

system of forwarding slaves to the north. Later in the early Islamic period, when the great powers of the north had vanished, it was able to replace the pre-accrual system by an exchange system based on market principles. In the medieval period, Kanem-Bornu further outgrew its former suzerains in the north by establishing settlement colonies in Kawa and in Fezzan.<sup>291</sup> Thus it reversed the former situation of cultural and political dependency: indeed, in the twelfth and thirteenth century, security in the central Sahara was no longer assured by any northern power but by the Chadic state itself. Just as Carthage had once superseded its mother country Tyre, the Chadic kingdom had taken the political and cultural lead with respect to the successor polities of its earlier metropolitan state.

### 11. Appendix: Oral Version of the Bayajidda Legend

It might come as a surprise that despite long-term academic research on Hausa history, the following text is the first full oral version of the Bayajidda legend of Daura. Alasan Abdurrahman, the son of the Emir Abdurrahman dan Musa (1912-1966), dictated the text on the eve of the Gani festival 1995. The narrator was born in 1932 and died in early 1996. According to his own statement, he was asked by the late Emir Abdurrahman to collect all available information on the Bayajidda legend and to write it down. He had three main informants: his father Abdurrahman, the brother of Abdurrahman, the Wazirin Daura,<sup>292</sup> and the Galadima Sule, the brother of the present Emir Muhammadu Bashar. Having completed his research and being literate only in his native language, he wrote down the Bayajidda story in Hausa and gave the only copy to the Emir Abdurrahman. Since then he earned the reputation of being the official court historian of Daura. All the important visitors to the town were referred to him.<sup>293</sup>

Subsequent to the recording of the following oral account, Malam Alasan worked for several days with me on various aspects of the Bayajidda narrative and on related praise-songs and court ceremonies of Daura. The informant pointed out that because of its bearing on the palace only royals knew the story well, not commoners.<sup>294</sup> Unfortunately he did not pass on his knowledge of court history to any of his children nor to any other person.

<sup>291</sup> Martin, "Kanem", 19-21; Lange, *Diwan*, 67; Lange/Berthoud, "Qaşaba", 31-32.

<sup>292</sup> Probably Waziri Alasan (Muhammadu Bashar, Emir, FN 95, 53).

<sup>293</sup> I am grateful to Philip Shea and A. U. Dan Asabe both of the Abdullahi Bayero University, Kano. Philip Shea gave me precious advice and arranged the research in Daura. Dan Asabe introduced me to Malam Alasan and helped me with translations.

<sup>294</sup> FN 95, 3-4.

by way of North Africa, while the second began in Baghdad and came to Hausaland via Bornu. In view of the overall relevance of the Canaanite-Phoenician background for Hausa culture, it would appear that the two lines of immigration reflect the two basic tendencies of Canaanite-Israelite history, the local aspect by the queens from Canaan and her numerous followers, and the extraneous Baghdadian or rather Aššur/Babylon aspect by the isolated male hero.<sup>286</sup> However, it would be wrong to reduce the legend solely to its ancient Near Eastern prototype. A local West African element would seem to be implied by the Bornoan suzerainty. The two lines merging in Daura would further appear to refer to the two sections of Hausa society, the Queen of Daura and her son Bawo to the Hausā, and the Baghdadian hero Bayajidda and his son with the concubine – who in some versions was already pregnant when she arrived with the hero in Daura – to the Aznā.<sup>287</sup> It may be noted in passing that according to this interpretation the Aznā were the secondary and foreign people and not, as often supposed, the primary and local population.<sup>288</sup>

In terms of local history in the *longue durée* the provenance of Bayajidda from Bornu probably reflects an ancient and long lasting suzerainty of the Chadic state over Hausaland. Acknowledging their dependency on Bornu, all the Hausa states – the seven Hausā as well as the seven Banzā – sent annual tributes of slaves to their eastern neighbour until the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>289</sup> Some authors consider therefore the Bayajidda legend as a Bornu taxlist.<sup>290</sup> In view of the primordial subordination of the Hausa states to Kanem-Bornu it would in fact appear that the Chadic state stood since ancient times in the centre of a regional system of security based on age-honoured tributary relationships. The system implied that, as long as the tributary obligations were fulfilled, peace was guaranteed and the slaving raids were directed against other people of the Central Sudan. On account of their basic economic and political functions, the nuclei of states first established in the Sahel in the form of fortified slave trading posts and garrisons could in this way easily spread further south and reach Yorubaland.

