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Abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life*

*A Current Bibliography on African Affairs* shall diligently search for ways to facilitate communications between Africa, the Third World, and others. Our interest is based on a recognition of the fact that solid scholarship can cause a deeper understanding of the vast, often dramatic sequence of events which characterize Africa of the present day. We seek manuscripts addressing political, social, and economic problems and those offering practical solutions to real problems confronting the people and the governments of Africa.

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**INTRODUCTION**

*A Current Bibliography on African Affairs*, a publication dedicated to the study and research of various subjects in the field of African Studies, will continue firmly in the directions set by the former editor Daniel G. Matthews. Compiled as a quarterly guide, the publication will present a diversity of material—books, journals, documents, and visual aids—as resources for students, researchers, and the general public.

The publication is arranged in four main sections. The first includes original studies, bibliographic essays or bibliography contributions on specific subjects. The second is a selection of short book reviews which may be of particular interest to users of the journal. The third the bibliographic section, is composed of listings arranged in general Subject and Regional sections. An author index for rapid reference is the fourth.

Complete bibliographical information is given as far as possible. Notes are included where necessary for further explanation of titles.

**FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK**

There are certain venerable institutions which one dreads to see change even if change may be over due. Publications often figure prominently among such things. We feel a bit comfortable with a sturdy, honest 'ole war horse' and *A Current Bibliography on African Affairs* has for long maintained a consistent standard of integrity and informativeness, a record unmatched by many other serials which have fallen by the wayside. We hope that we may chart the way towards a higher frontier, attracting and motivating others to join in holding on to a long-running success story.

For our part, we shall diligently search for ways to facilitate communications between Africa, the Third World and others. Our interest is based on recognition of the fact that solid scholarship can cause a deeper understanding of the vast often dramatic sequence of events which characterize Africa of the present day.

In particular, we seek manuscripts which address political, social and economic problems and which offer practical solutions to real problems

**"TARIKH'UMARA BAUCHI" AND ITS  
CONTRIBUTION TO PRE-COLONIAL  
NINGI RESISTANCE TO SOKOTO  
CALIPHATE: EXEGESIS AND  
METHODOLOGY IN AFRICAN ORAL  
HISTORY, CA. 1846-1902\***

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**ABSTRACT**

For the past generation or so, a number of studies on important aspects of African history have been brought to the attention of the English speaking world. In my doctoral dissertation, I had occasion to use several texts which give interesting information about Ningi history [1]. One of the most important among these sources is the "TARIKH'UMARA BAUCHI" (The History of the Bauchi Emirate). The purpose of this study is to present this text with an English translation and my brief introductory note in the hope that it will be of help to English speaking scholars and students.

"TARIKH'UMARA BAUCHI" is an Arabic text related to the origin of Bauchi Emirate in the Sokoto Caliphate of northern Nigeria during the nineteenth century. Fortunately, as noted elsewhere, the text contains the single most comprehensive reconstruction of the Ningi Chiefdom, which in the nineteenth century, was located between Bauchi and Kano Emirates [2, p. 354]. In Islamic theory and practice, Sokoto was the capital of the Caliphate and all Emirates fell within its administrative jurisdiction. When problems prevailed in the Emirates, their impact was usually felt in Sokoto.

\*The research for this paper was funded by the Foreign Area Fellowship Program from July 1972 to January 1974 in northern Nigeria.

Ningi interfered with Bauchi's expansion and consolidation; and, therefore, caused a concern in adjacent Emirates and the Caliphate generally [3, p. 356]. This explains the existence of detailed information on the Ningi Chieftdom.

Our concern is a 1957 version of a 1912 text, which reveals some interesting historical facts about the Ningi Chieftdom. Within the scope of this brief inquiry only the 1957 version will be considered. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that R. A. Adeleye identifies 1912 as the date for the writing of this document [2, p. 354], and the scholarly *Imam*-author also gives other clues [4]. On the order of Ningi succession, the author wrote that: "Abdul (Abdullahi, 1957-1961), son of Emir (Chief) Ningi Adamu (1923-1955), son of Dan Yaya (ca. 1890-1902) was appointed, and he (Abdullahi) is the Emir now at the time of writing." Hence, the final version was completed in either 1957 or 1960-1961. However, according to a Ningi informant, the comprehensive nature of this text on Ningi history was contributed by *Malam* Ali Mai Yaki, whom the British exiled from Ningi to Bauchi for selling eighty slaves in 1905. Mai Yaki was in charge of the Emir's horses and, if this testimony is correct, described versions of Ningi history to the author [1]. These final versions were, therefore, incorporated in written form in the text in 1957. In using a text of this type, one must be aware of the need to read the entire source because the author obviously is not raising the same set of questions; and if to the contrary, they may be placed in various sections unrelated to one's immediate research interest.

