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## THE KANO CHRONICLE.

TRANSLATED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BY H. R. PALMER.

[WITH PLATES IX, X.]

## INTRODUCTORY.

THE Hausa states, which form a large portion of the country now called Northern Nigeria, have been ruled since the beginning of the nineteenth century by Fulani,<sup>1</sup> who, under their chief Othman Dan Hodio, about the year 1807, ousted the former Hausa rulers on the plea of a religious revival. As it was known that Arabic literature and the Moslem faith had been introduced in the fifteenth century at latest, it was natural to suppose that some records had been kept of the reigns of the Hausa kings (Sarkis). Little, however, has hitherto come to light except for two MSS. which Dr. Barth discovered in Bornu dealing with that country, and the *Kano Chronicle*, of which there are several copies in existence, and which is mentioned by Lady Lugard (*Tropical Dependency*, p. 236). The copy, however, to which Lady Lugard alludes is not complete, since only forty-two kings are mentioned. The MS., which I have attempted to translate below, was found at Sabongari, near Katsina, and goes down to, and breaks off in, the time of Mohammed Belo, the forty-eighth king.

The MS. itself is of no great age, and must on internal evidence have been written during the latter part of the decade 1883–1893; but it probably represents some earlier record which has now perished. It is said, and no doubt with some truth, that the Fulani in their fanatical zeal, destroyed many old records and books, on the ground that they were the books of “Kafurai,” for their *casus belli* was that the Hausa Sarkis were infidels, and as such deserved to be destroyed with all their works. The records on which the *Chronicle* must be based were apparently an exception. The authorship is unknown, and it is very difficult to make a guess. On the one hand the general style of the composition is quite unlike the usual “note” struck by the sons of Dan Hodio, Abdulahi and Mohammed Belo, and imitated by other Fulani writers. There is an almost complete absence of bias or partizanship. It is hardly possible that a Fulani mallam of the time of Dan Hodio, or even of the present time, could have related the expulsion of Mohamma Alwali, the last Hausa Sarki, without betraying his race. On the other hand the style of the Arabic is not at all like that usually found in the compositions of Hausa Mallams of the present day; there are not nearly enough “classical tags,” so to speak, in it. A young Arab in the employ of the writer, who, though he can read and write *colloquial* Tripoli and Ghadamis Arabic, finds it difficult, and in fact impossible, to construe the Arabic books which are most commonly found in Hausaland, read and translated the MS. without difficulty. Kano was always

<sup>1</sup> The author considers Filane to be the correct spelling; the more generally accepted form is retained to avoid confusion.—ED.

visited by mallams from different parts of the Sahara and Barbary, and they often resided there for long periods. That the author of the work was thoroughly *au fait* with the Kano dialect of Hausa, is evident from several phrases used in the book, for instance *باراعديبا* used in a sense peculiar to Kano of "perforce." The original may perhaps have been written by some stranger from the north who settled in Kano, and collected the stories of former kings handed down by oral tradition.

The *Chronicle* has been translated as it stands, with the marginal notes of the text, in foot-notes. The names of the Sarkis (given in the margin by the author) are merely for convenience of reference. I have added approximate dates worked out by simply reckoning back from the length of reigns given, assuming the date of the Fulani entry into Kano as September of A.D. 1807 (A.H. 1222), which a careful comparison of various accounts has led me to believe is about the right date.

In themselves the lengths of the various reigns as given in the text would not carry much weight perhaps. There is, however, some confirmation in one or two cases which makes one inclined to believe in their substantial accuracy.

In a work attributed to Shehu Dan Hodio, he quotes Abdu Rahaman es Suyuti in a work on the Sudan called *Risalat ul Mubuk* as writing a letter to various kings, among whom were Mohamma Ibn Matafa, Sarkin Agades, and Sarkin Ibrahim of Katsina. Suyuti died in 1505, and is known to have been acquainted with Abdu'l Magili Ben Marhili of Tuat. The latter is generally regarded as one of the first marabouts of importance who visited Hausaland, and is almost certainly the Abdu Rahaman or Karimi of the narrative, who visited Kano in the reign of Rimfa.

A tradition, quoted by Dr. Barter, and generally stated to be correct, makes Magili visit Katsina in the time of Ibrahim. There is also a general agreement that Ibrahim and Rimfa were contemporaries, and that Magili visited both Kano and Katsina.

Again, in the same work, Dan Hodio quotes a letter from Abdul Magili to "Abi Abdulahi Dan Umoru Mohamma," written in A.H. 897, A.D. 1492, in reply to a letter from "Dan Umoru," who must be Mohamma Rimfa, asking for an abridged edition of the *Mukhtassar* of Sidi Khalil.

The reckoning based on the length of reigns as given by the text makes Mohamma Rimfa reign A.H. 867-904 (A.D. 1463-1499), which exactly fits in with the facts mentioned above (*cf.* Cherbonneau, *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. v, vi, 391).

The *Chronicle* says that in the time of Yaji (A.D. 1349-1385) the Wongarawa (Mandingoes) came from Melle bringing with them the Moslem religion.

Now the great king of Melle, Mansa Musa, made his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1326, and in 1373 the Wazir Mari Jatah of Melle conquered Tekidda (near Asben). It would be extremely probable that about this date the rise of Mandingo power should make itself felt. There seems no reason why the introduction of Islam into Hausaland should not have taken place at the date ascribed to it in the text, though Lippert and other scholars seem to think that Magili was the first

Muhammadian missionary to reach Kano (*cf. Journal of the African Society*, July, 1905).

Again the *Bornu Chronicle* (as abridged by Barth, vol. ii, p. ii) makes Othman Kalnama take refuge in Kano in A.D. 1432. In Dauda's time (A.D. 1421–1438) a great Bornu prince called Dagachi (which simply means ruler or king) arrives in Kano and settles with a large following. The circumstances make it very probable that Dagachi is Othman Kalnama.

The various references in later reigns to Gobir, Zamfara, the Kworarafa, and Nupe are all chronologically correct approximately.

It seems therefore highly probable that, except for the very early kings, the *Chronicle* is roughly accurate.

The question of who the race were, who are described as conquering the primitive inhabitants of Kano, is somewhat difficult. On the other hand, the description of the Dalla stock seems to leave no doubt that they were full-blooded negroes. Assuming that the men of Dalla were of the tall negro type, an interesting comparison might be made between them and the people of the Hombori Hills whom M. Desplagnes calls "Habbe" in *Le Plateau Central Nigèrien*.

Roughly speaking, three very distinct influences have acted on the country which we call Hausaland—that is to say, the Emirates of Kano, Katsina, Zamfara, Gobir, Daura, Zaria, and the smaller states which were anciently called Unguru or Biram. These influences may be indicated briefly by the words Semitic, Hamitic, and Negro. The Semitic influences have been, at all events, within the later historic period, indirect.

The negro, on the other hand, divided by most ethnologists into short-legged pronounced prognathous, and tall slightly prognathous varieties, is necessarily the starting-point of any inquiry. It is upon these two types of negro that the various invaders from north and east—whom we may loosely term Hamitic—have acted and produced the mixture of races and ideas which characterize Hausaland. There is considerable evidence that the negro, at a not very distant time, extended much further north than at present, and that it is only within the last thousand years that he has been pushed so far south. Various guesses have been made at the composition of the invading peoples from the north, and the part they played in the prehistoric history of the Sudan. There are, no doubt, striking resemblances between the pre-dynastic customs of the inhabitants of Egypt and some modern Hausa customs: the shape of various agricultural implements is identical; "triads" of deities are common to both. As yet, however, the data are insufficient to warrant any very definite theory being held—and the truth, if it is ever discovered, can only be traced by working back from the historic and known to the unknown.

The often quoted story of Herodotus about the young Nasamonians, if true, means that in 500 B.C., the negro and negrito peoples were, as yet, not displaced from the Upper Niger. The first historical kingdom of the West Sudan is that of Ghana—a Libyo-Berber civilisation which apparently flourished early in our era. M. Desplagnes recently excavated tombs or tumuli on the Niger

which seem to have been erected by these people, and are of construction similar to those described by El Bekri in his account of Ghana, and to others examined by the writer in the river valleys of Kano and Katsina.

It would appear, therefore, that from some date between 500 B.C. and A.D. 400, if not before, the inhabitants of Hausaland were subject to Libyo-Berber influences.

The next kingdom which comes into history is Bornu—according to Barth about the ninth century A.D.—situated at that time to the east of Lake Chad. Tribes coming from the east conquered the indigenous negroes. Native tradition says these tribes were Arabs and came from Yemen. The love of a Yemenite origin is a common failing of historians even more reliable than the Bornu Chronicler, but the more modern history of Darfur and Wadai shows that the story does not lack probability as regards the *race* of the invaders.

The countries between Ghana and Bornu are not mentioned by El Bekri or Edrisi—it is not until the time of Leo Africanus that Kano and Katsina were important enough to be known to the outside world.

But between A.D. 900 and A.D. 1513, the date of Leo's visit to the Sudan, certain peoples represented in the text by Bayajidda arrived at Daura and conquered the indigenous inhabitants of the Hausa States. The native tradition as to who they were, varies. The Fulani Sarkin, Muslimi Mohammed Bello, says (see *Denham and Chapperton*, ii, 399) that they were "slaves of the Sultan of Bornu." But this statement is made on the authority of Mohammed El Bakkri—a Kanuri! The well-known Daura legend, preserved in writing, says they came from Bagdad, and introduced the horse into Hausaland. Bayajidda, the ancestor of the Kings of Hausaland, mentioned in the footnote, p. 64, is represented as having arrived in Daura, slain a snake which inhabited a well, and married the Queen of Daura. He had previously escaped from the treachery of the Sultan of Bornu, who, having tampered successfully with the loyalty of his men, was plotting against his life—when he fled. This story would make Bagoda and his men Hamites. Other mallams maintain that the invading people were Teterre (Tatars). M. Desplagnes has a theory that Mongols formed an element in the tribes which overthrew Ghana about A.D. 1230. It is possible that a western migration of peoples of mixed origin accounts for the two stories, and that the same causes which presumably led to an advance in civilisation in Kano, degraded the Libyo-Berber civilisation of Ghana.

Vast ethnographical changes must have resulted from the rise of the Fatimids in North Africa about A.D. 900, and the disorders of A.D. 968, in Egypt, drove thousands of the mixed population into flight. Again the pressure of the Seljuks and other Turkmans about this time, may well have given rise to displacements of which we have here a far-off echo.

The only certain fact, however, is that about A.D. 1000 the Hausa States were occupied by an alien race coming from the east. This race or people ruled, though at different periods tributary to Songhay and Bornu, until displaced by the Fulani in 1807. It is they who are often called Habe, a word of which the

singular is Kādo. The name does as well as any other to express this people, but it by no means follows that the people of the Hombori region west of the Niger, called Habe by the Fulani, are connected with them—for the Fulani called any conquered negro people “Habe.” For this reason it seems better to keep the word Hausa to express the post- A.D. 1000 and pre- A.D. 1807 inhabitants of Hausaland, provided that it is not used indiscriminately of any peoples who speak the “Hausa” language. In fact, Habe is a far wider word than Hausawa, and practically means any negro race. The primitive peoples of the Hombori and the Dalla stock of Kano may both be conveniently called “Habe.” The name in itself proves nothing.

Now the clans from the east which laid waste the kingdoms west of the Niger during the twelfth century were of the eponym “Serpent” (-Sâ) (Desplagnes, *Le Plateau Central Nigérien*, p. 178 sq.) They become in various places, Susu, Sarrakole, Sauke, Sissoko, etc. We find that in 1346–1349 (*cf. Barth*, ii, 638) an early Sultan of Bornu fights the Sau or So (سو) “the original inhabitants of the greater part of the country between the Wau and Shari.” The Kano Chronicle expressly states that the Emir Abdulahi Burja, who ruled about A.D. 1438, was the *first* Hausa Sarki to pay tribute to Bornu; while in 1421, as has been mentioned, a chief who very probably was Othman Kalnama, fled to Kano, when a revolt expelled him from Bornu.

We find therefore that when the Bornu princes began to extend their empire west of Tchad about 1346 they were opposed by a people called Sau, whom they had apparently been fighting for years: that a snake-killing hero is supposed to have founded the so-called “Hausa” dynasties: that about 1200 there was a great conquest by Sâ (Serpent Clans) west of the Niger; and finally that, after the Sultans of Bornu became paramount over Hausa about A.D. 1438, there is no more mention of So or Sau. The plural of Kādo is Habe; possibly the plural of Sâ or Sau is Hausa or Sausau? It is also curious that west of the Niger these Sousou or Serpent clans are represented as bringing the “horse” with them (Desplagnes, *op. cit.*, p. 483) as in the Daura legend. It may also be added that some form of serpent is the “totem” of nearly every non-Moslem Hausa community at the present day.

But whatever the origin of the invaders, they founded the Hausa “bokkoi” or seven Hausa states, and continued to rule all except Gobir, where the reigning families are said to be of Coptic origin. If we may trust the *Chronicle* the primitive Kano people had already advanced fairly well in arts and trades before the advent of the invaders. The conquerors’ religion seems by implication to have been Muhammadan, and their chiefs are represented as suppressing pagan observances—a story which is difficult to believe; but in any case they soon lapsed into the same practices as their subjects, and the Wongarawa are later on credited with introducing Islam.

I can hardly hope that the rendering is entirely adequate—the general sense is seldom obscure, but the slipshod character of the writing often leaves minor points doubtful. I am indebted to Mr. C. L. Temple, Resident of Sokoto, Dr. D. Alexander, W.A.M.S., and Mr. W. Reid of Tripoli, for kind help in revising many parts of the translation.

## THE KANO CHRONICLE.

*In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate.  
May God bless the noble Prophet.*

This is the history of the lords of this country called Kano. Barbushe, once its chief, was of the stock of Dalla,<sup>1</sup> a black man of great stature and might, a hunter, who slew elephants with his stick and carried them on his head about nine miles. Dalla was of unknown race, but came to this land, and built a house on Dalla hill. There he lived—he and his wives. He had seven children—four boys and three girls—of whom the eldest was Garagéje. This Garagéje was the grandfather of Buzame, who was the father of Barbushe. Barbushe succeeded his forefathers in the knowledge of the lore of Dalla, for he was skilled in the various pagan rites. By his wonders and sorceries and the power he gained over his brethren he became chief and lord over them. Among the lesser chiefs with him were Guizago, whose house was at the foot of Gorondutse to the east. After him came Gagiwa, father of Rubu, who was so strong that he caught elephants with rope. There were also Gubanásu, Ibrahim, Bardóje, Nisau, Kanfatau, Doje, Janbére, Gamakúra, Safátaro, Hangógo, and Gartsangi. These were next to Barbushe in rank. Teanburo lived at Jigiria, and Jandámisa at Magum. The last named was the progenitor of the Rumáwa. From Gogau to Salanta the people traced their descent from Rumá, and were called Rumáwa because they became a great people. Hambaro's house was at Tanagar. Gambarjado, who lived at Fanisau, was the son of Nisau. All these and many more there were—pagans. From Toda to Dan Baḳóshi and from Doji to Dankwoi all the people flocked to Barbushe on the two nights of Idi—for he was all-powerful at the sacrificial rites.

