmers and herdsmen in the countryside.[126] The increase in occupational specialisation in the towns made them attractive to traders from near and far away places. The big markets which operated on a daily basis within the walled towns became the hub of a network of rural markets which alternated their daily operations. Farmers, brokers, craftsmen and traders moved from one market town to another as the market days alternated.

At the moment it is difficult to identify all or most of the currencies used in the exchange system before the eighteenth century. Nor is it possible to

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126. Many of the people who resided in the towns also cultivated crops. In fact one of the most important functions of the walls built around the towns was the bringing into the walled towns and settlements as much land as possible for use especially during periods of crises.

say as to when the use of such currencies started. It is, however, reasonable to believe that in the early periods, trade by barter was a major feature of exchange. The earliest commodities used in such exchange were cloth, salt, metal goods such as arrow-heads, knives and others. Slaves and horses were also used in assessing values of goods and in the exchange system. By the early part of the sixteenth century for instance, sixteen to twenty slaves were exchanged for one horse in Borno.[127] This might have been the case with Kano because in the early periods Kano exchanged horses for slaves with the Kwararafa.[128] Other currencies, particularly cowries, were used extensively as from the eighteenth century.

The external trade of Kano may be regarded as the logical extension of its internal trade, therefore the two developed simultaneously. Like the beginning of internal trade, the origins of Kano's external trade also preceded the emergence of the centralised state. Recorded traditions in Kano speak of brisk business transactions between people who came from different

127. Leo Africanus, op.cit., vol.III, p.833.

128. Tarikh Arbab. p.107.

parts of the Central Sudan and the inhabitants of the central region.[129] Trading activities were particularly intensified during the occasional occurrences of the droughts. During these times, people from different directions converged on Kano. In the words of the text of the Song of Bagauda it is said:

> "from the east came, from the west, even unto the north; from the south and pagan Hausa/sic/ forced their way in, the Bornu people and the Katsina people, /people/ from Daura, and from Zamfara of the Habe, and men of Gobir; they began to establish habitations. Kaba people, Kambarawa, and people from Adar. When famine was at its height it extended to Azbin. They fled to Kano where there was relief. At the river Kura they pitched their camps, until the famine began to abate. One night people looked and there was no one. They /the people of Kano/ were great traders. They became well off in slaves and horses"[130]

(3) The Encouragement of External Trade.

The increase in the volume of the internal trade was accompanied by flourishing of long-distance trade. Though long-distance trade had been in existence before the emergence of the centralised state, the centralised state initiated, motivated, and participated in the

129. M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.115.

130. ibid., p.115.

long-distance trade and consequently it led to its expansion. The state contributed to the development of the external trade in three closely related areas.

Firstly, the state provided or facilitated the acquisition of many of the important items for exchange in the external trade. Such items were horses, slaves etc. The need for slaves as commodity for trade warranted the intervention of the state either by establishing strong links with the areas where slaves could be obtained easily, for example in the middle Benue and Niger regions,[131] or by conducting expeditions for acquiring slaves especially in the south-eastern region of Kano and the "Bauchi region".[132]

Secondly, the state adopted a policy of encouraging merchants to immigrate and settle in different parts of Kasar Kano. These merchants were instrumental in establishing commercial relations between their new place of domicile and their places of origin. By knowing about the availability of certain commodities in those areas and the demands for them in Kano or

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131. Tarikh Arbab, p.107.

132. ibid., pp.110, 118.

vice-versa, they greatly promoted and diversified external trade of Kano.

As has already been indicated, immigrants and traders originally from Borno and its adjacent regions mainly specialised in transactions in commodities like horses, potash, salt and possibly donkeys. Those originally from the Sahel and the central Saharan regions dealt in goods such as ostriches, ostrich feathers and livestock. Similarly other immigrants or traders such as the Nufawa were mainly involved in importing commodities which were produced in their areas of origin. The presence of such large numbers of immigrants or traders who stayed in Kasar Kano over long periods of time was important for large-scale business transactions. They had several advantages which contributed to commercial activities. These were understanding of local market conditions, speaking Hausa language (the lingua franca of the area), knowing the demands for and prices of commodities at specific times, and the needs of the socially dominant group for luxury goods. Therefore they were able to have monopoly over certain commodities, buying them during times of great availability of goods and low demands and selling them at times of scarcity

and high demands. Therefore the birni developed into a centre for wholesale goods for both Kasar Kano and the long-distance trade.

This would explain the motives behind the policies of the sarakuna to cultivate special relationships with such influential merchants among whom were a number of the ulema. This relationship made some scholars wrongly assume that the Islamisation of the rulers was solely motivated by the benefits they got from the international trade.[133] Suffice it to mention that the sarakuna of Kano encouraged or established relations not only with Muslim lands but also with non-Muslim areas like those of the "Bauchi region", the middle Benue valley, the middle Niger and Volta basins. This then leads to the discussion of the third contribution of the state of Kano to the promotion of external trade.

The state either encouraged or established trade links between Kano and various states and communities of the Central Sudan and beyond. This role of the

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133. D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.160.

state was necessitated by its needs for military equipment as well as luxury goods and slaves. In the light of this it is easy to understand the policy of Sarki Kanajeji (c.1390-1410 A.D.) who established trade links with the Kwararafa. Kano used some of the horses it obtained from Borno and/or elsewhere to acquire slaves from the rulers of the Kwararafa.[134]

Due to the strategic importance of horses for the expansion of economy of Kano, the rulers also established a formal trading relation with Borno. In order to establish a cordial relationship with Borno, Sarki Abdullahi Burja (c.1439-1452) sent to the Mai of Borno tarai for baraka (blessing).[135] This shows the extent to which the rulers of Kano were interested in and made extraordinary efforts to acquire Borno's vast resources, including horses, donkeys, natron, salt and livestock. Equally significant was Borno's strategic location in

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134. Tarikh Arbab, p.107.

135. H.R. Palmer's translation of the Tarikh Arbab says: "He was the first in Hausaland to give Bornu tsare or gaisuwa". Abdullahi Smith's translation of the same document says: "He was the first in Hausa to pay tsare (tsari) to Borno to obtain baraka". It seems Palmer's translation which has influenced a number of writers in their understanding of relations between Hausaland and Borno, is defective.

relation to North Africa and the Middle Eastern regions. Borno appears to have dominated trade in horses with North Africa and may have controlled their supplies from the Bahr-al-Gazal regions, a region noted for breeding large numbers of horses. This part of Africa was also famous for breeding asses; Darfur in particular was famous for this activity. These animals were vital for transportation in the Central Sudan. It would appear therefore that economic considerations, much more than anything else, prompted the rulers of Kano to send presents to the kings of Borno.[136]

Commodities obtained from Borno were also needed in the states and regions to the south, the south-west and the north-west of Kano. Similarly, Borno needed the products of those regions, particularly kolanuts. Therefore Kano played the role of the middleman in this trade since the time of Abdullahi Burja who made trading relations with Borno as well as the Volta basin.[137]

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136. It has been asserted that the present was sent to Borno so that Borno would offer protection to Kano. This has since been refuted. For a detailed discussion of the nature of relations between Borno and Hausaland, see Y.B. Usman, "Reconsideration of the History of Relations between Borno and Hausaland before 1804", paper presented to the Borno Seminar, January 1973.

137. Tarikh Arbab, p.109.

Though some scholars[138] have cast doubts on the possibility of this early trade links of Kano with the Volta basin on the ground that the state or town of Gonja had not emerged by then, it is the contention here that existence of external trade would not necessarily be linked to the emergence of a centralised state or a town. However, once a centralised state had been established it could help greatly in accelerating the pace and volume of trade.

Pieces of evidence confirm the establishment of trade links between Kano as well as other Hausa states and the Volta region before the sixteenth century. During this century a number of Hausa and Kanuri communities had already settled there permanently,[139] which indicates that their presence in that region preceded their settlement.

Also a Nupe legend about the origin of labuje kola tells how a Hausa man, passing through Nupe country from the west, gave them (the labuje kolanuts) to a Nupe

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138. See P.E. Lovejoy, op.cit., p.15.

139. N. Levtzion, Muslims and Chiefs in West Africa: A Study of Islam in the Middle Volta Basin in the Precolonial Period, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968, p.6.

woman.[140] It is possible that this Hausa trader was returning from the area which came to be known as Gonja or any other area in the Volta region via Nupeland. This possibility seems to be strengthened by the fact that this species of kola is not indigenous to the Nigerian area. This might also have been the same species of kola which a king of Nupe is believed to have given to the legendary Queen Amina of Zazzau in the early part of the fifteenth century.[141] If this was the case, it means that Kano's trade with the Volta regions had well been underway, at least, by the end of the fifteenth century.

Kano's trade with the Volta region was very important both in terms of volume and the value of the goods. The most important commodity obtained from the Volta region (kolanut), was important for re-export to Borno and the other areas to the east and north-east of Kano. The profit made from sales of kolanuts were used for acquiring commodities from these areas, for instance potash and salt which were vital for industrial

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140. S.F. Nadel, A Black Byzantium: The Kingdom of Nupe in Nigeria, London: O.U.P., 1942, pp.231-3.

141. Tarikh Arbab, p.109.

production in Kano.[142]

With some degree of certainty it may be said that the sarakuna of Kano had encouraged the direct trade with North Africa, at least from the fifteenth century. The same Sarki Abdullahi Burja who established trade links with some states or regions of West Africa, was said to have been "the first to own camels in Hausa-land".[143] The camels might have been used in the trans-Saharan trade. Soon after the death of Sarki Abdullahi Burja, a group of Arabs arrived in Kano.[144] By the time of Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa, the Arabs and other North Africans appear to have exercised much influence on him to the extent that he was described as "the Arab sarki".[145]

By the sixteenth century Kano had access to several markets of North Africa, the Nile valley, and probably some parts of the Middle East. An account of Kano's commerce in the sixteenth century indicates that it was as much involved with Fez as it was with Cairo.[146] Kano's

142. vide infra, pp.554-5.

143. Tarikh Arbab, p.109.

144. ibid., p.111.

145. ibid., p.112.

146. D. Lange & S. Berhoud, "L'Interior de l'Afrique Occidentale d'apres Giovanni Lorenzo Amania", Journal of World History (UNESCO), vol.XIV no.2, 1972, p.543.

trade with North Africa expanded with the increasing usage of the central Saharan trade route through Agades and Wargala[147] which flourished with the establishment of the Sultanate of Agades in the fifteenth century.[148] The importance of the role of the Sultanate of Agades for the trade across the Sahara with Kano would be better appreciated when it is realised that it established peace and order in the area which was generally known as Balad-al-Khūf (the country of fear) or Balad-as-Sayf (the country of the sword).[149] Even in the early sixteenth century, Leo Africanus pointed out the insecurity to the merchants who were trading between Agades and both Kano and Borno.[150]

In addition, the trade of Hausaland with Western Sudan, especially in gold, also flourished particularly

147. R. Mauny has shown that as early as the fourteenth century, a caravan route linking Ghat with Kano had been opened. Soon afterwards the Darb el-Arbain, an old caravan route that had linked Hausaland with the lower Niger regions, was opened. See R. Mauny, Tableau Geographique de l'Ouest au Moyen Age, Dakar: I.F.A.N., 1961, pp.429-439.

148. Y. Urvoy, Chronique d'Agades, partially translated into English by A.E. Owoyele, N.H.R.J., A.B.U., Zaria, pp.9, 10.

149. E.F. Gautier, op.cit., p.201.

150. Leo Africanus, op.cit., vol.III, p.829.

with the arrival of the Wangarawa in Kano in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.[151] The increasing importance of Hausaland in relation to long-distance trade may explain the rivalry over this region between the two great powers of the Savanna belt of West Africa in the sixteenth century. These powers were Songhay and Borno.

It seems that Kano, with its commercial networks mentioned above, was the centre of the long-distance trade in Hausaland. Moreover, in the sixteenth century, Kano as a main commercial centre became more important than Ngazargamu and later on competed with Gao. Leo Africanus referred to Ngazargamu as a "large village"[152] at the beginning of the sixteenth century, while he described Kano as a town where "the walls and houses whereof are built for the most part of a kind of a chalke. The inhabitants are rich merchants and most civil people".[153]

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151. Tarikh Arbab, pp.104-5; Waraqa Nahtuba fiha asl al-Wangariyin, pp.1-16.

152. Leo Africanus, op.cit., vol.III, p.833.

153. ibid., p.830.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century Muhammad al-Kati mentioned a heated debate which ensued between people of the Sudan (Houssland?) and those of Gao as to which was larger: Gao or Kano. This led to conducting a census of houses in the town of Gao. The result was about 8,000 houses built of clay, apart from those which were constructed of reeds and cornstalks[154] which may have exceeded the former in number. Since it had been implied that the birni was greater than Gao, it means that the number of houses in it were equal or more than those of Gao in the later part of the sixteenth century (1582-1586).

The reports of Leo Africanus and al-Kati have been corroborated by another external source. Vincenzo Matheo, a merchant of Ragousa who knew much about the lands of the Central Sudan in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, reported on the bustling of commercial activities in many commodities such as malaguetta pepper, ivory, and gold, carried out in the birni by merchants from all over the Sudan and other

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154. Mahmud Kati, Tarikh al-Fattash (Arabic text), ed. O. Houdas and M. Delafosse, Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1965, p.145.

parts of Africa. The birni, according to Vincenzo, was renowned as one of the three great towns of Africa; the two others being Fez and Cairo. According to Vincenzo, "there is nothing in the world that cannot be found [in Kano]".[155]

These reports have in fact raised important questions in relation to historiographical issues about commerce and urbanisation in Hausaland. Barth asserted that Katsina, before the nineteenth century, was the chief city of "Negroland" and that:

> "as long as Katsina continued independent and flourishing, the town of Kano appears never to have been an important commercial place; and it was not till after Katsina had been occupied by the Fulbe, and, owing to its exposed position on the northern frontier of Hausa, had become a very unsafe central point for commercial transactions, that Kano became the great commercial entre-port of the Central Negroland [sic]. Before this time, that is to say, before the year 1807, I have strong reason to suppose that scarcely any great Arab merchant ever visited Kano".[156]

This assertion misled virtually all later scholars who have written about economic history and urbanisation in

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155. G.L. Anania, L'Universale fabrica del mondo overo cosmografia, Naples, 1573, repr. 1596; trans. by Abdullahi Smith, Kaduna, May 1977.

156. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.505.

the Central Sudan into believing that this was the case. But now it becomes clear that the birni had been an important commercial centre at least from the fifteenth century onwards. As a matter of fact many of the "Arabs" who resided in Katsina, from the second half of the eighteenth century, had been before that time residing and conducting commercial activities in Kano.[157] It was due to the tyrannical and exploitative policies of the sarakuna of Kano during the middle of the eighteenth century that forced some of them to emigrate to Katsina.[158]

Thus the emergence of the centralised state in Kasar Kano and its role in promoting, regularising and expanding the economic activities in its various sectors led to a prosperous economy before the eighteenth century. However, the economy was controlled by a socially dominant group, particularly the sarakuna, so the political system was a reflection of the dominance of that influential social group. In the eighteenth century the dominance of this sarauta group reached its

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157. Tarikh Arbab, p.124.

158. ibid., p.124.

peak and eventually witnessed proliferation which generated an internal social crisis, thereby creating conducive conditions and preparing the way for the Jihad of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PROLIFERATION IN THE SARAUTA SYSTEM AND THE INTERNAL SOCIAL CRISIS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

In the eighteenth century the socially dominant group increased in number and became more influential due to the increasing economic prosperity of Kasar Kano. This phenomenon was reflected in the greatly and rapidly increased number of offices in the sarauta system. A good example of the newly created offices were Dan Maje, Dan Adala, Dan Zakura, Dan Daudu, Dan Gwarzo, Dan Gada, and Dan Bakoshi[1]. Each of the holders of these offices developed his or her subordinate sarautu.

These developments were closely related to the increase in the rate of immigration, military activities and the increase in the number of the members of the royal family. The immigrants influenced the increase in the number of masu sarauta in two main ways. Firstly, many of the immigrants, especially from Borno and Baghirmi, had been government officials and upon their arrival in Kano were often given sarauta either in the

1. H. Solken, op.cit., p.156.

birni, or the towns and villages.[2] In the latter last categories they were often appointed as dagatai (village heads).[3] Secondly, large-scale immigration resulted in the founding of new settlements to which new masu sarauta were appointed.

As in the previous centuries, military operations gave people opportunities to secure sarautu. Prowess either in the process of crushing rebellions against the central government or during military encounters with the other states often resulted in securing a sarauta. For this reason, Sarki Kumbari (c.1743-1753) alone appeared to have as many as one hundred sarautu and rewarded others by making them rulers of several towns and villages. Among these appointees were some princes.[4] Princes were also given sarautu as a kind of compensation for failure to secure the throne. Such princes

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2. H. Solken, op.cit., p.148.
3. ibid., p.149.
4. ibid., pp.155, 156.

were appointed as Dagatai or Uban Kasa.[5] These three factors contributed, directly or indirectly, to the rapid urbanisation process in Kasar Kano. This urbanisation process was also an important factor in the proliferation of masu sarauta in the eighteenth century.

I. Urbanisation in the Eighteenth Century:

With the founding of new and the expanding of the old settlements there was a corresponding need for the increase in the numbers of masu sarauta. Similarly the larger the settlements or towns became the greater the complexity of the sarauta system. Such complexity would, of course, be more profound in the birni than in any other town in the area. This was because the degree of urbanisation was closely related to the diversity of economic activities and division of labour. For instance, in the large towns there were as many sarakunan sana'a (heads of crafts) and masu unguwowi

5. Holders of the title of Uban Kasa (lit. father of the land) performed functions of advisers to the Sarki. Normally each of them was given territories to administer, in spite of the fact that they were all confined to the birni in the case of the central government and to the major administrative towns in the case of the sarakunan garuruwa (rulers of semi-autonomous territories). The holders of the title of Uban Kasa have also been known as hakimai. See H. Solken, op.cit., p.151.

(heads of wards) as there were such crafts and wards in any given town.

From the previous chapters, it is evident that the different regions of Kasar Kano varied in their degree of economic potentialities and therefore their development. Consequently it is to be expected that the degree of the urbanisation process also varied. Hence the complexity/the sarauta system relatively differed from /of one region to the other and from one area to another within the same region.

(1) The Northern and North-Eastern Region.

One of the several towns which were founded in this region in the eighteenth century was Dambatta. It attracted various groups of immigrants from Daura, the Sahel, Borno, Katsina as well as from the central region of Kano. There were a number of factors which immigrants to move into this area. These ranged from search for fertile land, attempts to avoid areas troubled by wars, raids/ religious persecution, to heavy /and taxation.[6]

Nomadic Fulani immigrants also continually moved

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6. NAK, Hist/4, History of Kazaure, p.4.

into the area in search of grazing land to support their numerous herds. They were attracted to this area not only by the rich pasture-lands, but also by the ample supply of water all the year round.[7]

The process of sedentarisation in this area was accelerated by the arrival of a large group of a very rich Fulani clan of Yerimawa. They moved into the area due to unsettling political conditions in Borno and Gobir.[8] The first group to arrive was led by Dan Tunku, a man who was to play an important role in the history of Kano in the early part of the nineteenth century. This large group of immigrants settled down near an old village (now completely deserted) referred to at present as Tsohon Garu (old walled town). The friendly relations and possibly the degree of interdependence which was established between the inhabitants of Tsohon Garu and

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7. NAK, Hist/4, History of Kazaure, p.4.

8. NAK, 3834/1912 - Kano Province, Kazaure Emirate, Assessment Report. In this source the traditions of origin of this group are conflicting. While some claimed to have come from Borno, others traced their origin to Gobir. Groups bearing the name of Yerimawa were found both in Borno and Gobir. Therefore, the Dambatta group might have come from both areas.

the immigrants (as well as the advantages mentioned earlier) encouraged more and more of the Yerimawa groups to settle in the area until they completely abandoned Dutse, their first stopping place in their eastward march from Gobir. Eventually a large settlement developed about one mile to the north-east of Tsohon Garu which came to be known as Dambatta.[9] This settlement was established and recognized during the reign of Sarki Alwali (c.1781-1807), who appointed their leader as Sarkin Fulani. The leaders of the other immigrant Fulani groups were similarly recognized and given similar titles. This was the case with the Fulani clans which settled in Kasar Kano in general; for example in Bebeji, Sankara, Shanono, Jahun, and Ringim.[10]

Dambatta continued to attract immigrants especially from the Sahel. Its location in the belt of kabba (gorriba palm) made it an important centre for weaving mats, baskets and mangaloli. It was also an important centre of textile production.

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9. For the various versions of the origin of the name Dambatta (known in colonial records Danberta), see NAK, Hist/4, History of Kazaure, p.5.

10. Tarikh Arbab, p.124; Hausawa Da Makwabtansu, p.39.

In addition to these economic activities, its location on the main trade route between the birni and the towns of the Sahel in the north attracted merchants and dyers. The rivers of the area attracted a number of fishermen. Thus the population of Dambatta and its environs increased considerably towards the end of the eighteenth century, to the extent that Dan Tunku effectively used his position in Dambatta to contribute to the overthrow of Alwali.[11]

To the south-east of Dambatta, several settlements emerged; while some of the old ones developed into towns. The population of these settlements and towns increased, largely due to the immigration of the Fulani into the area which was rich in pasture and water supply. Therefore these settlements were mostly situated near rivers and lakes. Such settlements were Agofa, Miga, Hantsu, Tsakuwa, Harbo Tsohuwa, Doro, Gwaram, Ringim and Darai. By virtue of their being important political and administrative centres, towns like Ringim, Jahun, Harbo Tsohuwa and Miga witnessed a fairly remarkable rate of expansion. These towns were

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11. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p. 99.

also important centres of economic activities.

Ringim probably had the greatest number of advantages which contributed to its development in the eighteenth century. The landform around Ringim was characterized by marshes and fairly big lakes and water holes like that of Gwaram. They stretched from Ringim to Gashuwa and they have always attracted cattle belonging to Yakasawa, Sultumawa, Zangon Kaya, Bago, Machina and Gumel, in addition to other Sahel regions in Borno.[12] The lakes and River Hadejia which flows through the area in a north-easterly direction were also attractive to fishermen. Similarly around the entire length of the river and the lakes were fertile soils which could be worked easily throughout the year.

Many of the Fulani and the other groups who immigrated into the area settled down around an old village known as Rinji, which was located in this fertile area. There is a controversy about the origin of this settlement. The old settlement is believed to have been founded by Kutumbawa. In the early part of the eighteenth century, in the time of Sarki Kumbari (c.1731-1743 A.D.) or probably earlier, a large group of

12. UIM (Ringim), 21/4/79.

Fulani under the leadership of a man called Ada emigrated from Machina and settled in or near Rinji.[13] Shortly Ada embarked on clearing some parts of a tract of daji (forest) known as Dajin Ban Tsoro nearby. He then founded a settlement which he fortified with stockades. He finally extended his control over the inhabitants of Rinji who eventually evacuated their old settlement for the new one. This was most likely due to the advantageous location of the latter.

A slightly different view about the immigration of Ada's group into this area was held by Abubakar Dokaji.[14] He believed that Ada was a Fulani who came from Machina with many cattle. He is said to have settled near River Gwaran and established Ringim, a town which continued to be ruled by his descendants.[15] But H. Solken asserted that Ada was Sarkin Dutse (Dutse Gadawur).[16] Ada's rebellion is also referred to in Tarikh Arbab. In this

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13. UIM (Ringim), 21/4/79.
14. Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., p.38.
15. ibid., p.39. Ada is also said to have been Sarkin Ringim. See Hausawa da Makwabtansu, p.56.
16. H. Solken, op.cit., p. . This source devotes nine pages to a detailed description of Ada's rebellion against the authority of Sarkin Kano Kumbari.

source it is said that Makuri was the Sarkin Dutse who was a contemporary of Ada.[17] Ada's name does not appear in Dutse's kinglist.[18]

It seems that the identity of Ada and the events that took place in his time have been muddled up in the sources.[19] It is clear, however, that Ada was a leader of the several groups of Fulani who settled in the north-eastern part of Kano in the eighteenth century. Oral traditions collected in several settlements founded by the immigrants as well as those collected from Jahun and Aujera all indicate that many of the groups of immigrants first settled in or around Dutse Gadawur before finally settling down in the settlements they established to the north-west of the former town. Ada's group might have

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17. Tarikh Arbab, p.124.

18. The source containing the kinglist was acquired in the course of the fieldwork. It is incomplete.

19. There seems to be further confusion about the time when Ada lived. The confusion arises because this author attributed events which took place during the time of Sarki Kisoki (c.1509-1565) to that of Sarki Kumbari (c.1743-1753). Other sources, namely Tarikh Arbab, Hausawa Da Makwabtansu, and Kano Ta Dabo Cigari as well as the oral traditions I have collected in Ringim suggest strongly that Ada arrived in Kano just before or early in the eighteenth century.

been one of them, hence the lingering connections in the traditions with Dutse Gadawur.

Like the leaders of Dambatta and other settlements, Ada sought and obtained the recognition of Sarkin Kano Kumbari as the ruler of the settlement he founded. The settlement, due to its strategic location on the main trade route between the birni, Ngazargamu and other towns of Borno to the east and north-east as well as the other favourable conditions mentioned earlier, became a centre of attraction to immigrants of diverse origins. The size of the population of the town even in the early part of the eighteenth century could be judged in relation to the number of warriors which Ada mobilised, with whom he nearly overthrew the central government of Kano in the time of Kumbari.[20] Ringim continued to be an important town throughout the eighteenth century.

The town of Jahun was founded before the eighteenth century.[21] Before its foundation there were several smaller settlements including Kafinbaka and Kadawa in the area. In the eighteenth century quite a number of

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20. H. Solken, op.cit., pp.153-156.

21. AAH (Jahun), 8/4/79; NAK, SNP.1269/1909, Administrative Divisions in Provinces, Maps of.

Fulani, Kanuri and other groups from and the Sahel regions settled in the town. Because it was well fortified with kafi (stockade) and situated right in the belt of kabba (gorriba palm), Jahun became an important centre of weaving of mats, malafofi (hats) and other similar products which attracted many traders.

The great concentration of livestock in the area, especially sheep and goats, fostered the establishment of several tannery and leather working enterprises. Weaving and dyeing flourished. . These industries promoted commercial transaction with the towns to the north in particular. Gradually many of the traders settled down in Jahun. The significance of the town in Kasar Kano in the eighteenth century was demonstrated by the political and military roles played by its rulers, the sarakunan Fulani of Jahun.[22]

Harbo Tsohuwa (old Harbo) was also an important settlement which was established at the beginning or just before the eighteenth century by a Fulani called Abubakar. The original name of the settlement was Kafawa. Due to a dynastic dispute, a faction left the town and established another settlement known as Harbo

22. Hausawa Da Makwabtansu, p.57.

Sabuwa (new Harbo) which overshadowed the original settlement and attracted many immigrants, especially the Fulani, because of its several lakes and grazing grounds.[23]

During the same period and for similar reasons Miga expanded remarkably. It was noted for its livestock production. Owners of large herds of cattle continually settled down in Miga permanently because of extensive grazing lands.[24]

It is important to mention here the rapid development of Aujera and Bankara as major Fulani towns in the region. Both towns played very important political roles in Kano in the eighteenth century.[25]

The acquisition of large tracts of land and the oppressive measures, particularly in relation to taxation, which prevailed in the central region, forced people to move to the northern and north-eastern region in search of land and relative relief from the burden of that oppression.[26]

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23. AAH: NM: AMM: IMG (Jahun), 8/4/79.
24. SMA (Miga), 8/4/79.
25. HKA (Aujera), 9/4/79.
26. Tarikh Arbab, p. 124.

Three patterns of settlement may be identified in this region in the eighteenth century, the parallels of which would be seen also in the other regions of the area. Firstly was the establishment of settlements far away from pre-existing settlements and towns. These were founded mainly by nomadic Fulani, but later on attracted/ethnic groups. Among such settlements was Sankara.

