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The fifteenth and sixteenth century west-east migrations were the activity of pre-Malinke peoples, and this accounts for the survival of languages of the Vai-Huela group at the two extremities. The identification of Bego with Bondoukou and the BĪT of the Tarikh es-Soudan is untenable and should be rejected. The presence of Mande in the Elmina region around 1500 can quite well be accounted for by the existence of the eastern movement.

There is a pressing need to carry out excavations which should decide between the two possible theories. In any case, Ivor Wilks has brought out to the full the significance of the northern factor in Ashanti history.

The Abbron provide a means of coordinating the chronology of the north with that of the Agni and Baoule. The systematic recording of traditions has meant that Agni and Baoule history can be accurately related to the better-known history of the Ashanti, for which Ivor Wilks has recently provided precise dates.

Farther south the age-set system among the so-called 'lagoon' peoples has proved of great value, making it possible to piece together an absolute and reliable chronology from the early eighteenth century onwards.

West of the Bandama, where investigation is only just getting under way, traditions are meagre and fragmentary in the stateless societies. However, patrilineal genealogies are very well preserved and should provide the basis of a reconstruction of population movements at least as far back as the eighteenth century.

So far oral traditions have formed by far the major source. Only certain aspects have been thoroughly covered. Intensive work has been proceeding on some groups for three years, and every effort is being made to get an overall view. The recording of these traditions should become increasingly intensive in the coming years.

Failing the discovery of new documents, which is hardly to be expected, it then only remains to start on the systematic excavation of archaeological sites. These sites are now being logged.

14. THE BEGINNINGS OF HAUSA SOCIETY, A.D. 1000-1500

M. G. SMITH

THE Hausa of Northern Nigeria and Niger evidently have a long history, much of which is obscure. Arab travellers who visited these peoples during the European middle ages left important notes. Local chronicles supply additional data which can be checked with one another and against the chronicles of nearby states. Linguistic analyses yield other evidence of contacts between certain groups. Archaeological discoveries on the borders of Hausaland suggest certain hypotheses. Historical inquiries by administrative officers have added a mass of details about particular local and descent groups. Several scholarly officials have devoted years of careful study to these various bodies of data, debating and refining chronologies and hypotheses. There are also widespread oral traditions and the more specialized information of old courtiers and Hausa savants. Studies of Hausa institutions are also of value for the light they shed on Hausa history. Studies of the institutional structure of large states which border on Hausa also illuminate this history. I shall draw on these various bodies of data to sketch the outline of Hausa development during the 'Dark Age of Hausaland' which may be said to end with the fifteenth century. The account presented here is both a selective synthesis and an interpretation. Its tentative nature is evident and should always be kept in mind. It includes numerous extrapolations which may be of use as hypotheses, but cannot be regarded as facts.

Today the Hausa occupy the rolling savannah country between $10\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ North, and 4° and 10° East. Their original territory was much smaller, extending perhaps between 7° and 10° East. Hausa country lies in a distinctive climatic zone in which cereals and cattle thrive and animal transport is highly efficient. The economy has long been primarily

agricultural; but the long dry season encourages craft production, trading and travel.

Hausa, who may now number about 6 million souls, speak a Chado-Hamitic language which has affinities with the tongues of the Kotoko, Yedina, Mubi and Musgu in the Chad basin further east.¹ Widespread traditions point to a wave of immigration into this area from the east during the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. The immigrants may have included Hamitic-speaking Negroes from the Chad basin as well as Berbers pushed south and west by Arab pressure.²

The common Hausa myth of origin relates the westward flight of one Bayajidda from Bagdad to (Kanem) Bornu, already the dominant state in the Chad basin. The Mai of Bornu gave Bayajidda his daughter, the Magira, as wife, but deprived him of his followers. Bayajidda fled west in fear of the Mai, leaving his wife at Biram-ta-Gabas to bear him a son. At Gaya near Kano, he met some blacksmiths who made him a knife at his direction. Further north he came to a town whose people were deprived of access to water by a great snake known as *sarki* (chief). He slew the snake with his sword, and watered his thirsty mount. In reward, the queen of the village, Daura, married him, and also gave him a Gwari concubine. By Daura, Bayajidda had a son called Bawo, and another, called Karbogari (Town-seizer) by the concubine. He ruled Daura's people until he died, and was then succeeded by Bawo. Bawo in turn had six sons, three sets of twins, who became the rulers of Kano and Rano, Katsina and Zazzau (Zaria), Gobir and Daura. With Biram, which was ruled by Bayajidda's issue born of the Bornu princess, these six states formed the Hausa *bakwai*, the seven Hausa states. Karbogari's issue also established another seven states, namely, Kebbi, Zamfara, Gwari (Birnin Gwari?), Jukun, Yoruba (Oyo?), Nupe and Yauri. These latter formed the *banza bakwai*, the bastard, worthless or non-Hausa states. Thus the Hausa myth of origin is also a myth of the origin of nearby non-Hausa societies.