Since oral testimonies obviously played a great role in the compilation of the text, its fixed mode is extremely useful for students engaged in course work on oral methodology. The text is generally in agreement with independent oral traditions collected during the field phase of research on Ningi history. The document is, therefore, invaluable for this purpose and sheds light on an heretofore obscure social movement in Islam.

In brief, the section on Ningi history tells us about the thematic development of state formation as a reaction to external aggression. Resistance to Caliphate rule is a unifying theme. As essentially a frontier zone between Kano and Bauchi, the non-Muslim small scale mountain people—Butawa and Warjawa ('original societies' of west Africa) [5, 6], Chamawa, Basawa, Sirawa, Pa'awa and others—remained politically 'stateless' until the Hausa *mallamai* (religious practitioners and teachers) led by *Malam* Hamza-came (ca. 1846), and organized the non-Muslim mountaineers by non-conquest means into a rebellious chieftdom against the Sokoto Caliphate. (The chronology list of Ningi ruling *mallamai* in the nineteenth century is as follows):

*Malam* Hamza ca. 1847-1849

|  
*Malam* Ahmadu ca. 1850-1855

*Malam* Abubakar Dan Mage ca. 1855-1870

|  
*Malam* Haruna Karami ca. 1870-1886

|  
*Malam* Gajigi ca. 1886-1890

*Malam* Usman Dan Yaya ca. 1890-1902

As comparatively demonstrated elsewhere, the concept of "development cycle" is useful in this case to explain subsequent disintegration of the Ningi Chieftdom (ca. 1849) and its re-establishment (ca. 1850-1860) through conquest [7, pp. 162-173; 8, pp. 146, 147]. This concept suggests further that changing forms of domination in pre-colonial African states must be given more consideration in future research [9, p. 46]. The Ningi Chieftdom was not conquered until the coming of the British in 1902. One carefully notes that the description and orientation by the author of these events are from the Islamic orthodox view. In a more recent work on oral methodology, David P. Henige warns of the need to consider the process of "feedback" which is defined as the "co-opting of extraneous printed or written information into previously oral accounts" [10, p. 96]. The tendency to incorporate the written word into oral traditions occurs wherever literacy had an impact in Africa; this includes both areas of European language under colonial rule and that of the Arabs as well [10, p. 103]. Hence, the process of "feedback" in this document must be carefully weighed.

Professor O. S. A. Ismail, formerly of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria, not only translated the Arabic text under consideration, but scanned the entire manuscript and provided useful comments. As a citizen of the Sudan Republic, Professor Ismail's first language is Arabic, and his training expands the broad scope of world scholarship. I am extremely grateful and fortunate to have shared his time and expertise in this endeavor and in the understanding of Islamic institutions generally. He translated other Arabic manuscripts for the Northern Nigerian Research Scheme, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University.

Let us consider the Ningi history section of TARIKH'UMARA BAUCHI below (from the Arabic pages one-three, 154-189):

Title of Book:	IDA' T al-GHUBSH WA 'I-MISBAH li-al-'UMSH fi TARIKH'UMARA BAUCHI: ma'a DHIKR ba 'd al-WAQAI allati taqa <sup>b</sup> u fi AZAMANIHIM
Author:	IMAM OF BAUCHI, MAHMUD b. MUHAMMAD BELLO b. AHMAD b. IDRIS
Origin:	al-SUDANI al-TAKRURI
Islamic School:	AL-MALIKI AL-ASH'ARI AL-QADIRI

. . . Praise be to ALLAH who alone has the ultimate of survival, the Ruler of the World, and the Almighty who ruled that all others should perish. To begin, I have been instructed by the one whose request is ordered; whose obedience is gain that I should write what I have heard from trustworthy individuals or what I saw with my own eyes or heard with my own ears of the history of the Emirs of Bauchi from Emir Yakub b. DATA to Emir Adamu b. AHMAD.