Secondly, new settlements were established by immigrants in the neighbourhood of pre-existing settlements or towns, whereby twin towns developed, but gradually merged into a large town, for instance, Ringim.

Thirdly, immigrants settled in pre-existing settlements which gradually expanded, fortified, and therefore became densely populated with diverse ethnic groups like the Fulani, Hausa, Tuareg, Kanuri, Agalawa, even Shuwa Arabs, and Kwayam, in addition to groups from Lake Chad area. An example of this category of settlements was Jahun.

(2) The Central Region.

In view of the abundance of natural resources and their effective utilisation through farming, manufacturing, processing and trading, the central region developed the most powerful political authority which spread its hegemony over other regions of the area. Therefore the region attracted more immigrants than any other region in Kasar Kano. There were continuous flow of immigrants not only from the other regions, but also from Hausaland, the Central Sudan and beyond. Thus this region witnessed rapid urbanisation not only in the area of Dala but also in most of its other parts. The result was that several new settlements were established while pre-existing ones developed into towns.

This phenomenon was best illustrated by expansion of the birni. The increase in the population of the birni in the eighteenth century is clearly shown by the number of wards which were established in it during this time. These included Gabari, Tudun Nufawa, Dambazau, Yandoya, and Bakinzuwo.

Gabari was founded in the time of Sarki Muhammadu Alwali probably by Kanuri immigrants.[27] Tudun Nufawa was

27. C.J. Greenhill, op.cit., pp.68-73.

founded by Nupe immigrants from Bida in the late eighteenth or in the early part of the nineteenth century.[28] Dambazau was founded by a group of Fulata Borno (Fulani who came from Borno) whose leader was Inusa Dabo Dambazau, a learned man who moved into Kano with a large following from Gombe just before the Jihad.[29]

Yandoya was founded in the time of Sarki Muhammadu Alwali by a leader of a group of Kanuri immigrants whose name (or title) was Goron Duma. After founding the ward he encoureged people other than the Kanuri to settle in it by providing places for them. Among those who settled in this ward were Wangarawa who emigrated from the Volta regions.[30] Bakinzuwo was founded by a group of Kanuri or "Arabs" who came from the "east". Both Kanuri and Arabic were spoken in the ward.[31] There also several other wards which were founded in the eighteenth century and inhabited by different groups, including Agalawa, Tuaregs and Wangarawa.[32]

28. C.J. Greenhill, op.cit., pp.68-73.
29. ibid., p.69.
30. ibid., p.70.
31. ibid., p.70.
32. ibid., p.68-72.

Alan Frishman, through demographic calculations based on the capacity of the birni, estimated its population in the eighteenth century at about 40,000.[33] This, indeed, is an underestimation of the population of the birni by then, in view of the fact that the birni even in the sixteenth century, was considered to be larger than Ngazargamu - and almost equal to Gao.[34] The population of each of these two latter cities was estimated by a recent study for that period at about one quarter of a million.[35] Therefore, the birni in the sixteenth century should not be expected to have had smaller size than that. Also the population of the birni in the eighteenth century should not be expected to have been less than that of the sixteenth century. This is in view of the rapid urbanisation and the high rate of immigration into the birni which has already been discussed.

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33. Alan Frishman, op.cit., p.222.

34. Mahmud Kati, op.cit., p.145.

35. The study has been undertaken by I.U.A. Musa in an unpublished paper on urbanisation in Bilad as-Sudan, based on the number of houses found in Gao and the number and capacities of Friday mosques in Ngazargamu.

Though some people left the birni for the countryside, for various reasons, this would not mean that it led to a serious decrease in the population of the city. From all indications the population was indeed increasing and this may have been the reason for expanding the walls and increasing the number of wards of the birni in the eighteenth century. The wall built by Muhammad Sharefa may have been the one which stretched nearly from Kofan Kansankali to Kofan Kabuga, and then stretching southward to a place close to the twelfth century wall.[36] Thus by the end of the eighteenth century the birni covered an area of about fifteen miles in circumference.[37]

Apart from the birni, people from within and without Kasar Kano immigrated into the central region,

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36. See M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.118. There is a dispute over the date of these walls. See H.L.B. Moody, The Walls and Gates of Kano City, Lagos, Department of Antiquities, 1969, p.42.
    Since there is no concrete evidence for the programme of extending the walls of the birni after the eighteenth century, it may be assumed that the statistics given by H. Clapperton in the early part of the nineteenth century applies to the previous century. See Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., p.38.

37. Denham, Dixon and others, op.cit., p.38.

establishing new settlements or settling in pre-existing ones. To the south of the birni the population of some settlements increased substantially. These were Tanagar, Gogel, 'Yar Gaya, Dawakin Kudu, Tsakuwa, Gano, Wudil, Kwachirin Diko, and Kura.[38] In these as well as other areas in the south-eastern part of the region, the settlers were from different Fulani clans such as Jafun'en, Webe'en, Ja'en (Ga'en), Barnanko'en, Ba'en, Sullubako'en, and Mundubawa.[39]

To the north-west of the birni, in the area of Dawakin Tofa, several new settlements like Dambazau were established and the pre-existing ones were expanded. Notable among the eighteenth century settlements that were initially inhabited mainly by the Fulani were Gajida, Dambazau, Yanoko, Tuga, Kwajalle, Ginsawa, and Zangon Dan Audu.[40]

In the area of the north of the birni, the Fulani

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38. See H. Solken, op.cit., p.56; Dawakin Kudu District Notebook; Kura District Notebook. All District Notebooks referred to in the study are kept in the Ministry of Local Government, Kano State.

39. NAK, SNP.15 ACC No.289 - Dawaki Ta Kudu District Assessment Report, 1937, p.2.

40. AAA, SMB, UUU (Dawakin Tofa), 6/9/80. All of these settlements are situated in the neighbourhood of Dawakin Tofa.

were prominent among the new immigrants. They were the followers of Inusa Dabo who founded the Dambazau ward in the birni.[41] Their main settlement that emerged in this area was Ungongo and Rafin Malam.[42] Among the old settlements that developed into a town was Fanisau. The growth in the population of Fanisau had been attributed to its position as the gandu (estate) of the successive sarakuna of Kano, as an important centre for military mobilisation and as a place of retreat for the sarakuna of Kano.[43] Because of the latter factor nearly most of the leading state officials had to build their houses in Fanisau and station their barori (clients) and slaves permanently there. Therefore, many manufacturers and traders were attracted to the town.

Slightly to the north-east of Fanisau is Gezawa, another old town. It was originally established by Kutumbawa before the eighteenth century. Then in the eighteenth century it attracted the Fulani because of abundant grazing land and prevalence of fadamomi (flood

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41. C.J. Greenhill, op.cit., pp.68-73.
42. AIA, MIS (Ungogo), 7/10/80.
43. ibid.; Dixon, Denham and others, op.cit., p.32.

plains) that stretched from there to Zakirai.[44] The Fulani also settled around the area of Gezawa, in settlements of Ghuruma, 'Yar Zabaina, Wangarawa, Yola, 'Yar Kogi, and Zangon Dan Ashura.

Similarly large groups of Fulani and other groups settled to the western part of the birni during the eighteenth century. The most important settlements which emerged here were Kanwa, Yelwa and Kankaso where the Sullubawa were the dominant Fulani clan.[45]

Another area in the central region which witnessed influx of migrants and establishment of settlements was that lying to the north of a line stretching from Dawakin Tofa to Ungongo and limited to the north by a line stretching from Bichi to Damerghu. In this area there were many Fulani, among whom were the Yolawa clan who settled in Bichi.[46] There were also Bugaje and Tuaregs who settled down here in large numbers. The latter settled mainly in Bichi and Damerghu. Here they

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44. HSA (Gezawa), 7/9/80.
45. ANI (Birni), 10/9/80.
46. ibid.

established a ruling family.[47]

These settlements were involved in large-scale production of grains, textile and leather goods as well as engaging in commercial activities. The Tuareg, in particular, were closely associated with trade in grains and textile goods with the towns and settlements of the Sahel and the central Saharan regions. The Tuareg who migrated from these two latter regions were the people who actively took part in this long distance trade.

Therefore, there was concentration of population in the region. Hence the degree of integration and assimilation was higher here than in any other region of Kasar Kano. Long before the nineteenth century, many of the Fulani clans who settled in this region, especially the elders, had been integrated into the urban life of the birni and its environs. Most of them either devoted their time to learning, practising of light crafts, for instance production of ropes, petty trading and serving as state officials.

The proliferation of settlements and towns in the

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47. P.E. Lovejoy and Stephen Baier, op.cit., p.568. The findings of these scholars seem to be supported by a piece of evidence in Tarikh Arbab; see Tarikh Arbab, p.125.

central region of Kano was accompanied by muliplication of sarautu. All the founders of the new settlements were recognized as rulers of their respective settlements or territories. The importance of the sarautu varied with the size of the settlements. On the whole, especially in relation to the settlements controlled by the Fulani, there were three categories of rulers. The highest was the holder of the title of Sarkin Fulani, who ruled large settlements predominantly populated by Fulani, or Dagachi who ruled a town or settlement that was occupied by a diverse group of people. Under either the Sarkin Fulani or Dagachi were the holders of the title of Ardo'en who ruled a smaller settlement predominantly inhabited by Fulani and Mai Unguwa (ward head),[48] used in respect of an officer controlling a ward. In the areas inhabited mainly by nomads, the title of Sarkin Ruga(Riga) was used. The office holder was often appointed by Sarkin Fulani or Dagachi mainly for tax

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48. The term unguwa (ward) could mean either of the following: a compact ward which constituted only a fraction of a town or a stretch of territory consisting of several, or many villages in the countryside. Either of them constituted an administrative unit.

collection and other levies.[49] Sarkin Ruga had his subordinate officials such as Galadiman Ruga and Chiroman Ruga.

(3) The South-Eastern Region.

In this region the main feature of urbanisation was the increase in population of the three major early settlements of Gaya, Dutse Gadawur, and Birnin Kudu. These towns which have been developing over centuries had become major administrative and economic centres by the eighteenth century. Their locations on major trade routes between Kano and Borno as well as the "Bauchi region" played an important role in their development into major urban centres. For security purposes building walls around towns such as Gaya in the early part of the eighteenth century by the sarakuna of Kano accelerated the pace of urbanisation process.[50] Around each of these towns a number of settlements that were politically and economically dependenton it emerged or developed. Some of them were mainly inhabited by

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49. MAM, AAG, UMY (Kura), 9/7/80; MSA, IAM, MMM (Dambatta), 6/9/80.

50. Tarikh Arbab, p.123.

blacksmiths.

Gaya was one of these highly urbanized centres which were surrounded with walls in the early part of the eighteenth century.[51] For economic and security reasons it enclosed a very large area of farmland. It also had seven gates. These were Kofar Kano, Kofar Gabari, Kofar Kuka, Kofar Sharada, Kofar Bayawa, Kofar Chikaji, and Kofar Alhamdu. Gaya's proximity to the industrial centres of the central region, particularly the birni, its location on a major trade route to the south-east and the north-east as well as its fertile areas attracted many groups.

Gaya was also an important administrative centre and because of its political and military roles in the history of Kano during this time, the large number of slaves it acquired may have swelled the population of the town. Many of the people who moved to the area of Gaya founded settlements in the vicinity of the town. Among these were Gaba, Birnin Gija, Gwandamu, Bataya, and Bɑlare. They were all surrounded with walls during

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51. Tarikh Arbab, p.123.

this time.[52] Other settlements or towns which were within the territorial control of Gaya during the eighteenth century were Faragai, Kademi, Sayasaya, Fanda, Dahu, Tsangaya, Gamoji, and Zambur.[53]

Dutse Gadawur, like Gaya, was an important political and administrative centre. It was also an important commercial junction linking three major long-distance trade routes. The first was from Borno to Volta region via the birni. The second was from the Sahel and other northern parts of Kano to Zazzau, passing through Kagara, Tsurma, Dutse Gadawur, and Paranduwa. The third was from the "Bauchi region" to Katanga.[54] These factors attracted many people to Dutse Gadawur. These were the Auyokawa, the Arewawa, the Asirkawa, and the Illelawa,[55] who were from the Sahel. They were mainly engaged in dyeing cloth. The numerous heaps or mounds of waste

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52. IAU (Gaya), 22/12/78. While many informants asserted that Gaya extended its control over these settlements, a few said that the settlements came under Gaya's political control only at the beginning of the nineteenth century, that is with the establishment of the Emirate.

53. IAU (Gaya), 22/12/78.

54. NAK, SNP.7, 2715/1911 - Assessment Report, Dutse District, Kano Province, 1911-1912.

55. AAA (Dutse Gadawur), 3/2/79.

materials from dye pits found in most of the deserted wards attributed to these groups are clear evidence of the great number of the dyers and the large extent of the craftsmanship. Tanning as well as other light crafts were also undertaken. The location of Dutse Gadawur ensured for it adequate market for its textile and other industrial products in the Sahel and Borno.

The town and its environs also received successive waves of Fulani immigrants especially from Borno. It seems that they were many in number to the extent that they took over power in Dutse during the Jihad.

By the late eighteenth century Dutse Gadawur had become a very big town and informants here have asserted that it was equal to the birni in size and in population.[56] While it is difficult to accept, the claim that Dutse's population was really large is reflected in the number of its gates and wards. The town had eleven gates and numerous unguwowi (wards). The wards which were founded in the eighteenth century were Unguwar Murabusawa, founded by a retired ruler of Dutse (?1722-1797), and Unguwar Jigawar Sarki founded by Gwajabo, the last pre-Jihad ruler of Dutse Gadawur. Other eighteenth century

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56 AAA (Dutse Gadawur) 2/2/70

The favourable conditions for grazing in the area of Kiyawa also attracted nomadic Fulani from Gumel, Katagum and other areas of "Bauchi region". One of the major burtali (cattle tracks) from Miga, Jahun, and Aujera to the "Bauchi region" passed through the area of Kiyawa. Its fertile soil which permitted the cultivation of cotton and indigo, its ample water supply which was absolutely necessary for large-scale dyeing and its location close to the Gudiri region,[62] a most important market for Kano's textile goods in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, enabled Kiyawa to emerge as one of the most important textiles and cloth-dyeing centres of Kasar Kano. The agricultural and industrial products were important factors in the stimulation of trade of Kiyawa. In addition to its location on the main trade route from the birni to Borno via Dutse Gadawur, Kafin Hausa, Auyo and Hadejia, there was also another trade route which stretched from Kiyawa to "Bauchi region",

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62. The Gudiri region formed part of the western parts of Borno. In the nineteenth century, the area was covered mainly by the Emirates of Hadejia, Katagum, Misau and Jama'are. See F.W. de St. Croix, The Fulani of Northern Nigeria, London, Gregg International, p.27.

wards were Zai, Galadimawa and Gadadin. In addition, some of the wards which are now deserted but inhabited in the eighteenth century were Maremawa, Galadimawa, Katangare, Mabara, Maranjuwa,[57] Jugurgur, and Rankwashi.

The jurisdiction of Sarkin Dutse Gadawur extended to several neighbouring settlements including Chamo, Chaichai, Dungu, Kwanda, Shatari, Babari, Kalkutan, Kalagari, and Gauyo.[58]

About twenty-five miles to the east of Dutse Gadawur is Kiyawa. It was founded long before the eighteenth century by a group of Kutumbawa who moved into this area from the birni or its adjacent areas.[59] It was ruled by Kutumbawa rulers such as Chanero, Habu and Tangu.[60] But towards the end of the eighteenth century the control of the town was taken over by Fulani immigrants who arrived under the leadership of Bakoto, from Fika.[61]

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57. MIM (Dutse Gadawur), 4/3/79.
58. ibid.
59. AMA (Kiyawa), 2/2/79. The original settlement was abandoned in the middle part of the nineteenth century due to the flooding of the town by River Kiyawa.
60. AMA (Kiyawa), 2/2/79.
61. ibid.

Karfawa, Tsirma, Kwanda and Katanga were important settlements founded by Kutumbawa in the area of Kiyawa in the eighteenth century.[63]

To the south-west of Dutse Gadawur lies Takai which was an important town in the eighteenth century. It had served as an important military base for launching expeditions against the rebellious rulers of the towns and settlements of the south-eastern region as well as for expeditions into the "Bauchi region" mainly to acquire slaves. Its importance in the early part of the eighteenth century was indicated by the building of walls around it.[64] In the second half of the eighteenth century, Sarki Babba Zaki, as well as his leading officials, built houses at Takai and even attempted to transfer his court to the town.[65] Sarki Alwali spent a long time in Takai.[66] The building of houses by state officials and the settling of some of the captured slaves in this town led to its expansion. A number of people moved into the

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63. AMA (Kiyawa), 2/2/79.
64. Tarikh Arbab, p.123.
65. ibid., p.126.
66. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.6b.

town in order to avail themselves of the opportunity provided by the presence of the rulers and their officials who frequented the town.

The old town of Birnin Kudu, like Kiyawa, had several favourable conditions which made it attractive to pastoralists, manufacturers and other industrial producers, especially dyers as well as traders.[67] Being the most important town in the extreme south-eastern part of Kano during the eighteenth century, it became a converging point of trade routes from Borno and the Sahel to the other parts of Kano and Zazzau, and also from northern and western parts of Kano to the "Bauchi region". Like Dutse Gadawur, the extent of the industrial production which took place in this town is clearly indicated by the numerous mounds of waste materials around the abandoned dye pits in the old town of Birnin Kudu.[68] These belonged mainly to the Pakawa, the Auyokawa, the Guruzawa, and the Lulloki.[69]

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67. vide supra, footnote no.62.

68. The old town has been completely abandoned. It is now covered by farms. But the numerous huge mounds of waste materials from the abandoned dye pits are still found throughout the abandoned town.

69. IUA (Birnin Kudu), 5/5/79.

Like all the other towns in Kano, Birnin Kudu attracted a number of immigrants during this period. Numerically the most important groups were the Fulani, the Kanuri, the Tuareg, and the Auyokawa. Most of the Fulani who settled in and around Birnin Kudu came from Borno. They replaced the sarakuna of Birnin Kudu during the Jihad.

These factors made Birnin Kudu one of the largest towns of Kano during this period. As an administrative centre it enjoyed more autonomy than all the other major towns, to the extent that it often attempted to assert its independence. This necessitated the launching of punitive military expeditions against it by the sarakuna of Kano.[70]

Unlike the northern and north-eastern region and the central region, the south-eastern region had a peculiar pattern of urbanisation. Here the dominant feature was the expansion of pre-existing settlements rather than the founding of new ones. Nevertheless, the population was increasing tremendously especially in the valley of the Hadejia river.

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70. See for instance Tarikh Arbab, p.124.

(4) The Southern Region.

In this region, Rano and Burumburum were the most important towns. Rano, in particular, was an important political and administrative centre. Consequently by the eighteenth century, the population of Tsohon Rano (old Rano) had increased greatly. Its population was swelled by people who moved out of the nearby settlement of Jaji.[71]

Economic factors were also important for the development of the town of Rano. Situated right in the "cotton and indigo belt" and with ample supply of water from its several wells[72] as well as the important Rafin Kandama (stream of Kandama), dyeing industries flourished in Rano, thus attracting many groups, especially the Kanuri and the Agalawa who traded in grain from Rano to to the birni.

Several settlements were founded in the southern

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71. IGS (Rano), 11/2/79.

72. These wells, including 'Yar Badaura, Rimi Uku, Dan Alfanda, 'Yar Macizai, Tafasiya, Murabus, Bako Ka Wahala, Ta Annabi and Maidakasha, are believed to be as old as Tsohon Rano itself and have always contained large quantities of water. IGS (Rano), 11/2/79.

region in the eighteenth century. These included Gwunki (Gunki), which was founded by a group of "Maguzawa" led by a man called Gunki.[73] Other pre-existing settlements like Durba, Tarai and Bunkure also expanded in the eighteenth century. Because they were located in the same belt with Kano, these towns became famous for dyeing and cloth-beating industries.

Burumburum deserves especial mention. It was an old town founded by Kutumbawa. It is claimed to have been of the same size as Kano, Gaya, Dutse Gadawur and Karaye in the eighteenth century.[74] Though this claim could not be accepted, the population was increasing for a number of factors. The people of Burumburum were noted for production of large quantities of grains as well as cotton, indigo and other crops. The several rafuka (streams) found near the town as well as large tracts of forests made it suitable for livestock production. The location of the town on a major burtali (cattle track) from Borno and Bauchi to Zazzau enabled it to attract some of the pastoralists to settle there

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73. Tudun Wada District Notebook.

74. ibid.; GUM (Burumburum), 8/2/79.

permanently. The location of the town in a thick daji (forest) also made it attractive to masassaka (wood carvers). Moreover it was also located on a junction of trade routes from the Benue valley and the Bauchi regions. Because of its agricultural and industrial productions some of the merchants were encouraged to settle in the town.

By the second half of the eighteenth century a wall had already been built around it. In the later part of the century, the town was fortified to such an extent that it took the forces of the Jihadists about forty days to force their way into it.[75]

In this region there was an increase in population which was due to economic activities, in particular agricultural production. This explains why the urbanisation process was restricted to relatively few towns.

(5) The Western and South-Western Region.

In this region, like the others, the urbanisation process was in the form of expansion of pre-existing towns and settlements, or the establishment of new ones.

75. Tudun Wada District Notebook.

These processes were accelerated by the fact that the large towns became administrative and economic centres. These were Karaye, Gwarzo, Shanono, and Bebeji. There were other relatively less important settlements such as Kiru, Kwazzazabon 'Yar Kwando.

Karaye was the most important administrative centre in the region in the eighteenth century. It had jurisdiction over a number of settlements which lay several miles away from it, for example Rogo Gwangan. This administrative factor added to the economic importance of the town. It was located near the "cotton belt" and a major trade route from the birni to Zazzau.

Gwarzo was founded in the eighteenth century by a "Bamaguje" called Gwarzo who built a wall around the settlement.[76] Gradually the settlement began to expand with the coming of new groups like those led by Riji from the central region. Another one was led by Takamba.[77] Almost all of these groups were dyers. The influx of dyers into Gwarzo can be explained by its location in the "cotton belt" and the availability of a

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76. HJS (Gwarzo), 30/12/78.

77. ibid.

market for the textile products in the middle Benue and Niger valleys as well as parts of Yorubaland. This commercial activity was mainly conducted through a major trade route from the birni via Gwarzo to some parts of Zazzau and the southern part of Katsina. This relatively sound economic base accounts for the extension of the authority of Dagatan (sing. Dagachi) Gwarzo over several settlements within the neighbourhood of the town in the eighteenth century.[78]

Shanono was founded before the eighteenth century by "Maguzawa". Later on the settlement received successive groups of Fulani immigrants from Gobir and other areas to the west. Most of the Fulani immigrants arrived here in the eighteenth century. Some of them had intended to go on pilgrimage to Mecca but for economic reasons finally decided to settle in Shanono,[79] especially as Shanono was an area quite suitable for grazing. Here were found a number of small all-season lakes. Moreover, at that time the area was sparcely populated and therefore suitable for grazing.

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78. HJS (Gwarzo), 30/12/78.

79. H. Solken, op.cit., p.148.

Bebeji was founded before the eighteenth century, but in the early part of that century it became an important urban centre. During this period it started to play/major role in the military and political /a affairs of Kasar Kano. The sarakunan Fulani of Bebeji throughout the eighteenth century were among the leading warriors of sarakuna of Kano.[80] The geographical location of Bebeji had many advantages in its development. The fertile area in which it was located had promoted cultivation of a great variety of crops, including cotton and indigo. The concentration of Fulani cattle in the area had also been an important factor in enriching the fertility of the soils here. To the south of Bebeji was the important "cotton belt" from where the owners of the various industrial establishments in Bebeji obtained large quantities of cotton and indigo. Equally important was its strategic location on several trade routes from the birni and other northern parts of Kano to Zazzau and the other regions beyond.

For these reasons the town attracted immigrants from all directions. These included Nufawa (sing. Nupe),

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80. Hausawa Da Makwabtansu, pp.54, 56, 58.

Agalawa, Kanuri, Tuaregs, North Africans, and Fulani. Some of the immigrants, particularly the Nufawa, were engaged in weaving and dyeing. The Agalawa and other members of the North African communities performed the functions of distributing different products. The Agalawa, who owned large numbers of donkeys for transportation, devoted much of their efforts to trade in grains and ivory.[81]

To the west of Bebeji there were the two settlements of Kiru and Kwazzazzabon 'Yar Kwando where there was heavy concentration of Fulani in the eighteenth century. Among the several Fulani clans who inhabited these areas were Sullibawa,[82] who were found mainly in the vicinity of Kiru, Daneji; who inhabited the area of Zuwo and the Yolawa who occupied several settlements in the vicinity of Kwazzazzabon 'Yar Kwando. In the latter place there were other Fulani clens.

Apart from these major towns and settlements, there were many other relatively small settlements in this

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81. NAK, SNP.7, 2084/1909 - Assessment Report, Bebeji and Kofa Districts.

82. JMA (Kiru), 9/2/79; NAK, SNP.7, 1267/1909 - Administrative Division, Map of.

region. In the cotton belt, there were the settlements of Zarewa, Beli, and Rogo. These settlements attracted many people, especially the Kanuri, due to expansion in dyeing industry. They became very numerous and important particularly in the nineteenth century. To the northern part of the region there were other settlements such as Rimin Gado, Kabo, Dusten Dan Bakoshi, Gadanya, and Tsanyawa.

An important characteristic of this region was its relative low density of population, compared to the other regions, as reflected in the small size of its major towns. This may be explained in terms of the relative insecurity of the place, being a buffer zone between Kano on the one hand and Katsina, Zamfara and Gobir on the other. Relations between Kano and Zamfara and Gobir in the eighteenth century were particularly hostile. In addition, the region had relatively low economic potentialities though they were developed to a certain level which allowed a certain degree of expansion of the old settlements and the establishment of new ones. These were dispersed far from each other.

(6) General Remarks on Types and Patterns of Settlements.

In the eighteenth century there were three types of settlements in Kasar Kano. Firstly there were the old settlements which developed into large towns. These included the birni, Dutse Gadawur, Karaye, and Gaya. These were major centres of power and seats of many state officials. Secondly, there were towns which were founded in the eighteenth century which were mostly inhabited by immigrants, especially Fulani, Kanuri, and Tuaregs. These were smaller and controlled by subordinate officials with ranks of dagatai or sarakunan Fulani. Some of them were controlled by ardo'en or masu unguwa (clan and ward heads respectively). And thirdly, there were also settlements which emerged from pre-existing dispersed settlements through a gradual process of coalescence. Such settlement were initially occupied by people of different origins. Their population grew at a faster rate, due in part to a variety of occupations found in them. Such settlements were often administered by senior dagatai (village heads).

It would seem that the second type of settlements tended to be founded in the neighbourhood of the major towns, particularly the birni. By the end of the

eighteenth century they had encircled the birni. This was to be of great significance in the course of the Jihad, because the birni was virtually under siege by these settlements which were inhabited by people sympathetic to the cause of the Jihad.

The settlement pattern in almost all parts of Kasar Kano, but particularly in the central region, facilitated the function of the fifth columnists in passing on information to the Jihadists who assembled and established war camps around the birni in readiness to move towards it.

Another important feature of the settlement pattern in Kasar Kano was the emergence of the major towns as metropolises of their respective localities and sometimes their respective regions as was the case with the birni, Karaye, Rano, Dutse Gadawur, Gaya, and later Dambatta. The major settlements also tended to emerge as metropolises for smaller villages which were established in their neighbourhoods.

The settlement pattern facilitated the establishment of extensive network of communications between the birni and the major towns and between the towns and their neighbouring settlements. In addition to trade

routes there were also numerous regional and long-distance burtali (cattle tracks) which served as an important means of communication. The location of the markets which were open to transactions on daily, weekly or biweekly basis depending on the size of the settlement or town also facilitated communication.