Now the name of the place sacred to their god was Ƙaḳua.<sup>2</sup> The god's name was Tchunburburai. It was a tree called Shamuz. The man who remained near this tree day and night was called Mai-Tchunburburai. The tree was surrounded by a wall, and no man could come within it save Barbushe. Whoever else entered, he entered but to die. Barbushe never descended from Dalla except on the two days of Idi. When the days drew near, the people came in from east and west and south and north, men and women alike. Some brought a black dog, some a black fowl, others a black he-goat, when they met together on the day of Jajibere at the foot of Dalla hill at eve. When darkness came, Barbushe went forth from his house with his drummers. He cried aloud and said: "Great father of Jimuna, we have come nigh to thy dwelling in supplication, Tchuburburai," and the people said: "Look on Tchuburburai, ye men of Kano! Look toward Dalla." Then Barbushe descended, and the people went with him to the god. And when they drew near, they sacrificed that which they had brought with them. Barbushe

<sup>1</sup> The name of a rock and also a man.

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise called Ƙagua.

entered the sacred place—he alone—and said: “I am the heir of Dalla, like it or no, follow me ye must, perforce.” And all the people said: “Dweller on the rock, Lord of Mamale, we follow thee perforce.” Thus they spoke and marched round the sacred place till the dawn, when they arose, naked as they were, and ate. Then would Barbushe come forth and tell them of all that would befall through the coming year, even concerning the stranger who should come to this land, whether good or ill. And he foretold how their dominion should be wrested from them, and their tree be cast down and burnt, and how this mosque should be built. “A man shall come,” said he, “to this land with an army, and gain the mastery over us. They answered, “Why do you say this? it is an evil saying.” Barbushe held his peace. “In sooth,” said he, “you will see him in the sacred place of Tchunburburai; if he comes not in your time, assuredly he will come in the time of your children, and will conquer all in this country, and forget you and yours and exalt himself and his people for years to come.” Then were they exceeding cast down. They knew well that he did not lie. So they believed him, and said: “What can we do to avert this great calamity?” He replied, “There is no cure but resignation.” They resigned themselves. But the people were still grieving over this loss of dominion at some distant time, when Bagoda,<sup>1</sup> a generation later, came with his host to Kano. There is a dispute, however. Some deny this, and say that it was Bagoda’s grandson<sup>2</sup> who first reached Kano, and that he<sup>3</sup> and his son<sup>4</sup> died at Sheme. He, at all events, entered Kano territory first. When he came, he found none of Barbushe’s men, save Janbere, Hambarau, Gertsangi, Jandamissa, and Kanfatau. These said, “Is this man he of whom Barbushe told us?” Janbere said, “I swear by Tchububurai if you allow this people within our land, verily they will rule you, till you are of no account.” The people refused to hearken to the words of Janbere, and allowed the strangers to enter the country, saying: “Where will Bagoda find strength to conquer us?”

So Bagoda and his host settled in Gazarzawa and built houses there. After seven months, they moved to Sheme. The district from Jakara to Damargu was called Gazarzawa; from Jakara to Santolo was called Zadawa; from Santolo to Burku was called Fongui; from Banfai to Wasai was called Zaura. From Wateri to the rock of Karia was called Dundunzuru: from Santolo to Shike, Shiriya: from Damargu to Kazauré, Sheme: from Burku to Kara, Gaudé: from Kara to Amuagu, Gija: from Karmashe to Ringim, Tokawa. Now the chiefs whom Bagoda found holding sway over this land acknowledged no supreme lord save Tchunburburai and the grove of Jakara. Jakara was called “Kurmin Bakkin Rua,” because its water was black, and it was surrounded by the grove.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bagoda. He was son of Bauwo son of Bayajidda, of the stock of Ham the son of Noah. It was by reason of his high lineage, that Bauwo conquered all Hausaland—he and his six sons. The first of them was Kazura: then came Bagoda, Ubandoma, Gangama, Kumaio, and Kasanki. When Bauwo died, Kazura became Emir of Daura. Bagoda went to Kano, Ubandoma to Kobir, Gangama to Zakzak, Kumaio to Kashina, and Kasanki to Kur or Nero. This is a reliable account in a book of the names of the Emirs of Kano.

<sup>2</sup> Gijinmasu.

<sup>3</sup> Bagoda.

<sup>4</sup> Warisi.

<sup>5</sup> The “Ghailata” means trees.



The pagans stood in awe of the terrors of their god and this grove, which stretched from Gorondumasa to Dausara. The branches and limbs of its trees were still—save, if trouble were coming on this land, it would shriek thrice, and smoke would issue forth in Tchuburburai, which was in the midst of the water. Then they would bring a black dog and sacrifice it at the foot of Tchuburburai. They sacrificed a black he-goat in the grove. If the shrieks and smoke continued, the trouble would indeed reach them, but if they ceased, then the trouble was stayed. The name of the grove was Matsama and the name of Tchuburburai was Randaya.

The greatest of the chiefs of the country was Mazauda, the grandfather of Sarkin Makafi. Gijigiji was the blacksmith : Bugazau was the brewer : Hanburki doctored every sickness : Danbuntunia, the watchman of the town at night, was the progenitor of the Kurmawa. Tsoron Maje was “Sarkin Samri,” and Jandodo was “Sarkin Makada Gundua da Kuru.” Beside these there was Maguji, who begot the Maguzawa, and was the miner and smelter among them. Again there was Asanni the forefather of minstrels and chief of the dancers. Baḳonyaki was the archer. Awar, grandfather of the Awrawa, worked salt of Awar. He was Sarkin Rua of this whole country. In all there were eleven of these pagan chiefs, and each was head of a large clan. They were the original stock of Kano.

#### I. BAGODA, SON OF BAUWO.

A.H. 389–455. A.D. 999–1063.

Then came Bagoda with his host, and was the first Sarki of this land. His name was Daud. His mother's name was Kaunasu. He began by occupying Dirani for two years. Thence he moved to Barka, and built a city called Talutawa, where he reigned two years.

The names of the pagan chiefs whom Bagoda met, were Jankare; Biju, Buduri (who had many children—about a hundred) and Ribo. Bagoda overcame them, and killed their leader Jankare. Then he came to Sheme, and found Gabusani, Bauni, Gazauri, Dubgege, Fasataro, and Bakin Bunu there. He conquered them all, and built a city, and reigned at Sheme sixty-six years.

#### II. WARISI, SON OF BAGODA.

A.H. 455–488. A.D. 1063–1095.

The second Sarki was Warisi son of Bagoda. His mother's name was Saju. Those who were near him were Galadima Mele, Barwa Jimra, Buram (so called because he was the Sarki's son), Maidawaki Abdulahi, Sarkin Gija Karmayi, Maidalla Zakar, Makuwu, Magaaike Gawarkura, Makama Gargi, Jarumai Goshin Wuta, Jarmai Bakushi, Bardai Duna, and Dawaki Surfan. These were the most important chiefs, but there were many more. Gawarkura said, “O Sarki of this land, if you wish to govern it, east and west and south and north, keep close to Gazarzewa, since it is the key of the country, and has not a strong god. When you

come there, beguile the chiefs with gifts, and so rule them and their god." The Sarki replied, "No, I have not the strength; I am too old." Warisi ruled Kano thirty-three years.

### III. GIJIMASU, SON OF WARISI.

A.H. 488–528. A.D. 1095–1134.

Gijimasu son of Warisi was the third Sarki. His mother's name was Yānas. When he came to power he left Sheme and went to Gazarzawa. Some, however, say that it was his son Tsaraki who came to this place and built a city. The latter is the better version. It was here he ruled. Mazuda said, "This Sarki has come here in order to destroy our god and our grove of sacrifice." The people said, "He has not power to destroy our god, in our time at least." So Gijimasu and his people built a house in Gazarzawa. He beguiled the elders with gifts, till by his gifts he obtained dominion over them. They said, "What a good man this is! how well he treats us!" Mazuda said, "I want to give my daughter to his son in marriage." But Bugazau prevented him carrying out his plan. The Sarki consulted the people about building a city. The people agreed: "Come," they said, "let us build, for we have the power and the strength." So they began to build the city. They began the wall from Raria. The Sarki slaughtered a hundred cattle on the first day of the work.

They continued the work to the gate of Bazugar, and from there to the water gate and on to the gate of Adama, and the gate of Gudan: then past the gates of Waika, Kansakali, and Kawungari as far as the gate of Tuji. There were eight gates. Sarkin Rano built a city called Zamnagaba. He began building from Rímin Kira, and carried the wall through Wawan Toro, Tafasa, Kusarua, and Kadába to the gate of Bai. He ruled all the country as far as the lands of Sarkin Gano, Sarkin Dab, Sarkin Debbi, Sarkin Ringim, and Dan Baḳonyaki. Santolo alone stood out against him, for its people were many and pagans. No one was able to rule over them. The Sarkis of Gano, Dab, and Debbi came to Hausaland nine years before Bagoda. But Buram, Isa, Baba, Kududufi, Akassan, and others of the Kano chiefs, men of the princely clan,<sup>1</sup> came with Bagoda. Gijimasu ruled forty years—then he died.

### IV. NAWATA AND GAWATA.

A.H. 528–530. A.D. 1134–1136.

The rule of the twins Nawata and Gawata, children of Gijimasu, was the fourth reign. Their mother was Munsada. Together they ruled the city of Kano for seven months; then one of them died; the other was left. The remaining one ruled one year and five months, and then he died. Altogether they ruled two years.

<sup>1</sup> For this reason all their descendants were called after these, their forefathers, and the names have remained as "titles" of princes to this day. Such titles are Dan Buram, Dan Isa, Dan Baba, Dan Akassan, Dan Kududufi and others, like Dan Dermai and Dan Ḡoriba.

## V. YUSA OR TSARAKI, SON OF GIJIMASU.

A.H. 530–590. A.D. 1136–1194.

The fifth Sarki was Yusa, called Tsaraki. He was the son of Gijimasu. He it was who completed the walls of Kano, as is well known. He raided Karaie, and camped at Badari five months till the inhabitants submitted to him. From Gurmai to Farinrua the people paid him tribute. Then he returned to his country. His mighty men of war were Tuje, Fasau, Iyagari, and Kamfaragi. All these had no fear in war. In Yusa's reign shields (*Garkwa*) were first used. He reigned sixty years. The name of his mother was Yankuma or Yaukuna. He died.

## VI. NAGUJI, SON OF TSARAKI.

A.H. 590–645. A.D. 1194–1247.

The sixth Sarki was Naguji. His mother's name was Yankuma or Muntáras. He was generous, but a man of violent passions. From Kura to Tsangaya he ravaged the country, and forced the people, willing or unwilling, to follow him. He camped at Basema two years for the purpose of attacking Santolo, but he was worsted in the war and returned to Kano. He found the pagans there on the verge of revolt; so he cajoled them with talk, and executed their leader, Samagi, the son of Mazadau, Dorini of Bugazau, Burtsar Gānguta son of Tsonon Maje, and Buzuzu son of Jandodo. When they were dead the rest of the people said, "We are willing to follow you, O Sarki, because we must." The Sarki said to them, "If you are willing to follow me show me the secrets of this god of yours." But they replied, "We will not show you the secrets of our god." So the Sarki punished them. Naguji was the first Sarki who collected a land tax of one-eighth of the crop from all husbandmen. He ruled all the land of Kano save Santolo which stood out against him. He ruled fifty-five years.

## VII. GUGUA, SON OF GIJIMASU.

A.H. 645–689. A.D. 1247–1290.

Gugua was the seventh Sarki. His mother's name was Munsada. He was a man of much tact and subtlety. He had a face remarkable for its expression. He was liberal, eloquent, wise, and magnanimous. All these qualities he turned to account in ruling the pagans and in discovering the mysteries of their god. They hated him. When he knew that they hated him he said to his men, "How shall I plan to get the better of these pagans and destroy their god." Ture and Galadina Bangare and Berde Kilmo said, "There can be no plan between them and us, nothing but war; we will conquer them and their god." When the pagans heard of this they said in secret, "When the ears hear, then is the body saved." The chief pagans assembled at dead of night, forty in number, at the foot of the sacred tree. Allah alone knows what took place there. They came forth when

the sun rose and went to the Sarki. They said, "O Sarki, when the night of Idi comes we will tell you the mysteries of our god." He agreed, for he was glad at heart, and gave them gifts abundantly. That night an apparition appeared to the Sarki in his sleep—a man with a red snake in his hand. He struck the Sarki with the snake and said to him, "Of two things choose one. Either thou mayest know the mysteries, in which case thou wilt die, or thou mayest not know the mysteries, in which case thou wilt not die." The Sarki said, "No! No! No!"

Now when the Sarki rose from his sleep he told his men what he had seen in the vision. They said to him, "What do you see in it?" He said, "What do *you* see?" They said, "We see war?" The Sarki said nothing, he spoke not a word, but suddenly he was struck blind. He remained blind for many years. He ruled Kano forty-four years. Twenty-two years he saw, and twenty-two he was blind. Then the power passed from him.

#### VIII. SHEKKARAU, SON OF TSARAKI.

A.H. 689-706. A.D. 1290-1307.

The eighth Sarki was Shekkarau. His mother's name was Auta. When he became Sarki his men said to him, "Sarkin Kano, what do you see in the talk of the people of this city?" He said, "I see nothing between us except things we can settle without fighting." They replied, "If you try to make peace with the people they will say that you are afraid. If they come to you and make smooth talk, turn away from them; then you would not be acting wrongly. If matters do not fall out thus we will fight them, and if we prevail over them we will cut the throats of all their chief men and destroy their god." These counsels prevailed. All the pagans came to the Sarki with many presents and said, "Sarki, and Lord over us, we come to you to say to you one word: do not take notice of what we have done, we pray you, but put away the slanderous counsel of your advisers. If the domains of a ruler are wide, he should be patient; if they are not so, he will not obtain possession of the whole country by impatience." The Sarki said to them, "Your talk is true," and left them their customs and power. They said, "Were it not for fear of what may result we would have told the Sarki the secrets of our god." The chief of them, Samagi, said, "If we show him the secrets of our god we shall lose all our power, and we and our generation will be forgotten." So the dispute continued till the Sarki died. Shekkarau was Sarki seventeen years.

#### IX. TSAMIA, SON OF SHEKKARAU.

A.H. 706-743. A.D. 1307-1343.

