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WOMEN, ECOLOGY AND ISLAM IN THE MAKING OF MODERN HAUSA CULTURAL HISTORY

By

Mary Wren Bivins

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
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ABSTRACT

WOMEN ECOLOGY AND ISLAM
IN THE MAKING OF MODERN HAUSA CULTURAL HISTORY

by

Mary Wren Bivins

This dissertation is a study of Islamic Hausa women in the West African Republics of Nigeria and Niger and the unique roles they played in shaping, even at times defining, modern Hausa culture. The study begins in the last decades of the nineteenth century, a point of time which emphasizes the profound social, economic and ecological changes already affected in Hausaland by the establishment and expansion of the Fulbe, Islamic Sokoto Caliphate between 1806 and 1904 and dramatically highlights Hausa culture and gender relations on the eve of colonial conquest. From 1899 to 1960, the Hausa people were incorporated into two, often competing, colonial states, French Niger and British Nigeria. During that time, Hausa people experienced intensified demands to modernize their farming systems, social relations and personal lives under the urging and, at times, coercive direction of two distinct colonial regimes. This is the historical and political setting in which the dissertation examines Hausa women and the emergence of modern Hausa culture

Beginning with evidence of *fin de siecle* Hausa culture, the dissertation examines a diverse body of historical evidence and uses oral literature, material culture and the life histories of Hausa informants to contextualize the documents of the colonial regime in Hausa Niger. The language of gender relations in Hausa folk stories and Hausa Islamic legal traditions and the material culture of Hausa women found in the ethnographic collections of European museums are given special attention as historical evidence.

The dissertation concludes that the blending of Hausa notions of gender, ethnicity and Islam empowered Hausa women's participation in the economic transformation of the nineteenth century Hausa landscape and the Hausa response to European conquest. In the culture of *fin de siecle* Hausaland, gender was an essential element in Hausa definitions of ethnicity and Islamic practices. The historical connections between women, gender, ethnicity and Islam are essential to understanding the influence of the past on the present in Hausa culture and political movements.

For my daughters, Linda and Roberta Wren Bivins

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank those Hausa women who guided me through their world. I particular, I note the extraordinary patience and wisdom of Saratu, Gude, Bango, U'ma, Amina, all of Mahuta, and Aichatou, Hawa, Rachia and Maimuna of Matamaye. In Niger I enjoyed the collegiality of I.R.S.H. and the kind assistance of the staff of the National Archives and the personnel of the Prefecture, Zinder. I especially appreciated the hospitality of the Kaba family, David Queen, Director of the American Cultural Center, Cynthia Moore, Elizabeth Hall, Jill Jupiter and Gabrielle Neuness. In Zinder, I enjoyed the friendship of Annerieke van Dorsten and Peter deVries and in Berlin that of Dr. Til Förster and his family. The staff of Berlin's Museum für Völkerkund was collegial and most supportive of my research in their collections. Dr. Ann Dunbar has been an exceptionally thoughtful colleague. I would also like to express my respect and gratitude for the professional guidance of Dr. Harry Reed, Dr. Elizabeth Elderidge, and Dr. David Dwyer. I am deeply grateful for the intellectual companionship and encouragement given to me by Dr. Maureen Flanagan, Dr. Charles Radding, Dr. William Hixson, Ms. Leena Seiglebaum, Ms. Susanna Miller and Ms. Roberta Bivins and her sister, Ms. Linda Bivins.

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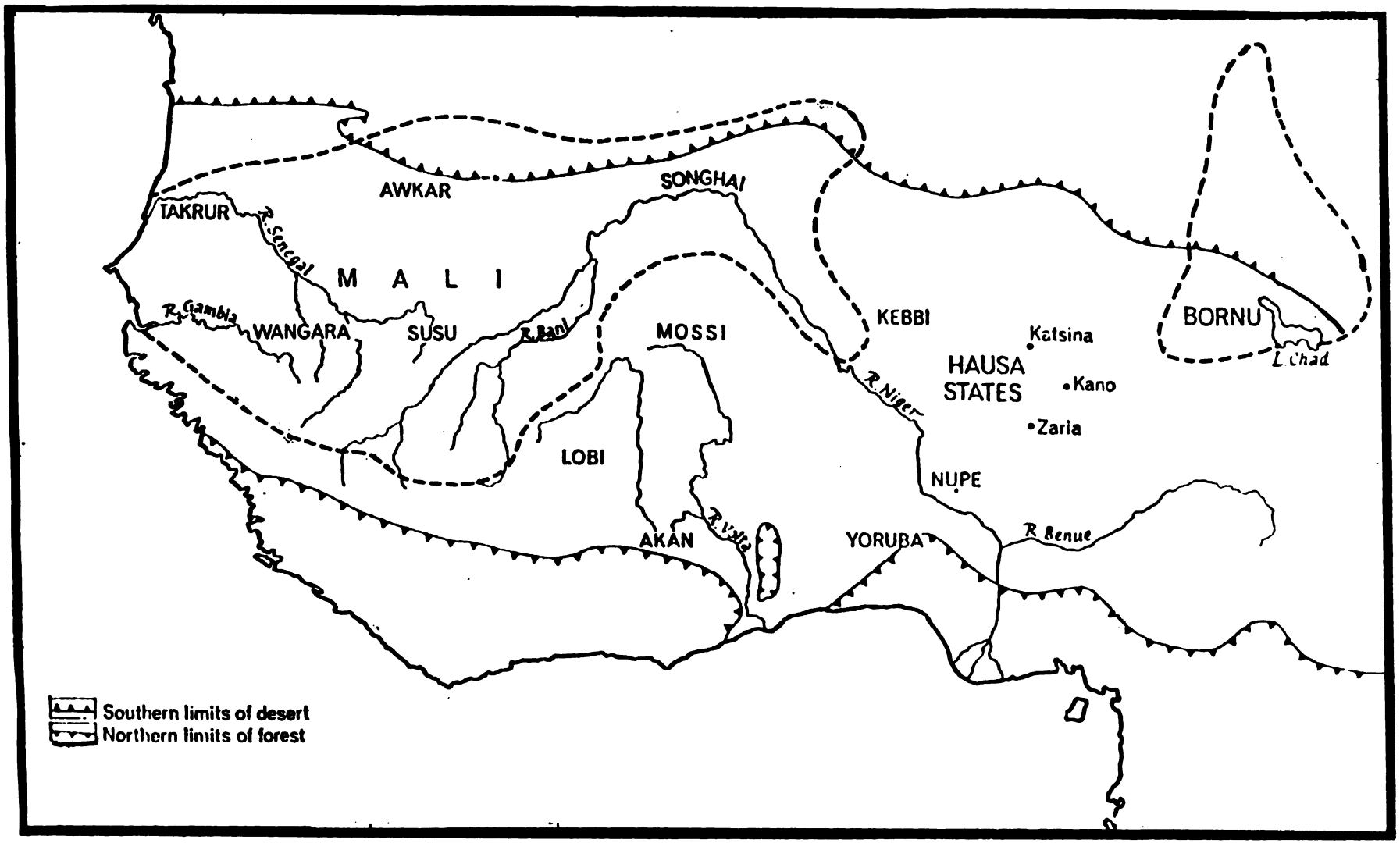

West Africa: The Hausa States (adapted from Fage 1969)

Chapter 1: Prologue and Introduction

Voice Print of A Hausa Village

The *zaure* is cool. Its thick, oblique, clay walls and high, domed roof encourage a breeze, refreshing two strangers waiting for the village head to return home from inspecting his cotton field. The cotton harvest is at hand; the maturing bolls require careful watching. The village head, an elderly man, father of a family already four generations grown, must consider when the crop will ripen and when the labor, male and female, of his large and prosperous household will be needed to bring in their most valuable cash crop. It is November, 1974, in a Hausa village in rural Nigeria.[1]

The village head's homestead is in the heart of the village, adjoining the compound of his brother, reputably the wealthiest farmer in town. Across the road is the homestead of another wealthy farmer. All are surrounded by the homesteads of other long-established families and all are connected with one another through ties of kinship and obligation; friendship and rivalry; memories of the distant and not so distant past; shared expectations and private desires for the future. One thing is certain: the people in this part of town belong here. They are not new arrivals or transients. Family defines the architecture of the compounds and determines how space within them is used. Family ties, past, present and future determine the human geography of this village. Old families control the center of the village's physical and social space; newcomers and

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1. The *zaure* is the entrance room or foyer of Hausa homes. M. Bivins. Field journals and photo documentation, Mahuta, Nigeria, Nov. 1974-June, 1976 and Sept., 1978-June, 1979.

strangers (except for the two now waiting for the village head) must request or simply find a space for themselves on the margins of the village.

At first glance, it looks as if the village grows around itself and its old families, rather like the shell of a snail. But this is not accurate; at the core of the village, human relations of the most intimate nature are constantly changing. And, ironically, the people who seem most settled and secure in their place in the social and physical space of the village are, in reality, the very avatars of change and the instability of human relationships. The mothers, wives and daughters of this village, through their marriages, divorces, pregnancies and deaths, constantly force change and movement in emotional, societal and spatial terms. Marriage adds new women--and the children they bear-- to old families. Marriage strengthens the ties among families and within the village as the daughters of one household are established as wives and mothers in another. Marriages also create ties in new directions when village girls marry into families outside of the old networks, sometimes moving far from their homes and kin, but never, unless they choose to do so, breaking off their family and community ties. Where a son, if he hopes to farm or in most other ways use the resources of his family to establish himself, is tied to the family farmland and, even when he brings home his own bride, the family homestead, a daughter is very much a creature of change and the family's link to outsiders, for better or worse. The two strangers, however, are not aware of this: they see order, stability, prosperity. They saw the village men working in the fields as they approached and now, in the village head's zaure, they are well aware of the curious stares of its children. They have not yet seen the village's adult women, though they hear their voices and the sounds of their work from behind the compound walls.

Near the *zaure's* door, set in obviously public space, is the neighborhood's well. It is not the most modern well in the village, nor is it located in the village's most prominent public space. That designation would have to go to the government-built, bore-hole well located in the large plaza in front of the village mosque. But that well is unusable: its windmill-powered pump broken and not likely to be repaired for want of parts as well as appropriate skills among the village artisans. The strangers in the *zaure* are unaware of the well's fate nor do they know that the impressive scale of the mosque's plaza has little daily meaning to the village. There is no reason to gather there except on Friday.

The well outside the village head's *zaure* is old, deeper than most village wells, and accessible to anyone with a long rope, a bucket and the strength and skill to draw water. Its proximity to the homesteads of wealthy families, let alone the village head's own *zaure,* places it within a especially lively and interesting social space: good water is not the only attraction of this well; good gossip and its vivid social setting are just as important. This is a very public setting. Even the strangers can see that: indeed, this morning they themselves are the well's main attraction.

A girl, thirteen or fourteen years of age, bold, strong and confident in herself, is hauling water for her household. She's on the marriage market and carries herself with the bold swagger of a teenage girl who knows the power of her appeal to the opposite sex. She's not well-dressed; not made up. She doesn't have to be today. She's hauling water and her clothes are much less important than her vigor, feminine strength and her freedom to be a part of the village's public life. Her sexual presence in this public space is powerful and she knows it. So, intuitively, do the strangers in the *zaure*.

The girl and the village head; the well and the cotton field; the *zaure* and the homesteads surrounding it all affirm the vitality of this village, the families who live in it and the culture which has shaped their most basic definitions of themselves and their society. The visitors can see the evidence that clearly marks the culture of this Nigerian village as Hausa. More significantly, they can hear it.

This village has no electricity. Battery-operated radios are still some- what rare; motor vehicles even more so. Only motorcycles--125 cc Kawasaki's and Hondas, dirt bikes to kids in the U.S.--are relatively common, though they still carry with them the aura of prestige previously attached to horses. They also tend to be the prized possessions of the younger, adult men. A major road between Sokoto and Lagos passes through the village, just as it has since the 1920's, but still has not been paved. While the economic jolt of Nigeria's oil boom has certainly influenced the material culture of the village, the raucous sounds of development, the sounds of machines replacing human labor in so many arenas of life, even those of religious devotion and simple relaxation, have not yet arrived. Instead, the sound print of the village is that of its human and animal residents and the steady thud of pestles in mortars as women begin the day-long task of preparing grain and seasonings for the evening meal.

The village in 1974 has a distinctively human voice and this sound more than any other document or artifact links the village to its past. Human conversations begin and end every day with ritual greetings. Conversations describe activities on the farm and in the work spaces of the village artisans. Voices discuss prices and markets and the implications of government price supports for the village's agricultural exports. Jokes and insults are exchanged. Voices praise Allah five times a day and curse destructive animals, recalcitrant

children, selfish co-wives and uncooperative spouses far more often. Voices discuss national politics and local intrigues. Husbands and wives; parents and children; residents and the two strangers; chickens, ducks, guinea fowl, donkeys, goats, sheep and the rare horse: the village hums with the sounds of rural life. Coming in on the road through the fields, the strangers heard this collectivity of human and animal discourse almost before they could distinguish one homestead from the next. They will come to know that, except in public prayer, the daily voice of the village is profoundly feminine. Women work within the village and the sounds of their labor penetrate the surrounding farmland. From compound to compound comes the sound of women chatting, working, scolding, praising, singing and shouting for joy. Only sex and childbirth are unaccompanied by women's voices. Hausa women experience those events in socially prescribed, even ritual, silence.

The skill of the girl drawing water and the beat of the women's pestles celebrates the knowledge of their ancestors as surely as the architecture of the zaure or the daily calls to prayer. The feminine voice of work and daily discourse in this Hausa village holds a vital key to understanding the history of that knowledge. The purpose of this dissertation is to examine a body of historical documentation created in similar Hausa settings during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and retrieve, where possible, the feminine sound of Hausa history.

Introduction: Women, Ecology and Islam

> Among the different approaches valid for arriving at an interpretation of baroque culture--whose results, precisely because of its diversity, will always be incomplete--I have focused my inquiry on the meaning and range of the characteristics making up this culture, so that its nexus, with its social relations, will stand out from those relations on which it depends and to whose slow transformation it, in turn, contributes (Maravall 1986,3).

Throughout the nineteenth century, economic and political changes stimulated social alternatives for rural, farming households as increasing numbers of Hausa participated in the twin processes of urbanization and the commercialization of agriculture. For rural families, improving markets for agricultural products could encourage significant changes in rural lifestyles. Among the most important was the adoption of more Islamically-correct forms of Koranic education and marriage, especially wife seclusion *(purdah,* or, in Hausa,*aure kulle).* These were highly personal changes which tended to encourage rural participation in a developing Hausa Islamic popular culture. By the middle of the twentieth century Hausa people found multiple ways to express both the change and continuity which marks nineteenth and twentieth century history within the Hausa social formation. The result would be the creation of both a Hausa definition of modernity and a powerful Hausa national identity within the post-colonial states of Niger and Nigeria.

The focus of this dissertation is the role of gender in the definition of Hausa modernity, a role especially well-expressed in the history of nineteenth and early twentieth century Hausa women and their encounters with

colonization. What needs to be explained is the way established elements of Hausa culture were maintained and even, in some cases, enhanced in this period by the appropriation of the symbols and technologies of modernization first associated with an African, Moslem conquest state, the Fulbe Sokoto Caliphate, from 1806 to 1900, but more prominently affixed to the era of British and French colonial rule from 1899 to 1960.[2] Within the context of these three distinctive manifestations of colonialism, the beginnings of a unique expression of Hausa modernity and Hausa nationalism can be detected. Hausa people chose not to become either "Fulbe" or "western", but rather to use the wealth generated by the expansion of Hausa economic and political relations within the Sokoto Caliphate and, latter, with the west to participate in a renaissance of Hausa culture. Indeed, colonial economic relationships allowed some classes of Hausa society to maintain and even expand their relations of power. Wealthy merchants survived the turmoil of conquest and flourished in the Caliphate and in the colonial states of Niger and Nigeria (Salifou 1971,1972; Lovejoy 1978 ; Shea 1975). Today they and their families are, if anything, more powerful and more of a cultural influence than ever before (Gregoire 1986). This is evidence not simply of the resilience of conservative Hausa values and culture, but of the fundamental independence of Hausa historical development from the domination of colonial rule. The "colonial moment" was precisely that: a moment in the long, unfolding of a uniquely Hausa historical structure.

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[2]For the history of the Fulbe's victorious nineteenth century holy war (*jihad*) against the kingdoms of the Hausa.and their creation of an Islamic state, the Sokoto Caliphate, an extensive historical literature exists.See,for example, Junaidu 1956; East 1970:2; H.F.C.Smith 1961; Adeleye 1971; Last 1967; Usuman 1981; Low 1972; Johnston 1967; Hiskett 1973; Boyd 1989.

What I aim to achieve in this dissertation is an analysis of Hausa culture as a historical structure. I want to show and to explain why there is a flourishing of Hausa culture in the twentieth century which reaches a peak of stylistic expression in the period from the end of World War Two to the 1960's and continues in many ways to the present. I see expressions of Hausa culture in such areas as architecture, textiles and clothing; language and the rise of a modern Hausa literature. Expressions of a modern Hausa culture also signal profound changes in social relations within rural families adjusting to the expansion of wife seclusion (*purdah*) and the abolition of household slavery in the twentieth century. Hausa culture at mid-century found multiple ways to express both change and continuity within the Hausa social formation. The result would be the creation of both a Hausa definition of modernity and a powerful Hausa national identity. Because both France and Great Britain established colonial regimes in Hausaphone regionsat the beginning of the twentieth century, we have here an arresting case study of comparative colonial cultures and the rise of a modern African national identity.[3]

The differences in the colonial experience of Hausa populations on either side of the international border can be especially articulated through an analysis of the relationships between three primary icons of Hausa identity: the status of Hausa women; the unique social construction of a Hausa ecology; and the Islamification of Hausa popular culture. The logic for designating three elements of Hausa society as cultural icons is based on the significant ways cultural

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[3]The historiography of colonial conquest and rule in the Hausa regions of Niger and Nigeria is extensive. For Niger, published sources include Abadie 1927; Fuglestad 1983; Salifou 1971; Rash 1973; Séré de Rivières 1965; Kanya-Forstner 1969.

inventions, modern myth making, and profound social, economic and ecological change have intersected in the history of late nineteenth and twentieth century Hausaland.

The history of Hausa women, in particular, presents an alternative reading of modern Hausa history.[4] While women were obscured in the process of making a colonial culture, their status in Islamic Hausa popular culture has been critically important to Hausa nationalism. European and Hausa views of the ecology and geography of Hausaland are another fundamental, yet contrasting, aspect of both colonial and nationalist definitions of Hausaland. Finally, beginning with colonial policies towards Islam, the definition of Hausaland as an Islamic state played a fundamental role in creating the beginnings of a modern Hausa political identity during the colonial period, even when the Islamification of Hausaland was far from complete. In short, this is a dissertation about the myths and the realities of modern Hausa culture seen through the prisms of gender, ecology and religion. Furthermore, the paradigm of gender offers such valuable insights into the meaning of both Hausa modernity and Hausa nationalism, that it serves as my medium for describing modern Hausa history.

Gender, Ecology and Hausa Economic History

The narrative of Hausa economic history has a curious intellectual heritage, one which begins when Renaissance Europe began to examine the accounts of Africa gathered by Moslem geographers. The unique ecological and

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[4]This view informs the historical perspective of Coles and Mack in the introduction to their collection of articles on twentieth century Hausa women (1991, 3-26).

cultural characteristics of Hausaland were first presented to curious, literate and, most likely, wealthy Europeans in the description of Hausa kingdoms published in 1556 by the North African scholar, Leo Africanus. Africanus positioned four Hausa kingdoms, Kano, Katsina, Zaria and Zamfara, between the medival West African empires of Mali and Bornu already know, at least by reputation, to Europe (Africanus 1556). The names of these four Hausa kingdoms, plus that of a fifth, Gobir, would increasingly find their way onto the maps of Renaissance Europe.[5] Since that time the observations of travelers and, in the twentieth century, government officials and social scientists, have deeply influenced how the Hausa landscape has been perceived by non-Hausa intellectuals, especially economic historians. Thus, as an imagined landscape, Hausaland has existed for outsiders as a place and a culture in the Central Sudan of West Africa since the late sixteenth century (Hiskett 1965, 6:18-26; Sutton 1979, 20:179-201).

Whatever the ideological orientation, the modern historiography of Hausa economic history shares a common heritage, based on earlier descriptions, especially those of nineteenth century travelers, which have consistently portrayed the land of the Hausa as having a dense and productive farming population, rich natural resources, and extensive manufacturing and commercial sectors. This is especially obvious in the travel narratives prepared by nineteenth century European explorers who ventured into Hausaland, notably, Hugh Clapperton and Dixon Denham (English, 1822-4), James Richardson (English, 1850-1), Heinrich Barth (German, traveling under British sponsorship, 1849-55), and Paul Staudinger (German, 1885-6).

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[5]This is easily observed in the libraries and drawing rooms of Italian palaces, including the Vatican.

Outsiders saw the cities and towns of the Hausa in terms of opportunities for trade. Late nineteenth century Europeans cherished this image from earlier accounts and carried it with them on their journeys into Hausaland. Their curiosity and excitement is easy to detect in the travel narratives. In anticipation of finally arriving in Kano, for example, Hugh Clapperton took special care with his appearance, wearing his best Naval officer's uniform. (Denham and Clapperton 1985, 237). Paul Staudinger expressed similar excitement on his arrival in Zaria (Staudinger 1990, 210). While the descriptions of their own journeys often belie the vision of plenty, the difficulties they regularly experienced obtaining food, water and other essentials, as well as the sickness they experienced, were either explained away or overlooked by themselves and by their fascinated readers. European travelers simply remarked that the problems they faced were a matter of the different needs (physical and mental) of Europeans.

The representation of Hausaland as a region marked by a wealth of natural resources and a vigorously productive population became an icon in the expansionist reveries of both French and British imperialist by the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth (Foureau 1902; Abadie 1927; Hardy 1922; F. Shaw 1906; Orr 1911; E.D. Morell 1911; Rennell Rodd 1922; McPhee 1926; Hogendorn 1979). This image of Hausaland, often scaled to replicate the territorial boundaries, first, of the nineteenth century Sokoto Caliphate, then of the British Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, proclaimed in 1900, ushered in some of the pet theories of colonial conquest in the early twentieth century and, later,

served to demarcate the conceptual territory of Hausa economic history (Staudinger 1990, 2:3; Fika 1978).[6]

While theoretically informed and meticulously-researched scholarship has contributed to building a Hausa historiography in the past twenty years, the writing of Hausa economic history has continued to be shaped by the old vision of plenty. The empirical, generally liberal, and remarkably productive Anglo-Nigerian interpretation of Hausa economic history has described an expanding nineteenth century economy in rural and urban Hausaland, a Hausa economic miracle stimulated and sustained by a relatively limited number of factors, notably: the political integration of the central Hausa emirates into the Sokoto Caliphate; commercial expansion, especially of long-distance trade; the intensified use of slave labor in all sectors of the economy; urbanization, or, at least the development of specific urban centers; rural and urban manufacturing, most importantly in textile production, but also in leather tanning, iron smelting and blacksmithing (P. Hill 1972; Hogendorn 1975, 4:87-103, 1978; Jagger 1973;; Shea 1976; Lovejoy 1970,1971, 1976; Baier 1980; M. Adamu 1978, 1976, 5:3-12). All offer what can only be described as open acceptance of the expansion of slavery in the nineteenth century, even as they document the violence of enslavement and the public slave markets and the struggles of slaves to escape (Lovejoy 1986b, 1983, 1981; Lovejoy and Hogendorn 1979, 213-238; P. Hill 1976, 17:395-426;

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[6]The colonial boundary between Hausa communities controlled by either the French or the British seems to be honored in the modern historiography which has strongly tended to emphasize differnces, especially in religious affairs, rather than similarities among Hausa people in Niger and Nigeria. Francophone historians have focused on Niger while even a historian of the stature of Nigeria's Y.B. Usuman admitted not making use of French sources because he could not translate French (Usuman 1981, 221).

Hogendorn 1977, 6:369-383; Jagger 1973, 1:11-26; Tambo 1976, 2:187-217).[7][8] From this literature, a simplified model of economic development in nineteenth century Hausaland emerges in which the successful integration of all these factors of production and exchange resulted in the creation of a densely populated, highly productive human landscape in which merchant capital, slavery and some forms of wage labor played significant roles (Shea 1976).

Curiously, in many of the historical studies of the nineteenth century Hausa economy, the economic landscape seems to have been populated only by numerous, healthy, adult men; children, the elderly and women of any age are not often acknowledged as active participants in the nineteenth century Hausa economy. Little attention has been focused on the ecological impact of the large-scale demographic consequences of both the Sokoto Jihad and the politics of the Caliphate. For example, while the increasing use of slave labor has been documented, historians have focused on examining the ideology of slavery, not on the ecological consequences of the often significant population movements, voluntary and not, which characterized the creation of slave estates in Hausaland. Though clearly evident in the singularly descriptive narrative of the biography of a Hausa woman produced by Mary Smith in the early 1950's and also described in the work of anthropologists, gender and slavery were glossed over by economic historians of either ideological persuasion until the 1980's when articles based on oral testimony and the legal documentation of the end of

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[7] Throughout West Africa, especially in the Islamic states of the savanna, historians have reported great difficulty in gathering oral testimony to study the internal history of slavery (M. Klein 1989:209-217). The memory of the past seems to haunt the present. Lovejoy and Hogendorn worked with elderly, rural informants in a setting which was rather more open and relaxed than today.

concubinage in Kano seems to have generated a re-appraisal of this vital issue (Lovejoy 1988, 29:245-66; Cristelow 1991:130-144; M. Smith 1964).[8] When fine-grained studies of industries such as Shea's work on dyed textiles or Lovejoy's on the kola trade fail to consider either gender or the environmental impact of industrial expansion, the wealth of detail, especially that collected from elderly informants, only stimulates interest in those issues and curiosity about why they were not addressed.

If consideration of the ecological consequences of nineteenth century economic changes has been neglected, this is not the case for studies of the twentieth, especially those focused on the colonial period. Attention to the ecological consequences of the capitalist transformation of Hausa social relations under colonial rule has been featured by Marxist-informed scholars. In a much-simplified Marxist model, the integration of Hausaland into the world capitalist economy led to peripheralization and underdevelopment, especially in terms of the deterioration of an economically productive, ecologically balanced, and socially just pre-colonial Hausa social formation. Marxist understandings of class analysis and the dynamics of economic forces underlie the work on economic and environmental history produced by such scholars, a notably inter-disciplinary band in Niger and Nigeria (Lubeck 1986; Shenton 1986; Shenton and Freund 1978, 13:8-20; Shenton and Lennihan 1981, 9:47-70; Watts1983; Fuglestad 1983; Raynaut 1977, 2:160-171; Collion 1982).

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[8] Smith's "autobiography" of Baba was not analytical in its presentation of female slavery, (M. Smith 1964). The Hausa text of Baba's autobiography has recently been published, but I was not able to consult it for this dissertation (Smith 1993).

Shenton's study of the imposition of colonial economic structures on Kano typifies the importance of the concept of underdevelopment as it has been applied to the Hausa case (Shenton 1986). For Shenton, the pre-capitalist society of metropolitan Kano was part of a distinct Hausa regional economy at 1900. Conquered by the British in 1904, Kano next functioned as a component of a capitalist colonial state irrevocably tied to the fluctuations of the world capitalist system, a system which collapsed in the Great Depression of the 1930's. For Michael Watts, the same forces of capitalist underdevelopment ushered in with enhanced severity the famines which accompanied the periods of intense drought suffered across Hausaland in the twentieth century (Watts 1983) Fuglestad, looking strictly at the experience of colonial Niger, concludes that the French conquest of Damagaram robbed Nigerien Hausa of their ability to respond to ecological crisis (Fuglestad 1983:90-91). Drought, famine and capitalism together undermined the quality of life of twentieth century Hausa in Nigeria and Niger (Collion 1982; Watts 1983). The perceived positive benefits of economic development to nineteenth century Hausaland serve the modern historiography as a counterpuntal theme to the economic history of the colonial rule. In Shenton's words:

> As far as Northern Nigeria is concerned, Karl Marx's depiction of colonialism as a hothouse for the development of capitalism is especially apt. During the sixty-odd years of colonial rule the social formation of Northern Nigeria was dramatically transformed. Although this transformation was of a massive and decisive nature, much of Northern Nigerian society continues to this day to leave the casual and even the scholarly observer with the impression of changelessness. Emirs still rule, peasants still till the soil with hoes.

> Yet behind this superficial continuity, a world has changed. (Shenton 1986:120)

In this view, the economic history of twentieth century Hausaland would thus appear to satisfy all of the requirements needed to define it as a case study of an ecological revolution.[9] To achieve this objective, scholars such as Watts, a geographer, adopted an especially interdisciplinary approach. In *Silent Violence*, Watts lays the empirical foundation of his analysis of the politics of famine on the descriptive research of European natural sciences, including his own perspective as a geographer (Watts 1983). Doing this he is able to present a powerful image of documented environmental change. The precision of the scientific data is harnessed to the analytical force of his ideological paradigm. But, again, I point to the narrow temporal parameters of this (and other) studies of twentieth century Hausa economic history and suggest that environmental history belongs in a deeper chronological frame.

Hausa economic history thus posits a puzzling anomaly for the nineteenth century: large-scale economic change, unflawed by such problems as social dislocation or environmental deterioration. Ironically, this model of the Hausa economy parallels that which celebrates the Sokoto Jihad and the founding of the Sokoto Caliphate as nothing less than a social revolution (Sulaiman 1982; Boyd 1989). In short, the major themes of nineteenth century Hausa economic history unwittingly tend to reproduce a historical narrative composed only by the winners, identifiable as an urban, multi-ethnic, Moslem, political elite, bolstered

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9 The notion of ecological revolution is well-explicated in the historical studies of the North American environment by Carolyn Merchant (C. Merchant 1989). See also William Cronon's study of environmental change in colonial New England, *Changes in the Land* (W. Cronon 1983).

by increasingly large-scale Hausa and non-Hausa commercial enterprises. Such a combination came to dominate the interplay between politics and economic development, especially in the major emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate, but also, for special reasons, in Damagaram and its capital, Zinder.[10] Though our working knowledge of the details of Hausa economic life has increased, giving Hausaland one of the more comprehensive historiographies on pre-colonial economic history, we have not challenged the old vision of plenty, now, I would suggest, enhanced by our own notions of progress.[11] Even the work on the nineteenth century environment, a literature which tends to describe the drought- and famine-resistance strategies used by Hausa and other peoples of the Central Sudan, seems, at times, analytically limited in its somewhat subservient relationship to the "big theme" of politics, drought and famine in the post-colonial states of Africa (Fuglestad 1974, 222:18-33; Baier and Lovejoy 1975, 4;551-81; 1976,1:1-16).[12]

The role of Hausa women in the economic miracle of nineteenth century development has been marginalized in the historiography until very recently. Gender theory has been weakly employed to explicate the link between production and reproduction in much of the literature. The impact of ecological conditions on nineteenth century women's' lives has also been ignored. There is

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10 My thinking on this is influenced by my reading of James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, especially chapters 1 and 5 (Scott 1987).

11 Only John Iliffe has considered the poor in Hausa history as part of a more general study (Iliffe 1987).

12 The first generation of serious economic historians was in the field when the 1970's droughts were occurring. Many had also participated in the radical student movements of the 1960's as well, an experience which, in some cases, also contributed to the formation of their intellectual persona and their scholarly goals.

no mention, for example, of the extremely low birth-rates and women's expressed anxieties about infertility noted by European travelers as early as Richardson's mid-nineteenth century visit and an absolutely clear theme in the *tatsuniyoyi* (Richardson 1853, 2). Even when their labor has been acknowledged, as in studies of the textile crafts or domestic slaves (including concubines), women remain under-represented in the ranks of nineteenth century Hausa laboring classes.

Ironically, I make this criticism in spite of the fact that a significant body of feminist scholarship has been created, especially by social scientists, in the past twenty years. My criticism of this literature is based on the self-limiting methodologies most frequently employed: this work describes twentieth century Hausa women because it, of necessity is based on the life experiences of twentieth century informants.[13] In fact, it describes women generally reaching adulthood after World War Two.

Historical evidence exists to re-animate the economic landscape of nineteenth century Hausa. Hausa oral literature, including the folk stories called *tatsuniyoyi* , gives us an internal perception of ecology while the accounts of literate Hausa and European travelers provide historical narratives of ecological change.[14] Linguistic evidence also offers a rich cultural matrix within which the

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13 The scholarship of western feminists tends to incorporate a basic Marxist formulation of Hausa society as well, though it makes the important point that colonial rule enhanced the already present structures and powers of patriarchy and oppression set in place by Islam.

14 While the literature on geography and imagination is expansive, three books in particular encouraged me to look at the sources on Hausa history from this perspective: Le Goff, Jacques. *The Medieval Imagination.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1988; Erickson, Carolly. *The Medieval Vision, Essays in History and Perception.* New York: Oxford University Press. 1976; Greenblatt, Stephen.

interaction of Hausa with their environment can also be detected.[15] While this dissertation is informed by the research of natural scientists and social scientists, I here privilege the language and literature of Hausa and European observers of nineteenth century Hausaland. I propose to use this evidence to examine issues of gender in the nineteenth century Hausa economy and to link an ecological model of Hausaland to the more defined economic model of growth and rural development.

An ecological model, as I hope to show, calls for an integration of observations of the diversity of the Hausa ecology to observations of the social and technological diversity and innovation on the part of Hausa women and men. What I mean by this is simple. The goods and services emphasized in economic history were produced in a unique human and ecological landscape from which women and their labor were not excluded. The diversity of the environmental system stimulated the development of specialized and highly local technology for agriculture, food and craft production. While the natural environment shaped the mental construction of a Hausa world, the Hausa imagination, including the imagination to innovate new ways to use the natural resources of the plant and animal kingdoms, shaped and reshaped the natural world.[16] In short, I hope to be able to show that there was a distinctive, Hausa

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Marvelous Possessions, The Wonder of the New World. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1991.

[15]Vansina effectively developes a methodology for using linguistic evidence of culture and ecology, which he identifies as the collection and analysis of comparative lexical data, in his most recent publications (Vansina 1978, 1990). This is the aproach I follow in a later chapter of this dissertation. See also Ehert for a linguist's view of using language as historical evidence (Ehert 1968, 1982).

[16] The archaeologist, J.E.G. Sutton wrote: "This emergence of Hausa as an ethnic identity expanding from east to west across the Nigerian savanna has to be

farming culture it was hardly monolithic; rather, there was a significant element of adaptability and resourcefulness in rural Hausaland which reflected the society's interaction with the variety of ecological features found in its physical environment. Furthermore, while gender was an integral element in the construction of Hausa social reality, gender did not marginalize the labor and value of women in the economy of nineteenth century rural Hausaland.

The study of gender in such places as Hausaland shows how the roles of ordinary women, usually peasants, far from the sources of power in their own societies, often provided the mortar which held traditional societies together when confronted with the powerful forces of change of the twentieth century. To paraphrase the title of Achebe's masterpiece, when Europe confronted Hausaland on its hearth, things did not fall apart, no matter what may have

transpired in the palace or the marketplace (Achebe 1964).[17] The artifacts of daily life conserved in oral literature, material culture the testimony of Hausa women and men are historical evidence which undeniably reposition Hausa women in the cultural and ecological landscape they helped shape and help us to understand the strength of the Hausa response to social change in the colonial period.

Through the sources I have used to write this dissertation we catch glimpses of Hausa women: what they looked like and what they wore; how they farmed and worked at crafts; how they cooked and cared for their families. We

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viewed ecologically. It was more than a matter of gradual migration and assimilation: it involved also Hausafication of the land, the conversion of bush and woodlands into park land and open savanna, with a marked reduction of the tsetse-infested areas, and the increasingly intensive exploitation of the land for seasonal grain cultivation and a fair degree of cattle-keeping. Thus Hausaland, which may have been quite sparsely inhabited in the early Iron Age, has during the present millennium come to support denser populations than both the drier Sahel to its north and also most of the 'middle belt' with longer rains but more woodland to its south. More important than actual population density would have been simply continuity across the plains. Being Hausa implied belonging to a wider, more open and receptive system, rural indeed but not rustic, one in which the countryside could support and interact with semi-urban centers where markets gradually developed and political power was increasingly focused." (Sutton 1979, 183-184).

17 Flora Nwapa's *Efuru*, published two years after Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, beautifully exemplifies the significance of gender in the narratives of social change produced by early post colonial African writers (Nwapa 1966). The contrast is even more striking when one remembers that the two authors were both Ibo and of the same generation, an especially telling comparison in a society which is organized around the principle of age sets.

can reconstruct aspects of the social, economic and environmental world in which they lived. Through these sources we can achieve some sense of the intellectual and emotional textures of their lives. We have some sense of how they ordered the world around them: named it, described it, gave it value and placed it into categories of good and evil proper and improper. It is seldom that they speak for themselves, and certainly the chief goal of researchers today should be to expand as rapidly as possible the body of oral testimony collected from and about Hausa women. In this task I do not exclude the testimony of male informants, for whom women and marriage are a significant preoccupation and with whom Hausa women have constructed the social reality of contemporary Hausaland.

Chapter Outline

To strengthen my thesis in its historical context, I begin by showing how women were critical to the intellectual currents of Hausaland before the emergence of western scholarship. In chapters two, three and four of the dissertation, I consider the evidence on women to be found in the oral and written literature of Hausaland. I consider four kinds of oral evidence and the contributions to the study of Hausa women each offer the historian. This evidence includes state traditions, which I define as the oral and written traditions of the political histories of the various Hausa states; folk stories (*tatsuniyoyi*), in which I detect a dialogue between men and women about the nature of gender relations in Hausaland; religious poetry in which an alternative, Islamic conceptualization of gender relationships is proposed to Hausa society by the scholars of the Sokoto Jihad and their intellectual heirs, including women

poets. Finally, the life histories of Hausa individuals, men and women, are examined for evidence of how effectively the dialogue on gender relationships found in literary sources is actualized in their lives. While some of these individuals lived their lives entirely or in large part in the nineteenth century, most were born after the turn of the century. Their accounts are used to detect patterns of change in gender relationships and to relate these to the broader chronology of social, political and economic change in twentieth century Hausaland.

As cultural evidence, the internal historical narratives of Hausaland, documents such as the *Kano Chronicle*,, for example, provide a Hausa interpretation and internal justification for the emergence of a Hausa state system and Islamic culture, especially in the emirates brought into the Sokoto Caliphate. The oral and written literature, however, also offers evidence of contrasting interpretations of the history of Islam in Hausaland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The use of women as historical metaphors helps to decipher Hausa views of Islam in the time frame indicated and contributes to the history of the Islamification of Hausa popular culture.[18] The role of women in the creation of oral and written traditions of Hausa literature, especially as story tellers in public and private spheres of Hausa life and as poets in the Islamic intellectual traditions, was significant.

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[18]I use popular culture to mean the language, material culture and ideology, of the majority of "ordinary" Hausa people, just as the phrase is used to identify American popular culture today. I recognize distinctions of class, gender and age, but hold that there was, indeed, a distinctive, *fin de siècle* Hausa popular culture, easily identified by urban dwelling Hausa and probably at least noted (and copied, when possible) in rural Hausaland. This is certainly the case today.

The fifth chapter of the dissertation is a re-examination of Hausa economic history which considers the significant influence of women in the evolution of Hausaland's unique physical and cultural landscape during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Working with linguistic evidence, oral literature and travel narratives, I note that the Hausa perspective on economic matters does not privilege the work of men. Rather, Hausa informants saw an economy utterly dependent on the participation of all, even as work was shaped by strong notions of gender roles.

In the final two chapters of the dissertation, I turn to the empirical data from Niger to test my notion that establishing an understanding of the dialogue of gender in Hausa society can open up new ways to interpret colonial evidence like that found in the archives of Hausaphone Niger. This data documents the virtual non-impact of French cultural hegemony on rural Hausa Niger. French rule was hardly one of benign neglect because the evidence clearly points to the way French taxation stripped rural people of resources they might otherwise have invested into their own household economies. Yet the cultural impact of the French was highly ambiguous. The heart of my argument is that Hausa people in Niger modernized themselves: participation in the colonial marketplace did not imply the acceptance of a western model of modernization. Instead the socialization of wealth in rural Hausa Niger clearly points to the creation of Hausa cultural expressions of modernity following an Islamic model. Modernization becomes an expression of a Hausa popular Islamic culture.[19] In

[19]Defining "popular Islamic culture" is a task both simple and complex. Last and Brenner offer an approach to the problem in a Hausa and Fulfulde context which is in accordance with my own views and usage of the concept throughout this dissertation: "...Let us define popular Islam as what the 'people' do and believe,

the conclusion of the dissertation, I turn back to the relationship between modernity and nationalism in the Hausa context.

To summarize the organization of this dissertation, I begin with an image of gender relationships in Hausa culture from the dialogue between the sexes found in literary evidence; then I use this image, a cultural model, in a dialogue with colonial data, all the while building the argument that the process of becoming modern was in the hands of Hausa themselves during the colonial period.

Conclusion

Hausa women were not absent from the intellectual traditions which served the Hausa people before the advent of Western scholarship. The question of women's rights and obligations as wives was a central one in the Islamic tradition of scholarship of Hausaland. Indeed, the very origins of Islam in Hausaland is related in popular culture through the metaphor of male-female relationships. When asked by early European linguists and ethnographers to

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in contrast to that the learned class of *'ulama* do and believe. One implication of this definition is that popular Islam is constituted by the religious practices of the illiterate. Another implication is that popular Islam is somehow doctrinally aberrant and beyond the control and without the approval of the *'ulama* class. Finally, it follows that in West Africa popular forms of Islamic religious practice cannot be expressed in Arabic, since they are formulations of non-Arabic-speaking individuals and groups...competent literacy in Arabic is the major factor in West Africa which separates establishment from popular Islam. No one who is illiterate in Arabic is considered a member of the *'ulama* class no matter what his other credentials, and the religious teaching of any such person is consequently a form of popular Islam...(this definition reveals) the significance of language in the propagation of what is called popular Islam in Africa, and it is also valuable in reminding us that Islam cannot be defined simply in terms of the viewpoint of the *'ulama*." (Last and Brenner 1985:442-3)

provide samples of folk literature, Hausa informants told stories about the relationships of women and men. Clearly, women were vividly present as subjects and creators in Hausa intellectual traditions.

The removal of women from the intellectual traditions of Hausa society began with the Sokoto Jihad and was completed in the colonial era of the twentieth century, nourished by the political policies of the two colonial regimes and the sexism of European scholarly traditions. The absence of women in the history of Hausaland constructed by Europeans and European-educated Africans in the post-colonial period, however, also reflects the preoccupation of scholars with such themes as the Islamic politics of the Sokoto Caliphate or, more generally, Islamic state building in the central Sudan; the economics of the marketplace, especially long-distance trade and the economic dynamics of colonial capitalism; slavery as a mode of production, though with faint recognition of the significance of female slaves; the politics of the colonial states of Niger and Nigeria; and environmental change and drought in the twentieth century. The removal of Hausa women from the Hausa past appears to be an especially powerful metaphor of colonial conquest and intellectual hegemony, whether carried out by the Fulbe of the Sokoto Caliphate or the French and English emissaries of western imperialism.

Nothing can be more fundamental to the decolonization of the history and culture of the Hausa than the rejection of any tradition of sexual discrimination in historical writing and the reincorporation of women into a new assessment of Hausa history, but the task is complicated by the sources available for Hausa history. Hausa women, though belonging to one of West Africa's largest and best known ethnic groups, are nevertheless elusive in the archival records of the

Republics of Niger and Nigeria, their modern homelands. On the whole, Hausa women lived inconspicuous lives, neither rebelling under colonial rule nor participating vigorously in the political movements of the independence period. Their lack of a dramatic political presence has contributed to the enigma of Hausa modernity and nationalism. Finding them within the historical evidence of Hausa culture requires the use of alternative sources, which, of course, require alternative methodologies. In short, the nature of archival and published sources for Hausaland limits the availability of written primary documentation for Hausa women. Historians of women and gender in the Hausa context must cultivate a range of non-textual sources. For the purposes of this study, those sources include artifacts of Hausa material culture, oral literature and oral testimony and the Hausa language itself. The process of developing a history of Hausa women from an unusual set of sources which has guided my thinking on the broader issue of nationalism in modern Hausa history. Thus each section of the dissertation includes a discussion of the unique strengths and weaknesses of the evidence I used to write it.

Chapter 2: Daura and the *Hausa Bakwai*: Gender in Hausa Myths of Origin

> Myth hides nothing and flaunts nothing: it distorts; myth is neither a lie nor a confession: it is an inflexion (Barthes 1972:129).

From the nineteenth century into the first decades of the colonial era, European visitors to Hausaland collected variations of a myth which claimed to describe the origin of the Hausa states. Many included a Hausa queen, Daura, and stated that the city, now in modern Nigeria, which shares her name was the oldest of the Hausa kingdoms. In the myth, the Hausa kingdoms were known collectively as the *Hausa Bakwai* and the *Hausa Banza*, metaphorical devices said to stand for the seven (*bakwai*) legitimate Hausa states and other, illegitimate (*banza*) Hausa states. The Hausa kingdoms and their neighbors were variously grouped into these two categories.