The size of Kasar Kano and the distribution of large and autonomous towns in different regions forming metropolises of their own rendered its (i.e. Kasar Kano's) characterisation as city-state[83] to be erroneous in whatever sense it is applied. Therefore, to apply the term city-state in its Greek, Italian or even the Niger Delta sense would not only be irrelevant but also misleading. This is because the state of Kano was not synonymous and identical with Birnin Kano. Although the birni was the centre of authority, the degree of that authority varied in various places in the state.

Thus the study of the urbanisation process would help in understanding the political and administrative relationship between the birni on the one hand and the

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83. Many writers have often described the states which emerged in Hausaland as city-states. See for instance, H.A.S. Johnston, op.cit., p.8.

major towns and settlements on the other. It would also help in explaining the proliferation of the masu sarauta.

II. The Government: Political and Administrative Institutions.

In order to show the extent to which urbanisation affected the proliferation of the administrative and political institutions, a thorough examination of such institutions has to be carried out. These institutions may be categorised into two: the central and the regional institutions.

(1) Central Administration.

The central government of Kano in the eighteenth century revolved around Sarkin Kano, a sovereign monarch who exercised considerable power over the entire society, depending on circumstances and situations prevailing either at the centre or in the regions. In this century, the sarki was able to exercise considerable but varying influence even over polities which had not been politically incorporated fully into Kasar Kano. This was the case in relation to Baudam (Birnin Kudu) and Auyo. In order to maintain their hegemony

over these polities, the sarakuna of Kano used to send military expeditions against them now and then.[84] Therefore the role of the sarki was very crucial in the central administration.

(a) Sarkin Kano.

The basis of the authority of Sarkin Kano over his subjects, both the socially dominant group - in particular the masu sarauta - and the talakawa, was determined by his control and use of the instrument of force, and distribution of offices as well as the ownership of land.[85]

The degree of the authority depended on the circumstances in which any particular sarki found himself. However, no matter what the circumstances were, all state officials, at least in theory, derived their powers from the sarki and exercised them in his name. They could be dismissed as easily as they were recruited into his service. The extent of the powers of the sarki over his officials is epitomised by the humble nature

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84. Tarikh Arbab, pp.124, 126.

85. ibid., p.109.

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86. H. Solken, op.cit., p.149.

87. ibid., p.151.

of the utterances of one of the state officials: "... Ga bawanka ya zo. Ni bani da komi sai wanda ka bani .... abinda ke hannuna ajiya ka ce" (... Here comes your slave. I have nothing except what you have given me, ... whatever I have is only what you have entrusted to me).[86] Such submissive behaviour had always been an important feature of the sarauta system because of the nature and degree of economic and social dependence of each subordinate official on his respective superior in the hierarchical arrangement of the sarauta system.

In addition, the sarki had his prerogatives which were restricted only to him. These ranged from the mode of dressing to certain types of mazu sarauta such as Dan Rimi, Jalama, Dan Isa, and Dan Lawan. The mazu sarauta also had their prerogatives in relation to the talakawa.[87]

By the eighteenth century the pattern of succession had been fairly resolved and defined. Succession to the throne of Kasar Kano was confined only to 'Ya'yan

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86. H. Solken, op.cit., p.149.

87. ibid., p.151.

Sarki (king's sons, i.e. princes). Normally the prince who had been appointed Chiroma while the king was still on the throne often succeeded his father.[88] When the sarki had no male issue, the Galadima, who was often the junior brother of the ruling sarki, automatically ascended the throne. The Galadima was always next to the sarki in terms of seniority in the state. At the time of weak sarakuna, the Galadima often exercised a lot of influence.[89]

The selection and appointment of Sarkin Kano were carried out by the members of Tara-ta-Kano.[90] These were the Galadima, Madaki, Wombai, Makama, Sarkin Dawaki, Sarkin Bai, Dan Iya, Barde, and Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida. With the exception of Dan Iya and Galadima, all persons of royal blood were debarred from the membership of the electoral council, because they were potential candidates for the throne. For a

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88. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979. Muhammad Alwali, the last pre-Emirate Sarkin Kano, for example, had been a Chiroma before his accession to the throne.

89. Tarikh Arbab, pp.109-110; Hausawa Da Makwabtansu, p.58.

90. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

candidate to be elected, at least in theory, he had to prove himself a good warrior/ administrator, in addition /one to the possession of other qualities such as adalchi (acting justly and fairly).[91]

The process of selection of a king was fairly complicated. Voting was carried out in three groups, according to the order of seniority of the members of the Tara-ta-Kano. The Galadima, Madaki and Wombai formed the first group; Makama, Sarkin Dawaki and Sarkin Bai formed the second or middle group; Dan Iya, Barde and Sarkin Dawakin Fadakar Gida formed the last group. A winning candidate, in addition to getting a simple majority, had to get a majority vote from the first group. Otherwise the vote had to be recast.[92]

The selection of the Sarki was accompanied by performance of rituals pertaining to the office that had been observed by successive generations. This involved, among other things, the taking over of Kayan Al'adun Sarauta (the insignia of royalty including clothing), sacrificing of animals and burying of charms

91. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

92. ibid.

in various parts of the palace and probably in strategic parts of the birni.[93] These last rituals reflected the deep concern about the security of the sarki in the eighteenth century. This may point to an internal crisis in the system. As soon as the sarki was appointed all officials of the central government, the regions, as well as all contestants who had lost the bid for the throne would go to the palace to pay their homage.

Sometimes, in order to conciliate some of the embittered contestants who had failed to be elected as the sarki, the newly appointed sarki offered them some sarautu or provided them with large grants, particularly gandaye (agricultural estates) with slaves to work in them.[94] The new sarki could easily consolidate his authority because he was empowered by traditions to drop or promote any state official.

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93. Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., p.37.

94. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

(b) Sarakunan Barki.[95]

In the eighteenth century, six title holders became particularly powerful and dominant in the central administration. These may be categorised into two groups. The first group consisted of Dan Ilini, Shamaki, and Galadima. The three of them exercised considerable influence over all other state officials. They were mostly of slave origin and around whom the institution of Kofa developed. Apart from their administrative functions and acting as a kind of power brokers, during the second half of the eighteenth century, particularly in the time of weak rulers, they became powerful and directed the affairs of the state. In particular with the increase in the power of the institution of the Kofa, those three officials became more and more influential because the sarakuna of Kano increasingly became isolated from the other state officials and the general public by the holders of

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95. These were also sometimes referred to as sarakunan fada (masters of the court) or sarakunan cikin gida (masters of the inner palace).

sarautu of Kofa.[96] That was because the function of the institution of the Kofa was partly designed to check the excesses of the holders of the sarauta of Uban Kasa, who were senior officials residing in the birni but administering territories assigned to them through Jakadu (messengers and tax collectors). So gradually the holders of the sarauta of Kofa became intermediary between the sarki and other state officials and the members of the public.

The second category consisted of Kasheka, Turakin Soro, and Kilishi, who were also of slave origin, but directed the domestic affairs of the sarki and around the court. They also supervised junior officials.

These officials held their offices on a permanent basis and being of slave origin, they rendered loyal service to the sarki. In addition to these responsibilities, they were charged with specific

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96. M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.118. The terms Kofa and Fuska, although meaning the same sarauta, had slightly different connotations. While Kofa (lit. door) meant an office which linked Sarkin Kano with other state officials, Fuska (lit. face) carried a territorial concept. This meant that each of the three powerful officials controlled territories which were located in different directions or regions of Kasar Kano.

assignments. Dan Rimi, for instance, dealt with Kano's relations with the other states. All correspondence and delegations from or to Sarkin Kano had to pass through him. In order to carry out his duties effectively he had several assistants who were appointed by Sarkin Kano[97] and these held different titles such as Makaman Dan Rimi and Madakin Dan Rimi. These as well had their subordinates who were part of the masu sarauta.

Shamaki took charge of the entire organisation of the Gidan Sarki (the palace). He controlled the slaves, horses, Kayan al'adun sarauta (insignia of royalty) such as tambura (drums), kakaki (trumpets), tagwayen masu (twin spears) and others. He too had several deputies to assist him. They were Chiroman Shamaki, Majasirdi, Madakin Shamaki, and Makaman Shamaki.

Salama controlled the military equipment such as muskets, guns, bows, arrows, sulke, kwalkwali and lifidi. He too had several deputies.

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97. ANl (Birni), March-April 1979. This informant provided the bulk of the information on the central administration.

Each of the officials in the first category also had deputies from the second category who served as go-between them and the sarki. Kasheka (Sarkin Shamaki - Shamaki's official) was go-between Shamaki and the sarki. He was also in charge of the affairs of all the inhabitants of the palace. Turakin Soro (Sarkin Dan Rimi - Dan Rimi's official) was the go-between Dan Rimi and the sarki. He took charge of all dukiyan sarki (king's property) whenever the latter went out on a tour of military expedition. All presents which were meant for the sarki were channelled through him, and all gifts or presents from the sarki to state officials and others were given out through him. He, however, had to give such presents to his master, Dan Rimi. It was Dan Rimi who handed over the present to the recipient.

Kilishi (Sarkin Sarki - the king's official) who was directly responsible to the sarakuna, but resided in Shamaki's quarters. He was responsible for preparing the sarki's shimfida (court beddings). He ushered women who had complaints before the sarki, summoned all courtiers, state officials, delegations and complainants as soon as the sarki had settled down for court sessions. He was also the one who turbaned

all newly appointed officials. He was assisted in the course of performing this duty by his deputies.

(c) Sarakunan Bayin Sarki.

These officials were mainly of slave origin and directly responsible to the sarki. Among them were the Dogarai, a group of state officials who symbolised the power of the sarki. Armed with kulki (knobkerries), whips and other weapons, they executed the orders of the sarki and the courts.

This group of officials often struck terror in the minds of the talakawa. So they symbolised the tyranny of the state over the society. There were hundreds of them in the birni alone. In addition to material weapons, they were armed with layu (charms) believing that these would protect them from any injury. Most of of these Dogarai belonged to the 'Yan Fauri group and so they demonstrated toughness against criminals and provided security to the sarakuna and the masu sarauta. The prison guards were also recruited from their rank.[98]

In addition to the implementation of executive and judicial decisions throughout the state, they formed an

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98. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

important part of the intelligence network which supplied information, particularly on plans and intrigues of state officials, especially princes. A group of specialised Dogarai paraded through the birni at night, taking particular note on movements of strangers and tracking down criminals, especially those who were beyond the capacity of Manu Unguwa (ward heads).

The Sarkin Dogarai had his assistants such as Hauni (hangman), Yari or Sankurai responsible for the affairs of the prisons, and Sarkin Zagi who was the chief of Zaggage. They were members of a group of Dogarai who always formed processions whenever the sarki was moved from one place to another in the course of performing official duties.

Like all other masu sarauta, the Sarkin Zagi had several assistants who were appointed by the sarki. All or most of them were recruited from the dogarai and the other barori who were the slaves of Shamaki, Dan Rimi and Salama. The Sarkin Zagi was often recruited from the slaves of Salama. Among his assistants were Masun Zagi who carried the king's spears, Makaman Zagi, Chiroman Zagi, Wazirin Zagi who held the king's horse,

and Dan Isan Zagi. All of these were recruited from Shamaki's slaves and barori. There were also Galadiman Zagi, Madakin Zagi, Shantolin Zagi, Turakin Zagi, and Ma'ajin Zagi who were recruited from Dan Rimi's slaves.

By recruiting the various zagawa from all the followers of the three powerful sarakun sarki, it was possible for the sarki to avoid relying only on any one official. This also sometimes enabled him to maintain a kind of "check and balance" between the powerful officials.

One of the palace officials closely associated with the sarki's court was Uwar Boro. She was the Sarkin Mata (leader of women) who controlled all the women who resided within the palace even the wives of the sarki, the kwarakwarai, and kuyangi.[99] There were

99. Both kwarakwarai and kuyangi were female slaves. While the Kwarakwarai were confined to the palace, the Kuyangi were sent on errands both within and outside the palace. Both groups consisted of hundreds of girls and women. It was the daughters of the Kuyangi who were, in most cases, produced as a result of sexual intercourse between the sarakuna of Kano and the female slaves who were converted into Kwarakwarai. These formed a pool for the sarakuna's sexual pleasures. Children, especially the males, resulting from this extra-marital sexual relations were regarded as the sarakuna's legitimate children. A substantial number of the sarakuna and Emirs of Kano over the centuries were children of the Kwarakwarai.

also Sarkin Ratsi, an official in charge of grains; Jekadiya (a female palace attendant); Magajiya (heiress); Zabiya, who led women singers; Sarkin Bindiga (lit. king of the gun); Sarkin Kakaki (lit. king of trumpets); and Magajin Algeta (lit. inheritor of flute). Each of these had their subordinate officials based on the usual hierarchical arrangements.

Other influential personages in the palace politics were the Mai Daki (queen mother) and Bugunsuwa (princess). However, the Mai Daki was not always a queen mother. She may have been appointed from among influential palace women. She was the Sarkin Mata, in charge of all the affairs of women in Kasar Kano. So she always played/active role in the politics of Kano. Therefore upon her appointment she was given tambari (kettle drum) and alkyabba (burnous) as symbols of office.[100]

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100. Tarikh Arbab, pp.112, 113. In the fifteenth and the early part of sixteenth centuries, for instance, the efforts of Mai Daki Hauwa successfully forestalled the Dagachi's revolt. In the time of Sarki Kisoki, the active role of apparently the same woman, and Kisoki's mother, Lamis, in the affairs of the state, resulted in the concentration of power in the hands of courtiers.

Likewise, the Bugunsuwa may not necessarily had been always a princess, but an influential palace woman.[101] Both Mai Daki and Bugunsuwa had territories to administer and benefit[102] from like all the other masu sarauta.

The power of the sarki and the privileges of the different officials were religiously legitimised and popularised among the talakawa by the incorporation of the Malaman Fada into the sarauta system.

(d) Malaman Fada.

There were other officials who performed different functions. Perhaps the most important among such officials were the Malaman Fada,[103] who were learned in Islamic disciplines and served as religious functionaries such as Imams and Alkalai as well as advisers to the sarki or as secretaries. So they were an integral part of the masu sarauta. As a group/multi-ethnic in /they were

101. See H. Solken, op.cit., p.152.

102. Kwabotso District Notebook.

103. Imam Imoru, "The Literati - Malamai", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., pp.226-7. For the incorporation of the malamai (literati) into the sarauta system, see Tarikh Arbab, pp.105, 113, 122.

origin. Among them were Wangarawa, Arabs, North Africans, Tuaregs, Fulani, Hausa, Kanuri and others. from Borno. They occupied a very influential position particularly those who claimed to be Sharifai.[104]

Those ulema who associated themselves with the rulers gained favourable positions and formed part of the socially dominant group. Therefore they featured prominently throughout the history of Kano. In addition to the clerical, administrative and judicial functions which they performed, they were also in the forefront in military[105] and diplomatic activities.[106] In their roles as scholars, masu sarautu and merchants, the ulema often acquired vast fortunes which enabled them to exercise great influence even over the sarakuna. The nature of the relationship between the sarakuna and the Malaman Fada enabled the latter exploit their religious knowledge and practices to subordinate the talakawa to the ruling class. Thus the apparent

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104. See Tarikh Arbab, pp.104-5, 113, 115, 116, 121, 122, 126; Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.7b.

105. Tarikh Arbab, pp.106, 122.

106. ibid., p.124.

religious contradiction in the behaviour of the sarakuna could be understood. While the sarakuna surrounded themselves with numerous literati and displayed ceremonial and emotive symbols of religiosity, they ruled with the sword. The vested interests of the ulema and their participation in running state affairs legitimised misdeeds.

This caused the Malaman Kirgi, who were ordinary literati maintaining a kind of pure and ascetic life, to preach against such behaviour, practices and attitudes of Malaman Fadn and the masu sarauta. By so doing they paved the way for the Jihad of the nineteenth century. Not only was religion used by the sarakuna for effective administration but they also elaborated detailed administrative systems to tighten their grip over the subjects. Given the nature of the high population concentration of the birni and the diversity of its inhabitants and their occupations, there was a need to have a loyalty transcending all this boundaries, Where religion would not be effective, administrative apparatus was needed in order to ensure control over the common people of the birni. Therefore the introduction of the institutions of

Sarakunan Birni and Sarakunan Sauʻa was in order.

(c) Sarakunan Birni.

The need for effective security in the birni was fulfilled through mounting surveillance over people entering the birni or residing in it. This function was carried out by carefully selected officials, numbering about twenty,[107] and were directly responsible to the sarki. These were the Sarakunan Birni. They were divided into two groups, in accordance with their functions: the Sarakunan Kofa (gate keepers) and Jagu Unguwa (ward heads). It seems that in certain circumstances the two groups were constituted into a council for coordinating their work and maintenance of surveillance over movements of people. For the latter function, they were assisted by Sarkin Dare and his officials.

In addition to the usual rituals performed on the occasion of the appointment of all state officials, the

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107. By the end of the eighteenth century the Birni may have had as many as thirteen gates. See M.L.B. Moody, op.cit., p.53. It may also have contained ten or more wards. See D.J. Greenhill, op.cit., p.68.

Sarakunan Kofa (and possibly Masu Unguwa) had to take an oath that they would not betray the important trust vested in them.[108] Since the security of the birni or any other town was dependent largely on the Sarakunan Kofa, they had to be constantly on the look out for suspicious characters, especially spies from c. states not on good terms with Kasar Kano. The sarakuna did not tolerate any relaxation in the efforts of the Sarakunan Kofa. The gates had to be closed at sun-set and a Sarkin Kofa who opened any to anyone coming into the birni after this time was put to death.[109]

The Masu Unguwa were in charge of the wards which were in the inner parts of the birni. But those wards which happened to be near the gates, either inside or outside the walls, the Sarakunan Kofa in addition to their other duties performed the functions of Masu Unguwa.

The functions of the Masu Unguwa, in addition to supervising and mounting surveillance in their wards, included tax collection, judging cases and

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108. YIS (Kofan Dan Agundi - Birni), 6/1/79.

109. ibid. For the enforcement of this regulation, see also H. Barth, op.cit., p.487.

of Sarakunan Sana'a predate the establishment of the centralised state of Kano.[111] These Sarakunan Sana'a were used by the sarakuna and other senior officials for mobilising their respective fellow craftsmen for the provision of labour and goods for the state. The Sarakunan Sana'a worked closely with the dagatai and the ward heads for effective mobilisation of the talakawa. The Sarakunan Sana'a also collected taxes from their respective fellow craftsmen. As in all other sarautu, each Sarkin Sana'a had his assistants whom he appointed and they help him in the mobilisation of the craftsmen and collection of taxes. For the latter function, they worked closely with the officials of the treasury and the stores. The Ma'aji, who controlled the treasury, was an important state official. Some of those who held the post of the Ma'aji were recruited from among the rich attajirai.

With regards to the mobilisation of craftsmen the Sarakunan Sana'a, in order to guarantee increase in production, appointed their assistants. The Sarkin Makera, for instance, selected some leading blacksmiths in the birni and gave them different titles such as

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111. Tarikh Arbab, p.99.

Madakin Kira, Galadiman Kira, Turakin Kira, and Mukadashin Kira.[112] The Sarkin Makera organised production of large quantities of farming implements (for gandayen sarauta) and military equipment such as stirrups and bridles, chains, shackles, and iron bars and stocks for prisons.

Whenever an order for mass production of material was made by the sarki, the Sarkin Makera simply shared the work among the assembled blacksmiths of the birni. If the work was on a larger scale, the blacksmiths of the countryside were summoned. Other functions performed by the blacksmiths under the supervision of their sarakuna included regular repairs of the doors of masu sarauta, as well as the manufacture of a variety of items, both metal and wooden (sometimes in conjunction with Sarkin Nasassaka (king of wood carvers), such as iron plating, wooden frames, metal locking shackles, and hinges and locks for the gates of the birni, palace and prisons.

Like Sarkin Makera, all other sarakunan sana'a performed similar roles, depending on the importance of

112. P.J. Jaggar, "Kano City Blacksmiths: Precolonial Distribution, Structure and Organisation", Savanna, vol.II no.1, June 1973, p.18.

their occupations for the state. Like all other state officials, the various occupational heads received their pay through peculating the taxes they collected from their respective craftsmen. In most cases only a small fraction of the commodities or goods collected reached the treasury or the central stores. On the other hand payments which were sometimes made by the sarakuna and other senior state officials for specialised services which were rendered by the craftsmen often ended in the pockets of sarakunan sana'a.

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that the administration of the birni was characterised by centralisation around the sarki. It was also effective for the control of his subjects, as well as for serving the mutual interests of both the sarki and the other categories of the socially dominant groups.

However, the authority of the sarki was not just confined to the birni. It equally extended to all parts of Kasar Kano - either through direct administrative control as was the case with dagatan Kano or indirectly as in the case of the garuruwa. In both cases, through the state officials, in particular the Uban Kasa or hakimai and sarakunan sana'a, the sarki

was able to extend his control over the tsarakawa. There is therefore a need to discuss the administration of the two types of gundumomi and show the nature of relationship between them and the central government.

(2) The Administration of Gundumomi.

The administration of gundumomi was carried out at two levels. Firstly the towns and villages, designated as dagatan Kano, were the semi-autonomous territories such as Gaya, Dutse Gadawur and Karaye, which were administered by sarkunan karaga or garuruwa.

(a) Dagatan Kano.

The dagatai of these towns and villages were supervised by a number of senior officials each of whom held the title of Uban Kasa that later on came to be commonly known as Hakimi.[113]

The dagatan Kano were classified in accordance

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113. The term "hakimi" originates from the Arabic word hakama meaning to rule, or hakim meaning ruler. It is not exactly known when the term started to be used. The usage of the term "hakimi" may date to the pre-nineteenth century period. Vide supra, footnote no.5, p.224.

to their importance. In the first group were Jagun, Dambatta, Ringim, Bebeji and Garun Gadunya. In the second group were Burumburmu, Kunchi, Godiya, Gwarzo, Sankara, and Dan Zabuwa. The third group consisted of Getso, Wudil, Tsakuwa, Kiru, Shanono, and Gantsa. The fourth group included Kura, Gora, Dan Hassan, Dakin Kudu, Takai, Kyambo, and Tofa.[114] There were also numerous other villages or settlements.

The senior state officials charged with the supervision of these territories did not own/territories. It was merely an administrative assignment. Allocation of administrative territories was based on seniority. Sometimes a single official was assigned several territories to administer. Those who held the titles of Uban Kasa or Hakimi, like most senior officials, were confined to the capital. Therefore they had to administer their territories through jakadu (messengers/tax collectors) who shuttled between the birni and the various territories. The holder of the title of Uban Kasa would not even visit his territory except in the company of the sarki. Some

114. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

jakadu resided in the territories assigned to their masters permanently or for prolonged periods of time. In each of the territories, no matter how small it was, there were slaves of Sarkin Kano. They were charged with the coordination of the activities of the jakadu and dagatai especially in financial and fiscal matters.

Although the representatives of both the sarki and the Uban Kasa resided in the same place as the dagatai, the position of the latter as the ruler of his territory was recognized by both the Uban Kasa and the sarki. This was particularly true of the powerful dagatai, for instance those of Jahun, Ringim, Burum-burum and Bebeji. The Dagachi's sarauta was heritable and held on a permanent basis.

While the selection of dagatai was made at the local level, their final appointment was the prerogative of Sarkin Kano. A candidate for the post of Dagachi had to have a number of qualifications, especially jaruntaka (bravery). The procedure of appointment of dagatai was similar to those of other officials. The dagatai had their political and administrative institutions patterned on that of Sarkin Kano. The difference was that of degree and

scale, except that the dagatai were forbidden to have certain officials such as Dan Rimi.

The sarakunan dagatai were assigned territories to administer just as the central government assigned Dagatan Kano territories to administer on behalf of Sarkin Kano. Such administrative units were known as unguwowi (wards). These subordinate officials of the dagatai resided in the administrative capital town of each Dagachi and their contacts with their areas of jurisdiction were made through their respective assistants. Therefore the relationship between the groups was similar to that of the Sarkin Kano and the Dagatan Kano.

Whereas the dagatai solved the day-to-day problems of their respective territories, decisions in relation to serious political, judicial and administrative matters had to be made by the Sarkin Kano. Whenever a Dagachi had some problems, he reported it to his Uban Kasa (resident in the birni). The Uban Kasa then introduced the Dagachi and the problem to the Kofa, for instance Dan Rimi, Shamaki or Salama, as the case might be.[115] The Kofa and the Uban Kasa then discussed the

115. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

issue with the sarki. When a decision had been reached the Dagachi who had been waiting outside was then summoned and the decision would be communicated to him for execution or implementation.[116]

However, it has to be mentioned that not all the dagatai were of equal importance and prestige. This is because their territories were either different in size or in the circumstances of their incorporation into the state at the time of the establishment of centralised authority. In the case of the latter, the sarakuna of the settlements which were incorporated peacefully, though they came under the direct control of Sarkin Kano, were given more authority over their settlements. The forceful personality of individual dagatai also enabled them to enjoy relatively greater degree of authority. However, such dagatai, though they were administratively strong, were not of the same status as the sarakunan garuruwa.

(b) Sarakunan Garuruwa (Karaga).

The sarakunan garuruwa were rulers of the large and semi-autonomous territories such as Gaya, Dutse

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116. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

Gadawur and Karaye, which did not come directly under the central government. These were major early settlements before the rise of the centralised state in Kano. After the emergence of Sarkin Kano these major centres of authority were allowed some degree of autonomy. Relation between the Sarkin Kano and the sarakuna of these major garuruwa were cemented with inter-marriages.[117] The sarakunan garuruwa, however, no doubt acknowledged the authority of the Sarkin Kano and any attempt by any of these semi-autonomous sarakuna to assert his independence was swiftly dealt with.[118] The maintenance of these structural arrangements was indeed a great source of strength for Kano's political system. It provided for stability and some sort of checks and balances between the various state officials.

Often, any threat to the King of Kano from the princes and senior officials resident in the birni was easily checked by some of the sarakunan garuruwa, by providing military assistance against the rebellious officials.[119] Similarly, powerful dagatai or sarakunan

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117. Tarikh Arbab, p.110.
118. H. Solken, op.cit.,pp.149-54.
119. Tarikh Arbab, p.120.

garuruwa who embarked on rebellions had the misfortune of having to face the combined forces of the Sarkin Kano and all other dagatai and sarakunan garuruwa. Through experience they learnt that it was suicidal to rebel against the central government, but a few of them sometimes took the risk. Nevertheless, it should be noted that such a relationship between the central authority and the arms of the administration in the countryside, which largely depended on force majeure, would be a major source of instability and disintegration during a time of crisis within the ruling family or when there was conflicting interest among the socially dominant group. This would be better appreciated in the course of the discussion of the outbreak of the Jihad.

The process of selection and installation of sarakunan garuruwa was similar to those of the Dagatan Kano. The only difference was in terms of the grandeur that accompanied the installation ceremonies of the latter which normally took place in the birni.

The layout of the Kofar Fada (court), the protocol during court sessions, the hierarchical organisation of the offices and several other institutions of the

sarakunan garuruwa were closely fashioned on those of Sarkin Kano. But due to the relatively limited resources at their disposal, they had fewer number of offices and institutions compared to that of Sarkin Kano, but more than those of Dagatan Kano.

Each of the sarakunan garuruwa lived in a fortified palace, complete with Kofar Fada. They had their dagatai and masu unguwa whose administration of their various territories were supervised by the senior officials of the sarakunan garuruwa. Unlike Sarkin Kano, the sarakunan garuruwa had only one Kofa each, and it was through the Kofa that political and administrative decisions of the Sarkin Gari were communicated to the junior officials such as dagatai and masu unguwa. Similarly these officials had to channel their administrative and judicial problems to the Sarkin Gari.