The ninth Sarki was Tsamia, called Barandamasu. His mother's name was Salmata. In his time the cult of Tchibiri was first practised. When he came to the throne he assembled the pagans and said to them, "Love transmits love, and hate transmits hate; there is nothing between us except bows and spears and

swords and shields; there is no deceit and no deceiver except he who is afraid." Tsamia excelled all men in courage, dignity, impetuosity in war, vindictiveness, and strength. He had nine men who were equal to a thousand. The greatest was Madawaki Bajeri, and after him Burdi-Kunkuru, Dan-kududufi-Tanko, Dan Burran Bakaki, Jarumai Garaji, Makama Gumki, Danunus Baurire, Sarkin Damargu Gabdodo and Jekafada Masabi. When these men came to the battle-field with their Sarki they feared nothing, but were ever victorious. Now when the pagans of Kano heard the words of their Sarki, fear seized their hearts. They assembled at the place of their god and prayed to be shown who would gain the mastery, they or the Sarki. It was foretold them that they would be overcome. They knew that their god would not lie. Their chief said, "I see no means of deliverance from the Sarki except we pay him money." His men said, "We agree." So they were made to pay jizia. They collected two hundred slaves within seven days and took them to the Sarki. The Sarki said, "I do not want your slaves." So they returned home. Now on a certain Saturday the Sarki sent a messenger called Marukarshi to them saying to him: "Tell them that on Thursday I am coming to Kagwa,<sup>1</sup> if Allah so wills, that I may enter, and see what is inside. I will destroy the wall and burn the tree." So the messenger went and told them. When they heard the word of the Sarki, they assembled on the Thursday at the place of their god, pagans of town and country alike—a crowd as had never been seen before. Of drums and cymbals there were a thousand and four hundred and more than four hundred captains of spearmen. They marched round the place of their god from evening until the morning. When the morning broke Sarkin Kano came forth from his house, and went to the place of the god. In front of him were seventy men, each with a shield made of elephant's hide. When the Sarki came near to the place of the god he prevented the pagans entering. As the fight waxed hot, the Sarki cried, "Where is Bajeri?" Bajeri heard the words of the Sarki, and took a spear and rushed into the battle, cutting his way until he reached the wall of the sacred place. He entered, and seeing a man with his back against the tree holding a red snake, attacked him. The man leapt up and made a great shout; fire breathed from his mouth until smoke filled the whole place round about; he rushed out; and, in his attempt to flee, made for the water-gate, followed by the Sarki, and plunged into the water. The Sarki and his followers stayed hunting for the man in the water, but he escaped and went to Dankwoi, where they left him. Hence it is that if any warrior drinks the water of Dankwoi he does not prevail in battle. The Sarki returned to the tree, and destroyed the wall together with all else connected with "Tchibiri" which was beneath the tree. All the pagans had in the meantime fled, except Makare Dan Samagi and Dunguzu Dan Dorini. The Sarki said to them, "Why do you not run away?" They said, "Where were we to run to?" "Praise be to God," said the Sarki. "Tell me the secret of your god." They told him. When he had heard, the Sarki said

<sup>1</sup> The place of their sacrifices.

to Danguzu, "I make you Sarkin Tchibiri." He said to Makare, "I make you Sarkin Gazarzawa." He said to Gamazo, "I make you Sarkin Kurmi." In the time of this Sarki long horns were first used in Kano. The tune that they played was "Stand firm, Kano is your city." He reigned thirty-seven years.

#### X. OSUMANU ZAMNAGAWA, SON OF SHEKKARAU.

A.H. 743-750. A.D. 1343-1349.

The tenth Sarki was Zamnagawa, called Osumanu. The name of his mother was Kumyerku. He was called Zamna-gawa because he killed Tsamia. He shut the doors of the palace and remained in his house for seven days. After that day he went out. It is not known how Tsamia was made away with; whether Zamnagawa ate him or buried him, no one knows. In the time of Zamnagawa, there was no war in the land, east and west, north and south. All was peace. The Maguzawa left the city and went to live in the country at Fongui. The Rumawa came in a body to the Sarki. They said to him, "You are our Sarki, you have made a Sarkin Gazarzawa and a chief of the Kurmawa, make us a chief also." The Sarki said, "I hear." So they went back to their homes. The Sarki then took counsel with his men and said, "I want to give my son the chieftainship of the Rumawa." And all his men said, "We agree." So he gave his son the chieftainship of the Rumawa, whose town had become great and populous. Zamnagawa ruled seven years.

#### XI. YAJI, SON OF TSAMIA.

A.H. 750-787. A.D. 1349-1385.

The eleventh Sarki was Yaji, called Ali. His mother was Maganarku. He was called Yaji because he had a bad temper when he was a boy, and the name stuck to him. He drove the Serikin Rano from Zamna Gaba, went to Rano, and reigned at Bunu two years. Then he removed to Kur together with the Ajawa and Worjawa and Aurawa. He stayed there. In Yaji's time the Wongarawa came from Mele, bringing the Muhammadan religion. The name of their leader was Abdurahaman Zaité. Others were Yakubu, Mandawali, Famori, Bilkasim, Kanaji, Dukere, Sheshe, Kebe, Murtuku, Liman Jibjin Yallabu, the father of Serikin Pawa, Gurdumus, Auta, Lauai, Liman Madatai and others—about forty in all. When they came they commanded the Sarki to observe the times of prayer. He complied, and made Gurdamus his Linnan, and Lauai his Muezzin. Auta cut the throats of whatever flesh was eaten. Mandawali was Linnan of all the Wongarawa and of the chief men of Kano. Zaité was their Alkali. The Sarki commanded every town in Kano country to observe the times of prayer. So they all did so. A mosque was built beneath the sacred tree facing east, and prayers were made at the five appointed times in it. The Sarkin Gazarzawa was opposed to prayer, and when the Moslems after praying had gone home, he would come with his men and defile the whole

mosque and cover it with filth. Danbugi was told off to patrol round the mosque with well-armed men from evening until morning. He kept up a constant halloo. For all that the pagans tried to win him and his men over. Some of his men followed the pagans and went away, but he and the rest refused. The defilement continued till Sheshe said to Famori, "There is no cure for this but prayer." The people assented. They gathered together on a Tuesday in the mosque at the evening hour of prayer and prayed against the pagans until sunrise. They only came away when the sun was well up. Allah received graciously the prayers addressed to him. The chief of the pagans was struck blind that day, and afterwards all the pagans who were present at the defilement—they and all their women. After this they were all afraid. Yaji turned the chief of the pagans out of his office and said to him, "Be thou Sarki among the blind." In the days of Yaji, it is said, Sarkin Debbi, Sarkin Dab and Sarkin Gano brought horses to Kano, but this story is not worthy of credence. Yaji said to the Wongarawa, "I want you to make prayer so that I may conquer the men of Santolo, for if I conquer Santolo every town in the country will follow me, since Santolo is the key of the south." They said, "We will pray for you—but we will not pray except beside the moat of Santolo itself." So the Sarki set forth together with the Wongarawa, and they went to Santolo. He had with him a hundred and eleven men. Fifty of them were in front of the Wongarawa and sixty in front of himself. The chief among his men were Jarumai Gobarra Dagga Samma, Jakafada Kulli, Ragumar Giwa, Makama Butache, Maida-waki Koamna, Berdi Sheggi, Sarki Zaura Gamati, Dan Buram Gantururu, Dan Maköo Dagazo, Galadima Tuntu and Sarkin Surdi Maguri. Others were Gauji, Garoji, Tankarau, Kargagi, Karfasha, Kutunku Toro, Kampachi, Gorongiwa the Galadima,<sup>1</sup> Zaki, Bambeli and others—altogether sixty.

Now when he came to Santolo, the Sarki camped near Duji. Duji was the name of a man. In the dead of night the Wongarawa went to Santolo together with Yaji and marched round the city and prayed till daybreak. When the day broke they returned to their camp. When the sun was up they returned to Santolo eager for battle. The men of Santolo came out of the town and met them in the open. Fighting went on from morning until night. Neither side prevailed. The Kanawa retired to Duji; the men of Santulu returned to their homes. The Sarkin Kano was very sore at heart. Famori said, "Do not be grieved! if Allah so wills we will defeat them." The Sarki was pleased with his talk. Kosa, the Sarki's slave, said, "My lord, I will tell you the secrets of the enemy; there are eight men inside the city and no one can pass the moat unless he kills them." Famori said, "Do you know their names?" He said, "I know them." So Famori said, "What are their names?" And Kosa replied, "The name of the greatest is Hambari, and after him Gwoshin Bauna, Kafiwuta, Gurgurra Karifi, Gandar Giwa, Hamburkin Toka, Zan Kaddakere and Gumbar Wakke. Gwoji said, "If I see Hambari I will kill him, if Allah so wills." At sunrise the Sarki returned to the attack on Santolo

From this all Galadimas are called Gorongiwa.

with black looks. He took a spear in his hand. Gwoji<sup>1</sup> was in front of him, Zaito was on his right hand, Famori on his left, and behind him was Sheshe. Behind them were the rest of the Wongarawa and Kanawa. When they came near to Santolo all the pagans came out to battle. Gwoji saw Hambari, and girding up his loins dashed into the fray. The pagans rushed at Gwoji, but he withstood them, and when they gave way, lunged at Hambari with his spear. Hambari caught him by the throat and dragged him from his horse; but in vain, for Gwoji drew his knife, and ran him through, and so he died. Then Gwoji mounted his horse and entered Santolo, and all the Kanawa followed him and stormed the town. The Sarki commanded all the inhabitants to be killed except women and little children. Gwoji entered the place of their god, with Kosa and Guragu, and found a bell, and two horns, a battle-axe and leg-irons. Gwoji took the bell and the two horns. Kosa took the battle-axe, and Guragu the leg-irons. Yaji stayed seven days in the town and destroyed the place of sacrifice, and after dismantling its wall and tree, returned to Kano. He said to Gwoji, "Choose whatever you want." Gwoji said, "I only want to become Madawakin Kano." The Sarki said, "I give you the office."

Gasatoro, who was turned out of the post of Madawaki, built a house at Gawo, and for that reason was known as Madawakin Gawo, to distinguish the two. The next year the Sarki went to war with Warji and stayed there some time. At this time all the pagan tribes were subject to him, from Biyri to Fanda. The Kworarafa alone refused to follow him, so he went to their country. When he came to their town, they were afraid to fight and all fled up the hill at Tagara. The Sarki camped there also for seven months. No one came down from the rock. At last the pagans paid him a hundred slaves. Because of this the song in praise of Yaji was made, which runs: "Yaji, conqueror of the rocky heights, scatterer of hosts, lord of the town." It is said that he died here at Kworarafa. Perhaps he died at Kano. He ruled thirty-seven years.

## XII. BUGAYA, SON OF TSAMIA.

A.H. 787-792. A.D. 1385-1390.

The twelfth Sarki was Bugaya, called Mohammed. He had the same father and mother as Yaji. The name of his mother was Maganarku. The reason he was called Bugaya was as follows. After Zamnagawa killed Tsania, he made overtures to his widow Maganarku, but she said, "I am with child." So Zamnagawa gave her drugs, without her knowledge, to procure an abortion. In spite of this, however, she gave birth to a living child, and gave him the name of Bugaya. It was this Sarki who ordered the Maguzawa to leave the rock of Fongui and scatter themselves through the country. He then gave all

<sup>1</sup> Hence the Madawakin Kano is sung as Gwoji Maikwugi, Kosa as Kosa Maibarandami, and Guragu as Guragu of the Meri. Afterwards Kosa was given the title of Dawaki, and Guragu that of Dan Maji—thus it is related.



power into the hands of the Galadima, and sought repose. The country was now peaceful, and regular tribute was paid to the Sarki. No one knew anything of his character even to the day of his death. He reigned five years. When he died the Liman Madatai was ordered to pray over his body and Lowal to wash it and Turbana, Jigawa and Kusuba to help him. They washed the body and put it in a shroud, and took it out to burial. The Liman prayed over the body. Bugaya was the first Sarkin Kano who was buried at Madatai.

### XIII. KANAJEJI, SON OF YAJI.

A.H. 792-812. A.D. 1390-1410.

The thirteenth Sarki was Kanajeji. His father's name was Yaji. His mother's name was Aunaka. He was a Sarki who engaged in many wars. He hardly lived in Kano at all, but scoured the country round and conquered the towns. He lived for some time near the rock of Gija. He sent to the Kworarafa and asked why they did not pay him tribute. They gave him two hundred slaves. Then he returned to Kano and kept sending the Kworarafa horses while they continued to send him slaves. Kanajeji was the first Hausa Sarki to introduce "Lifidi" and iron helmets and coats of mail for battle. They were introduced because in the war at Umbatu the losses had been so heavy. He visited Kano and returned to Umbatu the next year, but he had no success in the war. He returned a second time to Kano, and again went out the following year. He again failed, but said, "I will not return home, if Allah wills, until I conquer the enemy." He remained at Betu two years. The inhabitants, unable to till their fields, were at length starved out, and had to give in to him. They gave him a thousand male, and a thousand female slaves, their own children. They also gave him another two thousand slaves. Then peace was made. The Sarkin Kano said: "No one shall again conquer Umbatu as I have conquered it, though he may gain spoil." In the following year the Sarki made war on Zukzuk and sat down in Turunku. The men of Zukzuk came out and defeated the Kano host, saying, "What is Kano! Kano is 'bush.'" The Sarkin Kano went back to Kano in a rage and said: "What shall I do to conquer these men of Zukzuk?" The Sarkin Tchibiri said: "Re-establish the god that your father and grandfather destroyed." The Sarki said: "True, but tell me what I am to do with it." The Sarkin Tchibiri said: "Cut a branch from this tree." The Sarki cut off a branch. When it was cut, the Sarki found a red snake in the branch. He killed the snake, and made two *huffi* with its skin. He then made four *dundufa* and eight *kuntakuru* from the branch. These objects he took to Dankwoi and threw them into the water and went home. After waiting forty days he came back to the water, and removed the objects to the house of Sarkin Tchibiri. Sarkin Tchibiri sewed the rest of the snake's skin round the drums and said to Kanajeji, "Whatever you wish for in this world, do as our forefathers did of old." Kanajeji said: "Show me, and I will do even as they did." The Sarkin Tchibiri took off his robe and put on the *huffi* of

snake's skin and walked round the tree forty times, singing the song of Barbushe. Kanajeji did as Sarkin Tehibiri did, and walked round the tree forty times. The next year he set out to war with Zukzuk. He encamped at Gadaz. The Sarkin Zukzuk came out and they fought; the men of Kano killed the Sarkin Zukzuk. The Zukzuk men fled, scattered in ones and twos, and the chiefs of Zukzuk were killed. The Sarkin Kano entered Zukzuk and lived there close to the Shika eight months. The people gave him a vast amount of tribute. Because of this feat the song of Kanajeji was sung, which runs: "Son of Kano, hurler of the *kere*, Kanajeji, drinker of the water of Shika, preventer of washing in the Kubanni, Lord of the town, Lord of the land." Kanajeji returned to Kano. Among his great men of war were Berdi Gutu, Jarumai Sabbo, Maidawaki Babaki, Makama Toro, Dan Burram Jatau, Jakafada Idiri, Jambori Sarkin Zaura Bugau, Lifidi Buzuzu and Dan Akassan Goderi. He reigned twenty years.