The metaphor of legitimate and bastard siblings sprang from the central motif of the myth: that the founders of the Hausa city states were either the children or the grandchildren of Daura herself and a foreign hero, coming from the east, who rescued the people of Daura from the tyranny of a snake which lived in the town's well. The hero was often called Bayajidda (or a variation of that name) and he fathered the sons of three women: a Bornu princess, a concubine and Daura. Thus, an elaborate representation of a polygamous marriage described the origin of Hausaland while sibling relationships stood in for the politics of Hausa state craft.

In a succession of historical writings since the early nineteenth century, the Daura myth has been used by Islamic reformers, colonial administrators and

Western-trained historians to represent the internal configuration of the earliest Hausa state system. In the twentieth century the myth was incorporated into the national history of the Hausa in the northern province of Nigeria. It has since been used to enhance a modern ethnic identity within the matrix of Nigerian politics in the 1960's and to legitimize special ethnic ties between Hausa communities in the post-colonial states of Niger and Nigeria. [20]

Western-trained scholars also have found the myth intellectually attractive, either as a convenient introduction to the political history of Hausaland or as a potentially valuable historical source. Modern historians, in fact, have so burdened the myth of Daura with meaning that it has a special relevance to the historical identity of Hausaland in the Western intellectual tradition (Fika 1978: 3-4; M.G. Smith 1978: 52-57). [21]

This myth has been interpreted in the twentieth century to symbolize not only that Hausa culture sprang from the ennoblement of the local stock by an outsider from the Islamic east, but also to represent Islam's power to effect the transformation of Hausa society from matrilineal to patrilineal descent and the removal of Hausa women from the sphere of public power (Johnston 1966; Callaway 1987:3-13;Walwyn 1923). While the first statement is largely discredited

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[20]As, for example, those expressed by the Prefect of Niger's predominantly Hausa Division of Zinder to the Nigerian Emir of Daura on the occasion of a ceremony honoring the Emir's relief efforts to supply Zinder with food aide during the droughts of 1984-86.

[21]When doing this, authors tended to employ an idealized version of the Daura myth, assuming, without going through the meticulous process of establishing texts, that a generalized telling of the myth was methodologically permissible. For this reason, I do not try to locate a prototype of the Daura myth in this chapter, though I recognize that this deviates from established methodologies for using myth as historical evidence.

as yet another expression of the "hamitic hypothesis", the second has received fresh recognition by scholars who seek to examine the historical roots of the status of modern Hausa women. At times, such work has been hostile to Islam and sought in pre-Islamic Hausa history a more politically empowered representation of women's status (Callaway 1987: 3-13).

This chapter examines the Daura myth within the intellectual traditions which created each available text, seeking out the meaning of gender as well as the political implications in each telling of the myth. Beginning with the story as it was told in the Sokoto Caliphate in the first half of the nineteenth century indicates the myth's practical political value within the context of the Sokoto's relationships with the newly-conquered Hausa, and also present it in the form by which it was first transmitted to Europeans. Not until the early decades of the twentieth century would another significant variation of the Daura myth come to the attention of Europeans as texts influenced by the political relationships between the Hausa kingdom of Kano and the Kanuri empire of Bornu, located to the east of Hausaland were collected.[22] The texts from eastern Hausa sources also reveal aspects of the Hausa's cultural familiarity with the Islamic world, especially during the period of Ottoman hegemony in Egypt and the Middle East from the sixteenth to the end of the nineteenth centuries. Finally, a unique and highly divergent telling of the myth, narrated by a Kano-educated Islamic scholar in the early years of the twentieth century, shifts the legend out of either

[22]For the history of the Kanuri people and the Bornu Empire see Cohen (1967, 1974) and Brenner (1973). How Bornu's altercations with Kano influenced the construction of Hausa historical sources is discussed by Last (1979).

the equally Islamic Sokoto and Bornu intellectual traditions and reasserts its fundamental relationship to pre-Islamic Hausa oral literature.[23]

The second goal of the chapter is to show how the Daura myth has come to function within the context of modern Hausa political history. The publication history of the myth demonstrates the process by which colonial intellectuals acquired Hausa history and created a standardized account of Daura's story to serve as a metaphore of the Hausa past. While the colonial tradition of Daura is one in which the meaning of gender in Hausa history has been seriously distorted, understanding the Daura myth as an artifact of colonial culture is a lesson in understanding the hegemony of Western scholarly traditions.[24]

The received colonial tradition of the Daura myth has continued to function in the post-colonial historiography of Hausaland and reflects the modern invention of Hausa national traditions, traditions in which the status of women is of fundamental importance. The Daura myth in this way serves as an example of the function of myths in the modern political history of Hausaland and directly corresponds to other forms of myth making practiced by the colonial regimes as they extended colonial hegemony over the Hausa emirates in the twentieth century.

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[23]Thomas Hodgkin's matchless anthology, *Nigerian Perspectives*, including the author's introductory essay on the sources for Nigerian history, is a thoughtful and elegantly written introduction to the Hausa and their neighbors for non-specialist readers (Hodgkin 1960).

[24] To make my purpose absolutely clear, I seek to explore the historical implications of diversity in the telling of the myth. For the meaning of political myths, I draw on the work of Roland Barthes and John Berger (Barthes 1972; Sontag 1982, 93-149, 251-95; J. Berger 1979, 1982,1985, 1987).

Daura and the Hausa Bakwai in the Sokoto Traditions

The first external attempt to establish a standardized account of the history of the Hausa is found in a document created by the leaders of the nineteenth century Fulbe conquest state of Sokoto. In the *Infakul al'Maisur,* Mohammed Bello, Caliph of Sokoto, places the history of the Hausa into the context of wider historical developments in the Central Sudan. While he records that portion of the Daura myth which claims the children of Bawo established the *Hausa Bakwai,* neither Daura nor her husband, Bayajidda, is mentioned. Instead, Bawo, the ancestor of all Hausa, is labeled a Bornu slave who fled the wrath of his ruler by escaping to the west, that is, to the land of the Hausa (Imam 1954; Whitting 1957; Sidi Sayudi, trans. 1974).

From portions of Bello's manuscript which were collected, translated from Arabic into English and published in 1826 by Denham and Clapperton, the first Europeans to visit Sokoto, nineteenth century Europeans gained their initial impression of Hausa history (Denham and Clapperton 1985, 2:398-404).[25]. Europeans were introduced to the tradition that the Hausa states of Katsina, Kano, Zaria, Daura, Rano and "Yareem" were founded by the descendants of a slave, Bawo, owned by a sultan of Bornu. The Hausaphone people of Gobir, however, were described as the freeborn descendants of Egyptian Copts. While the text published by Clapperton and Denham makes no mention of the *Hausa*

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25 Denham and Hugh Clapperton, who traveled to Hausaland and the Sokoto Caliphate between 1822 and 1824 are the first of the European travelers whose published accounts will be examined in this and succeeding chapters. Heinrich Barth would come next, traveling throughout Bornu and Hausaland between 1849 and 1855

Bakwai, it does include an account of the military conquests of Amina, Princess of Zaria. Finally, this early European account of the text confuses Bello's attribution of his own sources for Hausa history, claiming that he acquired his account from his friend, Mohammed El-bakery, son of Sultan Mohammed El-ad-dal of Bornu, though no such historical personage existed. In fact, Bello's sources included three West African scholars whose names may have been confused by Denham and Clapperton's translator: Shaykh al-Shuyukh al-Bakri, Abu Bakr al-Barikum and Al-Imam Mohammed b. al-Hajj 'Abd al-Rahman al-Barnawi (Bivar and Hiskett 1962, 1:117-118).

Bello's discussion of the slave origins of the Hausa and the *Hausa Bakwai* was current in the Central Sudan in the 1855 when the explorer, Heinrich Barth, studied the *Infakul al'Maisur* while residing in one of the Hausa emirates, Katsina. Though Barth recorded Bello's account as the received tradition of Hausa history he was aware that it was taken from a document created by the leaders of a conquest state and critiqued Bello's fashioning of political history from what was possibly an earlier, indigenous Hausa myth of origin in some length:

> Sultan Bello's statement, that the Hausa people originated from a Bornu slave, deserves little credit. It is to be considered as merely expressive of his contempt for the effeminate manners of the Hausa people in his time. But their language, though it has a few words in common with the Kanuri, is evidently quite distant from it, as well in its vocabulary as in its grammar. What Bello says may be correct in a certain sense with regard to the population of Kano, which, indeed seems to consist, for the greater part, of Bornu elements, though in course of time the people have adopted the Hausa language; and this may be the case, also, with other provinces, the original population having been more nearly related to the Manga-Bornu stock. The name 'Bawu', which occurs in the mythical genealogy of the Hausa

people as that of the ancestor of most of the Hausa states, can hardly be supposed to be a mere personification representing the state of slavery in which the nation formerly existed; the name for slave in the Hausa language is bawa, not bawu. It is, however, remarkable that this personage is said to be the son of Karbagari, whose name evidently implies 'the taking of a town', and might be derived from the capture of the town of Biram, which is universally represented as the oldest seat of the Hausa people, a tradition which is attested by a peculiar usage even at the present day. This town of Biral is situated between Kano and Khadeja, and is often called 'Biram-ta-ghabbes', in order to distinguish it from a more westerly town of the same name. Biral, the personification of this town , is said to have been, by his grandson, Bawu (the son of Karbagari), the progenitor of six other Hausa states (likewise personified), viz. Katsena and Zegzeg, who are represented as twins; Kano and Rano, another pair of twins; Gober and Daura; However, it seems almost universally acknowledged that, of all these children, Daura was the eldest." (Barth 1857: vol. I, 471-472).

Barth's account gives us a better understanding of his own mode of inquiry than that of Bello. His discussion of Bello's presentation of the myth, while alert to the prominence of kinship, too readily dispatches the significance of slavery. Unknown to Barth, the absence of Bayajidda in Bello's account of Hausa origins curiously deviates from variations of the story collected later in the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. In those accounts of the *Hausa Bakwai*, both Bawo and Karbagari are the sons of Bayajidda, never Biral. In accounts which include this theme at all, Bawo, Karbagari and Biral are always represented as half-brothers: Bawo the son of Daura and Bayajidda; Karbagari the son of a concubine and Bayajidda; Biral, the son of Bayajidda and his first wife, a Bornu princess, whom he left in Biram-ta-Gabas. Bello's complete

omission of Bayajidda and the substitution of Biral as the progenitor of the Hausa founding fathers is a singular variation from the standard telling of the myth.

Barth, trained as a geographer, tries to use the *Hausa Bakwai* to model a geography of Hausaland. He savors the evidence that Biram-ta-Gabas may be the oldest Hausa city and relates this to his own observations of Hausa and Kanuri settlement patterns. Once again, however, his limited knowledge of Hausa local traditions does not allow him to appreciate the process of selection and rejection among local traditions of origin which preceded Bello's own acceptance of Biram-ta-Gabas, not Daura, as the oldest Hausa city. Finally, though he carefully reports the evidence, Barth clearly is unable to comprehend the value of imagining the founders of the Hausa as three sets of twins. Again, he was unaware that the twin motif was consistently found in other versions of the myth, some of which also add the names of the three mothers. This suggest that the element of kinship in the myth was more significant than that of geography at the time of Bello's research into the origins of the Hausa and since then. Clearly, relationships between the founders of the Hausa states has generally been assumed to be the significance of the Daura myth. Unlike Barth's desire to associate history with geography, the indigenous tradition of Hausa history focused on social, perhaps political, relationships, not physical boundaries.

Gender is significant by its absence from Bello's telling of the myth. Daura herself is an obscure figure, represented only in her role as Bawo's mother. Even at that, the mothers of the three sets of twins who personify the *Hausa Bakwai* separate her by one significant generation from the dominate image of the myth: the relationships between the Hausa kingdoms. For Bello and, presumably, the

Sokoto political elite in general, the master metaphor of sibling relationships and the recognition of seven Hausa provinces may have prefigured the unifying political structure of the Caliphate. Bello was himself one of the chief architects of the Caliphate and it is not surprising that he should adopt the myth of the *Hausa Bakwai,* almost, one might say, as an aide to legitimizing the unifying character of the Fulbe administration of the Hausa emirates (Last 1968; Adeleye 1971). Genealogy, and the political connections understood in the metaphor of the Hausa siblings, here replaces gender as the motivation behind this telling of the myth, thus strengthening its applicability to the legitimization of the Caliphate's administrative reorganization of the Hausa city states.

The myth may also have appealed to Bello because of its structural similarities to Islamic representations of lines of scholarly authority, or *asalin.*[26] In fact, this was a uniquely important aspect of the concept of authority as taught by the Islamic brotherhoods, two of which, the Quadirrya and the Tyjanniya, were especially important in nineteenth century Sokoto (Brenner 1984; Last 1968; Paden 1973, 82). The modern Hausa translation of Bello's work does, indeed, use the word *asalin* to describe the section on Bawo and the *Hausa Bakwai* and it is possible that Bello used the myth to create a fictive *asalin* for the Hausa (Sidi Sayudi 1974: 2). If this is true, then Bello also included a subtle, but potentially significant, racism by choosing to represent the founder of the Hausa "clan" as a slave. Establishing slave status in the male line clearly fits Islamic legal concepts of the inheritance of slave status (B. Lewis 1988; 1990).

Bello's model for developing an Islamic state in Hausaland was dependent on slavery as a social and religious concept and slave labor was an economic

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[26]I use the Hausa spelling.

necessity. Certainly, there was economic as well as political utility in creating a historical image of the Hausa as slaves. This would allow the Sokoto Caliphate to enhance its own economic growth by enslaving Hausa captives for use in the Caliphate and export to North African and Middle Eastern slave markets. Sokoto's dependence on slaves is well-documented elsewhere (Lovejoy 1981: 201-43; 1979: 1267-92). Here, I only present the possibility that the earliest definition of the *Hausa Bakwai* know to European scholars was part of a political myth created to allow the enslavement of Hausa captives within the legal and cultural practices of Islam.

Whether the myth of the *Hausa Bakwai* allowed Bello to construct Hausa history as an *asalin* of slaves is, however, less significant in the intellectual history of the myth than its acceptance by him as an authentic representation of pre-Caliphate Hausa political history. It is as if Bello used the genealogical element of Hausa myths of origin both to encapsulate all historical time before the coming of the Caliphate to the Hausa and as an intellectual device for enhancing the Caliphate's political hegemony over the newly conquered kingdoms. Perhaps Bello's reading of the sibling metaphor was meant to obliterate the local knowledge and local identities, contained in unique local traditions and myths of origin, as an aide to establishing a Hausa identity based on loyalty to a wider, Hausa community, now incorporated into the Caliphate. With Bello's account, the myth of Bawo and his descendants is pushed sideways, making way for a fresh signification of those elements retained in the new formulation of the older myth. Mohammed Bello was only the first conqueror of Hausaland to find such political utility in the myth of Bawo, which, by the time of Heinrich Barth had become the myth of the *Hausa Bakwai*.

Heinrich Barth's commentary on Bello's account of the *Hausa Bakwai* suggests that the Sokoto Caliphate significantly encouraged the spread of this myth of Hausa origins and in doing so enhanced its acceptability as historical truth. Through the accounts of explorers and a growing body of published materials on the Hausa language, nineteenth century Europeans learned about the *Hausa Bakwai* from the Sokoto Caliphate. In the process, the concept, never one concretely expressed in Hausa by actual, geographic borders, began to take shape of a historically identifiable Hausaland in the European imagination.

Kano and Bornu: Daura and the Hero From the East

A potent reworking of Hausa myths of origin, including that of Daura, Bawo and the *Hausa Bakwai*, seems to have taken place on Hausaland's eastern frontier, which was shared with the Kanuri empire of Bornu. Never a clearly defined border, whether in terms of language, culture or politics, the distinction between the lands of the Bornu state and those of the important Hausa kingdom of Kano, seem to have been an especially contentious issue in the sixteenth century. Murray Last and others have pointed to the troubled political relationships between Kano and its powerful eastern neighbor to argue that the myth of Daura, Bayajidda and the *Hausa Bakwai* dates from and expresses the political upheaval inherent in Kano's attempts to separate itself from Bornu and, according to last, establish itself as an independant caliphate (Hallam 1966, 1:47-66; Last 1983, 67-91; M.G. Smith 1978, 58-59). For Last, it was a myth created to justify a new interpretation of the political geography of the Hausa-Bornu borders (Last 1983, 67-91). For the first generation of colonial administrators and

scholars, the Bornu influenced version of the Daura myth would take on a unique role in political and intellectual empire building.

Last argues that evidence in the *Kano Chronicle,* a historical text written in Kano and based on a compilation of oral traditions about the political history of that Hausa kingdom, suggests Kano attempted to establish a caliphate form of political organization among the Hausa kingdoms during the sixteenth century. In doing so, Kano was, in effect, revolting against the political authority of Bornu, established since the mid-fifteenth century and partially expressed through the annual payment of tribute from the Hausa kingdoms to Bornu (Last 1983, 67-91). The significance of Daura, emphasized as the oldest Hausa kingdom, Bayajidda's association with the court and court politics of Bornu, his marriage to a Bornu princess and fathering her child (a son who founded Biram-ta-Gabbas, the far eastern Hausa town which was recognized as the oldest Hausa settlement in other accounts of the origins of the Hausa), all point towards Last's conclusion: that this eastern version of the origins of the Hausa was a reworking of Hausa myths to undermine the political hegemony of Bornu at a time of great political crisis. Within this explication of the myth, the significance of Daura rests on the tradition that it was at Daura where the Hausa kingdoms took on a distinct political identity, separate from that of Bornu, yet related, once again, through genealogy and dynastic marital diplomacy.

In the nineteenth century, as Heinrich Barth observed, the linguistic and cultural boundary between Bornu and Hausaland ran just to the east of Kano. On this northeastern Hausa frontier the small Hausa kingdom of Daura was a fief of Bornu until the rise of the Sultanate of Damagaram in the mid-nineteenth century (Dunbar 1970; Salifou 1971). In descriptions of Damagaram and its

capital city, Zinder, the oasis town of Myrria, east of Zinder, was frequently noted as the last Hausa town. Myrria was, in fact, a member of a confederation of small kingdoms, the Sossibaki states, which defined themselves as Hausa by the eighteenth century and claimed Kano antecedents in their own political traditions (Brouin 1938: 469-479). Thus, while Kano has often been represented as the "heart" of Hausaland and Kano emirate has been seen as being one of the "core" emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate, the eastern part of Hausaland was deeply penetrated by the languages and culture of Bornu.[27] The Daura myth reflects the very real blurring of ethnic definitions in this part of the Hausa linguistic and cultural frontier, a frontier which no geopolitical border would have effectively expressed even as late as the nineteenth century (Richardson 1853).

The unique geopolitical position of eastern Hausa regions has cultural and intellectual implications for the myth of Daura.[28] Texts of the myth collected in the east are, in fact, oriented towards Bornu. Such texts generally begin not with Daura or Hausa history, but with Bornu and the arrival of a renegade prince from Baghdad and his troops. To neutralize the newcomer's potential for mounting a successful military junta, the King of Bornu marries him to his daughter. This move only forestalls the ultimate rivalry between the newcomer and the King. The newcomer flees to the west with his pregnant, royal wife and his horse. He leaves her behind in a city to give birth to their son and goes on

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[27]The use of language such as core and periphery in describing the emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate was introduced by economic historians, notably P. Lovejoy (1976, 3:341-68).

[28]Hausaland's position in the early political history of the Central Sudan, the developments of its kingdoms and its relationships to the great powers around it is summarized by A. Smith (1971, 1: 158-201; 1970, 3:329-46).

until he arrives in the town of the Queen, Daura. There he kills a snake living in the town's well which has prevented people from drawing water. In gratitude, Daura offers the stranger half of her town, but this he rejects in favor of marrying her. She agrees, but will not sleep with him, providing him with a slave girl instead. After the slave girl gives birth to a son, whom she names Karbigari, "Town-seizer," Daura sleeps with her husband, becomes pregnant and bears a son, Bawo, "Return our town" (Edgar 1911, 1: 222-225, 229-230; Rattray 1913, 1: 2-35; Palmer 1928, 3:132-134; Imam 1954; Hallam 1966, 7:42-60; Hogben and Kirk-Greene 1966; Niamey: CRRDTO/H 1970; Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Co, 1970; 1973, 133-142;).

The texts within this tradition refine the metaphors of genealogy and kinship to lay out a clear definition of a Hausa state system. No detail of diplomacy is untouched: Bawo becomes the father of the chief Hausa kingdoms, but through his two half brothers claims ties to both Bornu and to the collectivity of non-Hausa kingdoms with which the Hausa states maintained political and, probably, economic relationships. Texts from this tradition are numerous, prominent and, today, credited with authenticity by no less an authority than the Emir of Daura himself (M.G. Smith 1978, 53). The acceptance and repetition of the Daura-Bayajidda telling of the myth of Hausa origins within the Western historiography adds another degree of authenticity to the myth (Hogben and Kirk-Greene 1966, 145-54; Hallam 1966, 7:42-60; Fika 1978, 3-4; M.G. Smith 1964, 339-357, 1978, 52-59; Calloway 1987, 3-6). Indeed, some scholars do not question the Daura/Bayajidda text and use it as evidence of Bornu's power over Hausaland in the past, especially during the sixteenth century (Palmer 1928, 3:143-154; M.G. Smith 1964, 339-357, 1978, 56).

Setting aside for the moment the problems of establishing a prototypical telling of the Daura/Bayajidda story, the variety of versions with this motif offer insights into the relationship of Hausa oral literature to other traditions of Islamic story telling. First, linguistic and literary devices found in the eastern representation of Daura and Bayajidda appear to reflect the cultural boundary between Bornu and Hausaland. Political titles used in these stories, for example, are from Bornu, not Hausaland, and are in Kanuri, the language of the Bornu court. References to Bornu and a geogaphic orientation towards the east, that is, towards Bornu and and even beyond to the Islamic heartland of such places as Yemen and Baghdad, are common. Such texts also contain the strongest component of literary motifs commonly identified with the literature of the Islamic Middle East and North Africa, cultures and regions to which West Africa was connected by trade and religion from the fifteenth century. These elements include metaphorical devices, motifs and a particular representation of religious frontiers, all of which suggest the influence of a broader tradition of Islamic storytelling. Given Bornu's close ties to the Ottoman Empire, it seems reasonable to see the literate classes of Bornu, especially within the context of court society, serving as cultural brokers for interested Moslems to the west, that is, in the capital cities of Hausaland. Certainly, the influence of Islamic poetry from North Africa and the Middle East in general has been well-established (Hiskett 1975, 21-63; 1968).

What I am calling the eastern texts (because of their close identification with kingdoms in eastern Hausaland) contain significantly more of an emphasis on gender relationships than Bello presented in his account of the origins of the Hausa. Detailed descriptions of Daura herself are lacking, nor is there evidence

that African storytellers ornamented their descriptions of her with details drawn from the fantastic folklore of Middle Eastern harem life.[29] The eastern telling of the myth, however, is richly embroidered with engendered images. The most important of the Islamic metaphors found in the eastern Hausa Daura texts and the central device of the Daura/Bayajidda myth is a fundamental and universal representation of gender relations: marriage.[30]

The marriage between the Hausa queen, Daura, and Bayajidda, the hero form the East, most clearly places this version of the tradition into the popular literary heritage of Islam. The image of marriage between Moslems and non-Moslems is an important theme in Islamic literature, one often used to describe religious relationships on the frontiers of Islam (Metlitzki 1977). This image can be traced back to medieval Armenia where a cycle of legends focusing on the marriage of a renegade Moslem prince to a non-Moslem princess established the Islamic frontier for medieval Moslem scholars. It also became an important story motif imported into the literature of Medieval and Renaissance Europe (Metlitzki 1977, 117-177). It is found in the *Arabian Nights,* manuscript copies of which circulated in both Bornu and Hausaland by the eighteenth century, thanks to the commercial and cultural links between West Africa and the Islamic world of North Africa and Egypt(Hiskett 1968:25-6). Literate West African Moslems certainly had access to the Middle Eastern Islamic literary traditions by the 16th

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[29]Even a casual reading of the classic *Thousand and one Nights* confirms this observation: Daura is an African heroine and lives in Hausa society (Zipes 1991).
[30]Callaway has also tried to analyze the implications of gender in the Daura myth, though from a somewhat different perspective (Callaway 1987, 3-6) A.E.V. Walwyn, who contributed a Daura queen list to Palmer , was the first European to suggest that the myth described the replacement of a matrilineal system of rule by an Islamically-corrected patrilineal one (1928, 3:145-6).

century when Last argues that the Daura/Bayajidda/*Hausa Bakwai* myth was created (Last 1983; Bivar and Hiskett 1962).

In the case of Daura, Moslem storytellers would appear to have used this same tradition to create an image of the non-Islamic status of Hausaland vis a vis Bornu. Thus, the Daura legend may represent the application of a pan-Islamic metaphor for Moslem-non-Moslem relationships in which Bornu became the Islamic heartland and Hausaland the frontier; Bayajidda the renegade Moslem prince and Daura the infidel princess who accepts Islam. As in medieval Armenia, through them would come not only the true faith, but also good Islamic government as their descendants set out to establish new kingdoms, the so called *Hausa Bakwai*. Once again, the prestige of Kano as the locus of the new, Islamic state is enhanced by this telling of the myth of Daura.

To arrive at this interpretation, however, a curious transformation of Bornu oral (and perhaps written) traditions must have taken place with the invention of the Kano version of the Daura myth in the sixteenth century. According to Hallam, who took up suggestions made by Palmer early in the twentieth century and proceeded to examine the renegade hero motif in Bornu folk traditions, the Hausa hero, Bayajidda, is prefigured in a cycle of myths about a warrior prince of Baghdad, Abu Yazid (Palmer 1928, 146-163; Hallam 1966, 7:42-60). The text presented by Hallam is strictly focused on Bornu and includes only the mention that Abu Yazid traveled on to the west and into Hausa territory. Furthermore, Hallam's discussion of the Bornu texts makes it clear that even in Bornu Abu Yazid remained a mythic figure, not definitively anchored in historical time until his legendary status was affixed to the chronicle of the Masbarma family, who traditionally held the office of vizier to the kings of Bornu

(Palmer 1928, 146-163; Hallam 1966, 7:42-60; M.G. Smith 1978, 55-56).[31] The Masbarma chronicle places Abu Yazid's arrival in the early sixteenth century.

Ironically, by continuing to exploit elements found in the Bornu telling of the Daura/Bayajidda myth to buttress a conquest model of both Islamification and social change in general among the Hausa, Western scholars validate the authenticity of the myth as history in much the same way as their Fulbe predecessors. Nevertheless, the application of the image of marriage to Hausaland via the Daura myth compliments Last's interpretation of the myth of the *Hausa Bakwai*. While the significance of Bornu to Hausaland as an important source of Islamic learning, including secular literature, remains intact, through Daura and the *Hausa Bakwai* , Kano becomes Islam's true political expression.

Other motifs in the eastern Hausa texts of the Daura myth continue to reflect the influence of secular narratives from the Middle Eastern cultural center of the Islamic world. Much, for example, has been made by Hausa storytellers and Western commentators of Bayajidda's horse. In some versions of the myth, the hero, whether he is designated as Bayajidda or as a son or even a courtier of the king of Bornu, is forced to flee the king's wrath after breeding a mare to the king's favorite stallion and rearing a colt which challenges the stallion. While western commentators have debated over whether or not Bayajidda's horse represents the coming of horses to Hausaland, it is far more interesting to point out that the story of the mare, the stallion and the colt is a common element of the texts know to have come directly from Hausa storytellers (Ferguson 1973, 134; Niamey: CRRDTO/HH 1970). The importance of the hero's horse is a motif

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[31]Though Smith makes a mighty effort to give historical substance, even chronology, to legends of Abu Yazid, I remain unconvinced (M. Smith 1978).

found in other stories of Moslem princes fleeing to the edge of Islamic empires to escape political repression. (Metlitzki 1977:136-159). It seems also to reflect the popularity of the wonder horse in Middle Eastern folk narratives, a motif which could easily have been imported into Hausa oral literature. Horses, in fact, continue to be significant elements of the marvelous in the *tatsuniyoyi* of Nigerien Hausa (Stephens 1981, 1:137-177).[32]

The elements of Islamic story telling incorporated into a Bornu tradition and then exported to Hausaland are tantalizing evidence of the continuing significance of Bornu as a source of Islamic culture for their western neighbors. These elements of pan-Islamic folklore suggests other reasons why the Bornu version of the Daura legend may have been exceptionally current in eastern Hausaland, especially Kano and Daura itself in the late nineteenth century. One of these is the role of Bornu as the source of Koranic teachers and scholars in Hausaland. A version of the Daura myth, collected between 1907 and 1911 by the English colonial officer, R.S. Rattray, from a Kano-born Hausa malam residing in Ghana suggests how a close relationship between the Bayajidda-focused texts of the myth and the communities of educated malams resident in Kano might have operated (Rattray 1913, 1:2-35). This text may be seen as evidence of how popular literature and religious education mixed in the political culture of Hausa cities like Kano and in the far-flung communities of the Hausa trading diaspora (Adamu 1978; Cohen 1969).

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32 The Kantché text is an especially good example of this. Since Kantché has had a reputation for breeding fine horses since the 1950's, one suspects that local enthusiasm for horses in general partially accounts for the attention paid to Bayajidda's horse (CRDTO/NO. 2 1970).

Ratteray's version of the myth is a curiously truncated telling of Daura's history, which, in fact, was grafted on to a detailed account of the history of Islam in Hausaland. Neither Daura nor the *Hausa Bakwai* is the real focus of Rattery's informant, for whom the myth seems, instead, to serve as a kind of prologue to the more important narrative of the history of Islamic educators, the communities of malams, in Kano (Rattray 1913, 1: 2-5). While it opens with a brief account of Bayajidda, Rattray's text quickly becomes a folk history of Islamic education and educators, mixed with elements from the *Kano Chronicle* (Rattray 1913, 1:6-35).

Rattray's text seems to relate the Bayajidda element of the legend to the special importance of the intellectual role played by the Bornu clerical community in Kano from the seventeenth century to the Sokoto Jihad in the nineteenth. Rattray's informant used the myth of Daura as a vehicle for encapsulating a complex intersection of religious, ethnic and political identities. His narrative reiterates the sanctity and established claims to religious monopoly of the Bornu clerical community in Kano during the early decades of the twentieth century, perhaps using the occasion to bolster the malams' claims to religious authority to the new political power brokers through their perceived representative, Rattray himself. That this was, indeed, a relevant motive for Rattray's informant to turn a colonial official's request for stories about the origins of the Hausa into a digression on the history of malams in Hausaland becomes even more plausible when the political setting of the informant's expatriate Hausa community is considered.

Rattray worked with Malam Shaihu while he was stationed in Yegi, a commercial town on the Volta River in modern Ghana. The town was on the

Hausa/Ashanti trade route and Malam Shaihu was a member of the large Hausa community, or *zongo*, in residence there. Elsewhere in the vicinity of Yegi, Hausa communities had manipulated their relationships with German and English colonial officials in the chaotic years of the 1890's to gain important commercial concessions *vis-a-vis* local (non-Moslem) political authorities. One notorious case involved the Hausa *zongo* at Keta Krachi in what became, first part of the German colony of Togo and, after World War I, the British colony of Gold Coast (Ferguson 1973, 14-27).

In Kete, the resident German administrator, Adam Mischlich, settled the *zongo's* dispute over who would be its Imam by championing the claim of a popular Koranic teacher and respected scholar, one al Hajj 'Umar: 'Umar, was the same Imam Imoru who went on to be Mischlich's chief Hausa informant.[33] The apparent importance of the Bayajidda/Daura tradition which so impressed its early English collectors may in fact reflect their dependence on the Kano Hausa malams who served them as informants, translators and scribes.[34]

Rattray's text also suggests yet another aspect of the myth-making potentials of the Islamic revival experienced throughout Hausaland in the nineteenth century. European visitors to the Central Sudan witnessed the great awakening of Islamic missionary activity in eastern Hausaland. James Richardson, for example, traveling with Heinrich Barth in the 1850's, notes with disdain the flood of Bornu preachers in Damagaram and Zinder. Though his

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33 The British conquest of Kumasi in 1896 opened the city to Hausa traders for the first time. Mishlisch's Hausa informant, Imam Imoru was a resident of Kete Krachi from 1896 until his death there in 1934 (Ferguson 1973, 25-26).

34 The similarity between Malam Shaihu's use of Daura and Bayajidda is, of course, quite striking the Masbarma's appropriation of Abu Yazid.

visit to the city coincided with the dry season when Moslem scholars and preachers traditionally traveled to distant centers of learning to study and to find communities able to support them through alms, it is clear that clerical activity was significant in northeast Hausaland (Richardson 1853, 2:211).

Overshadowed by the dramatic events of the Sokoto Jihad, the more prosaic activities of itinerant Moslem scholars nevertheless reached deep into the rural Hausa countryside. Such scholars established a tradition of rural Islamic education and popular acceptance of Sufi brotherhoods which would become vital to the Islamification of Hausa popular culture in the twentieth century.

Richardson's informants told him that Islam had arrived in the northern Hausa region of Damagaram only in the nineteenth century, carried by proselytizing clerics from Bornu (Richardson 1853, 2:211). Richardson goes on to give an account of the Islamification of the city of Zinder in which the first Islamic ruler of Damagaram not only commanded people to accept Islam, but also forced them to close up the well from which the town had been supplied with water, a well closely associated with animist religious practices. From that time on, according to Richardson's informants, there was not enough water in Zinder, and people suspected that the forced acceptance of Islam resulted in the coming of drought. This story was set in the time when the king was also forcing people to stop religious ceremonies associated with trees, in other words, a time when the people were being forced away from the public worship of nature spirits (Richardson 1853,2:211). The myth of Daura echoes some of the elements of Zinder's forced conversion to Islam: the repeated importance of a well and a community's need for water; the parallel actions of the snake in Daura and the king in Zinder. Yet the myth of Daura ultimately superseded such local legends.

Daura, Bayajidda and their children demanded that local identities be replaced by what might be called proto-nationalism.

I am suggesting that the availability of Bayajidda-focused versions of the Daura legend to English and French colonial officers in the early decades of the twentieth century was a product of multiple and complex manipulations of what may have been a local myth. These include the efforts of Kano to assert its hegemony over neighboring kingdoms in the sixteenth century; the later needs of the communities of Hausa malams throughout West Africa to consolidate their professional status in the early days of imperial rule. What is most genuine about the Daura myth is the role its eastern variations played in transmitting pan-Islamic literary motifs to an African culture on the borders of the Islamic world.

The Daura legend needs to be seen, as the marriage theme so strongly suggests, as a metaphor of religious conversion on the Islamic frontier rather than a metaphor for the transfer of Hausa political organization from a matrilineal to a patrilineal form and the forced withdrawal of women from Hausa dynastic politics. It is important to note, however, that patrilineality is as much a part of the social baggage of Islam as is the heritage of Islamic literature. The social setting of nineteenth century Hausaland may well have been one in which the rules of kinship were being redefined along with the acceptance and popularization of a new religion and a new political identity. With this in mind, it must be noted that Daura herself chose to give up her magical power, to sleep with her husband and to bear an heir to protect the authority of her own line from the usurpation of power by an outsider.

Daura and the Diversity of Hausa Culture

There is, however, more to the Daura legend than its connection with the notion of the *Hausa Bakwai* or its use by the leadership of the Sokoto jihad and others in their reconstruction of pre-Islamic Hausa history. Variant texts of the Daura legend link it to the local traditions of distinct Hausaphone regions, within and without the Caliphate. Such variations are evidence of the persistence of local traditions maintained throughout the nineteenth century in spite of political, economic and social pressures towards a more homogeneous and Islamic Hausa culture.

Concurrent with the official version of Hausa history recounted by Heinrich Barth from Sultan Bello's *Infaku al Maisurt* is the alternative account of Dorugu, a young native of the region of Daura and Barth's servant. Captured and enslaved by the forces of Sarkin Damagaram as a child, Dorugu was purchased and set free by Barth's companion, Richard Overweg. When Overweg died, Barth himself kept Dorugu as a servant and eventually took him to Europe. Dorugu met Barth's father and then went on with him to London where he was introduced to the Hausa linguist and missionary, J.W. Schon. Dorugu's collaboration with Schon began in 1856, when Schon reckoned him to be about 16 or 17 years old, and continued for many years. The results were a steady stream of publications of Hausa language materials, which concluded in 1886 with the publication of *Magana Hausa*, a collection of stories, sketches, letters and proverbs in Hausa with an English translation (Schon 1885).

It was in *Magana Hausa* that Dorugu related a story which included the same general plot, characters and motifs as the "official" Daura legend, but lacked any reference to the *Hausa Bakwai*, Bayajidda, or even Daura herself (Schon 1885,

144-146; 96-97). As told by Dorugu, a stranger came to a town and stayed with an old woman. Seeking water for himself and his horse, he was told by his hostess that no one could draw water from the well in the evening because of a snake in the well. The stranger, nevertheless, went to the well for water. Encountering the snake, he killed it by cutting off its head with his sword. He returned to the home of the old woman with water and the head of the snake. This he used to prove to the king of the town that he was, indeed, the true killer of the snake and to collect his reward, a gift of half of the town.

The language Dorugu uses throughout the story is a significant reminder of his own peasant (*talakawa*) origins. The hero is simply a man (*woni mutum*), the snake, a snake living in the well (*macizi* and *macizin rua*,a water snake). The people of the town can not take water from the well in the evening because the snake takes hold of their buckets at that time of day and people are afraid to bother it. There is no confusion about the animal the stranger rides: it is his horse (*dokina*). A women coming to the well for water in the morning discovers the body, "full of stripes" as Schon translates Dorugu's description, of the dead snake. Most importantly, the ruler of the town is called sariki, a form of the Hausa word *sarki*, king, not *inna, saruniya, magaram, or magira*, titles commonly given to women rulers in Hausa dialects (Schon 1888, 144-146). He rewards the hero by dividing the town in half and giving him an equal portion to rule. The hero takes the reward. There is no mention of a queen or a royal marriage or children. There is no mention of the *Hausa Bakwai*. Stripped of the accouterments of myth, Dorugu's narrative of the stranger and the snake in the well is merely a story, a piece of "urban folklore", perhaps, to the narrator, even a rumor current during his childhood. Daura, Bayajidda, Bawo and the *Hausa*

Bakwai, those essential elements which turn the story into myth in other versions, are absent, never mentioned by either Dorugu or Schon in connection with this story, even though Schon himself already knew about the *Hausa Bakwai*, at least as a geographical representation.

Dorugu's story belongs to his personal history, which in turn reflects the history of his class and position in Hausa society as the child of peasant farmers. It is likely that he heard it as a child, either in the setting of his own family and village or in the households, probably among other Hausa slaves, in Kano and Kukawa into which he was sold. He places his characters and plot into a setting immediately recognizable to his Hausa audience. The surprise and initial fear of the woman going to the well for water the morning after the stranger has beheaded the snake, for example, a lively image of an activity utterly common to any Hausa person. The details of his telling of the story remind us of the vitality of local folk traditions from which a myth, such as that of Daura and the *Hausa Bakwai*, emerges.

Other Hausa local traditions have contributed variations of the myth of Hausa origins, each suggesting the specific social and historical realities of distinctive Hausa communities. Texts collected by Adam Mischlisch in Ghana from Iman Imoru present a rich account of the Queen and the local traditions of origin from which the myth itself was composed (Mischlisch 1949, Hausa and German text; Fergeson 1973). An extraordinary compilation of the Daura myth, the image of Daura herself in Imoru's text links his sources to Hausa communities which escaped incorporation into the Sokoto Caliphate and the intensification of Islamic culture which then occurred. Imoru's depth of scholarship and love of poetry and language clearly influenced the variety of

Hausa myths of origin he related to Mischlish. His language is fresh, lively, filled with details and imagery which would captivate an audience. Imoru's text, in short, does two important things: it links Daura herself to certain women's political roles and his style reminds us of the entertainment value of the myth as performance art.

Responding to Mischlish's requests, Imoru presented a number of variations on the myth of Daura and the origins of the Hausa, combining them into a complex, artistically developed master narrative. He begins with the story of two hunters, brothers, who make a settlement in the wilderness near Bornu with their wives and followers. The settlement, named Gabi, prospers. Daura is introduced as the daughter of the youngest brother, born at Gabi, named Fatima, nicknamed Dauratu (Ferguson 1973, 133).

Imoru is especially concerned to link his Daura to the origin of the Hausa language. In his telling of the myth, she does not speak until her mother dies; then her language is unintelligible and called "*haza kalamu Hausa*" in Arabic. Imoru translates this to mean "this is foolish talk," and to emphasize that Daura's language was distinct from Arabic, Kanuri or Tamasheq. While her family could not understand her, she could understand them. As she matures and takes on a leadership role in her community, other people come to know her language. Imoru emphasizes that her followers were noted for the distinctiveness of their language when ever they left their own community (Ferguson 1973, 133-34).

Imoru's description of Daura is rich in detail. As she is growing up, she becomes a hunter, like her parents:

> Daura learned how to shoot and she was an excellent archer like her parents. She tied a leather loincloth around her waist and wore the other cloths and trappings of a huntsman (Fergeson 1973, 134).

She succeeded her parents:

> Dauratu inherited their paraphernalia and she knew all the magic associated with shooting. She became a very successful hunter and people came to depend on Fatima Dauratu (Fergeson 1973, 134).

Thus, Imoru introduces us to a Daura who is the daughter of immigrants, new settlers in a wilderness rich in wildlife; a woman who originates a new language and achieves a leadership role in her community by inheriting the hunting rituals of her family and providing well for her followers (Fergeson 1973, 134).

Daura in this context is a heroine cut from the same cultural cloth as yet another famous Sahelian woman, Sogolon, the mother of Sundiata, the founder of Mali. Like Sogolon, Daura is physically unusual: she dresses in the masculine garb of a hunter. Sogolan also shares a close link with hunters and the magic of hunting. Both women were prsented in oral traditions as leaders of courage and moral authority. And both women were allowed to remain in their respective intellectual traditions even after the Islamification of the cultures in which they were positioned (Niane 1968; Hale 1990; Johnson 1992).

When Imoru introduces the male figure who will eventually become Daura's husband and the father of the Hausa, he does not make use of the Bayajidda motif; there is no hero from the east, no killing of a snake in a well. Instead, he supplies a motif taken, again, from Islamic, perhaps specifically

North African, folklore (Hiskett 1968, 25-6). Daura's husband-to-be is described as the *Murima*, or stable slave, of the King of Bornu. In a conspiracy with one of the King's sons, he has allowed the prince's mare to be impregnated by the King's stallion, much against the orders of the King.[35] When the resulting foal leads to the uncovering of the plot, the King becomes angry with his son and threatens to kill the *Murima*, who runs for his life and ends up in Daura's town.

The *Murima* wants to marry Daura, but once again in a situation reminiscent of Sogolon, Daura admits that she can not sleep with any man:

> No man sleeps with me because I have magic which can be contaminated (Ferguson 1973, 134).

Between them they arrange a marriage in which the *Murima* would sleep only with a concubine presented to him by Daura. The concubine becomes pregnant and with the birth of her son creates an antagonistic relationship with Daura.

In describing Daura's choice to give up her religiously-mandated celibacy to sleep this her husband and bear children, Imoru emphasizes psychological and emotional motives. Daura was simply jealous of the arrogant concubine and her son. Imoru's text gives a marvelous description of the Queen at this critical moment in his narrative.

> Kusoto's mother despised her owner, Daura, intensely and eventually when Daura spoke to her she replied 'wo.' Well, this continued until one day when Daura became furious and untied her leather loincloth and threw it away. She removed all the men's clothing from her body, including the charms and armlets. She

35 This is, of course, also part of the Rattary version of the story.

> removed her archer's thumb ring and abandoned hunting and the magic associated with it. Daura washed herself with soap, combed her hair and plaited it, rubbing in indigo which had been prepared beforehand. Then she applied henna to her hands and feet, and rubbed on different kinds of perfume. She wrapped women's body cloths around herself and hung beads around her neck. She put on an anklet and a bangle, and applied eye makeup around her eyes. Then she drank kalgo to redden her lips, and stained her teeth with tobacco blossoms. That day she became a very beautiful woman. She went to her husband and he slept with her. They had intercourse, she became pregnant, and gave birth to a boy. The murima named him Fatoma in the Baribari language which means 'head of the house' in the Hausa language, but Daura preferred to call him Bawo, meaning 'there is no wo' (Ferguson 1973, 135).

In the next section of his narrative Imoru turns his attention away from the human emotions and dimensions of the myth and lays out a kind of linguistic geography of the Hausa people. In his explication of who the Hausa are and where Hausaland exists, Imoru uses the agency of Daura's sons and grandsons to establish the Hausa language as the defining characteristic of "Hausaland." Hausaland is where the descendants of Daura established communities speaking her unique language: Hausaland is to Imoru a linguistic community based on a myth of common ancestry (Ferguson 1973, 141).

Let me summarize the features of Imoru's narrative which make it a unique telling of the Hausa myth of origins. First, he mixes elements of a variety of myths, including the horse motif from Middle Eastern Islamic folk traditions, the *Murima* from Bornu traditions and the hunter motif of many local Hausa

myths of origin.[36] Second, he gives the myth human agency by focusing on Daura, her actions and her emotions. Thirdly, he defines the community of Hausa linguistically. Finally, he does not give the myth either a political or a religions signification. Because of this, Imoru's text places Daura into an ambivalent cultural context: Is she Moslem or is she animist? While one of her names, Fatima, is Islamic, her nickname, Dauratu is not. She chooses her own fate and becomes pregnant. And yet, she does not give up her authority: when the *Murima* returns to Bornu, she does not allow him to take their sons with him. The whole fate of the Hausa nation depends on her actions. Neither Islam nor patriarchy dislodge Imoru's heroine from her role as authority.