The Chadic state stood at the apex of the regional system of security for different ethnic groups. For a long time it had been itself submitted to a prestatinal

<sup>286</sup> Lange, "Hausa-Traditionen", 72; *id.*, "Dimension", 197.

<sup>287</sup> Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 133.

<sup>288</sup> Anthropologists consider the Annā/Aznā or Maguzawa usually as pre-Islamic polytheists (Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 222; Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 34-35; Smith, *Daura*, 32-33) but according to Hausa tradition they are descendants of Karbagari (Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 148; Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 64-65, 349).

<sup>289</sup> 'Abd al-Qādir b. al-Muṣṭafā, *Rawḍāt al-afkār*, transl. Palmer, "Western Sudan", 265; Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 149

<sup>290</sup> Sutton, "Less orthodox history", 196; similarly Smith, "Considerations", 336.

The earlier published versions of the Bayajidda narrative are mostly based on Arabic texts written down towards the end of the pre-colonial period by locally trained Muslim clerics. The best known and most widely used was translated by A. Walwyn and published by H. R. Palmer. Two other noteworthy written versions of the legend were translated by E. J. Arnett and Hassan and Shuaibu. Further, there is an Arabic text published in conjunction with a French translation by A. Salifou. Oral versions from various commoners are found in the writings of R. M. East, Abubakar Imam, G. Nicolas and F. Edgar.<sup>295</sup>

The Bayajidda narrative has been the object of various studies. The following are noteworthy: Barth, *Travels*, I, 471-472; Palmer, *Bornu Sahara*, 273-274; Hallam, "Bayajidda legend", 47-60; Hogben and Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 145-154; Smith, "Formation of states in Hausaland", 329-346; Smith, "Beginnings", Smith, "Bayajidda and Magajiya", in *id.*: *Affairs of Daura*, 52-57, Lange, "Pre-Islamic dimension of Hausa history", 162-173, 182-193, and *id.*, "Kanaanäisch-israelitisches Neujahrsfest", 112-160. None of these studies fully explore the deep roots of the story in Hausa society and its implications for the connection between the emergence of states in Hausaland and the trans-Saharan trade activities of the Phoenician city states of North Africa.<sup>296</sup>

Based on a transcription of the Hausa oral text, the following is a literal word for word translation. Even if sometimes a bit tortuous, it hopefully conveys some of the flavour of the oral account. Hesitations, sudden shifts of the mind, and repetitions are indicated by dots. Minor slips of the tongue have been omitted. I am grateful to Muhammad Munkaila from the University of Maiduguri for his transcription of the tape and for his assistance in the translation of the Hausa text into English. An earlier translation by Ibrahim Hamza provided useful cross-referencing. I hope at a later date to be able to provide a more elaborate exploration of the story in connection with the early history of Hausaland. The main purpose of this presentation is the rapid publication of the oral text that thus precludes in-depth interpretation.

<sup>295</sup> Abubakar Imam, *Hausa bakwai*; Arnett, "Hausa chronicle", 162-165; East, *Hausawa*, I, 1-3; Edgar, *Litafi*, I, 222-225, 229-230; Hassan/Shuaibu, *Chronicle*, 1-3; Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 62-65; Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 132-143; Salifou, *Damagaram*, 203-243.

<sup>296</sup> On the trans-Saharan trade in ancient times see Gsell, *Histoire*, IV, 138-140; Bovill, *Golden Trade*, 13-44; Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 156-157; Lange, "Ursprung des Bösen", 3-8.