#### XIV. UMARU, SON OF KANAJEJI.

A.H. 812-824. A.D. 1410-1421.

The fourteenth Sarki was Umaru. His mother's name was Yatara. He was a mallam earnest in prayer. He was a pupil of Dan Gurdamus Ibrahimu and a friend of Abubakra. When he became Sarkin Kano, his friend upbraided and left him and went to Bornu, where he remained eleven years. On his return to Kano, finding Umaru still Sarkin Kano, he said to him: "O Umaru, you still like the fickle dame who has played you false, with whom better reflection refuses to be troubled. In time you will be disgusted, and get over your liking for her. Then regret will be futile even if you do regret." He preached to him about the next world and its pains and punishments. He reviled this world and everything in it. Umaru said, "I accept your admonition." He called together all the Kanawa, and said to them: "This high estate is a trap for the erring: I wash my hands of it." Then he resigned, and went away with his friend. He spent the rest of his life in regret for his actions while he had been Sarki. Hence he was called "Dan Terko." He ruled twelve years. In his time there was no war and no robbery. The affairs of Kano were put into the hands of the Galadima. For this reason it was said of the Galadima Dana that he was the "Trusted guardian of the city, the dust-heap of disputes."

#### XV. DAUDA, SON OF KANAJEJI.

A.H. 824-841. A.D. 1421-1438.

The fifteenth Sarki was Dauda Bakon Damisa. His mother was Auta. In his time Dagachi, a great prince, came from South Bornu with many men and mallams. He brought with him horse-drums and trumpets and flags and guns. When he came he sat down at Bomfai. The Sarkin Kano went to see him. When he saw that he was indeed a great prince, he returned home and took

counsel with his men and said, "Where is this man to stay?" The Galadima Babba said, "If you let him settle elsewhere than in Kano town, he will soon be master of that part of the country." The Sarki said, "Where can he stay here with his army—Kano is full of men—unless we increase the size of our town?" The Galadima was sent to see Dagachi and returned with him, and built a house for him and his men at Dorai. The Sarki said to his men, "What shall I give him to please him, and to make his heart glad?" The Galadima Babba said, "Give him whatever you wish, you are Sarki, you own everything." The Sarki said nothing. At that time he was about to start for war with Zaria, so he said to Dagachi, "When I go to war I will put all the affairs of Kano into your hands, city and country alike." So the Sarkin Kano went to war and left Dagachi in the town. Dagachi ruled the town for five months and became very wealthy. Then the Sarki returned. At this time Zaria, under Queen Amina, conquered all the towns as far as Kworarafa and Nupe. Every town paid tribute to her. The Sarkin Nupe sent forty eunuchs and ten thousand kolas to her. She first had eunuchs and kolas in Hausaland. In her time the whole of the products of the west were brought to Hausaland. Her conquests extended over thirty-four years. I will leave now the story of Amina and return to Sarkin Kano. Dauda Bakon Damisa ruled Kano seventeen years.

#### XVI. ABDULAHI BURJA, SON OF KANAJEJI.

A.H. 841–856. A.D. 1438–1452.

The sixteenth Sarki was Abdulahi Burja. His mother's name was Tekidda. There was no one like him for generosity. He was the first in Hausaland to give Bornu "tsare or gaisua." He opened roads from Bornu to Gwanja. He was the first to own camels in Hausaland. Sarkin Bornu left his country at this time and went to attack Asben, but as he could not find any water for his army he returned home. The next year every town in the west paid him "tsare." The Sarkin Kano went out to Khud and encamped there one year and six months. The Galadima Daudu went to wage war in the south. In Burja's time Karmashi conquered the Migawa. The Sarki went to Dussi. The Galadima Daudu said to him, "Return to Kano, I will do for you whatever you want done, and defeat your enemies." So the Sarkin Kano returned home. When he arrived in Kano, he found that Dagachi had assumed great power in the town, and collected wealth without end, and had built houses from his house as far as Salamta. It was Dagachi who made the market of Karabka. All this time the Galadima Daudu was in the south making war on the pagans every day, conquering them and taking them as slaves. Every month he sent a thousand slaves to Sarkin Kano. All the people of Kano flocked to him. There was no one left in Kano except the Sarki and very old men. Every day the Sarki sent to the Galadima horses, clothes and horse trapping.

The Galadima was sung as follows :—

Gatherer of the axes of the south :  
 Gatherer of the youth of the south :  
 Drum of Wealth, Galadima :  
 Drum of Land, Galadima.

He stayed seven years in the south. Slaves became very numerous in Kano. The Sarki sent to him to tell him to come back, so he returned. When he was returning, he stopped every three miles, and built a town. He left at each a thousand slaves, five hundred males, and five hundred females. He thus founded twenty-one towns, before he came to Kano. On arriving there he gave the Sarki three thousand slaves and said to him, "I have founded twenty-one towns, and in each I have left a thousand slaves, all yours." The Sarki asked him, "What are the names of the towns you have built?" The Galadima said, "Their names are Ibdabu." The Sarki said, "I make you ruler of all these towns and their domains." Because of this the Galadima was called "Daudu, the strength of the city." The next year the Sarki sent to Dussi to ask for a wife. He was the first Sarki who married a daughter of Sarkin Dussi, Sarkin Shirra and Sarkin Rano, and also a daughter of the Galadima. He ruled fifteen years.

#### XVII. DAKAUTA, SON OF ABDULAHI BURJA.

A.H. 856. A.D. 1452.

The seventeenth Sarki was Dakauta. He was dumb. The people said, "If he becomes Sarki he will be able to speak." When he had been made Sarki, and after one night did not speak, they turned him out again.

#### XVIII. ATUMA, SON OF DAKAUTA.

A.H. 856. A.D. 1452.

The eighteenth Sarki was Atuma, son of Dakauta. He was king for seven days only. He was turned out of the office of Sarki, for fear of trouble with the Galadima Dauda.

#### XIX. YAKUBU, SON OF ABDULAHI BURJA.

A.H. 856-867. A.D. 1452-1463.

The nineteenth Sarki was Yakubu, son of Tasafi. He was a good Sarki. In his time Agalfati came to Kano; he was Sarkin Gaia, and son of Sarkin Machina. Gaia came with his three brothers who became Sarkin Hadeijia, Sarkin Dal and Sarkin Gaiam. The Sarkin Hadeijia became Sarkin Gabbas, and was given Hadeijia. The Sarkin Gaia came to Kano and was given Gaia. The Sarkin Dal came to Kano and was given Dal. Sarkin Gaiam went to Zaria and was given Gaiam. In Yakubu's time the Fulani came to Hausaland from Mele, bringing

with them books on Divinity and Etymology. Formerly our doctors had, in addition to the Koran, only the books of the Law and the Traditions. The Fulani passed by and went to Bornu leaving a few men in Hausaland, together with some slaves and people who were tired of journeying. At this time too the Asbenawa came to Gobir, and salt became common in Hausaland. In the following year merchants from Gwanja began coming to Katsina; Beriberi came in large numbers, and a colony of Arabs arrived. Some of the Arabs settled in Kano and some in Katsina. There was no war in Hausaland in Yakubu's time. He sent ten horses to the Sarkin Nupe in order to buy eunuchs. The Sarkin Nupe gave him twelve eunuchs. Yakubu ruled Kano eleven years.

## XX. MOHAMMA RIMFA, SON OF YAKUBU.

A.H. 867-904. A.D. 1463-1499.

The twentieth Sarki was Mohamma, son of Yakubu, commonly called Rimfa. His mother's name was Fasima Berana. He was a good man, just and learned. He can have no equal in might, from the time of the founding of Kano, until it shall end. In his time the Sherifs came to Kano. They were Abdu Rahaman and his people. There is a story that the Prophet appeared to Abdu Rahaman in a dream and said to him, "Get up and go west and establish Islam." Abdu Rahaman got up and took a handful of the soil of Medina, and put it in a cloth, and brought it to Hausaland.

Whenever he came to a town, he took a handful of the soil of the country and put it beside that of Medina. If they did not correspond he passed that town. So he journeyed until he came to Kano. And when he compared the soil of Kano with Medina soil they resembled one another and became as one soil. So he said, "This is the country that I saw in my dream." And he took up his abode at Panisau. Then he sent in to the Sarkin Kano. The Sarkin Kano Rimfa went out together with his men, and escorted Abdu Rahaman back to the city together with his men, of whom the chief were Hanatari, Gemindodo, Gadangani, Fokai and others, ten in all. Abdu Rahaman lived in Kano and established Islam. He brought with him many books. He ordered Rimfa to build a mosque for Friday, and to cut down the sacred tree and build a minaret on the site. And when he had established the Faith of Islam, and learned men had grown numerous in Kano, and all the country round had accepted the Faith, Abdu Karimi returned to Massar, leaving Sidi Fari as his deputy to carry on his work.

Rimfa was the author of twelve innovations in Kano. He built the Dakin Rimfa. The next year he extended the walls towards the Kofan Mata from the Kofan Dagachi and continued the work to Kofan Gertawasa and Kofan Kawayi, and from the Kofan Näissa to the Kofan Kansakali. The next year he entered his house. He established the Kurmi Market. He was the first Sarki who used "Dawakin Zaggi" in the war with Katsina. He was the first Sarki who practised "Kame." He appointed Durman to go round the dwellings of the Indabawa and

take every first-born virgin for him. He was the first Sarki to have a thousand wives. He began the custom of "Kulle." He began the "Tara-ta-Kano." He was the first to have "Kakaki" and "Figinni," and ostrich-feather sandals. It was in his reign that the Sallam Idi was first celebrated in Kano at Shadakoko. He began the custom of giving to eunuchs the offices of state, among them, Dan Kusuba, Dan Jigawa, Dan Tarbana, Sarkin Gabbas, Sarkin Tudu, Sarkin Rua, Maaaji, Sarkin Bai, Sarkin Kofa. There were four eunuchs left without a title. He said to them, "I make you chiefs of the Treasury." The name of one was Turaki, another was Aljira; the names of the other two were Al-Soro and Kashe Kusa.

The Galadima Dabuli built a house at Goda, and the Madawaki Badosa built a house at Hori. Chiroma Bugaya built a house at Dabazaro. Surely there was no Sarki more powerful than Rimfa! He was sung as: "The Arab Sarki, of wide sway." In his time occurred the first war with Katsina. It lasted eleven years, without either side winning. He ruled thirty-seven years.

#### XXI. ABDULAHI, SON OF MOHAMMA RIMFA.

A.H. 904-914. A.D. 1499-1509.

The twenty-first Sarki was Abdulahi. His mother's name was Auwa. Her influence was very strong among the rulers of the day. She built the house at Doseyi, hence its name, "Giddan Madaki Auwa." In his time Ahmedu, who was afterwards Liman of Kano, arrived. Abdulahi conquered Katsina. He advanced as far as Katsina itself and encamped on the river near Tsagero. He remained four months at Tsagero and then went to Zukzuk and made war there. After conquering the men of Zaria he went on to Kadaura and to Kalam and made war on the inhabitants, after which he returned to Kano. On his arrival home he found that Dagachi was preparing to revolt, and that the Madaki Auwa alone had prevented serious trouble, as her influence was very great in Kano. This was the reason that Sarkin Bornu came to attack Kano, and camped at Gunduawa. The Sarkin Kano went out to meet him together with his mallams and humbled himself before him. The Sarkin Bornu went back to his country. As soon as he was gone, Abdulahi beguiled Dagachi into submission and then turned him out of his office and gave his own slave the title. He ruled Kano ten years.

#### XXII. MOHAMMA KISOKI, SON OF ABDULAHI.

A.H. 914-972. A.D. 1509-1565.

The twenty-second Sarki was Mohammed Kisoki. He was the son of Abdulahi and Lamis, who built a house at Bani-Buki and established a market there, and was the mother of Dabkare Dan Iya. Kisoki put him in the "Kano

nine," and for that purpose expelled Berde. Kisoki was an energetic Sarki, warlike and masterful. He ruled over all Hausaland east and west, and south and north. He waged war on Birnin Unguru because of Agaidam. When he entered the town, Sarkin Kano took his seat beneath the "kuka" tree, at the Kofan Fada, and assembling the inhabitants of the town at the Kofan Bai, reduced them to terrified submission. He gave orders that no men were to be made prisoners, but that only clothes and horses were to be taken. Then he left Unguru and lived for a month in the bush. The Sarkin Bornu sent to him and said: "What do you mean by making war?" Kisoki replied: "I do not know, but the cause of war is the ordinance of Allah." The Sarkin Bornu said nothing more. The meu of Kano returned to Kano. In the next year the Sarkin Bornu came to attack Kano, but could not take the town and returned home. Then Kisoki said to one of his men, Dunki, "Mount the wall, and sing a song in praise of the Sarki and his men of war." Dunki went. The song that he sung was this: "Kisoki, physic of Bornu, and the Chiratawa." He sung it again and again, and after that he praised all those who were present at the fight; as Galadima Bawa, Mai-Dawakin Maisanda, Mai-Dawakin Gawo Magani, Dan Kudu Dufi Koamna, Makama Abdulahi, Makama Atuman, Dan Yerima Gajeren Damisa, Dan Buram Sagagi, Umoru Dan Maji, Dan Makoiyo Jigu, Dan Goriba Jar Garma, Dan Darmentkorau and Gaji Dan Bauni and many others, about forty in all. Dunki sang their praises for forty days on the top of the wall. After these he celebrated anyone else he thought worthy, as Madaki Koremma, Dagachi, Alkali Musa Gero, Sarkin Kasua, Linan Kano, Sarkin Bai, Dan Maji, Sarkin Yara, the eunuchs and San Turaki. The Madaki Auwa, because she was grandmother of Abdulahi, was also celebrated, in a song beginning: "Mother! Kano is your country. Mother! Kano is your town. Old lady with the swaggering gait, old lady of royal blood, guarded by men-at-arms." Others there were too—thirty-four in all. In Kisoki's time Shehu Tunus, who brought *Eshifa* to Hausa, came to Kano. Dan-Goron-Duma also came, and Shehu Abdu Salam, who brought with him the books *Madawwanna*, *Jam 'as-saghir* and *Samarkandi*. In the next year Tubi came from Zukzuk to learn from Shehu Tunus and became his chief disciple in Kano. Shehu Tunus told Kisoki to build a Friday Mosque for the Rumawa. Kisoki built it. A certain mallam named Shehu Karaski, and Magumi and Kabi came from Bornu. They were brothers. Kisoki took a liking to Shehu Karaski and asked him to become Alkali. He refused, and suggested his brother Magumi. Magumi agreed, and built a portico at the Kofan Fada. In Kisoki's time, Zaite, Tamma, Buduru, and Koda came to Kano. Kisoki ruled the town with his mother Iya Lamis and his grandmother Madaki Auwa, and Guli, the brother of Madaki Auwa. Guli was much respected by the Sarki; he came to have power over the whole country. This is the reason every counsellor is called Na-Guli. Kisoki ruled Kano fifty-eight years.