In spite of the autonomy of the sarakunan garuruwa each of them was linked to the central government through the offices of the Galadima, the Wombai or Madaki, etc. The central government officials carried out their responsibilities through the jakadu. There were two jakadu posted to each gari, one for Sarkin Kano and the other for the Uban Kasa. Communications

between Sarkin Kano and the sarakunan garuruwa, for reporting and seeking solutions to certain problems, were channelled through the respective Kofa and the Uban Kasa.

Among the most important functions of both the Dagatan Kano and the sarakunan garuruwa were the mobilisation of the people for corvee labour and the collection of taxes.[120] The responsibility for corvee labour was a very important function of these officials. Apart from the need in the economic sectors, there was a great demand for transportation of building materials and the building and the maintenance of the massive walls around the birni, towns and settlements in Kasar Kano. Also, such labour was needed for building the sarakuna's palaces, the houses of the masu sarauta, etc.

(3) Safeguards Against Forces of Disintegration.

These political and administrative institutions served, in the main, the primary objective of the sarauta system; that was the control of the society. Nevertheless, as a result of either conflicts within the ruling family, or clash of interests within the

120. These are treated in detail in the sections dealing with defence and taxation.

socially dominant group or ambition of influential sarakuna of garuruwa, there was constant temptation for coup d'etat, rebellion or secession, particularly during the time of weak rulers.[121] Competition for the throne among princes was usually complicated by the partisan roles of some of the influential officials such as Madaki who sometimes played significant role in deposing a sarki and replacing him with their favourite.[122]

In order to curb the intrigues of the princes and state officials, a number of measures and policies were introduced. Some of these measures were temporary, others were integrated into the system. Some of these measures included confining senior officials to the capital, giving important positions to slave officials, and recruiting more and more immigrants, especially the Fulani, Kanuri and "Arabs" into the service of Sarkin Kano. This last policy was deliberately pursued in order to neutralise the intrigues and influence of the princes and their

121. For an example, see H. Solken, op.cit., pp.148-56.

122. See Tarikh Arbab, p.120; Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., pp.35, 40.

supporters among the masu sarauta and other influential personalities.

A good illustration of this policy were the measures taken by Sarki Kumbari. Faced by the problems of the intrigue and jealousy of his brothers and relatives, he adopted a policy of excluding them from the sarauta. In their places he increasingly recruited immigrant Fulani and other groups from Borno, Baghirmi, Gobir and other places.[123] Many of them were appointed as dagatai to both the settlements which they established and the older ones. While many of these officials, for instance the sarakunan Fulani of Bebeji and Jahun, served the sarakuna faithfully, some ambitious ones, for instance Ada, Sarkin Ringim, exploited the weak position of some sarakuna by attempting to establish their own independence.

Far more effective than this policy was that which attempted to neutralise the powerful officials, like the Galadima, by subordinating them to the slave officials such as Dan Rimi, Salama and Shamaki. In spite of the fact that these slave officials often became very

123. H. Solken, op.cit., p.148; NAK, Hist/4, History of Kazaure.

powerful and influenced political developments in the state to the extent of overshadowing some of the weak sarakuna, they served as a better alternative than the newly recruited immigrant officials in relation to the neutralisation of the powers and intrigues of the princes and their supporters. The slave officials were aware of their limitations and that they had no chance to ascend the throne. Therefore, it was in their interest to be loyal to Sarkin Kano and in return they enjoyed many privileges. As a result of the tremendous powers which they derived from their unique positions as "middle men" between the sarki and the other senior state officials (Uban Kasa or Hakimi), they in effect pushed the latter group further down the ladder of power in the state.

The slave officials and their assistants constituted the core of the military force in the state. A substantial part of the military equipment and weapons as well as horses were controlled by these officials.[124] Moreover, their military influence was reinforced by their recruitment, as well as their assistants and slaves, into the regiment of musketeers newly formed by

124. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

Sarki Babba Zaki.[125]

The other policy designed to neutralise the masu sarauta was to confine the senior state officials to the birni as in the case of the central government and to the administrative centres as in the case of the sarakunan garuruwa and dagatai. This policy was most likely introduced in the fifteenth century and reinforced in the eighteenth century due to the fear of sarakuna of the ability of these officials to accumulate much wealth and power such as the case of Galadima Daudu,[126] and Dagachi.[127] By confining them to the capital and the major administrative centres, it was also easy for the sarakuna to keep a close watch on them, particularly through their daily attendance at court. Each official had a fixed seat or space at the court. Officials who absented themselves from the court sessions at frequent intervals invited a lot of suspicion of plotting or intriguing against the sarki.[128]

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125. Tarikh Arbab, p.126.

126. ibid., p.110.

127. ibid., p.112.

128. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

The reward obtained from sarauta on the one hand and the price which was paid for losing it by default on the other, were so crucial that they served as a means of keeping state officials in check. Sarauta was not only a source of power to those who held them, it was also a means of acquiring wealth and social status. The masu sarauta became distinguished in the society by the splendour of their residences, by their fine dresses and distribution of largesse, acquisition of prestigious goods, especially imported garments, bonuses, dresses from North Africa and Europe, and their different types of decorated shoes. In order to maintain these privileges it was necessary for them to be loyal to the sarki. The attempt to maintain their positions and gain promotion to higher ranks created an atmosphere of rivalry among state officials of different categories. This rivalry contributed to the failure of some revolts and coup d'etats against the sarki.[129] The sarakuna were able to play one group of officials against another.

In addition to these three main measures, force was used to crush the revolts of the state officials.[130]

129. Tarikh Arbab, p.120.
130. H. Solken, op.cit., pp.150-6.

So the sarakuna of Kano in the eighteenth century took different steps to ensure the maintenance of their authority. The variety of measures taken would indicate that there were many security problems which faced the state by then. Such crisis among the masu sarauta and the dominant social group would leave its imprint on the talakawa and how they should be controlled.

For the control of the talakawa, however, force was the most important means. The entire military machine, especially in the eighteenth century, was used more to enforce obedience of the talakawa than checking external aggression.[131] Thus the military was used, essentially, for maintaining the sarauta system than defending the people of Kano against external enemies.

The degree of control over the talakawa would determine the extent of their exploitation by the ruling class and the socially dominant group. Since this control was mainly based on force which found

131. In the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Kano's enemies penetrated deep into Kasar Kano, sometimes sacking the birni itself, thereby carrying back to their respective countries many hostages, livestock and other forms of booty. See for instance, Tarikh Arbab, pp.122, 123, 124.

expression in military form, this leads to the discussion of the military organisation and other security measures.

III. The Military Organisation and Security.

The various categories of the masu sarauta, from the Sarkin Kano to the lowest official, constituted the standing army. Access to and retention of sarauta, promotion and winning of the sarki's favour were largely determined by one's continuing participation in military operations or expeditions, while cowardice, negligence and sabotage amounted to treason and was punished with death.

The military roles and contributions of each official corresponded to his rank. The Sarkin Kano, for instance, owned more horses than anybody in the state. Also the holders of the sarautu of Kofa, due to their various sources of revenue and the number of assistants they had, owned more horses and other military hardware than those who held the sarautu of Uban Kasa or Hakimi.

As in the previous centuries the sarakuna continued to be the commanders-in-chief of the military forces.

Throughout the eighteenth century the sarakuna of Kano, especially Muhammadu Sharefa and Babba Zaki, commanded their forces in the battle.[132] Other sarakuna, for instance Dauda Abasama, participated actively in military activities.[133] Military activity involved more than participation in battles. It also included fortifications, continuous purchase of horses, provision for transportation, and acquisition of military equipment..

The intensified policy of fortifying towns and settlements in early eighteenth century appeared to have originated directly from the devastating raids of the Kwararafa, especially during their last expedition in Kasar Kano towards the end of the seventeenth century or early in the eighteenth century.[134] Zamfara's raids into Kasar Kano also appeared to have strengthened the policy of fortifying towns and settlements.[135]

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132. M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.118; Tarikh Arbab, pp.123, 126, 127.

133. Tarikh Arbab, p.127.

134. ibid., p.122.

135. ibid., p.123.

Fortification of towns and settlements took two forms: the building of walls and planting of kafi (stockades) around the towns and settlements. The latter was the main form of fortification of towns and settlements in the northern and north-eastern regions before the nineteenth century; while the former was the main form of fortification in the other regions.

The walls which were built around the towns and settlements carried a number of features which were purposely included to facilitate observation of enemies and defence of the towns. The walls of the major towns, especially those of the birni, were built in terraces leading up to a fighting platform protected by a continuous battlement. The first terrace was used as a path for horsemen to gallop round and reinforce threatened points.[136] A number of protected outlooks were carved out at regular intervals for sentries. The gates were also ingenuously constructed in order that the defenders of the towns might use every possible means to repel the attacks.

The walls were surrounded with deep ditches. These were deepened automatically every year through

136. H.L.B. Moody, op.cit., p.29.

the taking away of materials for building and plastering the walls. The ditches served very useful military purposes. Horsemen and foot soldiers who attempted to scale or penetrate the walls often fell into them, especially when they were sent running in a stampede. Defenders often had dried grass at hand to set such panic-striken enemies ablaze.[137] The inner ditch served the same purpose. An invading army which had succeeded in penetrating the outer defences often ended up in the inner ditch. They were then easily dealt with. Those on horse-back were particularly more vulnerable to these defensive devices.

The amount of labour which went into the construction and maintenance of these walls can be appreciated from the fact that the walls of the birni alone measured fifteen miles in circumference, forty feed high, and about eightyfeet at the base.[138] This incredible mass of clay was the result of the annual corvee labour of the talakawa during the dry season.[139]

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137. AJI (Karaye), 27/12/78.

138. H.L.B. Moody, op.cit., p.28.

139. ibid., p.29.

The construction of kafi (stockades) involved the transplanting of huge trunks of tall trees, sometimes about twenty feet tall, around the towns, enclosing farms and grazing lands similar to the walled towns. Just like the walled towns, they too were surrounded with moats or ditches.[140] Among the many towns which were fortified with kafi were Aujera, Jahun, Harbo Tsohuwa and Harbo Sabuwa, Gunka, Gauro, Bulaburi, Kade, Kanwa, Magama, Gabani, and Ataman.[141]

The construction of kafi most likely began in the sixteenth century. Referring to this type of fortification, Ibn Fartuwa stated that the rulers of Kano, during his time, "began a new policy which did not obtain in the days of their forefathers at all".[142] The introduction of this type of fortification might have been related to the anticipated retaliation of Borno against Kasar Kano, after the planned attack on the latter by Sarkin Kano Muhammadu Kisoki (c.1509-65).[143]

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140. HAK (Aujera), 9/4/79; Dutse District Notebook, p.2.

141. HAK (Aujera), 9/4/79.

142. Ibn Fartuwa, op.cit., p.30.

143. Tarikh Arbab, p.113.

The stockaded towns were also used as bases for launching of raids into Borno territory. By the early part of the sixteenth century several towns and settlements on the Kano-Borno borderlands had been fortified. These included Kazra, Kelmasana, Majiya, Ukhiya, Dalu, Anzaki, Ajiyajia, Sayaiya, and Galaki.[144] Some of these towns, including Majiya, were destroyed by Idris Aloma when his forces, using guns and other heavy weapons, defeated the Kanawa in a series of pitched battles.[145]

The state also expended much of its revenue on military activities and security measures. As has already been indicated, the procurement of horses for the cavalry and camels, mules and donkeys for transporting war materials was very largely the responsibility of the sarakunan Kano. The sarakuna had considerable interest in trade in horses. This led to partial monopoly on trade in horses in Kasar Kano. The sarki appeared to have been entitled to the first choice of horses. It was only when he considered a horse or horses unfit for cavalry purposes that other individuals

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144. Ibn Fartuwa, op.cit., p.30.

145. ibid.

could buy them.[146] The apparent control over trade in horses was a long established tradition among some states of the Central Sudan, especially as from the sixteenth century.[147]

Horses were purchased in dozens and sometimes on a credit basis. Due to the credit worthiness of the states, dealers in horses were often prepared to allow the sarakuna to acquire the horses, even other goods, before settling their bills, sometimes in slaves. A number of the sarakuna of Kano in the eighteenth century were noted for the great number of horses which they amassed, some of which they distributed to the masu sarauta. Among these sarakuna was Sarki Babba Zaki who "had a strong force of cavalry with protective quilting."[148] The state-owned horses were dispersed throughout the country. They were taken care of by jakadu, barori and slave officials.

Apart from horses, camels, mules and donkeys, a considerable amount of resources was also expended

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146. Denham, Dixon, and others, op.cit., p.36.

147. Leo Africanus, op.cit., p.833.

148. M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.118.

on weapons and other military equipment. Many of the weapons and other military equipment were imported from distant parts of the world, especially Europe. These include swords from Malta, chain-mail, bells from North Africa, and different varieties of shields from central Saharan regions and Nupeland.[149]

Because of the increase in the use of force to control the society and to demonstrate the might of the state, particularly during the reign of Sarki Babba Zaki, more and more sophisticated weapons were being acquired. It is mentioned that Sarki Kumbari acquired an unspecified number of guns[150] and Sarki Babba Zaki established a guard of musketeers.[151]

A substantial part of the weapons and equipment used was, however, manufactured locally by the blacksmiths, wood carvers and leather workers. Blacksmiths, both at the state and gari levels, manufactured, re-assembled and sharpened weapons such as swords, knives, spears, and arrows. During prolonged military operations blacksmiths were commandeered to the war

149. Tarikh Arbab, p.124.

150. ibid.

151. ibid., p.127; M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.118.

fronts to replenish depleted armoury. Sometimes they also provided archers with heated arrows which were used for setting houses ablaze in the case of besieged towns.[152] The state paid for the raw materials used for the manufacturing of these weapons.

Programmes of training for gunmen, archers, and horse-men were pursued. Emphasis was placed on agility, techniques of handling weapons and horse riding.[153] By the nineteenth century military manoeuvres and exercises[154] were carried out in the various sansani (military camps), like that of Fanisau.

Invasions and raids or outbreak of wars were signalled by the beating of tambari (drum). This was immediately followed by a general mobilisation of all categories of state officials. As has already been indicated, no state official was exempted from the mobilisation except those who were sick. "Ba za'a ce ga yaki ka kau da kai ba"(No official could ignore the signal of outbreak of war).[155] Since most of the state

152. AAR (Dutse Gadawur), 3/2/79.
153. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.
154. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.26a.
155. HAK (Aujera), 4/4/79; ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

officials resided in the capital and in the administrative centres of the various garuruwa, it did not take much time to mobilise. While mobilisation was going on in the birni, messages were sent to the sarakunan garuruwa and dagatai to mobilise and join the main body of the forces at specified places and times.

The military forces were accompanied by military bands and other musical groups. Some of the tambura (sing. tambari; drums) were so heavy that they had to be carried on the backs of camels. There were also masu shantu (trumpeters) who were intended to spur warriors into action and the masu kuge (horn blowers) who warned the people that a battle was imminent.

The Sarkin Kano, who was the commander-in-chief of the military forces, often established his camp at a distance from the battle field. At the head of the army on battle field was Sarkin Jarumai[156] (lit. king of the bravemen). He had several deputies such as the

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156. Every Sarkin Jarumai is believed to have maintained at certain times as many as one thousand horses or more. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

Galadiman Jarumai.[157] It was the Sarkin Jarumai who assigned the various jarumai, the sarakunan garuruwa and dagatai to various sectors of the battle field. The Sarkin Jarumai was in constant contact with Sarkin Kano in relation to the progress of the war. As regards all major battles, however, the Sarkin Kano always led the army personally. He also often fought to the very end of the battle, supported by his faithful slave officials, whether his forces were winning or losing.

Although all members of masu sarauta constituted the military forces, it would appear that the core of the forces consisted mainly of the members of the sarakunan sarki, the sarakunan cikin gida such as Makama, Madawaki, and Galadima. It was among these that the war veterans who were jarumai were found. One jarumi (pl. jarumai) was valued more than fifty amateur warriors.[158] It was in this group that the archers, many of whom were sharp-shooters, were found. All categories of jarumai, be they horsemen, archers

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157. Hausawa Da Makwabtansu, p.57.

158. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

or infantrymen, were equipped with asiri (secrets) like layan batawa (charm which enabled them to disappear into thin air or to become invisible) and maganin karfe (charms which made them invulnerable to weapons made of iron) which was supposed to make them very daring in their attacks on enemies. In practice, however, most or all of them, including malamai (literati) always proved to be vulnerable to their enemies such as those of the Kwararafa.

In addition to their military weakness the talakawa were exempted from military combat, except in certain circumstances,[159] thus depriving the military of an important source of manpower. The talakawa only participated when the enemy had succeeded in besieging the towns in which they lived. One of the popular sayings is: "Yaki ba na talakawa ba ne (War was not for talakawa)".[160] Therefore the talakawa were psychologi-

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159. AAR (Dutse Gadawur), 3/2/79; IGS (Rano), 10/2/79; ANI (Birni), March-April 1979. The talakawa's non-participation in organised warfare could also be discerned from the frequent mentioning of the war veterans and other courageous fighters during the period of every Sarkin Kano throughout the Tarikh Arbab.

160. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

cally relegated to the background by being regarded as incapable of participating in warfare. This gave the socially dominant group a false sense of superiority and strength. Once the talakawa became conscious of their oppression, this factor was used to good advantage by them. One other important institution which reflected the privileges of the socially dominant group and the exploitation of the talakawa was the taxation.

IV. Taxation and Fiscal Policies:

The socially dominant group consisted of masu sarauta, malaman fada, the sharifai, and attajirai, who enjoyed many social privileges, most important among which was exemption from taxation. Even in certain circumstances, when some of these categories were taxed they devised means and ways by which they could avoid payment of taxes, because the interest of all these groups were interwoven, except when there was conflict of interest among them. A good example would be the reigns of Sarki Kumbari and Sarki Babba Zaki, who found it necessary to tax the attajirai.[161]

161. Tarikh Arbab, pp.124, 126.

By the eighteenth century, a wide variety of taxes had been introduced and institutionalised. Of these kudin kasa (lit. land tax) was the most important in terms of permanence, value and the number of people involved in its payment. The origin of kudin kasa, which appears to have been the earliest form of taxation, is not quite known. It might have had to do with the control of land. Initially the community leader controlled land on behalf of the entire community. Although taxes in the formal sense were not initially paid, it was incumbent on the members of the community or the heads of the families of the community to provide "gifts" in kind. The making of such "gifts" were eventually regularised, as the various leaders metamorphosed their positions into those of masu sarauta.[162]

With the emergence of the state of Kano, ownership

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162. An example of this could be seen in the development which was taking place in the area of Dala. Barbushe was one of the sarakuna who benefited from the "gifts" brought to him by people who inhabited the area of Dala.

of land was taken over by the Sarkin Kano.[163] Consequently, the subjects had to pay taxes to him for the use of the land. Failing to pay their taxes resulted in the deprivation of the use of land.[164]

The proliferation of masu sarauta and the increasing complexity of the system warranted demand for more revenue. In order to meet the growing demands for revenue, new types of taxes were continually introduced. The process reached its height in the eighteenth century. In the early part of the century, Sarki Muhammad Sharefa introduced several new taxes.[165] His successors continued with the policy of introducing new taxes and forcing some of those who had been hitherto exempted from taxation to pay.[166]

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163. The belief that the Sarki "owned everything" throughout Kasar Kano appears to have had much to do with the control of land and the resources derived from it. See Tarikh Arbab, p.109.

164. Such a disobedient subject or subjects were expelled from Kasar Kano. The expulsion of Malam Hamza and other malamai and their followers for their failure to pay their taxes and/or surrender to the princes part of their properties is an example. See NAK, K/AR:5/2, Tarihin Ningi (translation), p.1.

165. Tarikh Arbab, p.123.

166. These included all categories of attajirai and malamai (literati). See Tarikh Arbab, p.124.

Kudin Kasa was levied on all houses engaged in farming activity. Different interpretations have been given by different people to kudin kasa. It has been regarded by some people as a general "licence to farm".[167] But this may not be a comprehensive definition of kudin kasa. It appeared to have been a payment for the use of a particular piece of land, in most cases gandun gida which was identified with a particular family or household. Those who were heavily involved in actual agricultural activity paid the highest amount of kudin kasa while those who regarded agricultural activity as a secondary occupation, like the Auyokawa who were mainly dyers, or the nomadic Fulani, who devoted much time to herding of cattle, paid only a small amount of kudin kasa - in direct proportion to the amount of land they cultivated.[168]

The state had a firm hold on kudin kasa. This was due to the fact that it was automatically paid by the

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167. NAK, SNP.7, 5585/1909, Wombai District, Assessment Report, 1909.

168. NAK, SNP.7, Assessment Report 1909-1910 - Barde District, Kano Province; SNP.7/10, 5570/1909, Kano Province, Assessment Report 1909/10, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida and Gumel.

heads of the households to whom the lands were assigned whether it was cultivated or not. Assessment and collection of kudin kasa were carried out by the jakadu of Sarkin Kano and those of Uban Kasa as well as those of the dagatai. In respect of the territories of sarakunan garuruwa, to guarantee that the different entitlements to them would be forwarded to the respective authorities, the assessment and the collection of kudin kasa were carried out by jakadu of Sarkin Kano, those of sarakunan garuruwa and the jakadu of the dagatai of sarakunan garuruwa. And so in both cases, masu unguwa participated actively.

Another important source of revenue was jizya (the poll tax payable by non-Muslims) and zakka (religious tithes payable on farm produce and livestock by Muslims). But in the eighteenth century and as a consequence of the attempts to increase the revenue of the state, Muslims as well as non-Muslims were made to pay jizya. The latter were represented by the people of Ajawa, Adawa, Umbutawa, Wurjawa. The former included even Muslim merchants and malams.[169] In order

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169. Tarikh Arbab, p.124.

to increase the revenue, assessment of that tax was not based on the Shari'a. Instead of individuals being responsible for the payment, the responsibility became that of the household. Moreover the amount assessed was equal to kudin kasa.[170] Therefore in terms of the assessment and method of collection and ways of disbursement, the zakka was not based on the Islamic injunctions. The talakawa regarded it merely as kudin hatsi (tax or money on grains). The jakadu and masu unguwa who were charged with the assessment and collection of the zakka moved from one house to the other or from one farm to another, every agricultural season, asking each mai gida (head of household) as to what he had set aside for zakka. In most cases the figures given out by the masu gidaje were increased by the tax collectors and this often led to protracted haggling and pleading by the masu gidaje until a reduction in the collectors' figures were effected.[171] In some parts of Kano, farmers were not allowed to evacuate the produce from the fields after being harvested, before

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170. NAK, SNP.7, 3272/1909 - Assessment Report, Bebeji and Kofa Districts.

171. IGS (Kano), 10/2/79.

assessment was carried out. In such a situation it was the Jakadu who would fix the number of bundles to be given out for zakka according to their will and normally to the disadvantage of the farmers.

Compared to kudin kasa not half as much of the zakka tax reached the state treasury, because the zakka was more liable to peculation by the jakadu, masu unguwowi and other officils. It is agreed upon that the payment of kudin sarauta, a form of gaisuwa (lit. greetings) was practically an excuse for withholding a fair proportion of the zakka by the jakadu and other state officials related to its collection. It was the realisation of these lapses that encouraged the talakawa to bargain persistently so as to pay as little as possible.

Therefore the talakawa normally declared a far smaller amount of their produce so as to pay less zakka. Also, the zakka as practised in Kano, contrary to the Shari'a injunctions, made it possible for the masu sarauta to earn more income at the expense of the talakawa. The masu unguwa who were in a position to know the approximate quantity of grains produced by each household were liable to be bribed and therefore often agreed with whatever figure

the mai gida came up with. Like the assessment and collection of kudin kasa and jizya, those of the zakka were also carried out in the presence of the jakadu of Sarkin Kano.[172]

In addition to the above-mentioned taxes, the farmers also had to pay kudin shuka (tax on non-grain crops) and kudin rafi (tax on irrigated crops).[173] These took the form of a rent on any given crop such as rogo (cassava), dankali (potatoe), tobacco, pepper, rice, and in some parts of Kano, lalle (henna). Other taxes levied on agricultural crops included those of dabino (dates), collected only when the trees were yielding or bearing fruits.

Jangali (cattle tax) which was introduced in the seventeenth century by Sarkin Kano Kutumbi,[174] had become an important source of revenue in the eighteenth century, due to the influx of, and the concentration of both nomadic as well as sedentarised Fulani in Kasar

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172. IGS (Rano), 19/2/79; SNP.7, 3272/1909, Assessment Report, Rano District.

173. AAR (Dutse Gadawur), 3/2/79; IGS (Rano), 10/2/79; NAK, SNP.7, 2968/1907, Assessment Summary, Kano and Katsina.

174. Tarikh Arbab, p.119.

Kano. However, the methods of assessment or collection of jangali are not quite clear. It seems that each clan or family group was required to hand over every year a number of cattle to the tax collectors. Sometimes, especially with regards to the nomadic Fulani who had not fully settled in Kasar Kano, the assessment of their taxes were arbitrarily carried out. In addition, in some parts of Kasar Kano, some of the tax collectors imposed kudin chiyawa (grass tax) on some of the nomadic Fulani which was also paid in kind.[175]

In the industrial sectors there were many taxes because there were various manufacturing and other industrial establishments which provided considerable revenue for the state. Revenue from the baba (dye pits) was substantial in view of the prevalence of this industry all over Kasar Kano. Like kudin kasa, revenue from baba was stable and fixed because the dye pits were taxed whether they were in production in that particular year or not.[176] It is mentioned that idle dye pits were taken over by the state and then assigned

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175. NAK, SNP.7,

176. IGS (Kano), 10/2/79.

to anyone who was prepared to operate them. But if the original owners decided to take them back before the reactivation, they had to pay the overdue taxes on such dye-pits before they would be returned to them.[177]

Taxes were collected from cloth weavers, blacksmiths, builders, weavers of baskets / mats; makers of / an pots, wood-carvers and other producers. Taxes were also collected from makada (drummers) by Sarkin Makada (chief of drummers), masu busa (musicians) by Sarkin Mabusa (chief of musicians), masu kitso (hair plaiters) and wanzamai (barbers). Others were kudin mahauta (tax on butchery or butchers), kudin manda (salt tax) collected by Sarkin Manda, kudin baka (tax on hunting or hunters) collected by Sarkin Baka, and kudin ma'auna (tax on grain sellers) collected by Sarkin Ma'auna.

Taxes were also levied on sales of livestock such as horses, oxen, sheep, goats, donkeys and mules. Dealers in slaves were taxed. The collection of tolls from merchants who travelled into or through Kasar Kano

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177. IGS (Rano), 10/2/79. This policy was either revised in the nineteenth century or lacked universal applicability throughout Kasar Kano. For certain colonial reports indicate that only dye-pits in use were taxed. See for instance, NAK, SNP.7, 2084/1909 - Assessment Report, Bebeji and Kofa Districts.

was an institutionalised fiscal policy which was universal in all Hausa states in the eighteenth century.[178] In view of the location of Kasar Kano in relation to other states of the Central Sudan as well as the number of people who transacted business in Kano, the revenue from commercial activity was substantial.

Kudin Gaisuwa (lit. money for greetings) given to the sarakuna formed an important source of their revenue. Kudin gaisuwa has generally been translated as present or perquisite or irregular levy. All of these may be regarded as correct but they do not convey the exact political and social concept of gaisuwa. It was an indirect tax paid by each individual to his immediate senior in the administration hierarchy. It was expected from every talaka to his immediate mai sarauta who was either mai unguwa or occupational heads; the latter officials had to pay to their senior ones. This practice was carried out throughout the hierarchy of

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178. Usman dan Fodio, Kitab al-Farq, trans. and edited by M. Hisket, op.cit., p.575. The practice continued into the nineteenth century as indicated by reports of various European travellers through Hausaland during this period.

the sarauta system up to Sarkin Kano.

However, each individual paid kudin gaisuwa according to his wealth. Therefore this tax may be equated to income tax. But it should be noted that the talakawa were the people who suffered from tax in view of their limited income and the many other taxes which they had to pay.