## History of the people of Daura

The origin of the people of Daura was that they migrated from Palestine. The person who led the migration was Najib, the grand son of Canaan. They came to Egypt. From Egypt some of his relations stayed in Ethiopia. The others proceeded forward and came to Egypt where they stayed. They were disturbed by conflicts and unrest. Therefore they left Egypt and went to Libya. From Libya they split up; some of them went towards the Sudan. By the will of God, Daara was the one who led them to Kutugu, a place situated in the desert, very close to Timbuktu near Mali. From there they came to the town of Daara. When they left Daara they came to Kufai. From Kufai they went to another town called Rafa situated in the francophone country. At Rafa they split. Then Innagari, the grandmother of Duma of Gobir, led them. Then Kafara led them to *Tsōhōn Birni* "old city". Then after Kafara Yakano, then Yakaliya, then Kadanta, then Waiwaila, then Didigir, then Jiagari, then Wairama and then Daurama. At that time the women were ruling; men did farming and hunting.

Then Daurama according to history...that is to say the book of Girgam, she found that there was a certain place where her ancestors had settled. It was situated south of Daura. Then she went southward up to a place where she saw the snake. She said: "You should come, I saw that it was here that our ancestors settled".<sup>297</sup> At that time of the arrival of Daurama the Hausa language was the same as ours, however there were some differences. When they got used to the snake inside the well...they made him like a king. When they went to the rim of the well, this is what they used to sing:

"...you...cowri, you...mother sun...the sun is high...you...cowri, you...you..."<sup>298</sup>

Then the thing in the well heard the song:

"...cowri, you... Here we came. Here we are waiting, it is already high noon, it is midday, we did not drink water yet".

<sup>297</sup> The statement implies that the worship of the snake was thought to be the most distinctive element of the ancestral religion.

<sup>298</sup> Being very old, the words of the song are not understood by present Hausa-speakers. There are different variants of the ancient song (Alasan, Dakama, FN 95, 5, 60). A translation into present Hausa is likewise part of the repertoire of the Dakama (FN 95, 5). *Ki* "you" is feminine. It could apply to *macijiyā* the feminine form of *maciji* "snake".

Thereafter the snake moved aside. It gave them water or rather, they fetched water. When the people had fetched water from the well... which was in the bush, they left. They would count one week before coming back. After a week they came back. Thus, from one week to another the snake became accustomed to that. So that was what was happening.

Then Abuyazidu,<sup>299</sup> the son of the king of Baghdad Abdullahi – he was the person referred to as Abuyazidu. When the Queen Zidam conquered Baghdad, the people separated into forty groups.<sup>300</sup> Abuyazidu led one of the groups comprising three hundred people and entered Nigeria from the direction of Lake Chad by the town of Ngala. It was from the name of Ngala that the title Galadima was derived.<sup>301</sup> He arrived at Borno at a time when it was not yet called Borno but rather Gazargamu. When he came to Gazargamu he met the people staying there with their king. When he realized that the king's people were few and that his own people were more numerous and stronger than those of the king of Borno he made up his mind to make a plot to have the king killed so that he became the ruler of Borno. However, the news of the plot reached the king of Borno: "Did you hear that the stranger who came is planning to kill you?" The king of Borno gathered his senior officials and they took a decision. It was decided that he should give him his daughter called Magaram in marriage.<sup>302</sup>

Consequently, when there was an outbreak of war he borrowed all the slaves of Abuyazidu. Whenever he conquered any town he ordered some of the slaves to stay in the town. This practice continued until Bayajidda<sup>303</sup> was left with only one slave and his wife. So they remained only three in number. Abuyazidu realized that what he formerly had planned against the king was now directed against him. That is all. Therefore he decided that in the night he himself, his slave and his wife would leave the town in order to proceed towards the west.

They arrived at a town called *Gabàs ta Biràm* "the east of Biram" situated at present in Hadeja and now called *Gàrùn Gabàs* "eastern wall". At Garun Gabas he realized that the king of Borno could easily get hold of him there. Therefore

<sup>299</sup> Later on also called Bayajidda.

<sup>300</sup> Perhaps a reference to the Babylonian conquest of Assyria in 612 BC or to the Persian conquest of Babylonia in 539 BC.

<sup>301</sup> Other versions of the narrative link the origin of the office of Galadima to the verification of the death of the snake at the well (Smith, *Daura*, 54).

<sup>302</sup> Other versions of the legend call the Bornoan wife by the name Magira, designating the office of the queen mother in Bornu (Arnett, "Hausa chronicle", 162; Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 133; Salifou, *Damagaram*, 233; Smith, *Daura*, 54). The office corresponds to that of the Magajiya in Daura (Lange, "Amt der Königinmutter", 139-147).