## XXIII. YAKUFU, SON OF KISOKI.

A.H. 972-973. A.D. 1565.

The twenty-third Sarki was Yakufu. His mother's name was Tunus. He was Sarkin Kano four months and twenty days. Guli deposed him. The Galadiman Kano Sara Katunia and Guli carried on civil war. There was forty days' fighting in Kano before the Galadima overcame and killed Guli and determined to re-establish Yakufu on the throne. Yakufu refused, and returned among the learned men to study. So he went and lived in the country which bears the name of Yakufawa. He was the father of Mohamma Shashere, Dauda Abasama, Sarkin Taura, Buduru, Sarkin Majia, Sarkin Gilima, Sarkin Kazura and Sarkin Gwunaka.

## XXIV. DAUDA ABASAMA, SON OF YAKUFU.

A.H. 973. A.D. 1565.

The twenty-fourth Sarki was Dauda Abasama. His mother's name was Zuhara. He ruled one month and twenty days before he was turned out. His brothers, Kazura, Majia, and his sister, Buduru, so called because she was unmarried, Gilima, Taura and Gwunka, the youngest, joined him in his exile at a place called Karmashe. Dauda settled there and a house was built for him. The brothers each chose a place to live.

## XXV. ABUBAKR KADO, SON OF RIMFA.

A.H. 973-980. A.D. 1565-1573.

The twenty-fifth Sarki was Abubakr Kado, son of Rimfa and full brother of Abdulahi. His mother's name was Auwa. In his time the men of Katsina worsted the men of Kano until they came to the very gates of Kano.

They encamped at Salamta. The men of Kano went out to fight, but they were beaten and scattered, and had to take refuge in the town. Devastation went on, and the country was denuded of people. The only place where anybody was found was in walled towns or rocks, as Karayi, Gwan-gwam, Maska, Tariwa, or any other rocky place. Abubakr Kado did nothing but religious offices. He disdained the duties of Sarki. He and all his chiefs spent their time in prayer. In his time eunuchs and mallams became very numerous. Kano was filled with people. Mallam Sherif, Tamma, Gesu and Wuri came to Hausa from Lagoni. Some people say they came from Bagarmi.

Tamma was the greatest of them. When they first came they lived in Katsina land. For this reason the place where they lived is called Tamma. Afterwards they moved to Kano and settled at Godia. The town was called Godia after a certain woman, a harlot. She and the Sarki reigned jointly over the town. The Sarkin Godia said to Tamma, "Settle at Godia." So Tamma settled at Godia and married Godia. Abubakr was the first Sarki who read the book



called *Eshifa* at the house of Dan Goronduma Kursiya. He was the Sarki who made the princes learn the Koran. This he did because of his own sons. They read the Koran well, and the reading was in the middle of Shaaban. Every morning after sunrise the princes assembled. The Sarki came out after early morning prayer. He had seven sons, each of which read a seventh of the Koran. He gave his sons great wealth. The eldest of them was Abdulahi, otherwise called Dan Kado Kisoki; Chiroma Yan Sarki was another; then Dauda Tsaga, Dan Ashia (Ashia was the Sarki's sister), Dari, and Tella. The Sarki built Goron Pugachi for the reading of the Koran. He began reading *Jam 'as-saghîr*. He ruled Kano seven years and six months and then was deposed.

## XXVI. MOHAMMA SHASHERE, SON OF YAKUFU.

A.H. 980-990. A.D. 1573-1582.

The twenty-sixth Sarki was Mohamma Shashere, son of Yakufu. His mother's name was Fasuna. He was unmatched for generosity among the Sarkis of Kano. He was the first to give a eunuch the title of Wombai (the eunuch was called Damu). He also gave to a eunuch called Dabba the title of Sarkin Dawaki. He gave to another eunuch called Mabaiyi the title of Dagachi.

He determined on an expedition against Katsina. He said to the Alkali Mohamma the son of Tanko, the son of Jibril, the son of Mugumi: "Find me an Alkali to take with me to war with Katsina. When I go to the war, I shall not return alive unless I beat the Katsinawa." The Alkali gave him his pupil Musa, whose mother's name was Gero. The Sarki made Musa Alkali. Now when he came to Katsina, the men of Katsina came out to fight. The armies met at Kankia and fought there. The Katsinawa won because they were superior in numbers. The Kanawa ran away—deserting their Sarki—with the exception of San Turaki Mainya Narai, San Turaki Kuka Zuga and Dan Dumpki. Hence the songs "Narai the wall: ready to answer any challenge;" "Zuga does not run away."

These returned home together with their Sarki and entered Kano with him. The Sarki was very grieved. His men said to him, "Lay aside your grief, next year we will defeat the Katsinawa, if Allah wills." But meantime his brothers were treacherously planning to kill him. San Turaki Narai heard of their plans, and told the Sarki, saying, "Do not go outside your house, you or your Liman, to-day, or you will be killed." So the Sarki remained in his house, while San Turaki acted as Sarki. When the conspirators came in the evening, they found San Turaki with his slaves in the mosque, and, thinking he was the Sarki, attacked him. He had with him nine of his own slaves, and eighteen of the Sarki's household. The nine slaves were killed. Twelve of the others were killed and six captured. The names of the six were Burimah, Jigo, Adam, Wukarka, Tukuki and Sarkin Wawayi. The new Sarki Mohamma Zaki intended to kill these six, but they prayed and begged him saying: "Spare us and we will be your slaves, we

are your grandchildren." So the Sarki spared them, but each of them chose a task as a price of their lives.

San Turaki Narai was buried in the mosque<sup>1</sup> in which he was killed. For this reason Mohammed Zaki made Aderki build Serikin Jarmai a house inside the Sarki's compound. The "zowre" of Turaki Mainya was also built near the mosque, as also Yan Sintali's house and the houses of Turaki Kuka and Mai-Shikashikai. The site of the mosque was changed. On account of this occurrence Turaki Mainya had the honour of acting for the Sarki, if he were absent, in the time of Mohammed Zaki, but afterwards the right lapsed. Shashere ruled nine years and four months and twenty-four days. Then he was deposed.

## XXVII. MOHAMMA ZAKI, SON OF KISOKI.

A.H. 990-1027. A.D. 1582-1618.

The twenty-seventh Sarki was Mohammed Zaki, son of Kisoki. The name of his mother was Hausatu, the daughter of Tamma. When Mohammed became Sarki, Tamma came to live at Kano together with his men, the Kartukawa. In the time of Mohammed Zaki "Tchukana" and "Dirki"<sup>2</sup> were begun. The Sarki's men kept saying to him, "Sarkin Kano, if you leave the Katsinawa alone, they will become masters of all Kano and you will have nothing to rule but a little." The Sarki said, "I will conquer the Katsinawa if Allah wills." At this time the Sarkin Kworarafa came to attack Kano. The people of Kano left the city and went to Daura, with the result that the Kworarafawa ate up the whole country and Kano became very weak. The men of Katsina kept on harrying Kano. If it had not been for the sake of the mallams in Kano, they would have entered and destroyed the city. There was a great famine which lasted eleven years. The Sarki called all his men and mallams together and said, "I have called you together to take counsel with me. How are we to stay this calamity?" Shehu Abubakr the Maghrebine said: "If you wish to repel the men of Katsina, I will give you something to do it with, but if you do repel them, you will never return to Kano." The Sarki said, "I agree." He gave Shehu great wealth and the mallams many gifts. Shehu did as he promised to do. The Sarki left Kano on the 22nd day of Ramadan, and arrived beneath the walls of Katsina at daybreak on the day of the Salla. The men of Katsina came out to battle before the hour

<sup>1</sup> The mosque was not rebuilt till the time of Abdulahi Dan Dabo, a Fulani. The Turaki Mainya did not again have such prestige till the time of Mohammed Belo, who made his son Zacchari Turaki Mainya. History repeats itself.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, the Koran covered with goat's skin. Afterwards cow hide was used for the purpose, as many as ten skins being used, and even forty in later times. In Alwali's time, the practice had gone to such a ridiculous length that he stopped it altogether. The people said, "If you stop this practice, God will bring evil fortune upon you." Alwali replied, "Dirki is nothing but the Koran: I swear I will open it and expose its contents." So he ordered young men to take axes and open "Dirki." They did so. Alwali found the Koran inside, and took it to his house. The people said, "You will be expelled from this land even as you have expelled the Koran from Dirki." Alwali was afterwards driven out of Kano.

of the feast. The battle took place at Guraji. The men of Kano defeated the men of Katsina. The men of Katsina dispersed and fled, and the Kanawa took much spoil. They took four hundred horses, and sixty suits of horse armour. No one knows the amount of the spoil or the number of the slain. The Sarki returned to Karayi, where he died. His captains in war were eight in number: Madawaki Shaduka, Makama Babba, Jarunai Kaiotau, Atuman, Yanka Shaida, Burdi Hako, Dawaki Marku and Butali. He ruled Kano thirty-seven years and five months.

### XXVIII. MOHAMMA NAZAKI, SON OF ZAKI.

A.H. 1027-1032. A.D. 1618-1623.

The twenty-eighth Sarki was Mohamma Nazaki. His mother's name was Kursu. When he became Sarki he sent messengers to make peace with Katsina. Sarkin Katsina refused his terms and invaded Kano. The Kanawa came out, and a battle took place at Karayi, in which the Kanawa defeated the Katsinawa. They then returned to Kano. Next year the Sarkin Kano went to Kalam. He left the Wombai Giwa behind at Kano because he was sick. When the Wombai recovered he said, "What can I do to please the Sarki?" His men said, "Add to the city." He said, "Very well." So he built a wall from the Kofan Dogo to the Kofan Gadonkaia, and from the Kofan Dakawuyia to the Kofan Kabuga, and to the Kofan Kansakali. He spent an enormous amount of money on this improvement. Every morning he brought a thousand calabashes of food and fifty oxen for the workmen till the work was finished. Every man in Kano went to work. No man surpassed the Wombai in benevolence to Moslems and the poor. The day when the work was to be finished the Wombai Giwa distributed among the workmen a thousand "tobes." He slaughtered three hundred cows at the Kofan Kansakali and gave the mallams many presents. When the Sarkin Kano returned from war, the Wombai gave him a hundred riding horses. Each horse had a mail coat. The Sarki was very pleased. He said, "What shall I do for this man, to make his heart glad?" His men said, "Give him a town." So the Sarki gave him Karayi. Hence the song:

"Elephant Lord of the town, Abdullah foe of the bull hippopotamus, whose chains for taking captive women are hoes and axes."

The Wombai left Kano and went to Karayi. Every day he fought the Katsinawa and took much spoil from them in war. He became master of a hundred mailed horsemen and a thousand horses. He was sung as "The elephant who reduces his neighbours to servitude." He became so mighty that it was feared he would revolt. Hence he was turned out of his office in the time of Kutumbi. Mohamma Nazaki ruled Kano five years and one month.

## XXIX. KUTUMBI, SON OF MOHAMMA NAZAKI.

A.H. 1032-1058. A.D. 1623-1648.

The twenty-ninth Sarki was Kutumbi, the son of Mohamma Nazaki, otherwise called Mohamma Alwali. His mother's name was Dada. He was a great Sarki. He had a friend whose name was Kalina Atuman, to whom he entrusted great power. No one would believe the extent of his power except one who saw it. He ruled over Kano town and country until his power equalled that of the Sarki, while the Sarki was like his Wazir. This Kalina Atuman was in power for twelve years. Then he died. After his death one of his men, Dawaki Kwoshi, came to the front. He too became so powerful that he seemed likely to revolt. He went to a place called Baḳin Karre and was there for seven days. After this he went to Yankwosa, where he remained three days, and afterwards to Rimin Kwoshe, the Sarki's farm. All the chief men of the town flocked to his standard. He had been there nine days when the Sarki induced him to come back with fine words. Then he returned to Kano. He was celebrated in the song:

“See your prophet, ye Princes! You looked for a black dog, and did not find it at the hearth stones. Dawaki can put to flight a host with a shield of lotus. Dawaki the son of the great Dayi, the boaster.”

Dawaki was the son of Turaki Kuka Allandayi. Thus it is that if the Sarki is sung, no one may be mentioned but him.

During the time of Kutumbi the saying,

“O God great and loving! The great man hath the spleen,”

originated, because of Allandayi's anger when the Ungwa Kofan Kabagga was taken from him. No man of that time in Kano had accumulated such vast wealth, and so many eunuchs and ornaments. Hence he was sung in the song, “Great God, light of the town, O star!”

Kutumbi was the father of Bako. No prince could compare with him. In everything, in doing good, or doing ill, in courage, anger, and generosity he was like a Sarki even while he was only a prince. He had six hundred horses and ninety mailed horsemen. He went to Kurmin Dan Ranko to war and took much spoil. When he returned to Kano he was given the title of Jarumai for this exploit. Afterwards he prayed to die and died, for fear of civil war after his father's death. In the time of Kutumbi, Sarkin Dawaki Magara went to war with Bauchi and on his return built a town at Ganjua and settled there. He sent to Kano two thousand slaves. Kutumbi was very angry about this. Next year he mounted his horse and went off to war there. The people paid him *Jizia*. Then he returned to Kano leaving there five hundred slaves. The place was called Ibdabu since the people were all the slaves of the Sarki. The next year Kutumbi went to war with Katsina. He was victorious, and took much spoil. He camped at Dugazawa for nine months, during which time no one could venture out of Katsina. From this siege comes the song: “Alwali shutter of the great gate, Kimbirni, shutter of the great gate.” Of Kutumbi's warriors the greatest

was Madawaki Kimbirni. Then came Makama Banki, Dan Maji Jartake, Jarmai Garaje, Berdi Kamoku, Goriba Babba, Dan Kanfache Zabarau, Dan Ataman Babakke, Gwoto, Kaderko, Dawaki Sun Kuche and Dan Makoo Makere (so called because he always fought with a *kere*). There were others beside, and they feared nothing but God. Kutumbi returned to Kano, and the next year went to fight with Gwombe, which he sacked. He was the first Sarki of Kano who collected the *Jizia* from the Fulani which is called *Jangali*. He collected a hundred cows from the Jafunawa, the chief clan of Fulani, seventy from the Baawa, sixty from Dindi Maji, fifty from the Danneji, and others too numerous to mention. When he had collected the cattle he said to his slave Ibo, "I make you Sarkin Shanu." Hence the latter was called "Ibo na Kutumbi." He said to Mandawali, "You are Sarkin Samri, because you have charge of all the youths among my slaves." He called the slaves Kirdua. He said to Gumki, "I make you Sarkin Dogare." He said to Buayi, "You are Sarkin Shamaki." This man was called Buayi because he was a "black sheep." His name was Agurmaji. Kutumbi turned the Sarkin Surdi out of his house, and told him he had appointed another to his office. Sarkin Surdi built a house for himself. Whenever Kutumbi went to war or to Salla, he was followed by a hundred spare horses. Forty drums were in front of him, and twenty-five trumpets, and fifty kettle-drums. He was the first Sarki to create a "Berde Kererria." He was always followed by a hundred eunuchs who were handsomely dressed and had gold and silver ornaments. He built a house at Gandu, and another at Tokarawa. In the latter he lived when he went to war, and waited there until his army had assembled before setting out. When he returned from war he encamped at Gandu, where he would spend the night. Kutumbi was a very mighty Sarki in Hausaland. He went to war with Katsina and encamped close to the western gate of the city.