Another form of gaisuwa from which the state obtained substantial amount of revenue had to do with trade and commerce. Gaisuwa in this context literally meant "greeting" which was often or always accompanied by "gifts". But this was in addition to the tolls paid by merchants. By a well established tradition, traders could normally not lodge in a town without "greeting" the sarki or the chief as the case might be. Individual merchants, the residents of the commercial towns or madugu (caravan leader), acting on behalf of a whole caravan or a group of merchants, often observed this custom or tradition. Upon arrival in a town, the merchants or their madugu would normally first of all go to the sarki of that particular town to offer him gaisuwa.

This practice served as an insurance against

robbers or rapacious junior officials in the ruler's territory. The rulers conceived of this form of gaisuwa as a type of income to be maximised. Sometimes gaisuwa was even negotiable, although in theory the traders felt it represented the courtesy of the giver to the sarakuna who protected their interest.

The size of the gaisuwa varied with the importance of the receiver and the wealth of the giver. Gaisuwa therefore was more than a tax; it represented a continuing renewal of contractual relations between the traders and the rulers. Rulers were expected to offer protection to the caravans, to see that thieves were appropriately punished and to prevent undesirable acts such as cheating in the process of transactions. Government officials at least in theory accepted responsibility as hosts of the merchants and considered it as part of their duties not only to protect the merchants while in their territory but also where necessary, provide them with accommodation and other facilities in the markets.

The other taxes were kudin ruwa (tax on water)

levied on fishermen,[179] kudin aure (engagement fees),[180] kudin aniya (voluntary gaisuwa paid by those engaged in part-time and marginal occupations like beekeeping), and kudin gamo (a local cess raised to defray cost of transporting all forms of taxes to the birni).

Moreover, in their bid to raise their income, the masu sarauta continually introduced new fiscal measures. They were, among other things, accused of commuting sentences for all forms of offences to fine, and acquiring properties of persons who died in their state.[181] There is also a reference to certain taxes whose meanings are not known.[182]

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179. NAK, SNP.7, Assessment Report 1909/10 - Barde District, Kano Province.

180. Tarikh Arbab, p.123.

181. Usman dan Fodio, Kitab al-Farq, p.568. See also C.H. Robinson, op.cit., p.204, for the masu sarauta's handling of the property of deceased persons.

182. Tarikh Arbab, p.123.

From these various taxes, it is evident that the state in the eighteenth century faced real crises which were related to the fiscal policies adopted for centuries. This was mainly in the shape of attempts by the different rulers of Kano, at least from the fifteenth century, to encourage people to settle in Kasar Kano in order to promote economic activities. These included the Kanuri, Auyokawa, Nufawa, Arewawa, Agalawa, Tuaregs,[183] etc. By exempting them from taxes, especially through a device designated as hurmi[184] or chappa.[185]

Such a policy, with the passage of time, exempted the people who could pay and consequently the revenues decreased. The sarakuna in the eighteenth century imposed more and more taxes on the people who could not pay. The result was intense oppression of the talakawa

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183. NAK, SNP.7 - Assessment, 1909-1910, Barde's District, Kano Province; SNP.7/10, 5570/1909-10 - Kano Province, Assessment, 1909-10: Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida and Gumel District.

184. This was normally a term applied to learned malamai and their descendants, especially the descendants of Muhammad al-Maghili, whose leader was called Sidi Fari. See NAK, SNP.7, 3272/1909, Assessment Report, Kano District.

185. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979; NAK, SNP.7,

whose discontent increased. This issue would be clarified with the discussion of developments in the later part of the eighteenth century.

Given the nature of the evolution and operation of the sarauta system in Kasar Kano (and elsewhere in Hausaland), it is difficult to put it (the sarauta system) in the same category with the feudalism which was evolved and operated in Europe in the Dark and Middle Ages. In terms of origin and the circumstances under which both political and social systems emerged, the positions, powers, roles and the relationships between the sarakuna of Kano and their officials, the nature of the tenure of office, the military organisation and the command system, the nature of the relationships between the ruling class and the talakawa as well as the nature of land holding and tenure,[186] the systems of the feudal states of Europe differed a great deal from that of Kano and other parts of Hausaland.[187]

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186. vide infra, pp.445-455.

187. For an attempt to liken the political and social systems evolved and practised in Hausaland to the feudalism of Europe, see Jack Goody, "Feudalism in Africa?", J.A.H., vol.IV no.1, 1963, pp.1-18.

The maintenance of the sarauta system, however, was as burdensome to the talakawa as was feudalism to the serfs.

V. Developments in Kasar Kano in the Later Part of the Eighteenth Century.

By the later part of the eighteenth century the development of the sarauta system had reached an advanced and complex stage, both in terms of the number of institutions, their functions and their relationships. This was not only due to the proliferation of the masu sarauta but also to the high degree of luxury they indulged in. The reign of Sarki Babba Zaki (c.1768-1776) epitomised the incredible degree of the luxury enjoyed by the masu sarauta.[188]

Consequently, the society was divided into two major social groups: privileged and under-privileged groups or the masu sarauta and their associates versus the talakawa. The latter paid for the luxury of the former. They therefore hated them[189] especially with

188. For the extent of development of the sarauta system and the life-style of the masu sarauta during this period, see M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.118; Tarikh Arbab, p.126.

189. See Tarikh Arbab, p.124.

the continual increases in taxes. The need for more revenue made the state extend the payment of taxes to the malamai, most likely malaman kirgi.[190] What added to the suffering of the talakawa was the increase in the practice of wasau (forceful seizure of property)[191] which during the reign of Sarki Babba Zaki was extended even to some state officials.[192] The latter measure points to the internal crisis among the members of the ruling class in the second half of the eighteenth century.

As a result of such policies, many people moved out of the birni into the countryside,[193] and out of Kasar Kano to the neighbouring states such as Katsina.[194] The campaigns of Sarki Babba Zaki, which were either led by him personally or by his officials in the countryside during this period,[195] were related to the movement of people from the towns to the

190. See Tarikh Arbab, p.124.

191. Ibrahim Tahir, op.cit., p.202.

192. Tarikh Arbab, p.126.

193. ibid., p.124.

194. ibid., p.124.

195. ibid., p.126.

countryside, and to his attempts to extend the application of the wasau to the countryside as well as acquiring property, particularly slaves.

In such periods of crises, some state officials took advantage of the situation and launched their own military campaigns.[196]

Apart from problems related directly or indirectly to economic matters, there were also certain practices which bordered on abuses, on the part of the members of masu sarauta, that caused dissatisfaction in the society. Oral traditions about such abuses and tyrannical policies are still very widespread. While seriously taking into account the tendency among informants, especially those of them who may have been influenced by the works of the Jihadists, to exaggerate the abuses and other ills which prevailed in the society before the nineteenth century, it is impossible to dismiss such accounts as baseless. Incidentally many of these accounts have been corroborated by written traditions which had been recorded long before the Jihad.[197] While the practice of kame (forcible

196. Tarikh Arbab, p.123.

197. ibid., pp.123-126.

seizure of maidens)went back to the period of Sarki Muhammadu Rumfa,[198] by the later part of the eighteenth century this malpractice had increased and even extended to married women. Likewise confiscation of livestock, textile materials, etc. seemed to have reached an alarming degree. It is widely believed that anything which appealed to the powerful members of masu sarauta were subject to confiscation.[199]

The demand on labour of the talakawa by the masu sarauta had also increased during this period. Young men, in addition to the provision of normal corvee labour, were being abducted by the dogarai and other agents of the masu sarauta for the purpose of performing menial jobs such as clearing horse dung, gathering of fodder for horses and other animals, fetching of water and serving as porters. Disobedience or attempts to abscond from uncompleted assignments were accompanied by severe punishment which in some cases were borne by the parents of the young men.

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198. Tarikh Arbab, p.112.

199. AAR (Dutse Gadawur), 3/2/79.

The occurrence of shortage of grain during this time[200] might have worsened the position of the talakawa more than that of the masu sarauta who used to store large quantities of grain. Sarki Muhammadu Alwali, for example, had taken steps to store large quantities of grains.[201]

The tensions generated by the governmental policies and practices may have been heightened by natural disasters, namely the droughts and the accompanying famines. Thus the differences between the masu sarauta and the talakawa were increasingly sharpened. The division between the two groups was symbolised by the division between the malaman fada and the malaman kirgi. While the former legitimised the actions of the masu sarauta with whom they were identified, the latter championed the cause of the talakawa, the suffering of whom they shared. Each group was hostile and contemptuous of the other.[202] In a clear attempt to

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200. Tarikh Arbab, p.127.

201. ibid., p.127.

202. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.7b. While the malaman kirgi and their followers regarded the Sarkin Kano as taqut (tyrant), the latter regarded the former as beggars.

silence the malaman kirgi some of the members of the masu sarauta went to the extent of humiliating the leaders of malaman kirgi or some of the malaman fada who sympathised with malaman kirgi.[203].

CHAPTER FIVE

THE JIHAD, THE SOCIETY, AND THE STATE IN KASAR KANO IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The cause of the talakawa's socio-economic grievances in Kasar Kano, particularly during the second half of the eighteenth century, was championed by the malaman kirgi who identified themselves with the Jihad movement led by Shehu Usman dan Fodio in the western part of Hausaland. They and their followers established contacts with the Jihadists either through personal visits or by reading their works or both.[1] It is important to note that on the eve of the Jihad a number of people were moving between Kano and Degel, where Shehu Usman dan Fodio had established his Jama'a.[2] Among those people were learned men of reputable

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1. It has been suggested that a number of people claimed to have communicated with Shehu Usman dan Fodio through dreams, visions and other miracles attributed to him. See Muhammad Salih, op.cit., pp.4b and 5a.

2. These included malam Goshi (Abdurrahman) Dan Zabuwa, malam Jibir, malam Jamo, and Dabo Dambazau. Each of them was accompanied by a number of people. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

scholarship such as Suleiman.[3] Thus the strategies, tactics, organisation and methods by the Jama'a in Kano were similar to those adopted by the Shehu and his followers.

I. The beginning of the Jihad in Kasar Kano.

The militant position into which the Shehu and the members of his Jama'a were being forced by the deteriorating political and social situations in the western parts of Hausaland on the eve of the Jihad also encouraged and radicalised the malaman kirgi and their sympathisers in Kano. This was particularly in view of the policies of Shehu Usman dan Fodio after he and his followers moved to Gudu (Qudu) in the early part of 1804.[4] By then he instructed some of the members of the Jama'a who had come from different parts of the Central Sudan to return to their respective areas, for the

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3. Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., p.49.

4. Abdullahi dan Fodio, Tazyin al-Waraqat, I.U.P., Caxton Hill, Hertford, Herts, 1963, p.108.

purpose of launching the Jihad. He provided them with letters to the leaders of the movement in their localities containing instructions to be followed. Kano's letter was received by Bi Gabowo, who circulated the letter or its contents among the leading personalities of the movement in Kasar Kano. This was followed by a meeting of the leaders of the movement to discuss a number of issues. One of the most important decisions which they made was the performance of the Hijra[5] from the birni and its adjacent areas to Kwazzazzabon 'Yar Kwando (Fagoji), a place which lies about thirty-five miles to the west of the birni. The date for this hijra was fixed at the middle of August 1804. Like any other hijra, that of the Jama'a of Kano was a tactical move aimed at saving the members of the community from the potential danger which was posed to them by the socially dominant group and also to plan various strategies, including a military one, to deal with their enemies.

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5. The Hijra of Shehu Usman dan Fodio from Degel to Gudu and that of the Jama'a of Kano from the birni and other parts of Kano to Kwazzazzabon 'Yar Kwando were patterned on that of Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina in A.D.622.

The choice of Kwazzazzabon 'Yar Kwando was influenced by a number of factors. The areas in the northern and north-eastern parts of Kano were inhabited by rich groups who identified with the established order and therefore were opposed to the Jihad and the Emirate which was subsequently established by the Jihadists.[6] But the areas to the western and south-western parts of Kano were inhabited by relatively poor group, particularly Fulani clans, who were in contact with Shehu Usman dan Fodio for a long period of time before the Jihad. Thus the members of the Jama'a who moved out of the birni and the other areas of Kano to Kwazzazzabon 'Yar Kwando expected not only a warm welcome but strong support from the people in their area.

Moreover, the influence of the sarakuna of Kano was least felt in the place of the hijra than in the other regions because there were relatively fewer major political and administrative centres in the western and south-western region. With the exception of Karaye which was the main administrative centre and to a lesser extent Bebeji whose sarakunan Fulani were

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6. J.N. Paden, op.cit., p.255.

military leaders in the service of the kings of Kano,[7] the rest of the region was dotted with relatively small towns and villages ruled by dagatai and masu unguwa.

Another important factor was the terrain around Kwazzazzabon 'Yar Kwando, which was ideal for fortifications and for the establishment of bases from which military expeditions could be launched.[8] Thus the hijra to Kwazzazzabon 'Yar Kwando had been carefully thought out.

(a) The Hijra.

The first groups of people who moved out of the birni, its vicinity and other parts of Kano, consisted of mainly the malaman kirgi and their immediate followers. They belonged to different ethnic groups who were opposed to the oppression of the masu sarauta. So, contrary to the views expressed or implied in many works in relation to the Jihad, the driving force

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7. Incidentally the other sarakunan Fulani who performed similar military roles, especially those of Sankara, Ringim and Jahun, were found among the rich Fulani to the north and the north-east.

8. The original settlement was situated in a very large depression which was surrounded by thick vegetation.

behind the movement was neither racial nor occupational.[9] Also equally deceptive is the interpretation of the Jihad in a religious context. For sure the preponderance of the influential roles of the ulema and the nature of source material on the Jihad contributed to such religious interpretation and consequently it led to the obscurity of the actual causes of the movement. This, however, is not to imply that the religious factor was unimportant. But it should not be seen as the only or primary cause because the conflict was created by political, economic and social problems in the eighteenth century which had been increasingly worsening, especially in the later part of that century, as has been discussed in the previous chapter. Thus the class nature of the conflict is discernible from the composition of the two opposing groups involved in the conflict. Whereas the members of the ruling class, many of whom were learned scholars and Fulani, refused to perform the hijra, the first people to migrate to Kwazzazzabon 'Yar Kwando and to start the Jihad wars

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9. See M. Hiskett, The Sword of Truth: The Life and Times of the Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, London, O.U.P., 1973, pp.79-80.

were people who sarki Muhammad Alwali described as "the weak people to whom we used to give sadaka (alms) and /who/ used to read under our ulema".[10] As has already been indicated, apart from those who held sarautu and those who had connections with the court and the members of masu sarauta, many of the other rich Fulani groups simply refused to perform the hijra or participate, especially in the initial stages, in the Jihad wars.[11] Other members of the Fulani group, including Dan Tunku, who will feature prominently in the Jihad and post-Jihad history of Kano, calculatedly sat on the fence until they saw that the members of the Jama'a, many or most of whom consisted of poor or relatively poor people, had started to gain the upper hand in the struggle before they joined them.

These and the subsequent developments in the nineteenth century make it difficult to regard the Jihad in Kano as a straight struggle between the Hausa and the Fulani, the peasants and the nomads, or the supposedly religious Fulani and the nominally Islamic "Habe"

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10. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.6b.
11. vide supra, footnote no.5, p.339.

rulers. To be sure, ethnic sentiments mainly or only[12] on the part of the Fulani, especially those who had connections with the court, featured from time to time in the course of the Jihad movement, but particularly in the course of taking over of authority at the various levels of government. For one reason or another, some of the Fulani leaders who had strong connections with the court or the government often acted as fifth columnists during the Jihad wars. Malam Muhammadu Bakatsine, for instance, while remaining as a counsellor to sarki Muhammadu Alwali, was at the same time keeping in touch with Shehu Usman dan Fodio.[13] When the members of the Jama'a were migrating to Kwazzazzabon 'Yar Kwando he wavered[14] and remained with the sarki. Not until the outbreak of the hostilities and when sarki Muhammadu Alwali had become suspicious of his activities and lost confidence in him, did he belatedly embark on his hijra to Wudil instead

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12. So far no piece of evidence has surfaced to prove that Hausa population showed any signs of solidarity with the sarki and other masu sarauta on ethnic grouns.
13. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979; Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., 2nd ed., 1978, p.36.
14. Muhammed Salih, op.cit., pp.15a-15b.

of Kwazzazzabon 'Yar Kwando, from where he launched his own military campaigns in the south-eastern parts of Kano.[15] In addition to the opportunistic behaviour of people like Muhammadu Bakatsine, others, for instance Ardo Ga-e, played double roles in relation to the movement in an attempt to preserve their own interests. While maintaining a very strong connection with sarki Alwali, he asked his son Abdu Murabus to join the Jama'a. But he himself remained with Alwali throughout the period of the Jihad wars while his son was fighting on the side of the Jama'a. Even when Alwali's regime collapsed he accompanied him to Rano and probably to Zaria.[16]

In order to understand the reason for the prominence of the Fulani in the Jihad in Kano, it is important to note the nature and relations of production among them, especially in the eighteenth century.

Except in certain circumstances, the elderly men among the Fulani, especially those of them who had settled in or near the urban centres, which was indeed the case with many of them during the eighteenth

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15. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., pp.15a-15b; ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.
16. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

century, did not participate actively in all sectors of production.[17] Such people devoted much of their time to learning and religious activities. Therefore, these elderly people were religiously motivated to join the Jihad and to perform the hijra. So they constituted the leadership of the Jihad when the hijra took place in Kano in August 1804; while the discontented elements, both among the Fulani and other ethnic groups, constituted their following.

The degree and spread of Islamic knowledge contributed to the degree of political and social consciousness among different under-privileged groups. Since the sharing of political offices (sarautu) at the end of the Jihad wars was based on the early acceptance of the Jihad cause and performance of the hijra, the Fulani found themselves the leaders of the movement and consequently the occupants of high-ranking offices in the newly established regime. This position was consolidated, since the sarautu came to be retained in the same families throughout the nineteenth century. It is quite logical therefore that the Fulani who formed the largest group among the Muhajirun (people who performed

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17. vide infra, pp.517-29.

hijra) and the Jama'a emerged as the most dominant group in the political life of Kano throughout the century.

The relatively fewer malaman kirgi of other ethnic groups, especially the Hausa, who performed the hijra, for instance malam Usman, were also given sarautu on the basis of the "first come first favoured" principle. Being relatively fewer, their influence in running of the state was less felt in the political life of Kano during the nineteenth century. Some of them were said to have been so pious that they asked their children not to inherit their sarautu after they had died.[18] Consequently the very few sarautu held by the non-Fulani at the state level slipped into the hands of the Fulani in the second generation of the Jama'a in Kano. This further enhanced the grip of the Fulani on the government and the society, hence their predominance which gave the impression, both to the society of Kano and students of Kano history in the twentieth century, that the Jihad was a Fulani affair.

However, as has already been indicated, many of the rich Fulani, some of whom had connections with the court, who joined the members of the Jama'a did so only after

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18. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

sarki Alwali and his officials had displayed a high degree of incompetence in handling the wars. The easy victories scored by the genuine members of the Jama'a resulted in great propaganda for the Jihad cause and increase in followership. It also paved the way for the opportunists who had little or no sense of commitment to the cause of the Jama'a to join the movement. These were attracted by ghanima (booty) and hope of acquiring sarautu both during and after the Jihad wars. This category of people, who were mainly Fulani, as was the case in the western parts of Hausaland and elsewhere, were the ones who introduced and emphasized the ethnic element in the Jihad by giving the general public the impression that it was a Fulani affair.[19] Similarly, many of them took advantage of the chaos caused by the wars and unilaterally took over the sarautu of the fleeing dagatai or declared their own "mini"-Jihads in the border regions. Soon after the cessation of

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19. For Shehu Usman dan Fodio's protests against this debased behaviour, see Shehu Usman dan Fodio's 'Boneji Lesdi Hausa', in Al-Amin Abu-Manga's paper titled "Two Fulfulde Jihad Poems: A Case of Updating", presented to the History Department Postgraduate Seminar, A.B.U., Zaria, 28th March, 1981.

hostilities they applied to the Emir for confirmation. Due to their claims that they contributed to the success of the Jihad, they were often confirmed.

Now it would appear that if the examination of the Jihad is confined only to the level of leadership, it could to some extent be regarded as a Fulani affair. But the success of the Jihad in itself is a clear indication that the leadership represented the interest of the common people who were the fighters in the cause of the Jihad and who succeeded in toppling the anciet regime. Those common people were from different ethnic groups, localities and professions who united at the time of the Jihad by a common socio-economic grievance and the Jihad expressed that unity in religious terms, giving them sense of purpose and direction, and therefore they succeeded in their struggle against the established order.

(b) The Overthrow of the Sarauta System.

In the kaka (autumn) of 1804 most of the Jama'a of Kano moved to Kwazzazzabon 'Yar Kwando. By then Shehu Usman dan Fodio sent a letter to the sarkin Kano, as he did to the other sarakuna of the Hausa states, calling

on him to accept his authority as Amir al-Muminin (commander of the faithful) and implying that any refusal would result in a declaration of Jihad against him. In response, sarki Muhammadu Alwali of Kano summoned a meeting of the state officials, including the leading members of the court ulema, in order to seek their advice with regard to the letter. The court ulema and other officials were very hostile to the Shehu's demand, to the extent that one of them, Liman (Imam of Kano) Rauf tore the letter into pieces.[20] They also wrote a letter in Alwali's name in which they told Shehu Usman dan Fodio that they would meet him on the battle field.[21] It would appear that Muhammadu Alwali had wanted to respond to the Shehu's message positively; but he was prevailed upon by the court ulema and the other officials.

Meanwhile the tense situation generated by the mass migration of people from all parts of Kano, but particularly from the central region, to Kwazzazzabon

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20. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979. The later attitudes of the court ulema to the Jama'a tend to confirm this hostile reception.

21. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

'Yar Kwando and the evacuation of the latter area by its inhabitants due to the danger posed to them by the Muhajirun (emigrants) eventually degenerated into open hostilities between the two groups. The outbreak of the Jihad war which took place about four months after the initial movements of the Muhajirun to Kwazzazzabon 'Yar Kwando was sparked off by the killing of a man called Bima, who was apparently the mai unguwa or dagachi of the area into which the Jama'a moved. Bima, apparently an elderly man, bravely remained behind after his people had fled the area, to protect their properties. He was killed by a member of the Jama'a who seemed to have wanted to make history by being the "first Muslim to throw an arrow in the Jihad".[22]

This incident prompted the dagachi of Bebeji, probably the nearest senior official in the area, to despatch a group of people to sarkin Kano Muhammadu Alwali, who was at this time staying at Takai. The sarki

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22. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.6b. The actual cause of the killing seems to have been due to the attempt by Bima to prevent the members of the Jama'a from seizing the property of his followers which had been left behind.

hurriedly hand-picked a number of people and asked Ghainako, the son of the murdered Bima, to lead them. Ghainako was instructed to crush the rebellion. But the ill-equipped force was easily defeated by the Jama'a. A second expedition sent against them by the sarki faced a similar fate. Both battles took place in the dry season of 1804-1805.

These defeats forced Muhammadu Alwali to summon a meeting of his officials. At the meeting Alwali was advised to raise a large army to crush the rebellion once and for all.[23] The sarki, however, was more cautious. He opted for a dialogue with the rebels. He sent to them a delegation consisting largely of the ulema. But the Jama'a, whose morale had been raised by their two victories which attracted a great number of people to join them, were not prepared to be mollified by Alwali's rapprochement. Their unwillingness to negotiate was clearly reflected in the unacceptable conditions they gave to Alwali for any settlement. Among other things, they asked the sarki to repent, to perform the hijra as they had done, and to worship Allah alone. They assured him that if he could fulfill

23. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.7a.

these conditions, he would be restored to his throne after the Jama'a had accomplished their mission or objectives.

From the point of view of Alwali, the acceptance of these conditions would mean that the revolt of the Jama'a was justified and he had to forfeit his throne. Therefore, both the king and the state officials, regorded the conditions for settling the conflict unacceptable. The court ulema ridiculed the leadership of the Jama'a. One Abdulkadir regarded the conditions given by the Jama'a as those emanating from ignorant people. They attempted to discredit the Jama'a by saying that "we have not heard at all the names like Fati, Jawuyi or Dabo as names of prophets".[24]

The attitudes of the court ulema towards the Jama'a reflect their contempt for and hostility to the latter. This stand of the court ulema is understandable in view of the fact that the Jama'a represented a great threat to the system in which the ulema had a lot at stake. In order to preserve the system, it was necessary on their part not only to discredit the cause of the Jama'a but also, if possible, to eliminate them altogether.

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24. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.8a.

That was why they consistently advocated and legitimatised the use of force. After the receipt of the Jama'a's reply to sarki Muhammadu Alwali's letter, they believed that their position in the matter had been vindicated and became even more vehement in their demand for a military solution to the problem. They implored the sarki, saying:

> "Assemble all your people throughout your kingdom, the people of the fortresses, the people of the villages, the people of the rural areas, even the nomads and the rest of the tribes of the Berbers and the Tuaregs and don't leave anybody, and then confront them with an army which could not be defeated".[25]

In his desperate attempt to crush the Jama'a, sarki Muhammadu Alwali received military assistance from the sarakuna of Katsina and Daura. But it is not clear whether he asked for military assistance from them or whether these neighbouring states came to Kano's aid on their own. One is inclined to accept the former because sarki Muhammadu Alwali was finding it increasingly difficult to mobilise enough forces outside the circle of his immediate supporters, namely the sarakunan sarki, the sarakunan bayin sarki and a few other officials.

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25. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.8a.

Even the suggestion of the ulema is a clear indication of the inadequate military forces at the disposal of the sarki at that time. Moreover, in the later part of the struggle, the sarki was forced to rely on mercenaries for conducting his military operations.

Even the combined forces of Kano, Katsina and Daura, could not cope with the situation. The battle which took place in September 1805 ended in decisive victory for the Jama'a.[26] This victory marked a turning point in the Jihad wars in Kano, because it was after it that many of the rich and other influential people such as Dan Tunku declared their support for the Jama'a.[27] In other words, these groups of rich people, some of whom were members of the ruling class holding the titles of dagatai or sarakunan Fulani, found it necessary to protect their interest by performing their hijra.

Meanwhile, in the dry season of 1805-1806, Shehu

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26. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.9a; Murray Last, "A Solution to the Problems of Dynastic Chronology in Nineteenth Century Zazzau and Kano", J.H.S.N., vol.III, December 1967, p.463.

27. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.9a.

Usman dan Fodio summoned a meeting of the leaders of the various groups for a meeting at Birnin Gada. It was at this meeting that Suleiman b. Abba Hamma was appointed as the first Emir of Kano. Shehu Usman dan Fodio was guided in his choice of Suleiman by his sterling qualities.[28] According to Muhammad Bello, Suleiman was a scholar in his own right.[29]

Immediately after the appointment of the Emir for the Jama'a of Kano there was a change in the military strategy by moving from the defensive to the offensive. The latter strategy gradually gathered momentum to the extent that the Tuareg mercenaries led by one Agumbulu who had been hired at the cost of, among other things, millions of cowries,[30] were not able to stem the tide of the Jama'a's military offensive. In the late dry season of 1806 Sarkin Kano was forced to flee the war front, and in the battle of Dan Yahya he was even besieged by the Jama'a's forces when his army deserted

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28. Muhammad Bello, Infaqul al-Maisur, Cairo edition, 1964, p.138.

29. ibid., p.138.

30. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.12a.

him. Nevertheless, the leaders of the Jama'a instructed their followers to allow the besieged sarki to leave in peace "because grandeur is one of the characteristics of Allah".[31]

These defeats and the inability of sarki Muhammadu Alwali to recruit fighters from among the talakawa are clear evidence of the isolation of the ruling class. Therefore it is of no surprise that Muhammadu Alwali, in the early part of the rainy season of 1807, sent a delegation consisting mainly of court ulema with a message to the leaders of the Jama'a expressing his willingness to obey their biddings and pathetically stating that he would "come to them even on foot". But this was too late, because the Jama'a, who had become powerful, wanted developments to take their full course. In their reply they stated that:

> "... we have asked you to followithis path from the beginning but you have refused in a most stubborn manner and you have gathered your armies to fight us. But Allah /had/ defeated you in an unhonourable way and now you cannot move and you have no power".[32]

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31. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.14b.