And the second of the Emirs of Bauchi is the Emir Ibrahim, son of Yakub, who was appointed by Emir Muḥimīn Ali Al-Kabir, son of Muhammed Bello. He was appointed as Emir of Bauchi on the death of his father Yakubu, son of Data; and when he was appointed he was 40 years old; and he lived after that for 41 years and six months.

A year after that, a year after his Ibrahim taking the reign of power, he went to invade the Angas and this was the first attack on the Angas. He went with a lot of people; he invaded the Angas; he killed whom he killed and took into captivity whom he took into captivity; and he had a lot of spoils from their wealth, and women; and he went back safe with a lot of booty to his home. Then after that, after a year and six months or perhaps two complete years of the first raid he attacked Muntun, and he killed whom he found there and then he returned back safely.

It was after that that the affair of Mallam Hamza, who was a learned man [And Saint or *Walī* with Sufi Traits] and a sorcerer [Sihr], who rose against the Emir and had a lot of the infidels followers; and he created some problems in the Muslim country of Bauchi. Therefore, the Emir of Bauchi Ibrahim went out to fight him, and he went with his troops to meet Hamza and his people. And when the two arms met, ALLAH accorded him, Ibrahim, victory and he killed Hamza and he dispersed his, Hamza's, troops. He killed a lot of them; he took into captivity a lot of them; and he went back home safe with a lot of booty. Now after that, two years after that, he went to invade Tabula; and he stayed there for eight years [Six Years]; then he returned. And after his return from Tabula, for after seven years from his return from Tabula, his brother Suleiman, son of Yakubu, died. This brother Suleiman was a strong man, brave, and well mannered; had high qualities which were very much like those of his father and his brother, the Emir of Bauchi Yakubu. And it was during the life of this man that the power had its good impact on people, a good image was made; and Ibrahim had a name that was feared by the subjects more than they feared his brother the Emir Yakubu because Ibrahim was a strong man, and Yakubu was a man of mild character. So when Ibrahim died a lot of people of the *Dhimma* like the people of Yam Yam and all the people of the mountains who were near to them revoked their allegiance to the Emir; they refused the treaty of *aman* [PEACE] and which is because of this catastrophe that after a year that the Emir Yakubu had to return to his center, his capital, to see what he could do about this situation; because he was quite aware of the difficulty and could not see how this thing could be handled as things developed.

Now let us go back to deal with the affair of Mallam Hamza and all the rebels of Ningi because Hamza was the root of all this trouble; and

his affair, it started at the beginning of the reign of the Emir of Bauchi, Ibrahim [ca. 1847]. Therefore, it was suitable for us to speak about him and the affair of Ningi here by way of passing, then we go back to the history of the Emir Ibrahim with the WILL OF GOD when we finish this affair of Hamza. Now know that this Hamza before coming to the land of Bauchi was a resident in the land of Kano area in a place called Yar-Soku [Tsakuwa and Karwai], when the tax collector--the *Kharaj* collector--came and asked him about the *Kharaj*, the tax, Hamza refused to pay *Kharaj*, and ordered all those who were with him not to pay the *Kharaj* to the agent of the Kano ruler. Now when the *Kharaj*, collector went back to the Sultan of Kano, Usman b. Mallam Dabo [ca. 1846], and told him in Yar-Soku there is a man called Mallam Hamza who refused to pay the *Kharaj*, and he would say a lot of things; and boasting and telling some nasty things and the circumstances. The Sultan of Kano ordered that Hamza should be sent away, but that his land should be kept for him.