The Katsinawa came out in the night and a battle took place before daybreak. The Katsina army surprised the Kanawa; the whole of the Kanawa ran away. A man called Kumaza poised his spear and smote at Kutumbi, but Dan Maji Zartaki rushed in and killed him. Hence the song, "Rafter of iron, stronger than 'seri' wood." Sarkin Kano mounted his horse and retreated together with the few men who were with him. The men of Katsina pursued the retreating Kanawa and harried them until they reached Yashi. As regards Sarkin Kano some people say he was killed in Katsina, others say that he died at Kano. The latter is the better account. In any case he died within three days of the battle. He ruled Kano twenty-six years.

### XXX. AL HAJI, SON OF KUTUMBI.

A.H. 1058-1059. A.D. 1648-1649.

The thirtieth Sarki was Alhaji Dan Kutumbi. His mother's name was Fadima. He ruled Kano eight months and twenty-four days, then he was deposed—the reason, I do not remember. He went into the country to live at a place called Dan Zaki.

## XXXI. SHEKKARAU, SON OF AL HAJI.

A.H. 1059–1061. A.D. 1649–1651.

The thirty-first Sarki was Shekkarau, the son of Alhaji and Fari. In his time peace was made between Kano and Katsina. The peacemakers were Shehu Ataman, Mallam Bawa and Liman Yandoiya. Shehu Ataman said: "In future, whoever is the aggressor between you shall never prevail, if Allah wills, till the day of Judgment." About this time Dan Tamma Maji went out with Sarkin Gesu Sulimanu to Godia. Shekkaro ruled one year and seven months and twenty-four days.

## XXXII. KUKUNA, SON OF AL HAJI.

A.H. 1061–1062. A.D. 1651–1652.

The thirty-second Sarki was Mohamma Kukuna. His mother's name was Goro. After he became Sarki he ruled one year. The Madawaki Kuma turned him out, and gave the power to his sister Fasuma's son Soyaki.

## XXXIII. SOYAKI, SON OF SHEKKARAU.

A.H. 1062. A.D. 1652.

Soyaki was the thirty-fourth Sarki. His mother was Fasuma. Kukuna fled to Zukzuk. Soyaki had been reigning three months when the chiefs of Kano met together and held a consultation about him. The chief of them were the Galadima Wari, the grandfather of Kofakani Dan Iya Babba, Makama Mukhtari and Sarkin Dawaki Gogori. They sent messengers secretly to Mohamma Kukuna, who at once set out for Gaiya. The Sarkin Gaiya joined him in his march to Kano. The Madawakin Kano heard of this, assembled the men of Kano, and told them the news. They said, "We hear." He said, "What do you propose?" They said, "Shall we not go out before they get close to the city." The Madawaki said, "Very well." A battle took place at Hotoro. The Kano men ran away and deserted the Madawaki Kuma. Kukuna attacked him with a spear. He feared to be killed, and tried to escape. Kukuna followed him. The Madawaki made for the Kofan Kawayi and shouted to the people to close the gate behind him, so that Mohamma Kukuna should not enter. Kukuna, however, got in before the gate was shut and reached the palace. He found the Sarki Soyaki at the Giddan Ma-Shikashikai, together with his eunuchs. So he seized the sword from the hand of Soyaki and cried, "Allahu, Akbar, You, Sarki of a day! Go out! If you do not go I will cut your head off." The Sarki went out. A house was built for him at Dukarawa, where he lived and died.

## XXXIV. MOHAMMA KUKUNA (RESTORED).

A.H. 1062-1070. A.D. 1652-1660.

Mohamma Kukuna then entered the Giddan Rumfa and lived sixty days there. After this he arrested the Madawakin Kano. Then he assembled many maidens, put the Madawaki on a donkey, and handed it over to the maidens to drive round the town. They did as he commanded. The Madawaki died of chagrin. Kukuna drove away Fasuma, the wife of Shekkarau and mother of Soyaki, because of the grudge he bore her son. She built a house at Durumin Yer Madawaki. Next year Sarkin Kworarafa Adashu came to attack Kano. Sarki Kano went to Yan Magada, where he stayed seven days, and then to Auyo and Abewa, where he remained forty days. On his return to Kano he found that the Kworarafa had battered down the Kofan Kawayi. He waited seven days, then marched round the city on a Saturday, entered his house, and stayed there two days. On a Monday he went to the Kofan Kawayi and built it up. From the first of these episodes he was called "Gewayer Garu," from the second "Na chin Kassa." On the same Monday he called all the Marguzawa to the city to salute him. They remained twenty-one days, and played a game in which they beat each other's heads with iron. The Sarki gave them many gifts, and asked them who was their chief. On their saying it was Zanku, the Sarki said to him, "Next year come again, and let all your men come with their 'hauyias' on their shoulders." "If you do so, Zanku," said Kukuna, "God willing, no Sarkin Kano will be driven out again." Afterwards he sent for the Liman Yandoiya, and after giving him many presents said, "I want you to give me a charm which will prevent any Sarki from being again driven out of Kano." The Liman said, "Very well, but you must increase your presents." Kukuna did so, and gave him silver and gold. The Liman gave him what he gave him. The Liman told Kukuna to bury one charm in the Turaki Mainya's house, another in the house of Turakin Kuka, and another in the "Treasury" of Kano; and he further added that a fire must be kept burning every day above the charms, and assured the Sarki that if his instructions were carried out no Sarki would ever be again deposed. Kukuna did so, and ruled eight years and seven months in addition to the year that is mentioned above. Then he was deposed.

## XXXV. BAWA, SON OF MOHAMMA KUKUNA.

A.H. 1070-1081. A.D. 1660-1670.

The thirty-fifth Sarki was Bawa. His mother's name was Lamis. He was a learned, just, and good Sarki. In his time there was no war in Kano land, east and west, south and north. Goron Pugachi, which Abubakr Kado, the son of Mohamma Rimfa, had built for his sons, had fallen into ruins, so Bawa repaired it. Bawa fashioned the chair which is placed in the house of the great Turaki, that he might sit on it. He built Pugachin Kishi as a school. He had a friend

who was called Dan Mallam Ali Diko. This Diko received such honour that a house for him was built in the palace called Soron Diko—in such honour was he held. He and the Sarki were inseparable. They rode together even at the Salla or elsewhere, since they had been the closest of friends from the time before Bawa had become Sarki. They had studied together. Diko always said his morning prayers at the Sarki's house, and never returned home until after the evening prayer. In Bawa's time Abdulahi, a great student of the Koran, came to Kano with his friends. He had a wonderfully captivating voice when reading. He took a house near Diko's and preached after evening prayer. Diko asked, "Who is that man?" and was told it was Abdulahi, a stranger. The next morning Diko sent to Abdulahi, and when he came, took him to the Sarki and told him to read to the Sarki. So he read the appointed portion of the Koran. After the Sarki had listened he would not let him go away, but built him a house near to the gate of Turaki Mainya. He was wont to amuse the Sarki at night by reading. During Ramadan Abdulahi preached to the Sarki during the vigils. When Dan Lowan died the Sarki said to Abdulahi, "I make you Dan Lowan, and you will call to prayer." In Bawa's time there were many holy men. He ruled Kano ten years, four months and twenty days.

XXXVI. DADI, SON OF BAWA.

A.H. 1081-1114. A.D. 1670-1703.

The thirty-sixth Sarki was Dadi. His mother's name was Ka Iya Gari. He wished to enlarge the city of Kano, but Shehu Mohamma prevented him. The next year Sarkin Kworarafa came to fight with Kano. The Sarki wished to go out and fight him outside, but the chiefs of Kano demurred and he remained in his house. The Kworarafai entered Kano by the Kofan Gadon Kaia, slaughtered the men of Kano, and reached Baƙinrua. The Galadima Kofakani said to the Sarkin Kano, who was in the Pugachin Kishi with his Jarumai: "Establish 'Tchibiri' at Toji, and 'Bundu' at Rimi Bundu." The Galadima said to the Sarki, "Rise up! The Kworarafai have destroyed the best part of your town and have killed many men! They have penetrated to the Kurmi, and will attack the 'palace.'" The Sarki mounted his horse and went out, and came to the Kofan Fada with the Galadima and eunuchs and Jarumai. There he met all the Kanawa. He went to Rimi Bundu, took the "Bundu" and gave it to Dan Durma Mazza Mazza, and thence hastened to Kofa Bai. He found the Kworarafa had come near the "Tchibiri," but everyone of them who came close died at once. The Sarkin Kworarafa told his people to take away the "Tchibiri." The Kworarafai tried to charge, but they failed to seize it. The Sarki Kano came to the "Tchibiri," and took it. On his right hand he had a hundred warriors, in front of him ninety-nine chiefs, all of them mallams, and on his left hand a hundred warriors. They were all slaughtered by the Kworarafai; only a few were left alive. Sarkin Kano fled to Daura. The Kworarafai followed him to Jelli and then returned. Of the



men who were killed in this battle the chief were Dan Janbori, Dan Barra, Sarkin Buzza, Sarkin Durra, Dan Tanadi, Bundu, Sarkin Zabro, Magagi Bugaji, Sarkin Marua, Dan Garadu, Dan Raguma Giwa, Magaji Butachi, Dan Koamna, Magagi Sheggi, Dan Gamaji, Magaji Gantururu, Dan Dagazo, Magagi Tuntu, Sarkin Maguri, Dan Gauji, Magagi Garogi, Dan Tankaro, Dan Kargagi, Magaji Karfassa, Dan Kutuntu, Dan Toro, Dan Zaki Mazawa, Dan Bambawri, Kioto and others—in all ninety-seven Sarkis. In the time of Dadi the Sarkin Gaiya revolted. His name was Farin Dussi, the father of Mariamma. He was three years without paying the Sarkin Kano *Jizia*. Then the Sarkin Kano enticed him to an interview and killed him, some say with a razor, some at “Baura.” In consequence of this revolt Sarkin Dawaki Debba (called Kamna) went out and became Sarkin Aujea. The Sarki said to him, “I am making you Sarkin Aujea because I am afraid of Miga, Dussi and Gaiya revolting.” Dadi ruled Kano thirty-three years and eight months.

### XXXVII. MOHAMMA SHAREFA, SON OF DADI.

A.H. 1114–1143. A.D. 1703–1731.

The thirty-seventh Sarki was Mohamma Sharefa, son of Dadi. His mother's name was Mariamma. She was the daughter of Sarkin Gaiya Farin-Dussi. In Sharefa's time, the men of Gaiya became very influential in Kano. Sharefa was a powerful Sarki. He introduced seven practices in Kano all of which were robbery, namely, Karo, Rinsua, Matafada, Yan Dawaki, Kuaru, *Jizia* of maidens on marriage, and *Jizian Kasua Kurmi*. He invented many other methods of extortion. Sharefa sent Wombai Debba to war. The Wombai left Kano for Kirru, and making war on it captured much spoil and many men. News came to Sharefa that the Wombai had sacked Kirru and that there was nothing in the town but ashes. Sharefa said nothing, but when the Wombai Debba returned to Kano asked him what he meant by such work. The Wombai said, “I like Kano,” speaking in riddles. In Sharefa's time the Sarkin Jamfara, Yakubu Dan Mazura, came to make war on Kano. A battle was fought at Yergana in which the men of Jamfara defeated the men of Kano. The men of Kano fled and deserted the Sarki, who was left with Nasan Kanni, Kasheka Bugau, the Turaki Mainya Allah Nikimaiyi, Berdi Kereria Yashibka and Dogara Gateri. They all lost their heads. Sharefa said to them, “Does not a single one of you know the way back to Kano?” They said, “No.” Nasan Kanni said, “I know the way to the city.” The Sarki said to him, “Show me the road.” So he showed the Sarki the road until they came to the Rimin Bugunsua. The Sarki entered the town and his house, and no one was allowed to see him, so great was his wrath. Nasan Kanni Bugau, Allah Nikimaiyi and Yashibka obtained great honour from the Sarki because of the fight at Yergana. After this the Sarki sent out Sarkin Gaiya Jan Hazo, and told him to put a wall round Gaiya. Walls were built, too, at Tarkai, Tsokkua, Gano, Dawaki and many other towns. When Bugau became Turaki

Kuka he sent messengers to Sarkin Yawuri to ask him for "Algaitas." The Sarkin Yawuri gave him ten Algaitas, and three "Kurra-Kurra." The messenger came with them to Turaki Bugau. Bugau kept them three months, and sent them to the Maidaki Mariamma, since she was a great personage. There was no woman like her in the seven Hausa states. In Sharefa's time cowries first came to Hausaland. The Sarki was a mighty warrior. Among his captains were Sarkin Dawaki Sodi, Dan Iya Maji Kudu, Dan Iya Mallam Shadu, Sarkin Jarumai, Mallam Bawa, Sarkin Jarumai Akwuria, Dan Iya Dashina, Sarkin Jarumai Ibrahim, Limanin Beradai Dodo, Berde Ba Kuddu, Sarkin Jarumai Abdullah, Galadima Kofa-Kanni. These all fought under Dadi. There were also Maidawaki Magani, Dan Sudu Durraman, Ali Uban Dan Kurkuti, Yahaya Uban Dan Maji Babba, Sarkin Damargu Gabo, Sarkin Fulani Bebeji Abdua, Sarkin Fulani Dania, Sarkin Fulani Bugai Beriss, Sarkin Gaiya Alwali, Sarkin Fulani Sankara Dubai, Berde Alhaji, Madawakin Gawo Bajiddah and others. When they went to war they never ran away, but always were victorious, even though the Sarki were not present. Sharefa ruled Kano twenty-eight years and ten months.

#### XXXVIII. KUMBARI, SON OF SHAREFA.

A.H. 1143-1156. A.D. 1731-1743.

The thirty-eighth Sarki was Mohamma Kumbari, the son of Sharefa and Duki. He was a liberal Sarki but quick to anger. His counsellors liked him, but the common people hated him. In his time there was fierce war between Kano and Gobir.