Imoru's account of Daura indicates the limits of Islamic reform in Hausaland in the nineteenth century. The sheer diversity of myths about the origins of the Hausa which Imoru was able to tell Adam Mischlish reasserts the importance of the local knowledge and local traditions which lie below the political veneer created by more recent manipulations of the Hausa myth of origin. As Y.B. Usuman argues in the case of the Hausa emirate of Katsina, political changes of the sort which could have created new political roles for either men or women or both took place within the context of social transformations and were not simply the outcome of invasions and conquests, either by warriors, priests, or merchants, or the political officers of colonial states (Y.B.Usuman 1976).

Imoru's Daura serves to remind us that Hausaland was more than the region conquered by both the Jihad and the British and corrects our vision of

[36]In the twentieth century, Hausaphone communities in the Republic of Niger maintained such myths of origin. See Echard for Aderawa myths of origin which include groups of hunters and migrants (1975, 109-165).

social change in Hausaland by forcing us to recognize the differential impact of those conquests.

Daura and the Definition of Colonial Hausaland

When does the Daura myth come to represent all of Hausaland? Why does this myth take hold in twentieth century Hausa culture when there were other more, local traditions and myths of origin, like that of the well in Zinder and those used by Imoru to compose his narrative? The publication history of Bornu-influenced versions of the Daura myth offers a chronology of the myth's incorporation into a modern Hausa political and national identity. This is a uniquely Anglo-Nigerian contribution to Hausa historiography. Furthermore, this aspect of the Daura myth clearly demonstrates the impact of what Anderson calls print capitalism on the creation of a Hausa national myth under the impetus of colonial rule (Anderson 1991).

The political significance of Bornu, especially in the central and eastern regions of Hausaland, is detected in many of the variations of the story collected in the first decades of the twentieth century by English colonial officials in Katsina, Sokoto and Kano. For modern scholars, those seeking a gloss of the legend to introduce studies of Hausa culture and history, the most influential telling of the Daura myth belongs to this Anglo-Nigerian tradition and begins with the variations translated by H.R. Palmer and published in English in his *Sudanese Memoirs* 1928.

The texts of the Daura myth published by Palmer included the *girgam* of Daura Emirate, the mythical portion of the Daura state chronicle. Within this explication of the myth, the prominence of Daura rests on the tradition that it

was from Daura that the Hausa emirates set out on the annual tributary visit to Bornu. Almost more important than the texts themselves was the commentary of A.E.V. Walwyn, included with the girgam. It was in the commentary, not the texts, that Europeans first made the connection between the coming of Islam and the subjugation of Hausa women. In his commentary, Walwyn, not Palmer himself, first links the coming of Bayajidda to the end of matriarchy in Hausa culture.[37] It is, in fact, from Walwyn's speculations that all recent scholars have drawn the inference that the myth of Daura is a metaphor for the subjugation of Hausa women sometime in the past.

Marriages between the ruling families of smaller Hausa kingdoms and the important Emirates were and have remained an essential part of Hausa court politics. There is an uncanny similarity between the representation of gender and marriage in the Daura myth as a state tradition with this actual role of marriage in the diplomacy of Bornu as found in the *diwans* published by Palmer. *Diwans* are charters which established the political claims of aristocratic Bornu families, claims generally made and protected through the female line. Royal marriages were essential elements in the political strategies of Bornu and we know from evidence in the *Kano Chronicle* that royal marriages were equally important in the Hausa kingdoms (Palmer 1928). This is echoed, of course, in the central motif of the myth of Daura. And yet, it is striking that the importance of marriages is not directly acknowledged in the available collections of Hausa state traditions (Edgar 1911, 1).

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37 Walwyn was an early British D.O. in Hadejia Emirate. I have found no further information.

One must ask some important questions. Is it accurate to see warfare as being so important in the emergence of states and state systems in Hausaland? The lack of information on the history and politics of Hausa dynastic marriages in the past reflects engendered, parallel streams of Hausa intellectual traditions and the role of gender in the creation of collective memory. Women preserve the traditions of dynastic alliances and in this way contribute to the creation of state traditions and political oral history, but women informants generally were not among those consulted by European officials in Hausaland. The colonial historians' reliance on male informants and other elements of European sexism do not permit us to study dynastic marriages from the published sources of the early colonial period.[38] While it is significant to note that in the diwans of Bornu and the *Kano Chronicle* the mothers of each king are named, Europeans overlooked the importance of marriage in the diplomacy of state. Only their fascination with Bayajidda and Daura allowed one possible expression of a much more important political practice to remain in the published historical record. That the Daura myth may have bridged a kind of cognitive break between literature and the *real politik* of dynastic marriages is, in fact, suggested by the Hausa title of the myth, recorded in Edgar as *Labarin Asalin Sarautal Hausa,* or, "The Genealogy of the Hausa Ruling Class." (Edgar 1911, 1:224-27).

Palmer's telling of the Daura myth was included in Hogben's *Muhammaden Emirates of Northern Nigeria,* a compilation of state traditions in British ruled-Hausaland, first published in 1931 and revised and in 1966 as *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria.* This editorial decision assured that the Daura legend

[38]Edgar's *Litafi na Tatsuniyoyi na Hausa* exemplifies this weakness, though the three volumes of this incomparable collection of African oral literature provide deep insights into gender in late nineteenth century Hausaland (Edgar 1911-13).

based primarily on Palmer's published accounts, would reach the widest possible audience and gain the greatest authority among scholars and the public alike. In contrast, unique local traditions of origin which give a more diverse and distinct impression of Hausa communities (even those in Nigeria) reached only a very limited audience.[39]

Nigerian Hausa scholars themselves have actively encouraged the acceptance of Palmer's published text of the myth as the official account. It is added to the published Hausa translation of Sultan Bello's *In Fakul al'Maisur* as a kind of prologue and included in the *Chronicle of Abuja*, published in Hausa and English. The Emir of Daura himself confirmed the strength of the Bornu-influenced variations of the Daura myth when he approved of just such a version of the legend collected by M.G. Smith in the 1960's (M.G. Smith 1978, 53).

The variation of the legend collected in 1972 from Sarkin Makada Ibira of Kantché, a prominent specialist in Hausa oral history living in a Nigerien canton evolved for an important nineteenth century Hausa fiefdom located between Daura and Damagaram, is another example of how the Daura myth has been used as a prologue to the specific, local political traditions. The Kantché text serves to show how Hausa distinguish between types of historical traditions. In the Kantché text, the original episode of Daura and Bayajidda is exquisitely ornamented with details about Daura, Bayajidda and the concubine mother of Karbagari, elements which clearly remind us that the telling of history is a

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39 This is most clearly the case of Frank Edgar's *Litafi na Tatsuniyoyi na Hausa*, a three volume collection of Hausa oral traditions published in very limited numbers in Ireland between 191 and 1913. Neil Skinner's masterful translation of all three volumes of this work into English finally makes these traditions more readily available.

performance art in an oral culture such as Hausaland's. The function of the myth is here to set the historical stage with carefully wrought accounts of the action and the actors, drawing as much from the contemporary setting of the actual story telling event as from the body of the historical tradition.[40] Psychological motivation, for example, is attributed to Daura and the concubine which reflect the tensions between Hausa co-wives in tradition and reality and, of course, echoes the Imoru text. Daura, Bayajidda and the *Hausa Bakwai*, however, are overshadowed by the dynastic traditions of Kantché, historically a part of the kingdom of Daura, and its struggles with the expanding Sultanate of Damagaram, was never included among either the *Hausa Bakwai* or *Banza* (Dunbar 1971).

From the perspective of how Hausa keepers of oral traditions themselves have used the Daura myth, it is not the least surprising that modern scholars of Hausaland, Hausa and non-Hausa alike, frequently begin their analysis of Hausa cultural history with a retelling of this now standardized account of Daura and the origins of the Hausa people. The Anglo-Nigerian intellectual tradition is especially prone to this and is consistent in presenting a civilizing Moslem hero from the east and, by casting pre-Islamic history Hausaland in the image of the subjugated Queen Daura, beginning the history of Hausaland with her descendants, the hero's grandchildren. With the popularization, especially through the Hausa publications of the Northern Nigerian Publishing Company, of the Anglo-Nigerian text, the canon of the myth of Daura and, more

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[40]The technique is well demonstrated in the myth of Sundiata, the founder of the Empire of Mali, popularized as part of Mali's expression of modern, political nationalism (Niane 1965).

significantly for political analysis of pre-Caliphate Hausaland, the myth of the *Hausa Bakwai*, was set (Zaria: Translation Bureau 1933, reprinted ed., Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Co, 1970; Imam 1954). In this way Hausa history became a part of the intellectual regalia of the colonial government of Nigeria and was then incorporated into the intellectual mythology of the Anglo-Nigerian Hausa elite.[41] The process of encoding and engulfing Hausa history begun by Bello was completed by the English--at least in Nigeria.[42]

It is important not to loose sight of the fact that the legend itself belonged to a folk tradition before it was appropriated by modern political elites. The irony of Dorugu's account, stripped as it is of any reference to either Daura or the *Hausa Bakwai*, confronts us with the need to be sensitive to what the variations of the legend might tell us about class, gender and local knowledge in pre-colonial Hausaland.[43] Imam Imoru, Makada Ibra of Kantché and Sarkin Daura himself, remind us that it is, in the end, an entertaining story, not to be told as one might tell the history of a specific political event, but as one might tell a story in a specific community. What is crucial to understand is that the community to whom the story would have meaning and stir feelings of shared identity is the

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[41]Paden shows how another nineteenth century historical question, whether or not Sultan Muhammad Bello accepted the Tyjaniyya brotherhood in the last year of his life, has been capitalized on by modern Nigerian politicians to support the idea of "'a northern religious community' composed of both Tyjaniyya and Qadiriyya (brotherhoods)" (Paden 1973, 82).

[42]Literacy in Hausa was not encouraged in Niger and Hausa Nigeriens still depend on the vitality of the Hausa press in Nigeria for literature of all sorts, including primers.

[43]Without discussing the Daura myth, Fugelstad considers the implications of other myths of origin from northwestern (i.e. Nigerien) Hausa communities, using the ethnographic work of French scholars (Fugelstad 1978b, 3:319-339).

product of modern Hausa history and the process of creating an "imagined" national Hausa community.[44]

Conclusion: Daura and Colonial Myth-Making

Comparing the evolution of the Daura legend within the Sokoto and the Bornu traditions, it becomes clear that the application of this metaphor to all of Hausaland took place in three stages. First, from the eastern perspective of Bornu and Kano, Daura and the *Hausa Bakwai* describes political and cultural hegemony based on the reality of sixteenth century politics on the Hausa/Bornu frontier as well as a nineteenth century re-application of the myth within the religious setting of the Islamic brotherhoods in Kano and, perhaps, throughout all of eastern Hausaland. Second, if, as Last argues, the myth of the *Hausa Bakwai* was invented to legitimate the possibility of creating a sixteenth century Kano caliphate, then Sokoto reinvented the myth to introduce and legitimate the notion of the *Hausa Bakwai/Banza* to promote the Sokoto bid for political unity and enhance the ideological base for the Caliphate. The *Hausa Bakwai* was adopted, in short, as a political metaphor by the Sokoto elite because the original myth was already embedded in the ideology of Kano, the central, most powerful and wealthy Hausa emirate. For Sokoto the myth of the *Hausa Bakwai* enhanced and perhaps reinforced the Caliphate's political restructuring of the Hausa kingdoms. The myth could also serve as a statement of the Sokoto reformers' own religious claims: the eastern hero would now represent reformed Islam and be more firmly rooted in the Caliphate rather than in Bornu. Only in Bornu and

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[44]For a comparative perspective on this issue see Kemper 1991; White 1987; Anderson 1990.

Daura itself would the full story of Bayajidda remain, and that is where Palmer found at least one of the versions of the Daura legend.

Finally, there is the colonial tradition within modern Hausa studies which finds value in linking the history of Hausaland with that of the Islamic Middle East through the acceptance of the Daura myth as an authentic expression of pre-Islamic Hausa history.[45] This last reworking of the myth deserves a closer look because it is thoroughly embedded in the colonial moment of modern Hausa history, an intellectual ornament of British colonial rule. Within the context of colonial Nigeria, we can clearly relate the official myth of Daura and Bayajidda to other manifestations of British manipulation and utilization of Hausa culture to enhance colonial hegemony.

In the selection and careful grooming of a myth in which a stranger from the Middle East brings the accouterments of a "higher civilization" to the Hausa, the Anglo-Nigerian adoption of the Bornu version of the myth of Daura and Bayajidda constantly, if not always consciously, reaffirms the legitimacy of the colonial conquest. The core of this telling of the myth, validates a conquest model of social change and "development", an essential step in the colonization of the mind.

We here begin a kind of historical analysis which leads us to examine the colonial conquest as a cultural event. Other manifestations of the culture of colonial conquest, what Hobsbawm and Ranger identify as the invention of

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[45]Edward Said defined a similar intellectual process in the Middle East as orientalism and established the criteria for considering other cases of western intellectual imperialism (Said 1979) African writers have followed his line of analysis to examine the intellectual history and implications of the "invention of Africa" by western scholars (Ngugi wa'Thionge 1989; Mudimbu 1990; Appiah 1993).

tradition, are abundant and highly suggestive of the European mentalité in the first decades of colonial rule (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Anderson 1990,1991; White 1987; Kemper 1991). In the military territory of Zinder, for example, Hausa chiefs were sent postcards with a message in Arabic about the patriotic symbolism of the French flag. Colonial officers gave lessons on the same topic to groups of Hausa notables. Hausa malams were also actively recruited to be a part of the French colonial Islamic establishment.[46] In this way the French in Hausaland reinvented themselves as the upholders of Islamic orthodoxy, an orthodoxy, however, solidly based on a relatively select nucleus of Islamic clerics in Senegal (O'Brien 1967). In the military territory of Niger and also in Chad, attempts to establish control over Islamic religious leaders were initiated by the fear that Moslem insurgents could overwhelm France's tenuous hold over the eastern regions of its vast West African empire. French dependence on their relationships with Islamic leaders in Senegal as a model for policy towards Islam in Hausaland, however, was based on a simplistic image of Islamic homogeneity throughout West Africa. Nothing could have been a less accurate image of the state of Islam in Hausaland at the time .[47]

The British in northern Nigeria also fastened onto an Islamic image of Hausaland and actively campaigned to acquire for their own administration the power they believed resided within the Islamic political identity of the Caliphate.

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[46]Cercle de Zinder. Correspondence No. 359A.1, 8/6/1916, Lt.Col. Mourir to the Commander, Cercle de Zinder.

[47]This section is based on documents found at the Prefecture, Zinder. These documents somehow were missed when the recordes of colonial Zinder were sent to the National Archives in Niamay. I was unable to cross-check these materials with those I had examined (on microfilm) in France because my notes from that work were stolen in Niamey.

To the British, especially the first generation of colonial administers, political hegemony resided in the Islamic institutions of the Sokoto Caliphate and the associated Hausa emirates. In coming to this conclusion, the British not only fell victim to the mystique of the Caliphate, but demonstrated as well their own capacity for myth making within the colonial context.

The invention of an Islamic tradition for Hausaland was based on several different kinds of facts and observations. The Islamic content of the elite Hausa literary traditions was one such observation. As an intellectual myth, Palmer's published texts of the Daura *girgam*, serves as a good example. The intellectual acquisition of Hausa culture went beyond the activity of collecting literary evidence. The British took what they knew of Islamic "traditions" in other parts of their late nineteenth century global empire, steeped this in a strong infusion of orientalism, applied it to the Hausa emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate and invented visible expressions of their own political power.

Two events demonstrate the way political myth joined with political action to invent traditions for the British colonial state in the Hausa context The first in the ceremony created to install a hand-picked British candidate as Sultan of Sokoto in 1921. The second was the ceremonial presentation of Hausaland, especially Kano, to the Crown Prince of Great Britain in 1926. On both occasions, the British carefully arranged the details of public events to fit what can only be called a romantic, theatrical and orientalist definition of the Hausa emirates. In their manipulation of such public displays, however, the British were clear in conveying the message that the pomp and ceremony of the Emirs was at their disposal: such carnivals of power were essential symbols of the very real physical force behind the local British administration (E.J. Arnett, Rhodes House,

MSS.Afr. 5952: 2/3/1930; J.H. Carrow, Rhodes House, MSS. Afr. s.1443: 12-13; J.A. Paterson, Rhodes House, MSS.Afr. r. 194; Ward Price, 1925).

One need only to compare the role of marriages in West African oral traditions to stimulate questions about the absence of women in Hausa state traditions, such as Daura and the Kano chronicle. In Hausaland the high culture of the nineteenth century post-jihad Islamic elite not only created an intellectual tradition which was hostile to women, but in accordance with reforms within the political system began a process of limiting women's political lives which would be confirmed absolutely by the European conquest. The official roles of women in emirate structures came to an end only with the political reorganization of the Hausa emirates by the British and the French. In this respect the sexism of late nineteenth century European culture was imported into Hausaland and found a rich intellectually well-prepared seedbed among Islamic elites. In the scramble for power in the first decades of the colonial era, even royal women, women who had been able to achieve power during the caliphate period, lost ground (Mack 1988, 47-77). When it is compared with Smith's studies of structural change in the Emirates of Zaria and Daura after the British conquest, Imoru's text suggests that the British and the French in Damagaram were in fact responsible for the final removal of women from political offices.

The representation of women in the myth of Daura and Bayajidda guides the historian into a maze of questions surrounding the very definition of Hausaland. The themes and characters in these traditions indicate the multiple interpretations and manipulations of political history which have contributed to the body of oral literature available to the historian today. Some of these come from outside Hausaland and offer tantalizing testimony on the blending of

Islamic and pre-Islamic traditions and motifs into the 19th century Hausa culture represented in the body of oral traditions collected at that time by European scholars.

The construction of a state tradition may represent a political discourse between competing local factions, or as in the case of Daura, competing regional powers or religious factions: myth may document a shift in political focus. Variations in the Daura myth demonstrate how a local political tradition was modified to reflect a broader political identity. As long as the story was used as a framework for recounting the local dynastic history, as, in the traditions from Kantche, it described a very local definition of community and politics. Once the story incorporated details and elements representing powerful outside forces, as in either Imam Imoru's account or that of Rattray's informant, it became a discourse on how the local community refocused itself outwards without losing its local identity.

Chapter 3: *Tatsuniyoyi*: Gender in Hausa Narratives

> There are three sorts of men and three sorts of women, and if the right sort isn't paired off with his fellow their marriage won't last (Skinner 1977, 3:326-27).

The dialogue between the sexes found in Hausa folk stories, or *tatsuniyoyi*, articulates nineteenth century views on the most fundamental social and economic relationship at all levels of Hausa society: the relationship between men and women in courtship and marriage.[48] From this dialogue emerges not only a sense of gender relations in the nineteenth century, but a detailed image of the diversity of *fin de siecle* Hausa society. In a later chapter, the linguistic evidence in the *tatsuniyoyi* will sharpen our image of women at work in the economic landscape of nineteenth century Hausaland. In this chapter, however, I propose looking more carefully at those *tatsuniyoyi* in which Hausa women and men narrate their opinions and social expectations of themselves and of one another.

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[48]*Tatsuniya* is the singular form of the noun *tatsuniyoyi.*, which translates as stories. In the Hausa classification of their oral literature, *tatsuniyoyi* often refers to what Skinner calls "fables and tales of fancy"(Skinner 1969, xxiii). As oral literature, *tatsuniyoyi* may be distinguished from *labaraii*, oral testimony such as local gossip, rumors, or local news, as in the greeting, "*Ina labarai*?" or "What's the news?"(Bargery 1933, 706). Riddles and word games are also considered *tatsuniyoyi*. The word may also mean a star, as in the Hausa for comets, *tatsuniya mai-wutsiya*, a star with a tail. It is worth noting that in Edgar's collection of Hausa oral literature, the boundaries between *tatsuniyoyi* and *labarai* are not sharpely defined. Did the act of writing down such accounts affect informants' classification of their own work?

While one of the earliest British collectors of Hausa *tatsuniyoyi* used the stories to illustrate Hausa marital relationships, the feminine persona woven into these narratives has been given scant consideration (Tremearne 1914).[49]

Tatsuniyoyi celebrate the often fantastic adventures of teen-age heroines and introduce wives beleaguered with the problems of unfair husbands and greedy co-wives. Some wives in the *tatsuniyoyi* flaunt the authority of their husbands and assert their own sexuality. Such stories create dynamic images of Hausa women and represent the dialogue between men and women over the meaning of gender in courtship, marriage and family relations in Hausa society. The *tatsuniyoyi* document the tension within courtship and marriage between women who must be economically self-sustaining and the Moslem injunction that wives also obey their husbands, who may require them to practice purdah or in other ways influence their economic opportunities. In the *tatsuniyoyi,* however, girls and women often triumph over the obstacles placed in their way and achieve personal success, generally in terms of power over people and material wealth. Though satire and comedy are relished in the telling of *tatsuniyoyi,* the economic and social value of women is not trivialized. The stories show a society in which gender may ignite conflict, but generally was not used to marginalize the economic contribution of anyone.

The voices of the women who created and performed many of the *tatsuniyoyi* included in the major collections of Hausa oral literature have been muted, even, one might say, obscured, by the very process which preserved the literature itself, but their perspective as not been entirely lost. Through the characters and plots of the stories and in the details of Hausa life with which

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[49]The work of C. Stephens is a welcome change (Stephens 1991, 1981).

storytellers enlivened their art, the world of Hausa women can still be detected.. The published *tatsuniyoyi* are simply echoes of the human voice of Hausa villages, towns and cities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[50]

The date when the *tatsuniyoyi* were written down establishes a temporal reference point for studying gender relations in early modern Hausa culture.[51]. Collected before either World War I or the interwar period in which colonial administrations were effectively settled on the Hausa landscape, the *tatsuniyoyi* represent the popular repertoire of late nineteenth century storytellers and reflect the tastes of their Hausa audiences. In the case of Schon's *Magana Hausa,* the stories narrated by Dorugu are based on his childhood in the first half of the nineteenth century (Schon 1885). As examples of Hausa literature, written and oral, only the poetry which has survived, often through the agency of the same Europeans who created the collections of *tatsuniyoyi,* can compete with the *tatsuniyoyi* as historical evidence of nineteenth century Hausa popular culture and taste. When, for example, Hausa *tatsuniyoyi* are examined for the inclusion of either Western or Islamic details in the social settings they depict, the sources and direction of external cultural influences are suggested. In this way the stories modify our understanding of the pace of cultural and social change in Hausaland, whether with regard to the content of popular Islamic culture in the late nineteenth century or the spread of European cultural influences during the early decades of colonial rule. The *tatsuniyoyi* offer the historian a form of

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[50]M. B. Duffil makes a similar argument in his fascinating study of Hausa poems as sources for social and economic history (Duffill 1986, 13:35-88; 1989, 16:97-153

[51]I have used only collections of Hausa oral literature from the nineteenth and first early twentieth century (unless, as in the case of Stephens' stories, collected in 1979, I am presenting a point of comparison).

cultural expression in which the measure of the "colonial impact" on Hausa culture may be taken, whether in terms of the Islamic reforms of the Sokoto Caliphate or the modernizing impulses of twentieth century colonial regimes.

As representatives of non-elite Hausa culture, the *tatsuniyoyi* are an especially valid source of evidence for writing a more inclusive, even a more authentic, history of modern Hausa culture. There are two reasons why this argument is important. The first is obvious: the writing of modern Hausa history has been dominated by the culture of literacy. The *tatsuniyoyi* represent the vastly more pervasive and inclusive oral culture of nineteenth century Hausa. As sources of evidence, the *tatsuniyoyi* encourage a more balanced description of Hausa cultural history, especially when added to the Islamic texts upon which so much of nineteenth century Hausa history has depended.

The second reason the stories are important as sources of cultural history is that the narrative tradition of the *tatsuniyoyi* most clearly represents the discourse of gender in the distinct popular culture of *fin de siecle* Hausaland. The *tatsuniyoyi* I use in this chapter were committed to a written form before their value as evidence of nineteenth century oral culture was lost through influences from the West. Neither English nor French loan words are evident in the stories. Even money is still described in terms of coweries, the indigenous Hausa currency banned after the colonial conquest of the Hausa. Thus, the abundance of *tatsuniyoyi* in which courtship and marriage are the central themes leads to one, obvious conclusion: nineteenth century Hausa audiences were eager consumers of stories about women and men and the circumstances of love and marriage. Furthermore, in the *tatsuniyoyi* we can distinguish intellectual traditions in which women actively participated as creators, performers and

audience. Women exercised artistic control and established standards of taste in the oral literature of the *tatsuniyoyi*. In this way, the *tatsuniyoyi* restore women to Hausa history and modify our understanding of the pace of social change in Hausaland with regard to the establishment of either an Islamic or a European cultural model, especially within the realm of gender.

The *tatsuniyoyi* seldom distinguish between male and female storytellers, nor was information about the social settings of the stories or the social conventions which controlled performance collected. For this information, we have only the careful work of recent scholars of Hause literature (Skinner 1968, 1969, 1977a, 1977b; Mack 1981, 1983, 1986; Stephens 1981, 1991; Pilaszewcz 1974, 1985). Nevertheless, Hausa notions of gender in literature and narrative are encoded in the sources upon which this chapter is based. Those rules determined the kinds of narrative performed by women and the social settings in which women practiced their art of storytelling. Thus, the published collections of *tatsuniyoyi* of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries suggest the existence of Hausa intellectual and artistic traditions in which women participated as subjects, authors and performers. Just as the sound of daily life in the village was dominated by the voices and work rhythms of women, so too are many of the narratives found in collections of Hausa *tatsuniyoyi*. Unself-consciously preserved by the scribes who prepared the manuscript versions of the *tatsuniyoyi*, such evidence is essential to revitalizing the oral culture of the Hausa past. Above all else, the *tatsuniyoyi* are unique in preserving a feminine perspective on nineteenth century Hausa culture.

The Sources

As with the sources for the myth of Daura, the documents I use in this chapter are once again examples of the cultural acquisitiveness of Europeans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This literature, however, presents special problems having to do with how it was obtained and transmitted from the past into the present, from an oral to a print culture, from Hausa into European languages, and from the women who participated in its creation and performance to the men who captured it in print.

The major collections of nineteenth century oral literature were generally the products of collaboration between literate men: British, French and German scholars, missionaries, and colonial officials and the Hausa malams they employed to prepare manuscript copies in Hausa of folk literature. This was the method used to prepare two of the major collections of Hausa literature assembled and published by British colonial officers, Frank Edgar's *Litafi na Tatsuniyoyi na Hausa* and R.S. Rattray's *Hausa Folk-Lore* (Edgar 1911-1913; Rattray 1913). The German missionary and Hausa scholar, Adam Mischlisch, also employed an educated Hausa Koranic scholar, Imam Imoru, when he was living in Kete Krachi (in modern Ghana) (Mischlish 1903-09, 1906, 1929, 1942). Imam Imoru's own brother had worked as an informant for another German, Adolf Krause(Krause, 1928; Hiskett 1975). Rudolf Prietze used the services of a literate Hausa pilgrim and praise singer in Tunis in 1907 (Prietze 1926). In what would become the French Colony of Niger, M. Landerloin, the linguist accompanying the 1906 French research expedition, Mission Tilho, apparently with the assistance of Hausa translators, collected historical accounts (*labarai*) and

linguistic material for the preparation of a Hausa-French dictionary (Landerloin and Tilho 1909; Tilho 1911).

Two other British Hausa specialists working in those parts of the Sokoto Caliphate incorporated into the British Nigeria, A.J.N. Tremearne and Roland Fletcher, themselves transcribed Hausa stories and accounts narrated by a diverse group of less well-educated informants. Tremearne even collected *tatsuniyoyi* from a woman, Asetu,"a policeman's wife", as well as from his personal servants and several Hausa soldiers in his military unit. While Tremearne was told that the best storytellers were women and children, he observed that they were too ill at ease with him to work well as informants (Tremearne 1913:5).

Schon's collaboration with Hausa informants was unusual: from Dorugu and other Hausa-speakers who somehow ended up in Europe or else met English missionaries in Sierra Leone or on the Niger River, he collected stories and personal narratives in Hausa from the first half of the nineteenth century. Published in *Magana Hausa* in 1885, Dorugu's *tatsuniyoyi* prose narratives in Hausa offer a unique perspective on Heinrich Barth's own travel account and a Hausa's views of late Victorian England (Schon 1885, 98-101).

Rattray speaks for his fellows on why they chose to use literate, Hausa malams to collect examples of Hausa "folk-lore" when he writes that such informants:

> ...possessed all the literary skill which a knowledge of Arabic and of the Arabic script involves, none the less, he remains thoroughly in touch with his own people, a Hausa of the Hausa. In his hands, therefore, the traditional lore loses nothing of its authentic form

> and flavor, In short, the chance of literary manipulation may be ruled out." (Rattray 1924, 1:vi-vii)

However, in describing how his scribe, Malam Saihu, prepared the texts, Rattray also discloses the problem which concerns modern scholars of this (and other) African oral literature: literate malams used Arabic, the language of literacy, not Hausa. Even when writing religious poetry in vernacular languages, such as Fulfulde and Hausa, Arabic script (*ajami*) and metre was used. Malam Shaihu did not know English when he worked for Rattray from 1907 to 1911, but he and other malams were confronted with the problems of reducing an oral literature to a written medium, for which they had no literary models other than those of the dominant "culture of literacy", Arabic. Rattray comments:

> Much of the work contained in the present volumes involved, first, a translation from Arabic into Hausa, secondly, a transliteration of the Hausa writing, and thirdly, a translation into English from the Hausa (Rattray 1924, 1:vi-vii).

Aside from religious poetry written or translated into Hausa, early European scholars of Hausa believed that there were no written examples of Hausa literature such as the *tatsuniyoyi*. Even *labarai*, a Hausa prose form which included historical accounts, such as the Kano Chonicle, were written in Arabic, with some Hausa introduced into the texts (Palmer 1928, 3:92-131; Last 1980, 7:161-78).

At the present, Hausa scholars agree that, linguistically, the published collections of *tatsuniyoyi* reflect their origins in spoken Hausa and, when reading them, it does seem plausible that the malams transcribed what they heard or

remembered of live performances (Skinner 1968, xiii). However, the question of whether or not prose forms found in Arabic literature influenced the development of the early collections of *tatsuniyoyi* deserves some consideration.

Arabic poetry did, indeed, influence the structure of poetry in Hausa (Hiskett 1975). The motifs, characters and settings of some of the *tatsuniyoyi* also suggest that even non-religious (secular) forms of Arabic literature served as models for the creation of an acceptable written form of Hausa prose. This was clearly the case for at least some of the malams employed in the task of preparing the published collections or even, perhaps, to their own sources of oral literature their own informants. Hiskett, for example, notes that written copies of popular epics circulated from North Africa into Hausaland by the eighteenth century, but fails to consider their possible influence on the *tatsuniyoyi* (Hiskett 1968:25-6). I shall return to this topic later in the chapter.

For Europeans, the Hausa collections were made to provide linguistic and literary evidence of Hausa culture for a non-Hausa audience. The early collections of *tatsuniyoyi* and colonial support for producing more Hausa literature led directly to the establishment of the Translation Bureau in Kano 1926 and this event, in turn, laid the basis for Nigeria's energetic Hausa language press (Skinner 1968:136). . Through various organizational changes and a move to Zaria, the Hausa press in Nigeria stimulated the writing of westernized forms of Hausa prose and signaled the beginning of the print revolution in Hausa culture (B. Anderson 1991).

It is difficult to deduce the aims of the Hausa malams involved in creating the early collections of *tatsuniyoyi*, though simple coercion, monetary rewards and intellectual interest are all possible motives. Very sketchy evidence of the

later activities of two prominent Hausa informants does not encourage an optimistic view of the personal relationships which existed between them and the Europeans for whom they worked. Dorugu seems to have been embittered by his collaboration with Schon in England: He would not communicate with other English missionaries when they sought him out after his return to West Africa (Schon 1885, 265-9). He makes it clear in *Magana Hausa* that his own interest in Hausa literature was purely monetary:

> Today I have brought you plenty of news; do you like it, you lover of Hausa words? Do you find new words? When you find new words you jump for joy; if I should find a sovereign I should jump for joy. Because sovereigns are of use, words are of no use. I am tired of talking; I go to lie down; I go to sleep. If I talk all night you will write all night. Sleep well, you lover of Hausa. Tomorrow, early in the morning, if I receive much money I will tell you many stories. Sleep well. I have not another word in my head to tell you (Schon 1885:101, 64).[52]

Imam Imoru, Adam Mischlish's informant, went on to write one of the most popular anti-European poems in Hausa (Fergeson 1973, 27-31; Hiskett 1975). On the other hand Bargerey's long collaboration with Alhaji Mahmadu Koki was apparently cordial and collegial, as was Malam Tafida's with Walter Miller and Rupert Emerson (Skinner 1977; Hiskett 1975; Miller 1938; Bivins, 1974-76). The intimacy of Flegel's account of Mai Gashin Baki's life, even including details about the Maidugu's wives and marriages, suggests that the two men

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52 Indeed, Isabelle Vischer, who visited Dorugu on his deathbed in Kano in 1912, reported that he had kept a sizable horde of English coins, including, of course, sovereigns, and assorted tinned foods (unopened) along with articles of clothing given to him from the Europeans he had known in his room (I. Vischer 1914:42-5).

may have become friends, though self-interest on both their parts was most certainly a factor in their relationship. Friendship seems also to have been a part of Hugh Clapperton's relationship with Gidado, Wazirin Sokoto under Sultan Bello (Denham and Clapperton 1985, 298, 325-30). Perhaps we may simply conclude that the collaboration between Europeans and Hausa which produced these collections and the majority of nineteenth century knowledge about Hausaland and the Hausa was complicated by individual personalities and the underlying power relationship of conqueror versus conquered.

Performance in a Nineteenth Century Social Context

In a Hausa village, language and the performance of oral art, often accompanied by music or, as in the case of poetry, sung, played the socializing role often ascribed to the plastic arts in other African cultures. Though masked figures danced in non-Moslem Hausa ceremonies as the *dodo*, or even the *Jan Dodo* criticized by Shehu Usman dan Fodio, only in the *bori* spirit possession cults did costumed figures, oral literature and manifestations of social regulation (i.e. of spirits) come together in a Hausa performance art.[53]

The *tatsuniyoyi*, however, seemed to have bridged the gap between oral and sculptural art: the stories served as scripts for popular theatrical entertainments using puppets. Rodd describes such a performance given in 1922:

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[53]Perhaps, as Skinner suggests, a representation of the dead, but in the nineteenth century *tatsuniyoyi*, a goblin or an ogre, most frequently found in wells and other bodies of water. (Skinner, N. 1977: 58).

A strolling player came one day to give a Punch and Judy show for the delectation of the village people, who were in part Hausa, in part sedentary Fulani, and in part nomadic cattle-owning Fulani. The old traditional play had been modernized, and although it was full of topical illusions to the Nigeria of 1922, enough of the past remained to show the reputation and moral ascendancy which the Taureg enjoyed in the Southland. The showman's apparatus was simple: divesting himself of his indigo robe, he arranged it on the ground over three sticks and crouched hidden beneath its folds. He had four dolls in all and worked them like those in our Punch and Judy shows in England. In the place of the squeaky voice of the Anglo-Saxon artist he used bird whistle to conceal his words; the modulations of tone and inflexion in the dialogues and conversations between the puppets were remarkable. The Taureg doll is the villain of the piece: his body is of blue rags, most unorthodoxly crowned with a white turban and armed with a huge sword and shield. Divested of the latter and crowned with a red turban, the same doll in the course of the play becomes the "dogari," or native policeman of the Hausaland Emirs. The King of the Bush is a Fulani man, impersonated by a puppet made largely of orange cretonne with huge hair crest and bow and arrow. He suspects his wife, made of the same material but ornamented with coweries before and behind, of having relations with the Taureg. She soothes and pets and sings to her suspicious husband, playing music on drums and calabash cymbals. Her mellifluous tones finally persuade him to go out a-hunting in the bush. Needless to say, in Act II she flirts outrageously with the attractive Man of the Open Lands, but is surprised by her husband in *flagrante delicto,* most realistically performed, whereupon, in the next act, a tremendous fight ensues. The King of the Bush, discarding his bow and arrow, fights with an axe, the Taureg with his sword. The latter is victorious and kills the King of the Bush. The wife calls in the 'dogari' to avenge her husband and to please her Southland audience. In Act V the Taureg is haled off before the British Political Officer, presented in Khaki cloth with a black basin-shaped hat like a Chinese coolie and the face of a complete idiot. In the ensuing dialogue the fettered Taureg scores off the unfortunate

white man continuously, but as all plays must end happily, he is condemned to death (Rodd 1926, 55-6).

Music and song accompanied every public event except burials. Language itself was essential to the flow of everyday life. Proverbs and the ability to use them was a respected part of daily as well as formal speech, such as cases at law. The ability to "play with words" (*karin magana*) was a valuable asset for either sex during courtship.[54] The performance of stories was an important form of public and private entertainment which still has not been entirely replaced in Hausa society. The variety of oral art forms collected at the beginning of the twentieth century is evidence of the importance and value placed on oral culture by Hausa in the nineteenth century. Learning Hausa well still remains the single most important requirement for acceptance in a Hausa social setting.[55]

The social spaces within which storytelling was practiced reflected the daily realities of Hausa life, especially in villages and towns (Skinner 1969, xvi-xvii).[56] The demographic composition of individual families and the division of

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54 As can be seen in the *tatsuniyoyi*. See Skinner for stories in which this skill is displayed by the protagonists (Skinner 1977,2).

55I found that people assumed that as my own skills in Hausa improved, so would my social skills: I would become a proper Hausa woman when I spoke proper Hausa.

56 While I have not been able to find a thorough description of storytelling sessions in the nineteenth century, the work of Mary Smith and her husband, the anthropologist, Michael Smith, does include comments on storytelling events in Hausa village contexts in the late 1940's. The Smith's observations associate the variety of Hausa oral art forms with the diversity of public and private social events in which storytelling played an important entertainment role. As the forms of oral literature observed by the Smith's correlate with the forms of oral literature included in the collections of nineteenth century oral literature, I feel

household labor could encourage informal storytelling events. A household, for example, might included young children to be socialized and entertained as well as older children, especially girls, actively engaged in the cultural practices of courtship, and adults who enjoyed practicing the arts of storytelling. Grandparents were especially free of the social prohibitions implied by the Hausa notion of *kunya* (shame, which required degrees of avoidance behavior) in their relationships with children and often entertained them with stories and word games (Stephens 1981).

Throughout the Hausa life cycle patterns of male and female friendships also set up occasions when conversation evolved into storytelling sessions. Some *tatsuniyoyi,* for example, seem to be especially developed to educate children. For Hausa men, the settings and practices of Islamic education at all levels encouraged discussions, conversation, word play and storytelling as a pedagogic device, though not without cultivating a particular moral slant on Hausa life, in particular gender relations. Hausa girls, on the other hand, were actively engaged in a rich youth culture of songs, dances games, folk lore and storytelling which carried them through childhood, courtship, their first marriage and, in villages and urban neighborhoods, into adulthood (M. Smith 1964; Bivins 1974-76, 1988; Stephens 1981; Schildkrout1979, 1981). Linguistic evidence of girls' unique childhood culture is substantial and well-documented in early Hausa dictionaries (Bargery 1935). Baba of Karo's delightful account of her own late nineteenth century small-town girlhood includes songs, dances, games and stories (M. Smith 1964,).

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we are reasonably safe in assuming that social telling events in the late nineteenth century would have been essentially the same as those mentioned by the Smith's.

Hausa commercial life was an eminently social activity, one in which the marketplace and the trading caravan offered considerable scope and encouragement for the practice and refinement of the oral arts. European knowledge of nineteenth century Hausaland is, of course, a product of the culture of commerce and caravan life: oral testimony, historical fragments, folklore and myth transmitted through the travelers' accounts.

Hausa political organization, especially the existence of various forms and levels of court society offered patronage and critical audiences for specialists, female and male, in Hause oral performance. The *Kano Chronicle*, for example, includes praise songs (*kirai*) composed in Hausa from the eighteenth century. One includes refrains which document the existence of female praise singers (*zabiya*) at the Sultan of Kano's court Hiskett (Skinner 1969, 1:319; M. Bivins 1974-76, 1988; Mack 1981). Clapperton describes the praise songs he heard in the court of Sarkin Katagum and how the meaning of his own journey to Hausaland was put into an African literary mode: it was said that he wished "...only to see the world." (Clapperton 1985, 210-12)

Hausa society, however, was not one dominated by public festivals. Certainly the activities of the marketplace, the mosque and the courts of the local *saruta* (ruling or aristocratic elite) encouraged, on special occasions, exuberant public festivities in larger towns and cities, but the celebrations marking family events, especially weddings and births, determined and defined (and continue to do so) the public display of cultural and social values in Hausa society. The anomaly of where the ritual life of Hausa society was fully expressed has serious implications for the relationship of gender to the symbols and expression of power. Hausa views on life rituals and ceremony, space and language all

influenced one another in the events of marriage and childbirth. Such ceremonies were marked by a dual manifestations of the individual's unique position in Hausa society, one representing the public, masculine and (at least symbolically) empowered space of the Moslem community while the other celebrated the vital connective tissue of kinship within the femine realm of the family. On such occasions the performance of *tatsuniyoyi* put into language and narrative the tension between nineteenth century Hausa women and men which was openly manipulated in the celebrations of Hausa life.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Hausa cultural and social values were also expressed in an architectural vocabulary which heightened the distinctions between the public space of the court and the mosque and the private space of the home. Especially in urban Hausa society, the division of social space into spheres of public versus private activities was reinforced by Islamic practices and increasingly accompanied the division of space into spheres of masculine and feminine precedence (Moughtin 1978; Prussin 1990). While the courts and the mosque were clearly public spaces in which the primacy of masculine activities was enhanced, the inner courtyard(s) of the home, whether large or small, was the privileged space of feminine activities and the location of family celebrations. On such occasions, gender ruled over the performance of *tatsuniyoyi* within those spaces just as gender ruled over the definition of private versus public, feminine versus masculine space. Only, significantly, the marketplace was defined as gender-neutral space: again women as economic actors were not automatically marginalized from the arena of trade, though factors of age and class shaped their participation in the public work space.

Because urban Hausa domestic architecture also adopted Islamic designations of gender and social space, the significance of gender to the performance of tatsuniyoyi was further emphasized. Gender determined the definition of private versus public space in relation to the family celebrations which provided the festive setting for the performance of several forms of oral art, including *tatsuniyoyi*. Women guests gathered for the celebrations surrounding marriages and childbirth within the *gida*, having passed through the public space of the *zaure*, or entrance room, and entered the privates space of the inner courtyard of the household's women. There they would enjoy themselves exchanging family and neighborhood news (*hira*), playing word games, (*karin magana*), teasing one another, singing songs from childhood, drumming on calabashes and telling *tatsuniyoyi*. Cooking and eating together, often enjoying special dishes and foods, was also central to the activities of a celebration. *Biki*, the Hausa word for celebrations, in fact, is translated as a feast. Lively entertainment and the exchange of food were the keynotes of any family celebration; both acknowledge the social and cultural power of women.

The men of the household entertained other men in or just outside of the *zaure*, an entrance hall often elegantly decorated in the urban homes of the wealthy (Barth 1985,3). Informally, as a part of the daily routine of prayer, work and meals, men used the public space of their *zaure* to meet and converse with their friends. Travelers were given shelter in the *zaure*, even in cases where a woman was the head of the household and, therefore, the owner of the *zaure* (Barth 1985, 3). It was also in the *zaure* that the telling of *labari*, oral history or oral testimony, by men was appropriate. The religious instruction of children or adults (except women) could also take place in the public space of the *zaure*. For

a celebration, praise singers or drummers, hired for the event performed in or just outside the *zaure*, that is, in the public setting of masculine and juvenile society. Even today, researchers continue to find that space, time and the gender and age of informants control the performances or testimony Hausa informants are willing to share with outsiders (Stephens 1981; Mack; A.A. Nasr 1980).

The physical settings for women telling stories could have included entertaining visitors within a woman's personal living quarters (her *daki*, a room or a hut within the *gida* in which she resided), but this was also influenced by the age, kinship relationships and social status of the hostess as well as the sex of her audience. More than any other single factor the gender of participants shaped the structure and language of storytelling events. As already mentioned, this was because the gender, family relationship and age of individuals were fundamental factors in the intricate system of social behavior designated in Hausa as *kunya* versus *wasa* (Stephens 1981). *Kunya* refers to the ritual shame Hausa women and men were expected to feel with regards to certain social relationships (that of a mother and her first born child, for example, or a wife towards her father-in-law.) *Kunya* is also the word used by Hausa to describe appropriatly modest behavior, often in situations where sexuality is at least covertly acknowledged to be an important factor of social status, especially in the case of young women. *Wase* is used to indicate all kinds of play, including dance, singing, children's games and modern theater productions. At a deeper level of social reality, *wasa* refers to social relationships marked by joking relationships. *Kunya* and *wasa* are the essential concepts structuring the relationships between Hausa women and men. *Kunya* and *wasa* are embedded in

the gender discourse of the *tatsuniyoyi*, even in stories which scoff at such notions of a social code.