Another story was that when the Emir was told about the affair of Mallam Hamza, he took it lightly but when his brother Abdullahi succeeded him, Abdullahi sent somebody secretly to this man and ordered that they should be brought to Kano willingly or by force. And so they were warned; and when they knew about this, they fled, i.e., Hamza and his people fled. There are other stories about this, ALLAH knows better about the truth of this background of Hamza. Now when Mallam Hamza with his followers like Mallam Umer Gor Sangu and Mallam Ahmadu and Mallam Mai Mazari and Mallam Harun, Al-Kabir, the father of Dan Yaya, and others; when these left they continued their trek till they passed Umbuta [Butawa] and reached the land of Bauchi and entered the land of Bauchi and landed in an area and the Emir Mara. The area in which they landed was called Dua. When they stayed there, Mallam Hamza came to the Emir whose name was 'Dan Daura. This 'Dan Daura was very pleased to have Mallam Hamza with him, thinking that he had now found a learned man whose blessings he could seek and whose blessings would be beneficial to him. Now it is because the Emir 'Dan Daura was really a fool; he was pleased to have Hamza with him; he was very generous to him; then he took him to the Sultan of Bauchi Ibrahim and said to him I have found a learned man; he has come to us from Kano; and I would like for you to give me the permission to have him with me and to secure his use in that way. Now the Sultan of Bauchi told 'Dan Daura, the Emir of Mara, how could you have under you a burden which the Emir of Kano could not bear and the Emir Ibrahim, he warned the Emir about the danger he was having with him. The Emir of Mara said I shall bear to have him with me if you will give me the permission. Then the Sultan said: "alright I give you permission and here you have him." So 'Dan Daura went with the Mallam Hamza from the presence of the Sultan Ibrahim of Bauchi; he took him to his place, Mara; and he was very generous and kind to him. Mallam Hamza stayed at Dua under the protection of the Emir of Mara; and while they were on such terms, a cow of a certain Fulani fell on the garden of one of the people of Dua; and this cow was shot by an arrow, and it died, and the man who shot it was not known. The people of Dua took the meat of this cow

because they eat the meat of dead cows [Slaughtered Without Proper Muslim Rites]. This Fulani took his case to the Emir of Mara 'Dan Daura, and the Fulani said that these people did not shoot the cow because of the trespassing that it made but they actually shot it because they wanted to eat its meat. Now the Emir of Mara decided that these people should pay the price of the dead cow. On this the people started to quarrel, and they revoked their allegiance to this Emir, and, indeed, even went out of Islam. The Emir of Mara went out and collected his troops, and he went to Mallam Hamza to drive him out from among his subjects either peacefully or by force. Mallam Hamza went out with his followers and they sacked the Emir of Mara and the Emir of Mara had to flee. His troops were dispersed and went back to their home Mara, and reported on what they had done to themselves because they refused to accept the advice of the Emir of Bauchi Ibrahim when he advised them not to have this Hamza among them. When the troops of the Emir of Mara was scattered and fled Mallam Hamza stayed at his house in Dua, and he began to call the mountain people in the area like the people of Tiffi, the people of Ari, the people of Sonoma, the people of Badunga, the people of Guda, the people of Rabi, the people of Umbuta, the people of Burra, the people of Kalok, the people of Zeda, the people of Wushi, the people of the mountains, Aja, and others [Warji people did not join Hamza]. He called them, and he told them that you have now succeeded because you have found amongst you a person like me; come to my fold, and I will deliver you from the services of the Fulani who are unjust; the Fulani who impose upon you a lot of services; and impose upon you things which you cannot pay. Mallam Hamza continued to use this kind of language to raise the rebellion and to provoke these people and with this, of course, he used his powers of sorcery and witchcraft because of his veritable knowledge of sorcery; he has a lot of knowledge of the secrets [Arabic, al-Asrar] of sorcery; and he used to employ such tricks like throwing the paper in the air; and the paper would stay suspended; it would not fall on the ground; and then he would mount a carpet or mat in the air or he would stretch his tongue and wrap it around himself, his head like a turban or he would stretch his leg to the length of two spears; then he would sort of fold it or bring it back; and he would say to these people nobody will ever be able to defeat you so long as I am amongst you [Hamza used specified Qur'anic verses with appropriate formula (Hausa, *Nak'ali*) of the divine Names of Allah in Mysticism]. Now when the Emir of Mara saw how the situation developed he repented himself as being very small but it was too late for repentance, and he allowed that he could not really face this man so he sent to the Sultan of Bauchi asking for help and requesting in strong emotional terms to come to his help and in the spirit of this danger which he found himself; in so, the Sultan of Bauchi Ibrahim sent to Ardo Zaranda to take his troops and advance to Mara and to meet the Emir of Mara so that they could jointly fight Mallam Hamza. Now this leader Ardo Zaranda collected a great army, and went to the Emir of Mara and the two of them marched in direction of Dua to fight Mallam Hamza; when Hamza appeared, and made that trick of