It seems probable that the immigrants mentioned in this

¹ Lukas, 1936 and 1939.

² Palmer, 1928, Vol. III, pp. 74-6, 95-6, 134-7.

myth introduced certain cultural traits, such as animal transport, well-digging, and perhaps the use of knives and swords.³ They probably followed different water-courses on their westward journey,⁴ and may have entered Hausaland at different places and times.⁵ It is not unlikely that they differed among themselves in race, dialect and various cultural features. The Hausa known to history and ethnology are descended from the union of these immigrant settlers with native peoples.

Much of Hausaland at this period was sparsely populated bush.⁶ In some areas the immigrants established separate communities.⁷ In others, such as Daura, they ruled the autochthonous peoples. They interbred with natives by marriage and concubinage, and may have introduced the principle of patrilineal descent in certain areas. Settlements with a mixed population of natives and immigrants, such as Daura's community, might thus contain several ethnic types and social strata.

Some idea of the local diversity which developed in this context of migration and mixture may be gained by comparing the narrative of Kano's foundation with the tale of Daura, Bayajidda, and the snake. At Dalla rock in Kano lived Barbushe, the priest of a spirit who dwelt in a sacred tree and received sacrifices of goats, fowls and dogs from his worshippers. These people, the Abagiyawa, as they are still called in Kano, already possessed the arts of brewing beer, archery, drumming, and of mining, smelting and working of iron. They obtained salt, perhaps natron, from Awar. They were organized in local patrilineal groups, each with its own head or chief, and distinguished by some special trait or skill.⁸ Well-digging, cotton, cloth-working, dyeing, leather-working and trade were

³ Ibid., pp. 134-7. See also photographs of Bayajidda's knife and sword, taken in 1958, by courtesy of the Emir of Daura, Alhaji Abdurrahman, C.B.E.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 138, 144-5. In 1958-59, marshes emerged at certain points on the course of the river Gigde outlined by H. R. Palmer, for example on the roads from Daura to Zango and Kano. Elders at Daura affirmed that this happened periodically.

⁵ Palmer, 1908, see p. 66. Palmer's *Introduction* to the Chronicle cited gives certain grounds for regarding it as 'roughly accurate'. The reliability of the record does not seem open to serious doubt; but it probably contains sundry errors of location in time and place. These are not sufficiently important to invalidate use of this Chronicle as a guide to Hausa development; and the present article makes heavy use of this Kano history.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 63-6.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 65-6.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 63-6.

apparently unknown. The priest, Barbushe, exercised a ritual jurisdiction and leadership in concert with other senior lineage heads. This picture of native society in Kano during the tenth century A.D. is by no means inherently improbable. It delineates a community composed of occupationally specialized lineages, bound together by ties of intermarriage, economic exchanges of customary and ceremonial kinds, common interests of neighbourhood and security, and a common worship under a priest-chief.

At Daura the immigrants apparently won control without much struggle, perhaps because they could furnish secure water supplies and had the advantage of cavalry and the sword. At Kano there was a prolonged conflict which conquest did not fully resolve. The Abagiyawa had already witnessed the arrival of several immigrant groups before they were 'overwhelmed by a host' under Bagauda who settled at Sheme.⁹ His successors 'beguiled the elders with gifts (and) . . . obtained dominion over them', but the natives refused intermarriage.¹⁰ The immigrants and natives lived side by side but practised different cults, and for several generations their conflict had a religious form. The immigrants sought to subvert the cult of the natives who resisted with vigour, even after the immigrants exercised the power of rule.

I interpret these traditions as indications of a confused period of immigration, struggle and cultural change, the violence and duration of which probably varied over time as well as place in accordance with differences of population structure. In these conditions a number of petty chiefdoms emerged, separated from one another by wastes of bush, and perhaps by various difference in their dialects, cults, ethnic composition and social systems. Other differences of size, strength, and migrancy between these communities were also important.

The legend of Daura and Bayajidda is obviously a later construction. The immigration did not immediately produce any recognizable Hausa states. Small chiefdoms arose at Bugaji and Durbi ta Kusheyi in northern Katsina,¹¹ perhaps in other

⁹ Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 66.

¹¹ Daniel, pp. 1-2; also Palmer, 1928, p. 75.

parts of this province also. In Zazzau there were settlements at Karigi and Gadas in the north, and a more mobile group founded others in the centre at Wuchichirri, Rikochi and Turunku.¹² In Rano territory there were independent chiefdoms at Dab, Debbi, Gano, and Rano, all founded by immigrants.¹³ Some of these petty chiefdoms may have contained immigrants only; others, such as Karaye, Badari, and Santolo in Kano, were purely native.¹⁴ Yet others, such as Kano and Daura, included both groups, with or without intermarriage. Fighting decided which of these 'states' would survive; and only when this long confused struggle was nearly over could the *Hausa bakwai* be identified, or the myth of their common descent from Daura and Bayajidda have begun to take its present shape.