Informal family entertainments, held in or just outside a woman's room certainly would have included children and other women and, depending on the size, location and economic resources of the household, adult men as well. The social distance prescribed for men and women was less formally observed in small, farming communities, and among the poor, as were also the notions of gender-appropriate work within and without the household. Koranic schools meeting at night took children out of this storytelling setting and added another, an Islamic, element to their socialization.

Baba, an elderly, small-town, Moslem Hausa woman born in the late nineteenth century whose life history was recorded by an English woman, Mary Smith, in the 1950's, does not describe any single, noted storyteller of either sex, but her childhood was full of songs and conversations in public and private spaces (M. Smith 1964) In particular, during Baba's *fin de seicle* childhood, it was the setting of courtship which encouraged the arts of conversation and storytelling.

Women in the Tatsuniyoyi: Storytelling and Social Reproduction

The *tatsuniyoyi* depict women in relationships with their parents and siblings, husbands and lovers, co-wives and children. In this way, the early collections of *tatsuniyoyi* present popular views of gender in family relationships which were common in the first decade of this century. Because of this the *tatsuniyoyi* are especially useful sources for studying Hausa perceptions of gender relations on the eve of the colonial conquest. Ethnographic descriptions

of gender, outside of the short accounts of courtship and marriage found in the collections of folk literature which include the *tatsuniyoyi* I am using here, were not produced until later in the colonial era when the work of European anthropologists began in earnest in both Nigeria and Niger's Hausa regions. So little was known about the workings of Hausa marriages that as late as the nineteen thirties, British colonial administrators would express surprise on discovering that Hausa wives were generally the first person from whom their husbands would seek a loan to make farm improvements (Giles 1937:21-30). The only view of gender in nineteenth century Hausa families we have comes from the evidence in the *tatsuniyoyi.* Co-incidentally, the *tatsuniyoyi* also provide us with the only internal Hausa view of the work and status of slave women in Hausa households (Edgar 1911-13, 2:391-3).

When gender is important in developing the theme of a story about kinship, there is generally an underlying assumption about the tension or loyalties of the characters which was based on a kinship relationship. For example, mothers support their daughters and daughters reward their mothers when they gain wealth. Often this expression of loyalty is especially marked by designating the mother as the despised wife, her daughter the unfavored child (Schon 1885; Edgar 1911-13, 2:123-129, 285-90, 194-96).

While favored daughters or the daughters of favored wives are often a theme in the *tatsuniyoyi,* sons are generally treated more or less as equals. When it appears, the theme of competition between brothers is most likely to be composed into stories which send brothers out into the world to make their fortunes, a common theme in world folk stories (Edgar, 1911-13, 1:304-6). In the Hausa case, there does not seem to be a powerful emphasis on hostile

competition between brothers. This, of course, is both modeled on and tends to reinforce the Hausa institution of *gandu*, a form of family farming in which brothers join one another to farm together. Furthermore, Hausa kinglists show that authority was transferred through the brothers (including first cousins who were only fictive brothers) of a generation before it was passed to the sons of the next generation Edgar 1911-13, 2:386-7). This is not to say that brothers do not quarrel and compete with one another, but the *tatsuniyoyi* certainly seem to have reinforce a model of brotherly co-operation cherished by Hausa men and now enshrined in the social science literature on Hausa farming households (Buntjer 1970; Norman 1967, 1976,1979). Finally, as any reading of the *tatsuniyoyi* quickly confirms, a masculine narrative voice continually reaffirms the duplicity of women and advises men to expect the worst from wives and lovers (Edgar 1911-13, 1:306-7, 1:314-5, 315-6, 316-8, 339-41; 2:404-5; 3:341-44,).

Sibling relationships display other aspects of the construction of gender relationships in any society and the *tatsuniyoyi* offer evidence of engendered notions of sibling behavior in narratives featuring brothers and sisters. Full sisters, for example, are generally helpful and loyal to one another, but compete with their half-sisters or step-sisters (Edgar 1911-13, 2:123-9, 188-193). Brothers and sisters are also shown as loyal to one another, but when conflict is introduced into stories about brothers and sisters, incest becomes the critical issue. When a jealous brother abuses and abandons his defenseless sister, he meets with a gruesome fate because he unwittingly marries his sister and commits suicide when their relationship is revealed (Edgar).[57] I detect the

[57]For another incest story (incest between a mother and her son, initiated by the mother) see Edgar 1911-13, 3:376-8. Th son is given his own daughter in a marriage of alms.

possibility that incest narratives in the *tatsuniyoyi* may represent a folk response to the attempts of the Sokoto reformers to impose definitions of correct degrees of kinship in marriage as defined in Islamic law (*shari'a*). Certainly, as I will describe in the next chapter, the issue was fundamental to documents on Islamic marriage found in the early collections of Hausa *tatsuniyoyi*. include an unusual, even suptenatural child, "Auta", the baby of the family, who displays destructive, outrageous, socially unacceptable behavior (Edgar 1911-13). Testing the bonds of kinship, generally the loyalty of his sister, Auta always becomes the hero of the *tatsuniya*, rescuing his sister or their family with unusual displays of cunning. The similarity of this motif to the classic descriptions of the child Sundiata is once again a reminder of the deep West African cultural roots of Hausa culture (Skinner 1968; Hale, 1991).

Friendship in the Tatsuniyoyi

Hausa men and women formed life-long friendships in real life and in the *tatsuniyoyi*. Such friendships begin in the culture of courtship and in the nineteenth century included sexual play, *tsrance,* among boys and girls considered sexually and intellectually mature enough to control themselves (Edgar 1911-13, 1:309-10, 350, 351-2; 3:166-8, 262, 284, 367,). *Tsrance* channeled the sexuality of young people before marriage, allowing couples to engage in sexual activities (short of intercourse), as long as the girl did not become pregnant. The culture of courtship provided a period of lively and surprisingly independent social and sexual experience before the challenges of adulthood were assumed in marriage.

The best source for understanding the culture of friendship in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century is the detailed life history of Baba, the Hausa women mentioned above (M. Smith 1964). Friends from childhood shaped her personal world, influencing her decisions about marriage and comforting her in her inability to bear a child, throughout her life. *Tatsuniyoyi* about the friendships of boys and girls during the period of active courtship present a kind of prologue to the discourse of gender which would accompany adulthood. Thus, competition, jealousy, loyalty and virtue work as motivation in stories about young friends, just as they do in stories about gender in the adult world of marriage (Edgar 1911-13, 2:123-9, 171, 388-90; 3:128, 166, 262, 284, 188-93, 270-2). Girls, according to Baba of Karo's account of her own childhood, formed life-long friendships and equally strong antagonisms. In the *tatsuniyoyi* about girlfriends, jealousy is a very common and potentially dangerous problem, especially among girls of marriageable age (In Hausa, called *yam mata or budurwa*) (Edgar 1911-13, 3:270-2, 3:188-93). On the other hand, just as Baba made deep friendships with some of her girlfriends, so, too, do girls in the *tatsuniyoyi*. The great loyalty expected in some same-sex friendships is especially well-developed in a set of parallel stories about female and male friends. In both version of this story, friends, whether two girls or two boys, help one another through life (Schon, 1885; Edgar 1911-13, 2:142-147).

Courtship and Marriage: The Dialogue of Gender in the Tatsuniyoyi

In the *tatsuniyoyi*, gender may becomes the motive for a treachery during courtship and marriage. In real life serious conflicts arose between Hausa women and men and the fictional narratives about courtship and marriage found

in the *tatsuniyoyi* document how men and women identified and resolved points of gender conflict. My goal here is to outline the shape of disagreement between male and female characters in such stories in order to consider the meaning of gender to nineteenth century women and men. My reason for using *tatsuniyoyi* as evidence is that the definition and resolution of gender conflict in stories about courtship and marriage is one of the few ways we can reconstruct a history of nineteenth century gender relationships (Taggert 1990).

All of the collections of Hausa *tatsuniyoyi* from the nineteenth century include stories about the problems of courtship and marriage. However, it is in Edgar's *Litafi na Tatsuniyoyi na Hausa* that the litany of disasters which can come between the sexes in their intimate dealings with one another is most thoroughly explored (Edgar 1911-13, 3:278-9).

Two problems confront historians using the *tatsuniyoyi* as sources for a cultural history of gender. First, especially in the case of Edgar's *tatsuniyoyi*, we have virtually no way to identify by gender the tellers of the stories I will presently examine. This problem of identifying my sources is compounded by the fact that all of the stories come, in effect, second hand through the agency of the scribes writing them down. Folklorists, working with storytellers in the mid-twentieth century, however, consistently report that the telling of *tatsuniyoyi*, especially stories like those I am concerned with here, is the provenance of women narrators (Stephens 1981). I have found no evidence to the contrary either for the twentieth century or for the nineteenth. Furthermore, gender conflict as presented in the *tatsuniyoyi* is quickly and clearly identified with one or the other of the sexes: the narratives are hardly neutral in presenting the depredations of one sex over the other.

Another issue, however, may actually have affected the transmission of these stories in more subtle, more concealed ways. Consider this possibility. The *tatsuniyoyi* were filtered through the moral perspective of men who were, especially in the case of Edgar and Burdon's Sokoto malams, educated Moslems, possibly from within the clerical circles surrounding the courts of emirs and other notables. In a parallel case of priestly scribes writing narratives about gender roles, the French medievalist, George Duby, has shown how the biographies of noble women were rewritten to fit into the politicizes and deeply misogynist views of tenth century Catholicism. The lives of respected and devout women were written in such a way as to virtually negate their roles as wives and mothers, emphasizing only their tendency to withdraw from the active sexuality of Christian marriage and enter a state of celibacy, often as cloistered lay women and always as the exemplary patronesses of a monastic order (Duby 1983, 130-8).

The Sokoto reformers are know to have propagated an ascetic and mystical interpretation of Islamic values which is clearly evident in the views towards women expressed in religious poetry from the first half of the nineteenth century (Robinson 1896; Last 1967; Boyd 1989; Hiskett 1968, 1975). The similarity of views on women and sexuality between the Sokoto pietists and Duby's medieval monastics is disquieting. My concern is that Edgar's malams may have manipulated some narratives to play up Islamic notions of moral behavior, that is to fit the *tatsuniyoyi* into the established interpretations of the hadiths. Examples of *tatsuniyoyi* which might be evidence of such manipulation include narratives in which an Islamic moral has been appended to a dilemma, especially when this can be confirmed with other variants of the story (or story fragment) in which a

Moslem moral is lacking. Because such stories seem to invite discussion and debate, they may have been invented as a teaching device in the Islamic schools of Hausaland. Narratives which pointedly include an Islamic moral to encourage conflict resolution at the very least suggest this scenario for, in effect, adapting the Hausa *tatsuniyoyi* to an Islamic educational purpose (Edgar 1911-13, 1:129, 133, 34; 2:12; 3:58). I must add that other evidence has raised in my mind the suspicion that even manuscript copies of *tatsuniyoyi* might have existed and circulated among the literati of *fin de siecle* Hausaland.[58]

In Edgar's collection of *tatsuniyoyi*, narratives of gender conflict are presented in a variety of Hausa social contexts, yet all are within the realm of courtship and marriage. The narratives address a basic set of questions to set up the dynamics of gender conflict in marriage. Who is being abused? By whom are they abused? How do they solve their problem? Do they have any allies, human or non-human? What characteristics of the heroine of hero of the *tatsuniya* allow them to triumph in the end? Do they "live happily ever after" in the troublesome relationship? How is marital happiness defined in the *tatsuniyoyi*? From the perspective of either women or men, who makes an ideal spouse?

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[58]The possibility of a written tradition of *tatsuniyoyi* deserves further scholarly attention. I find it very difficult to believe, the *Song of Bagauda* to the contrary, that the stories found in Edgar's third volume are not the product of an active and literate tradition. Even the language of these narratives suggests the possibility of being the prototype of "malamanci". There is, for example, greater similarity with the narrative and language of *Magana Jarici*, a prose work composed in Hausa by a Christianized Hausa who, in fact, was a child of the Emir of Zaria's household, sent to Walter Miller to be educated (M. Bivins, Wusasa, 1975. Personal communication with R. Ademola and M. Tafida). Prietze also seems to have found an informant who produced tatsuniyoyi of this sort (Prietz).

From a masculine point of view, even the most virtuous wife could be tempted by the gifts of a lover to overcome the boundaries of marriage and even of *purdah* to enjoy herself (Tremearne 1914; Edgar 1911-13, 2:130-23:366-7; Skinner 1968-77). Class was no protection against a wife's betrayal. Hunters' wives were notorious adulteresses and the wives of wealthy traders or even aristocrats were at the very least vulnerable to predatory men (Edgar 1911-13, 3:373-5, 395-7). Kings' wives might even hid a boy in the women's quarters to meet their sexual needs (Edgar 1911-13). A king's daughter defies even the strictest form of purdah to take a lover (Edgar 191-13,2:272-6, 277-9). The man who moves his household out of the town to protect the chastity of his wives is regularly mocked in *tatsuniyoyi* which frolic in the details of how he is cuckolded (Edgar 1911-13,3,395-7). Even if a woman was sexually faithful to her husband, she could still destroy him, eating up his wealth just as disguised animal brides (joined by their relatives) regularly ate their husbands crops or livestock (Edgar 1911-13, 1,81; 2,40; Skinner 1969, 1:222-3). A bad wife treatened a man's wealth and self-respect.

In reality, Hausa women then as now, could indeed use their sexuality to free themselves from the constraints of marriage and the home, especially if that home was in a rural setting. Prostitution did not carry the burden of moral ostracism attached to it in Western cultures, nor was it accepted without some social reservations: *karuwa* are regularly portrayed as personifying female greed and deceit in the *tatsuniyoyi*.. Nor was prostitution an exclusively female practice: *tatsuniyoyi* describe men practicing *karuwanci*, (prostitution), dressing as women to gain access to the secluded women of aristocratic households (and

getting into some very difficult situations with outraged husbands) (Edgar 1911-13, 3:377).[59]

Any Hausa woman was free to use prostitution as a means to support herself, either for short term need or as a long term profession. In the twentieth century, social scientists continued to find evidence of women using their sexuality as a means of access to an independent life (Pittin 1983, 1979; Raynaut 1977; Barkow 1971; Broustra 1978; Coles 1983; Saunders 1978). Baba used the euphemism of someone, whether male or female, going out into the world to describe those who sought to escape the controls of Hausa society and their own families by running away. In the case of women, she clearly implies that prostitution, *karuwanci*, allowed such women an escape. Yet, in describing the adventures of a particularly troublesome kinswoman, she also makes it clear that the woman could always rely on family ties when she chose to use them (M. Smith 1964). By the end of the nineteenth century, Hausa *zongos* in cities all over West Africa gave such women shelter with relatively few restrictions, unless they chose to re-enter, through marriage, the social world of married housewives (Cohen 1969, 51-70; Adamu, 1978; M. Smith 1964).

In his translation of Edgar's *tatsuniyoyi*, Skinner groups stories highly critical of women into a genre he calls "Moralising Tales" and notes that though

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[59]Transvestitism is not uncommon in Hausa society or in the *tatsuniyoyi*. Linguistically, Hausa also describes a very wide range of sexual practices and behavior, including several forms of lesbian sexuality, homosexuality, bisexuality, pediphilism and hermaphrodism. Male *karuwanci* was the only non-heterosexual activity I found in the collections of *tatsuniyoyi* I have examined. I fully expect one would also find others in manuscripts collected, but not used by the early collectors. Tremearne, for example, published his randier selections in a professional journal, not in his books (Tremearne 1914).

> most stories in Hausa compounds are told by the women, and the grandmothers in particular--witness the constant emphasis on the details of foods and other household activities--in general, in these Moralising stories, we are enjoined not to trust women. There are one or two where women are shown in a favorable light (usually the men show up unfavorably in these), but these are very much in the minority (Skinner 1969, 1:215).

It seems possible that the source of these stories was a setting in which men told stories to other men. Several possibilities suggest themselves: all-male work groups in which storytelling along with other forms of oral entertainment would have been practiced to ease the boredom of repetitive work; conversation over meals, which men take separately form women; entertainment from the prostitutes' compound.

Allowing that men told anti-woman stories to one another re-introduces my earlier concern with locating the narratives of the *tatsuniyoyi* in a Hausa perception of public and private space. Whether told by women or by men, the tone of *tatsuniyoyi* hostile to women certainly suggest to me that such stories were the products of public, masculine storytelling events, that is, social settings in which the primary audience was males (Falassi 1980; Taggert 1986). Such was the entertainment provide by the *karuwai,,* the prostitutes or courtesans found living in special compounds in small towns and cities throughout nineteenth century Hausaland.

A male perspective on gender conflict in courtship and marriage is also expressed in many other *tatsuniyoyi* which are not marked by extreme expressions of hostility. Instead, in these, more common stories, men accept women with fatalism and use cunning to negotiate the social pitfalls of courtship

and marriage.[60] A popular expression of men's cynicism towards their dealings with women is found in stories built around the folk saying that "women like lies". In the narratives of such *tatsuniyoyi* , men mock women who are so interested in the outward appearance of suitors that they will blindly accept what they see as what is real. Class is sometimes an element in narratives built on this premise to enhance the power of the moral. For example, an extremely poor and low-status man, a calabash-mender, succeeds in marrying the daughter of a chief, possibly even a member of the Fulbe aristocracy of the Sokoto Caliphate, by pretending to be very wealthy. His imagined wealth is in livestock, as also is her bride wealth. Her arrogance, then, may be seen as a characteristic of aristocratic Fulani girls, thus introducing an element of class bias into the calabash-mender's successful ruse. It isn't just that women like to be lied to, but that some one as poor as a calabash-mender could fool someone as rich as the daughter of a Fulbe ruler, and that everyone in their town would know the trick before she herself discovered it (through her son's encounter with the gossip in the market of the town). This *tatsuniya* is interesting for the way that it shows how the girl used her father's wealth to rebuild that which she thought her husband had lost by marrying her. We know from Flegel's informant that poor men did indeed marry aristocratic women to enhance their entrepreneurial ventures with fresh capital and good connections to powerful relatives (Flegel 1983 ; Edgar 1911-13, 1:1308-9; Skinner 1968, 1:215-21).

In a variation of this *tatsuniya,* a poor man attaches himself to a rich man in a town where he is a stanger. He borrows the accouterments of a wealthy

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[60]The third volume of Edgar's *Tatsuniyoyiis* the primary source for the stories used in this section.

man, fine clothes, a horse, kola, and honey, and goes courting the daughter of another wealthy man. In the course of the *tatsuniya*, a clearly male view on the expense of courtship and marriage is expressed:

> How will you find a wife, without any money? For you know, for someone to go seeking a wife without money is like someone who goes hunting a gazelle without a dog. Has he a hope of catching her? (Skinner 1969,1:222-3).

Though this story is less elaborate than the first, nor does it include aristocratic characters, the emphasis on material wealth, however, remains. *Tatsuniyoyi* like this suggest a male viewpoint on the increasingly elaborate, expensive culture of courtship which seems to have evolved among well-to-do Moslems in the towns and cities of *fin de siecle* Hausaland (M. Smith 1964).

The lore of courtship and marriage created by men goes much deeper than religion. For example, the stories of animal wives (usually gazelles) directly comment on the moral economy of courtship and marriage ceremonies and customs which demand that the bridegroom and his family transfer considerable wealth as a family to the family of the bride before they secure the bride herself. Much of that wealth was in the form of food for feasting at the actual time of the wedding. Such wealth could not be returned to the groom and his family if the marriage failed--a very common occurrence in Hausa marriage. The moral economy of marriage in Hausa society at all levels would seem to strongly favor, at least when the marriage is made, the girl and her family. A masculine voice in the *tatsuniyoyi* protested this state of affairs in the *tatsuniyoyi* (Schon 1885; Tremearne 1913, 1914; Edgar 1911-13; Skinner 1969).

Courtship and Marriage: A Feminine Point of View

Courtship was a moment in a girl's life when, through her own initiative, she could obtain wealth, as well as a husband. In developing this motif, the *tatsuniyoyi* display a distinctly different understanding of female agency from that often found in European folk stories. European heroines win the hero first, they enjoy status, wealth and power, thanks to their husband's position. Hausa heroines win wealth, achieve status and gain power over people and towns, then marry the hero, who might play no other role in the narrative than be the available son of a king. The message is clear in story after story: a Hausa woman needs control over her own resources of people, livestock, goods, towns and the personal power that comes with such wealth to insure stability and success in her marriage. Some of the stories, such as ones featuring adventurous, brave girls, offer evidence of how girls and women imagined successful women.

The motif of girls who win wealth through their own agency was remarkably popular. One story, for example, recorded by Schon and Edgar, was also told to Stephens in 1978 (Schon 1885, 117-124; Edgar 1913, 3:52; Stephens 1981, 3:1043-1070). Featuring adventurous heroines, the *tatsuniya* told of two wives and their daughters, each of whom made an extraordinary journey into the supernatural on a quest to reach "the waters of Medina." The first variant of the story was told by Dorugu and published in *Magana Hausa.* Other variants were published in Edgar's *Litafi* while Stephens' examples of the story was told to her in 1979 by Hausa informants in Niger. This is an extraordinarily well-documented and long lived *tatsuniya* with a remarkably stable narrative. In fact, one of Stephens' informant was corrected by her audience when she left out essential elements of the plot.

Here is the basic story (Edgar 1911-13, 3:123-8). Two wives are married to a man, one is favored the other not. Both have daughters who are just reaching the age of seeking a husband. The daughter of the unfavored wife urinates on her father's prayer mat (or is accused of doing so by the favorite wife) and is told by her mother to take the mat to the "waters of Medina" and wash it. She does so, embarking on an endlessly long journey on which she encounters a bizarre host of non-human beings, all of whom offer her food, which she politely declines, before telling her to pass on to the distant "waters of Medina." When she finally reaches the water, she meets and is courteous to a strange old woman, who rewards her kindness by giving her three eggs and careful instructions on when to smash them. The girl washes the mat and returns home, all the while following the old woman's advice. As she smashes the eggs one by one, wealth in people, livestock and material possessions pour out of the eggs and follow her. She returns home in triumph, wealthy in goods and people she has achieved by her own good character.

Of course, the daughter of the favored wife is hustled off on the same journey and encounters the same series of beings. She, being a rude, greedy and spoiled girl, eats any and all food presented to her, and is quarrelsome with the old woman. Nevertheless, she, too, is give three magical eggs. Disregarding the old woman's instructions, she smashes the eggs when she should not smash them and is rewarded by a parade of misshapen creatures: leprous beggars, crippled livestock: just the opposite of the wealth rewarded to her half-sister. When she reaches home, her mother is appalled (Edgar 1911-13, 3:52; Skinner 1977, 2: 392-97).

At the time Dorugu was working with Schon in London, the basic story of the girls included the Islamic elements of the "waters of Medina" and their father's prayer mat. I suspect that the girls' journey was at some level symbolic of the performance of the pilgrimage to Medina and Mecca which all Moslems are enjoined to make, if possible. In the nineteenth century, Hausa pilgrims were increasingly making the Haj, but the journey took at the very least four years to complete. In many cases, people never returned (Work 1986).

The late nineteenth century variant published by Edgar has virtually the same narrative, but with critical differences: the girl is an orphan; she urinates on a hide used for sleeping and she is sent to wash it in *"Ruwan Bagaje"*, that is, the black water. (Edgar 1913, 3:52; Skinner 1977, 2: 392-97). Such details as the use of a sleeping hide, not a blanket, and calling the magical waters *"Ruwan Bagaje"*, a name with no Islamic content, suggests the story's roots in a pre-Islamic Hausa past. In Stephens' lively and extravagantly detailed variants of the story, the girl is again an orphan and she is sent to wash either a soiled sleeping hide or a mortar in the "waters of Bagaji" or the "waters of Bagazam." Stephens' heroine is rewarded not only in livestock and people, but also in heavy road building equipment, airplanes, cars, trucks, bags of cement and ships. All these details were added by a storyteller in Birnin 'Konni at the time when that city was at the head of a major road-building project.

Though historically rooted in Hausa *tatsuniyoyi or* at least a century, the story of the girls also shows precisely how a narrative acquires and acculturates foreign elements to a basically Hausa text. In the case of Dorugu's narrative, the emphasis on elements of the Islamic pilgrimage may have reflected an activity then catching the imagination of Hausa audiences (or at least of Dorugu himself).

Certainly, Stephens' narrators were enthralled by the technology of road-building in modern Niger (Stephens 1981,2:). For my purposes this *tatsuniya* is valuable for the evidence it offers for a tradition of stories highlighting girls who actively secure wealth and status for themselves (with nary a husband in sight) has been maintained in the *tatsuniyoyi* for well over a century.

Men were not often portrayed as irredeemably treacherous in narratives which present women's views on marriage. On the other hand, husbands who were miserly, counting even the spoonfuls of *tuwo* dished out by their wives, were not to be tolerated: women were urged to leave stingy men (Edgar 1911-13, 1:138; Skinner 1968:9-12; Skinner 1969,1:310-11). Husbands who unfairly preferred one wife to another were also stock characters, in effect, showing women's response to *tatsuniyoyi* which condemned jealous wives (Edgar 1911-13 3:194-6). Sometimes husbands who played favorites even failed to supply the despised wife and her children, especially daughters, with the bare necessitities of life. Interestingly, this problem often introduced *tatsuniyoyi* in which the daughter of the least favored wife wins wealth and status, thereby providing her mother with sweet revenge over her rival (Edgar 1911-13, 3:123-28).

When women wanted to show the most extreme dangers of marriage, they told stories about girls who marry seemingly handsome, wealthy men who are really disguised goblins. Sometimes girls end up in such marriages through the schemes of jealous girlfriends or step-mothers who trick them into perilous settings always outside of the security of their town. Other times, foolish girls marry a disguised bridegroom simply because they themselves choose unwisely from among their suitors. When they find themselves in such a marriage, they also discover that they are threatened with annihilation: their bridegroom wants

to eat them. One such girl, Dijje, in a *tatsuniyoyi* popular throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, survives such a harrowing experience when her disguised bridegroom turns into a snake goblin who sucks her blood (Schon 1885; Edgar 1911; Skinner 1978; Stephens 1981). Dijje's plight seems to play not only with the image of an especially bad marriage choice, but also with the use of the Hausa verb, *ci*, to eat, a common euphemism for sexual intercourse.

In the *tatsuniyoyi*, a bride threatened by her husband with loosing her life seems to replicate the threat to a husband posed by the loss of his wealth in crops or animals through the agency of his animal bride. In both scenarios, a bad spouse is portrayed as the ultimate danger to women and men. Given the social and economic implications of marriage to the well-being and status of either sex, the *tatsuniyoyi* do not over state the anxieties of choosing a spouse.

Finally, the *tatsuniyoyi* voice an Islamic interpretation of a good marriage in the story of a woman who goes to a malam seeking advise on how to rule her husband. The malam tells her that he will be able to give her an answer if she can pay him in milk from a wild cow. Through patience and kindness (and good food), the woman is able to tame the cow and milk it. When she returns to the malam to seek the answer to her question, he tells her to use the same methods of patience and kindness which tamed the wild cow on her husband (Edgar 1911-13, 1:34, 2:12, 3:58). While this *tatsuniya* seems to be the epitome of the advice given to wives through the poetry and lessons of the Sokoto reformers, we would miss an important point about the position of women in marriage if we failed to notice that, in the end, the wife's desire to control the resources of her marital household was sanctioned by the malam's advice: as she milked the cow and

secured the wealth of the animal's milk, so could she "milk" her husband to exercise authority over his wealth, and the resources of their family.

Romance in A Secular Tradition of Hausa Islamic Prose

As I will show in the next chapter, the rhetoric of nineteenth century Islamic religious poetry makes frequent use of the image of women and female sexuality as a metaphor for the lures of this world and the rewards of the next. Yet, in the most culturally Islamic of the *tatsuniyoyi*, those stories set in Moslem court society and in which a decidedly Islamic secularism prevails, the message that women can not be trusted is uncommon. Instead, this is precisely the category of *tatsuniyoyi* in which female heroines are most thoroughly developed. In their articulation of a kind of Hausa orientalism, these *tatsuniyoyi*, however, raise questions on the source of the secular Islamic motifs in Hausa prose. This, of course, returns us to the use of pan-Islamic images in the myth of Daura.

What distinguishes orientalist *tatsuniyoyi* from others found in the collections of Edgar, Rattray and Tremearne is their setting in urban and court society and the elaboration of their narratives, especially those which feature teenage heroines. Women in such *tatsuniyoyi* are portrayed in a more stylized, "romantic" way (Edgar 1911-13; Skinner 1977:3:213). Their inclusion in collections of Hausa "folk-lore", especially in the second volume of Edgar's *Litafi*, may have been encouraged by the fact that European collectors employed literate Hausa malams to write down stories, though that still does not account for their presence in the repertoire of such informants.

However, in Edgar's case his own literary inclinations raise something of a mystery about secular romances in the *tatsuniyoyi*. In 1924, Edgar published

under his own name a Hausa translation of the popular Arabic romance, *The Thousand and One Nights*, or, in Hausa, *Dare Dubu da Daya.* Two thousand copies of his book were published by Gaskiya Corporation of Zaria and sold through the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) book shops in Nigeria. What interests me is the literary style of the book and how very similar it is to that of the romances published in the third volume of *Litafi na Tatsuniyoyi na Hausa.* Furthermore, the popular *Magana Jarici,* another such romance in Hausa co-authored and published by Malam Tafida of Zaria and Rupert East, the director of the Literature Bureau, was also written in this style. My question is whether fiction written in the style of these *tatsuniyoyi* was the product of literate Hausa malams composing entertaining stories for the leisured and secluded children of the aristocracy or if they are a collaboration (as we know is true of *Magana Jarici*) between Europeans like Burdon, Edgar, and East, with their Hausa colleagues. Further study, including close textual analysis of the *tatsuniyoyi* in Edgar's second volume, the elaborate Hausa texts published by Rudolf Prietze and *Dare Dubu da Daya* is necessary (Prietze, 1904).

The source of the *tatsuniyoyi* in Edgar's second volume would be especially important to determine. If the stories are, as they are purported to be, examples of Hausa oral literature, an inquiry into the routes by which Islamic secular literature came to influence Hausa *tatsuinoyi* becomes significant to the study of the Islamification of Hausa literature in general.[61] Hiskett and others have emphasized the religious nature of the Hausa verse which use Arabic meter and styles, even though secular Arabic verse was part of the literary

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[61]Edgar makes no claim that they are anything else, and I can find no other commentaries on this particular genre of *tatsuniyoyi.*

traditions which influenced Hausa poets of the Sokoto Caliphate (Hiskett 1968, 1975). Allowing for the possibility that the *tatsuniyoyi* I am interested in here represent a Hausa incorporation of secular themes imported from Arabic literature, another perspective on the Islamification of nineteenth century Hausa culture is presented.

The *tatsuniyoyi* collected and published by Rudolf Prietze suggests both the source for secular Islamic images in Hausa narratives and the means of dissemination into the popular culture of urban Hausaland. The *tatsuniyoyi* collected by Prietze in North Africa and Cairo at the turn of the century are cut from the same imaginative fabric as Edgar's Hausa romances. Prietze's informant was a Hausa "mendicant and praise-singer", exactly the class of person trained to learn and recite complex, lengthy ballads and religious verse in Hausa as a way to earn a pious living. Another, later, example of this kind of informant was the blind Zaria Hausa woman who recited the *Song of Baugauda*, taught to her to be her livelihood by a malam (Hiskett 1964-65). The Song *of Bagauda* seems to be the only Hausa example of an epic verse form popular in North African Islamic literature, but, according to Hiskett, not found in Hausa (Hiskett 1968:25-6).

The themes which Hiskett says are common to such North African epics, such as the Biblical story of Joseph being thrown into the well by his brothers, the deceitful anti-heroine of the *Arabian Nights*, Zulaika, and love stories in general, are found in the *tatsuniyoyi* (Hiskett 1968:24-32). Deeply embedded in the prose narratives of the *tatsuniyoyi*, though blatantly obvious to the reformist poets of the Sokoto Jihad, who considered them to be worthless (*wakokin banza* or worthless songs, referring the manner of recitation used in telling *tatsuniyoyi*),

Islamic romances developed in Hausa. Even the problem of why secular Islamic verse might be presented in the prose narrative in the *tatsuniyoyi* is easy to explain when we recall that the limited number of Arabic verse forms used by Hausa poets were all associated with religious themes. Only the *tatsuniyoyi* provided a model into which secular Islamic literature could be assimilated to Hausa literary traditions.

When Hiskett observes that, "what lines of communication may link the community to the story-tellers of Cairo market place at any time after the fourteenth century" to offer an explanation for the incorporation of myths of origin from Yemen found in so many West African Islamic communities (including, of course Daura), he is also reflecting on the sources of secular Islamic romance in Hausa *tatsuniyoyi* (Hiskett 1968:28, 35-6). Prietze, out of all the early European collectors of Hausa, stumbled onto an informant at this source, in the Hausa quarter of Cairo, and that is why the *tatsuniyoyi* he published and the romances found in Edgar are so strikingly similar, and yet distinct from other *tatsuniyoyi.*

I would suggest that such stories gained popularity among secluded, urban and wealthy women and girls: rather the Hausa version of popular romances and their audiences in nineteenth century North America, England and France. Their very length and complexity in plot and character, as well as the settings and social rank of the characters, hints at the tastes of a leisured, moderately well-educated female audience. Internal evidence also suggests that they were told for girls and young men in the context of an elite courtship style. As with other *tatsuniyoyi,* courtship and marriage are central themes.

Young wives of kings are often faced with problems over their husbands other wives and concubines. Co-wives are not the only problem and in fact one common formula describes a king who demands that his young wife bear him a child--even though he refuses to sleep with her. The bride has to prove her fidelity to her royal husband, and yet get pregnant (Edgar).[62] Often there seems to have been a kind of trial which the girl must overcome before the marriage "took". In real life, it was customary that new brides were allowed a period of time to adjust to the new marriage and the new household before they were required to carry their share of the work load. Pregnancy was also a critical test in real life and in the *tatsuniyoyi*.

Pornography: Softening the edge of gender conflict or sharpening the knives of discontent?

Narratives about gender conflict in marriage, especially when adultery is the issue, often use graphic sexual language, but the *tatsuniyoyi* also include stories which indicate the existence of a Hausa tradition of pornography. By this I mean stories in which a particularly graphic representation of sex or sexual organs is essential to the story: there would be no point to telling the story without the pornographic imagery. For example, I see a difference between such stories and those about adultery in which a woman has sex with a lover in full view of her husband. Stories about adultery are primarily focused on the act of infidelity from which a moral conclusion is abstracted. Overtly, that conclusion

[62]Taggart includes texts which show how this Islamic motif was translated into one of the most popular of all Spanish folk stories, the story of the innocent, slandered maiden (Taggart 1990:41-58). The similarity with Shakespeare's Othello and Desdemona is uncanny.

may reinforce the male view that it is useless to expect loyalty or sexual fidelity from women (Edgar 1911-13). Sometimes, however, a masculine moral is subverted by a clearly feminine twist in the plot which celebrates the women's ability to outwit her husband, especially if he was excessively jealous (Tremearne 1914, 69:137-9). In another *tatsuniya*, also a satire on a husband's extreme jealousy, a young cad named Bididi seduces a very jealous man's wife when she brings him *tuwo* to eat, as commanded by her husband. The dialogue explicitly mimics sexual ecstasy and the husband's embarrassed response. I see these stories as farce in which sexual innuendo is a critical element in amusing the audience. Told in the course of an evening's entertainment among prostitutes and their clients, such stories added to the seductive atmosphere needed to ensure successful business for the women involved. Mack, for example, shows how popular women praise singers (*zabiyoyi*) use pornography and even misogynist themes in there performances in Kano in the 1970-80's (Mack 1983:15-46). Hiskett, using a late nineteenth century Hausa poem form Burdon's collection, shows the presence and linguistic stability of obscenity in Hausa verse (Hiskett 1975:6-9, 156-9).

Overt obscenity enhanced the nugget of moral wisdom found in this kind of *tatsuniyoyi* and added to the amusement of the storyteller's audience at the same time (Stephens 1981). Furthermore, in the social manipulation of obscene narratives, any slight of women was met with a cutting satirical response: popular interpretation to the contrary, men did not dominate the *tatsuniyoyi* (Tremearne 1913; Edgar 1911-13, 3:398, 3:162, 3,163).

As a commentary on gender in Hausa society, pornographic *tatsuniyoyi* indicate the tension between women and men over sexual identities which could

not be contained by Islamic institutions of marriage. In particular, these stories underscore the personal liberty allowed women and men during courtship. There were many times during their lives when Hausa adults slipped between the moral cracks of correct marital behavior and were at liberty to exercise their own will in sexual activities. The attenuated marriage ceremonies of previously married women are another indicator of the attitude I am trying to describe.

There is, however, another element in Hausa pornography, found in stories which seem to function only as the vehicles for extremely fanciful, outrageous, depictions of human sexuality, especially of human sex organs. In Edgar's collection, the organ most often portrayed in such stories is the penis and it is always of gigantic proportions. There is a story about a man who is given a magic wish by a guinea fowl and, at this wife's request, asks for a bigger penis. He overestimates his wife's notions of how big is big (Edgar 1911-13, 3:98).. Another man had such a big penis that he had to tie it up out of his way and can not even induce a prostitute to sleep with him (Skinner 1969, 1:361-63). In another *tatsuniya*, set during a time of famine, a husband (whose penis had shrunken into the cavity of his emaciated body) tells his gullible wife that he traded it for food: she is devastated by such a bargain and bewails her fate to the neighbors (Edgar 1911-13, 3:163; Skinner 1969, 1:372-3).

Humor, ridicule, verbal abuse is the point of this kind of Hausa pornography and I would like to suggest that today its most common setting in groups exclusively composed of ordinary women is at least as important to understanding gender in Hausa culture as its presence in the compounds of prostitutes (Bivins 1974-76; 1988). The stories and storytellers offer their audience a profane and account of gender relationships in which men were

officially dominant. When women tell pornography they scoff at the established order of masculine power, whether that power was vested in the figure of a husband or that of a king. All men could be cuckolds. Conversely, all women could wage at least verbal warfare against the force of male power in their own lives, scoffing men with pornography. For two groups of women today, the performance and enjoyment of pornography with an anti-male bias may be especially revealing of the personal response to the power of Islamic reform in Hausa marriage customs in the late nineteenth and twentieth century. These women are young wives and post-menopausal widows and divorcees (Bivins1974-76,1988; Schildkrout 1986:131-52).

The sexual knowledge all ordinary, nineteenth century Hausa gained through *tsrance* as a normal part of growing up, formed the vocabulary of such bawdy humor and ensured that all listeners caught each and every double entendre. I do not mean that pornography is evidence that *tsrance*, as a practice, was sanctioned by all parents. Obviously, by the end of the nineteenth century, Moslem Hausa parents, such as Baba's, were not wildly enthusiastic about this activity (M. Smith 1964). Nor do I mean to suggest that pornography was not used by men as well as women as a weapon in the war of words between them over issues of power, whether sexual, economic or social.

What is to be appreciated in those fragments of nineteenth century Hausa pornography preserved in the *tatsuniyoyi* is the sense of the intimacy of gender conflict, and the struggle of women against silence. Pornography used by women expressed defiance through ridicule. The same goes for men when commoners seduce the secluded and socially inaccessible wives or daughters of the political elite. Stories such as these make up a common pattern in the

tatsuniyoyi which, as I have argued in this chapter, were essentially a women's literary tradition. That is, this is not pornography which reinforces the subjugation of female sexuality to masculine power, as in the way Berger sees the Western tradition of pornographic representations of women: women are not simply sexual objects nor are men only sexual voyeurs (Berger 1987:45-64). . Rather, the mocking, satirical voice of Hausa pornography, whether in the *tatsuniyoyi* or in the profane songs of professional praise singers, expresses dissent and even full-fledged rejection of Islamically-correct, elite notions of gender, sexuality and class. In this way, the *tatsuniyoyi*, especially in the case of pornographic texts, counter-balanced the asceticism of the Sokoto reformers and, I would argue, worked to Hausify their message in just that arena common to all Hausa: gender and the dialogue between the sexes over the shape of courtship, marriage and heterosexual sexuality.

Conclusion

What overall lessons did the stories tell nineteenth century audiences about gender and power in courtship and marriage? First, and stated most frequently in stories with either a feminine or a masculine orientation, the conjugal bond was not permanent. A corollary of that observation was that family ties with parental kin were lifetime resources of support, whether material or emotional. Finally, both men and women needed good character and initiative to succeed in life and success was most assuredly associated with wealth in power over people, goods and space as represented as towns.

The fears women had of men were very concretely linked to marriage, though some stories hint that courting boys would not protect their girlfriends.

Neither boys nor girls were given especially sterling characters during courtship: neither were to be trusted, though some could be very loyal indeed (Edgar).

Men's fears of women as expressed in the *tatsuniyoyi* were less concrete in economic terms, but explicitly stated moral expectations and masculine fatalism when such expectations were not met. In economic terms, men did face the problem of wives who "eat up" their property, especially as expressed in the stories of animal brides who, quite literally, eat their husbands' wealth, whether that wealth is in crops or in livestock. However, as expressed in the *tatsuniyoyi*, men feared women's sexual infidelity and used women's sexuality as the fundamental reason for saying that women could not be trusted, indeed, could not be kept in a state of moral rectitude.

To study gender in the context of Hausa *tatsuniyoyi* is to begin to understand the past as Hausa people themselves lived it because the past, at all levels of Hausa society, for all classes, was deeply and fundamentally ordered by the relationships of women and men: to gender as a way to construct power at the deepest and most fundamental level of Hausa social formation. Shehu Usuman dan Fodio and the reformist scholars of the Sokoto Jihad understood this signification of gender and women's central role in social formations. As I will show in the next chapter, the reform literature of the Jihad and the Caliphate would urge changes in the status of women and the meaning of gender in Islamic thought.

Hausa women had no real expectations of sexual fidelity from husbands: this is not presented as an issue in the feminine view of marriage. They could, however, find good cause to fear the economic or social unfairness and cruelty or neglect from husbands. They could be jealous of co-wives and their children, to

the point of causing evil to befall their rivals. They could fear witchcraft, especially from co-wives, sometimes even in collusion with husbands. Women also seem to have used the Hausa goblin, the dodo, to create narratives in which women were able to outwit such creatures, even if they had the misfortune of being married to a *dodo*, a goblin. Stephens understood this to mean women had especially close ties to the supernatural forces of nature and mediated between human culture and the natural world. I see it as a commentary on living in a bad, even dangerous, marriage and a prescriptive for taking action.

The women represented in such collections as Edgar's, Rattray's and Tremearne's are creatures of Hausa popular culture on the eve of the twentieth century and its manifestations of a European definition of modernity: colonial rule, technological change, economic reorientation, social transformation and, by some accounts, cultural chaos.Women were not always presented in an especially positive light: the meaning of gender was approached from viewpoints other than that of women in the *tatsuniyoyi*. Nevertheless, Hausa women did have a voice in the culture and traditions of the *tatsuniyoyi*. As in the state traditions discussed in the preceding chapter, distinctive perspectives and intellectual traditions have operated within Hausa culture to create the discourse on gender found in these folk stories.

Modern scholars of Hausa literature have pointed out the frank hostility, often with orthodox, Islamic messages, towards women found in many Hausa *tatsuniyoyi*. The alternative, feminine (if not feminist in the Western sense of the word) voice has been given less recognition, though it is assertive, even dominant in the *tatsuniyoyi* themselves. This feminine perspective within the body of Hausa *tatsuniyoyi* documents the competing views on the meaning of

gender which co-existed in *fin de siecle* Hausa society. The rules for telling *tatsuniyoyi* shapes the information about gender which can be discerned in this literature of dissent.

In short, an alternative, feminine perspective within the body of Hausa folk stories suggest that competing views on the meaning of gender co-existed in nineteenth century Hausaland.[63] The rules for the telling of narratives in each of these distinctive intellectual traditions shapes the information about gender which can be discerned in the various forms of nineteenth century Hausa oral literature.

With the exception of Hausa Islamic verse, all examples of popular Hausa literature were oral and not set down in writing until one outsider or another made the request. The outsiders were European males who valued literacy and their chief informants were on the whole, literate Hausa males. Yet the vast bulk of the Hausa folk stories transcribed in this manner represented an oral, female culture, the culture of the inner family and the storytelling woman and girls. Even stories outside this tradition, stories which came from an opposing tradition established around the public space of masculine society, were often transplanted from the oral literature of women, courtship and marriage.

The topic of this chapter has been the representation of women and the dialogue between the sexes found in Hausa *tatsuniyoyi*. In the course of pursuing these topics I have shown how Hausa women contributed to the

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[63]Studies of gender in European folk narratives offer insights into this topic (Dubisch 1986; Falassi 1980; Taggert 1990; Seremetakis 1991).