32. ibid., p.14b.

The Jama'a felt so confident in their military strength and the weakness of their enemy to such an extent that they even told the sarki the time they would launch their final assault on the birni. This threat made sarki Muhammadu Alweli and most of the members of the ruling class to flee the capital.[33] Given the high density of the birni's population, it means that the bulk of the people were not in support of the established order. Otherwise the sarki would not have abandoned his capital. Muhammadu Alwali briefly stayed in Zaria before moving to Burumburum, apparently due to pressure exerted on him by the Zazzagawa (people of Zazzau). He was eventually killed by malam Bakatsine's forces. Shortly after sarki Muhammadu Alwali's flight, the Jama'a easily took over the birni destroying and plundering the properties of the socially dominant group, especially the masu sarauta.

The inability of Alwali's government to crush the movement of the Jama'a or at least to score even a single impressive victory on the battle field could be attributed to two major reasons: the internal weakness of the established regime and the relative strength of

33. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.15a.

the Jama'a. The former was due to lack of support from the great majority of the people and the series of tactical military blunders which the government committed.

As has already been indicated, by the time of the Jihad, relations between the masu sarauta and the other members of the society had become strained due to the injustices and other ills which pervaded the society. It was this situation that the malaman kirgi in Kano, as well as in other parts of the Central Sudan, capitalised on to attempt to change the social order. Needless to say it is most doubtful if the Jihad would have succeeded if these conditions had not existed in the society. It was the promises made by the leaders of the Jama'a to provide an alternative social order which would establish justice and equity that enabled them to attract more and more people to their fold. By the time of the outbreak of the Jihad wars, the Jama'a had largely succeeded in raising the consciousness of the people in relation to the evils of their society. This contributed to the isolation of the core of the masu sarauta. This largely explains the relative ease with which the Jama'a forces conquered towns and settlements. One of the few exceptions was that of Burumburum where

there was a real resistance.

In this context, the attempt to explain the Jihad as a racial conflict between "Muslim" Fulani and "nominally" Muslim Hausa would be an oversimplification of the issue. Equally erroneous is to regard the Jihad as a struggle between nomadic Fulani and agriculturalist Hausa. This is because the Jihad wars, at least in Kano, were basically a struggle between two distinct social groups, transcending ethnic and occupational boundaries. Among the Jihadists, though mainly led by learned Fulani, were other ethnic groups. While the other group involved in the conflict was mainly of the nobility who consisted of different ethnic groups, including Hausa, Fulani, "Arabs", Kanuri, and Tuareg. However, it is important to point out that the society of Kano by this time was not strictly divided along ethnic lines because of the high degree of urbanisation which led to a considerable degree of integration and assimilation. Rather, the major groups in the society were united or divided by their respective interests.

The interest of the deprived group united them under the leadership of the malaman kirgi who provided them with an "ideology" for change. Thus if the Jihad

had been a racial conflict between the Hausa and the Fulani, as some scholars have implied, it would have meant that all the Hausa, no matter their status in the society, would have supported sarki Muhammadu Alwali, while all the Fulani would have formed a solid block against their presumed enemies, both the "Hausa rulers", who were said to have subjected the Fulani to injustices, and the Hausa peasants, who were said to have attempted to deny the nomads the use of grazing grounds and water-holes.[34] Moreover, the positions taken by the different categories of Fulani, at least initially in the conflict, were dictated by their respective interests and their statuses in the society.

If the war had been fought on the basis of ethnic solidarity, certainly the Hausa, no matter how "soft" they had been made by their interest in trade as has been implied,[35] would have put on a better show in the military campaigns, in view of their numerical strength

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34. Contrary to the assumptions about the prevalence of hostilities between the nomads and the peasants, there was in fact much cooperation between the two groups. See pp. 535-8 below.

35. H.A.S. Johnston, op.cit., p.12.

and Muhammadu Alwali's "Hausa government" could not have been easily overthrown by the Jihadists.

It is clear, however, that many more "Hausa" people fought against sarki Muhammadu Alwali's forces than did the Fulani.[36] The suggestion that only about 2,500[37] men, women and children left the birni with the sarki at the time of his flight shows how little support he had from the people.

There were other lesser factors which contributed to the collapse of sarauta and the establishment of the Jihadist order. For instance, dynastic dispute also played an important role in the poor performance of Alwali's forces. It deprived the government of resources and support. While the members of the Jama'a were

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36. N.A.K., SNP.15, Acc.No.289, Dawaki Ta Kudu District, Assessment Report, 1937.

37. D.A. Olderogge, "An Early Soviet Analysis of the Sokoto Jihad", in Osman dan Fodios and Senmar Bedentung (from the Proceedings of the XXIVth International Congress of Orientalists, Moscow, 1957; translated by Abdullahi Smith, Kaduna, 1977, p.5. It is likely that some or many of those who left the birni with the sarki did so more out of fear of anticipated reprisals from the Jama'a rather than out of loyalty to the sarki. In any case, this figure is quite small when it is put against the total population of the birni during this period.

mustering their forces for the overthrow of the government, a very serious conflict was raging among the top echelon of state officials, especially among the princes. Sensing that sarki Muhammadu Alwali would die sooner or later because of his old age, his son and his brother Chiroma Dan Mama were engaged in a very serious feud over succession.[38]

The major contenders to the throne were Chiroma Dan Mama, Tafida, Jatau and Auta. The last three were Alwali's sons. This conflict not only distracted Alwali's attention from the main threat to his regime but even more seriously deprived him of a substantial amount of military resources, especially horses for the cavalry force. Chiroma Dan Mama was believed to have withheld his military support, consisting of hundreds of horses, from Alwali who appeared to have been suspected of favouring his sons. It has even been suggested that Chiroma Dan Mama collaborated with the Jama'a in the course of the Jihad.[39] Dan Mama's behaviour both during and after the Jihad seemed to have

38. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

39. ibid.

lent credence to this assertion. During the wars he had secret correspondence with Shehu Usman dan Fodio to whom he travelled soon after the victory of the Jama'a, to offer his allegiance.[40]

Throughout the series of consultations summoned by the sarki in relation to the problems of the Jihad, Dan Mama is said to have adopted a lukewarm attitude to the suggestions proffered by the other state officials. Although there is no concrete evidence which could corroborate the claim that he declared his support for Shehu Usman dan Fodio even before Alwali's capitulation, his journey to the Shehu soon after the overthrow of Alwali's government to ask for a sarauta and territories to be attached to the sarauta seems to confirm the claims about his collaborations with Alwali's enemies during the Jihad wars.

Militarily sarki Muhammadu Alwali's government displayed a great degree of complacency and incompetence. In spite of the threat posed to the security of the state by the Jama'a and Shehu Usman's ultimatum, the sarki and his officials failed to give the problem urgent and serious attention. Sarki Alwali himself

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40. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

continued to hold his court at Takai, a place remote from the capital and from the Jama'a's base. When the Jama'a sparked off hostility, instead of immediately returning to the birni to mobilise his forces, he merely satisfied himself by delegating the responsibility of crushing the revolt to a person who did not even seem to have an important state office. That was Ghainako. All these, of course, reveal the extent of inertia and negligence on the part of the ruling class.

These and the subsequent delays in taking action against the members of the Jama'a only served to give them more confidence in their revolt against the sarki. Their easy victories against the government forces, especially those which were scored at the initial stages, not only bolstered the morale of the Jama'a but also helped to attract more and more people, especially those who had hitherto been sitting on the fence, to their fold.

By the time the government had undertaken to mobilise its entire forces with the intent of crushing the revolt, the Jama'a had already become very strong. In addition to fortifying their bases they also opened up several fronts of military operations against the government. The main front was in the western part of

Kano. In the north, Dan Tunku opened up a new front and he scored series of victories against the government forces and their supporters. These included members of his own Yerimawa group.[41] In the south-east malam Bakatsine launched a most vigorous military campaign in the process of which many towns and villages surrendered to him without serious resistance.

The opening up of these major military fronts had two effects: the birni and its surrounding areas which constituted the centre of power in the state had been very largely isolated from the rest of the country. The anti-government forces therefore found it easy to deal with the dagatai and sarakunan garuruwa, since they had been cut off from the main stream of the forces of the state.

The forcing of the state army to fight on three major fronts with much reduced resources, a development which came about as a result of circumstances rather than one of a calculated military planning on the part of the Jama'a, proved to be of tremendous advantage to the latter, for this resulted in the overstretching of the efforts of the already weak government forces, thus

41. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.9a.

rendering them ineffective. The military situation was also worsened by the fact that the government forces did not have the same degree of commitments as those of the Jama'a. The government forces had been more used to campaigns against towns and villages in the pre-Jihad period. These campaigns which were sometimes motivated by the need for slaves did not normally meet much resistance. They were also very lucrative. But the campaigns against the Jama'a did not yield much booty. The strength of the state forces was also weakened further by the defection of veteran warriors to the side of the Jama'a. Their defection was a great asset to the Jama'a in view of their experience in warfare. Due to these reasons, the poor military performance of the state forces culminated in their desertion and consequently abandoning of sarki Muhammadu Alwali during the battle of Dan Yahya, should not be surprising.

Many members of the Jama'a were guided and spurred on by nobler ideological objectives or their keen interest in changing their oppressive condition. The commitment on the part of many of them bordered on fanaticism. Many of them sought for opportunities to die in the course of the Jihad. Whenever some of them

encountered the government forces on the battle field or otherwise, they always rushed at them "without any fear of death because they were asking for it, hoping that they would have the /privilege/ of dying as a martyr; /whenever one of them was killed/ his brother would take his place hoping that Allah would grant him the same fate"[42] Conversely one of the great sins an Islamic warrior could commit was to flee from the battle field without a just cause.[43] This was continually emphasized to the members of the Jama'a, before, during and after the Jihad wars. It is significant that throughout the period of the military campaigns only once did a group of the members of the Jama'a flee a battle.[44]

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42. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.30a.

43. Shehu Yamusa, The Political Ideas of the Jihad Leaders: Being Translation, Edition and Analysis of "Usul ul-Siyasa" by Muhammad Bello and "Diya ul-Hukkam" by Abdullahi b. Fodio (M.A. thesis, A.B.U., Zaria, 1975), p.94. According to Islamic military code of conduct, Muslims are not allowed to flee the battle field if the number of those carrying arms is known to be or thought to be at least half the number of the enemy. But if their number is less than half the number of the enemy, they are permitted to flee the battle field. However, if the number of the Muslims is twelve thousand or more, their flight from the battle field is unlawful.

44. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p. 12b.

The effect of motivation was much stronger on the side of the forces of the Jama'a. While many of those who joined the Jama'a, especially in the later part of the Jihad wars, were encouraged to fight hard for ghanima (booty) but even more importantly for sarautu. On the other hand, the members of the Jama'a had a number of factors in their favour: some of the renegade state officials acted as fifth columnists at various stages of the Jihad. The veteran warriors who defected to their side also proved to be very useful. These veterans, no matter their shortcomings as efficient warriors, were certainly better than the inexperienced ones on the side of the government. They had mastered both the terrain of the country and the weaknesses of the government forces.

(c) Processes of Take-over of Authority.

With the collapse of Alwali's regime, the problem which faced the Jama'a was the establishment of administrative machinery on the different levels. Long before the collapse of Alwali's government, the members of the Jama'a had succeeded in conquering much of the countryside and therefore had captured many of the towns and

villages. Other towns and villages were, however, conquered only after the fall of the central government. The actual take-over of authority at the various levels of government took place after the complete overthrow of the central government, and when the Emir of Kano had established himself in the capital.

(i) State Level:

As soon as sarki Muhammadu Alwali's government had been overthrown and the Emir Suleiman and the other leaders of the Jama'a had occupied the birni, one of the first problems which they faced was the filling of the offices which the previous members of the ruling class had been forced to relinquish. The formula for occupying these offices was based on the leaders' early performance of the hijra and their contribution in the course of mobilising people for the Jihad and during the Jihad wars. To a large extent therefore, the type of offices given to each of the various leaders of the Jama'a corresponded to the degree of contribution made by each of them to the success of the Jihad. While it was easy to assess the contribution of certain leaders, for instance malam Bakatsine, due to the fact that he almost single-handedly directed military campaigns in a whole war front of the Jihad wars in Kasar Kano, it was not the same case with those leaders who fought

jointly in the western fronts of the war. Due to this problem, some of the leaders like the Dambazawa became dissatisfied with the offices allocated to them. Some of them expressed their dissatisfaction either by refusing to cooperate with the new Emir or by organising a revolt. Meanwhile Emir Suleiman had largely succeeded in distributing the offices to most of the leaders of the families who led the Jihad against Muhammadu Alwali's government.

The office of the Galadima, which was second to that of Sarkin Kano, at least from about the first half of the fifteenth century, was given to Ibrahim Dabo, a leader of the Sullebawa.[45] Due, probably, to their numerical strength in the state, they remained the most influential in Kano political affairs throughout the nineteenth century. The Yolawa were given the office of Madaki.[46] The Zarawa received the office of the Waziri.[47] The Dambazawa, later on, got the office of Sarkin Bai.[48] The Jobawa were given the office of Makama.[49] The family of malam Jamo was given the office of Sarkin

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45. Dawakin Kudu District Notebook.
46. Kumbotso District Notebook; Tudun Wada District Notebook.
47. Ungongo District Notebook.
48. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.
49. Ungongo District Notebook.

Dawaki Mai Tuta.[50] The family of malam Yusufu Bahaushe was given the office of Alkali;[51] but after his death, the family received the office of Magajin Malam (successor to or inheritor of malam).[52] The Ga-e were given the office of Sarkin Fulani Jaidanawa.

Other offices were given to other leading members of the Jama!a. Most of those who received the offices occupied the gidajen sarautu (official quarters)[53] as was the practice in pre-Jihad time.[54]

Similarly all of the holders of the new

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50. Tudun Wada District Notebook.

51. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

52. Malam Yusufu Bahaushe was noted for his piety. Before he died he was said to have warned his children that anyone of them who would accept the post of Alkali would go to hell. This was because Yusufu believed that his descendants or most other people would find it difficult, if not impossible, to avoid temptations regarding material things or to be impartial as demanded by the Shari'a. When Yusufu died and his children were approached to be given the office of Alkali, they simply refused to accept it. The family was, however, given the relatively insignificant office of Magajin Malam.

53. While some of the leaders of the Jama'a who acquired offices either refused to occupy the gidagen sarautu or occupied them reluctantly, others occupied them without hesitation. Malam Bakatsine is believed to have occupied gidan Madaki; Malam Jamo occupied gidan Galadima, etc.

54. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

offices were given administrative areas in various parts of Kano which had been more or less attached to the various sarautu. Towards the end of the exercise of taking over the sarautu at the state level, the Jama'a faced an embarrassing problem when Dan Mama, who collaborated with the Jama'a against Alwali's regime, appealed to Shehu Usman dan Fodio for territories to administer "so that he could be saved from the humiliations of poverty".[55] The Shehu instructed Emir Suleiman to allocate to Dan Mama a number of settlements.[56] The Emir allocated to him about one hundred settlements, including Gilma, Kiri, and Afitawa. Since it would not have been possible for him to administer these settlements effectively without a title, he was invested with the sarauta of Mai Unguwan Kutumbawa.[57] Like all other sarautu, it was heritable and therefore remained in his family throughout the nineteenth century.

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55. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

56. ibid.; N.A.K., SNP.7, 5585/1909 -Wombai District Assessment Report, 1909. It is believed that the Emir calculatedly allocated to Dan Mama small settlements so that he could not acquire much wealth that would enable him to stage a revolt.

57. Kutumbawa was the name of sarki Alwali's dynasty.

(ii) The Gari (Town) and Unguwowi (Ward or Village) Levels:

While the process of distribution of offices was going on at the state level, some members of the Jama'a returned to their respective places of domicile in various parts of Kasar Kano; preferring to hold offices in those areas rather than at the state level. These people formally took over control of the various towns which had already fallen to the Jama'a in the course of the Jihad wars. Among such people were malam Musa who became the ruler of Dutse Gadawur and malam Ba'aji who took over the control of Birnin Kudu.

While in a number of cases all the villages which had administratively formed part of each of the semi-autonomous garuruwa in the pre-Jihad period automatically declared their allegiance to their respective new sarakuna of the garuruwa, some had to be compelled to submit to the new rulers.[58] In cases where the dagatai of some of the villages had fled during the Jihad wars, the local Fulani, some of whom most likely did not participate in the Jihad wars, simply went to the birni and on declaring their mubaya'a (declaration of loyalty) asked Emir Suleiman permission for establishing their control over such villages.[59]

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58. N.A.K., SNP.7, 2715/1911 - Assessment Report, Dutse District, Kano Province, 1911-1912,

59. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

> Most of the dagatai who submitted to the Jama'a without any resistance during the Jihad wars were allowed to retain their sarautu over their respective villages. Rulers of some territories which were not directly controlled by Kano during the period before the Jihad also formally submitted to the Emir of Kano and consequently were confirmed in their posts by the Emir of Kano. Such was the case of the ruler of Fagam.[60]
>
> One category of masu sarautu who retained their sarautu largely intact were the various masu unguwowi (ward heads). While the new dagatai or sarakunan garuruwa confirmed the positions of such masu sarautu, they satisfied themselves with the overall control of such masu unguwowi.[61]

In a few cases a number of Fulani from the neighbouring states or regions, partly as a result of frustration due to their inability to get permission from Shehu Usman dan Fodio to declare Jihad in their localities and probably partly due to their contempt for the newly appointed emirs, for instance the Emir of Bauchi, Yakubu, launched their own "mini-Jihad", most

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60. N.A.K., SNP.7, 322P/1918 - Kano Province, Kano Emirate, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida's District, Assessment Report.

61. N.A.K., SNP.7 - Kano Province, Kazaure Emirate, Assessment Report.

likely without Shehu Usman dan Fodio's consent, in the areas between Kano and Bauchi and between Kano and Zazzau. After they had established their authority over the conquered areas, they eventually declared their allegiance to the Emir of Kano, as was the case with malam Lawal. After refusing to acknowledge the authority of Emir Yakubu of Bauchi, he left Gwaram in Bauchi and conquered the borderlands between Kano and Bauchi which were then inhabited very largely by the Warjawa. He established authority over scores of towns.[62]

Similarly, a stretch of territory lying between Kano and Zazzau which was inhabited mainly by "Maguzawa" was conquered by another Fulani leader called Mogaji Ali. After the Jihad wars, he sent three of his sons to occupy the territory which stretched from Turmi to Gwamgwam, Tube to Zarewa and Shipo to Fulata.[63] The

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62. Lawal's father, malam Ishiyaku, a Fulani from Ganjuwa in Bauchi, travelled to Shehu Usman dan Fodio and remonstrated with him for starting a Jihad in the "Bauchi region". He was not given a permission. (See N.A.K., SNP.7/10 - Kano Province, Assessment Report, 1909-1910, Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gida's District; SNP.7, 1267/1909 - Administrative Divisions in Provinces, Map of).

63. N.A.K., SNP.10, 535P/1915 - Kano Province, Gwamgwam Sub-District, Assessment Report.

take-over of the frontier territories completed the take-over of authority in Kano by the Jama'a and even by others who had not been initially among the Jama'a.[64]

II. The Struggle for Power During the Formative Period of the Emirate.

While the leading members of the Jama'a, united by their hatred for their common enemy. the masu sarauta, and guided by a common ideal which was the establishment of a just society based on Islamic principles, found it relatively easy to rally the support of the people behind them and to overthrow Muhammadu Alwali's regime, the same people found it difficult to cooperate among themselves after they had succeeded in defeating their common enemy. Many of them and their supporters simply made things difficult for the Emir in his task of establishing his government. The first major confrontation took place when the Emir decided to occupy Gidan Rumfa (house of Rumfa - the Palace), the symbol of authority in Kano. Some or many of the leaders of the

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64. It is to be noted that non-Fulani were also favoured by the Shehu as flag bearers for the Jihad. This is a clear refutation of the ethnic interpretation of the Jihad.

Jama'a made serious attempts at preventing the Emir from entering the palace.

The assertion by those who were opposed to the Emir's occupation of the palace that they did so "because if we /the Jama'a/ entered their /the overthrown masu sarauta/ homes and bear children /there/ they will become like them",[65] may be accepted as an expression of genuine concern for the survival of the ideals for which they had just fought. But other pieces of evidence and later developments do indicate that the opposition was largely politically motivated. It seems that those who were involved in the opposition to the Emir merely used religion as a garb to cover up what increasingly became purely a political struggle for power. This conclusion would not be far-fetched given the fact that some of the leaders of the Jama'a did not hide their ambition for power nor their quest for worldly things. Some of them in fact soon began to indulge in the irreligious practices of their predecessors.[66]

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65. Tarikh Arbab, p.128. This could be a reference to the Quranic verse. Qur'an, 44:45.

66. Abdullahi dan Fodio, op.cit., pp.121-2.

Emir Suleiman who had been widely known for his Islamic knowledge, piety, the upholding of the principles of the Shari'a both before and after the Jihad,[67] would not have made so many efforts to occupy the Gidan Rumfa if such an action would compromise the principles of the Shari'a. Moreover, that Shehu Usman dan Fodio eventually sanctioned the movement of the Emir to the palace without any hesitation[68] clearly shows the frivolous nature of the exercise in which some of the leading members of the Jama'a were engaged. If these people could use Emir Suleiman's attempt to occupy the palace as a religious excuse to oppose him, they certainly had none for refusing to attend one of the first meetings summoned by the Emir.[69] This was in itself a mark of disobedience which is against the principles of Islam which they claimed to uphold.

What appears to have been the actual situation was that some of the members of the Jama'a felt gravely

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67. For Emir Suleiman's exemplary life and excellent leadership, see Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., p.50; M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.119.

68. Tarikh Arbab, p.128.

69. ibid., pp.127-8.

disappointed that they had been passed over, and also felt that the offices they were assigned were not equal to the roles they had played in the Jihad wars. Among those who clearly betrayed their frustrations was Muhammadu Dabo Dambazau who eventually revolted against the authority of the Emir.[70] Shehu Usman dan Fodio, however, realising the motives behind the agitations, supported Emir Suleiman. Nevertheless, in order to pacify the leading discontented elements, Shehu Usman dan Fodio encouraged the Emir of Kano to accommodate them by giving them sarautu. For instance Muhammadu Dabo Dambazau was invested with the sarauta of Sarkin Bai. This sarauta remained permanently in his family throughout the nineteenth century.[71] Therefore the prompt

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70. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979; H.A.S. Johnston, op.cit., p.68. According to Johnston, the resentment of some of the leaders of the Jama'a was such that they even sent a delegation to Shehu Usman dan Fodio demanding the replacement of Emir Suleiman.

71. Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit.(2nd ed.), p.41. According to Dokaji, Muhammadu Dabo Dambazau requested Caliph Muhammad Bello to have him appointed as the Emir of Kano on Suleiman's death. But he was told that a successor had already been selected. He was, however, promised the throne after Suleiman's successor would have died. He was therefore given the title of Sarkin Bai. There appears to be a chronological problem here. The problem has to do with the time when Dabo Dambazau was given the....(cont'd)

decision taken by Shehu Usman dan Fodio in support of Emir Suleiman helped in the strengthening of his position as the Emir of Kano.

The arrival of Abdullahi dan Fodio in Kano in 1807 was also useful in solving the internal problems of the new regime. He helped considerably in attempting to guide the new rulers along the right path. He had earlier been shocked by the situation he found in Kano on his arrival. According to Abdullahi, the affairs of the Jama'a in Kano had become confused "because of their pre-occupation with the world". He saw among them the ills from which he had fled the western part of Hausa-land. Among the ills which forced Abdullahi to leave and which he also found to be prevalent in Kano were the acquisition of concubines, fine clothes and indulgence in merriment.[72] He therefore spent some time preaching to and guiding them in the ways of organising their

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sarauta of Sarkin Bai and who actually gave him the sarauta; whether it was Shehu Usman dan Fodio or his son Muhammad Bello. Since the source used by Abubakar Dokaji is not known, it is difficult to resolve the problem at the moment. However, it is mostly likely that the Shehu authorised Muhammad Bello to settle the dispute.

72. Abdullahi dan Fodio, op.cit., p.121.

affairs as expected of Muslim leaders or rulers. Even more important was his decision to write a book to provide them with a detailed guideline on various aspects of Islamic government.[73]

Although these developments did not completely eliminate opposition to Emir Suleiman's government, they did enable him to consolidate his position and organise an administration which was probably the only one in the Caliphate which came nearest to the ideals of the Jihadists, though it was a short-lived experience.

Emir Suleiman attempted to administer the affairs of the Emirate through consultations with the leading members of the Jama'a. The members of his council included malam Jemo, malam Abdurrahman, malam Jibir, malam Muhammadu Bakatsine, malam Muhammadu Dabo Dambazau, malam Usman al-Hausi, malam Yusuf al-Hausi, and malam Muhammadu Athari b. Dan Zabuwa.[74] The composition of the council re-affirms what has been mentioned earlier about the participation of the different ethnic

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73. The book was appropriately titled Diya al-Hukkam (The Light of Rulers). The sources used by Abdullahi were largely works of scholars from the late Abbasid period. His work seems to have facilitated the continuation of the sarauta system.

74. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., pp.18a-18b; ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

groups in the Jihad movement from the beginning. This becomes most important when it is recalled that the qualification for the membership of this council basically depended on participation in the hijra, contribution to the Jihad wars and/or the Islamic learning along the Jihadists' concept.

The members of the council administered the state almost collectively. Every morning each member of the council would come along with his buzu (hide)[75] to the palace for the daily review of the situation in the state as well as solving major judicial problems, along the stipulations of the Shari'a. The council therefore had consultative, judicial and executive functions. Although Emir Suleiman was acknowledged as the leader, he acted as first among equals, because there was a feeling of equality among the members of the council. He was what may be described as proto-symboulos (a first councillor).[77]

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75. Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., p.50.

76. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979; M. Hiskett, op.cit. (1965), p.119.

77. Suleiman himself is said to have insisted on being addressed as Imam and not as sarki (king). There is a fundamental difference between the concept of a sarki and that of Imam. An Imam is both a .....(cont'd)

During military expeditions and other state activities, he either led the members of his council or delegated responsibility to one of them. It was Emir Suleiman, for instance, who ordered malam Bakatsine to launch a final military operation against Muhammadu Alwali who had taken refuge in Burumburum.

Another characteristic of Suleiman's reign (1807-1819) was the strict application of the Shari'a in the administration of justice. The alkali of Kano, malam Yusufu Bahaushe, administered the Shari'a impartially and strictly in accordance with the injunctions of the Qur'an.[78]

A third characteristic of Suleiman's period was that most of the members of his council earned their living by engaging themselves in production of certain

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temporal and spiritual leader of an Islamic community. His actions are strictly guided by the stipulations of the Shari'a. A sarki is a ruler whose actions are guided by human reasoning and often characterised by arbitrariness. For a detailed discussion of the concept of Imam, see Uthman Ibn Fudi, Bayan Wujub al-Hijra ʿala 'l-Ibad (ed. & trans. by F.H. El-Masri), Khartoum, K.U.P./O.U.P., 1978, pp.61, 64.

78. He was even said to have administered corporal punishment to Emir Suleiman's mother when she was found guilty of ill-treating a person. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

commodities such as vegetables, ropes, writing of books and teaching.[79] Even Suleiman himself maintained his family by producing vegetables and rubutun sha (writing out of certain verses from the Qur'an on allo (slate) which are washed and drank). This meant that the members of the council abstained from receiving salaries from the public treasury. They regarded any attempt to temper with public revenue as haram (unlawful).[80]

The nature and style of administration established and run by Emir Suleiman was a result of a number of factors. One of these factors was the powerful personality Abdullahi dan Fodio and his determination to establish a government based on Islamic principles as perceived by him. He kept, throughout his stay in Kano, impressing on the leading members of the Jama'a as to what the Jihad was all about, and this, for some time, influenced and guided the attitudes and policies of some of the leaders of the Jama'a.