The name of Sarkin Gobir was Sobah. If the Gobirawa defeated the Kanawa one day, the Kanawa defeated them the next. This state of affairs continued for a long time. In Kumbari's time Sarkin Bornu May-Ali came to Kano to war. He encamped at Faggi for three nights without a battle being fought, since Shehu Tahiru and Shehu Bunduu prevented it. He returned to Bornu. Kumbari went to war with Dussi in the time of Sarkin Dussi Makuri and very nearly entered the town through the fierceness of his attack, but his advisers prevented him entering the town, saying to him, "Sarkin Kano, you have won the day, go home." He listened to their advice and went home. In the Dussi war Sarkin Aujera Bugau was killed. Kumbari returned to Kano. In his time shields were first brought from Nupe, which was then ruled over by Sarkin Nupe Jibrila. Guns were also brought. Mohamma Kumbari was active in collecting *Jizia* from the Kasua Kurmi, so that the market was nearly killed. The next year he collected *Jizia* in Kano and made even the mallams pay. There was so much disturbance that the Arabs left the town and went back to Katsina, and most of the poorer people in the town fled to the country.

Turaki Kuka Tunku said to Kumbari, "Sarki, if you do not let this *Jizia* alone, there will be no one left in the town but yourself and your servants." The Sarki listened to him. Kumbari made war against Kuddu Baudam. When he

went out to Zanga he was advised to make haste, for it was said, "If you do not make haste you will not conquer Baudam, because there are many warriors in the town." He said, "I hear." When he came near the gate of the town, an arrow was launched at him and a battle ensued between the Kanawa and Kudawa. When Kumbari saw that the battle was growing hot, he took a spear in his hand and attacked the wall of the town. The men of Kano followed him under a shower of arrows. The Kudawa slaughtered the Kanawa, and the Kanawa slaughtered the Kudawa, until Kumbari reached the gate of the town. Had not the gate been closed he would have got in. The Kudawa ran away in a body to their houses. Kumbari camped at Zongon Dan Ingarma. Afterwards terms of peace were arranged and Kumbari returned to Kano. His captains were fifty-two men who knew no fear: Sarkin Jarumai Aidajika, Berde Duguru, Dan Iya Tefiwa, Dan Iya Gajigi, Sarkin Majia Dandawa, Dan Tama Dan Arkaya, the Maji Yakufawa called Kunkuru Dageza, Dan Berde Madawaki Yabo, Galadima Dan Faramu, Sarkin Dawaki Mallam Bawa, Berde Sokana, Sarkin Jarumai Akallam, Jarmai Tugwai, Dan Hamuda, Dan Tankari Hamadi, Dan Tara-Tara Abbas, Sarkin Gano Bako, Dandama Kanwa Chilaya, Makama Chikudu, Lifidi Sayadu, Dan Maskara, Maidawaki Berde Dan Ashifu, Sarkin Damargu Baji Dan Gaba, Sarkin Bebeji Zakkari, Dan Bugai Chusa, Dan Beras, Sarkin Ringim Ada, Al-Berka, Sarkin Tsekkia Atoro, Dan Farzaki, Sarkin Burku Muni, Dan Samayila Chikewa, Jarumai Raädu, Gashin Baki Tsofo, Makarma Della, Dan Ajibiji Kakwoshi Magani, Dan Shanono, Dan Ali Duka, and others. Each one of them had no fear in fight, but Kumbari thought there was no one equal to himself. He ruled thirteen years.

### XXXIX. ALHAJI KABE, SON OF KUMBARI.

A.H. 1156-1166. A.D. 1743-1753.

The thirty-ninth Sarki was Alhaji Kabe. His mother's name was Zama. She was also called Zenabu. He was a Sarki of many wars and terrible. From the time he obtained the kingdom he did not remain five months in his house without going to war or sending out his Sarkis to fight. Sarkin Gobir sent to try and make peace with him but Kabe refused. He sent to Sarkin Gobir Barbari, saying, "I have a cap to fit anyone's head." Barbari said, "I hear." The next year Barbari came to Kano to war. A battle ensued between him and Kabe at Dami. The Kanawa ran away, because of the "magic" which Barbari possessed. The Kanawa left Kabe alone with the Dogarai and Kwinkele, and Sarkin Dawaki Kinku Ammi and Turaki Kuka Yadoka. The whole army of the Gobirawa came charging up to the Sarkin Kano. The Kwinkele withstood them until their chief was killed. Then Yakidoka said, "Sarkin Kano, all the men of Kano have run away and left you alone with your slaves." Sarkin Kano returned to the town together with his slaves (some say with the Kanawa) sick at heart. The Gobirawa went on slaughtering the Kanawa, and the Kanawa slaughtered the Gobirawa in

frequent wars until Kabe's death. No record can be kept of the fighting between them in Kabe's time or the number of wars in which Kabe engaged or which he ordered. No one gave presents to the mallams so much as Kabe did, for he sought a reward in the next world. There was no man of his age who was so ruthless in killing men as Kabe. There was no peace in Kano, only trouble after trouble what with the war with Gobir and other wars. Sarikin Dawaki Ali, Jarumai Tugwai Dan Bajidda, Sarkin Jarumai Salihu, Lifidi Abubakr, Berdi Bakana, Makama Bagwinki, Lifidi Sawani, Ganda Faria, Magajin Kan-Kama, Doro, Lifidi Jedi Kwoma, Makama Almajir, Galadima Guraguri, Galadima Jarmawa Ali, Berde-Kunda, Burde Bakudu, Sarkin Damargu Buzu Dan Barji, Sarkin Ringim Kwirudu, Burdi Shahu, and others, were Kumbari's warriors, and fought for Kabe. Kabe ruled nine years and seven months.

#### XL. YAJI, SON OF DADI.

A.H. 1166–1182. A.D. 1753–1768.

The fortieth Sarki was Mohamma Yaji, son of Dadi. His mother's name was Mariamma. He was a just and good Sarki, and a man of mild disposition. On account of this his wives called him "Mallam Lafia." In his time there was no trouble.

He ruled in harmony with his brothers, the sons of Bauwo. There was no difficulty either with his Sarkis or his chief slaves, or his household, or any one. Many men came and settled in Kano-land in his reign. He reigned fifteen years and ten months.

#### XLI. BABBA ZAKI, SON OF YAJI.

A.H. 1182–1190. A.D. 1768–1776.

The forty-first Sarki was the son of Yaji, called Babba Zaki. His mother's name was Yerduna. He was an able Sarki, of great strength, renowned for his memory and eloquence. He was called Babba Zaki. He made war on Birnin Auyau in the time of Sarki Abubakr. If it had not been for Madawaki Kano Dandawa, Sarkin Gaiya Gajigi and Sarkin Jafun Furtumi, the Kanawa would have entered the city of Auyau and destroyed the town. Yaji built a house at Takai and almost lived there, but the court refused to live there. He made war on Burumburun, and took the town by assault, capturing many of the inhabitants and cutting the throats of some, whilst the others fled. He curbed the power of the Sarkis and head slaves and plundered them every day. He forced them to give presents under compulsion, and to go to war unwillingly. Hence he was called "Jan Rano, well named the disturber of elephants." In war he forced them to fight against their judgment. He was the first Sarki who had a guard of musketeers at Kano, a practice which has obtained ever since. He imitated the Arabs of Kano in almost everything. His war captains were five.—Sarkin

Sankara Nagerki, Sarkin Bebeji Dembo, Sarkin Majia Kimfirmi Makama Bobawa, Sarkin Jarumai Achukur, Sarkin Dawaki Maina. The great men in his time were forty-two:—Dawaki Tokara, Bawa, Madawaki Dundurusu, Lifidi Gabjin, Galadiman Shamaki Alwali, Tunku, Yakufu, Berka Wuta, Bagarami, Berka. These were all slaves. Among the mallams were: Alkali Abbas, Alkali Makam, Limanin Kano Aburauf and his sons, Abubukr Dan Mallam Bohari from Yandoto, and Husaini from Tarkai. The great men among the Arabs were: Sherif Hassan, Hajariki, Sherif Hamad, Sherif Dahab, and others. Among the Sarki's sons were: Dan Iya, Mallam Osuman, Choka, Daka and Nafata. Among his eunuchs were: Sarkin Dawaki Muradi, Turaki Mainya Munaga Allah, Turaki Kuka Kasan Allah, Turaki Kuka Ka-nem-Kiwo, Gwoninka Jephah, who was of the same people as Sherif Hassan and others. The chief of these were Dan Maji Babba, Hangaza and Dan Zanko Jibril. In all there were forty-two.

Each of them thought he was greater than the rest in the Sarki's eyes. Thus the Sarki planned. Babban Zaki ruled Kano eight years.

#### XLII. DAUDA ABASAMA, SON OF YAJI.

A.H. 1190–1195. A.D. 1776–1781.

The forty-second Sarki was Dauda Abasama, the son of Yaji. His mother's name was Baiwa. He was a Sarki of good character, reticent and wise, generous and popular. He was prudent and at the same time warlike, and kept his word. He had a mind above favouritism or revenge, and took the Galadima Makama's advice in everything. The Galadima Makama was like a Sarki, while Dauda was like his Wazir, because he was so forbearing. There was no war in his reign or rebellion. He ruled Kano five years and four months.

#### XLIII. MOHAMMA ALWALI, SON OF YAJI.

A.H. 1195–1222. A.D. 1781–1807.

The forty-third Sarki was Mohamma Alwali, son of Yaji. His mother's name was Baiwa. As soon as he became Sarki he collected stores of "Gero" and "Dawa" in case of war and famine. Nevertheless famine overtook him. His chiefs said to him, "Sarkin Kano, why do you refuse to give cattle to Dirki?" The Sarki said, "I cannot give you forty cattle for Dirki." They said, "What prevents you? If any Sarkin Kano does not allow us cattle for Dirki, we fear that he will come to some ill." Alwali was very angry and sent young men to beat "Dirki" with axes until that which was inside the skins came out. They found a beautiful Koran inside Dirki. Alwali said, "Is this Dirki?" They said, "Who does not know Dirki? Behold here is Dirki." Dirki is nothing but the Koran. In Alwali's time the Fulani conquered the seven Hausa States on the plea of reviving the Muhammadan religion. The Fulani attacked Alwali and drove him from Kano, whence he fled to Zaria. The men of Zaria said, "Why have you left

Kano?" He said, "The same cause which drove me out of Kano will probably drive you out of Zaria." He said, "I saw the truth with my eyes, I left because I was afraid of my life, not to save my wives and property." The men of Zaria drove him out with curses. So he fled to Rano, but the Fulani followed him to Burum-Burum and killed him there. He ruled Kano twenty-seven years, three of which were spent in fighting the Fulani.

#### XLIV. SULIMANU, SON OF ABAHAMA.

A.H. 1222-1235. A.D. 1807-1819.

The forty-fourth Sarki was Sulimanu, son of Abahama, a Fulani. His mother's name was Adama Modi. When he became Sarkin Kano, the Fulani prevented him from entering the palace. He went into the house of Sarkin Dawaki's mother. One of the remaining Kanawa said to Sulimanu, "If you do not enter the Giddan Rimfa, you will not really be the Sarki of city and country." When Sulimanu heard this he called the chief Fulani, but they refused to answer his summons, and said, "We will not come to you. You must come to us, though you be the Sarki. If you will come to Mallam Jibbrim's house we will assemble there." Sulimanu went to Jibbrim's house and called them there. When they had assembled, he asked them and said, "Why do you prevent me entering the Giddan Rimfa?" Mallam Jibbrim said, "If we enter the Habe's houses and we beget children, they will be like these Habes and do like them." Sulimanu said nothing but set off to Shehu-Osuman Dan Hodio asking to be allowed to enter the Giddan Rimfa. Shehu Dan Hodio gave him a sword and a knife,<sup>1</sup> and gave him leave to enter the Giddan Rimfa, telling him to kill all who opposed him. He entered the house, and lived there. All the Kano towns submitted to him, except Faggam, which he attacked. He took many spoils there. On his way back to Kano the chiefs of the Fulani said to him, "If you leave Faggam alone, it will revolt." So he divided it into two, and returned home. In his time Dabo Dan Bazzo raised a revolt. He dared to look for a wife in Sokoto and was given one. Sarkin Kano said, "What do you mean by looking for a wife at Sokoto?" So Dabo was caught and bound. His relations the Danbazzawa, however, came by night and cut his bonds, and set him free. He ran to Sokoto with Sulimanu following him. At Sokoto they both went before Dan Hodio. Dabo Dan Bazzo said, "I do not wish to marry your daughters, but I wish for a reconciliation between myself and your Sarki Sulimanu." So a reconciliation was made and they returned to Kano. Sulimanu sent the Galadima Ibrahimia to Zaria to make war. Ibrahimia conquered Zaria and took many spoils. He returned to Kano. Sulimanu was angry because of the Galadima's success, and had sinister designs against him when he died himself without having an opportunity of carrying them out. He ruled thirteen years.

<sup>1</sup> A flag was also given him as well as a knife and sword. He did not go to Sokoto, but sent a message. Had he gone himself, he would never have regained his position.

## XLV. IBRAHIM DABO, SON OF MOHAMMADU.

A.H. 1235–1262. A.D. 1819–1846.

The forty-fifth Sarki was the pious and learned Ibrahim Dabo, son of Mohammadu, protector of the orphan and the poor, a mighty conqueror—a Fulani

His mother's name was Halimatu. When he became Sarki he entered the Giddan Rimfa. Dabo made Sani Galadima. He, however, immediately tried to raise a revolt and incite all the towns to disaffection. The country Sarkis assembled and became "Tawayi," from Ngogu to Damberta, from Jirima to Sankara, and from Dussi to Birnin Kudu and Karayi. Dabo said, "I will conquer them, if Allah wills." He entered his house and remained there forty days praying to Allah for victory. Allah heard his prayers. He went out to hasten his preparations for war, and made a camp on Dalla Hill. Because of this he got the name of "The man who encamped on Dalla." He spent many days on Dalla,<sup>1</sup> and then returned home. He sent Sarkin Dawaki Manu Maituta to fight with Karayi. When the Sarkin Dawaki reached Karayi he sacked the town and returned to Dabo. Dabo said, "Praise be to God," and prepared himself to go out to war. He went to Jirima and sacked that town and afterwards sacked Gasokoli and Jijita. Hence he was known as "Dabo, the sacker of towns." After he returned home he kept on sending out men to raid towns. He went in person to attack Dan Tunku and found him at Yan Yahiya. They fought. The Yerimawa ran away, and deserted Dan Tunku, who fled to Damberta, and thence, with Dabo following him, to Kazauri. When the Sarki reached the Koremma in pursuit he stopped, turned round again, and went back to Damberta, where he wrecked Dan Tunku's house. Dabo then returned home. Dabo was celebrated in the song:—

"The sacker of towns has come: Kano is your land, Bull Elephant, Dabo, sacker of towns."

When he went to war the trumpets played:—

"The sacker of towns is mounting."