[64]The commentary on the "Song of Bagauda" is an excellent introduction to this topic. See also Mack, especially for the performances of the *zabiya*, female praise singers (Mack 1981,1983).

creation of a genuine and distinctive intellectual tradition. In the *tatsuniyoyi* collected by Europeans at the turn of the century which represents Hausa popular culture and in Hausa Islamic verse, the form in which an Islamic ideal of womanhood was presented to the Hausa people, men and women have debated the meaning of gender in Hausa culture and set the stage for Hausa culture as we observe it today.

Finally, representations of wealth are fundamental to "happy endings" in the *tatsuniyoyi,* whether from a male or female point of view. These images give us an interesting sense of the Hausa good life in nineteenth century terms. Wealth came in possessing people, towns and goods, livestock being in the latter category. Success is most frequently rewarded with being given a town and its people. The parallel with what was actually going on in the period when the Sokoto Jihad led to significant political changes and economic growth, especially expressed in the development of Hausa towns, is uncanny. In particular, we can compare this theme in the *tatsuniyoyi* with the actuality of Sultan Bello's domestic policies. It is safe to assume that the emphasis on winning wealth in the form of towns as well as the constant refrain that town life was the best way to live are a measure of the profound importance of urbanization in nineteenth century Hausaland.

Such images of success and wealth identify nineteenth century Hausa values in social and economic terms. The good life was the life of the town, where a man could pursue trade as well as the conversation and social life of the mosque and the palace and a woman, too, could find opportunities for wealth, status and personal power.

Chapter 4: Gender and the Message of Islamic Reform

> Woman by her very nature brings us face to face with what sociolinguists today consider to be a fundamental truth: Language is an instrument of domination and judgment. The sexes are joined in battle over a common fief: linguïstic expression (Regnier-Bohler 1992, 2:427-482).

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, the religious wars initiated in northwestern Hausaland by the Fulbe cleric, Shehu Usuman dan Fodio, culminated in the successful establishment of an Islamic state across the most densely populated and economically diverse regions of central Hausaland (Last 1967; Adeleye 1971; Hiskett 1973). A process of reforming the Islamic content of popular Hausa culture was set in motion by the scholars of the Sokoto Caliphate which grew out of Usuman dan Fodio's community. Judging by the variety and availability of texts devoted to the regulation and reform of Hausa marriage customs, the Islamification of gender relations, especially in marriage, was of singular importance to the Sokoto reformers. In poetry, proverbs, *tatsuniyoyi*, *labarai*, legal commentary and even the scraps of local hearsay and gossip about memorable marriage cases passed on into the early collections of Hausa literature, the relationships between men and women came under careful scrutiny. The legal and literary heritage of the Sokoto Caliphate testifies to the fact that this reform movement set out to propagate the acceptance of correct Islamic marriage practices among ordinary Hausa (and Fulbe) people. No longer was Islam to be the religion of the political, ecclesiastical and commercial elites of urban Hausaland. The social revolution urged by the reformers required a

redefinition of the most fundamental expression of Islam and gender in Hausa society: marriage.

In oral literature and legal commentary, sometimes, as in the case of Islamic poetry, based on written texts committed to memory and recited in public, the leaders of the Sokoto Jihad and their followers set out the main features of the reform message.[64] Shehu Usuman dan Fodio, his children and his followers wrote about the rights and obligations of women and men in marriage as well as more general issues of religious instruction. *Shari'a* law, based on North African precepts, especially as they were presented in the sixteenth century texts and letters of al-Maghili, detailed the rules of proper gender relationships and the transfer of property in marriage, annulment and divorce. By the late nineteenth century, religious commentary even outlined intimate sexual practices defined as Islamic and said to be based on the Hadiths (Edgar Skinner 1977, 3:320, 325-6, 326, 327-8). Gender and marriage were significant issues, examined and re-examined throughout the corpus of nineteenth century Hausa Islamic literature. And yet, the definition of a good Moslem woman remains a contentious issue in twentieth century debates over gender relations and the status of women in Nigeria and Niger (Cole and Mack 1991; Calloway 1987, 85-130).

It was, however, the ways in which the message of Islamic reform was presented in stories, proverbs and other forms of popular oral literature that the reformers' ideal of gender in marriage was conveyed to non-literate, rural Hausa

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[64]The commentary on the "Song of Bagauda" is an excellent introduction to this topic. See also Mack, especially for the performances of the *zabiya*, female praise singers (Mack 1981,1983).

people. Furthermore, it is in the same literary sources that a measure of the cultural struggle generated by the reforms may be discerned. In this chapter I would like to compare the dialogue between the sexes I have already argued to be present in the oral culture of the *tatsuniyoyi* with the discourse on women and gender found in the literary traditions of the Sokoto reformers. My point is not to critique the Islamic content of the reform literature--I am no specialist in Islamic law--but to use it in an attempt to examine from another source the impact of Islamic reform notions on women and gender in the popular culture of *fin de siecle* Hausaland. Finally, I use evidence from the life histories of nineteenth century women and men and accounts of the culture of courtship and marriage to point out that the acceptance of Islamic principles in gender relations, especially in courtship and marriage, continued to be deeply influenced by Hausa custom throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth.

Literacy , Oral Education and the Purpose of the Sokoto Jihad

The Sokoto Jihad was an event in which literacy played a crucial role. Following an approach to Islamic reform rooted in the practices of Fulbe clerics by the end of the eighteenth century, Shehu Usuman dan Fodio encouraged literacy in Fulfulde and Hausa, deliberately eliminating one of the primary barriers to the popularization of Islam among the masses of rural Hausa: the necessity of achieving some degree of literacy in Arabic to become an educated Moslem (Brenner and Last 1985; Hiskett 1975, 18).

Islamic education in Hausaland underwent a profound reorientation beginning with the Sokoto Jihad in the nineteenth century and continuing into the present. As Brenner's description of Islamic education in the Tijanniya

tradition demonstrates, teacher/scholars such as Usuman dan Fodio, his family and followers and the generations of Moslem scholars who would follow their role model relied on the spoken word to transmit the written culture of Islam (Brenner 1984, 76). Fulfulde played a central role in the mission of Islamic education practiced by the Toroodbe leadership of Sokoto who argued that, along with Arabic, it was one of the "languages of religious explanation" (Brenner and Last 1985: 433-5).

While he is especially concerned with documenting the use of Fulfulde in Islamic education, Brenner argues that at least one method of "the oral transmission of the written word" existed in Hausaland by the late eighteenth century. Noting Usuman dan Fodio's objections to the "sectarian tendencies" of some Koranic teachers, Brenner concludes that the *Kabbe*, a Fulfulde poem created to teach the mysteries of Tyjanniya sufism, was an established educational device in some Fulbe Moslem communities (Brenner 1984:79-86).

With the use of Fulfulde as a model, it was not suprising that Sokoto's religious scholars and teachers would also write poetry in Hausa as a vehicle for instructing the people of the newly established Sokoto Caliphate. Translations of the Shehu's poetry into Hausa were made and two are to be found in Robinson's 1896 collection of Hausa Islamic verse, *Specimens of Hausa Literature* (Robinson 1896). Robinson's sampling of Jihad religious verse includes references to the position of women in Moslem society:

> Farm-work is not becoming for a wife, you know; she is free, you may not put her to hoe grass (as a slave)...A woman that is married gives up going to three places: the market, a public feast and the place of drawing water...If thou hast not a boy to take her pitcher, do

> thou endeavour to escort her to the water in the evening...If she desires to go to their houses, let her ask her husband; grant her permission provided she go in the evening...Let her take a cloth as a covering for her body, let her crouch thus with arms folded until the conversation is ended...When she replies let her lower her voice in speaking; let her not be heard calling fowls, speaking with wide-opened mouth...You know that no part of a woman's body ought to be seen when she goes out, except the soles of her feet and her eyes...The married woman who goes out with head uncovered, on the day of the resurrection the fire shall burn her; The Married woman who goes out with head uncovered, on the day of the resurrection shall be covered with a blanket of fire...If a woman be in love with two men, they shall suffer loss in the next world; on the day of the resurrection they shall rise in the form of dogs...(Robinson 1896, 6).

Hausa Islamic verse was a fundamental tool of nineteenth century Muslim education. In inspirational poetry, the reformist scholars of the Sheik's community selected images of good and evil from the great body of Islamic religious and folk literature and particularized those images to Hausa audiences (Hiskett 1975, 50-1). Nana Asma'u, the daughter of Shehu Usuman, for example, was an active teacher of women and children and depended on oral methods of instruction. She regularly composed religious poetry in Fulfulde and Hausa with the clear purpose of educating the faithful who were not fluent in Arabic (Boyd 1989). Her vernacular poetry was especially prepared to be recited in Hausa and Fulfulde by the women teachers (the '*yan taru*) she organized to promote Islamic ideals in their own, rural Hausa communities (Boyd 1989, 49-53; Boyd and Last 1985). There is little information, aside from the observations of European travelers, of extemporaneous, public preaching, but here again, inspirational

poetry recited in the vernacular played an important role in the oral inculcation of Islamic practices and beliefs (Richardson 197-, 2:178-296).

Religious composition in Hausa and Fulfulde ranged from formal and learned exegesis of Islamic texts (*tafsid* and *hadith*), to the day to day use of Islamically-inspired proverbs, parables and *tatsuniyoyi*. Again, the significance of the orality of Islamic education at this time among Hausa speaking populations is that it forged a link between the more elitist forms of Islamic education, which depended on literacy in Arabic, and ordinary people who depended on the oral instruction of Muslim preachers and teachers. Shehu dan Fodio and other Muslim teachers correctly identified the significance of mass education to the production and reproduction of an Islamic community in the Central Sudan (Sow 1966; Last 1968; Paden 1973; Gummi 1980; Hiskett 1973,1975, 1980; Brenner 1984; Brenner and Last 1985; Boyd 1989; Boyd and Last 1985).

Marriage as a Theme in the Poetry of the Jihad

The choice of poetry as a vehicle for popular education fit into the established traditions of Hausa oral literature (Hiskett 1975, 1-19; I.Y.Yahaya 1981:139-156; Z. Kofoworola 1981:290-308). Poetry as popular entertainment and social commentary was well-established in nineteenth century Hausa society. This was an important medium for the popularization of the reform message of the Sokoto Jihad.

The poems make it clear that their authors intended to foster Islam at the broadest and least elite levels of Hausa society. Thus, one of the most important themes in the poems is the reformation of women and the redefinition of the good wife. Shehu dan Fodio initiated the discussion of marital relations at least

as early as 1789, beginning with a poem on those Hausa and Fulbe customs which undermined Islamic marriages (Boyd 1989, 163-64). Married himself at the age of twenty, he found the upbringing of his bride, Maimuna, who was also his cross-cousin, to be less than Islamically correct: Maimuna was unhappy to find herself in a household which practiced purdah. Thus, Usuman dan Fodio's mission to bring enlightenment to the marriage practices of his community began in his own home and the complexities of polygamous, Islamically-correct marriage: he had nine wives in his lifetime who bore him 23 children. Criticism of the status of women was part of his critique of the Hausa sultanates, found in the *Kitab-Al-Farq*, a work which shows his dependence on late-Abbasid theories of Islamic law. (Hiskett 1960, 578). Summarizing the relationship of the Shehu's political goals to his conceptualization of Islamic law, Hiskett writes:

> The Shehu recognized the significance of the imamate as a concept capable of unifying the divided kingdoms of Hausaland, and in consequence was able to propound a theory of government which succeeded, for a time, in realizing most of his aims. Since the *Shari'a* is an ideal system it can never be completely translated into practice. Nevertheless it is clear from Clapperton and Barth that in the half-century following the jihad the Fulani emirates did constitute a loosely knit feudal empire over which Sokoto exercised political and moral authority. The individual emirs were largely autonomous within their provinces, but paid tribute to Sokoto, and certainly referred to Sokoto in matters of administration and religion. Thus the concept of a central imamate from which authority should stem, became a reality." (Hiskett 1960, 579)

What interests me here is that the Shehu's grand plan of creating an Islamic society in Hausaland depended, as his poetry on gender relations in

marriage emphatically demonstrates, on getting ordinary people, including his own, sometimes reluctant, wives to live their own lives in accordance to the *Shari'a*. Thus, his list of the failures of Hausa governments returns again and again to issues having to do with women and their roles in society and politics. He found, for example, the Hausa sultans guilty of:

> ...taking what women they wish without marriage contract...devouring the alms of women who are subject to their authority...(placing)many women in their houses, until the number of women of some of them amounts to one thousand or more...puts the affairs of his women into the hands of the oldest one, and every one (of the others) is like a slave-woman under her."(Hiskett 1960, 567).

The Hausa sultanates continued to include what may have been *bori* in their official ceremonies, for women, free and enslaved, attached to the courts of the sultans "continued to celebrate the yearly *jan dodo* festival" (Hiskett 1960, 568, 573). Finally, at the level of *Shari'a* interpretations of public manifestations of gender roles and behavior, women were not allowed to be veiled nor was adultery punished correctly (by stoning, if the individuals were married, and whipping if single); instead, fines were levied (Hiskett 1960, 568-69).[65] The Shehu also objected to the sumptuous display of wealth seen in extravagant clothing and lavish wall decorations in the palaces and court music (Hiskett 1960, 569). Ironically, while Clapperton's descriptions of the court of Bello describe its simplicity, Barth's comments on the architecture of urban Fulbe culture and the courts of the Fulbe emirs documents the failure of this element of the Shehu's

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[65]Was this a matter of sumptuary laws protecting the ceremonial clothing of aristocratic women? More work needs to be done on this issue.

campaign of cultural reform.(Denham and Clapperton 1985, 2:294,333-34; Barth 1985; Prussin 1989).

The Shehu explained the workings of the *Shari'a* in the configuration of gender in marriage through poetry preserved in manuscript copies in the private libraries of scholars in Sokoto, but disseminated throughout Hausaland, then as now, through manuscript copies and public recitations. Boyd's publication of these poems in translation provides a detailed image of Islamic marriage as the Shehu interpreted the *Shari'a*. For example, the Shehu's criticisms of husbands include:

> they fail to dress, house and feed their wives adequately, they show favoritism between one wife and another and make unwise and hasty marriages without due thought...They revile their wives...and beat them excessively...they do not educate them and if they divorce them they spread malicious tales about them thereby ruining their chances of remarriage...others refuse to divorce unhappy wives...all theses things are evidence of ignorance. (Boyd 1989, 3).

Boyd continues her translation with an especially revealing description of the Shehu's model of gender relationships in a Moslem marriage:

> Some women are in trouble...because their husbands think of nothing but sex...some men eat huge meals away from home without caring to know if their wives have enough to eat...they are hot-tempered and when angry refuse to speak to their wives...others never joke happily with them nor do they share their sexual attentions equally amongst them...they sit stroking their beards in contentment outside homes which are little better than hovels...they are hard by nature and fault-finding by disposition...they confine their wives too closely...they neither educate them themselves nor allow them to benefit from being

> educated by others...A woman should protect her honor and stay at home...and show a pleasant and gracious manner to her husband...giving him due respect...accepting any reversal of his fortunes with equanimity...it is compulsory to feed and clothe such a woman and given her dowry (*sadaki*). A wife who goes out (without good reason) loses her right to her dowry and cannot claim food and clothing from her husband...Womenfolk take heed! Do not do communal farm work and do not assist in herding...cover yourselves up and spin the thread you need to clothe yourself with...if you go on visits to the tombs of pious saints do not have arguments...and if you have to go to the well to draw water, do not misbehave...if you meet on social occasions do not engage in back-biting gossip...the best think is to let the men-folk go to the market, but if circumstances compel you to go you must dress in a restrained manner, covering yourself up from head to toe...there is no reason why a wife should not (because of custom) utter the name of her husband or be considered ill-mannered for doing so, nor should she avoid taking her meals with him..." (Boyd 1989, 5-6).

Comments about the women of the Shehu's family elaborate on this model of gender relations. Nana Asma'u herself described the character of five women in her extended family who had reputations for piety and Islamic scholarship in her poem, *Sonnore Gidado* (Boyd 1989:4). In other poems she praised women who cared for widows and orphans; instructed others in the principles of the faith; worked to serve the community; prayed five times daily, gave alms, fasted at Ramadam and performed the Hajj when possible. The women she admired were peace makers in their homes, compassionate, hard working and pious.

In her poetry on women, Asma'u elaborated on the image of a good Moslem wife drawn by her father from the literature and explication of the *Shari'a* texts and the traditions of sufism to which he and his community

ascribed. She, as had her father, seems to have placed great value on the role of the good wife as a buffer against non-Islamic practices in the home and in the community of the faithful. From Asma'u's poetry, it is clear that for the Shehu, his immediate family and the community of devoted followers built around them, the propagation of an Islamic model of gender relations in the family, and especially in their own families, was an essential element of establishing a Moslem community in Hausaland.[66]

As the Jihad began to achieve military and political success, the women of the community would be directly confronted with the significance of their personal role in the propagation of the *Shari'a*: female captives would be integrated into their own homes and marriages as concubines, slaves and even as wives. Boyd succinctly summarizes the challenges this posed:

> The invasion of the wives' domain by alien women who bore the children of their master and shared his love, presented a three-fold challenge. First, the wives had to accommodate the newcomers emotionally, exercising tact and patience. Second, they had to strive to keep the homogeneity of the Jama'a intact by educating the concubines and requiring from them religious conformity. Third, they had to ensure that the minds and hearts of the half-Gobir children, often recognizable by their physique and facial features, were free from any knowledge of *bori, tasfi* (magic) and the spirits which were supposed to dwell in caves and trees." (Boyd 1989, 15)

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66 This is an important element of Islamic reforms throughout the Islamic world. For an important, early twentieth century example form India, see Metcalf, B. *Perfecting Women: Maulana Asfaf'ali Thanawi's Bihishti Zewar.* 1990. Berkeley: University of California Press.

As women like Asma'u surely knew, the Prophet himself had forced a similar mission of peaceful jihad on the women of his own family by taking as concubines a Christian and two Jewish women. (Boyd 1989, 15)

Dan Fodio urged that women be educated in the basics of Islam. He and other poets sanctioned and themselves practiced the seclusion of wives not, as westerners often conclude, to deny women their liberty, but to better secure their rights to instruction in Islam, protection from the evils of the world and access to the means of salvation.[67] There was also an essential need to define the status of free Hausa women more distinctly in order to bring the legal practices of the Hausa communities incorporated into the Sokoto Caliphate into line with more orthodox legal traditions as well as to protect Moslem women from the very real threat of kidnapping and enslavement.[68]..In a society where household slavery was well-established and in which concubinage was an important institution, especially among the elites, it was, indeed, very important to identify the status and rights of free women. One of the most important was her right to remain at home and not to engage in farming, water carrying or firewood gathering. Instead, women were consistently urged to take care of their needs by spinning cotton thread. The important economic ramifications of this change will be described in a later chapter.

While the poetry of the Jihad's leaders articulates a model of the good wife and Islamically correct gender relations in the Moslem community, the task of redefining gender relations in Hausaland required more active promotion and

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67 Modern Hausa reformers have been especially adamant in defining the rights of Hausa women to Islamic education (B. Yusuf 1991:90-106; B. Calloway 1991:145-159).

68Useful introductions to the rights of Moslem women in classical Islamic thought is provided in Musallam (1983) and B. Lewis (1988).

reform to reach the most basic levels of Hausa society and among people of minimal literacy (Said 1987:75-90). To establish the rule of Islamic law and practices, reformers engaged the minutia of family life, especially of courtship, marriage, annulment, child custody and the transfer of wealth in marriage ceremonies. This agenda of social reform required not only the readjustment of Hausa marriage customs to fit the very specific and contractual model of Islamic marriage held by the reforms, but also cut to the heart of economic relationships in rural and urban Hausa families.

Gender, Islamic Law and the Culture of Courtship

Surviving texts of the oral culture of Islamic jurisprudence offer compelling evidence of how legal reformers struggled to achieve marital relationships that were recognizably Islamic within the Hausa milieu. The law had to be inserted into Hausa popular culture and that probably encouraged the popularity of several genre of oral literature: dilemma stories, stories about law cases, proverbs with an Islamic twist. In this way Islamic knowledge was indigenized to a much broader West African cultural tradition of social regulation based on an oral culture of customary law. The biggest threat to establishing Islamic gender relations and marriages may well have come from what I have already begun to describe as the culture of courtship.

To be successful in bringing Hausa marriage practices into line with the classical definition of political inequality in gender relationships, it was imperative for reformers to intensify popular perceptions of gender differences: men and women would have to be different and unequal in their natural ability to participate in the political life of the community of Islam. Let me also

emphasize that this in no way should be read to imply a spiritual or religious inequality between men and women--and in the summing up spiritual status was infinitely more important that political status or even wealth in the context of Islamic belief in nineteenth century Hausaland--a matter of eternal life or eternal death in the eyes of the Sokoto theologians. Popular oral traditions, however, would not put too fine a point of the distinctions between men and women and in the *tatsuniyoyi* there is ample evidence that a definite streak of misogyny existed, though it is significantly absent in Dorugu's accounts (Schon 1886). As we shall see, the cultural practices of courtship, vigorously defined and encouraged by girls and women in the newly emerging town life of late nineteenth century Hausaland, would be the major threat to Islamic marriage.

Evidence of how the problem of the Islamification of Hausa customary law and the Hausafication of Islamic law was defined and tackled in popular culture also survives in the collections of Hausa oral literature, notably Edgar's (Edgar 1911-13). Islamic or at least Islamicized views of gender relationships are detected in the *tatsuniyoyi*, the *labarai*, the proverbs and the explications of Islamic practices found throughout Edgar's collection.

Along with such Hausa cultural texts, Edgar added a Hausa translation of the *Risala*, the classic North African legal treatise of the Malikite school, found in the third volume of *Litafi na Tatsuniyoyi na Hausa* (Edgar 1911-13,3). Selections from this translation and other orthodox pronouncements on Moslem courtship and marriage practices, including precise discussions of incest, were published in Hausa in the 1940's by the colonial press and widely distributed in Nigeria through bookstores and in Hausa markets(1940). Perhaps no other texts offer a more suitable expression of the print revolution in the Hausa communities of

Nigeria and Niger, reaching, as these cheap pamphlets did, into the schoolrooms of children, the *zaure's* of teaching malams and the adult literacy classes of the rural Hausa heartland(M. Bivins 1974-76, 78-79, 87-88). Such publications contributed to the body of orthodox Islamic knowledge available to literate Hausa, especially in Nigeria, from their initial publication to the present.[69]

The Hausa text on marriage included in Edgar and re-published by Abraham, *Labarin Amrem Musulmi da Rabaswa da Mayaswa*, remains the most detailed, formal Hausa account of Islamic marriage practices (Abraham 1949).. *Labaran Amrem Musulmi* is especially useful in establishing the legal context into which reformers placed gender relationships. A prominent postion is given to the question of incest in marriages between people who are in some degree related to one another. Ironically, the concern with defining incest (as, for example, between cousins of various sorts and degrees) suggests the practical problems of finding suitable spouses in very small and rural Hausa communities. In such a place, especially one in which marriages played extremely important economic and social roles for families, but were nevertheless very unstable, how could the selection of an appropriate spouse be carried out with regards to prohibitions on incest? Even the *tatsuniyoyi* include stories about incest, whether willfully committed or not.

What is interesting about this material on marriage is that none of it was presented in a feminine voice: women were not composing for women, but men are creating a legal culture for women. Nana Asma'u's poetry, for example, is

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[69]Rural markets continue to attract traveling booksellers who specialize irreligious texts. In this way even a publication such as A.M. Gummi's controversial *Tarjamar ma'anonin al'kur'ani mai girma* (Beirut 1982), a Hausa translation of the Holy Koran, is reaching rural people in Nigeria and Niger.

surprisingly silent on gender issues other than the religious duties of women. Her father and others, in fact, are more firm in their admonitions to men on their duties to their wives. Her purpose seems to have been only to demonstrate the workings of a basic, Islamic cultural identity, not to elaborate a feminist reading of Islamic beliefs, law and custom. Rather like a catechist, her intention seems only to communicate the outlines of faith and pious ritual to women. Thus, her life and work personifies both the spiritual egalitarianism of Islamic faith and its temporal inequalities for women and men.

In contrast to the way the rights of freeborn Moslem women were discussed in the classical texts of the Middle East, the Hausa texts are rather limited in the issues presented. The sexual rights of women are not fully described: men are simply enjoined to give equal attention to each of their wives in families where purdah was practiced. Educated men counseled other men on how to regulate their relationships with women in Islamically-correct ways. Gender in these texts is not simply a social relationship, it is an issue of great legal implications. Such discussions of gender offer unique insights into the very real problems of establishing an Islamic community on the far frontiers of the Islamic world. On the one hand Islamic law does come from a masculine cultural and intellectual tradition, but throughout the Islamic world significant disagreements over how women were to be treated did exist. From the perspective of legal practices, there was no way that the dominance of men over women in Islam could be denied, but it could be softened to be less restrictive and offensive to women concerned with their legal status and rights within their own communities. Bernard Lewis summarized the problem posed by gender to Islam:

> But if Islamic usage rejects privilege, it admits--in certain situations it even imposes--inequality. Three inequalities in particular were established and regulated by law and developed through centuries of usage--the unequal status of master and slave, of man and women, of Muslim and non-Muslim. These are, of course three different kinds of classification, which may overlap or intersect, and the practical effect of belonging to one or other of these categories varied greatly from time to time and from place to place. In principle, equality of status, and with it the right to participate at whatever level in the exercise of power, belonged only to those who were free, male and Muslim, while those who lacked any of these qualifications, the slave, the woman, and the unbeliever, were excluded. (Lewis 1988, 64-65).

Less orthodox Islamic interpretations of appropriate social and sexual relationships between men and women are also found in the .published collections of *tatsuniyoyi*. Some described acceptable sexual practices while others detailed the Moslem rituals related to marriage, sex and childbirth, such as the baths prescribed for new mothers and the rituals of naming ceremonies (Edgar 1911-13, 3:318-328, 222-223). The details of Moslem marriages were outlined, though men also were advised not to pick a wife during a festival when everyone looked their best, practical advice from a Hausa point of view (Edgar 1911-1913, 1:251-4,.3:225-8; Abraham 1940:142-50) Non-Islamic local practices were also described, perhaps to give the European collectors an understanding of the diversity of so-called Hausa Islamic popular culture, especially to gain their support for furthering the cause of orthodox reform. Edgar's malams described how the men of Kwangwama were fined by the king if they impregnated a virgin; how their baby boys were circumcised at birth while infant girls were betrothed at that time, but adding that the girls would later have some say on

whether or not the marriage was carried out (Edgar 1911-1913, 3:231). The account of Kwangwama also included a description of the ceremonial presence of virgins and little girls at religious festivals overseen by malams, a practice which would have been scandalously un-Islamic (Edgar 1913, 3 240, 310-11). The *kirari* of Hausa women and a list of the blasphemous women who destroyed their companions offered a final, and harsh, characterization of Hausa women in general:

> Kada ka yarda doki, kada ka yarda da mace kada ka yarda da dare,
> kada ka yarda da gulbi, kada kayarda da daji (Abraham 1940:144)

That is, loosely translated: "Don't trust a horse, a woman, the dark, a swamp or the wilderness." This was addressed to men.

Tatsuniyoyi were part of an oral tradition in which women, as I have argued in the previous chapter, used pornographic imagery in narratives to, at the very least, scoff the forms of masculine domination projected in other genre of Hausa oral literature. The Sokoto reformers clearly heard this message in the secular narratives of storytellers and praise singers. Shehu Usman dan Fodio condemned the overtly sexual content of *tatsuniyoyi* and the profane verse recitations of praise singers, male and female. Reform poets composed religious works for the moral edification of ordinary Hausa, especially women whose, song traditions were condemned as "worthless". But, I would contend that by the late nineteenth century, Islamic reformers recognized a need to incorporate sexuality into an acceptable, outwardly Islamic definition of heterosexual sex and gender roles in marriage.

Sexuality was an accepted part of daily Hausa life and profoundly influenced the successful implimentation of Islamic family institutions. In the Hausa setting even Islamic specialists found ways to use the *hadiths* to sanction the practical knowledge of sex in marriage. The following example is taken form Edgar's work:

> "There are three sorts of men and three sorts of women, and it the right sort isn't paired off with his fellow, their marriage won't last. They are: the highly sexed man...the man of medium of sexual inclinations...and the man that is lightly sexed. The man "of bone" is so called because of his extreme virility. If he gets and erection, he will be wild until he can find somewhere to put it. Whereas the man "of spleen", he gets the opportunity, he welcomes it, and uses it when he gets it. But if he doesn't, he is able to wait until the chance comes. But the man "of flesh", if he has to do with a woman who is herself highly sexed, or if they marry, they will quickly separate, for his lack of zeal. As for the three sorts of women, first she with an excessively developed clitoris; if she doesn't get a man "of bone" as a husband, the marriage won't last. The woman of medium sexual desire, (whose clitoris) is neither much exposed nor deeply set in, the husband for her is a man of "spleen". But if she doesn't get one, marrying rather a man "of bone", the marriage won't last. Nor will it, if she marries a man "of flesh". As for a woman of little sexuality, whose clitoris is set in deeply, unless she gets for a husband a man "of flesh", her marriage won't last, that is to a man of "bone." Nor will it to a man "of spleen". No, the only man for her is a man "of flesh". If she marries him, the marriage will succeed. Nor does a woman want a man like a rooster, who ejaculates very quickly and then gets up. No, she doesn't like that. Nor again, does a woman like a man "of bone", who goes on and on at it for a long time, without getting off. A woman likes a man to be moderate, not too hasty, nor too protracted. Nor again, do women like a man to sleep with them night after night without paying them attention. They like copulation every night, even if only once.

> However old a woman is, she will never dislike sexual relations, though a man may grow tired and leave a woman. But if a woman says that she doesn't want a man to sleep with her, even it they go to the judge's compound, the judge will not put her to the oath, for she is not speaking the truth. It is, in fact, the man who has rejected her. All this is most certainly not a fable, but it is veritably so and the truth. And if anyone denies it, let him read the words of wisdom, let him look in the Book of Hadiths, and he will see it. That's all. This with peace (Edgar 1911; translation from Skinner 1969, 3:326-7).

Of course, this selection also appears to show that clitorodectomy was not an indigenous Hausa practice, even in devout Moslem circles. In fact, the two nineteenth century accounts of clitorodectomy in Hausa both come from informants in the *zongo* of Kete Krachi. Mischlisch gives the account in Hausa, but adds, in German, that the Hausa did not practice female circumcision, though other African groups in Kete Krachi did. The Hausa account also includes details which do not fit into the know patterns (and symbolism) of Hausa socio-religious practices (Mischlisch 1942,121-5). Rattray's informant, Malam Shaibu, insisted that the faithful Moslems in Kano practiced female circumcision even when Islam was corrupted among the Hausa elite of the city. However, he, too, was a member of the Kete Krachi Hausa community and chances are very good, indeed, that the text he prepared for Rattray was influenced by the same sources as that given to Mischlisch. In fact, they are virtually identical texts (Rattray 1926, 2:200-2). Baba of Karo's explanation that the clitoris of infant girls was clipped only if it seemed excessively long (the same

logic of Hausa uvulectomies, also carried out on infants of both sexes) corresponds to the explanations of my own informants (M. Smith, 1964).[70]

Ultimately, of course, the successful reform of Hausa gender relations would have unpredictable social and economic consequences for ordinary people which would go well beyond the realm of spiritual salvation. It is essential to accept, however, the reformers' insistence that for the individual woman or man there was no separation of spiritual life from the demands of daily life. Out of such a context of religious belief, twentieth century Hausa would draw on an especially well-articulated model of the good Hausa woman. Tafewa Balewa used this model in shaping the character of the mother in his very popular Hausa novel of slavery, *Shehu Umar*(Balewa 1960). I would like to suggest that wherever Abraham's selections form the *Risala* failed to enlighten, *Shehu Umar* propagated an identification of the good, Islamic Hausa woman. As further literary evidence of the popularization of an ideal Moslem Hausa marriage, consider the extremely un-Islamic marriage presented in the popular Hausa play, *Uwar Galma* (M. Sada n.d.). The gender relations in the Hausa marriage which is the theme of this play seems to have been constructed, point by point, in contrast

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[70]As a woman and the mother of two girls of an age to be included in the preliminary stages of Hausa courtship culture, I was never asked about clitorodectomy in Mahuta. This was not done out of shyness on the part of my women informants (neighbors and friends as well), who asked my any question they wanted answered and included me in those activities, night time visiting, *hira* sessions and the singing and dancing which accompanied work bees to pound floors for one another. On one occasion, a woman and some girls visiting me used my daughters' dolls to demonstrate sexual positions and ask about what I knew and did. On the whole the open discussion of sex among Hausa women I knew in Nigeria and Niger was frequently well beyond the norm for women of my own Catholic and middleclass American upbringing. Mack's poems demonstrate a similar frankness.

to the ideals expressed by Islamic authorities, as expressed from the poetry of Usuman dan Fodio to *Shehu Umar.* The play, in its jaded portrayal of Hausa marriage, demonstrates how embedded an Islamic model of marriage had become in popular Hausa culture by the mid-twentieth century. How was that acceptance fostered in the less than orthodox sources of the oral culture of courtship and marriage?

Reforming the Culture of Courtship and Marriage

In the previous chapter I showed that the *tatsuniyoyi* were literary artifacts of a culture in which courtship and marriage were of fundamental importance to individuals and to the social reproduction of the basic institutions of Hausa society, marriage and the family household. Class differences could allow for differences in the ways and means individuals utilized to elaborate a basic model in which men and women found suitable marriage partners and, I argued, more importantly, the wealth in terms of power over people, towns, and possessions, to establish Hausa families. I marked differences from models of marriage found in European folk stories and I noted that Hausa *tatsuniyoyi* do not assume that a stable, monogamous marriage is a "happy ending." Polygamy, concubinage and divorce were accepted as the norm, while the notion of the conjugal relationship leading to life-long stability was simply not projected in the *tatsuniyoyi*..

In this chapter I began by describing how the Sokoto Jihad encouraged the use of women as negative literary images and, at the same time, called for the reform of marriage and women's status. The position of women, I concluded, was fundamental to the mission of creating an Islamic society, in the Sokoto Caliphate. In addition, I suggested that the final success of the Sokoto mission to

reform gender relations in Hausa society was significantly advanced by the introduction of the western technology of printing and cheap, mass publication, especially in Nigeria.[71]

In this section I would like to turn directly to an examination of evidence which I believe affirms my argument that while reforming women and marriage were fundamental to creating an Islamic Hausa society, neither were easily attained in the context of the nineteenth century Hausa social formation. Rather, it would appear that the very same economic, social and political sources of security and wealth which stimulated the formation of Moslem marriages and the acceptance of Islamic family law also were used by women and girls to secure access to new sources of personal power and wealth through the articulation of an extremely female-centered culture of courtship and first marriage.

The historical sources I examine here are rather more diverse than any I have yet used. They include: the biographies of nineteenth century men and women; and the accounts of courtship and marriage customs collected by Europeans from Hausa informants either at the turn of the century or commenting on customs of the past (Flegel 1985; Edgar 1911-13; Tremearne 1913,1914; Fletcher 1912; Hassan and Na'iba 1952; M. Smith 1964). Linguistic evidence completes the repertoire of my sources (Schon 1869, 1886; Landerloin and Tilho 1909; Bargery 1934; Abraham; 1946; Mischlisch 1906; Koelle 1968; Lukas 1937; Cyffer and Hutchison 1990).

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[71]No formal support of literacy and literature in Hausa was given in Niger by the French.

As documented in the *tatsuniyoyi*, in linguistic evidence of sexual practices and in the life histories of nineteenth and early twentieth century Hausa, courting girls and boys were allowed a significant degree of sexual freedom. The customs of courtship allowed girls and boys to become sexually active with little adult interference or social approbation. The virginity of the girls was to be maintained, but even pregnancy seems not to have been severely punished.

The linguistic prevalence of a sexual vocabulary built on the Hausa word, *tsrance* (intense sexual play), sheds light on Hausa attitudes towards sex in courtship and in marriage. By all accounts, whether found in early explorations of Hausa folk customs or in the actions of characters in the *tatsuniyoyi*, *tsrance* was accepted and practiced throughout the Hausaphone regions of the nineteenth century.[72] Linguistically, the word is Hausa and it is found in all of the dictionaries based on nineteenth century Hausa dialects.

The custom of allowing *tsrance* among unmarried girls and boys gave girls tremendous power and control over their own sexuality. However, it is interesting to note that the age of girls' first marriages was younger in Moslem households by the 1940's and, if Baba's memory of her own girlfriends is to be trusted, by the end of the nineteenth century as well. Early marriage was certainly a way for Hausa attitudes towards premarital sexuality, which were not those sanctioned by the reformers of the Sokoto Caliphate, could be Islamicized. In a comparative perspective, it seems that Islamic scholars and leaders have frequently sought the means to circumscribe and legitimize human sexuality. In

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[72]This is a fine example of the bizarre predilections of early anthropology: of course Hausa would engage in sex play and have a vocabulary to describe what they were up to. Only the anthropologists were suprised.

the end, it would be in the containment of female sexuality through early marriage and the parallel (if not equal) restriction of masculine sexuality, once again through socially and spiritually acceptable forms of marriage, that popular Islamic culture would get the message of the reformers across in Hausaland.

However, even in the case of early marriages for girls, popular Islamic notions of gender should have undermined the social acceptability of *tsrance* and make premarital sexual experience more shameful for a first-time bride. While Baba suggests that devout parents were less than happy with *tsrance*, she confirms the suspicion that they were, essentially, unable to prevent their daughters and sons from active participation in the culture of courtship in which *tsrance* played such an important role. *Tatsuniyoyi* repeat this theme. In the story of the malam's daughter and the chief's daughter who are locked up in a hut to keep them from boys, the king's daughter still finds a way to take on a boyfriend and get pregnant (Edgar 1911-13; Skinner 1977, 3:). The more restrained notion of appropriate behavior for more orthodox Moslem Hausa women found in the work of the Sokoto reformers also might have underscored the male fear of female sexuality so often evoked in the stories about willful, independent, courting girls and their abuse of boys.

Islamic law also intervened in the issues of wealth exchange in courtship and marriage customs, though I would argue from the evidence of marriage accounts from nineteenth and early twentieth century informants, that in this arena it is best to think of the indigenization of Islamic practices. Linguistic examples also demonstrate the phenomena I want to signify here.

The cultural negotiations involved in the process of accepting Islamic definitions of gender relations in courtship and marriage are nicely exemplified

in parallel linguistic shifts in Hausa. Linguistic evidence suggests a pattern of Islamic influence on the Hausa vocabulary for courtship and marriage which may have been influenced by the cultural boundaries of the late Sokoto Caliphate. The Hausa name for virgin girls is a good place to start.

In Hausa the noun, *budurwa,* has been translated into Arabic and European languages as the cultural equivalent of "virgin". *Budurwa* was made to carry the full legal content associated with the notion of female virginity s Islamic legal texts were translated into Hausa after the arrival of the British and, of great importance for Hausa popular culture, the print revolution of the Hausa language press.

The word's Hausa entomology, however, "those who do *burda*", is a reference to the way girls, when their breasts started to fill out and they reached the age or menarche, would draw their *banti* up between their legs and tuck it securely into its waistband. When asked for an explanation, Hausa informants commented that this was to keep them from "spoiling themselves" with the boys they took as *tsrance* partners. For girls who had little privacy and carried responsibilities to work for their families, "doing *burda*" probably also referred to practical ways of taking care of the monthly problem of menstrual blood.[73]

By the time it reached the European dictionaries of Hausa, an Islamic gloss of *budurwa* had been added and the word was given a derivation from the Arabic, *batul* and the Hebrew, *bethula,* virgin (Abraham 1962, 113). *Budurwa,* a perfectly useful Hausa word on its own right and one conveying a pragmatic, observable fact in the life of young girls, came to be associated with a far

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[73]There does not seem to have been a formal practice of secluding women and girls during their periods.

different conceptualization, both cultural and legal, of virginity and the virgin bride.

Language negotiated the cultural space between Islamic law and Hausa popular culture and, most certainly, between women and men in other ways. Two verbs in Hausa were used to describe the public contraction of marriage, *arma/amre* and *aure*. These verbs were not used interchangeably in the early published Hausa texts and dictionaries and seem to reflect the geography of local dialects. Today this is still true in spoken Hausa. Among Nigerien Hausa, *arma/amre* remains in common use in contexts in which *aure* would be used in Nigeria, even in Katsina and Sokoto. Schon, working with Dorugu, who was from Damagaram, includes *arma/amre* as meaning marriage, but does not give *aure* or any phrases relating to marriage built on *aure* (Schon 1886). Landerloin, who traveled with the Mission Tilho through Damagaram in 1907, gives *arma/amre* and includes other words from the vocabulary of the marriage celebration based on *arma/amre* (Landerloin and Tilho 1909, 9-11). In his definition of one such word, *amare* or *amaria*, he adds that any woman married without the blessing of a malam could not use the title *amaria* (bride), but only that of *farka*, or concubine (Landerloin and Tilho 1909:9). Abraham uses *farka* to mean adultery and *farkashi* to mean paramours (Abraham 1962:255-6). In Bargery, *farka* is directly related to illegitimate sexual relations, being translated as fornication or adultery in northern Hausa dialects (Bargery 1934:307). It could be used to mean *kwartanci*, commonly translated as prostitution, as practiced by either sex, and it could be used as a curse, *dan farka*, being translated as "bastard" (Bargery 1934:307). Mischlish, working with Hausa informants in Kete Krachi, Ghana, gives a detailed explication of *amra* as marriage and *amarya* as a bride (Mischlisch

1906:16). While he also includes *aura* to mean "the giving of a woman" (with two different tones used in the pronunciation), he does not include phrases about marriage based on the use of *aure*. .

While Bargery includes both *arma/amre* and words based on them as meaning marriage and the celebration of marriage, he simply indicates that they are interchangeable with *aure*. In fact, Bargery and his malams listed twenty-eight words or phrases based on either verbal form, including *amarya*, bride in every Hausa dialect, and, capitalizing on the possessiveness of a new husband or an infant, *amarya jego*, bride of the infant (Bargery 1934:44-45). The interchangeable *amar da kai / aurad da kai*, a woman who chooses her own husband, seems to simplify the relationship between the two words, to suggest that dialect choices are responsible for differences in usage, yet both words seem to carry unique significations in specific sociolinguistic settings. Words and phrases built on *aure*, are marked by greater legal precision than those based on *arma/amre*. Such words, for example, describe a variety of contractual marriages found in Islamic law. This pattern of usage appears to have increased between the publication of Bargery's massive Hausa dictionary in 1934 and the second edition of Abraham's equally comprehensive work in 1962. In Abraham we discover that the linguistic complex surrounding *aure* is considerably more developed than that found earlier in Bargary (Abraham 1962:44-45).

At first, it looks as if *arma/amre* was used in Hausa communities outside of the main stream of Hausa Islamic culture, presumably as found in the Sokoto Caliphate. Assuming this, one might conclude that *aure* represents the Islamificaton of at least the vocabulary of Hausa marriage. In addition, both Bargary and Abraham believed *aure* was based on the Arabic word *'aurat*, which

Abraham defines as "pudenda," to make the case for considering *aure* an Arabic loan meaning marriage is complete--from the point of view of lexical expansion. The publication dates of the dictionaries seem to suggest a rough chronology for such an interpretation, beginning, as they do with the vocabulary provided to Schon by young, uneducated Doruga and ending with the scholarly malams of Mischlish, Bargery and Abraham. However, more is happening than the visible change in vocabulary (Ehret 1981, 2:153-182).

First, as Landerloin and Tilho point out, the differences between *arma/amre* and *aure* were, indeed, influenced by dialects. A consonant shift found in northern and western dialects (Daura, Damagaram, Sokoto, Katsina) allows m to become ou or u in some settings. Landerloin and Tilho give the example of *damre*, to tie, becoming *daure* and the shift detected in *amre* to *aure* works on the same principle. Further evidence is in the way the phrase *damren amre*, found in Schon and Landerloin, becomes *dauren aure* in Bargery and Abraham. The dialect difference shows up in the *tatsuniyoyi* and accounts of Hausa customs as well. Dorugu consistently uses *amre* rather than *aure*, for example, but Rattray's informant uses *aure* as does Imam Imoru. Perhaps the most interesting example, for my purpose here, is the use of *aure* in the document on marriage prepared in the Sokoto dialect by Edgar's informant: the informant felt compelled to point out that *aure* meant *amre*. This strongly suggests that the literate, Islamically-educated elite was well-aware of the regional variations in the language of marriage and believed that clarification of the printed text was necessary to make the message clear across Hausaland. It is not idle speculation to suggest that the Sokoto malam knew that the course of Islamic reform was still incomplete *fin de siecle Hausaland*. Though such informants themselves used the legally preferred

verb form of *aure*, rather than *arma/amre*, they, nevertheless, still used the vocabulary built on *arma/amre*.

Had the Islamic reformation failed to wrest complete linguistic control of gender in marriage and courtship from the dominion of Hausa women and girls? It certainly looks that way, for the most resistant vocabulary is precisely that relating to marriage and built on the older Hausa form, *arma/amre*: there is no Hausa equivalent for *amarya*, bride, or *amarci*, the state of being a bride, derived from *aure*. . In short, just as the variations of the myth of Daura and Bayajidda have been reinterpreted to fit into specific political settings, the assumption that an Arabic loan word, *aure*, has replaced an earlier Hausa word for marriage marks a similar mythical passage towards the Islamification of Hausa culture through linguistic drift.[74]

To summarize, in the Hausa language there seems to be evidence that by the late nineteenth century an elaborate language and culture of courtship and marriage, especially for virgins, was thoroughly in place. Women, especially virgins marrying for the first time, controlled in varying degrees the institutions, including *tsrance*, of courtship and the ritual exchanges of wealth involved in courtship and marriage.[75]On the other hand, evidence from the life histories of nineteenth century informants readily confirms the instability of marriages and the volatility of Hausa gender relations so often described in the *tatsuniyoyi*.