The states which came in due course to form the *Hausa bakwai* were those which survived through long centuries of successful struggle with rival groups nearby. Survival in these conditions entailed expansion by the absorption or subjugation of defeated competitors. The expansion achieved in this way promoted simultaneous increases of population, territory and power. For conquered groups, the alternatives to tribute and vassalage were incorporation or withdrawal. Many weaker groups accordingly withdrew west and south-westwards to re-establish themselves elsewhere beyond the reach of over-strong neighbours, who then took over their vacant lands. Others may have lost their distinctive 'Hausa' culture after establishing petty chiefdoms among strange tribes. Some remained recognizably Hausa in cultural form and orientation, despite obvious peculiarities. Some of the states which originated in this way may have been included among the *banza bakwai* in later centuries. Zamfara and Birnin Gwari, Kuyambana, and Yauri may be cited to illustrate these developments. The emergence of large, stable chiefdoms in central Hausaland was thus accompanied by conflicts which promoted the gradual westward spread of Hausa-speaking peoples and Hausa culture.

By comparison with contemporary Hausa states, these early central chiefdoms were all rather small. Beyond home districts

¹² Arnett, 1920, p. 9.

¹³ Palmer, 1908, p. 66.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 67.

with a radius of a few days' march, subject communities may have had vassal status, rendering tribute in grain and local products, rather than slaves.¹⁵ These competing units were ethnically mixed, lacking markets, currency, writing and adequate defence. They may have been mutually ignorant of each other's culture and organization. Their towns were defended by stockades rather than walls. Surpluses were probably small and unpredictable. Religion provided important supports for the customary social and political order based on exogamous patrilineages, some of which perhaps held hereditary offices in each state.¹⁶ The chief dynasty, hereditary nobles and free commoners may have formed the main social strata; but it is unlikely that social ranking was yet based on occupational differences. There may have been systematic age-gradings based on initiation, male age-sets perhaps forming units for community work and war. Military equipment and techniques were poorly developed. In war, the nobles rode horses, the commoners (*talakawa*) fought on foot.

At this period Hausa patrilineages may have practised matrilineal cross-cousin marriage with more or less insistence.¹⁷ Each had distinctive totems, taboos, and lineage-marks cut on the heads and bellies of new-born members.¹⁸ Lineages probably worshipped distinctive spirits under their elders at set times and places; but spirit-possession was probably unknown.¹⁹ The central cult of each community would normally vest in the chief or his council; and political power was closely integrated with ritual sanctions and forms. The chief's administrative power was, however, rudimentary, and depositions on ritual and other grounds were probably frequent.

Such Hausa chiefdoms differed sharply, however, from the tribal societies around them. Their members would identify themselves with the capital and ruler, and might recognize

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁶ Several titled offices among the Hausa of Daura and Katsina (Maradi) have been filled by members of a given patrilineage since time immemorial. For example the Galadima of Daura in 1958-59 was the forty-ninth member of his patrilineage to hold this position.

¹⁷ Palmer, 1936, pp. 73-4; also Greenberg, 1947.

¹⁸ Tremearne, 1913; also Mary Smith, 1954, pp. 141-2.

¹⁹ Greenberg, 1946, pp. 43-50; Trimmingham, 1959, pp. 103, 107-11.

their community of culture, language, values and organization with nearby chiefdoms. While other peoples would be difficult to assimilate as free members of Hausa society, and were therefore liable to tribute and slavery, the members of a defeated chiefdom might be easily incorporated into the victor's expanding polity. Slavery, while certainly known, was neither widespread nor important, perhaps because Hausa lacked the strength or techniques for large-scale slave-raiding, as well as the incentive to capture slaves for sale or tribute.

There is scarcely any mention of wars between members of the *Hausa bakwai* during this period. A common designation as Hausa was then unknown. Peoples described themselves as citizens of the chiefdoms to which they belonged. The states which survived the process of growth by incorporation must have initially been well beyond one another's reach, and they could thus come into conflict only when their boundaries began to meet. The few internecine wars reported between *Hausa bakwai* during these centuries confirm this interpretation. Jernatata, a legendary ruler of Katsina, is said to have fought with Gobir,²⁰ perhaps after Tuareg had driven these people southwards on to Katsina's frontiers. A ruler of Kano, Yaji (1349-85), attacked Rano, which lay on his borders, with some success.²¹

The first formative period of Hausa history really ended in 1350, a year after Yaji began to reign at Kano. By then all the main Hausa states had been established. Gobir had survived Tuareg threats of extermination and had moved into north-western Hausaland. Katsina, Kano, Rano, Daura, and Biram were fairly well-defined units. Katsina had recently survived a change of dynasty, and perhaps a conquest, without disintegrating.²² Zazzau was recognizable as a territory, although not yet a unified state. The borders of these chiefdoms were beginning to meet, and with them their armies. Moreover at this date their long period of seclusion virtually ended. In 1353 Ibn Battuta passed by Gobir on his way to Takadda in Tuareg.²³ 'In Yaji's time the Wongarawa (Mandingoes)

²⁰ Daniel, *op. cit.*, p. 28; Palmer, 1928, p. 79.