<sup>303</sup> This is the only instance the name Bayajidda is mentioned. Elsewhere the hero is called Abuyazidu.

he sneaked out at night, leaving behind his wife and slave. He continued on his course further west until he reached Gaya. The present Abagiyawa people of Kano were originally from Gaya. They are blacksmiths. He drew out his 'knife' and said to them: "This is what I lost on my way and I would like you to produce for me its similar make". And they did what was requested from them to produce.<sup>304</sup> He headed northward into the wilderness without any destination in mind. This until God brought him to a certain place...He said to himself: "For sure, in this forest I will find a town". From there God brought him to Daura. He arrived at Daura in the night. He entered by the eastern gate. When he came, he cut a tree in order to climb into the town. He opened the gate...he had tied his horse outside the gate. Then he opened the gate, then he went back, pulled his horse and entered the town.

God in his power...when he arrived in the town, he went to a house which he believed belonged to a male person. But actually he entered into the house of an old woman. The woman was called Ayana. Her house is situated near the prison in Daura. When he saw the old woman, you will wonder how they could communicate.<sup>305</sup> In fact, they were all Arabs, although now we are all of us black people. He was addressing her saying: "I would like to have water. Please give it to me". She replied by saying: "No, my son, we in this town do not get water except on Fridays". He said to her: "I still ask you to give me water". He insisted she give him a bucket. She gave it to him. But he said: "Please show me the direction of the well". She said: "Look over there. Inside that thick forest there is a well". Being a brave man, Abuyazidu headed towards the bush where the well was situated. As soon as he reached the rim of the well, he continued holding his horse and looked into the well, to see what was inside, because Kusugu at that time was a hole of limited size. The water of Kusugu did not rise up like a spring. It came from different sides and where it met it went up and after some time dropped down.

When Abuyazidu looked into the well and saw the snake, he tied his horse, let the bucket down into the well. The snake held the bucket and pressed it down. Abuyazidu did not know how to fetch the water from the well, since Ayana had told him: "Even if I explain to you, how to get water from the well, you will not be able to apply this properly".<sup>306</sup> He remembered the word *kin saki* "you

<sup>304</sup> Probably Alhasan means here the sword of the hero and not his knife, since in the interview he specifically states that the hero brought the sword from Baghdad while the knife was produced by the Abagiyawa (Alhasan FN 95, 12). Bayajidda used the former to kill the snake and the latter to cut off its head (Alhasan FN 95, 11, 15).

<sup>305</sup> This rhetorical question is addressed to the interviewer.

<sup>306</sup> Later Alasan explained that the sacred song had to be sung on Friday and in a special way (FN 95, 61, 81).

release”.<sup>307</sup> Therefore he said: “You release”. Thereupon, the snake released the bucket and he pulled up the bucket with the water. He drank and gave water to his horse. Then he put the... bucket back into the well. He took his sword, waiting for the snake to come out. The snake took hold of the bucket. By pulling out the bucket, he also pulled out the snake. Allah gave him success and with his sword he cut half of the snake’s head. The snake fell back on one side. He followed it and cut off the remainder of the head. He put the head of the snake inside his bag and went back to the house of Ayana, the old woman. He gave her water, she drank and wondered about what had happened between him and the snake.<sup>308</sup>

Early in the morning when the people came out, they knew that if the snake was out, it would cause havoc. Because of that the news started spreading that: “Today Sarki is out [of the well]<sup>309</sup> although today is not the normal day of his appearance”. Finally the news reached Daurama. Then Daurama said: “Let us get ready as we used to. Let us go and beg him”.<sup>310</sup> Daurama instructed an announcement to be made that the people should come out towards the snake. There is a certain drum called Dajinjin (*dājinjin*). As soon as they heard this drum, they knew that they should go to the rim of the well. The Dajinjin is now at the palace. Right now the Dajinjin is at the palace of Daura. It is the instrument they beat at the night preceding the Gani festival. (If you come tonight you can find women playing it for the king.)<sup>311</sup> They are singing the song of the well for him, the song that used to be sung for the snake that was killed:

*“King, we praise thee, we thank thee, we pay homage to thee.  
Bull, you are very strong, your power supersedes that of all others.  
King, he was generous to you, he passed away”*.<sup>312</sup>

<sup>307</sup> *Kin* is a feminine form indicating that the snake was thought to be female. Note that *Dōdō*, the name of the monster of Kusugu (Barth, *Reisen*, II, 81 n), has the feminine form *Dōdanniyā* (see Palmer, *Memoirs*, III, 136).