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[74]The idea of Islamification as a slow process of cultural "drift" was used by Letzion to describe the Islam in pre-colonial Ghana (Letzion 1968).

[75]French ethnographers working in Hausa Niger have given greater attention to this matter than their colleagues in Nigeria. This is at least, in part, a measure of the intellectual boundaries dividing French and English social scientists in Africa and, indeed, in Europe as well (Nicolas 1974; Raynaut 1977; M. Maus 1966).

Class was an extremely important variable in how much a girl or woman was able to use popularly accepted courtship strategies: girls from wealthy families probably had more leverage over their parents and their suitors than less well-off girls. The very image of the poor man's daughter in "The Song of Poverty and Wealth", a nineteenth century poem, emphasizes her lack of marriage opportunities, her lack of personal power in the situation where girls and women did have some legal basis for exercising their own free wills (Duffill 1989). On the other hand, as if to make the same point by noting aberrant scenarios, courtship stories in which fickle girls come to no good are readily found throughout the *tatsuniyoyi*. Certainly, it is not unreasonable to see in such narratives a masculine interpretation on a girl's power over the critical event in male as well as female lives.

The descriptions of courtship and marriage gleaned from accounts such as Baba's, Imoru's and Mai Gashin Baki and his wives also demonstrate a culture of courtship and marriage in which at least some Hausa girls were empowered to exercise considerable control over the choice of spouses and the exchange of wealth, especially at the time of their first marriages. This is further supported by the autonomy of some of the women we glimpse in the travelers' accounts, especially those who were wealthy traders in their own right. Finally, the emphasis in the *tatsuniyoyi* on girls who acquire wealth through their own adventures and initiative before they find suitable husbands (goblins and other supernatural spouses do not seem to count) parallels this feminine understanding of power in the culture of courtship and marriage.

Nineteenth century Hausa women and men were equally preoccupied with courtship and marriage. Men's accounts, whether in popular oral fiction or

as the reproduction of texts for outsiders, differ only in the degree of detailed information on courtship and marriage gifts they provide. No male account, for example, can match, detail, for detail, that of Baba of Karo. Hausa women informants, young and old, from all classes in rural as well as urban settings, continue to outmatch male informants in their display of knowledge of the culture of courtship and marriage (Bivins 1974-6, 1978-9, 1987-8). Their accounts hold the key to understanding the exchange of wealth which marked marriages and, through marriage and gender, a Hausa definition of a "moral economy." Even today, teenage Hausa women hold considerable power over the material culture of marriage in rural Niger (Bivins 1974-6,1978-9, 1987-8; E. Arnold 1989).

Throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, the Hausa culture of courtship and marriage proved to be a contentious opponent to Islamic reform. The activities which were part of this culture, *tsrance*, girls' social and economic activities, especially dancing, praise songs, the social setting of flirtation and teenage romance conspired against the control of authority, whether parental or societal. While Hiskett noted how the secular traditions of verse, praise songs, and dancing were attacked by the Sokoto reformers from the very start of the jihad movement, Baba of Karo remembered that as late as the last decade of the nineteenth century the songs, dances, economic activities and liberty of girls on the verge of marriage had not been fully contained by Islam. Some devout, male informants still refuse to narrate what they consider to be the worthless and sinful texts of such secular pastimes (Nasr 1980).

Chronological evidence of the expansion of Koranic education

While we cannot at this time date the transformation of the status of wives with great specificity, data on the expansion of Islamic education in Zinder suggests that the broad popularization of an Islamic definition of the good wife is a 20th century phenomena. I will make the argument that this was one of the consequences of the growth of Koranic schools in Zinder in the 1930's and through to the 1960's. I will use the information on the Koranic schools to describe this process and link the Islamification of the status of wives with the increasing Islamification of child rearing practices. This evidence seems to indicate that the spread of Islamic education was the most important vehicle of Islamic concepts of gender, women and family law in Hausaland. This, of course, deflects from the accepted role of Moslem merchant communities.

Baier's study of North African merchants strongly suggests that the North African community was too small, too concentrated in the most urban areas of Hausaland, and too aloof from the *talakawa* to have played a role in the Islamification of the *talakawa*. Hausa merchants involved with the transsaharan trade would have been exposed to the North African traders and there is evidence that the North Africans provided a model for consumption and a mercantile culture. But was their influence strong enough to establish Islamic ideals of female behavior and family life? Not even the wedding jewelry imported into Zinder seems to have been adopted by Hausa women (Bivins 1987-8).[76]

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[76]North African-style jewelry was listed among goods arriving in Zinder via the trans-Saharan trade in 1912. I suspect that it was aimed at the resident North African community and not Hausa consumers.

Finally, the acceptance of the Sokoto reform message in popular literature, oral and written, seems to mark an important reorientation within northern Hausa Islamic traditions away from those of Bornu to Sokoto. While the contrast between the northern Hausa communities, such as Damagaram and Daura, and the central Hausa emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate has generally been represented as one embodying the retention of "traditional," non-Islamic Hausa culture on the part of the former and the acceptance of "genuinely" Islamic practices in the latter, I think the contrast is overdrawn and perhaps ahistorical for the nineteenth century. A distinct national identity was beginning to emerge within Hausaland based on Islam, but not, ironically, on either Arabic or Fulfulde or either a pastoral or urban social model. It seem that while the Fulbe elite of the Caliphate transformed themselves when they accepted the urban model of the good Islamic society, they also adopted Hausa language and many Hausa customs. On the other hand, for the Hausa population, whether in or outside of the Caliphate, already living in relatively stable settlements allowed for the intensification of a Hausa Islamic popular culture without the dislocation of adapting a new form of social organization. As late as the 1960's, demographic data which related town size to the religious composition of the population would show the continuation of a classically Moslem pattern of conversion: people adhering to Islam lived in towns while "fetishists", either Hausa Maguzawa or nomadic Bororo Fulbe, did not (Nicolas 1975).

Out of the Sokoto Jihad's efforts to establish *dar es salam* in Hausaland would emerge the notion of an Islamic national identity based on the Hausa language and the uniquely urban culture of Hausa towns, not either the language or the culture of the Fulfulbe themselves. I wonder if what has really taken place

is not more a reflection of the acceptance of a model of Islam, Islamic values and Islamic education, specially propagated in the sufi brotherhoods and in Hausaland especially the Tyjanniya. This seems to be a model which is inclusive, not elitist, and culturally adaptive.

There can be no argument that Islamic popular culture was a product of nineteenth and twentieth century changes, some economic, some political and some religious, all of which allowed for a vigorous growth in the acceptance of a more standardized form of Islamic marriage and courtship. But I think that it is really important to recognize that Hausa Islamic culture shows a pattern of cultural exchanges sometimes working to Islamicize Hausa practices and sometimes working to Hausify Islam. An obvious example of what I mean is the culture of the so-called Hausa-Fulani aristocracy (Mack 1991:3-26, 109-29).

While the contrast between the northern Hausa states and the central Hausa states of the Sokoto Caliphate has generally been summarized as the result of the boundaries of the Sokoto Caliphate, the link between the spread of Islamic education and principles in the caliphate to changes in gender were complex, slow and erratically shaped. In the twentieth century, urban areas of Damagaram would share a common Islamic culture, increasingly focused on the city of Kano as a center of religious education and scholarship. This culture would be far more alike than the colonial boundaries and the language of the colonial politics of Niger and Nigeria assumed.[77]

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[77]Ironically, even in Zinder, Hausa informants call the Second World War the war against the Germans, yet Niger was and remained until 1942 a part of Vichy France and an alley of the Germans (Bivins 1987-8).

Conclusion

What I have tried to show with this examination of the culture of courtship and marriage in *fin de siecle* Hausaland is that the process of conversion was neither a linear or chronologically ordered event. Economic conditions more often found in urban areas than in extremely rural regions seem to be of fundamental importance to conversion. Furthermore, Islam seems to have been added to an emerging national identity already expressed in the Hausa language (Hiskett 1975, 27-42). Surviving texts of the oral culture of Islamic jurisprudence offer compelling evidence of how legal reformers struggled to achieve gender relationships that were recognizably Islamic within the vastly more compelling Hausa cultural milieu. The law had to be inserted into Hausa popular culture and that encouraged the popularity of several genre of Hausa oral literature.

The actual marriage ceremony for virgin girls was surprisingly stable and reasonably in conformation with the general precepts of Islamic marriage in Hausa town life by the late nineteenth century. However, aspects of courtship still showed local variations which seem to hark back to much older and dubiously Islamic cultural traditions. Boys and girls continued to organize themselves into social groups with leaders chosen from among one another and characterized by the relatively similar age (chronologically and socially) of the members. The activities of the groups revolved around defining a space within the context of daily Hausa life (and adult supervision) in which to enjoy the excitement and relative freedom of being too young to marry, but old enough to flirt. Nineteenth century Hausa teenagers, especially in villages and towns, created their own, unique youth culture. Girls and boys developed friendships with one another and enjoyed relaxed sexual relationships (*tsrance*) with their

intimate friends. These relationships are abundantly described in the *tatsuniyoyi* and generated a separate and vivid vocabulary of sexuality in courtship: Bargery and Abraham are especially rich in words and phrases built around the meanings and practices of *tsrance*.(Bargery 1934; Abraham 1949; Fergeson 1973; M. Smith 1964; Skinner 1968-1977).[78] Even the much more supervised aristocratic girls appear to have had their version of youthful freedom including, probably, *tsrance*, though in at least the idealized society of the *tatsuniyoyi*, girls and boys of good families were "just talking" (Skinner 1968-1977, 3).

From *labarai* in the collections of *tatsuniyoyi* and from ethnographic narratives collected in the first half of the twentieth century, it seems that Hausa views on the significance of virginity at first marriage remained inconsistent, even after nearly one hundred years of Islamic reform. The loss of virginity was not generally punished by Islamic methods, that is, as Shehu Usuman dan Fodio had complained, girls were not stoned or whipped, as fornication and adultery were punished under Islamic law. Instead, a girl might have suffered public embarrassments of various sorts; she might even have been returned to her

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[78]Though western anthropologists, especially the Smith's make teenage sexuality appear to be something of and organized social event in their treatment of *tsrance*, I think they were either too easily shocked or took Margaret Mead too seriously.

[79]Critics of colonial economic policies noted the important relationship between local agricultural knowledge and bio-diversity and criticized the ways cash cropping forced or, at the very least, encouraged Hausa to breakdown accepted classifications of land and patterns of land use and bring even marginally productive land into production for cash crops. The process of grading and standardizing commercial crops also stimulated a declining use of a variety of seeds as farmers were told or, again, encouraged to use only specific cultivers. The best example of this would come in the twentieth century when the British Cotton Growers Association would aggressively distribute an American variety of short staple cotton seed for the exclusive use of farmers interested in selling their cotton to its buying agents.

parents, though the delicate family negotiations on which marriages were arranged would have been abused by such an action. On the other hand, there were ways a bridegroom could respond to his bride's lack of virginity which were less socially traumatic, either for her, or for their families. He could surreptitiously kill a fowl and spill its blood on the marriage bed to fake his bride's defloration. He could make a shambles of her trousseau and publicly embarrass her and her parents. However, once the display of injured male pride was over, the new couple were free to settle down and live at peace with one another (Abraham 1940, Edgar 1911; Hassan and Shaibu 1952).

This is not to underestimate the social value of a virginity, especially in a cultural and legal setting in which considerable prestige and wealth was invested in the ideal of the virgin bride and the moral economy of her first marriage. In the language of marriage, there are, indeed, linguistic references to the significance of virginity and female sexuality: *kai,* head, is a common euphemism for virginity while a woman who makes her own marriage choice was said to have made an *amar da kai,* or she had married off her own "head". Such a woman clearly controlled her sexuality and valued her innate power to use it as social, economic or even political capital. That Hausa slang would honor female empowerment precisely in the institution over which men, by Islamic law, exercised supreme authority. underscores the weapons women could mobilize under the rules of engagement in the culture of Hausa courtship and marriage.

When does the reform message begin to take hold in Hausaland? By the time that Burdon and Edgar were collecting texts of Hausa literature in northern Nigeria, the Islamic message was being transmitted into Hausa popular culture through *tatsuniyoyi* . Women were ridiculed in misanthropic, moralizing stories;

women and used as symbols of the sinful world, impossible to reform. In other words, because the *tatsuniyoyi* of the late nineteenth century do indeed present such a view of women, it is safe to assume that the Islamic message of the reformers was reaching some Hausa audiences.

In Hausaland, as we shall see in latter chapters, the message of religious reform, once introduced, would, indeed, affect fundamental perceptions of gender, but not until the world of daily life prepared the economic foundations for the implementation of the reformers' ideals at the level of ordinary, rural families. The Islamification of rural Hausaland would be significantly different from that of the highly urban centers of the Sokoto Caliphate

Chapter 5: Language, Gender and the Ecology of Hausaland

> Abu ukku ne yau cikin duniya, da su kasa ke ciran girma.
> Na fari noma na biyu ilmi, a bautar Jalla mai girma.
> Noma ne rayuwar kowa, sarauniyar ayyuka noma.
> Mutum bai kyalkyalin fuska, sai cikinsa da haifuwar noma.
> Mai kudi ba zai yi gidaje ba, sai da kingin haifuwar noma.
> Malami ba za ya koyar ba, sai cikinsa da haifuwar noma.
> Mai koyo ba shi gane wa, sai cikinsa da haifuwar noma.
> Ma'ikaci ba shi yin aiki, sai ya dau kyankyassan noma.
> (Hiskett 1975:254)

The Hausa interpreted their landscape as an ecology in which to seek sustenance for physical and spiritual survival through such cultural practices as agriculture and cuisine, religion and medicine. Linguistically, Hausa is sensitive to the unique characteristics of the environment and the very descriptiveness of the Hausa vocabulary for soils, plants, animals, birds, insects, trees and sources of water is evidence of an old and detailed cultural construction of a distinctive Hausa landscape.

Hausa describes a complex categorization of soils and includes a specialized vocabulary for the agricultural technology needed to work different kinds of fields and to cultivate the specific varieties of domesticated plants know and used by the Hausa. The diversity of words naming and describing cultivated and wild plants regularly used by the Hausa is further evidence of the linguistic bridge between culture, technology and environment.

Linguistic evidence also shows that Hausa people created a material culture with a cuisine, crafts, such as weaving, ceramics, iron-working and

smithing and basketry within their natural setting. In this way, the language of technology serves to link the natural environment in all its variety to the cultural inventiveness of Hausa society. A similar message is carried in the language of Hausa cuisine, while even the simplest Hausa dwelling marks the adaptation of Hausa culture to environment. In short, culture and ecology were closely interdependent elements in the natural history of Hausaland.

In this chapter, I write about the relationship of Hausa culture to the Hausa landscape from two perspectives. First, using Hausa sources, including language and material culture, I define Hausaland as that geographic space in which the natural environment has been worked in an identifiably Hausa way. Language is the key to my definition, for I am looking for a cultural process thoroughly described in the Hausa language itself. Thus, loan words relating to either the environment or to its cultural exploitation will require explanation.

My second perspective is taken from the descriptive travel narratives of nineteenth century European visitors to Hausaland. With this evidence I examine the Hausafication of new landscapes as part of the extension of the geo-political boundaries of the Sokoto Caliphate. I caution, however, that the notion of the Caliphate's boundaries, whether in the nineteenth century or today, inadequately describes the cultural and physical space of a linguistically defined Hausaland.

Finally, the thread that runs so true through both linguistic and narrative constructions of the Hausa landscape is that of gender. In the cultural practices of nineteenth and twentieth century Hausaland, women often played a pivotal role in the transformation of natural objects, such as the ingredients of food or the fibers of textiles, into the objects of Hausa material culture. Their assertive

presence in the production and reproduction of the Hausa social formation is abundantly described in the sources I use in this chapter.

Language, Culture and Landscape

The effective exploitation of an environment such as the Central Sudan requires the development of an appropriate farming culture. This includes the identification and nurturing of suitable plants and crops through the adoption of a variety of cultivation technologies. Successful farming cultures depend on human observation and innovation for the selection of plant varieties and their cultivation. Language documents such technological developments, not only in the naming of specialized hoes and other agricultural tools, but also in speech which describes how such tools are physically manipulated.

Hausa includes language which describes the properties of soils and the methods of field preparation, including types of fallowing and the application of fertilizers. Hausa also includes a complex of language surrounding the technology of irrigation and the digging of wells. However, the technological base of Hausa agriculture was a variety of hoes with specialized functions, all produced by Hausa blacksmiths from iron ore collected and processed in specific locations throughout Hausaland. These tools were adapted to particular soil types as well as to specific tasks, such as ridging the fields in preparations for planting crops like cotton and sweet potatoes.

The technology for processing agricultural produce, dominated, controlled and, in terms of the creation of a household, owned by women, was somewhat less specialized. Wooden mortars and grinding stones were used for a variety of tasks and continue to be essential to the preparation of Hausa cuisine.

Grain, for example, required the application of a sequence of special process before it could be made suitable for cooking. Cooking also required the selection, adaptation and sequential application of a variety of techniques, depending on the nature of the dish to be prepared. All were marked by unique linguistic expressions in nineteenth century Hausa and in this arena of speech and culture, women were utterly supreme: cuisine was their domain. The extensiveness of the lexicon of food and food preparation suggest the power which resided in the role of *uwar gida*, the mother of the household, the housewife.

Women's skills, labor and technology processed other natural products of the Hausa landscape. Women, for example, controlled the cultural transformation of cotton from boll to thread. Cleaning, carding and spinning cotton required a number of specialized tools from the metal rods used in ginning to the construction of the clay spindles for spinning thread. Nineteenth century Europeans noted the commanding role of women and girls in the production of cotton tread when they described the scale and significance of textile production to the wealth and general prosperity of Hausaland. For the Islamic reformers, as Shehu dan Fodio urged, spinning was essential to creating the economic motivation and practical means of support for purdah.

All kinds of crops, including peppers pumpkins, tomatoes, baobab leaves, grain and meat were sun-dried for preservation and storage. Hot, spicy peppers and salt were used in Hausa cuisine not only for taste, but also as preservatives, effectively slowing and masking the deterioration of cooked foods in hot climate of the Hausa plains. Vegetable oils for cooking and illumination were processed, again, by women, from the kernels of the kedanya tree and from peanuts. With the exception of spinning cotton thread and butchering animals other than

poultry, the processing of agricultural produce was the work of Hausa woman. Thus, the depth of linguistic evidence readily demonstrates the vital significance to the role of women in the techno-cultural process so vital to the success of Hausa agriculture and the transformation of a natural ecology into a human landscape.

Crop storage was a critical problem for all farmers and, again, as with the invention of a cuisine, it required technical innovation to intervene with the natural cycles of food production. Hausa farmers stored grains, beans and peanuts in granaries made of clay or guinea corn stalks woven together like baskets. Clapperton's description of the granaries he saw in the 1820's applied to the early twentieth century when the use of photography began to provide visual documentation of Hausa cultural history. Smaller storage containers were made of pottery, basketry, and calabashes. Adequate technologies of drought resistance and food security surely contributed to the success of the Hausa farming culture. Not even the value of balancing the elements of nature's food chain were neglected: Hausa kept domestic cats to keep down rats and the *tatsuniyoyi* seem to mark the transfer of that particular technology to urban Fulbe society through the agency of Hausa traders in the nineteenth century (Edgar 1911).

In short, the bio-diversity of the Hausa environment stimulated linguistic, spiritual, medical and technological innovation, all reflected in the Hausa language itself.[79] Furthermore, the fundamental core of words which describe the

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[79]Critics of colonial economic policies noted the important relationship between local agricultural knowledge and bio-diversity and criticized the ways cash cropping forced or, at the very least, encouraged Hausa to breakdown accepted classifications of land and patterns of land use and bring even marginally

diverse features of the Hausa environment are very rarely loan words.[80] The language of environment and technology demonstrates the close relationship between the evolution of the Hausa landscape and the evolution of the Hausa language and culture. The role of women in this process is marked by the depth and sheer descriptiveness of those vocabularies created to describe their work, especially with regard to cuisine and textile production.

A Linguistic Definition of Hausaland

The diversity of linguistic references to ecological conditions, to plants, animals, water and soil, strongly suggests the antiquity of Hausa-speaking farming communities in the regions presently accepted as Hausaland in Nigeria and Niger. Historical linguistics has not yet solved the problems of "where" the Hausa came from, but whatever the ultimate solution to the puzzle of Hausa origins, the wide distribution of Hausa or culturally Hausa farming communities certainly shows that Hausa farmers have long been pioneers, "risk-takers", establishing Hausa farming communities throughout the Central Sudan well before the nineteenth century. The language marks the extension of a kind of

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productive land into production for cash crops. The process of grading and standardizing commercial crops also stimulated a declining use of a variety of seeds as farmers were told or, again, encouraged to use only specific cultivers. The best example of this would come in the twentieth century when the British Cotton Growers Association would aggressively distribute an American variety of short staple cotton seed for the exclusive use of farmers interested in selling their cotton to its buying agents.

[80]While I have just begun to examine linguistic evidence, I can not agree with the notion that Kanuri contributed a significant number of words to the Hausa vocabulary of the natural world. I base this observation on the construction of comparative lexical tables I am in the process of developing (Cyffer and Hutchison 1990; Vansina 1990, 1978).

Hausa agricultural hegemony in new regions during the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Hausa culture came to encompass several ecological frontiers and this, too, is marked by linguistic constructions. Taking the present distribution of Hausa speakers as a base, but carefully noting the most recent patterns of internal migration observed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, we can envision a linguistically defined Hausaland located in the Central Sudan and encompassing two major environmental zones: Sahelian to the north with semi-arid, open plains sharing an impermanent border with the Sahara Desert; and, in the south, a savanna region, marked by granite inselbergs, a greater diversity of trees, heavier clay soils and significantly more stable patterns of rainfall (Mortimore 1970; A. Smith 1971; M. Watts 1983:90-1; Fuglestad 1983:115-6, 1987; Olofin 1989, 2-16). This last ecological setting, generally described as derived savanna by modern geographers, shares a boundary created by human use bordering on the densely forested regions of Nigeria.

Underlying the farming cultures of both of these regions is another vocabulary, that of hunting, fishing and gathering practices so widely shared in the dialects of Hausa as to suggests great cultural antiquity and continuity. Language, archaeology and Hausa oral literature point towards a deep culture and technology of hunters. This is particularly evident in the linguistic and ethnographic descriptions of Hausaphone communities, not assimilated into the mainstream of nineteenth century Hausa culture. These include, for example, that of the hilly southern regions of Hausaland, the Gwari of the Hausa *tatsuniyoyi* and their dialect, Gwandara, as well as the Aderawa of the northern Hausa plains (Matsushita 1972; Caron 1991).

The fundamental form of Hausa farming culture seems to be based on the cultivation of millet. Linguistically, this is expressed through the variety of millets with Hausa names: thirty-four are given in Bargery. Millet diseases and literary allusions to the germination and growth of millet reflect an acute awareness of the natural history of the plant. The variety of millet cultivars shows a pattern of botanical experimentation and specialization which surely marks the antiquity of an enduring Hausa cultural presence within the linguistic boundaries of Hausaland.

The tools suited for millet cultivation reflect both a process of technological adaptation and the participation of women. While Hausa today prohibit the use of the heavy, deep-tilling *galma* hoe to men, especially in the ridging of fields for the cultivation of yams, no such view excludes women from accessing the technology of farming millet. Indeed, while modern Hausa women are enjoined not to farm, the tools and technology of millet cultivation do not exclude women and women continue to grow millet depending on either social or personal circumstances.

Linguistically, the relationship between millet cultivation and Hausa agricultural culture seems to have been fundamental. Not only do the dialects of Hausa found in the millet-based zone show the botanical, agricultural and social patterns of the cultural dependence on this crop, but in describing millet and its cultivation, all are more similar to, than different from, one another. In a comparison of the Hausa dialects of the northern and northwestern sahelian frontier, Aderawa and Mawri, for example, and those of the southern forest frontier, such as Gwandara, differences in the language of millet, its cultivation and uses as food, are minor. Perhaps expertise in developing the cultivation of

this crop in all its varieties was the technological reason behind the growth and expansion of a distinctively Hausa farming culture. Certainly, the knowledge and technology which supported the cultivation of millet also transferred to the cultivation of other grain crops, including maize, upland (dry cultivation) rice, guinea corn and sesame.

Other cultural and linguistic evidence magnifies the significance of such prosaic observations. The first food a Hausa child takes beyond her mother's milk is likely to be *kunu*, a gruel made of millet. The rich and descriptive collection of culinary expressions based on millet indicates the virtuosity of this grain in Hausa cuisine. Millet was often the food of choice for the human, animal and supernatural characters of the *tatsuniyoyi*. Food made from millet played significant private and public roles in the practices of Hausa marriage and millet was a food of choice for members of the Hausa spirit world; the grain was embedded in the liturgy and practices of *bori*. Millet was celebrated in Hausa proverbs, *kirai* and *karin magana*. The absolute dominance of millet as a cultivated crop throughout Hausaland was reported by all nineteenth century travelers.

On the northern, Sahelian border of a linguistically imagined Hausaland, grain farming gave way to pastoralism of various sorts, but, with few exceptions, dominated by the Taureg. Over time, a kind of Hausa farming frontier, demarcated by the founding and abandonment of farming villages in the fragile ecological zone shaped by the vagaries of the Sahara co-existed with the seasonal migrations of the pastoralists. Varieties of *gero* and *dawa* were cultivated with careful regard to their water and soil requirements and the length of growing

season each needed. At least one variety of edible, wild grain, *karingiya* or *kram-kram*, was collected and processed for food.

All together, the Hausa cultivated six species of grain, including millet, *gero*, sorghum, *dawa*, maize, *masara*, and rice, *shinkafa*. Linguistically, the cultivation of grain, especially millet, appears to be the most ancient pattern of Hausa agriculture. Furthermore, through Hausa's connection to the Afro-Asiatic language family, millet cultivation connects the Hausa to the most ancient complex of African grain cultivation in the Horn of Africa (Philips 1989, 39-58).

In the south, where Hausa cultivators shaped another ecological frontier, greater rainfall, denser and more varied forests and different communities of wild plants allowed the domestication of various tuberous crops and a different, more diverse, configuration of grains in the crop mixture. Especially noted by European travelers as they entered the regions dominated by the Hausa kingdom of Zaria (Zazzau), a wetter, somewhat cooler, environment allowed a longer growing season, to which Hausa communities responded by growing more varieties of *dawa* than seen in the northern crop complex. Millet, *gero*, continued to be a significant food crop, all varieties especially favored for *fura* and some preferred for fermented beverages (*giya*, a kind of beer). Cowpeas, *wake*, and peanuts, *geyda*, were intercropped with sourghum, *dawa*. Yam varieties, *doya* and *mukoni* being among the more popular, were distinctive from one another in how they were cultivated, stored, cooked, tasted and were marketed. Another, cassava, *rogo*, imported from South America into West Africa by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, was grown throughout Hausaland, especially as a protection against drought-related famine. Corn, or maize, was widely distributed, but its Hausa name, *geron masara*, or Egyptian millet, hints that it

may have been an introduction from Ottoman Egypt into African communities with strong ties of religion and commerce to Islamic North Africa, especially Cairo and probably Khartoum. Certainly, it was much more commonly observed in the western regions of Bornu than in Hausaland by early nineteenth century travelers (Denham and Clapperton 1985). Staudinger, traveling north from Lagos to Hausaland, rarely mentions it, nor is it today especially enjoyed as *tuwo* in the regions of Zaria and southern Katsina. (Staudinger 1896; Bivins 1974-76).

The dialects of Zaria, the Hausa city and emirate most strategically located within this southern biosphere, also indicate the use of wild plants, especially as seasonal additions to the basic diet of *tuwo, fura* and yams. An extensive Hausa pharmacopoeia equally depended on the rich diversity of wild flora and fauna of the southern Hausa regions. Presently, such medical products are exchanged for plant substances, animal parts and soils found only in the northern Hausa zone in the periodic markets of Hausa Niger (Nicolas 1975). While the traditional medicines of the Hausa remain physically associated with specific ecological settings, the wide distribution of medicinal substances and the knowledge of how to interpret their properties offers a significant commentary on the homogeneity of a Hausa system of natural science and medicine (Wall; Darrah; Bivins 1974-76 and 1988).

Plants, such as tobacco, indigo and the great variety of cotton cultigens, were cultivated for industrial purposes. While different crop mixtures substantially enhanced the viability and food security of Hausa families and communities by adding to the array of food crops and cuisine, industrial crops may well have been used by farmers to achieve the same goal. Such crops could be converted into sources of income with which to purchase needed food

supplies by farmers with limited access to either the land or labor needed to be self-sufficient in food. It is no surprise, given what would have been optimal ecological conditions for establishing and maintaining secure stocks of food through agricultural diversity and a variety of marketing strategies, that the central savanna region of Hausaland was more densely populated and supported a Hausa process of urbanization which, by the nineteenth century, outpaced the northern Hausa zone, and, from Denham, Clapperton and Barth's observations, that of Bornu as well. The central regions of nineteenth century Hausaland, in fact, developed an especially close relationship between agricultural production, rural manufacturing and urban growth (Shea 1976, 1983, 9-115; Kreidte 1981).

The settlement of the Central Sudan by Hausa-speaking farmers created a landscape into which livestock, including cattle, could be introduced by the Fulbe, especially after the population increases suggested by the political history of the *Hausa Bakwai* in the sixteenth century. Given the romanticism attached to the nomadic lives of the Fulbe by popular ethnography, it may seem ironic to argue that the Fulbe presence in Hausaland was enhanced by increasingly dense populations of Hausa farmers, but the Fulbe simply could not raise cattle in a complete social and ecological wilderness. Pressed by both human needs, for grain and other supplies as well as for markets for dairy products, and the very health and security of their livestock, Fulbe did, indeed, require a uniquely shaped human landscape to enjoy the most complete and culturally satisfying expression of their own way of life (Hopen 1958, Stenning 1959, Reisman 1978).

Hausa farming culture allowed the successful integration of nomadic livestock specialists into an essentially agricultural domain by decreasing the

wilderness growth in which the encephalitis-bearing tsetse fly flourished, by encouraging the provision of salt in a network of rural markets readily accessible to pastoralists and by exchanging rights to dry season pasturage on stubble fields for the sake of the natural fertilization of livestock manure. The interaction between Hausa and Fulbe was a dynamic social and ecological process. Barth and Staudinger give especially good accounts of how the Fulbe/Hausa combination of pastoralism and farming worked in the nineteenth century to create the twentieth century Hausa landscape.

Pastoralism completed the Hausa farming system in the northern Hausa region and in this way set the Hausa of what would become the Republic of Niger apart from Hausa communities in the more southern regions where ecological factors inhibited the rearing of livestock, and encouraged a pattern of ethnic specialization and greater separation between Hausa people and livestock rearing. On the other hand, Nigerien Hausa would exploit their special relationship with animal husbandry to forge strong economic links with the colonial economy of Nigeria, marketing livestock to feed the burgeoning cities of the south (A. Cohen 1968; Baier 1980; Fuglestad 1983; ANN/Zinder). The ability of Nigerien Hausa to provide livestock for the Nigerian market substantially contributed to the colonial economy of Niger, while strengthening the integration of the Nigeriens into the colonial economy of Nigeria, especially that of metropolitan Kano.

As a final comment on the history of Hausa exploitation of their ecological settings, the antiquity of extensive iron-working sites, especially in the region of Kano, where early iron working sites have been studied, offer rather conclusive evidence of significant ecological change (Seiber 1992). In 1906 British colonial

officers in Sokoto would begin to limit local iron production for fear of the environmental impact of deforestation. A similar concern was expressed in the *rapports de tournee* of French officials in Hausa Zinder (ANN/Zinder 1931-43). Their interest in deforestation reflects more than the meddling of outsiders in the affairs of colonized people: iron working, along with the furnaces used in salt production around the saline lakes of eastern Damagaram, severely taxed the forest resources of the regions in which they were established. As is well-know in the case of other iron-working African cultures, effective use of one natural resource could mean abuse of another. Iron smelting required charcoal and large-scale charcoal production throughout the ancient world was accompanied by deforestation and environmental deterioration.[81] Nineteenth century observers could see the effects of increased urban consumption of firewood in the regions around the Hausa towns and cities. How much more so would have been the environmental pressure caused by the need for wood of Hausa iron workers. The increasing archaeological evidence of both the antiquity and the extensiveness of Hausa iron works is sobering evidence of the degree to which the "park land" appearance of the Hausa savanna was the work of human agency and shifts the problem of the human accountability for desertification deeper into the past.[82]

In short, the ecology of the Central Sudan was one in which Hausa society had already lived for a very long time and in which the technologies of farming,

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[81]Meroe is an especially apt model for what may also have occurred in some Hausa regions where iron smelting was significant, as, for example the area around Kano.

[82]An extensive literature on this problem dates from the drought years of the seventies and eighties.

cooking, herding, fishing, hunting, gathering and, at the very least, those of salt making, pottery, iron smelting and blacksmithing, were established well before the nineteenth century. Women, as the specialists of the hearth, were fundamentally involved in shaping this human landscape: linguistic evidence fully documents the ecological diversity of Hausa cuisine and the technologies of crop storage and processing which support it.

Denham, Clapperton, and Barth frequently mentioned the population movements stimulated by the Sokoto Jihad: They described migrating Fulbe and defeated Hausa villages sold into slavery; The ruins of settlements destroyed by war contrasted with the new towns of the emerging Fulbe political elite in their accounts. Indeed, the insecurity of rural life in the wake of continued warfare and slave raiding was elemental to Dorugu's life history and framed the childhood of Baba of Karo. Staudinger vividly describes the changes worked on the Hausa landscape as he observed the intense, late nineteenth century immigration of Hausa farmers and Fulbe pastoralists into the savanna south of Zaria. Another prominent example, especially important to this dissertation, was the relocation of enslaved, ethnically Hausa populations onto slave estates in the region around Zinder as ecological conditions, especially the rainfall pattern in the second half of the nineteenth century, permitted a northern push of the Hausa farming frontier in Damagaram (Salifou 1971; Dunbar 1970; 1977, 155-77).[83]

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[83]I will describe this process more fully in the chapters on Zinder. However, my reasons for coming to this conclusion include observations of extensive slave-raiding by the Sultans of Damagaram into neighboring, even technically affiliated, Hausa communities, especially Kantché. I suspect that these forced removals of Hausa-speaking people significantly altered the linguistic balance in favor of Hausa over Kanuri in Damagaram after the 1850's.

The most recent scientific assessment of desertification in the Sahel confirms the flexibility of the desert's farming frontier, not from decade to decade, century to century, but from year to year, farming season to farming season. Linguistically, Hausa describes the bio-diversity of the Central Sudan and a human society able to respond with appropriate technology to this kind of highly unpredictable natural environment.

The farming culture of the Hausa allowed them to negotiate an existence from the micro environments of the space between desert and forest. Nineteenth century observations would seem to show that the Hausa may even have replaced the Kanuri within parts of the savanna realm they both shared. By the time of Clapperton's visit in 1821-26, at least some of the plants which, by their Kanuri-based Hausa names, would seem to have reached Hausa agriculturists through Bornu were not available in Bornu, but were grown in and imported from Hausa regions to the west. This was especially the case of certain specialty crops, such as indigo and tobacco. No conclusions based on linguistic evidence are possible now, but the pattern of agricultural exchange between Hausa and Kanuri communities observed in the early nineteenth century strongly suggests that environmental change influenced what language tells us about the relative effectiveness of Hausa agricultural culture: Hausa speakers now farm where Kanuri people lived and were described by European travelers.[84] It is quite intriguing, for example, that the word by which Hausa people called Kanuri

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[84]Much more work needs to be done on the relationship between Hausa and Kanuri, especially along the lies of technological and cultural borrowings. I am not convinced that the work already done on the historical linguistic analysis of Hausa will remain unchallenged, though I feel compelled to report the current findings here.

people was "Beriberi". In Kanuri the word means one who hires out to do agricultural work on a day to day basis (Koelle 1854). Does this in some way indicate the possibility that Kanuri migrants adapted themselves to Hausa farming communities by working as paid labor? From the travelers accounts the political breakdown of the Bornu state in the early nineteenth century may also have been shaped by environmental deterioration. Clapperton, for example, described fields of corn, *geron Massara*, where only some varieties of millet can be cultivated today. Did Kanuri farmers over-plant corn, a crop know for its high yield, but also notorious for its negative effect on soils, and destroy the ability of their land to withstand the high temperatures, intense winds and extreme aridity of the sahelian dry season?[85] Was there a Kanuriland dust bowl which sent people west into Hausaland as migrant farmers?

The Imagined Landscape of the Tatsuniyoyi

The Hausa see a spiritual and cultural landscape surrounding them as well as one of physical characteristics, dimensions and objects. Like folk cultures all over the world, special features of the landscape were incorporated into the folklore of the Hausa people. This aspect of Hausafying nature is well marked in the *tatsuniyoyi*, which are set into a physical landscape shaped by Hausa opinions of their own daily surroundings. Characters work at tasks familiar to Hausa in a natural environment recognizably that of Hausaland in all its diversity. Heroines and heroes have family relationships equally familiar to Hausa. They work with Hausa tools, cultivate Hausa farms, cook Hausa food and define outsiders by

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[85]Notice the way corn roots leave the soil vulnerable to erosion.

their inability to speak proper Hausa. Hausa values shape the narratives of the *tatsuniyoyi*, whether such narratives are acted out by humans, spirits or animals.

In what ways do the stories give us evidence of the physical landscape? To begin with, Hausa live as married couples, as families governed by a father or a husband, in small villages with village chiefs; towns governed by titled members of the emirate aristocracy; and in cities ruled over by kings with palaces and retinues of courtiers, slaves, wives and children.

The patterns of settlement and government recorded in the *tatsuniyoyi* precisely mirror the linguistic construction of Hausa social organization. Only in stories of hunters and their wives are humans, living alone in the wilderness, not considered atypical. Even the non-human worlds of spirits and animals are organized into families and towns. Indeed, animals, when they want to improve themselves, change into humans and go to towns, generally to marry humans. Though many are the stories in which a journey is called for, the *tatsuniyoyi* make it absolutely clear that the preferred Hausa pattern of residence and society was one of villages, towns and cities.

Sharply contrasting to the town as the appropriate residence for humans is the wilderness(*daji*) in which humans invariably face threats from both natural and supernatural agents. Children, especially girls, when necessary, are able to enlist the assistance of the spiritual and animal residents of the bush. We are reminded that Hausa clans did in fact still have animal totems in the nineteenth century and, that the logic of Hausa medicine was based on negotiation between the worlds of human natural and supernatural agency. Animals were named, described and used as characters in Hausa oral literature. Animals and plants

had *kirari*, songs which noted their special characteristics, including references to their usefulness to humans.

The landscape described in the early collections of *tatsuniyoyi* was still marked by open, uncultivated space. Hausaland was not short of wood and characters were often sent into the *daji* to collect firewood. Girls and boys also went off into the *daji* to collect wild fruit and other natural substances, including ingredients for medicine. Men and their wives took up land to farm in the *daji* and there encountered a variety of anthropomorphic animals, including the ubiquitous buffoon, the hyena. Some Hausa even farmed together with animals in the *tatsuniyoyi*..

Hunger stalked the Hausa whether in the imaginary environment of the *tatsuniyoyi* or in the reality of their fickle environment. The Hausa language graphically describes illness, disease and disaster, for humans, crops and animals. Famines of recent decades have their own *kirari* while hunger is the Hausa poet's most graphic image of poverty.Hausa also linked themselves to their environment through the cultural practices of medicine. Hausa medicine was based on a system of knowledge which intimately relates the properties of nature and natural phenomena to human and animal illness. Nothing that walks, flies, swims or slithers across Hausaland was without a medical or magical use or meaning. Plants and plant materials were equally significant. Hausa attributed special qualities to earth and minerals and exploited these in medicines. White clay, for example, is still eaten by pregnant and nursing women, though never by men: the whiteness of the clay prefigures mother's milk. The same sort of clay along with specific leaves are used as medicine for teething babies. Nicolas identified plant and animal substances used for medical

purposes in Maradi in the 1960's (Nicolas 1975). Medical practices unite human society to the spiritual world through the natural environment of Hausaland and in this way, the Hausa perceive theirs as an infinitely bountiful, intricately diverse, natural and supernatural landscape.[86]

Bori completed the metaphors and the logic of how Hausa associated themselves, as humans, to both the natural world and the spiritual world. Furthermore, through the definition of spirits representing outside forces, such as Islam in the nineteenth century, the Fulbe of the Sokoto Caliphate and the Europeans of the twentieth century, *bori* seems to have served as an important way for Hausa to intrepretate the appearance of strangers on their cultural horizon. Together, Hausa medicine and *bori* show how Hausa assimilated difference, whether as men looking at women, women looking at men or Hausa looking at the world and its human, animal and spirit denizens beyond the named, knowable world of their own culture and society.[87] Encoded in Hausa beliefs about health care during pregnancy, for example, is yet another example of what I mean here. Pregnant women abhor viewing a strange, living creature, as, for example, a white woman, for fear that their unborn child will take on the features of that creature. Strangers to be feared still include white people. (Nicolas 1975; Stephens 1981)

86Paul Stoller has best developed this line of thought with regards to a Sahelian society, the Hausa's western neighbors and inheritors of the Songhay Empire, the Djerma of Niger.

87I am reminded of how Chinese immigrants to the United States in the nineteenth century constructed a world of ghosts to understand the white world in which they found themselves. See Hong Kingston, 1976.

Distance and Geography

The evidence of a Hausa conception of geography found in the *tatsuniyoyi* is subtle and suggestive of the cognitive maps common in nineteenth century Hausa thought. What the Hausa cared to know about distance and geography was generally related to religion or commerce. The story of how the girls traveled to the waters of Medina to wash out the soiled mat is a good example. Long distance was and could only be measured in the time a journey could take and in the repetitiveness of long-distance travel. Dorugu, telling this *tatsuniya* to Schon, marks the passage of time as a measure of distance, repeating after every encounter the heroine makes on the road to Medina the phrase, she was traveling , she was traveling, (Schon 1886:153-162). When Dorugu measures distance in time, specifically as nights of sleep, in describing his travels with Barth, he meticulously notes the number of nights spent between places on the journey, precisely as had all those informants who provided travel itineraries to Europeans before him.

The accounts of pilgrims from Hausaland to Mecca are even more emblematic of the cognitive relationship between distance and time. Even after motored vehicles began to make the trip, the journey commonly took four years, years in which Hausa pilgrims settled down to farm patches of millet along the way. Some simply never returned. Such pilgrims were, literally, operating in a geography of time and space in which normal measurements of both were suspended: the distance and the duration of a journey were beyond the realm of normal experience and were easily assimilated into the world of imagination (Bivins 1987-88). Whether as a pilgrim or a merchant, great distances were traveled one step at a time and measured by months, even years, not miles.

In the *tatsuniyoyi*, and thus, in Hausa popular culture, distance was also conceptualized in purely fantastic images: the wonder of an old woman who could stretch one leg to Bornu and one to Mecca; the amazing towns and societies of birds and fish and even supernatural creatures such as human-eating *dodo*; the trees with spirits and, not infrequently, compassion for mortal travelers. All the improbable sights and amazing landscapes which Hausa heroes and heroines encountered on long journeys established in Hausa terms a notion of distance and travel imbued with fantasy. In this way Hausa sources interpret distance and geography in imaginative narratives and contribute to the genre of wondrous travel literature found throughout the world. Odysseus, Sinbad, even Ibn Khaldun, Marco Polo and Fa Shien shared the wonderment of travel to distant places found in Hausa *tatsuniyoyi* (Erickson 1976; Lewis 1982, 135-84). The wanderings of the young Sundiata and the spiritual journey of life celebrated in Yoruba ritual and art contextual Hausa notions of time, distance and journeys in distinctively West African folkways (Niane 1960; Thompson 1984). However, journeys in the *tatsuniyoyi* have one uniquely Hausa characteristic: our travelers are girls.

Hausa people by the nineteenth century were identified by the major towns of Hausaland and given characteristics supposedly representative of the people of that town. Imam Imoru's narrative history of the Hausa people associates the great towns of the *Hausa Bakwai* and *Banzai* with specific" gifts" of commerce or land or technology as their heritage.

Traveling The Hausa Landscape

Within the European sources for nineteenth century Hausa history, the travel account is unique in offering images of Hausa people and their ecological settings. Nineteenth century travelers left particularly well-crafted narratives of their visits to the Central Sudan in the early to late nineteenth century. Those I have selected to examine in this section were composed by Europeans intensely fascinated with Africa and Hausaland: Hugh Clapperton and Richard Denham (1822-24), Heinrich Barth (1851-55), James Richardson (1853-54), and Paul Staudinger (1888-86). Together they offer evidence of the ecological, economic and historical evolution of the Hausa landscape over the course of the nineteenth century.