²¹ Palmer, p. 79; Daniel, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 40.

²² Ibn Battuta, 1929, pp. 336, 382.

²³ Palmer, 1908, p. 70.

came from Mele, bringing the Muhammadan religion. . . . The Sarki commanded every town in Kano country to observe the times of prayer. The Sarkin Gazarawa (Barbushe's successor) was opposed.²⁴ In Katsina also the ruler was converted to Islam by Mandingo divines; and the Suleibawa Fulani, who are partly Mandingo by origin, settled north of the city near Bugaji.²⁵ Such missionary movements indicate the importance of Kano and Katsina even at this early date. Islam did not reach Zazzau or Daura until much later.

Geography and history combined together to protect and foster Hausa development. The territory to which the early immigrants came lies midway between the Niger bend and the Chad basin, the two areas in which empires of the Western Sudan have tended to flourish. This geographical remoteness was rendered the more complete by external events. In 1076 the Almoravids conquered Ghana and destroyed the major political unit in the west. An interval of nearly two centuries followed before the empire of Mali emerged. Even then, for the greater part of their history, the Mandingo of Mali looked north and west, away from Hausaland. To the east, the Kanem empire was fully occupied by internal dissensions and long Bulala wars, which only later led to the transfer of its centre from Kanem, east of Chad, to Bornu in the west. Thus history afforded the Hausa three centuries of seclusion in which they could organize and consolidate. By the time their isolation was broken, the *Hausa bakwai* had emerged as reasonably large and durable political aggregates. The next century and a half, from 1350 to 1500, saw extensive transformations of Hausa society.

In Katsina, Islam seems to have made greater headway among the commoners than among the nobility;²⁶ in Kano, the rulers adopted the Faith, the commoners held aloof, and the ancient religious conflict between rulers and ruled continued as a struggle between Islam and paganism.²⁷ Islam supplied Yaji and his successors with the stimulus for political centralization and intensive slave-raiding against the Jukun and other pagan peoples, together with techniques and military

²⁴ Palmer, 1908, p. 70.

²⁶ Daniel, op. cit., p. 5.

²⁵ Palmer, 1928, p. 78.

²⁷ Palmer, 1908, pp. 70-1.

equipment. It remains uncertain whether Mandingoes ever held these Hausa states in subjection, although their influence was clearly dominant at this time. From them later rulers of Kano may have learnt that slaves had commercial, political and military values. No other explanation for this sudden increase in the scale of tribute and slave-raiding at Kano seems equally plausible. Kanajeji of Kano was more devoted to the pursuit of power than of Islam; and when his first attack on Zazzau was defeated, he reverted to pagan worship and re-activated the loyalty of his pagan subjects.²⁸ Had the *Hausa bakwai* remained independent, the long, devastating wars between them might have continued apace. But in the west the power of Songhai was rising. From their base at Dendi on the western banks of the Niger beyond the present border of Sokoto, they first expanded towards the north and west. Meanwhile east of Hausa the Magumi rulers of Bornu had moved west of Lake Chad. By 1488 Mai Ali Dunama had built the new Bornu capital at Gasrgamo on the Komadugu Yobe, and a period of Kanuri expansion began.²⁹ Songhai and Bornu were both well aware of the populous Hausa states which lay between them, and of the recent Mandingo influence in this area. Neither empire could complacently allow the other to dominate Hausa, since this would threaten its own security. From 1450-1550 Hausaland was the arena of a prolonged struggle between these imperial states.

About 1425 Othman Kalnama, a deposed ruler of Bornu, with a host of supporters sought refuge with the king of Kano, Dauda (1421-38).³⁰ The rulers of Bornu could hardly ignore this threat to their security that Kano thus came to represent. Dauda's successor was overawed into vassalage and was forced to render tribute in slaves.³¹ The Bornu rulers thus guarded against revolt by dissident royals, and also secured a buffer between themselves and Songhai, but their main interest was still directed at the Bulala war further east.

Othman Kalnama established the first market for external trade in Kano city at Karabka, perhaps the first in all Hausaland. He is said to have introduced guns, but seems to have

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 73-4.

³⁰ Palmer, 1908, pp. 74-5; 1936, p. 219.

²⁹ Hogben, 1930, p. 11.