<sup>308</sup> By killing the snake Bayajidda – and hence his incarnation – the king is said to have inherited the power of the snake (Alasan FN 95, 4, 23, 54-55).

<sup>309</sup> *Sarki* in Hausa means “king”. Above, the snake is said to have been made by the people “like a king”.

<sup>310</sup> The “begging” in this instance is not for the access to water but it involves performances to appease the snake so that it will go back into the well without causing damage.

<sup>311</sup> This sentence is not part of the story, since the narrator here addresses the interviewer.

<sup>312</sup> Literally: “He ran away”. The normal expression would have been *yā kaurā* “he migrated, he died”.

That song was originally sung in praise of Abuyazidu. It was this song which was turned into the praise song of the Daura royals. That makes it such as if, when they sing it, the snake is present, although actually everybody knows that the snake was killed.

When [the inhabitants of Daura] arrived with Daurama, they stayed at a distance since nobody dared to go near to the mouth of the well. However, one person called Audu Indi was the one who cautiously moved forward until he reached the rim of the well. He looked closely at the snake. Then he came and told Daurama the news: "Today the killer has been killed for us, he passed away (*kaurā*)". [Daurama asked:] "He passed away? You are Kaura". That is the reason why [the title] Kaura spread in Hausaland.<sup>313</sup> Therefore, if you see a hero, he is called Kaura.<sup>314</sup>

After the people had come and surrounded the place, Daurama said: "An announcement should be made that, whoever killed the snake, I will divide the land into two and give him half of it. We will rule together". So, there and then having all gathered, one cut and brought a head, another tried to match it, yet another cut and brought another head. Finally, when the old lady Ayana had got the news, she came to the place of Daurama, she knelt down and greeted her. Then she said: "Yesterday I had an outstanding visitor, who even gave me water to drink". Daurama said to her: "Alright, you should go and call him". Ayana went and met him. She said: "Alright my son, you should go to the well, Daurama is looking for you". He came. Daurama said: "The old lady claimed that you killed the snake". Abuyazidu said: "I am the one who killed it". [Daurama said]: "Alright, if you have the head bring it out". He put his hand inside his bag and he brought out the head of the snake. Someone tried and it matched exactly the head of the snake.

Abuyazidu said: "I heard that you promised that whoever killed the snake, you would give him half of the land. Alright, I do not want half of the land, I want to marry you". At that time queens did not get married. Whoever was a queen she should not know a man. Alright, Daurama considered what the man had done, all the things he had accomplished with respect to the snake. She said that she agreed to marry him. Then they tied the marriage. Daurama said: "However, you will not be able to consummate the marriage with me. It is only once I remove the obstacle between us that you will be able to consummate the marriage.<sup>315</sup> Meanwhile let me give you a slave with whom you can stay". She offered them

<sup>313</sup> Other versions mention the two senior eunuch officials of Daura, Galadima and Kaura. The first was not courageous enough to reach the well (Smith, *Daura*, 54).

<sup>314</sup> As a result of Islamic influences, Kaura in this sense tends now to be replaced by the name Ali in remembrance of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

<sup>315</sup> According to Smith "the queen apparently refused to consummate the union, though Bayajidda lived in her home" (*Daura*, 54).



a place where they could stay inside the palace, he and the slave Bagwariya that she gave to him.