He made war on Birnin Sankara and Birnin Rano, took the town of Rano, and lived in the house of Sarkin Rano. After this exploit he shaved his head. He never shaved his head except he sacked a town. When the Kano towns saw that Dabo would not leave any town unconquered, they all submitted to him, and his power exceeded all other Sarkis. He had a friend whose name was Ango. When the Galadima Sani died, he made Ango Galadima, and as Galadima the latter reached great power through his pleasant manner and his persuasiveness. In Dabo's time there was no foreign war and people had food in plenty. Dabo conquered and spoiled Yasko. He had many war captains, a few among whom may be mentioned as: Berde, Kano Buggali, Sarkin Dawaki Manu, Sarkin Jarumai Dumma, Sulimanu Gerkwarn Karifi (he it was who killed Tunari, the son of Sarkin Sankara), Juli Kuda, Lifidi, Maidawakin Gawo and many others. These warriors of Dabo's time had no fear in war. When Dabo mounted to go to war no such dust was

<sup>1</sup> "Perhaps forty, I am not sure."

ever seen, so many were his horses. The dust was like the Harmattan. Dabo was called "Majeka Hazo." His was a wonderful and brilliant reign, but we will not say any more for fear of "Balazi."

He ruled Kano twenty-seven years and three months and nine days, his reign ending on the ninth of Safar.

#### XLVI. OSUMANU, SON OF DABO.

A.H. 1262–1272. A.D. 1846–1855.

The forty-sixth Sarki was Osumanu, son of Dabo. His mother was Shekara. The first act of his reign was to build a house for Shekara at Tafassa with a big room the like of which was never seen before. Shekara was called "the mistress of the big room." Osumanu was a learned and good man and generous. He was called "The skin of cold water." The Galadima Abdulahi obtained in his time almost as much power as the Sarki, while Osuman was like his Waziri. There was no war in his time except with Hadeijia. He built a house at Gogel and had a farm there. In his time mallams obtained great honour—among them Mallam Ba-Abseni, and others. In Osumanu's time Sarkin Dussi Bello revolted, but the Sarki enticed him to Kano and deposed him. Highway robbers were very numerous because Osuman was so good-tempered and merciful. He could not bring himself to cut a man's hand off nor, because he was so pitiful, could he cut a robber's throat. He was called "Jatau rabba kaya." There was no Sarki like him for generosity.

He ruled Kano nine years and ten months.

#### XLVII. ABDULAHI, SON OF DABO.

A.H. 1272–1300. A.D. 1855–1883.

The forty-seventh Sarki was Abdulahi, son of Dabo. His mother's name was Shekkara. When he became Sarki he set to work to kill all the robbers and cut off the hands of the thieves. He was called "Abdu Sarkin Yenka" because he was a strong-minded Sarki, ruthless, and victorious. He was quick to depose chiefs, but kept his word to his friends. He never stayed long in one place but went from town to town. In his time there was a very great famine, and the quarrel with Umbatu grew big from small beginnings. The Sarkin Kano was eager to make war upon Umbatu. His first move was to attack Kuluki. Dan Iya Lowal of Kano died at Kuluki, whereupon the Sarki returned home himself, but sent Abdulahi Sarkin Dawaki Dan Ladan and his son Tafida to war in Zaria country. They went to Zaria together. This was in the time of Sarkin Zaria Abdulahi Dan Hamada. When they returned from Zaria it was not long before Dan Boskori made a descent upon Gworzo. The Sarkin Kano sent Sarkin Dawaki on ahead and followed himself personally to meet Dan Boskori Sarkin Maradi, west of Gworzo. A battle took place. The Kanawa ran away, deserting the Sarkin Dawaki Dan Ladan. Dan Boskori killed him. The Kanawa returned home in ones and twos.



The Sarkin Kano was very angry. He gave orders that a house was to be built at Nassarawa for him to live in during the hot season; he also built a house at Tarkai for the war with Umbatu. He had a house at Keffin Bako where he lived almost two years because of Dan Maji the neighbour of Umbatu. He fought with Warji after the war with Kuluki, and took enormous spoil. No one knows the amount of the spoil that was taken at a town called Sir. The corpses of Warjawa, slaughtered round their camp, were about four hundred. The Sarki returned home. After a short time, the Sarki attacked Warji again, and once more took many spoils. Kano was filled with slaves. Abdulahi went to Sokoto, leaving his son Yusufu at Tarkai. While he was there Dan Maji came to attack Yusufu. A battle was fought at Dubaiya. The Kanawa fled and deserted Yusufu. Many men were slain and captured. After this Yusufu was made Galadima Kano, and hence acquired much power. Abdulahi sent him to Dal from Tarkai to capture Haruna, the son of Dan Maji. Yusufu met Haruna at Jambo, and a battle took place. The Umbatawa ran away, deserting Haruna. Yusufu killed and took many men. It is said that about seven hundred were killed. Afterwards Yusufu tried to stir up rebellion and was deprived of his office and had to remain in chagrin and poverty till he was penniless. Abdulahi turned the Sarkin Dawaki Abdu out of his office and with him Makama Gadodamasu, Chiroma Diko, Dan Iya Alabirra, Galadima Abdul-Kadiri, and Galadima Yusufu. Abdulahi killed the Alkali Kano Ahmedu Rufaiyi, and degraded Maaji Sulimau, Maji Gajere, and San Kurmi Musa. He deprived Mallam Dogo of his office of Waziri. The number of people that he turned out of office was countless. Hence the song—

“Son of Ibrahim, a pick-axe to physic hard ground.”

He sacked many towns. He made a new gate, the Kofan Fada. In his father's time it had been built up. He rebuilt the mosque and house of the Turaki Mainya early in his reign. They had been in ruins for many years. In his time Soron Giwa was built. At Woso he met Dan Maji in war. It was towards evening when the battle was fought. Dan Maji retreated. If it had not been that the light failed he would have been killed. Abdulahi attacked Betu, but failed. Abdulahi used to have guns fired off when he mounted his horse, till it became a custom. His chief men were:—Sarkin Yaki, called Mallam Dogo, Mallam Isiaka, Mallam Garuba, Sarkin Gaiya, Mallam Abdu Ba-Danneji, Alhaji Nufu, his friend Mallam Masu, Tefida his son, Shamaki Naamu, Manassara, Jekada of Gerko, and Dan Tabshi. Mallam Ibrahim was his scribe, and was made Galadima. This man was afterwards turned out of office in the time of Mohammed Belo. Others were the Alkali Zengi and Alkali Sulimau. Abdulahi went to Zaria and sat down at Afira, and then at Zungonaiya. The Madawaki Ali of Zaria was in revolt against Sarkin Zaria. The Sarkin Kano made peace between them and returned home. In Abdulahi's time Salemma Berka became great. In the time of Mohammed Belo this man revolted and was

degraded. In Abdulahi's time, too, the palace slaves became so great that they were like free men. They all rebelled in Mohammed Belo's time, but Allah helped Mohammed Belo to quell the rebellion. There were many great captains of war in Abdulahi's time, men without fear—so many of them that they could not be enumerated, but a few may be mentioned: Sarkin Yaki, Mallam Dogo and his son Düti, Jarumai Musa, Sarkin Bebeji Abubakr, Sarkin Rano Ali, Sarkin Gesu Osuman, Sarkin Ajura Jibbr. In this reign Sarkin Damagaram Babba came as far as Jirima and sacked Garun Allah. Sarkin Gummel Abdu Jatau came to Pogolawa to attack it. Sarkin Maradi Dan Boskori came to Katsina. Abdulahi went to meet him. They met at Kusada, but did not fight. For this reason the meeting was called "Algish Bigish Zuru Yakin Zuru," for they looked at each other and went back. There was also a fight between Barafia Sarkin Maradi and Sarkin Kano at Bichi. Barafia ran away and Abdulahi took all the spoils. It is not known how many men were killed and slain. We do not know much of what Abdulahi did in the early part of his reign. He ruled Kano twenty-seven years and eight days, and died at Karofi on his way to Sokoto.

#### XLVIII. MOHAMMED BELO, SON OF IBRAHIM DABO.

A.H. 1300–1310. A.D. 1883–1892.

The forty-eighth Sarki was Mohammed Belo, son of Ibrahim Dabo. His mother was Shekkara. He was a very generous Sarki. He said to his friend Sarkin Fada Dan Gatuma, "You are Waziri Kano; I place in your hands the management of Kano." The Sarkin Fada was unrivalled as a settler of disputes. Belo was like his Wazir, and Sarkin Fada was like Sarki. When Sarki Fada died, Mohammed Belo stretched out his legs because he saw that now he must become Sarki in earnest. He expelled the Galadima Ibrahim from his office and banished him to Funkui in Zaria, whence his name, "Galadima na Funkui." Belo gave the post of Galadima to his son Tukr, and his son Zakari was made San Turaki. Another son Abubakr he made Chiroma in place of Chiroma Musa. . . .

لبسر المة الى صمراة، حير ط المة على النوى المير  
 هذا الطاروا تم ارباب هذه البلدة المسعود كسبتو  
 بسيد هم تيرتو يفتي لانه من قسيلا الآ لانه راجل  
 اسود غلينا فوم صاب الصية لانه يفتل عاصه  
 اليلوا ويطلمها على راسه ويمشي بها ف  
 تسعد اميل لانه جالني هذا البلدة لانه علم  
 اصله وبنى دارا على جبل الآ وجلس عليها  
 وصد مع ازواجته وابناؤه سبعة اربعة  
 رجال وثلثت نساه وكبير لهم اسم  
 عمر نجلى هو جد يوزاعى اب تيرتو يفتي هو الذا  
 ورتا اصوات الامر علم انواع الشوك كلبه  
 من حيا به ولسدره وغلبيه لانه سبب ذلك  
 كان سيد هم وواساه فومه اولهم خمر ترو  
 داره تحت خورنه وبلغ من شرفه انتم غافوا  
 ابوب

FIG. 1.—PAGE OF THE KANO CHRONICLE.



FIG. 2.—SACRED CROCODILE, SAID TO BE 200 YEARS OLD, AT THE VILLAGE OF MUSAWA, KATSINA. [THE ANIMAL HAS A RING FIXED THROUGH ITS NOSE. (P. 80.)

THE KANO CHRONICLE.

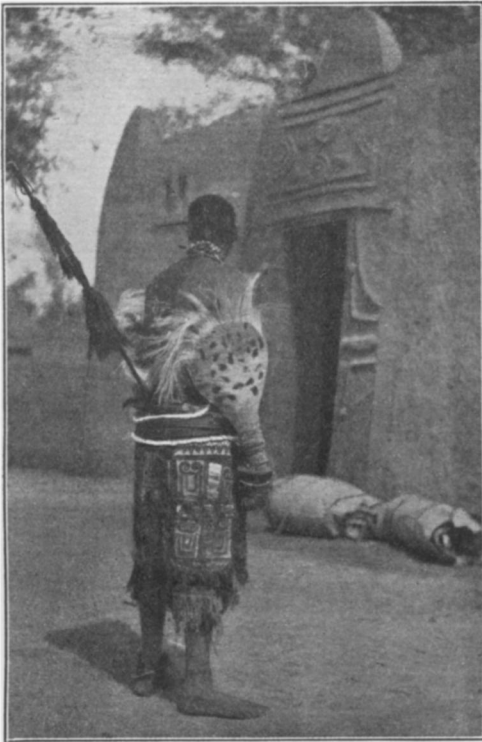


FIG. 1.

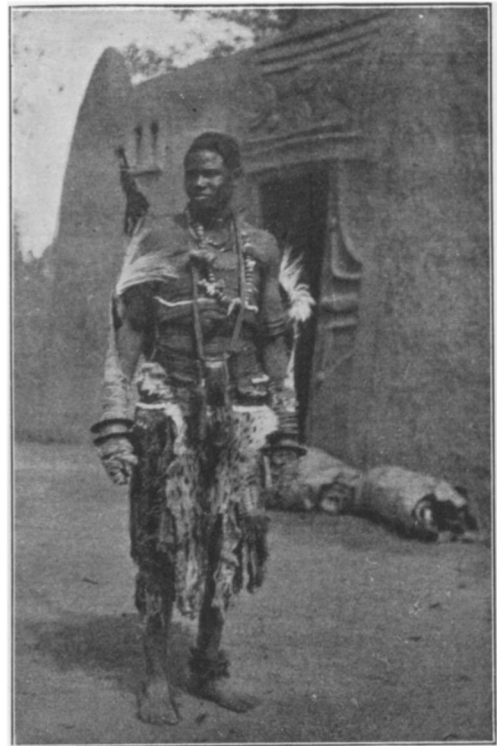


FIG. 2.

BAURA PLAYER: NOTE THE TIP OF THE SPEAR, AND THE IRON RINGS ON HIS WRISTS. (pp. 87, 89.)

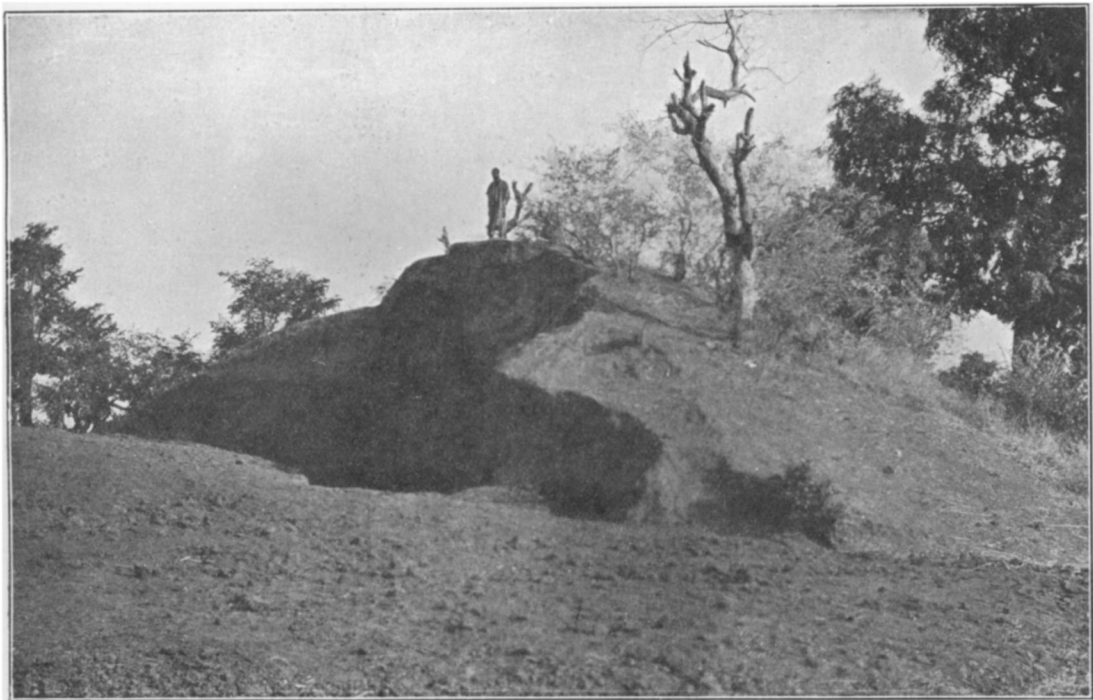


FIG. 3.—TOMB OF ONE OF THE EARLY KINGS OF KATSINA, SIMILAR TO THOSE DESCRIBED BY EL BEKRI AT GHANA. (p. 61.)

THE KANO CHRONICLE.