The travelers' observations are especially useful in constructing a rough chronological guide to the changes worked upon Hausaland by certain events inscribed in the language, the *tatsuniyoyi*, the narratives prepared by Hausa informants for Europeans and the material culture of nineteenth century Hausa. In particular the travelers' accounts allow us to examine: the diversity of micro environments within the Hausaphone regions of the Central Sudan; the food resources and technology of Hausa cuisine and women's' dominance in the realm of food; the differential pace of urbanization across Hausaland; and, finally, differences between rural and urban Hausa culture. Perhaps more than anything else, however, the travel narratives force twentieth century readers to recognize the paramount importance of the natural world to the workings of human society in Hausaland: not even the travelers could escape the weather and its rule over food, health and the most basic conditions of daily life.

Travel narratives document a special relationship between ecology, technology and gender, one that places women's' control over the resources and technologies of food in a primary relationship of negotiating the space between environment and culture; between social reproduction and ecological survival. The special relationship between women, food and ecology is one of the strongest examples of the importance of gender in Hausa economic history because it offers profoundly persuasive evidence that women's work was not marginalized by the social, economic and political transformations of nineteenth century Hausaland. A second, and equally compelling example of this argument is gleaned from the travelers' observations of women's non-agricultural work in textile production and trade. In this section, I use the travelers' observations of gender, ecology and work to affirm the image drawn from literary and linguistic evidence that women were extraordinarily active in the creation of the Hausa cultural landscape.

The Sources

Travel narratives present interesting problems as historical sources. There is, for example, the simple question of where visitors placed themselves in the vastness of the regions they sought to call "Hausaland". Nineteenth century European travelers rarely stepped off the major caravan routes linking the important urban centers of the Central Sudan to the commercial nexus of North Africa and its Mediterranean port cities. They maintained the belief, not all together naive, but sometimes with disastrous consequences, that Hausa cities were already a part of their own world, connected by networks of diplomacy and trade. Counting on such connections, Richardson found himself virtually

stranded in Zinder because founds were not safely transferred to him from Tripoli. Barth had similar problems and as late as 1896 when Staudinger traveled to Hausaland from Lagos and could count on the very well-developed trading networks of the lower Niger River, financial problems were still a major source of worry (Richardson, 1853; Barth 1965; Staudinger 1990).

Travelers were utterly dependent on their guides and interpreters in choosing their exact routes and, at times, this was a source of frustration on both sides. Clapperton was prevented from traveling down the Kwara River to the Atlantic coast in part, he believed, because of the machinations of North African traders at Bello's court who were (justifiably) fearful that English commercial competition on the lower river would interfere with their Hausa markets. All of the travelers believed that their journeys were delayed or rerouted by politically or financially motivated opponents. Until the relations of power between Africans and Europeans was transformed by the colonial conquest of Hausaland, European travelers were dependent and at times culturally awkward guests in the Central Sudan.

Travel narratives are by nature highly impressionistic and the observations of our travelers are no exceptions. Several factors were especially influential in determining what they saw and how they reported it. First, travelers were generally confined to re-tracing one another's paths and all, but Staudinger, tended to focus on the east-west route linking the cities of the Hausa to those of Bornu and, ultimately, North Africa. Consequently, there is relatively more evidence on a rather narrow and northern, east to west, ecological strip of Hausaland. For example, the temperature recordings and rainfall patterns noted by Clapperton between Kuka and Sokoto show little variation, even though the

micro environments he observed bore testimony to striking, but highly localized, differences in soils, water resources, vegetation, and population densities.

Second, travelers were confined to a social space mediated by their guides and interpreters, even when they themselves sometimes had useful language skills. North African merchants who were experienced in dealing with Christian Europeans were essential intermediaries for both earlier travelers and their Moslem, African hosts. Staudinger's visit late in the nineteenth century was shaped by Afro-European trading relationships and traders on the Niger and Benue Rivers. The personal contacts made by a traveler, apparently were available to others as well: Barth was introduced to Clapperton's guides and chief informant; Staudinger was essentially required by Flegel to employ Flegel's own guide-informant, Maidugu Mai Gashin Baki; Isabelle Vischer, the first European woman to live in Kano, was introduced to Dorugu and describes his death, apparently of old age, in Kano (I. Vischer, n.d.:42-45). Certainly the narratives document the rise of what one might call an industry shaped to escorting European travelers across Hausaland, one which foretells the coming of colonial rulers and tourists alike.

Finally, until the arrival of Isabelle Vischer in Kano, all of our travelers were men, a profoundly important social distinction in the etiquette of cultures as polarized by gender as those of the Central Sudan. The individual personalities of each traveler clearly asserted itself in their relationships with the African women they met. Hugh Clapperton delights in observing the activities and appearances of the women he meets on the road or in the markets and easily falls into the joking and flirting which marked public exchanges between men and women. Amazingly, he offers no information about one of the most

important women of her day, Nana Asma'u, the daughter of Usuman dan Fodio and the full sister of the then reigning second Caliph of Sokoto, Sultan Bello. Even though he felt himself to have had a close, personal friendship with Asma'u's husband, Bello's friend and Waziri, Gidado. Clapperton never mentions Nana Asma'u or describes anyone who might have been her. Clapperton offers an intimate portrait of Gidado's grief at the death of his youngest son, but says nothing of the child's mother, again, Nana Asma'u. Clapperton even describes the visits paid to him by the women of Gidado's household; Nana Asma'u remains anonymous throughout his account. Her status, his gender and the proprieties of a devout Muslim household remained an impenetrable barrier to Clapperton and to the other European men who wrote about nineteenth century Hausaland.

Each account reflects the particular interests and personality of the individual travelers themselves. They see neither the people they meet nor the landscapes through which they travel in one way, nor do they present themselves to others in one way. Clapperton's temperament and personality are rather less masked by a sense of literary conventions for the writing of travel narratives. We learn about his appreciation for the beauty of Fulbe women by his delight in the girl selling *nono:* (" as neat and spruce as a Cheshire dairy maid".) and something of his sense of personal pride and identity by the way he dresses in his best naval uniform to enter Kano for the first time. Trained as a naval officer and included in the mission to Central Africa for his skills as a navigator, Clapperton's narrative lacks the intellectual language which later became a feature of traveler's account.[88] A man raised himself in an England not

[88]For a comparative perspective on travel writing, see Bishop 1989.

yet completely transformed by industrialization, he alone was able to accurately describe Hausa weaving technology. Clapperton's England simply was not as technologically distanced from Hausaland as would be the cultures of Richardson, Barth and Staudinger.

Barth's published travel account was carefully re-written and shaped to his European and scholarly public: the persona he presents is a very public image and lacks the humanity of Clapperton. Without Richardson's comments, for example, we would never know that Taureg and Hausa women, whom he described in an impersonal, ethnographic style, were fascinated by Barth and at times overwhelmed him with attention. On the other hand, his descriptions of the landscapes through which he travels seem to be charged with both the emotions of German Romanticism and the dispassionate, methodical observation of nineteenth century German scientific scholarship. The language he used in his notebooks and transferred to the maps accompanying his published accounts. His descriptions abound with "richly timbered" valleys and "fine hilly country" sometimes "full of cattle" or "intersected by low rocky ledges of granite and adorned with fine tamarinds." Such idyllic places he contrasted to scenes of wilderness, to "snow white" basins of "salt and natron", "naked, rocky and hilly" districts, "gravely barren plain with scarcely any dense forests." He notes the deep sand, the wilderness, with traces of wild animals and the deserted towns, abandoned villages which marked the progress of the Fulbe Jihad in some regions of Hausaland.

The reader of Barth's travel books is also captivated by the strange transformation of Hausaland which takes place in the engravings accompanying his text: Barth's "very rugged country with granitic rocks in perpendicular strata"

and "dismal and dreary gravely plain with isolated granitic peaks, few or no animals," "Very violent tropical storm with heavy showers of rain" become scenes of Nature's chaotic power, while his "beautiful valley, with forests of fine trees and pastures of tropical appearance" are transformed into Europeanized visions of a Hausa Eden. What did he really see? What did he enhance, with language or through the visual aide of the engravings? Making use of Barth's maps, it is impossible to escape the language of German Romanticism influencing his views of the African landscapes he passes through and the people he meets. Only with the arrival of the camera in the early years of the colonial administrations in Niger and Nigeria, would the reading public of Europe begin to acquire more accurate visual knowledge of Hausa and Hausaland. Often the evidence of such early photographic images would be jarringly out of place with the language of the texts.[89]

Some idea of how carefully Barth constructed his narrative and shaped it for publication is gleaned from Richardson's account of essentially the same journey.[90]..Richardson died in Damagaram on the road from Zinder to Kuka and his account was not rewritten before it was published. While it is a rough guide only to the northern frontier of Hausaland, especially the regions between

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[89]Examples of early photographic images of Hausaland and the Hausa are found in Tilho 1909; E.D. Morel 1911; Rodd 1926; C.K. Meek 1925; Abadie 1927 Photographs in the collections of Rhodes House, Oxford, were also visually informative for my research. Discussion of the use of photographs in African history include Killingray and Roberts 1989, 16:197-208; Geary 1988, 1986, 13:98-116; Roberts 1988, 29:301-11

[90]A recent German edition of Barth's classic work further enhances our understanding of how the traveler worked by including photo copies of excerpts from his handwritten journals. Barth wrote these journals in English. Barth, Heinrich. *Die Grosse Reife: Forschungen und Abenteur in Nord- und Zentralafrika; 1849-1855.* Stuttgart; Wien: Thienemann, Edition Erdmann, 1986.

Damagaram and Zinder, in some ways his account provides a reality check to Barth's. Richardson, sick and reaching the end of a rigorously Christian life, was critical and unyielding in his relationships with those Hausa (and Taureg) he met. He seems to have been a man whose ethnocentrism would not allow him to establish a socially comfortable relationship with Black Africa.

Staudinger, writing in the last decade of the nineteenth century and after the Berlin West Africa Conference, shows all the marks of a new genre of "modern" travel writer. Gone is the German Romantic, in his work replaced by and energetic middle-class young man out to have an adventure, yet still under the guise of scientific research, in his case, as an entomologist, in the service of his nation, Germany. Aside from the narrative of the journey itself, he prepared essays on such topics as the geography, climate plants and animals of Hausaland, as well as historical and ethnographic accounts of Hausa people, to accompany his published narrative. His grasp of Hausa was utilitarian at best. He depended on guides and interpreters much more completely than had the earlier travelers, though a close reading of Barth makes it very clear that a kind of specialty of understanding the spoken Hausa of Europeans had already developed by the time of his travels.

It was easier for Staudinger to make the journey, physically and psychologically, because Africans and Europeans alike had settled into established formulas of cultural exchange. In particular, the Islamic leaders and people of Hausaland were more tolerant to the Christians and the extreme reactions to their religious identity described by the earlier travelers are not found in his account. Finally, in simple terms of the relative ease of traveling to Hausaland later in the nineteenth century, Staudinger was able to see more in

less time than his predecessors and sometimes he reads more like Henry Adams on the Grand Tour in Europe than the image he treasured for himself: the lone European facing the wilds of Africa and the exotic mysteries of the Africans.

These European travelers describe an African landscape shaped by the flow of people and animals along trade routes. Their's is a specialized view of Hausaland and one which tended to privilege accounts of urbanization, commerce and the diplomacy and politics of the kingdoms and states through which they passed. On the other hand, one might also think of the trade routes as providing points of access for rural Hausa people to the news, culture and innovations of urban Hausaland and beyond. Again, the travelers unwittingly give us access to the knowledge and opinions of rather ordinary rural and urban Hausa people as they record the ways such people respond to them: what questions they asked, the fears, or prejudices they exhibited, especially, in the case of Denham, Clapperton, Richardson and Barth, towards Christians. The language of address and manners people used or invented on the spot to interact with such outsiders and what they knew of other places, other times, and other people were essential to the mental construction of inter cultural discourse between themselves and the strangers from Europe. Much as port cities have been described as social settings in which change and innovation are encouraged by inter cultural trade, so were the caravan routes stretching from village to village between the larger towns and cities. In nineteenth century Hausaland, Curtin's intercommunicating zone was clearly a series of stops, a traveler's itinerary of names, along a road (P. Curtin 1990).

Time and space thus share a narrow, linear quality in the travelers' accounts of nineteenth century Hausa society. In this way the very structure of

the travel narratives helped to create a standardized model of the ecology and economy of Hausaland. While descriptions of the natural environment were essential to the composition of the travelers' accounts, only a sample of the ecological variety of Hausaland was observed and recorded. Bio-diversity went the way of unique, regional Hausa dialects and local culture: travelers simply saw too little and, in some cases, they and their readers assumed too much. Ultimately, this weakness in European descriptions of Hausaland would become even more pronounced in the differences between French and English descriptions of their Hausa possessions in Nigeria and Niger and the colonial development policies which would be built upon them. In the travelers' accounts an important step towards objectifying Hausa people and creating the notion of one, rather homogeneous "Hausaland" was taken.[91] Both colonial administrations and Hausa nationalists would build on this idealization.

Women, Ecology and Food In the Travel Narratives

The ecological diversity of Hausaland imposed itself on travelers through their stomachs. Throughout the nineteenth century Europeans did not transport huge quantities of preserved food with them on their journeys, but trusted on procuring food from the communities through which they passed. They quickly became aware of the dominant role women played in the preparation and sale of food. Their accounts make frequent reference to the activities of women food sellers, whether in the larger towns and settlements or in the most rural settings.

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[91]I draw on Benedict Anderson's provocative revision of his classic work on colonialism and nationalism, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* (1991.), especially Chapter 10. See also Bishop 1989.

Their preoccupation with food was based on their own ignorance of the customs of food preparation: they hired men or boys to work for them, but did not hire women to accompany them as cooks. Left to his own cooking, Barth found *tuwo* hard to prepare and lamented the culinary fate of the European traveler "...who has no female slave or partner to look after his meals" (Barth 1965 I:297). In contrast, an Arab merchant with whom he traveled for a distance east of Kano, was accompanied by his concubine and her female slaves, who provided excellent and carefully served food: "...the barbarian and the civilized European seemed to have changed places" (Barth 1965, I:529-30, 533). African merchants, especially the prominent *madugai*, or caravan leaders, always took along a wife or concubine to supervise the daily provision of food for the caravan and the master and the activities of slave women who did the actual work. Not until the twentieth century when colonial officials would travel with a personal staff which included male cooks did Europeans find a solution to coping with the problems of daily meals on the march in a more or less Hausa way. It was, however, not a Hausa solution to the problem: Europeans did not hire women cooks; stewards were the accepted model on the road and in their settled establishments.[92]

Hungry travelers pay attention to food, to what is available and to who provides it. Travelers like Barth recorded the availability of different food as a guide for others following his foot steps, or this, at least, was the pretense which disguised his almost obsessive concern with food. Other travelers carefully

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[92]See Olive McLoed's trip with the Talbots' in 1906 and Tremearne's comments on hiring staff. Isabelle Vischer, living in Kano in 1914, did employ women as her household help.

recorded similar remarks and their observations read like a guide to the micro environments of Hausa cuisine. As late as Staudinger's 1896 visit, when intraregional marketing of food, especially grain, was known to have developed, it is remarkable to see how dependent all, but the largest, cities were on local food products and local supplies. Clapperton, Richardson and Barth, traveling earlier in the nineteenth century, offer commentaries which significantly enhance a very local view of the development of the economy of the Sokoto Caliphate, especially the rise of the towns and walled cities in the nineteenth century. More than anything else, the travelers make it amply clear that women controlled this aspect of society's interaction with the Hausa ecology.

Barth found that food supplies were at times erratic, especially in the northern-most regions of the Central Sudan Approaching Agadez from the north, for example, he had hoped to purchase Taureg cheese, but none was available. Millet was very scarce and though offered for sale, could only be purchased in small quantities. (Barth 1965, I:249, 266) He observed irrigated gardens north of the city. (Barth 1965, I:265) Later in his journey, he found evidence in the cuisine of endemic hunger. Two kinds of food for sale used wild ingredients: kram-kram or *karengia*, a wild member of the millet family with the irritating characteristic of sticking to clothing, was used to prepare a dish similar to fura *(uzak)* and something which Barth called a "ready-cooked pudding"(Barth, vol. I:532; Bargery 1934, 526). Both are foods used in time of famine and late in the dry season by Hausa. The pudding, made from the material around the seeds in the pod of the *dorowa* can cause a bloated feeling and diarrhea. Today it is poor people's food and in Matamaye was brought to market be the women from the smallest hamlets at the end of the dry season when food is very

scarce and expensive (Bivins 1987-8). Hunger may have been an underlying cause of another social practice Barth noted: in the region north of Agadez he found that women practiced prostitution with travelers, even in hamlets (Barth 1965, I:249).

Once securely within the cultural sphere of Hausa women, Barth had no trouble purchasing meals of such Hausa staple dishes as *tuwo* and *fura* (Barth 1965,1:445-6). As with Clapperton, Barth found that *fura* was offered for sale to travelers by women from Katsina to Kano and to the east of Kano until the linguistic border of Kanuriland (Barth 1965,I:331). It is possible, though hard to prove from the available texts, that the production of fura traveled with the Fulbe into these eastern Hausa lands as the territory of the Sokoto Caliphate was enlarged by military and cultural conquest. I detect a transfer of the cuisine of *fura* served with sour milk from Fulbe women to Hausa women between Clapperton's visit and Barth's. While Clapperton seemed to purchase this dish from women he identified as Fulbe, Barth was less inclined to make that ethnic identity and, indeed, considered *fura da nono* something of a Hausa national dish. Staudinger makes a similar comment when he finally reaches the borders of the Sokoto Caliphate and encounters Hausa-Fulbe settlements.

Urban areas had greater variety of food: rice and couscous was made from "Indian-corn" in Agadez (Barth 1965, I:317) and a dish of "roasted fowl and dates" as well as fresh limes and papayas were to be found in Katsina.[93] The food in Kano market, though expensive, was the "best in Negroland". (Barth 1965, I:

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[93]Barth, 1965,1:463. Moroccan *tagines* are often based on roast chicken and dried fruit. Roden 1974,188-193. North African-style dishes, including breads, are still prepared in the homes of wealthy Tubu merchants in Zinder.

522-3). Ample supplies of milk were also available in the Kano area. While Barth loved it, he realistically observed that milk was "capable of destroying a weak stomach entirely" (Barth 1965, I: 534).

Barth does not seem to have been treated to foods made of wheat, though he saw irrigated beds of wheat and onions growing around Kano in January, 1853 (Barth 1965, I:485) He saw sesame fields too, but, again, does not mention eating the little cakes made from pounded sesame and sweetened with honey (Barth 1965, I: 488). As far east of Kano as Gummel, Barth enjoyed and appreciated the "Hausa custom of a little market held by the women on the road side..."(Barth 1965, I: 536).

Staudinger traveled to Zaria, Kano and Sokoto from Lokoja and his account is especially useful because he passed through the progression of ecological zones created by the differences in rain and the bio-diversity of the micro environments and plant communities which distinguish the West African ecology. Staudinger was also a young man with a prodigious appetite: he seems to have been always hungry and paid a lot of attention to where his next snack was coming from.

Staudinger was the only of our travelers to describe the most southern regions of the Sokoto Caliphate, an area of hills, rain and relatively dense forests, especially south of Zaria. There he observed the immigration of Hausa and Fulbe pioneers and the process of cultural assimilation which would increasingly influence the indigenous, people of the region to conform to a Hausa notion of culture in dress, cuisine, housing, farming, religion and, so important from a Hausa perspective on ethnicity, language.

A few days north of Lokoja in August, 1896, Staudinger described the luxuriant vegetation of this region:

> Tall rain forest trees draped with lianas, lush woodland plants, dense undergrowth, and especially that characteristic representative, the bamboo palm tree form the rich variety of tropical vegetation... (Staudinger 1990, 106)

Yet, and inspite of the apparent wealth of plant life, food was difficult to buy because the travelers did not have very small currency needed and because supplies were limited: two chickens, some cassava and yams were all he and his people could procure (Staudinger 1990, 107). Sherifia, the wealthy woman trader traveling in his caravan, however, did not have similar problems, probably because she carried with her adequate food supplies and women slaves to cook. She sent Staudinger rice with palm oil, while *dawa* for his horses was given to him as a gift by the king.

This would appear to have been a region as yet relatively undiscovered by either Hausa or Fulbe migrants from the central emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate. Signs of either ethnic group were limited, nor was there much evidence that the tiny communities through which Staudinger's caravan passed were effectively integrated into the market and caravan circuit of Hausaland. Staudinger reported that "The people were Afo not Hausa." (Staudinger 1990, 108-9) and complained about the "Legions of insects, among them blood-thirsty mosquitoes..." He observed guinea fowl eggs on a sort of alter outside of the village and noted the village men smoking pipes and wearing only pelts (Staudinger 1990, 109). The only signs of commercial agriculture he described were: "extensive banana plantations" (Staudinger 1990, 110) He was, however,

finally, able to buy *fura* from "an old pagan woman", though it was not served with milk. The reader is given the impression that he was relieved when the local cuisine finally began to bear some resemblance to that which had been reported by Europeans before him: "These (*fura*) are a national dish of the Hausa, known as far as the oasis of Asbin and even in Bornu." He found the *fura* to be "slightly sour peppery things made of *dawa* or *gero* quite good..." (Staudinger 1990,111). Increasingly he was given *gero* for his horses while peanuts were provided for the people to eat. As he travels northward, he begins to find women selling roasted peanuts. "From now onwards these often formed our only refreshment during the day (Staudinger 1990 113)."

When Staudinger entered an area into which Hausa pioneers had begun to open up an environment for Fulbe and their cattle, his food problems decreased. Supplies of *fura da nono* were offered for sale. Later, he was given *fura* and yams as gifts. Finally, he saw the humped Fulbe cattle, grazing freely around the villages and fields. One cattle owner graciously gave him fresh milk, a gesture of greeting among the Fulbe even today. The scene he described was idyllic:

> The cattle were mostly white or grayish white and looked fine and healthy. In some of the herds outside of Keffi...I noticed some animals with black and brown coloring (Staudinger 1990,118-9).

In terms of the variety, abundance and availability of cooked foods offered for sale to travelers, Keffi was where Staudinger crossed an unmarked, but absolutely clear cultural boundary into Hausaland. Almost miraculously, yams become plentiful in Keffi and oxen were slaughtered, though the meat was not made available to Staudinger and his servants (Staudinger 1990, 120-1). The

cultural boundary was also seen in the availability of prepared food for sale and by the marked evidence of Hausa women's dominance of cooked food production and marketing. In the daily market, women dominated the retail food trade, but women also engaged in active house trade, early evidence of what Polly Hill would observe in Batagarawa, near Katsina, and label "honeycomb" markets:

> Besides the market there is a thriving house-to-house trade in various foods such as fura and koko, a thin gruel which we later quite liked and drank...There are often women sitting along the roadside selling cooked yams, groundnuts, and other articles of trade; little balls of dye fro redwood or pounded antimony for eye make-up were often on sale there. (Staudinger 1990,130).

The commerce in food, however, was a phenomena of town life in this region. In a hamlet beyond Keffi, September 4, 1886 4, he writes:

> As for the victuals, the supply was pitifully inadequate in this hamlet. The women had only a few groundnuts and a little fura for sale, so we bought a little of what there was to pacify our rumbling stomachs (Staudinger 1990, 135).

This was food scarcity in the midst of an especially luxuriant setting:

> The valley was lusciously green and for the first time in a long while I saw some fan palms, especially the lovely giginya palm...Not only the flora, but also the fauna seemed to become more varied and luxurious;" (Staudinger 1990, 135)

Whenever Staudinger found himself in areas where the combination of Hausa and Fulbe settlers had already led to an increased pattern of settlement, he also found food surpluses and generous gifts of food: presents of unhusked rice,

chickens and a sheep were given to him. Wisely, he sent these gifts to the ever resourceful Sherifia, who, in turn, gave the food stuffs to of her slaves to cook (Staudinger 1990,142). In such communities, the contrast between the food resources of the towns and those of the countryside was stunningly obvious to Staudinger: it was a matter of adequate diet versus endemic hunger and he read the signs in the people themselves. Commenting on "pagan" women who brought coco yams to sell to him, Staudinger contrasted their appearance, which seemed to indicate some degree of malnutrition (he notes their bowed legs and general thinness) with the pretty Hausa women (Staudinger 1990,143).

Comments on women's control of food supplies, preparation and sale, regular as they are in the travel accounts, make two points clear. Women were heavily invested in the preparation of provisions for travelers and women food sellers were the most frequently observed economic role of nineteenth century Hausa women, whether in towns or in rural areas. South of Katsina, on the busy road to Kano, Barth observed this phenomena:

> After a march of three miles we passed a well, where the women from a neighboring village were offering for sale the common vegetables of the country, such as *gawaza* or yams, *dankali* or sweet potatoes, *kuka*, the leaves of the (baobab)tree, *dodowa* or the vegetable cakes...ground-nuts, beans, and sour milk (Barth 1965, I: 481).

. The foods which women offered for sale to travelers chronicles the availability of food stuffs over the course of the year and throughout the ecological zones of Hausaland. Retailing prepared food to travelers was an opportunity for women in communities of all sizes, but women living in towns may have had an advantage in acquiring the food stuffs, investment capital, time and even labor

needed to take advantage of the market opportunities provided by travelers.[94] Traveling in the most densely populated emirates of Hausaland, Barth could count on the markets of women food seller even in the most rural of settings.

The preparation of food for sale was an important economic activity for Hausa women. Their dominance in the retail food business suggests their control over both the raw materials and technology of food preparation. Of equal significance, the availability of prepared food for sale to travelers clearly distinguished those regions in which the Hausa farming culture was established and, especially, in the case of *fura da nono, in* which Fulbe cattle keepers also had settled. One might go so far as to conclude that where our travelers enjoyed ***fura da nono,*** there the political and cultural hegemony of the Sokoto Caliphate was truly established. With this pattern of farming and exchange in place, town life seems not to have been too far behind.

The ecology described by the travelers was the work of generations of Hausa, farming, fishing, hunting, and gathering the substance of their daily lives and material culture from the physical resources around them. What language, literature and observations show of the Hausa landscape represents a very fluid and dynamic relationship between human society and the natural environment. In fact, only in the immediate environs of the old urban areas, the ***karakara,*** or close-settled zone of modern geographers, did the travelers observe fields which showed evidence of long term use and farming techniques adapted to maintaining the fertility of farm land over long periods of time and dense human

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[94]All of these factors influence women's participation and degrees of success in the marketing of prepared foods today. See Schildkrout 1982, 1981, 1979; Simmons 1975; Pittin 1979, 1984, 1987; Hill 1969, 1972; Bivins 1974-6, 1987-8.

settlement patterns. Imam Imoru was himself keenly aware of the rarity of such highly developed and exploited land: he reported that only the land of Kano was completely settled and had no wilderness:

> The land of Kano has been blessed with prosperity. It is a highly populated land with more people than Katsina. There is no wilderness and the land is well laid out: Birnin Kano is in the middle and the land encircles it on the east and west, south and north (Ferguson 1973,144)[95]

In general, just as the boundaries and the bounty of nature and the natural world changed from season to season and year to year, so did the vast majority of human fields and settlements. The travelers' accounts and the *tatsuniyoyi* consistently capture this aspect of Hausa social reality with their emphasis on change and the temporary quality of human relationships and the natural world.

Europeans were especially concerned with gathering geographical information about Hausaland: they wanted to locate the Hausa in time and space on a global scale. They gathered itineraries, took star readings and made navigational records. All of this energetic, yet surprisingly amateurish, scientific activity culminated in the publication of the massively detailed scientific studies of the late nineteenth century which were ushered in by the rise of formal empire. As we shall see, for the French in Hausa Niger, the documentation of the Mission Tilho was an excellent example of this passion for measurement, investigation, and classification of the Hausa world (Tilho 1909).

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[95]Modern geographers describe Hausaland as a derived landscape (Mortimore 1965).

The European passion for scientific geography sharply contrasted with the notions of geography which governed thought in Hausaland. There was a profound orientation of daily life, as clearly seen in the conceptualization and use of space in Hausa architecture, towards the eastern centers of Islam, but this did not necessarily translate into a European notion of the science of geography. When Sultan Bello prepared a map of the Central Sudan for Hugh Clapperton in 1824, he represented the geopolitical boundaries of the Hausa emirates as idealized circles around the points designated as the capital cities of the emirates. His map also designated caravan resting places and routes. Most curiously, the map shows the Kwara (Niger) River turning east to connect with the Nile, the classic Islamic notion of the relationship between the two rivers, even though Bello himself described how the Kwara entered the Atlantic to the west. This alone is a stunning piece of evidence on the cultural shaping and transmission of geographical knowledge in Hausaland: Bello's identification with Islamic learning was so powerful that it over-rode his own knowledge based on observation and experience. Thus we find an example of the difference between Islamic and Western European notions of knowledge in the work of this African intellectual.

Conclusion The Nineteenth Century Hausa Landscape

Based on the evidence of the *tatsuniyoyi*, oral testimony, and the travelers' accounts, these conclusions can be made: Hausaland worked as a social formation because it included diverse ecological regions united by a locally diverse, but nevertheless shared culture, perhaps best expressed in the Hausa

language itself.[96] Nineteenth century travelers observed the ways that Hausa farmers linked the unique resources of micro environments to the development of local and long-distance trade and the marketing of food.

The Hausa did not need the impetus of Western capitalism to place an economic value on their natural environment. The substance of material culture alone would be ample evidence of how the Hausa integrated their vision of the good life with the properties of the natural world around them. Hausa farming culture further articulates the dynamic relationship between social reproduction and ecology. The nineteenth century was one of economic expansion and exploitation influenced by intraregional economic exchange, but clearly incorporated into Hausa understandings of the utility of their natural environment. Even with the growth of such markets, two fundamental characteristics of Hausa culture were maintained: production for local consumption and for market exchange remained firmly based on the local ecology and the value of women's economic activities was also maintained.

While geopolitical power could be conceived in terms of a *sarkin kasa*, it is difficult to find informants even today who think of themselves as living in a *kasar Hausa*, or Hausaland. I have had informants tell me about *kasar mu*, that is, "our land" in reference to the local setting of a village or town; about *kasar Maska* or *kasar Katsina*, to describe towns with recognized (from a local perspective) hinterlands; to *Damagaram* to mean the city of Zinder and its immediate hinterland. All of these kinds of references lead me to suspect that for my rural Hausa informants, towns were more clearly conceptualized as social and

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[96]This is an issue considered by Scott 1987:138-240, 1990; Merchant 1989, and Gramschi 1985:194-5.

geographic entities than were the territories of such political units a states and kingdoms.[97]

Distance and geography were generally conceptualized by urban, Islamicized sophisticates in reference to caravan routes. To answer a specific question of where a place was, a Hausa might think of how one got to the place; which paths one took; which rivers were forded; and which towns one passed through. Thus, the itineraries given to the early European travelers were appropriate ways to define geography from a Hausa point of view as well as that of the travelers' themselves. Cartographic representations of Hausaland produced by early European travelers such as Denham, Clapperton and Barth thus give the illusion of geographic knowledge of Hausaland when, in fact they show only that very narrow stretch of space through which travelers passed. It was left to the reader's imagination to conclude that descriptions shown on the maps could be applied to all of Hausaland.[98]

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[97]People in Matamaye and Zinder thought it quite odd that I would refer to a *kasar Hausa.* The phrase, in fact, has been popularized by Anglo-Nigerian scholars only in the past twenty years. A. Smith used it for the first time in his own important work in his article, "Some considerations relating to the formation of states in Hausaland"(1971), and again in his "The Early States of the Central Sudan" (1971) In the Arabic of North Africa, *kasr* meant a fortress or fortified town, as Barth notes. Last uses this meaning of the word in his discussion of early Kano history. I find myself inclined to accept my informants association of *kasar* with the *birni* as a reflection of the Arabic meaning of *kasr* and a much more authentically Hausa usage of *kasar* than what modern historians have come to accept, as intellectually satisfying as *kasar Hausa* may be.

[98]Since the colonial period, Hausaland has been linguistically constructed by social scientists to mean only that part of the actual region in which Hausa is the dominant culture and language, which coincides with, first, the Sokoto Caliphate and, second, the Republic of Nigeria. Staudinger certainly does this and I am astonished at how many modern cartographic representations of Hausaland only show modern Hausaphone Nigeria.

The increasing pace of nineteenth century urbanization, the Hausa towns and cities described by travelers and Hausa alike, their growth and the parallel growth of their metropolitan hinterlands, the specific regions over which a city exercised sometimes extraordinary economic, political and cultural influence, further shaped the relations of production in Hausaland. Damagaram, especially the southern parts of Damagaram, would in the nineteenth century assert an independent political identity while at the same time becoming more closely integrated into the metropolitan economy of the Kano. Thus, factors of economic development in the nineteenth century would become especially important role in the modernization of Hausa society in Zinder. The documentation from the *Cercle de Zinder* will show this in some detail and I will make the argument that Damagaram maintained a north-south economic and cultural orientation- even after the arrival of the French and the English when French policy would press for an east-west orientation, with a special emphasis on connecting the Colony du Niger to the Niger River and on to Dakar.[99]

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[99]Chad lost its military and political significance after W.W.I. Niger's first colonial capital, Zinder, lost out to Niamey, strategically located on the Niger River in 1926. The Algeria link never offered serious competition to the Nigeria/Kano link.

Historians, archeologists and Hausa themselves agree that Hausaland today is an antique landscape, shaped by human intervention.[100] Based on the evidence I have discussed in this chapter, an ecological history of Hausaland would locate the development of Hausa culture within the long centuries of human interaction with the environmental diversity of the Central Sudan. But, I would like to strike a cautionary note: the possession of the technology to use natural resources also carried with it the temptation to over-use those same resources.

By the nineteenth century Hausa agriculturists and craft workers used all of the natural resources of the micro environments of the Central Sudan in which Hausaphone communities could be found. Furthermore, the active Hausification of the northern and southern frontiers of Hausaland was well engaged in the process of environmental change. Hausa communities and farming practices had created a host environment into which increased numbers of cattle, goats and sheep could be introduced by Fulbe migrants taking advantage of the political opening up of the Hausa regions to them after the Sokoto Jihad. This, of course, was the very basis of the economic vitality of Hausaland described by European visitors.

It is possible, however, and, I fear probable, that the very success of the Hausa and Fulbe to exploit their physical environment in the nineteenth century also imperiled the ability of the land to renew itself through the cycle of the

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100 A. Smith 1971, 3:152-195; Sutton 1979, 20:179-201; Fuglestad 1978, 3:319-339; Y.B. Usman 1978; Watts 1986. Frequently cited earlier sources include Palmer 1928, Urvoy 1936 and Mauny 1961.

101 Fuglestad gives a succinct account of these missions (Fuglestad 1987:39-78). See also Séré de Rivières (1965).

seasons and the complex interactions of plant and animal communities. Drought, soil erosion and deforestation, water pollution, and, in the early twentieth century, increasingly wide-spread epidemics of human, plant and animal disease all point to underlying conditions of environmental stress and fundamental abuse of Hausaland's natural resources.

The failure to see the Hausa landscape as an intricate mosaic of micro-environments and the subsequent disregard for the fragility of this landscape has directly contributed to the environmental degradation of the Hausa regions of Niger and Nigeria so powerfully expressed since the droughts of the 1970's. The failure to see and to understand how Hausa society itself integrated the environment and nature into a particularly flexible and effective culture of environmental exploitation through farming and animal husbandry ultimately contributed to the failure of development planning to give thoughtful consideration to protecting the environment.

The persistence of hunger and poverty as motifs in Hausa *tatsuniyoyi* and poetry forces us to acknowledge the darker side of economic development. In the narratives of the travelers, I read signs of profound ecological change along with the evidence of economic growth and rural as well as urban development. By exploiting every environmental niche offered in the regions of Hausa settlement, and thus leaving no margin of safety in untapped reserves, the Hausa themselves were courting ecological disaster.

Did Hausa themselves perceive the intrinsic value of their landscape? The poem quoted at the beginning of this chapter, though it was composed by Shekarau Sa'du to praise the populist stance of the Hausa nationalist party, the

Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) founded in Nigeria in 1949 gives one Hausa response to this question:

In Praise of Farming

There are three things in the world today,
From them the country acquires honor.
I begin with farming, second is knowledge,
And then worship of God Almighty.
Farming is the life of everyone,
The queen of all work is farming
A man does not have a shining face
Unless there is in his belly what farming bears,
The wealthy man will not build houses,
Except with the remainder of what farming bears,
The student does not understand
Unless his belly is full of what farming bears,
The worker does not work
Unless he picks up what farming hatches.

Chapter 6: *Rapports de Tournee*: From Damagaram to Zinder in the *Colony du Niger*

> Few things bring (the grammar of colonial ideologies) into more visible relief than three institutions of power which, although invented before the mid-nineteenth century, changed their form and function as the colonized zones entered the age of mechanical reproduction. These three institutions were the census, the map, and the museum: together, they profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry. (B. Anderson 1990:163-4).

> The setting within which the peasants of Sedaka today conduct their lives is, only in small part, their own creation (J. Scott 1987:48).

> *Knowledge is power*
> (Motto, School of Oriental and African Studies, London)

A dramatic shift takes place in how Europeans describe Hausaland and its people after 1901. As an intellectual parallel to the political move from informal to formal empire, from the language and narrative of sponsored, but nevertheless unofficial, expeditions to that of official military and scientific missions, the narrative voice of French colonial documents tends to depersonalize the European observer as it attempts to objectify the Hausa observed. The documentation of the military missions sent by the French in the late 1890's to probe their newly delimited African territory in what would become (in 1922) the Colony of Niger belongs in this intellectual context. For Hausaland, French missions included those of Monteil (1890-2), Cazémajou (1897-8) Voulet-Chanoine (1899), Foureau-Lamy (1899), Joalland-Meynier (1899), and that of the first Commandant of the Third Military Territory of Niger, Lt. Col. Péroz (1900)

(Monteil 1894?; Foreau 1902,1905; Joalland 1930; Meynier 1947; Moll 1902).[101] However, from the documents of the French takeover of Damagaram, it is clear that some French acknowledged another aspect of conquest in the relationship between the authority to rule and the ability to know, as accurately as possible, what it was one ruled. How else to explain; for example, the meticulous accounts of scientific investigations carried out in newly acquired African territories? The observations, collections and calculations of the teams of scientists sent out with French missions into the Central Sudan created an illusion of intellectual control,, of conquest, over Africa's previously unknowable geography, ecology and cultures. Though only an illusion, such documentation lent solidity to the enterprise of empire-building in the garrisons and residencies of newly-arrived colonial representatives and, perhaps more importantly for the grand masters of the imperial game, among French constituencies as well. In this way the language of nineteenth century scientific investigation was incorporated into the narrative of colonial conquest.

The Sultanate of Damagaram, which by 1900, encompassed the richest and most populous Hausa region north of the Sokoto Caliphate, became the vassal of the French by right of conquest. Damagaram was forfeited, in fact, in revenge for the death at Zinder of Cazémajou and on other French officer in 1899 at the instigation of the Sarkin Damagaram, Ahmad II, who was himself killed as he fled the disastrous encounter with French forces at Tirmini, just west of Zinder (July 30, 1899) (Dunbar 1970; Fugelstad 1987).[102] Once having claimed the

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101 Fuglestad gives a succinct account of these missions (Fuglestad 1987:39-78). See also Séré de Rivières (1965).

102 This summarizes the legal claims of conquest in the treaty made between Damagaram and France, January 25, 1901 (Appendix VI, Dunbar 1970:263-265.)

prerogatives of conquest, the French set out to learn what, precisely, they had acquired--and not only in terms of territory. This was a dual process of exploring the physical dimensions and natural, including human, resources, of Damagaram and, more important to the command in Zinder, learning what powers to tax and control those resources they had assumed from the Sultanate.

Any discussion of how the French set up a colonial administration in their portion of Hausaland must begin here because neither the policies of colonial rule nor the Hausa response can be understood if the powerful influence of the previous Hausa political culture is not acknowledged.[103]This is especially so in the case of Hausa recruited into positions of authority (village heads, canton chiefs) which mirrored the political organization of the Sultanate. The French treaty with Damagaram acknowledged this reality, and carefully listed the "territoires dependant de la ville Damagaram (Zinder)." The list of territories so claimed for France wisely included the names of the title holders or chiefs who ruled them within the structure of the sultanate (Dunbar 1970:263-65). As the French initiated a transfer of the taxable wealth of Damagaram from the Sultanate to the Cercle de Zinder, they continued to exploit their understanding of tax obligations under their predecessors. In a very real sense, the new regime continued to operate under Hausa political rules well into the 1930's.

A close reading of the extensive documentation on abusive chiefs shows how the cultural space between Hausa notions of political rights and

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[103]Summaries of the colonial political history of the Hausa in the Republic of Niger are found in Fuglestad 1983; Abadie 1927; Bonardi 1960; David 1964; Hamani 1975; Dunbar 1970; Séré de Rivières 1965; Salifou 1971. See Baier 1980 for a general economic history of Hausa Niger with a special focus on the trans-Saharan trade.

responsibilities and French perceptions of the obligations of good government were negotiated.

With the acquisition of Damagaram the French were established in one of Africa's most unique physical environments, today know as the Sahel, a reference evocative of drought, famine and desperate poverty.[104] There was simply no denying the overriding importance, to French and Hausa alike, of such issues as weather and water; the earliest French observations of Zinder noted the city's extremely precarious water supply (Abadie 1927; Chappelle 1987:39). Foreau, after enduring an especially grueling passage from Agadez to Zinder, was convinced that Heinrich Barth had seen a far more fertile, productive and well-watered landscape on his journey Hausaland (Foreau 1902:467-568).[105] While the French set out to control the people and natural resources of Hausaland, the nature of those resources, including, it must be added, their very scarcity, powerfully influenced the application of even the most carefully worked out philosophy of colonial rule. Whether we look at the colonial administration set up in the 1920's and 1930's from the perspective of rural Hausa village life, or as an encounter between the French and the Sahelian ecology of Damagaram, the problems of making a living in this environment posed a threat to the incoming regime about which they were extraordinarily ignorant and, as we shall see in the descriptions of the great famine of 1914, perhaps insensitive.

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104 Whether in terms of gross national produce or per capita income, The Republic of Niger is ranked in the lowest echelons, one of the ten poorest nations in the world.

105The *Mission Saharienne* under Foreau and Lamy was poorly prepared for the journey to Hausaland, nor was it readily accommodated by people on its route, who were well apprised of French military advances to the west and south The passage to Zinder, however, was carried out during the month of Ramadan, which may have influenced the voyagers' welcome(Foreau 1902:211, 215).

Earlier travelers may well have been protected from a full realization of the problems of meeting basic needs for water and food by the way the caravan routes attracted local resources for sale, but the new regime in Zinder was quickly disabused of any illusions about the productivity of Damagaram's Sahelian environment. Sometimes the problems of procuring and distributing comestibles became a burlesque of the daily worries of the Hausa *talakawa*.. In 1916, a row over the distribution of fresh vegetables from the gardens at Myrria (assumed from the Sultan's household to that of the Commandant), took five months to be negotiated. Junior officers posted outside of Zinder complained that they had received only one cabbage, "gros comme le poing", in months (Letterbook, Zinder, 3/29/1916 to 8/25/1916, 1916). Certainly from the reports and observation of early colonial officials in Zinder, environmental conditions shaped colonial rule in Hausaland in far more pragmatic ways than emanations, political, economic, social or cultural, from the metropole.[106] ..However, by 1926 the local initiative of the French in Zinder would be increasingly challenged by the stabilization of a centralized colonial policy and administration throughout the new Colony of Niger, especially in regard to rural taxation. How Hausa people exploited their physical environment before the colonial takeover was the theme of the last chapter. That same question in the context of the colonial state--weak though it was in the Hausa regions of Zinder until the nineteen forties, motivated important elements of colonial record-keeping and the application of colonial technologies of knowledge in the documents of the first four decades of the French *Cercle de Zinder.*

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106 Which appears to have been Dakar rather than Paris.

The Official Voice of Colonial Zinder: the Narratives of Conquest and Administration

Already established in Algeria, directly north across the Sahara from Damagaram, the French on arrival in Zinder transformed the paper conquest of the Central Sudan, accomplished in the diplomatic circles of Europe, to the military conquest of the Hausa Damagaram . Even in its earliest manifestations, the relationship between the Hausa and the French was already multifaceted.. Expeditions sent into Damagaram in the late nineteenth century had not been reluctant to advertise their military nature. Montiel's account of his journey through the Hausa regions of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1890-2 failed to capture the spirit of investigation or to include close accounts of either the Hausa people or their landscape found in the nineteenth century travel narratives: his objectives were far more clearly linked to the politics of European rivalries in the region, especially between the French and the English (Monteil 1890-2, n.d.). Though Ferdnand Foreau, a co-leader of the *Mission Saharienne*, attempted to re-establish the scientific traditions of Barth, Staudinger and Nactigal, his own account of traveling in Hausaland firmly acknowledged an imperial objective: to extend and solidify, by diplomatic or military means, French hegemony in the regions between the Niger River and Lake Chad and from Lake Chad to central Africa (Foreau 1902,I; 1905,II). Nevertheless, the published accounts of the *Mission Saharienne* produced by Foreau are a distinctive step towards the kind of measured observation and categorization of colonial cultures and colonized places Anderson calls the "grammar of colonial ideologies" as expressed in his notion of "three institutions of (colonial) power ": the census, the map and the museum (Anderson 1990:163-4).