They stayed together until God gave her pregnancy. Then she gave birth to a male child. She got the permission of her husband to give the name to the child. She said: "He should be called Karap da Gari". It means: 'He snatched the town'.<sup>316</sup> Then Daurama became worried [because of the child and his name]. Finally, by the power of God, Daurama also became pregnant. Nobody knew what the sex of the child would be. She prayed and God helped her to give birth to a male child. She too requested for the permission [to give the name to her child]. She said: "Since that one got the permission..., it would be more appropriate to give it to me. Since that one was called Karap da Gari meaning 'snatcher of the town', mine should have the name Bawo meaning 'he should give it back to the rightful owners'." That is why the name of her child is Bawo 'give it back'.<sup>317</sup>

Alright, when Abuyazidu died and Daurama also died, people said that Bawo, being the son of Magajiya Daurama, should succeed his mother. He was the first male child [and male king] and the tenth by counting because his mother was the ninth. That means that he was the first male [on the throne of Daura] and became the tenth [ruler].<sup>318</sup> But the counting starts from him up to the present king of Daura.

After Bawo had become the ruler he said: "This son of Bagwariya, you are the son of a slave, the son of the slave of my mother". Because of that he made him an errant-magician. He said to him: "Well, what I want from you at a certain time...". He, Bawo gave birth to these children... Bawo... He said to him: "Well, you keep on being an errant-magician for me". Thus he turned him into a Bamaguje. Hence he said to him: "You will keep on doing all the things the Maguzawa are doing".<sup>319</sup> That was the actual origin of Maguzanci.<sup>320</sup> "All the

<sup>316</sup> *Karap* can be considered as an ideophone of *karbè* "snatch, take over". The name implies that Bagwariya giving the name *Karap dà Gàri* "overtaker" to her son expects him to be the future ruler.

<sup>317</sup> The name Bawo implies the restitution of the town as well as the rulership. *Báwó* is composed of *bá* "give" and *ó* – in this case *wó* – the ventive particle indicating the movement towards the speaker. It means "give back to me" or "return to me".

<sup>318</sup> In the interview, Alasan also made it clear that Abuyazidu was only the royal husband and not the real ruler of Daura (FN 95, 16).

<sup>319</sup> Bawo addresses Karap da Gari in the plural form (*kà*) thus indicating that his descendants should likewise be Maguzawa.

<sup>320</sup> The Maguzawa, sing. Bamaguje, are a section of the Hausa society equivalent to the Aznà or Arnà (Alhasan FN 95, 48; Kunkumi FN 00, 18-20). On account of their affiliation to the deities of the netherworld they are often considered to be pagan. Indeed, contrary to the Hausà section of the society they are more resistant to Islamic monotheism. Their specific cult practice is called *Māguzanci* (Bargery, *Dictionary*, 746).

superstitions which are to be performed, you are the one to do them. I am the one who rules, but the rituals, you are the one to do them".<sup>321</sup>

So, when the time went on Bawo inherited him.<sup>322</sup> Later on, Bawo gave birth to six sons: Daura, Kano, Katsina, Gobir, Rano, [Zazzau/Zaria], the seventh being Gabas-ta-Biram. At that place Abuyazidu left his son.<sup>323</sup> If you count, you will find out that there are six Hausā, while the seventh is Gabas-ta-Biram. As for the son of Bagwariya, Karap da Gari, he established Jukunawa, the Kwararrafawa people, the people of Kebbi, Igala. All the people around this region are called *Banzā bakwàì* "seven Banzā" and *Hausā bakwàì* "seven Hausā".<sup>324</sup>

From Bawo to the present king of Daura there are altogether ninety-five kings. However in the book of Girgam and owing to the loss of history they became fifty...in fact, fifty-eight kings. The Fulani had nine kings following the ousting of the Habe during the *Jihād* of Usman d'an Fodio. He sent Isiaku with a flag. The latter stayed at Godai which is situated west of Daura at a distance of one and a half miles. They settled there and kept on praying to God. There was a famine of eleven years. At that time, Sarkin Gwari Audu left Daura. After having left Daura, he headed towards Maiadumar Kadai. From there to Kandanka, then to Jere, from there he went to Dawambai. At Dawambai Kaura, son of Dawambai, said: "We should go to that tree. He said: 'When we go, who will do for us...'.<sup>325</sup> He said: 'We should make an announcement (*yèkùwà*), so that our kinsmen come and join us." Yekuwa is now a town with a king. It is there that Sarkin Gwari died. His younger brother Ibrahim went and founded Birnin Gwari.<sup>326</sup> When Sarkin Gwari came here [to Daura], we took him to the grave of Sarkin Gwari Audu. When they were at Yekuna, they decided to leave the foot of the mountain and to go back to Daura. That is why they came to Yardaje, where they stayed. From there his younger brother Kitari went and founded Magaria. Danficini went and established Baure, Usman established Toka, Muhammadu established

<sup>321</sup> Similarly, Gobir traditions link the non-territorial power of Sarkin Annā to the heritage of Karbagari (Nicolas, *Dynamique*, 64).