³¹ Palmer, 1908, p. 75.

kept these from the Hausa, perhaps to preserve his position.³² It is probably at this period also that the Hausa learnt to read and write from Kanuri immigrants.³³ Mai Muhammad Ibn Matala (1448-50), who is credited with establishing Bornu rule over Kano, 'opened the roads from Bornu to Gwanja' (Zaberma, then in Songhai hands).³⁴

It is not clear whether Bornu established its suzerainty over all of Hausaland at this time, or over Kano only.³⁵ I incline to the view that Biram and Kano were probably at first the only Hausa vassals of Bornu. Kano was the leading Hausa chiefdom on Bornu's borders, and accordingly, even without

³² Ibid., pp. 74-5.

³³ Greenberg, 1960, pp. 205-12.

³⁴ H. R. Palmer, 1936, p. 220; 1908, p. 75.

³⁵ The data vary here. The Kano Chronicle is rather ambiguous: 'The next year every town in the west paid him (?) "tsare" (tribute),' Palmer, 1908, p. 75. Palmer also says that 'from about 1450 onwards Katsina was subject to Bornu to some extent, and each king when he succeeded sent a tribute (*gaisuwa*) of 100 slaves to N'gazargamu, the Bornu capital' (*Sudanese Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 83). The Hausa of Zazzau say they remained independent. 'The predominance of Zazzau came to an end in 1734 when the Beriberi of Bornu made war on all Hausa states. It was from this time that the people of Zaria began to pay tribute to Bornu.' Mm. Hassan and Shu'aibu, 1952, p. 5.

Mm. Hassan and Shu'aibu and H. R. Palmer may all be mistaken. The Sokoto Provincial Gazetteer relates that 'Yauri sent annual tribute to Zaria, her immediate superior, and thence to Bornu. All other Hausa states sent their tribute to Daura for Bornu' (P. G. Harris, 1938-9, pp. 20-1). Leo Africanus also relates that 'the king (of Kano) was in times past of great puissance, . . . but he hath since been constrained to pay tribute unto the kings of Zegzeg (Zazzau) and Katsina. Afterward Askia (Muhammad, 1492-1528) . . . feigning friendship unto the two foresaid kings, treacherously slew them both. And then he waged war against the king of Kano, whom after a long siege he took, and compelled him to marry one of his daughters, restoring him again to his kingdom conditionally that he should pay unto him the third part of all his tributes': *Littafi na bakwai na Leo Africanus*, pp. 32-4. If Zaria and Katsina had combined to overrun Kano shortly before Askia attacked Hausaland, their subjection to Bornu could not have meant much. Perhaps they took action against Kano to preserve independence; perhaps for this reason also they welcomed Askia's overtures of friendship. Under these or parallel circumstances the *Ganuwar Amina* near Katsina city might have been built to repel attacks from Bornu.

These problems do not affect the argument of the present paper, which is that influences from Bornu were channelled through Kano and provided the motive for cultural development in Hausaland around 1450. War between Songhai and Bornu for the control of Hausaland may have started between 1500 and 1510, after Rumfa's death at Kano. When Leo Africanus visited Hausa, Songhai had temporary control; but Kanta's revolt against Askia Muhammad in 1513 enabled Bornu to resume domination, and perhaps it was at this date that all seven Hausa states became the vassals of Bornu.

Othman's flight, would have been the first to engage Kanuri attention.

Another puzzle is presented by the conquests and fortifications associated with a legendary queen of Zazzau, Amina. Amina's activities are placed in Burja's reign (1421-38) by the chroniclers of Kano. 'At this time, Zaria under Queen Amina conquered all the towns as far as Kworarafa and Nupe. Every town paid tribute to her. . . . She first had eunuchs and kolas in Hausaland. In her time the whole of the products of the west were brought to Hausaland. Her conquests extended over thirty-four years.'³⁶ However, the chroniclers of Zazzau set Amina's conquests in the middle of the sixteenth century.³⁷ In several parts of north-western Hausa there are remains of large earthworks which are known as Amina's walls (*Ganuwar Amina*). That near Katsina city 'circles the town on three sides, but close to Dutsen Safe . . . turns due north and extends . . . for about 25 miles, till it disappears near Danbo'.³⁸ Evidently, this Katsina earthwork was intended as defence against attackers from the east, from Kano or Bornu. Although Leo Africanus visited Katsina about 1513, he makes no mention of this wall; so that it may have been built rather later.³⁹ Alternatively, it may have been started by Ali Murabus (1355-80) when Katsina was under Mandingo influence if not control. It is thus possible that the various *Ganuwar Amina* may have been built by different rulers at different periods, as defence against different foes. A definitive study of these mysterious earthworks which unravelled their historical contexts might thus shed a great deal of light on Hausa history. Wall-building on this scale implies mass use of corvée labour, substantial military force, intense political centralization, warfare on an imperial scale, slavery, tribute and technological development. The legends of Queen Amina may refer to the introduction of wall-building to Hausaland from the west.