Equally and probably even more important was the commitment and determination of Emir Suleiman to the

79. Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., p.50; ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

80. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

establishment of Islamic government. His simplicity, tolerance, impartiality and consistency in implementing his policies and in rallying the support of the people behind him earned him the respect of many people, including his opponents. This was what made his reign a complete departure from the pre-Jihad sarauta system.

For sure, the work of Abdullahi dan Fodio and the policies of Emir Suleiman would not have been successful had it not been for the very conducive conditions prevailing in the newly established emirate. The ideals for which people fought were still fresh in the minds of many people and therefore the first generation of the Jihadists were enthusiastic in the implementation of such ideals. Therefore it would not be surprising to hear it being said that Suleiman "drove out heresy. He administered the Shari'a unswervingly. There was no seizing of virgins, no confiscation and no sprinkling of dust on the head ..."[81]

Though such evaluation of Suleiman's reign was exaggerated a bit in the sources, it does give an acceptable picture for the early Jihad regime in Kano. But many social factors, later on, contributed to the

81. M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.119.

gradual re-adoption of the pre-Jihad institutions and practices.

III. The Consolidation of the New Regime and the Restoration of the Sarauta System.

The Jihad ideals, in some respects, continued to influence political developments in Kano Emirate even after the death of Emir Suleiman in August 1819. This is clearly reflected in the choice of his successor, Ibrahim Dabo b. Mahmud, in September 1819. He was chosen partly because of his learning and partly because of his membership of an influential and leading family in the Jihad movement and the establishment of the Emirate.

In order to consolidate his position when he became the Emir, he invested a number of people with sarautu. The important sarauta of Galadima was given to Sani, a brother of the late Emir Suleiman. In order to win the confidence of the disgruntled head of the Dambazawa family, Emir Ibrahim Dabo allocated to the Sarkin Bai, Muhammadu Dabo Dambazau, an administrative territory which stretched from Ungongo to Kunci.

But both of these conciliatory moves failed to

achieve their desired objectives. Sani had entertained the hope of succeeding his brother, the late Emir Suleiman.[82] His ambition for the office of Emir was so great that, in spite of Emir Dabo's gestures, Sani launched a rebellion against the new Emir.

On the other hand, by awarding the above-mentioned territory to the Dambazawa family, the new Emir was inadvertently calling for the enmity of Dan Tunku. The latter claimed the said territory to have had been administered by his predecessor even before the Jihad. Therefore, Dan Tunku and his supporters considered the Emir's decision not only as unjust but also insulting, in view of their contribution to the success of the Jihad in Kano. It is important to note that Dan Tunku even fought on the side of the Jihadists against his Yerimawa clan.[83]

Emir Ibrahim Dabo's initial attempts to re-organise the administrative structure of the Emirate through the re-organisation of the masu sarauta and re-allocation of administrative territories therefore caused

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82. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

83. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.9b.

disaffection among a number of influential people in the Emirate. The Emir interpreted this to mean insubordination to his authority. He therefore wrote letters to the Emirate officials reminding them that he was the Emir of Kano and he therefore expected them to obey his instructions. The letter infuriated some of the officials, one of whom was Dan Tunku, who was particularly bitter. He protested against Ibrahim Dabo's interference in his affairs. Because of these problems, Emir Dabo called for mubaya'a (declaration of loyalty). But the call was ignored by his leading opponents, two of whom were Dan Tunku and Galadima Sani, who soon declared their revolt against the Emir. The two rebels appeared to have coordinated their plans very well. They despatched their mail runners to all parts of Kano, asking the sarakunan garuruwa and dagatai to join them in their rebellion against Ibrahim Dabo. The response to this call was surprisingly overwhelming, showing clearly the degree of rivalry among the new rulers.[84] Therefore the Emirate was faced by two major problems: crushing the revolts and re-organising the administration.

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84. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.19b.

(a) The Crushing of the Revolts.

In response to the challenge to his authority, Emir Ibrahim Dabo declared that he was "not less than the person he had succeeded"[85] and stated categorically that he was determined to maintain the integrity of the territory which he had inherited from his predecessor. He immediately followed his declaration with action by ordering the mobilisation of his forces to crush the revolts. Initially the rebels put up a stiff resistance and on several occasions inflicted severe defeats on the government forces. The use of different military strategies, especially the founding of ribats (fortresses) in strategic parts of Kano, effectively checked Dan Tunku's incursions and attacks on centres of population concentration. Thus the Emir confined the rebel forces to an easily manageable territory. Also by intensifying the use of religious propaganda by declaring that the rebels were apostates, the Emir eventually isolated and neutralised the rebels who were consequently crushed.

The Emir used the opportunity created by the rebels to eliminate all sources of opposition throughout the Emirate. He subdued all areas which showed signs of

85. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.19b.

unrest or disloyalty. At the same time he extended his domains by annexing Rano, taking advantage of the involvement of its ruler in the rebellions.[86]

These revolts prove further the fallacy of the view that the Jihad was a manifestation of Fulani solidarity against the Hausa. It is evident that these were Fulani led revolts against established "Fulani" rulers. This phenomenon would recur throughout the nineteenth century. These revolts drew most of their support from the rich Fulani clans who had earlier refused to or reluctantly participated in the Jihad. It must also be noted that many or most of the members of the rich Fulani clans, throughout the nineteenth century, never gave more than a lip service to the ideals which were cherished by the members of the Jama'a. In Kano, as elsewhere in Hausa-land and beyond, quite a number of the Fulani did not

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86. According to some sources Rano was conquered during the Jihad wars of the first decade of the nineteenth century (see Rano District Notebook). Muhammad Salih, however, suggested that Rano was conquered only during the time of Ibrahim Dabo. See Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.21b.

hide their dislike[87] for the power conferred on the previously poor Fulani rulers by Shehu Usman dan Fodio and his successors. They particularly resented the fact that their hitherto relatively poor kin were now made their rulers.[88]

The stiffness of the resistance put up by the rebels and their followers and the ruthless manner in which these and the later forms of opposition were crushed indicate the irreconcilable nature of the opposing interests of the two groups, both predominantly led by Fulani.

The crushing of the rebellions and the subjugation of the previously semi-autonomous territories and consequently the reduction of the authority of rulers of these territories, had far-reaching effects on the nature of the sarauta system and the authority of the

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87. The revolts which took place in the time of Emir Ibrahim Dabo and in the time of his successors coincided mainly with the areas controlled by pre-nineteenth century powerful sarakunan Fulani and largely inhabited by rich Fulani who refused to participate in the Jihad, such as Dambatta, Gahun, Sankara, and Ringim. See N.A.K., Kanoprof. 6991/S4 - Kano Survey; SNP.7, 1267/1909 - Administrative Divisions in Provinces, Map of.

88. N.A.K., SNP.15, Acc.367 - Note by Mr. Palmer on Fulani.

Emirs, from the time of Ibrahim Dabo to the end of the nineteenth century, in relation to the garuruwa and the state officials respectively. The "scorched earth" policy adopted in putting down the rebellions and in the re-conquest of territories which rebelled against Emir Ibrahim Dabo had the effect of reducing the powers of the sarakuna of garuruwa who had hitherto enjoyed some degree of autonomy. The appointment of numerous[89] people who were personally loyal to the Emir to govern such territories enabled him to control firmly the affairs of the Emirate. Because of both his re-organisation and his military might "his grip on power became very strong and his authority became very mighty. All kings of infidels[90] feared him and his name became very famous among people".[91]

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89. The establishment of ribats and the conversion of some of the pre-existing towns and settlements into ribats led to the multiplication of the number of masu sarautu who were appointed to direct the affairs of the ribats. All of them were appointed by the Emir who made sure that only people whose loyalty was not in doubt got the sarautu.

90. This is referring to the various sarakunan garuruwa and dagatai such as Dan Tunku who rebelled against Emir Dabo.

91. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.22b.

(b) Re-organisations and Re-introduction of Pre-Jihad Sarauta Institutions and Insignia.

Emir Ibrahim Dabo's post-revolts re-organisations and innovations played important roles in strengthening his power. Taking advantage of the threat posed by the rebels to the security of the Emirate and even to the Caliphate itself, because of Kano's strategic and influential position, Emir Ibrahim Dabo requested Caliph Muhammad Bello to grant him more powers because of the "instransigence and difficult nature of the people of Kano".[92] At the same time he requested the Caliph to allow him to re-introduce the pre-Jihad sarauta institutions and insignia, which ironically he claimed would enable him to promote religion and the Shari'a.[93] For one reason or the other, most likely due to the anxiety for maintainance of law and order, the Caliph granted his request.

Among the first institutions which he re-introduced was that of "Kofa" in order to curtail or neutralise the powers of the other masu sarautu, especially those from

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92. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

93. Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., p.53; ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

the powerful families of the Jama'a. As has already been shown, each "Kofa" was assigned the responsibility of supervising a group of the state officials, particularly those who held the sarautu of Uban Kasa (hakimai) and sarakunan garuruwa. This sarauta became very important for strengthening the position of the Emir.

For the same reasons he took away the sarauta of Galadima from the late Emir's family and gave it to his servitor, Ango.[94] However, since the established rule was that each of the leading families whose leaders performed the hijra and participated in the Jihad had to have a sarauta which could not be taken away from them without prior clearance with Sokoto.[95] Therefore, Emir Ibrahim Dabo, in order to compensate the late Emir Suleiman's family, for losing the office of Galadima, appointed Suleiman's son, Maude, as the Mai Unguwan Mundubawa.[96] This sarauta remained in this family throughout the nineteenth century.

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94. Dawakin Kudu District Notebook.

95. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

96. ibid. The term Mundubawa is an adulteration of the word Modibawa (learned people).

Unlike Emir Suleiman, Ibrahim Dabo, in order to distinguish his position from the rest of the Emirate officials, re-introduced the ceremonial slippers adorned with ostrich feathers;[97] and the attendance of fadawa (courtiers) whenever he (Ibrahim Dabo) was about to sit or stand.[98] By the time of his son and successor, Usman, the number of fadawa at the court of Emir of Kano had reached hundreds of people.[99] In consonance with this latter policy, Emir Ibrahim Dabo introduced entirely new innovations in relation to the sarauta. He introduced the new style of wearing turbans and alkyabba (burnous).

Emir Ibrahim Dabo's lengthy reign, spanning for nearly three decades, greatly aided the laying of a solid foundation for the re-establishment of a powerful hereditary rule in his family. Through his tough military measures, systematic and well-calculated strategy of re-organisation in the course of which disloyal officials were demoted and loyal ones were

97. Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., p.53.

98. This was introduced in the time of sarki Babba Zaki (c.1768-1776).

99. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.494.

promoted, political marriages[100] and the granting of large territories to masu sarautu, he was able to establish an almost supreme and prestigious position for the office of Emir in Kasar Kano. The passing away of many of the first leaders of the members of the Jama'a and their replacement with people whose selection and appointment were directly based on their loyalty to Ibrahim Dabo enabled him to pave the way for the above-mentioned hereditary rule in his family by the time he died in February 1846.

(c) Strengthening of the Sarauta System and Expanding the Bureaucracy.

Emir Usman, the son of Ibrahim Dabo, who ascended the throne in March 1846, benefited immensely from the strong and centralised administration established by his father. With Emir Usman's reign the Islamic ideals of the movement began to wane and gradually with the increase in number of offices the authority of the Emir

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100. Emir Ibrahim Dabo gave several of his daughters in marriage to powerful state officials and other influential people in the society. His daughter Kumboto was married to madaki Umaru, who was then the head of the Yolawa family; another daughter, Fadimatu, was married to Dabo Dambazau, the rebellious Sarkin Bai.

began to decline. Apart from being overshadowed by his Galadima, he was not able to uphold the Shari'a by his failure to apply Quranic injunctions in the execution of certain aspects of Islamic law.[101]

Taking advantage of Usman's weakness a number of state officials revolted. These included Sarkin Dutse Gadawur, Bello,[102] and malam Hamza and his followers.[103] Hamza's revolt was brought about by the high-handedness of masu sarauta as well as high taxation,[104] which was a clear indication of reversion to the pre-Jihad situation. Although Malam Hamza soon left Kano for Bauchi, he and his successors continued to pose one of the greatest problems to Kano Emirate throughout the nineteenth century.

Emir Usman contributed to the consolidation of the sarauta system by observing the principles of inheriting office among the ruling class. Whenever a leader of the ruling families would die, Emir Usman always ensured that

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101. Tarikh Arbab, p.130.

102. ibid., p.130.

103. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.23b.

104. N.A.K., K AR:5/2 - Tarikh Ningi (translation).

each of them was succeeded by his son or brother.

This same policy of protecting the interest of the ruling class by maintaining the status quo was also pursued by Emir Abdullahi b. Ibrahim Dabo who ascended the throne in September 1855. Thus the development of the institution of Sarkin Kano and the sarauta system (1) the expansion of the bureaucracy and the consolidation of the powers of the various members of the masu sarautu reached its peak by the end of his reign.

He was so determined in his pursuit of the policy of maintaining the status quo that he insisted that even slave officials had to be replaced by their sons.[105] So from this time the slave officials became so powerful that they virtually overshadowed the Emir. This in itself is an important development in the composition of the ruling class which began not only to include the descendants of the Jihadists but also the royal slaves. Thus the cause of the Jihad was no longer the central issue in the social affairs, rather the acquired privileges of the descendants of the Jihadists were the most important interests to be defended. Hence the need for reliable and loyal elements like the slaves.

105. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.24b.

It seems that the royal slaves, during the time of Abdullahi and his brother Muhammad Bello took advantage of the situation to the extent that they became dominant at the expense of their masters. At this stage Muhammad Bello and the Emir of Kano attempted to limit their power by appointing his sons to key positions which were occupied by the royal slaves. The slaves revolted in an attempt to protect the privileges they had acquired.[106]

In addition to that, the departure from the Islamic ideals of the movement manifested itself in the considerable increase in the degree of nepotism and favouratism in the appointment of state officials in the time of Emir Abdullahi. Apart from the permanent sarautu which were reserved exclusively for the various ruling families, all key sarautu other than those occupied by powerful royal slaves, were given either to his sons, who were numerous,[107] or his brothers.[108] In order to meet the increasing demands for sarautu for his children,

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106. Tarikh Arbab, pp.131-2.

107. For the list of some of the sons of Emir Abdullahi who held various sarautu, see Abubakar Dokaji, op.cit., p.58.

108. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.25a.

he created more and more new offices.[109] The programme of establishment of numerous ribats (fortress) throughout Kano during the nineteenth century, a development which reached its height during his time, enabled him to give more and more sarautu of dagachi to his sons, relatives and slaves. By the time of his death in 1882 therefore, the sarauta system had been very well re-established and expanded.

IV. Explanation for the Persistence of the Sarauta System.

From the above discussion it becomes evident that the system evolved after the time of Emir Suleiman was a sarauta rather than Islamic emirate based on the principles of Sharia as the Jihadists envisioned at the beginning of the movement.[110] Apart from the

109. The creation of a sarauta, both before and in the nineteenth century, was not a problem. All it required was to add a prefix "Dan" (son of) to the name of a famous warrior, a learned man, or any mai sarauta who was once famous in Kano. It was therefore easy to create dozens of sarautu at a time.

110. A ruler who deviates from the Shari'a in any way or does not apply the injunctions of the Shari'a is not a Caliph or an Emir but a king or a sarki. For the implications of these definitions, see Bernard Lewis, The Arabs in History, London, Hutchinson & Co., 1970, p.64.

re-introduction of the sarauta system, the rulers of Kano reverted to the practices and policies of the pre-Jihad period which their predecessors seriously criticised as un-Islamic. Such policies and practices were reflected in the kind of leadership, responsibilities of rulers, treatment of subjects and assessment, collection of taxes as well as the expenditure of revenues.

Whatever system[111] the leaders of the Jihadists had in mind, it is clear that basic to it was the hope of upholding the principles of social justice and equality within the framework of the Shari'a among all members of the Kano society. The entertainment of such hopes, however, was bound to be illusory. The ideals which the Jihadists fought for could not operate within the frame-

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111. While a number of scholars like Thomas Hodgkin spoke of the Jihad as "an attempt to restore the original model of the Islamic state as it was believed to have existed in the time of the Prophet and the first four Caliphs", which would in effect have resulted in the establishment of a type of government which Abdullahi Smith described as nomocracy, both Shehu Usman dan Fodio's and his brother Abdullahi's preachings and works which influenced the thinking of many people in the Caliphate, appear to have been coloured by the works on the political and social institutions of the Caliphate of the late Abbasid era. This paved the way for the restoration of the sarauta system.

work of the sarauta system because the system based on heredity could not allow for equality between people and equality of opportunity. This was why the Jihad leaders condemned it before and during the Jihad movement and wars.[112] The system had been based on favouratism[113] and on the assumption of the superiority of a family or families over other fellow human beings.[114] In this all important state offices were permanently entrenched in only about half a dozen families.

The restriction of the major sarautu to only a few families itself was a setback for the political developments in Kano because it created inflexibility in the administrative and political structures of the Emirate. Moreover, it put an end to employment according to merit. Thus people from other social categories within Kasar Kano, other emirates and states, no matter how qualified

112. Usman dan Fodio, Kitab al-Farq, p.567; Tanbih al-Ikhwan (trans. by H.R. Palmer as "An Early Fulani Conception of Islam", J.A.S., vol.XII, p.56); Muhammad Bello, Usul ul-Siyasa, in Shehu Yamusa, op.cit., p.9.

113. This is unlawful in Islam. See Abdullahi dan Fodio, Diya ul-Hukkam, in Shehu Yamusa, op.cit., p.79.

114. Sayed Kotb, Social Justice in Islam (trans. from Arabic by John B. Hardie), Octagon Books, New York, 1970, p.48.

they were, no longer would be employed in the key offices of the Emirate of Kano. Therefore, the pre-Jihad practice of employing people according to their merits, no matter their place of origin, ceased to exist. Hence the cultural cross-fertilisation between the various areas was adversely affected. The various roles of Kanuri, Baghirmi and other immigrants which had been evident in the pre-Jihad period, for instance, declined considerably.

By confining major appointments to offices to a small section of the population, it meant that those recruited might not have been the best qualified persons. Consequently the quality of the administration was adversely affected, and this contributed to the deterioration of the sarauta system in the second half of the nineteenth century.

From the foregoing discussion it becomes clear that the sarauta system, mainly against which the Jihad was launched, was restored, with the exception that a new ruling class replaced the old one. So the objective of the mujaddid and the hopes of the talakawa whose cause they championed were frustrated The failure in realising the aspirations of the talakawa may be attributed to two

reasons:

Firstly there is the problem of the conflict between theory and practice. While the Jihadists, at first, were guided by Islamic ideals, later on the practical problems which faced those who were in power forced them to re-introduce the practices which they had already condemned.[115] This issue is related to the Jihadists' perception of the theory and practice of Islamic government. Contrary to the views of even renowned scholars[116] about the fundamentalism of the Jihadists and the radical nature of their positions and movement, the sources they used to generate their ideas and to conceive their practice of Islamic government were

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115. There was in fact a dispute between Shehu Usman dan Fodio and his brother Abdullahi on the adoption or retention of sarauta titles. While the Shehu consented to their retention, Abdullahi appeared to have favoured their abandonment. See Shehu Yamusa, op.cit., p.29.

116. For instance, Abdullahi Smith believed that the form of government which Shehu Usman dan Fodio envisaged was not monarchy, or theocracy, or aristocracy, but nomocracy (see Abdullahi Smith, "The Ideal of Development Administration: An Historic Perspective", The Journal of Public Affairs, vol.I no.2, May 1971, p.67). See also M. Hiskett, "An Islamic Tradition of Reform in the Western Sudan from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century", B.S.O.A.S., XXV:3, 1962, p.592.

largely based on the works of jurists of the late Abbasid period who were attempting to rationalize existing situations in the Abbasid Caliphate by then rather than giving what the Islamic government ought to be.

From here emanates the theoretical problems of the Jihadists who, while attempting to revive the Muslim society along the lines of the Prophet and his immediate successors, the sources they used were those which sanctioned the practices of Muslim society during the time of its decadence. Such sources were frequently quoted by Shehu Usman dan Fodio and his brother Abdullahi especially in Diya ul-Hukkam, which was written for the guidance of the Jama'a in Kano, and Kitab al-Farq.[117]

The differences between the political and social organisations of the Abbasid and those of the pre-Jihad sarauta system were only a matter of degree. The tyrannical and oppressive rule as well as the corrupt nature of the life of many of the Abbasid rulers and their provincial governors exceeded those of their counterparts in the

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117. M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1965), p.592. For the assessment of some of the Abbasid jurists' works, see H.R.A. Gibb, Studies on the Civilization of Islam (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1969), pp.151-62.

pre-Jihad system of Hausaland.[118] Some of the political thoughts of jurists during the Abbasid era as they were interpreted and adopted by the Jihadists paved the way for the incorporation of the sarauta system in the Caliphate in general and in Kano in particular.

Two examples could illustrate the points being made: the doctrine of privileges and division of responsibility between the rulers and the ruled, a phenomenon which was greatly emphasized especially in the second half of the nineteenth century in Kano, resembled the Abbasid system. This greatly promoted and perpetuated the basis and the feeling of superiority by the ruling class which was predominantly from one ethnic group. This was contrary to the principles of Islam and against principles of equality in Islam as they were preached by the Prophet and upheld by Shehu Usman dan Fodio.[119]

118. Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present (London, Macmillan Press, 10th ed., 1970), Chapter XX, especially pp.231-9; Chapter XXVI, especially pp.352-62; N.A.K., SNP.15/13, Acc.369 A3, Mr. Palmer on Land Tenure in Hausa States with a Marginal Comment by Mr. Gowers; N.A.K., SNP.4055/1912 - Kano Province, Dan Iya Sub-District Assessment Report; ANI (Birni), September 1980.

119. For the idea of equality, see Sayed Kotb, op.cit., pp.45-55, note especially pp.47, 48 and 49; Abdullahi Smith, "The Ideal of Development Administration: An Historic Perspective", p.68.

The advice of Abdullahi dan Fodio to the talakawa to obey even tyrannical rulers[120] may also be traced to the works of the Abbasid jurists. It is surprising that such a call for a blind obedience would come from Abdullahi dan Fodio, as Shehu Usman dan Fodio himself contradicted this stand. To the Shehu loyalty of the subjects to their rulers should depend on the latter's adherence to the stipulations of the Shari'a. So, in such a case, tyranny meant deviation from the Shari'a or its abandonment. Therefore obedience would not be required in the case of a tyrannic ruler.[121]

However, the stand of Abdullahi should be understood in terms of the rebellious situation which prevailed in Kano when he wrote Diya ul-Hukkam. The ideas expressed by Shehu Usman may represent the aspirations of the period of the movement and the high expectation from the rulers after the establishment of the Caliphate. Thus the stands of both Shehu Usman and Abdullahi were dictated by the reality of the situations. And because the situation which they

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120. Shehu Yamusa, op.cit., pp.18, 33.

121. Abdullahi Smith, "The Ideal of Development Administration: An Historic Perspective", p.67.

had faced were in some respects different, their opinions also differed in some accordingly.

Secondly, the persistence of the sarauta system after the Jihad had to do with the problem of nearly all Islamic reform movements since the period after that of the al-Khulafa al-Rashidun (the rightly guided Caliphs). The successive Islamic reformers had always aimed at the elimination of exploitation and oppression of the ruled by the rulers. These social ideals have often failed to materialise simply because the various reform movements which often enjoyed mass support succeeded only in overthrowing the ruling classes they had struggled against but failed in transforming the state structure, institutions and state machinery of control which more often than not they accommodated. By leaving the institutions and structures intact, the new regimes could achieve no more than the substitution of one ruling class with another, with a sprinkling of Islamic practices here and there instead of attaining a complete social transformation. This explains the failure of the Islamic reform movement in changing their societies, hence the endless cycles of "revolutions" and "counter-revolutions".[122]

122. The best examples were: the Abbasid revolution, the Shiites revolutions, the Almoravid and Almohad movements.

An Islamic alternative could only be possible after the creation of an entirely new state in place of that of the sarauta or monarchical state. In order to attain the objective of the creation of an egalitarian society which is widely advocated in Islam it is essential to introduce and establish an entirely new mode of production that will make it possible to establish a new type of productive relations which would enable the entire society to control all factors of production for the use of its entire members. Any change which falls short of this will only produce a temporary effect.

The Jihad in Kano offers a good example of a revolution which failed to transform the pre-existing system. What the members of the Jama'a succeeded in doing was the removal of sarki Muhammadu Alwali and the other masu sarauta leaving intact the very well-established state structures and institutions which had been in existence for centuries. The relations of production and control of the forces of production were left unchanged. These two factors had been essential to the failure of the Jama'a to achieve the social ideals they had hoped to attain. The scramble for sarautu which involved bribery and

corruption,[123] especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, was due to the fact that all the appointed officers derived a lot of wealth and power from the sarautu which they had virtually purchased. Therefore, it would not be surprising to find that, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, the state officials used their positions for personal gains at the expense of the talakawa. In this process they exploited all sources of state power: judicial, military and fiscal.

V. State Institutions and the Subjugation of the Talakawa in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century:

With the systematic policy of re-introduction of the sarauta system by Emir Ibrahim Dabo, many of the pre-Jihad hierarchy of the sarauta institutions had been restored by the end of his period. This had a considerable effect on the means and ways by which the masu sarauta manipulated state judicial, military and fiscal powers to subjugate the talakawa and to promote their interests as a ruling class.

Although it is difficult to assess the extent to

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123. Imam Imoru, "Succession to Kingship - Nada Sarauta", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.224.

which Islamic jurisprudence permeated the judicial life of the Kano society in the nineteenth century, it would appear that courts of different levels spread all over the Emirate. Apart from the Caliphal court in Sokoto there were the Emir's and Alkali's courts in the birni as well as other Alkali courts in the garuruwa. However, very little is known about the operation of the judiciary at the level of the villages. It seems that the dagatai and masu unguwa judged cases and settled disputes. The increase in the number of courts would indicate either the willingness of the ruling class to establish justice among their subjects or it reflects the widespread grievances. It could also point to the attempt by the ruling class to use the judicial system to control their subjects. It seems that the latter was the case when the procedure, operation of the judicial system, the type of cases to which attention was paid and the frequent occurrence of abuse of the judicial system by the judges are examined.

The judiciary operated at four main levels: the gari's, the Alkali of the birni, the Emir's and the Caliph's courts in Sokoto. The Alkali of Kano's court and that of the Emir judged the bulk of the main cases. The division of responsibility between the Alkali's and the

Emir's courts was determined by the nature and seriousness of the cases. While the Alkali's court decided cases dealing with relatively minor matters such as debt, marriage and disruption of trade and business transactions, the Emir's court normally dealt with more serious cases such as those of murder, highway robbery, tyranny and corruption among state officials. Appeals from the village courts were entertained by the court of Alkali of Kano. Appeals from the court of Alkali of Kano went to that of the Emir.

It was generally said that the Emir's judgement was always impartial "because the king [Emir] does not get bribes (toshi)".[124] However, this impartiality should be seen in the light of the cases which the Emir normally dealt with. He particularly dealt ruthlessly with thieves, highway robbers, rebels and spies.[125] All these cases were related to the maintenance of peace and order, the preservation of the status quo and serving the interest of socially dominant groups. It should be noted that, at least in theory, the judgement of the Emir was not final.

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124. Imam Imoru, "Jurisprudence - Shari'a", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.237.

125. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., pp.22b, 25b.