<sup>322</sup> Although the narrator uses here the masculine pronoun referring apparently to Bayajidda, he probably intended to make Bawo the inheritor of his mother. The evidence for this is provided by the earlier statement that Bawo was the first male king after nine queens.

<sup>323</sup> By defining Gabas-ta-Biram "Gabas/east of Biram" as a locality, the narrator makes it clear that the other names likewise refer to towns and not to sons.

<sup>324</sup> Although the narrator mixes here the *Banzā bakwàì* with the *Hausā bakwàì*, the preceding statement makes it clear that in his mind they are two distinct entities.

<sup>325</sup> Perhaps the narrator wanted to refer here to the ritual of the well. At that time any important meeting – called upon by the *dàjɪnɪn* drums – had perhaps to take place at the well (see Smith, *Daura*, 303).

<sup>326</sup> Other authorities do not mention any link between Daura and Birnin Gwari.

Macina now in francophone territory. Alright, after some time Sarkin Gwari Audu died. Then Lukuli took over from him. After Lukuli took over from him there was Nuhu. Lukuli is the one who came to *Tsohōn Kafi* of Zango.<sup>327</sup> Lukuli said: "I established Kafi of Zango". However, he did not complete the foundation before he died. When Lukuli died, he was followed by Nuhu. When Nuhu inherited him, he said: "Well, my father established Tsohon Kafi". He is the one who came to Tsohon Kafi na Zango. He said: "That Zango is a camp on our way to Daura". That means that we stayed here before we went to Daura. Their ousting from Daura lasted for ninety-nine years before they came back to the town. After Nuhu came Tafida, then Haruna, then Suleiman, then Tafida who was the father of Malam Musa. It is Malam Musa who came to Daura in nineteen hundred...<sup>328</sup>

Alright, at that time the Fulani were ruling. Murnai was the king. When the Europeans asked him about the history of Daura, he said: "I do not have it. Those who have it, they are there to the east". That is why Malam Musa was brought from Zango to Daura. He gave the history of Daura as it really was. It was said: "Alright, this town is yours! You, this is not yours, this is not your town!"<sup>329</sup> Malam Musa was given the rulership of Daura, Maiaduwa and Sandamu and all the places where the Fulani were ruling: Maiaduwa, Sandawa, Daura they were all merged and placed under the authority of Malam Musa. The Europeans confirmed that they gave [those areas] to him. Then after Malam Musa established the kingdom of Daura, it was said that Zango should be merged to it. The king of Daura was put in charge of all those areas.<sup>330</sup>

After Malam Musa returned in the year one thousand and nine hundred and...he returned for seven years...he reigned for eleven years. After his death, Abdurrahman was turbaned in the year 1911. Abdurrahman died in 1966.<sup>331</sup> Then Alhaji Muhammad Bashar inherited the kingship of Daura.

My name is Alhaji Alasan Abdurrahman, the son of the late king of Daura Abdurrahman.

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<sup>327</sup> *Zangò* is a camping place of travellers and caravans and as such it is not thought of as a permanent settlement.

<sup>328</sup> The restoration of the Hausa kings took place in 1906 (Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 153; Smith, *Daura*, 419).

<sup>329</sup> By this statement the narrator repeats the verbal command supposedly given by the British colonial authorities to the conflicting parties.

<sup>330</sup> For the political history of Daura from the ousting of the Hausa kings by the Fulani jihadists in 1805 to their re-establishment by the British in 1906 see Hogben/Kirk-Greene, *Emirates*, 151-155, and Smith, *Daura*, 143-331.

<sup>331</sup> According to Hogben/Kirk-Greene, Abdurrahman was the 58th ruler of Daura (*Emirates*, 153). For an account of his rule from 1911 to 1966 see Smith (*Daura*, 461-462).