Katsina and Kano had geographical advantages over other Hausa states. They lay on the trans-Sudanic route from Gwanja

³⁶ Palmer, 1908, p. 75.

³⁷ Mm. Hassan and Shu'aibu, 1952, pp. 4-5, 36. This cycle of action and legend merits special study.

³⁸ Daniel, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

³⁹ Leo Africanus, *Littafi na bakwai*, pp. 34-6.

to Bornu, and were well placed to serve as termini for trans-Saharan caravans. They attracted merchants, missionaries, and military adventurers in equal measure. Their markets encouraged population growth and this in turn promoted the growth of markets. As these two towns increased in population and wealth, so they outstripped other Hausa chiefdoms. Only Zamfara, south-west of Katsina, which also had a favourable location, could rival their development. Under Abdulahi Burja (1438-52) 'slaves became very numerous in Kano'.⁴⁰ While Kanajeji (d. 1410) was content with a razzia of 4,000 slaves, Burja, who first made tribute to Bornu, received a thousand captives monthly from raids to the south, besides twenty-one new settlements (*Ibdabu*) of 1,000 apiece.⁴¹ The commercial growth of Kano marched in step with increase in the scale of slave-raiding for transfer as tribute or in the market.

Between 1452 and 1463, 'the Fulani came to Hausaland from Mele, bringing with them books on Divinity and Etymology. . . . At this time too the Asbenawa (Tuareg) came to Gobir, and salt became common in Hausaland. In the following year merchants from Gwanja began coming to Katsina; Beriberi came in large numbers (from Bornu), and a colony of Arabs arrived. . . . (The ruler of Kano, Yakubu) sent ten horses to Sarkin Nupe in order to buy eunuchs. The Sarkin Nupe gave him twelve eunuchs'.⁴²

About 1493 the Muslim teacher Sheik Muhammad el-Maghili of Tuat visited Katsina and Kano and preached Islam.⁴³ He had considerable influence with Muhammad Askia (1492-1528) who had just seized the throne of Songhai. Askia came from the area north of Hausa, and would naturally have shown interest in el-Maghili's account of these regions. In Katsina and Kano el-Maghili made a great impression, and their rulers sought and followed his advice. Leaving disciples in both cities to continue his work, he firmly established Islam within the leading Hausa city-states. In Katsina, the Gobarau mosque, part of which yet stands, was built at this period on

⁴⁰ Palmer, 1908, p. 76.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-6.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 76-7.

⁴³ Palmer, 1928, p. 78; Mohammed Al-Maghil, 1932, pp. 3-4; Palmer, 1908, p. 59.

models drawn from Gao and Jenne.⁴⁴ For the ruler of Kano he wrote a treatise on Muslim government.⁴⁵ The rulers of Katsina and Kano sought to impose Islam on their city-populations, and began to adopt Islamic patterns of rule. In 1456, Islam first reached the Hausa of Zazzau,⁴⁶ and by 1505 this group had its first Muslim king.⁴⁷

The double exposure of Hausa to influences from Bornu and Songhai initiated a period of intensive political and military development, as well as religious and economic change. Muhammad Rumfa (1465-99), following the example of Othman Kalnana from Bornu, established another market in Kano city, and set about extending or building its walls. He introduced new military formations, claimed all first-born virgins born on the royal slave-settlements as his concubines, and acquired a harem of more than a thousand.⁴⁸ He also introduced the practice of *Kame*, by which rulers and their agents would impress or requisition the property of subjects (*talakawa*), for instance, beasts of burden. Rumfa sought to glorify the kingship by new insignia and devices as well as a vast new palace. He also established the *Tara-ta-Kano* (the Kano Nine) as a Council of State on lines which recall the Council of Twelve in the old Sefawa empire of Kanem-Bornu.⁴⁹ Two of these nine Kano councillors were slaves, one of these, the Sarkin Bai, a eunuch. Rumfa first appointed eunuchs to important offices of state, placing them in control of the treasury, the town and palace guards, and communications with free office-holders, as well as various household functions such as control of the harem.⁵⁰ Clearly 'the obligations of princes' were not the only subjects Rumfa discussed with his Muslim teachers; but his models of kingship were drawn from the suzerain court of Bornu, where ostrich-feather sandals and fans, royal trumpets and musicians, eunuch officials and Councils of State with a fixed composition,

⁴⁴ According to local traditions.

⁴⁵ Shekh Mohammed Al-Maghili, 1932.

⁴⁶ Arnett, 1909, pp. 161-7.

⁴⁷ Arnett, 1920, p. 9; Mm. Hassan and Shu'aibu, 1952, p. 36.