People had the right to appeal to the Caliph's court in Sokoto. Indeed a number of people did travel to Sokoto to appeal against the Emir's verdict.[126]

The Alkali's court in the birni served the same purpose of maintaining peace and order so as to serve the interest of the ruling class. Thus the Alkali's court in the birni was regarded with suspicion by the talakawa. It seems that some of the Emirs either to polish their image in the eyes of the talakawa or to contain their discontent in the society, executed several of Alkalai for corruption and misdeeds. The case of Emir Abdullahi is a good example.[127]

As has already been indicated, the sarauta system had an adverse effect on the application of the Shari'a. The erection of barriers between the Emirs and the people by the Kofa and other courtiers and the elaborate etiquette of the court which was very strictly observed, made it very difficult for the talakawa to have access to the Emirs.[128] Generally the talakawa often shunned the

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126. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

127. Imam Imoru, "Jurisprudence - Shari'a, in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.237.

128. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.525.

court. However persons who were seriously aggrieved often tried to gain access to the Emirs, sometimes going to the palace for sixty[129] days without being attended to. Those who were desperate often resorted to crying out during Friday prayers, saying: "King /Ëmir/ help me because of God and his Prophet".[130] It was at such a stage that such a complainant would be attended to. This, however, required considerable courage and patience on the part of any complainant. Many others would simply resign to their fate and hope for redress "in the hereinafter". Therefore the judicial system, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, was not serving the interest of the common people whose cause the Jihadists championed.

Similarly the military, as in the pre-Jihad period, was more effectively used in the maintenance of internal security rather than in checking external aggression. In spite of the fact that the Emirate of Kano had, by the 1820's the finest army in the Caliphate,[131] and by the

129. Imam Imoru, "Jurisprudence - Shari'a", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.238.

130. ibid., p.240.

131. H. Clapperton, Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo, London, Frank Cass, 1966, p.182.

1850's could easily mobilise from 7,000 to 10,000 horsemen and 20,000 foot soldiers[132] at any given time and the numerous ribats (fortresses) which were constructed throughout Kasar Kano in the nineteenth century, Kano's enemies, especially the Ningawa, the Damagaramawa (people from Damagaram) and the Maradawa (people from Maradi) led by the deposed Hausa king of Katsina or his descendants, often raided Kasar Kano, sometimes penetrating as far as the walls of the birni or its neighbourhood, taking back to their bases people, livestock and movable properties. Some of the Emirs of Kano, however, tried to contain the raids. In some cases their failure to check the raids was due to the element of surprise. Nevertheless, the policy of the establishment of the ribats proved to be more useful in checking the raids.

The ribats were initially inhabited by military personnel whose main task was the protection of the towns and their satelite villages. Due to their pre-occupation with purely military activities, these military personnel received adequate formal training regularly. Emir Abdullahi, for example, was particularly noted for training his army. He often divided his horsemen into

132. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.523.

different groups, sometimes lining them up in single files, each rider carrying a gun and engaging one another in a mock battle and tactical manoeuvre. Archers and infantrymen were similarly trained.[133] In order to have a steady supply of guns, he established a workshop and recruited skilled craftsmen for the purpose.[134] Among the craftsmen he recruited was one Sambarta whom he brought all the way from Agades.[135] Sambarta was eventually made the head of blacksmiths of Kasar Kano.

For the sustenance of the much expanded sarauta system, much revenue was required. Like all or almost all other aspects of pre-Jihad, political and administrative institutions, all forms of taxation were restored fully. The only difference was the increase in the number of people exempted. While the number was limited in the pre-Jihad period, in this period the number increased considerably because of large number of the ruling class and the social dominant group. Most of the taxes levied were part of those stipulated by Muslim jurists as extra Shari'a

133. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.26b.

134. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

135. C.H. Greenhill, op.cit., p.70.

taxes against which the Jihadists revolted. This was also true of the discriminatory policies adopted in the assessment[136] and collection of taxes including the zakkat. Similarly the exemption of the influential people from the payment of taxes, including zakkat, was also a major deviation from the established Islamic principles.[137]

VI. Crystalisation of Classes in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century:

Arising directly from the developments which had been taking place, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, was the crystalisation of classes in the society. While it is true that classes had existed in the society of Kano for centuries, it must be noted that intra- and inter-class distinctions became much sharper especially from the second half of the nineteenth century.

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136. The method of the assessment of zakkat based on estimation of crops still growing in the fields by the dagatai and other officials as well as the method by which the zakkat was disbursed or distributed, constituted a major deviation from the principles of taxation based on the Shari'a. See T.H. Baldwin (ed. & trans.), The Obligations of Princes: An Essay on Moslem Kingship by Sheikh Mohammed al-Maghili of Tlemsen, Bevrouth-Leban, Imprimerie Catholique, 1932, pp.16-17.

137. M. Hiskett, op.cit.(1973), p.143.

Before the nineteenth century, with the exception of the sarauta of Sarkin Kano, and probably those of sarakuna of the major garuruwa (towns), access to which was solely or mainly based on birth, most of the other sarautu were open to all members of the society according to merit. Achievement rather than ascription was a major criterion for access to sarauta. In the nineteenth century, however, access to sarautu even for learned people had virtually been closed due to the entrenchment of the various sarautu in a few families.

Broadly there were three major classes in the society. There were the masu sarauta (ruling class) - the rich attajirai who included some ulema belonged to this class -, the talakawa (commoners), and slaves. In terms of privileges, power or wealth, each class consisted of sub-groups. Each of the classes had their peculiar attributes. While those on the top of the society (the ruling class) enjoyed a lot of wealth, power and high status, those at the bottom were rendered powerless.[138]

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138. In their claims to higher rank, the ruling class, especially the princes, forbade the talakawa from using certain dresses and horse-riding equipment. (See Imam Imoru, "Sewing - Dumki", in D.E. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 213)

(1) The Ruling Class.

(a) The Emir.

At the apex of the society was the Emir of Kano. Generally the Emirs of Kano were believed to have exercised more power over their subjects than any other Emir throughout Hausaland in the nineteenth century.[139] Consequently, "the people of Kano fear their King /Emir/ very much. When he speaks everybody trembles. Everybody young and old is afraid and does whatever he says".[140] This overwhelming power of the Emirs reflects the grip of the sarauta system on the society. All the categories of masu sarauta, acting as the agents of the Emirs, also exercised and enjoyed considerable power. The increase in the power of the Emirs of Kano was a consequence of the Jihad and the developments related to it. These included the military campaigns, religious propaganda, the wealth at the disposal of the rulers, an increase in the rate of urbanisation and the tremendous increase in the prosperity of Kano during this period.

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139. Imam Imoru, "The Lands of the Hausa People - Kasashen Hausa", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.146,224; ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

140. Imam Imoru, ibid., p.146.

(i) The Military Campaigns and Centralisation.

The military campaigns which were undertaken during the Jihad wars, especially those undertaken in the course of putting down the rebellions which broke out in the time of Emir Ibrahim Dabo, resulted in the political integration of the semi-autonomous or the hitherto independent territories into Kasar Kano. These included Kano, Dutse Gadawur, Karaye, Gaya, Birnin Kudu, and Fagam. After suppressing the revolts in many of these areas as well as others, and deposing their rulers, Ibrahim Dabo adopted a policy of appointing rulers who were loyal to him in the newly subjugated territories. This brought in a strong element of centralisation into the system. In cases of territories which had been apparently independent of Kano before the Jihad, a policy of balkanisation was adopted so as to ensure that such territories could not re-assert their independence or autonomy. When Emir Suleiman conquered Fagam, for instance, he divided the territory into a number of administrative units and appointed rulers to take charge of each of them.[141]

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141. Tarikh Arbab, p.128.

The procedure which was followed in taking over power from the pre-Jihad rulers also gave the Emirs opportunities to strengthen their control over the sarakuna of garuruwa and dagatai. All members of the Jama'a who took over power in the towns and villages had to declare their loyalty to the Emir of Kano. These officials were made to understand that they ruled their respective territories under the authority of the Emir. The consequences of insubordination were so severe that few of such officials contemplated on it, especially in view of the "scorched earth" policy implemented by Emir Ibrahim Dabo in dealing with rebellious officials and towns.

With the political integration of such territories the military might of Kano increased. The sarakuna of the garuruwa and their armed forces, for instance those of Kano,[142] came under the command of the Emir of Kano.

(ii) The Use of Religion as an Instrument of Intimidation Against Opponents.

Being learned, some of the Emirs and the court ulema continually dished out religious propaganda to the people calling on them to condemn those who questioned the

142. Tarikh Arbab, p.131.

legality of the actions of the Jama'a and their decendants. "Anyone who will hurt them by ugly words or deeds /he/ will be like a person who hurt the companions of the Prophet and most likely /he/ will be like those who would be going to Hell. The Prophet, peace be upon Him, said that 'my umma (community) will not be ruined except when the last generation would condemn the first one'".[143] Whoever questioned the legality of the actions of the rulers was regarded as murtad (apostate) and was to be treated as such; in accordance with the injunctions of the Shari'a.[144] Islamic scholars' views on the treatment of apostates vary but the majority of them appear to suggest death as the appropriate punishment for apostasy as well as confiscation of property. These punishments, especially in view of the elements of abuse involved in the case of their application in Kano, were severe enough to force opponents to toe the line of the rulers.

Frequent calls were made by the rulers, to their subjects that war against rebels was a jihad. The prospects for acquiring ghanima or sarautu or both as a

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143. Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.31b.

144. ibid., p.20b.

result of participation in such a jihad against rebels enabled the rulers to mobilise large number of people to support their regimes.

The rulers of Kano found it easy to use religion as an instrument for controlling their subjects largely because this policy was in consonance with some of the writings and policies of both Abdullahi dan Fodio and Muhammad Bello, which emphasized obedience to rulers as one of the most important obligations of the subjects.[145] Emir Ibrahim Dabo who faced the most serious rebellions quoted the verses of the Qur'an and Prophetic traditions in order to stress the importance of loyalty to rulers.[146]

(iii) The Enormous Wealth at the Disposal of the Rulers.

The relationship between wealth and power is obvious. A ruler who commands a lot of resources and uses them wisely and effectively to promote his interest

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145. For Abdullahi dan Fodio's, see Shehu Yamusa, op.cit., pp.18, 33. In the case of Muhammad Bello, he appears to have used Mahdism to rally the support of people for his regime especially during critical periods. See M.A. Al-Hajj, The Mahdist Tradition in Northern Nigeria, Ph.D. thesis, A.B.U., 1973, pp.86-93.

146. See Muhammad Salih, op.cit., p.20b.

is in a much better position to wield greater power than one who does not command similar resources. Emir Ibrahim Dabo, for example, was able to crush the various revolts which broke out against him and was able to emerge as a powerful ruler because of the effective way in which he used the resources at his disposal. He acquired a lot of gold, silver, jewelry, cowries, slaves and other commodities from the rich towns such as Rano and Dambatta which he sacked.[147] With such resources and the revenue from taxation he was able to engage the services of able people whom he employed as spies, soldiers, dogarai, scribes, judges and advisers, etc. With his wealth and military power, he was able to restore the sarauta system.

It is to be pointed out that the very large numbers of military personnel stationed in the numerous ribats throughout Kasar Kano whose main work was defence of the territory and not engaging in any economic activity, had to be sustained by the state. Those of them who were stationed in the strategic ribats like Babura had to be fed with grains and foodstuffs which were taken there from the birni.[148] With such large military as well as

147. See Muhammad Salih, op.cit., pp.21b, 22a.

148. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

civilian perscel at his disposal, the Emir's authority in Kano was cosiderably enhanced. Since most of these processes weraccomplished by Ibrahim Dabo, it is significant to notethat he is regarded as the father or the founder of Kan[149] rather than Suleiman who was the first Emir of the Jihad and who at the sametime struggled to establish an slamic state based on the Jihadists' ideals.

The enorous wealth of the rulers was used in a different wayto enhance their power by granting gifts and presents to influential people. Generosity has always been an importantfeature of the sarauta system. It was even a matter of neessity. It promoted good relations between the various ategories of masu sarauta. For the Emirs it helped in mantaining their power, and for the princes who were also hdding sarautu, it was a necessary investment for future use in their competition for the throne. A rich and generous ruler had always been popular with his subordinates. He often used his wealth to manipulate critical political situations against his opponents as well as his enemies. On the other hand, a ruler who did

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149. Kano is widely and popularly referred to as "Kano ta Dabo (Kano of Dabo)".

not distribute presents and patronage generously was always unpopular and stood the risk of losing his throne through intrigues.

The rulers of Kano also used the resources at their disposal to ingratiate themselves with the Caliphs at Sokoto. The annual presents sent from Kano to Sokoto appeared to have been designed to mollify the Caliphs.[150] Such presents consisted of one hundred horses, fifteen thousand tobes of various patterns, ten thousand turbans and several other miscellaneous articles.[151] This partly enabled them to get the Caliphs to consent to their request for greater authority to govern the territory under their jurisdiction. The Emirs of Kano enjoyed more privileges and much greater degree of autonomy than any other Emirs in the Caliphate. It seems that some of the Caliphs often turned a blind eye to the excesses of some of the Emirs of Kano.[152]

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150. Imam Imoru, "The Land of the Hausa People - Kasashen Hausa", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.144; Alan Frishman, op.cit., p.225.

151. C.H. Robinson, op.cit., p.105.

152. The Caliphs are said to have accepted the claims of the Emirs of Kano that they needed more powers than the other Emirs because the people of Kano "are difficult to control" - ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

(iv) Urbanisation and the Increase in Number of Masu Sarauta.

The continuing processes of urbanisation which had been taking place in Kasar Kano for centuries, reached its height in the nineteenth century. It would seem that many more towns and villages were established in Kano in the nineteenth century than in any of the earlier centuries. This was due to the unprecedented sedentarisation of the Fulani, the establishment of new towns and settlements in the form of ribats and the economic prosperity which attracted people from many parts of the Central Sudan and beyond. People also immigrated into Kasar Kano in large groups during this period due to the unsettling political situations in other neighbouring Emirates and states such as Damagaram, Borno, and Hadejia.

Urbanisation promoted the increase in the authority of the Emirs and hence the degree of centralisation. The emergence of numerous new towns and settlements in all parts of Kano resulted in the increase in the number of masu sarauta. Since most of these new rulers were either military officers in charge of the ribats or slaves of the Emir of Kano,[153] it meant that the number of the rulers who

153. Denham, Dixon & others, op.cit., p.27.

were supposed to be completely loyal to the Emirs increased tremendously. These new rulers, whose towns and settlements were strategically located in all parts of Kano, also served as spies against other rulers, especially those of the older towns. This had the effect of increasing the powers of the Emirs in relation to all sarakuna of garuruwa, hence increasing centralisation.

Urbanisation itself sharpened the distinction between social groups in Kano. It was in the urban areas that people were made conscious of their status. Distinctions of rank and status were marked by the size and splendour of the residences of the members of the ruling class in relation to those of the talakawa, by distinctions of dress and patterns of consumption, ownership of prestigeous goods and patterns of behaviour. All these had opposite effects. While it made the members of the ruling class more assertive about their status in society, it on the other hand made the talakawa more submissive to the rulers, especially the Emirs.

(b) Other Groups Within the Ruling Class and Their Privileges.

As indicated earlier, all categories of the members of the ruling class, but especially the masu sarauta, had considerable power. The masu sarauta were organised in a hierchical order. Under the Emir were the holders of the sarauta of "Kofa". These were followed by the hakimai who were of royal descent (princes) or from the various Jama'a families or other notable families. The former exercised more power than the latter two groups. Princes, holders of sarautu or otherwise, often tended to be more arrogant and quite a number of them abused their power by harassing the talakawa and sometimes petty attajirai, by demanding such things as rams, horses, slaves[154] and other things they might have wished to have. The hakimai were followed in the hierarchy by the dagatai and then lastly the masu unguwa.

But there were also other members of the ruling class who could not fit into this clean cut categorisation. These included the court ulema and the rich attajirai.

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154. A. Patton, The Ningi Chiefdom and the African Frontier: Mountaineers and Resistance to the Sokoto Caliphate, ca.1800-1908, Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1975, p.146.

Both groups owned large estates and participated actively and invested their capital in commercial transactions particularly in long distance trade. These endeavours made their alliance with the masu sarauta a necessity.

In line with the recommendations of both Abdullahi dan Fodio and Muhammad Bello, that Emirs should have around them learned men to assist in directing the rulers along the Islamic principles of the Jihad, the Emirs of Kano gathered around them large numbers of ulema. Although their function was to advise the Emirs and other officials to carry out their duties in accordance with the Shari'a, many of these ulema, due to their pursuit of material comfort, failed to perform their anticipated functions.[155] Some of them were concerned with the acquisition of expensive and elegant dresses, decorated saddles and other horse trappings. Generally the court ulema had nothing to do with the talakawa who feared them.[156] The malaman kirgi often regarded the court ulema

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155. They were more concerned with receiving gifts rather than advising Emir Usman to uphold the Shari'a. See Tarikh Arbab, p.130.

156. Imam Imoru, "The Literati - Mallamai", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.227.

as fadawa (courtiers) "who are not God-fearing".[157] Some of the rich attajirai were given sarautu such as those of Ma'aji (treasurer),[158] and others were very influen ial in the appointment of the Emirs and in deposing others in order to protect their vested interests.[159] Hence they were able to increase their accumulated wealth. In order to show how influential they were it is sufficient to mention that some of them maintained their para-military forces as their personal bodyguards. Such was the case of Alarama of Bebeji.[160]

All members of the ruling class enjoyed a number of privileges. The degree and type of privileges they enjoyed, however, differed from one category to another. Those of them who were from the families of the Jama'a, in addition

157. However, Imam Imoru stressed that "there are, indeed, God-fearing men among them". It would appear therefore that the majority of them were not "God-fearing". Being regarded as fadawa, it meant that they told the Emirs only the things that would please the latter and were therefore not being frank and truthful.

158. P.L. Monteil, op.cit., p.272.

159. ibid., p.272; Muhammadu Uba Adamu, "Some Notes on the Influence of North African Traders in Kano", Kano Studies, vol.I no.4, 1968, pp.45, 46.

160. MM (Bebeji), July 1980.

to other privileges, enjoyed the privilege of holding their sarautu on hereditary basis. The Emirs of Kano, except in special circumstances, like the situation which arose during the civil war of the 1890's, had no power to depose an official who was from the Jamaa's families without prior clearance with Sokoto. If an official from such a family had to be deposed, his sarauta had to be given either to his son, brother or a close relative.[161]

All categories of the ruling class had access to the labour of talakawa either on the gandaven sarautu or in the form of building and maintaining the walls and houses of the masu sarauta. The talakawa were also often called upon on individual basis to perform certain tasks for the masu sarauta. However, in the case of attajirai the exploitation of the labour of the talakawa would be in an indirect from, such as through gayya (communal labour). Also all the members of the ruling class were exempted from all forms of taxation.[162]

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161. ANI (Birni), September 1980.

162. NAK, SNP.3272/1909 - Assessment Report, Rano District; SNP.7/10, 5570/1909 - Kano Province, Assessment 1909-10; Sarkin Dawakin Tsakkar Gidda and Gummel; SNP.7, 4055/1912 - Kano Province, Dan Iya Sub-District Assessment Report; ANI (Birni), March-April 1979.

Although the members of the masu sarauta had always enjoyed many privileges in the society even before the nineteenth century, the phenomenon of privileges took a new dimension in the nineteenth century. This had a lot to do with the performance of the Hijra and participation in the Jihad. The descendants of the members of the Jama'a adopted a position similar to that claimed by the Arabs in the Umayyad Caliphate when they claimed to be a ruling class and other members of the society were to serve them.

(2) The Talakawa.

The talakawa consisted mainly of peasants, artisans and petty attajirai. The latter sometimes succeeded in avoiding the payment of taxes and performing corvee labour.[163] As all the members of the ruling class were not paying taxes, the burden of taxation and corvee labour fell largely on the talakawa. Due to the great demands for their labour for building and maintenance of the ribats and other towns as well as the provision of labour on the gandayen sarautu and those for attajirai, they had less

163. ANI (Birni), March-April 1979; NAK, SNP.3272/1909 - Assessment Report, Kano District.

time left to attend to their own occupations. In addition, the high rate of assessment on farm produce, mainly in the form of zakka, rendered quite a number of the talakawa as matsiyata (poverty-stricken).[164] It is important to mention that Kasar Kano, which was noted for its prosperity, had one of the largest concentration of poverty-stricken and disease-ridden people in Hausaland in the nineteenth century.[165] Therefore the few were enjoying that prosperity at the expense of the actual producers. Thus in the second half of the nineteenth century the situation was similar to that which warranted the Jihad movement.

(3) The Slaves.

The lowest group in the social hierarchy was the slaves, who had no access to state institutions. It is impossible to know the exact number of slaves in Kasar Kano during this period. From the different questionable estimates made by the various European travellers in the nineteenth century and the figures obtained from other

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164. Imam Imoru, "The Land of the Hausa People - Kasashen Hausa", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.145.

165. ibid., p.145.

internal sources, the number of slaves found in Kano during this time may be roughly estimated.

The first estimate is provided by Clapperton who said that the Birni's population ranged between 30,000 and 40,000 inhabitants, about half of this population were slaves.[166] If all the major towns and settlements in Kano had similar ratios as the Birni, it would mean that half of the population of Kasar Kano consisted of slaves. Such a conclusion may not be for fetched since many of the slaves would be in the country-side where agricultural estates were located. The same ratio was reported by Barth. He estimated the population of Kasar Kano during this time at 200,000 free people "with an equal number of slaves".[167]

By the last decade of the nineteenth century, it would seem that the number of the slaves had exceeded that

166. Denham, Dixon & others, op.cit., p. 39.

167. Alan Frishman, op.cit., p.225. I have failed to trace the figures in the available works of H. Barth. The figures of 200,000 for the population of free men (and an addition of 200,000 for the slaves), however, should be regarded as too low in view of the fact that the population of the birni alone was estimated at between 40,000 and 60,000 people. It must be noted that there were many towns and settlements which had large populations.

of free people, to the extent that "In Kano the population of free people does not form one-fifth of the entire population of the town".[168] However, Robinson estimated three years later, the population of slaves in the Birni just over half of that of the free people, while he considered the Birni's population to be 100,000.[169] The significance of these figures lies much more in the idea about the number of slaves that existed in the society of Kano in the nineteenth century than in their accuracy. Based on these ratios which appear to be consistent, it is reasonable to believe that slaves formed a substantial part of the population of the society of Kano throughout the nineteenth century.

Such conclusion is justified because the members of the ruling class owned large numbers of slaves. Some of the individual masu sarautu had as many as 1,000 slaves.[170] The members of the ruling class were able to acquire so

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166. P.L. Monteil, op.cit., p.287. He suggested that the population of the slaves in all towns exceeded that of free people. This is an exaggeration.

169. C.H. Robinson, op.cit., p.113.

170. Imam Imoru, "Slavery - Bauta", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.233.

many slaves because while those of them who held sarautu and therefore participated actively in military expeditions and raids acquired the slaves freely, others, especially the very rich attajirai, obtained the slaves at very cheap prices from their fellow members of the ruling class, that is the masu sarauta.[171] Cooperation in this regard between the members of the ruling class was to their own mutual benefit. The masu sarautu found this as one of the ways of accumulating wealth. They therefore found it convenient to channel their commodities for sale through the rich attajirai. The latter found their economic relation with the holders of sarautu beneficial because while they acquired the commodities at cheap prices from the holders of sarautu, they made high profit on the same commodities in their commercial transactions both within and outside Kano. Also they sold imported commodities to holders of sarautu at inflated prices.

By exploiting the different situations, the attajirai accumulated large numbers of slaves. While the middle level attajirai owned from 100 to 500 slaves, the leading ones like Kaushe and Kundila owned 1,000 or

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171. Ali (Birnin Kudu), 6/2/79.

more.[172] Kundila accumulated so many slaves that he did not know their number.[173] It is important to point out that slavery was a common phenomenon in the society of Kano in the nineteenth century that even some of the talakawa, especially the traders, also owned a few slaves.

The source of many of the slaves was Kasar Kano itself and its border regions, especially those to the south-east. The Jihad wars and those launched against the rebellious towns were the most important sources of slaves, in the early part of the nineteenth century.[174] A first-hand information on the massive nature of the enslavement of people in Kano was provided by Clapperton who passed through Kasar Kano during or soon after the period of crushing the revolts during Ibrahim Dabo's era.[175]

The rulers also launched series of expeditions to the south-eastern parts of Kano throughout the century partly to keep the Ningawa in check and partly in order to

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172. Imam Imoru, "Slavery - Bauta", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.233.

173. F. Edgar, op.cit., p.66.

174. For an idea of the number of slaves acquired in the course of the Jihad wars, see Muhammad Salih, op.cit., pp.10a, 19a, 19b, 21a, 21b and 22a.

175. Dixon, Denham & others, op.cit., pp.28, 29.

acquire slaves. During one of the military expeditions launched by Emir Abdullahi, he acquired so many captives that "Kano was filled with slaves from Warji".[176] The Ningawa were also sometimes trapped in Kano territory during their frequent raids. In 1855, for example, the Ningawa were so successfully surrounded and caught up in the area of Kano that even women were able to take prisoners.[177] They also met a similar fate in the area of Gaya.[178]

In the second half of the nineteenth century external trade became one of the most important sources of slaves in Kasar Kano, particularly from the Upper Benue and Central African areas.[179]

Male slaves were often given opportunity to emancipate themselves by paying to their masters some amount of money, often instalmentally. As soon as a slave had completed paying the money, a document was issued to him

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176. Tarikh Arbab, p.130.

177. Kano District Notebook.

178. KMA (Gaya), 21/12/78.

179. E.R. Flegel, op.cit., pp.1-22.

to certify that he had become a free man. Both slaves who were freed in this way and those who were voluntarily freed by their masters either for the good services rendered by the slaves or for the "sake of Allah", were issued with certificates at special ceremonies where a number of people who served as witnesses had to be in attendance. The slave's name would then be changed to that of a free man "for the names of the enslaved and free men are different and his name as a free man is /then/ written on the paper".[18] It was only then that the slave was accepted as a member of the free community.

Young captives were often assimilated into the families of their masters. As a sign of their inferior status, however, the young slaves were always called kane (younger brother) or kanwa (younger sister) by the children of "mother" regardless of their actual ages.[181] Slave girls were never given any opportunity to emancipate themselves. They continued to work in their masters' fields or performed other functions for him even while

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180. J. Greenberg, The Influence of Islam on a Sudanese Religion, London, U.V.P., 1946, p.16.

181. Imam Imoru, "Slavery - Bauta", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.229.

they were married and living in their husbands' houses. The husbands of such slaves received only sexual rights. Their economic services were retained permanently by their masters. If a male slave and a female slave who had the same master got married to one another, their children became the master's cucunawa (children of slaves). These cucunawa remained slaves. If they had different masters, the owner of the female slave owned the child or children produced by such slaves.[182]

Contrary to the views expressed by H. Barth,[183] the social positions and conditions of most slaves who were not members of the ruling class in the society was appalling. "People had nothing but contempt for slaves. The slaves suffer: people look at slaves as worthless creatures, they do not consider them as human beings and treat them harshly".[184]

The slaves, however, particularly in the nineteenth

182: Imam Imoru, "Slavery - Bauta", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.230.

183. H. Barth, op.cit., vol.I, p.527.

184. Imam Imoru, "Slavery - Bauta", in D.E. Ferguson, op.cit., p.230.

century, constituted an important factor in the economy of Kano. Slaves performed a variety of vital roles in the various aspects and sectors of the economy, as it will be discussed in the next chapter. Their role in agricultural and livestock production was particularly significant.

From this stratification of the society, the rights and duties, privileges and deprivations, and the manner of treatment of the groups according to their social class, the logical conclusion would be that the society of Kasar Kano, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, was one of extremes. The successors of the Jihadists perpetuated the evils that the Jihadists had attempted to wipe out. This development would be better understood with a careful comparative examination of the economy in Kasar Kano in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.