For the Central Sudan, including Damagaram, the best example of the emergence of a distinctive colonial culture of investigation and scientific observation are the volumes of information published by the scientists with the *Mission Tilho* (1906).[107] As a scientific expedition, the *Mission Tilho* differed from earlier journeys into Hausaland by scientifically-minded travelers such as Barth and Staudinger in matters of scale and objectives. Created to demarcate the boundary negotiated between the French in Niger and the British in Nigeria in 1906, the Mission Tilho included a number of scientists with specialized interests: a geographer, a cartographer, a linguist, who also collected ethnological and historical accounts, a doctor, a malacologist and someone with a mastery of photography all trekked along in this massive spectacle of French purpose in the Central Sudan (Tilho 1911,2:V-VIII). The expedition collected specimen of fish, shells, plants, human physiology (measurements and photographs), language and oral history to be catalogued and described by the scientific community back home in France.[108] The number of people in general, including porters, servants and the military escort must have alerted, even alarmed, rural people along the Mission's route. The scientific objectives seem almost obscured by the details of mounting such an expedition and it must be remembered that this was a period when dramatic, large scale European (and American, to include Commander Perry's assault on the North Pole in) expeditions were very much *en vogue*.

The actual objectives of *Mission Tilho* were highly mutable: one moment a scientific expedition modeled after Barth, in the next, the expedition could easily

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[107]Note the model, as suggested by E. Said, provided by the French study of Egypt during Napoleon's conquest (Said 1993).

[108]One thesis and numerous scientific articles were based on the mission's collections, many of which may still be examined.

transform itself into an avenging angel, honoring the death of Cazémajou. Viewed from the perspective of these conquest accounts, French policy in at least this part of Africa hardly looks rational or calculating: too many motives were given credibility, too many accounts, all emphasizing one aspect or another of the mission, were prepared by its members. Furthermore, the attempt to establish an air of objectivity throughout the published accounts, especially the official volumes laying out the results of the mission's scientific observations, seem almost surreal within the context of the colonial moment. Detailed drawings of insects, accounts of snails and clams in Lake Chad, and the meticulous, but overwhelmingly arrogant, collection of physiological measurements (presented in photographs, charts and hand-drawn, pull-out, paper-doll-like diagrams) of African people living in the new French territories seem frivolous in comparison to the intentions of military conquest and subjugation which are at the dark heart of colonial science (Tilho 1911).

Establishing intellectual control over Damagaram was a vital element in the internal psychology of French colonialism. However, much of the detail and nuanced observations of early travel narratives is lost: the more objective our colonial observers try to be, the less they actually tell us. Both the traveler and the people visited are subsumed into the categories of scientific method, one as the investigator, the other as the object investigated. New features of description and analysis appear and new technologies of producing and reproducing information bring the results of colonial science before the educated gaze of European audiences. The *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française*, a weighty example of a significant trend in colonial science, published ethnological reports, scientific data, maps, and other

information produced by a growing community of French intellectuals and scientists. By the nineteen thirties, the cognitive maps of even the more remote regions of Africa were no longer filled in with pictures of fantastic beasts and mythologized rulers. Rather, the Europeans' view of their new African territories were filled in with scientific data: the fictions of the travel narratives have given way to the technology of scientific surveys. Was this data any less fantastic than the wild beasts imagined before? To answer this question addresses the issue of the reality of official accounts of census, map and ethnographic description in the setting of colonial Zinder.

Ironically, colonial documents in Hausa Niger and Nigeria were written as it only one party in the colonial context was observant: colonial writers seem to be unaware of Hausa commentaries on the Europeans. Hausa oral literature collected throughout West Africa includes poems and narratives in which Hausa eyewitnesses to the colonial conquest gave their own account of what they saw and how they understood the arrival of Europeans in Hausaland (Hiskett 1975:92-117; Fergeson 1973). In Hausa Niger, colonial officials were not even sensitive to the racial slur implied by the Hausa usage of *anasara* (meaning Christian, but with a highly provocative connotation) as the descriptor of the French. In Nigeria, the English at least forced the usage of the more neutral *bature* in place of *anasara*. .

The Power of the Narrative : Perfecting the Colonial Gaze

The goal of knowledge in the colonial context was always political: knowledge supported the power to command, the power to control. In this respect, the meaning of the data generated through the intellectual activities of

colonial agents and agencies was deeply entwined with both the nature of French hegemony as well as the day-to day governance of colonized people. In Damagaram, this function of colonial documentation would deepen as the civilian administration matured and the need to be informed became the fixed objective of local record keeping. In 1908 the military governor of the territory (Lt. Col. Venel, 1908-10) stressed the importance of securing accurate information about the people to the very evolution of an effective policy of colonial rule. He wrote:

> Our policies will obtain the best results if we know how to penetrate the soul of our subjects, follow and, if possible, shape, the movements of their opinion... (Venel 1908:16)[109]

In a sense, the progression of colonial documentation form Monteil to Foreau through Tilho to the reports, monographs, statistical data, maps and daily record keeping of colonial functionaries marked the passage from Damagaram to Zinder. Theories of French colonial rule, as such information was circulated to the commandants of Zinder and their sub-alterns, neither made use of the local knowledge acquired by administrators in Hausaland, nor were local practitioners in Zinder able to implement such directives to any degree of ideological purity.[110] Viewed from the local level, colonial rule in Zinder appears strikingly different from the ideology of French colonialism located elsewhere in the hierarchy of colonial documentation. Neither, however, are observations of

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109 He also stressed the need for a united French effort among the colonies of West Africa (Venel 1908: 16)

110 Original copies of rather important circulars on matters of policy such as those articulated by Venel in the *Rapport Politique Annuel*, 1908, were still to be found in the jumble of colonial-period documents which were never removed from the Prefecture, Zinder, to the National Archives, Niamey.

notable changes, economic, political or social, within colonized Hausa communities easy to grasp. Again, I signal the irony of colonial documentation in Niger: that so much more could be observed and recorded while the Hausa themselves remained more obscurely observed than in the travel narratives of Europeans like Clapperton, Barth and Staudinger. Even the acerbic Richardson offered a more intimate, if not especially flattering, account of Zinder and its inhabitants. Colonial administration of the *Cercle de Zinder* was monotonous, especially after the initial competition between the French and English over mastery of Hausa territory and Hausa people was settled.[111] The documents are all but lifeless.

Examining the colonial records of the French in Hausa Niger as they exist in the Nigerien National Archives today, it is difficult not to conclude that these documents are singularly reticent compared with those of other regions in French West Africa.[112] The late date of the colonial conquest of Damagaram limits the documentary base for historical research in colonial archives to the twentieth century. Furthermore, the gender bias of the colonial regimes in Zinder influenced the documentation of women and the colonial understanding of gender in Hausa culture.[113] If we are to locate the relationships among

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111 Nervous references to the loss of population to Nigeria ceases at about the same time (the late 1920's and certainly by the mid-1930's) as the Cercle de Zinder settles into its colonial identity: in other words, with the coming of a more stable civilian regime.

112 And even more so when compared to the historical records of other parts of colonial Africa where the diversity of colonial perspectives and records seems almost too rich by Nigerien standards.

113 French colonial wives are also silent, though they accompanied their husbands on horseback from post to post. Chapelle, in Kano on his way to Zinder in June, 1927, met the wife of the only French administrator killed in the June 5 Mahdist attack on the French post at Tessaoua. She told him how her

gender, Islam and ecology in the narrative of colonial, it is only at the local level where some success may be had. There, at least, the specifically local observations of colonial informants may be placed in the cultural context of *fin de siecle* Hausaland.

For Hausa Niger, the documents created to administer the cantons of the *Cercle de Zinder*, offer the most promising historical evidence of the local conditions of colonialism. These documents include: canton touring reports (*rapports de tournee*) assembled approximately every four years and political and economic reports produced quarterly and annually for the *Cercle*.. Occasionally, monographs examining issues of special interest to the colonial regime, such as the history of the Sultanate of Damagaram were written (Brunot 1913). The military records created in the years immediately following the conquest, though of great interest to the social historian, remain scattered, unprocessed and virtually unusable by historians, though documentation of other parts of Niger has been used (Rothiot 1988; Rash 1973.)

The canton touring reports, available for the years from 1926 to 1954, are the most detailed source for investigating the Hausa experience of French rule in the Nigerien archives. The touring reports were assembled to provide a setting for the statistical information collected to determine the tax liability of each canton. At the very least they contain a description of natural resources; agriculture and livestock production; the canton's political climate; population movements within the canton and immigration to Nigeria; religious affairs, such as how many Koranic teachers lived and taught in a canton, how influential they were and how many students studied with them. Perhaps of greater importance,

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husband was run through by a spear as he walked into the town a few meters ahead of her(Chappelle 1960:36-7; Fuglestad 1987:126-7).

is the value of the *rapports de tournee* as evidence of the intellectual mission of French colonial documentation: what the French thought they ought to know about their Hausa population and the Hausa environment.

The touring reports were essential elements in the flow of information from the field administrators to the head of each *cercle*, the districts into which French colonies in West Africa were divided, and through them to the governor general of each colony, then on to the governor general of French West Africa in Dakar and, ultimately, to Paris. Their authors, therefore, were compelled to prepare reports in which the French were portrayed as the initiators of political, economic and social control. In the *Cercle de Zinder*, reported on their efforts to carry out the directives of the central colonial administration . They described speeches given to village heads and householders to encourage the intensification of farming, the maintenance of the reserve granaries, and the reporting of deaths, births and infectious diseases. In the late 1930's they also noted the activities of the *Societiés Indigèlnes de Prévoyance*, a government-sponsored development agency, which, in Zinder, limited its activities to improving the quality of goat hides for export.

These documents are, therefore, a curious blend of observations because the motives for their existence were so mixed. Even the education of colonial officers influenced the creation of document in Zinder and elsewhere. During the 1930's and early 1940's, the *rapports de tournee*,, for example, often included remarakably detailed and often beautifully drawn maps of the cantons surveyed.[114] Such maps carried on the tradition of cartographic representation

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[114]See, for example, the canton maps included in the following rapports de tournee: ANN 23.3.2 (Miria, Babantopki, Droum, Kissambana, Guidimouni,

initiated by the nineteenth century travelers to Hausaland and brought to a special prominence with the documentation of the Mission Saharienne and the Mission Tilho (F. Foureau 1905; J. Tilho 1911). Detailed and exact, when maps were included in the *rapports de tournee* they were based on the direct measurement and observations of the administrator who carried out the survey. The authenticity of these cartographic images of the *Cercle de Zinder* is at least in part due to the professionalization of colonial cadets as they passed through the curriculum of the Ecole Colonial and were indoctrinated (in the 1930's) in the value of detailed, local monographs (W. Cohen 1971). Europeans within the limited sphere of influence touched by the information in the *rapports* finally acquired a clear picture of the Hausa landscape. Ironically, the excellence of the early *rapports* would allow later officials to become increasingly distant from the populations over whom they exercised control.[115]

On the whole, however, the *rapports de tournee* are testimonials to how little the government involved itself in the social and economic life of the *Cercle de Zinder*.. These documents strongly suggest that the French regime in Niger simply used Zinder as a tax farm, putting virtually nothing into the development of economic or social infrastructure, but counting on the flow of revenue generated by the region's participation in the dynamic growth of the Hausa city of Kano in British Nigeria. The tax returns and import/export statistics for the Colony of Niger clearly demonstrate the economic importance of rural Hausaland. As taxpayers, grain and livestock producers and consumers of

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1926), ANN 23.3.14 (Droum, 1932), ANN 23.3.43 (Guidimouni, 1941), ANN 23.3.40 (Myrriah, 1938), ANN 23.1.2 (Tirmini, Garagoumsa, 1939).

[115]A fault often considered, then and now, to have been the ultimate weakness of French administrators in West Africa (Cohen 1971).

imported cloth, kola and salt, Niger's Hausa population made a substantial contribution to the financial stabilization of the colonial administration.[116] Yet, what infrastructure the French built in colonial Niger centered on Niamey and its immediate hinterland (Fuglestad 1987:119-46; Séré de Rivières 1952:53, 63-83, 1965:277-89; C.L'A.O.F. 1922).

Writing about gender from the canton touring reports is challenging.. While the occasional report comments directly on women, most often we find women only in the canton census, enumerated as either taxpayers or non-taxpayers. No where do we find, for example, evidence on the participation of women in local affairs or in the community development activities of the S.I.P.'s. Thus, only the population statistics gathered from the cantons and found in the touring reports offer a source of evidence on women in the administrative records of the colonial regime in Hausa Niger.

Population statistics collected to create tax rolls were especially tied to the colonial regime's need for both information and an orderly array of categories through which to create a definable, even defensible, administrative task for itself: if people can be counted and put into categories, policies of administration may then be established to give local colonial regimes some way to assure their own accountability to their superiors. The canton census were, in effect, the documents of a bureaucracy attempting to establish control over a region only recently and reluctantly incorporated into a centralized European state, no matter how rudimentary the colonial government of Zinder appears. Deceiving the tax collector has long been a weapon of the weak, to borrow Scott's apt

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[116]Here I rely on my journal summaries of statistics found on microfilm in France and in the National Archives, Niamey, as all of my notes from archival sources on this topic were stolen in Niamey, 1988.

phrase, and the census information collected from the cantons of Zinder surely contain their share of tampered evidence.[117] Nevertheless, the meticulously recorded data found in the canton reports is an essential source which, if carefully treated, can yield information about rural Hausa women and their villages during what Fugelstad called "the great silence" of colonial rule in Niger, that is, from 1922 to 1944 (Fugelstad 1983:119-46)

Settlements, Households and Families in the Census Reports

Women were rarely of public interest to the French in Niger and only relatively more significant to the British in Nigeria where the government attempted to abolish concubinage, to send girls to school and was generally more involved with the social and economic development of the Hausa region of Nigeria than were the French in Niger. Lacking other documentation, the census materials can be used as an alternative source for Hausa women's history, but with significant limitations. Most of the canton assessments for the colonial period divide the population only into four groups, taxpayers and non-taxpayers, male and females. The age structure of the populations can be estimated only in terms of the ratio of adults to children under the age of 8 (from 1906), the age when children became subject to the head tax. Thus, little beyond the most general composition of a community's population can be described from these records. However, in Hausa Nigeria, adult women were not subject to head tax and, therefore are not even recorded in tax rolls. Possibly the records

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[117]In his book, *Weapons of the Weak*, J. Scott is especially effective in setting up the class conflicts inherent in the collection of data, whether census materials or oral history, in peasant societies (Scott 1987).

for Niger offer the better estimate of what the population structure of Hausa communities looked like in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Even as sources of information on general population trends, it is generally not possible to establish population series with this data because the census records for most cantons are incomplete. Family reconstitution is equally impossible: Hausa people are nameless in these records, nor is there direct information on household size and composition. To keep better records on canton tax payers, all heads of households (the *chef de maison* or *mai gida*) were given identity cards on which each taxpayer in the household was listed. In the census reports, however, the population figures are given by village; individuals or even individual households were not distinguished one from the other. The size, geographic distribution, ethnicity and livestock holdings of villages in a canton, may, however, be compared. From this data estimates of the actual resource base of villages of various sizes can be obtained. The extremely small size of some settlements probably reflect complex farming households. Such evidence describes the economic settings of rural Hausa women's lives in the first half of this century.

From the French perspective, the census data was created to facilitate the implementation the head tax. A unique census of the Fulbe community in Magaria shows that colonized people saw the census in just those terms. On the other hand the Magaria census also suggests the way colonized people, in this case a minority, non-Hausa ethnic group within one of the most populous and environmentally rich sections of Hausa Niger, indigenized the technology of the census to make it suite their own community needs. A Fulbe scheme of social categories shaped the design, implementation and results of the census, which

was carried out in 1932 (ANN 13.3.1). The Fulbe are counted as families under the names of their headmen. Some of these units are quite large and clearly refer to extended families several generations deep. Others are equally small and undoubtedly refer to a more circumscribed, but nevertheless Fulbe, definition of family. This census more than any of the others counts people in the communities they defined themselves: for Zinder it was the only census in which an African conceptualization of geography and community actually appeared in the statistical results. The census defined a geography of kinship and altered French notions of tax paying communities to fit. They complained that the French approach to counting people in Magaria always led to unfairness: they wanted their position in the administrative record keeping to be fair in their own terms and they used the technology of the census to achieve their goal.

Demise of the Sultanate of Damagaram: A Demographic Model

The canton assessment reports document significant demographic changes within the boundaries of the Sultanate. The northern cantons, where fiefs and slave settlements attached to the sarauta of Damagaram had been located, lost population and were increasingly affected by drought conditions from 1914 to 1944, the period under consideration here. As regions, they were left behind as the southern cantons, those closest to Kano and ecologically more diverse, gained population and participated in growing markets for farm produce. Early French observers stressed the importance and value of the northern cantons as livestock producers, and, indeed, the figures for livestock sales south to Nigeria in the first decades of the twentieth century certainly support such optimism. The sad truth, however, was that drought began to

destroy the northern pastures of the Sultanate. The desiccation of Damerghou is especially striking to see in the assessment reports, especially when these are juxtaposed with the accounts of earlier travelers. From the touring reports, on sees the number of villages in which inhabitants did not have a permanent source of water increasing over time. Population decline is also notable. In addition to declining natural resources, the end of the trans-Saharan trade clearly removed the primary source of wealth for such northern towns as Djadjigoua in Damerghou: without the trade, not even food could be imported into such places.

Damerghou's twentieth century fate is an example of the artificiality of the landscape created by the trans-Saharan trade in the nineteenth century and earlier European accounts of Hausaland: traveler's routes simply failed to give a full view of the environment and its limitations. The demise of the northern cantons which had previously been held in fief to the sarauta of Damagaram may also stand as testimony to the environmental impact of the slave estates placed in those fiefs (Dunbar 1977:155-77, 1970:184-90; Salifou 1971:145-51). However, other factors must be taken into account to explain demographic shifts in the *Cercle de Zinder* . . The southern cantons, for example, were simply richer in soils and water resources and were able to support larger settlements During the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, the economic life of southern Damagaram, especially in its larger towns (the so-called Sossibaki kingdoms, for example) participated in the regional development of Kano. Mentioned time and again in the narrative sections of the *rapports de tournee* and easily spotted in the statistics of the census tables, population was drawn to southern towns and villages, attracted by the growing economy stimulated by Hausa communities in

British Nigeria (Collins 1974). While Maradi was never a part of the Cercle de Zinder, it to became a magnate for population from other parts of Hausa Niger. Throughout the 1970's and even in the 1980's Maradi would have the highest rate of urban growth in the Republic of Niger (Gregoire 1986). Even the survey of Koranic schools and teachers carried out in 1912 suggested the economic viability and growth of the southern cantons: it was there that the largest concentration of schools, teachers and students were found anywhere in the *Cercle de Zinder.* As we shall see, the establishment and local support for Islamic education among rural Nigeriens signaled the direction of modernity in Hausa culture.

Migration Data

Time and again, French referred to the worrisome problem of loosing Hausa taxpayers and labor to the lures of Nigeria's seemingly bountiful colonial economy. They thus included data collected on migrants to Nigeria as well as Nigeriens returning home to Zinder. The anonymity of the census reports makes the data collected on migration especially useful for studying the household. Each report accounts for migration in and out of the cantons and frequently notes the size, composition and livestock holdings of migrant families. Women, anonymous in the regular census reports, were counted as individuals in migration reports and some sense of their control over household resources can be discerned.

In addition to this information, the significance of marriage as a motive for migration was noted frequently by French administrators. As the collection of census data became more precise in the late 1940's and early 1950's, it was clear that in many of the cantons in the *Cercle de Zinder* the number of women

migrants crossing into Nigeria to be married continued to outnumber men migrating to any other destinations except in the case of religious migrants, such as men going on pilgrimage to Mecca or traveling to other destinations to further their religious education. This statistical observation seems to have held until the collapse of the Nigerien peanut market in the late 1970's after the mid-decade droughts.[118]

Migrants returning to Niger were also counted and this evidence, supported by oral testimony, confirms the continued maintenance of close ties between families on either side of the colonial border (Bivins, March 12, 1988:Matamaye).

Finally, the migration data found in the touring reports clearly indicates that long distance, long duration migration (excluding pilgrimage) was practiced by very few Hausa from the *Cercle de Zinder* throughout the colonial period. The reason was obvious to the French administrators: they needed only to go to Kano. In this regard, the colonial experience of Niger's Hausa population was stunningly different from that of the Djerma of western Niger for whom long distance migration to the French coastal colonies, especially Togo and even British Gold Coast, was extraordinarily important (Rouch 1956, 1960).

Islam in the Assessment Reports

Because of their experiences with Islamic militancy and resistance in Senegal, Mauritania and Mali the French were especially interested in documenting the influence of Islam in the Hausa cantons. Their fear of Islamic

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[118]The 1970's, in fact, mark a watershed in the colonial and post colonial history of Nigerien and Nigerian Hausa communities. It seem me that it is only after this decade that significant differences between the quality of life for rural Nigerien Hausa decline even more dramatically in comparison to their Nigerian compatriots.

plots emanating from Kano also stimulated vigilance. From at least 1912, meticulous records were kept on the number of teaching malams, their religious affiliation, the number of their students, their political disposition towards the French regime and the closeness of their ties to Nigerian clerics.

The first detailed survey of Moslem teachers throughout the *Cercle de Zinder* was entered into the Cercle's records in May 1914. At that time, several important localities which would later be detached from the Cercle were included, notably Magaria and Tessoua. In describing Koranic education in the Cercle, the report notes that all children received a fundamental education in Islam. In addition, the children of scholars, both boys and girls, were given the education they required to carry on in their father's profession. Women teachers and scholars in the Cercle practiced the discretion required of Moslem women by placing a screen between themselves and their students as the students recited their work. While the names of practicing women Koranic scholars were not listed, that such women existed at all confirms observations made in the Sokoto Caliphate, but not in Niger. Today, certain women in towns and villages continue to teach and to be recognized as scholars by others, usually in their own neighborhoods or families. The privacy which prevailed in the household of Nana Asma'u and which seems to have shielded here from the curiosity of Hugh Clapperton also seems to have been practiced in 1914 and continues to operate for women religious scholars in Hausa Niger today.[119] The following chart displays the information collected by the French.

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[119] Bivins April, 1988: Matamaye; June, 1988:Zinder.

Figure 1. *Koranic Teachers and Students in the Cercle de Zinder, 1914*[120]

Location	*Number of Teachers*	*Number of Students*
Secteur Central		
Birni	29	109
Zongo	13	90
Malam Hassan[121]	6	34
Myrria	7	39
Mazoza	10	33
Gaffati	7	39
Babantapki	10	24
Dakoussa	21	101
Ouame	3	6
Droum	4	24
Tirmini	5	12
Dogo	5	11
Zonkour	1	4
Damagaram (Takiya?)	3	5
Guidamoni	10	76
Gonna	9	22
Moa	3	9
Mazmni	1	2
Daganou	2	3
Gueza	8	20
Kissambani	1	3
Zermou	9	28
Alberkaram	6	16
Secteur de Magaria		
Bande	28	55
Dan Tchiao	19	52
Daoumbei	60	243
Doungan	37	131
Gouchi	20	48
Kantché	29	72
Magaria	48	146
Mallaous	42	87
Ouacha	36	70

120*Rapport No. 21. Rapport sur les ecoles coranique, included in Rapports Trimestiral. Cercle de Zinder, 1914-15.*

121A leading scholar (*religious superior*) of the full Islamic curriculum, Said to have a library of 300 manuscripts.

While the French would limit the spread of literacy in Hausa, they unwittingly failed to limit the spread of that other powerful element in the construction of modern Hausa nationalism--and the political movements such an identity could lead to. Participation in the growing market for agricultural produce, spurred on not by French development efforts or to growth in the economy of Niamey and the west of Niger, but by economic developments in British Nigeria and the private decisions of Nigerien Hausa farmers in the southern cantons to grow peanuts for the Kano market, seems to have coincided with the strengthening of Islamic practices in rural Zinder. The census data shows that Hausa farmers, especially in the cantons closest to Nigeria, increasingly sent their children to Koranic school and went on the Hajj, often with their families. Further evidence of the intensification of Islamic practices among rural Hausa families comes from women now in their sixties who report that they themselves began to leave the fields and enter purdah marriages at about the same time (Bivins April, 1988:Matamaye, June, 1988:Zinder). Rural Hausa families used the profits from farming and trade to adopt an Islamic popular culture which was significantly more orthodox in its definition of male and female relationships in marriage. The culture of courtship, however, would remain in the hands of women and girls. In 1950 a French administrator remarked that this religious enthusiasm was having a negative effect on the savings of rural people--a comment which would be repeated by development specialists in Niger and Nigeria with increasing frequency in the years to come.

The research carried out in the late 1950's through 1970's by French ethnologists continued to show how the culture of rural Nigerien Hausaland was

marked by the infusion of money into households and the rural economy from the production and marketing of peanuts (Nicolas 1960, 1962a, 1962b, 1967, 1975: Raynaut 1976, 1977a, 1977b; Collins 1973). More physical evidence of this cultural shift may still be read in the square, mud-walled compounds, often decorated with the elegant designs created by specialized Hausa builders and sheltered by metal roofs, found in the older neighborhoods of the villages and towns of southern Hausa Niger. Such houses mark the practice of Islamic marriages with their interior wells (or, for the wealthy in towns like Matamaye, stand pipes), separate rooms and colonnaded verandahs for the now secluded wives of Hausa farmers and merchants. Peanuts and the wealth they produced, though now nearly twenty years gone from Hausa Niger's major peanut-growing regions, allowed Islamic definitions of private and public space to be incorporated into the domestic architecture of the regions towns (J. Collins 1974:73-91). By 1962/3 the connection between peanuts, marriage and Islam was evident, as the French commandant of Magaria noted in his annual report:

> The introduction of groundnut culture in the Magaria district gave birth to new needs, or at least gave a particular acuity to those which already existed. It is thus that celebrations have multiplied, particularly those connected with marriages, which always call for considerable expense: money for their organization; for clothes. One only has to attend a spectacle of this type to see how richly adorned and clothed are the young people (girls and boys).[122]

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122 Karimou, G., Commandant de Cercle, Magaria, Rapport sur la Traite, 1962/3:13 (quoted in Collins 1974:83).

Conclusion: The Ecology of Taxation and the Demise of Damagaram

The tax systems of the Sultanate of Damagaram and the Hausa Emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate were based on an ecological mapping of Hausaland and an assessment of each community's tax liability within its ecological niche. Individuals and individual communities were taxed in kind, though craft workers in some of the emirates paid taxes in coweries (Shea 1976). As economic specialization allowed the exploitation of unique environments and the concentration of skilled craft workers in specific locations where their needs for natural resources (cotton, indigo, water, for example), the Sultanate developed an equally specialized system of tax collection: an ecological model of each community's tax burden.[123]

The checks and balances of a tax system based on an ecological model are unique and strikingly different from those found in tax systems where taxes are not paid in kind, but in some sort of coinage. Though the tax system removed ecologically determined wealth from specific locations, much of that wealth was recirculated within the large social and political unites of the sultan's own household and the households of title-holders on whom the charge of tax collecting was laid. Any instincts towards greed at the higher levels of tax utilization could be dealt with in the moral economy of the communities oppressed or abused. Relationships which required largess or charity or the exchange of gifts between officials and commoners, marriage partners and their families, kin, neighbors and friends, the wealthy and the poor, owners and slaves, those who held power and those who depended on them--all such relationships influenced the distribution and use of local resources. Other

[123]This section is based on: Abadie (1927); Salifou (1971:136-147); Dunbar (1970:156-83); Brunot (1913).

scholars have defined political power in pre-colonial West Africa as control over people, organized into huge households of kin, slaves and other dependents. These households would have enjoyed a mixed economy, depending on their own productive capacity in farming, herding, trading, craft work, as well as tapping into the proceeds of rural taxation it they were attached to an office holder within the sultanate. In this respect, wealth generated from taxation went directly back into the productive capacity of the emirate and of local communities: taxes in such political systems were elements of social reproduction at all levels of political. Not only could one say that all politics was local, but also all taxes were local as well. Wealth was not removed from the community, even if it was redistributed through taxation. Abuse of the moral economy of taxation would come if practices of charity, gift exchange and obligations to support dependents were not met. The *tatsuniyoyi* document the moral economy of this tax system in stories about the acquisition of wealth, power and prestige. Stories also chronicle the decline and fall of individuals who fail to acknowledge the responsibilities of power.

Only slave raiding within the sultanate by the sultan (which occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century, and was observed by Richardson, Barth and experienced by Dorugu, would have removed wealth in the form of population and labor from a local area and redistributed it either within or without the sultanate, depending on whether the captive was sold out of the sultanate or placed on a slave estate belonging to the sultan or to an office holder. The use of slave raids within the sultanate's taxable territory makes no sense.

Historical geographers note that the wealth of a port city is tied to the wealth of its nterland. The sultan's control of taxation on international

caravan trade represented a form of taxation not based on ecology, but on geography and the rise of Kano. Proceeds from this trade supported the special and exclusive needs of the Sultan and his court.

Studies of the growth of Damagaram tend to favor an economic explanation which prioritizes the growth of the trans-Saharan trade. I think that the hinterland is too poor to sustain significant growth. Furthermore, Damagaram was simply too close to Kano and Kano was in an infinitely more populous and resource-rich region: Kano had a much more wealthy nineteenth century hinterland and that hinterland would grow in the twentieth century. Ultimately, it would capture significant and productive regions of southern Damagaram. The economic base of Damagaram, as long as it depended on raiding and the trans-Saharan trade was very vulnerable. I even wonder it one can think of Damagaram as experiencing economic growth in the nineteenth century--or simply as reflecting the development of the Sokoto Caliphate's economy, especially in the region of Kano.

In the initial period of military occupation of the Cercle de Zinder, administrators collected information which was seen to be essential to the strategic position of the regime. This included rather general observations on agricultural production, some comments on local manufacturing, careful statistics on the trans-Saharan trade, Moslem scholars and taxes and prestations. It was also during this period that the terrible drought and famine of 1913-14 took place throughout Hausaland. The French in Zinder produced a chillingly detached narrative of the drought year and its aftermath, noting the increasingly desperate strategies taken by Hausa villagers in the Cercle as the enormity of the famine became more and more pressing.

The first *rapports de tournee* show that the early colonial administration was dependent on their understanding of the organization of fiefs directly tied to the sultan's household. Beginning in 1926 and showing up in 1931 and 1932 as well, the canton's most easily defined and, therefore, first to be counted were regions which had been fiefs during the late sultanate.

Rapports de Tournee

23.3.1	not available	
23.3.2	Myrria, Babantapki, Droum, Kissoula, Guidimouni	1926
23.3.3	Dogo	1930
23.3.4	Nomads	1931
23.3.5	Garagoumsa	1931
23.3.6	Gouna	1931
23.3.7	Baouré Boulili	1931
23.3.8	Zermou	1931
23.3.9	Dakoussa*	1931
23.3.10	Zinder	1931

* Slave estates of Sultan Tenimou

Examining the *rapports de tournee* . through the 1930's and into the early 1940's the basic structure of cantons in the central division of Zinder, that is, in Hausaphone Niger, continued to be based on the fiefs. This observation, however, is somewhat misleading. While the names remained the same over this thirty year period, individual *rapports* describe a most fluid definition of boundaries, one which suggest that Hausa still worked in terms of a social geography rather than a spatial geography. Villages, for example, were associated with different cantons; the suppression of some villages and the creation of others depended on the requests of local villagers. What is most interesting about such comments is that they show the French responding to local initiatives. Hausa people used the occasion of census reporting to affirm or to change the political ties of their settlements to chefs de canton. In other words, it looks as if the census reports

are a simple device of the colonial administration, but, in fact, they could be incorporated into local, Hausa politics with little or no reluctance on the part of the French. The indigenization of the technology of the *rapports de tournee* seen in the Magaria census of 1932 was echoed throughout the Cercle during the 1930's.

Chapter 7. Conclusion: Gender and Modernity in Hausa Niger

> This book concludes with a question: what do we know about the women? For my study of medieval marriage brought me to the frontiers of an unknown realm: the word of women. I had been hearing about women all along, but the speakers were always men representing members of the other sex as objects at once contemptible, terrifying, and tempting. What I want to do next is try to demystify this male discourse and find out what the position of women really was in the period with which I am concerned." (Duby 1983:xx)

Where in a colonial narrative can Hausa perceptions and practices of gender be positioned? Where can Islam be positioned? For that matter, where can a Hausa interpretation of environment be fit into the European notion of Hausaland as a geopolitical entity and as an economic ecology? What, in fact, did Hausa Zinder look like by 1942? Modern ethnography would fix its scholarly gaze on the Hausa of Nigeria and Niger with real concentration in the middle decades of the twentieth century. Both the French and the British would put into the field professionally trained, not infrequently government-supported, anthropologist who would initiate a more systematic examination of the Hausa society. Ironically, the date of these efforts would establish something of an intellectual benchmark from which social scientists would tend to view the Hausa past in an especially vague way. From this work, for example, the Hausa communities of northern Nigeria would be marked as deeply conservative and Islamic. This notion in turn would influence the rhetoric and politics of post-independence Nigeria, especially confusing the meaning of Hausa political

aspirations and contributing to the perilous rise of communal violence which led to the outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War in 1967.

We are limited in what we can say about Hausa women under colonial rule by the nature of the administrative records. We learn nothing, for example, about women's lives which might help us to understand the psychological impact of such evidence as the high rate of infant mortality expressed in the statistics of the canton censuses and observed by Europeans from Richardson to the administrators of the *Cercle de Zinder*. However, the very absence of women in the records of the colonial state of Niger, coinciding, as this observation does, with the paucity of colonial interest in and financial support for social welfare issues such as health care, education or sanitation, especially in the *Cercle de Zinder*, raises serious doubts about the reality of colonial rule to most rural Hausa during the silent years of the 1930's and 1940's. To people for whom the colonial state was little more than a tax collector, the idea that an ideologically French colonialism, and not, for example, the closer reality of marketing boards in Nigeria or the merchants in Magaria, determined the quality of their lives would have been hard to argue.[124]

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124 A lesson I was taught every time I tried to engage my informants in extended discussions of taxes, recruitment for communal work, or, in more general ways, the difficulties of life under the French before the Second World War. Men who could give me lively descriptions of the gifts required to marry a girl from a town (as opposed to a girl from a village) either could not or would not talk to me about paying taxes or maintaining the reserve granaries. Perhaps my gender influenced their response.

Summary: The Culture of Courtship and Marriage in a colonial context

Hausa women experienced colonial rule and the technologies of modernization which accompanied it without being dislodged from a position of power they themselves carved out of the culture of *fin de siecle* Hausaland: their power to control their own sexuality and those aspects of the transfer of wealth which accompanied their adult lives: courtship, marriage, and childbirth.

In the first four decades of colonial rule in Zinder, women continued to control the key life ceremonies in which the individual's relationship to family, kin and community was re-stated or re-fashioned according to newly acquired significations of status. Informants' descriptions (and ethnological accounts when available) show that the ceremonial life of Hausa communities in Niger continued to be focused on the events of individuals as they entered into the institutions of family and marriage: weddings, naming ceremonies and the celebrations and rituals of work. Increasingly, as the figures for increasing numbers of children attending Koranic schools, the rituals of Islam would also have been added to those of family and work. In the small communities of rural Zinder, such ceremonies would have promoted a shared religious and cultural life.

There is evidence that women controlled other fundamental aspects of ceremonial life as well. .Women continued to control childbirth and other aspects of women's medicine. Even in rural health clinics today, pregnancies, deliveries and postpartum care has not been taken out of the hands of women by male specialists. While Islam took command of the public life of urban Hausa, women retained control over the culture of courtship, and marital relationships. This is expressed today in the arrangement of worshipers at Friday mosque in virtually

any Hausa town with a Friday mosque: men group themselves in the immediate vicinity of the mosque to pray behind its Iman; women of childbearing age stay at home, but elderly women arrange themselves in the shade of nearby compounds to be as close s possible to the locus of public prayer. On a long journey, women as well as men will pray in public (but not together), as for example, at a small in Birnin Konni maintained by the national bus line for the convenience of its patrons.

Hausa women strengthen their control over *bori*, which became almost an exclusively female domain in the twentieth century, a process already underway among Moslem Hausa in the nineteenth century. Neither men nor women, however, give up a kind of understanding that bori may still express spiritual forces. "*Akwai iri, iri mutani chikin duniya*", there are all kinds of people in the world, as on devoutly Moslem woman told me about the presence of bori drumming in her especially Moslem ward (Bivins Matamaye: June, 1988). Neither bori nor other aspects of pre-Islamic religion retained their public prestige--nor are they completely abandoned and rendered powerless within the Hausa communities. However, the ceremonial roles and status of royal women suffered irretrievable loses from the imposition of both Islamic and European political models: offices held by women in the Hausa emirates of Niger and Nigeria were abolished(Mack 1988:44-77, 1991:109-129; Dunbar 1970:139). In this way, colonial states encouraged the masculine takeover of the public and political sphere by removing virtually all of the female offices in the emirate structures. In Damagaram, the sister of the sultan, the magaram, historically, an office of influence and power also in Bornu, lost her estates, her rights to taxes on women marrying for the first time and the prestige of her position in the

hierarchy of the court. Royal women, however, retained aspects of power through access to sources of wealth, including land and opportunities to trade and through the politics of strategic dynastic marriages (Mack 1988: 44-77).[125] Finally, for ordinary, even rural women, the rise in personal incomes among male peanut farmers seems to have stimulated what Raynaut described as modern forms of prostitution in the Hausa towns of Niger's peanut-growing region (Raynaut 1977, 4:569-97). Even prostitution, however, is an expression of an essentially private relationship, and in this sense, Hausa women simple modernized an option they had exercised in *fin de siecle* Hausa culture.

It is here that the dilemma of feminism in a Hausa context arises. To say that women have power in the context of the family and the privacy of household affairs (even defining household to include the arrangements negotiated by "modern" prostitutes) means that women in general can not be described by a feminism that demands public manisfestations of power, either in the market place or in politics.

The Islamification of rural Hausaland intensified the identification of men with public ceremony and re-adjusted the prestige associated with male and female ceremonial roles. Women lost out as animist practices became increasingly confined to the practice of medicine and rituals celebrating the life of the family, both of which were now placed within a new and competitive field of knowledge. In rural Hausaland, women have not lost control over naming ceremonies and marriages and weddings and the transfer of wealth across generations associated with those ceremonies. The Islamic, male centered rituals

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125 Young elite, western-educated men continue to rile against the politics of "power marriages" especially among university educated women.

of the mosque are not in competition with the women-centered, family ceremonies of marriage and birth, but both are now essential to defining a modern Hausa man or woman. In the sphere of public consumption of wealth and power, the Alhaji culture also displays an Islamically defined manner. Nevertheless, rural people themselves and the reproducible wealth of rural economies has been marginalized by the economies and politics of modern Niger and Niger. Women and ecology both loose out in this equation of power.

The rise of Islamic political positions in the context of Hausa independence movements and post independence states of Niger and Nigeria has allowed for Hausa Islamic culture to find a role in and achieve forms of expression in politics. In Niger where virtually the entire population is Moslem, the potential for Islam, combined or even recombined with other political identities, to become a disruptive element in the body politic is somewhat neutralized. Only if Niger would find itself in the midst of competing Islamic authorities--as has been the case in Algeria, for example--could Islam become the vehicle for political violence. On the other hand, in Nigeria where religion, ethnicity and class have conspired over the last 30 to create a highly volatile political climate, Islamic power politics have been crucial in the political life of the country.

While I have argued in this dissertation that women continued to hold positions of economic and cultural importance in their communities and, in ideological terms, within the expressions of Hausa culture, I can not close this dissertation without reflecting, however, briefly, on the ways in which the Hausa definition of modernity which I have described here has been undermined by forces quite outside of the realms of women, ecology and Islam. One of the most

important is that the ceremonial value of women as marks of success for Hausa men, including the western-educated elite, has devalued women in other, most significant ways. Once placed into the context of larger, more urban settings, and in households where a husband's wages support and determine family life, Hausa women, as their western sisters before them, enter a realm where enforced, almost ceremonial, leisure overwhelms their value as productive economic actors: they can exist just for display. This is precisely why I find the discussion of modern Hausa women found in the current work to be a real break with the past, or at least with the past of most rural Hausa women: there is a modern Hausa middle class urban woman whose life is no longer shaped by a cultural context in which the wealth and power she wields through life ceremonies and her dominance within the household and the family and her own marriage has significance. As work moved out of the household along with the male workforce, the equations of gender relationships were altered. Eventually, even the pattern of household marketing, the honeycomb market or hidden trade observed by nineteenth century travelers and documented in studies of Hausa women carried out by social scientists, is affected. For example, while women in Mahuta exchanged essential food products made from locally produced ingredients, women in Kano, Matamaye (more urban settings) incorporated imported ingredients into their products and changed their product lines to include essentially exotic snacks. Fulbe women in Kano were by 1979 using tinned, powdered milk instead of milk from their own family herds. Thus that very aspect of women's production which was so closely linked to the ecology of their homes in the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth (certainly this was the norm in Mahuta) is lost in the urban milieu. Instead of

providing detailed evidence of a Hausa ecology and a Hausa relationship with that ecology, women's food sales now document the ecology of the international food product marketing: Nido replaces *nono* , Uncle Ben's substitutes for locally grown rice varieties. Nigeria has made a killing supplying such goods to Niger as anyone visiting Birnin Konni can quickly see. For the Hausa women of rural Niger, especially the poorest or the oldest, the consequences can be devastating.[126]

The Hausa case is less dramatic than that of southern African women stranded by the patterns of migrant labor imposed on their families and marriages by the structure of industrial work. Yet, in the quietness of Hausa women's lose of social meaning as makers of wealth and wielders of power within the culture of the family and the economy of the home, one clearly detects the repeated pattern of social change in modernizing societies: the fragmentation of life's components of work, social relationships and religion. As a particularly poignant symbol of this change, I note that not even the wedding goods so cherished by every Hausa bride carry the same economic and social meaning to all women today. In the past and for many rural women, especially those with little or no access to the security, exchange value and prestige of a spouse's wages, *kayan aura* still remains a vital source of personal wealth, negotiable capital which could spell the difference between family security and extreme depravation in times of social or ecological stress, such as drought and famine, the death of a husband, divorce, widowhood or old age. Yet nothing of this

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126I found nothing as aggravating or frustrating as trying to counter the complaints of high-living, urban-based expatriate development specialists that Hausa women do not do anything.

quality of value rests in the rococo collections of goods collected by wealthy, or simply middle class urban brides. Prestige, yes, essential asset, probably not.

The intensification of women's formal education in Islam can be seen as an attempt to renew their position of status and power within the home--not dissimilar to the postion of the stress placed on women's roles as wives and mothers within conservative Christian communities in the United States. Islam and Christianity in such situations seem to be asked to pick up the meaning lost as women's economic position within the family and, perhaps more importantly, the family's within the community of work, are altered in specific, socio-economic contexts. This, perhaps more than the simple passing of time, is at the heart of the difference among the nineteenth century women I have described here, the women I knew twenty years ago, and the women so often described in current social science research.

Yet the meaning of Islam in Hausa society has undergone enormous change in the past twenty years. The Hausa identification with Islam in a political arena has been fundamentally changed from the days of the Sarduna of Sokoto and the early years of independence in Niger and Nigeria. Islam as a political force has changed; more Hausa have adopted a personal identification with an increasingly more militant Islam. While the troubles in the past between Hausa and non-Hausa, especially Christian Ibo, communities was led by ethnic differences of which religion was probably secondary to postion within the economic and political hierarchies of power in the late colonial and early post colonial states, religion alone can now provide an articulated focal point for communal violence. I note with dismay the fact that Funtua, the market town closest to my home in Mahuta, Nigeria, was wracked by communal violence in

1992. Even in the most dangerous periods of communal violence in the nineteen fifties and sixties, this did not happen.

I am reluctant to bring this dissertation to a close with images of massive and tragic social change. Many millions of Hausa women still live within marriages, families and communities similar, if not identical, to those I have tried to describe here. I would insist that the model of gender, ecology and Islam I have constructed from cultural evidence of *fin de siècle* Hausa women be placed in dialogue with the evidence of a new kind of urban, literate, non-working Hausa wife, engaged in redefining herself and her role through the agency of Islamic education and entry into the public arena of modern politics (Coles and Mack, 1991:3-26; Dunbar, 1991:69-89; Yusuf, 1991:90-108; Sule and Starratt, 1991:29-49).

The blending of Hausa notions of gender, ethnicity and Islam empowered Hausa women's participation in the social and economic transformation of the nineteenth century Hausa landscape and the Hausa response to European conquest. In the culture of *fin de siecle* Hausaland, gender was an essential element in Hausa definitions of ethnicity and Islamic practices, including, though not always in perfect concordance with, the reformist teachings of Sokoto's scholarly Fulbe elite. The critical role assigned to issues of gender and women's role in an Islamic state by Hausa politicians in post-colonial Niger and Nigeria closely parallels the significations of gender promulgated by Islamic reformers in nineteenth century Hausaland. The historical connections between women, gender, ethnicity and Islam are essential to understanding the influence of the past on the present in Hausa culture and political movements.

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