⁴⁸ Palmer, 1908, pp. 77-8. Royal slave settlements were known in Kano as *Ibdabu*, their inhabitants as *Indabawa*.

⁴⁹ C. L. Temple (Ed.), 1922, p. 467; Urvoy, 1949, pp. 37-42.

⁵⁰ Palmer, 1908, pp. 77-8.

and royal power to requisition the labour or property of subjects, were ancient elements of rule; and where Mai Ali Dunama was then building a large brick palace at Gasrgamo.

Rumfa's innovations indicate a fundamental change in the nature of Hausa chieftainship and in the relations between rulers and ruled. The formerly independent small-scale chiefdoms, technologically primitive and pagan in worship, had become tributary city-states, Muslim in outlook and allegiance, units in the widespread system of Sudanic and Saharan trade, and committed to large-scale slave-raiding for tribute, commerce, and local production by forced labour. The once pagan priest-chief whose power rested on ritual had become a Muslim, taught to regard the conversion or oppression of his pagan subjects as a religious duty. The ritual support which the chief lost when he became Muslim was made good by new sources of power, especially by eunuch administrators and squads of slaves who could serve as guards, police, soldiers or messengers as required. His palace was set in the midst of his slaves like a garrisoned citadel. Kanuri court ceremonial and organization provided the appropriate models for Hausa to imitate. Royal prerogatives increased to include seizure of women and property and rights to levy corvée on subjects. The primitive chiefdom had become a city-state, the primitive chief a king. Leading lineages of the old régime were now transformed into hereditary aristocrats who ruled and farmed by slaves. Free Hausa citizens, the commoners (*talakwa*), found that they were now subjects. The Hausa had developed from semi-tribal conditions a medieval society of city-states.

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Résumé

LES DEBUTS DE LA SOCIÉTÉ HAOUSSA (1000-1500 A. J. C.)

La question de l'origine des Haoussa a attiré beaucoup de spéculations érudites. Le développement de la société haoussa a reçu bien moins d'attention. Cependant la connaissance de ce développement est plus accessible que celle des origines haoussa.

Le pays haoussa a reçu des immigrants venant de la région du lac Tchad vers les 9^e-10^e siècles. On a peu de documents sur cette immigration mais ses traits principaux peuvent encore être discernés. Il semble que les immigrants soient arrivés dans différentes parties du territoire haoussa à différentes époques et en bandes de différente importance. Ils peuvent avoir différé aussi entre eux par le dialecte, le culte, et d'autres caractères culturels. Ils employaient probablement une technologie plus avancée que celle pratiquée par les peuples au milieu desquels ils s'installèrent. Venant de l'Est, ils tendaient à s'établir dans les régions orientales du Haoussa: Biram, Daura, Kano, Rano et Zazzau. Des mouvements postérieurs tendaient à aller vers l'Ouest.

La migration a donné naissance à des communautés qui ont varié dans leurs circonstances, composition et viabilité. La conquête n'était qu'une forme d'accommodation entre immigrants et indigènes. Les intermariages, l'acculturation, la stratification et la compétition furent également importants. Des communautés sont entrées en concurrence les unes avec les autres pour survivre, et à l'intérieur de communautés mixtes,

des indigènes et des immigrants ont lutté pour dominer. Les conditions de mélange social et de culture ont encouragé en même temps des processus de différenciation et des conflits entre des communautés voisines de structure et de composition différentes. Dans de telles circonstances, la lutte pour la survie a stimulé l'expansion progressive des Etats primitifs; mais de faibles densités de population, une migration continue vers l'Ouest et une technologie peu développée ont prolongé ce processus d'agrégation pendant des siècles.

Pendant ce temps, les futurs *Hausa-Bakwai* émergeaient, peut-être peu instruits les uns des autres, et avec des identités qui nous seraient peu familières aujourd'hui.

Le fameux mythe d'origine haoussa relate comment les fondateurs de Kano et de Katsina, Rano et Zazzau, Biram, Gobir et Daura descendaient d'un héros immigrant appelé Bayajidda qui tua le serpent appelé *Sarhi* dans la ville de Daura, donna de l'eau aux habitants et épousa la reine Daura. Il paraît vraisemblable que ce mythe se développa aux 16^e et 17^e siècles avec l'encouragement et sous la protection des chefs du Bornou qui tenaient alors ces 7 Etats haoussa en vasselage. Les fonctions de ce mythe comprenaient la légitimation de la suzeraineté bornou et la domination du Haoussa, et la contreposition de ces Etats haoussa vassaux avec d'autres unités d'étendue similaire en dehors de l'aire de contrôle du Bornou. Les érudits qui ont assigné une date plus ancienne pour la formation de ce mythe ont naturellement été intrigués par l'omission des Etats haoussa dans les écrits anciens que les géographes arabes ont consacré à la région. Il semble plus vraisemblable que ce mythe fut développé plus tard pour investir les *Hausa Bakwai* d'une unité d'origine rétrospective.

L'émergence d'Etats relativement grands et stables dans le Haoussa après les migrations des 9^e et 10^e siècles a dépendu d'une conjonction heureuse de conditions, spécialement géographiques et politiques. Ni dans le secteur du lac Tchad ni dans la Boucle du Niger, il n'y avait de puissants Etats prédateurs pendant la plus grande partie de cette période. La longue gestation du Haoussa suppose un grand degré d'isolement des influences extérieures. Compte tenu de l'habitat ouvert occupé par les Haoussa, leur isolement pendant une

aussi longue période a dépendu d'une coïncidence inhabituelle de circonstances politiques. Pendant les siècles critiques de la formation sociale du Haoussa, l'Empire du Kanem-Bornou, alors centré à l'Est du lac Tchad, était entièrement engagé dans des luttes pour l'expansion et la survie, et n'avait ni la force ni l'intérêt de conquérir les faibles chefferies de village haoussa. Plus à l'ouest, la chute du Ghana laissa une succession de petits Etats rivaux qui ne se groupèrent en une grande unité prédatrice que 2 siècles après. Même alors, ce fut seulement au 14^e siècle que cet Empire occidental, le Mali, tourna son attention vers le Haoussa, envoyant des missionnaires de l'Islam dans les chefferies les plus proches de lui, Kano et Katsina. A cette époque, les Haoussa avaient déjà joui de 3 siècles de splendide isolement et étaient évidemment organisés en quelques chefferies relativement grandes bien que primitives, dont nous pouvons encore distinguer faiblement les caractéristiques sociales et politiques.

Avec la pénétration du Haoussa par les explorateurs mandingues, commence une nouvelle période de l'histoire haoussa. Peut-être les techniques de construction des murs furent-elles alors introduites du Mali. Peut-être les activités de la reine légendaire, Amina, ont-elles eu lieu à cette époque, et peuvent représenter l'influence militaire mandingue sur les Haoussa. Evidemment l'esclavage s'étendit à l'Est avec l'Islam, et se développa plus rapidement dans la société haoussa. Le pouvoir des chefs traditionnellement rituels tendit à s'accroître. Il y eut de courtes guerres entre les membres des *Haoussa Bakwai*. La technologie militaire s'accrut lorsque les Haoussa adoptèrent les idées et l'équipement des Mandingues. Les raids esclavagistes s'accrurent en importance et en fréquence.

La chute du pouvoir mandingue à l'Ouest donna aux principales chefferies haoussa un bref répit pour assimiler leurs récents emprunts culturels et pour réorienter leurs buts. A cette époque, les Kanuri avaient été chassés du Kanem vers l'Ouest du lac Tchad. Ils se concentrèrent près de Munio et de Geidam, avant de reconstruire leur capitale à Gasrgamo sur la rivière Yo. Ils entrèrent bientôt en contact avec Kano et probablement entendirent parler de leurs prédécesseurs mandingues. Pour des raisons de sécurité interne aussi bien que

de défense contre une attaque de l'Ouest, les chefs du Bornou trouvèrent sage de contrôler Kano, la plus grande cité haoussa sur leurs frontières, et peut-être d'autres Etats haoussa également.

L'influence kanuri avait déjà atteint Kano quelques années avant la domination politique kanuri. Des gens du Bornou introduisirent les marchés, les fusils, l'écriture, et d'autres traits culturels. La prétention du Bornou de dominer Kano ouvrit la route du commerce soudanais du Songai au Bornou. Des missionnaires, des marchands et des aventuriers militaires, se succédaient rapidement à Katsina et Kano. El Maghili, qui établit fermement l'Islam chez les Haoussa, s'arrêta à Gao, cité de l'Askia Mohammed (1492-1528) sur le chemin du retour vers le Touat. En 1512 l'Askia attaqua Katsina et le prit. Il conquiert Kano et s'assura le contrôle du Haoussa avant que Léon l'Africain ne traversât la région vers 1513 et avant que son chef, le Kanta de Kebbi, ne se révoltât et ne se saisit de ces chefferies haoussa. Pendant les 40 années suivants, le Bornou combattit le Songai et le Kebbi pour le contrôle de ces Etats haoussa.

Nous pouvons dater l'établissement de gouvernements centralisés parmi les Haoussa vers la fin du 15^e siècle, avant que ces guerres impériales ne commencent, mais après que les Haoussa aient été suffisamment soumis aux institutions kanuri pour les désirer et les adopter. A ce stade, les chefferies haoussa devinrent des cités-Etats, les chefs haoussa devinrent des rois tributaires et les réciprocités traditionnelles sur lesquelles le gouvernement primitif était fondé furent remplacées par la centralisation politique.