throwing the paper in the air, it just stood there, and when he showed dexterity in witchcraft, the army of Ardo Zaranda were defeated, and the army of the Emir of Mara took to flight, and the two armies were scattered, and Hamza followed the army, and he killed the Emir of Mara, 'Dan Daura. Ardo Zaranda was able to flee. This incidence only increased Hamza's haughtiness and of course paved the way for his position among the heathens in the area and the people of the mountains became subjects to him [Through non-Conquest]. The people of the mountains became servile to him; and became very obedient to his orders; to sow discord and trouble among the community; and to attack the Fulani and their neighbors; and to sort of drive them from their homes where they had settled until the situation became difficult for Sultan Ibrahim the Emir of Bauchi. When the situation became so critical on the Emir Ibrahim of Bauchi and when he realized that there was no alternative for him but to go out himself to deal with this rebel, the Emir Ibrahim collected the troops, and he began to praise God in the mornings and in the evenings and to collect the learned men [Ulama] to help him in this difficult situation and hoping that their prayers could help him too. When he completed his preparations and collected his troops he called for the callers of the horsemen to ride and they all rode in one instance; and they came and they welcomed the instructions to accompany the Emir in his bid to fight Hamza.

The Emir of Bauchi went out with his troops and he encountered a place called Shali; then from there he advanced to a place called Aldu Lame; then from there he went to Kurmin Shita; then from there he went to the mountain Kangharwa [Jengere]; that was near from Dua where Hamza was when Sultan Ibrahim of Bauchi reached Kangharwa. Mallam Hamza went out with his troops to meet him immediately! That is because Mallam Hamza at that time was at the height of his haughtiness and his feelings of estrange and rebelling. When the two armies met Hamza was killed immediately, instantly in less than a twinkling of an eye, and of course victory is but from Allah; and nobody knew who killed him; it is said that a stray arrow hit him and he died from that stray arrow; and a lot of his people were killed; a lot of them were also taken into captivity and the rest were dispersed; and took to the mountains and their return was with defeat and humility. The Sultan of Bauchi Ibrahim, return back to his place with his troops, very pleased at having won so much of booty and having scored such a victory and having come without any loss. They went in the fortified place acting as somebody is coming from a marriage festivity; this is a description of how pleased they were of this victory against this dangerous Mallam. Now a year after that [Concept of Development Cycle] these people-rebels—collected in Sonoma [Gurungu], and they advanced Mallam Ahmadu; and they made him their leader; and their commander; and they began to raid; and take the property of the Fulani. Again this continued until Sultan Ibrahim organized an army and led it and encamped in their area at a place called Tabula. They were—the rebels—in Sonoma very near from Tabula—something like the trotting of a horse—that is, the running of a horse not very far; there

was a lot of tough fighting between Ibrahim and these rebels; and Sultan Ibrahim was able to conquer Sonoma and to burn it; and the people fled to Ningi. This is a very narrow place, very difficult to pass with mountains on all sides and the rebels took refuge in that place and used it for protection. This place Ningi is not far and very near to Tabula. Now Sultan Ibrahim of Bauchi stayed in Tabula for eight years as we had said before when we were mentioning his raids and battles; and he began to fight them until he killed their leader Mallam Ahmadu; and that was the first time that they went to Ningi; and this is the place to which they are usually related; and they are called accordingly Ningawa. Now after that the Emir of Bauchi, Ibrahim departed and went back to his fortified ribat. Now after this the people were called Ningawa; the Emir of Bauchi had defeated their leader and returned to his base; their leader Ahmadu was killed; and they, therefore, put another man as a leader; this man was called Mallam Abubakar; and he is usually called 'Dan Maje; they made him their leader and commander and began to listen to him, to follow his commands, and obey him. They seemed to have been thoroughly under his powers. He had no difficulty in establishing this rule under them ['Dan Maje incorporated Warjawa by conquest means]; and with this he began to raid and to acquire; he raided the land of Kano; and he was able to conquer a lot of their outpost and fortified centers; he also attacked, raided the land of Bauchi and conquered a lot of areas there. He also attacked the land of Zazzuk and the land of Sera, and he left none of his neighboring countries without attacking or raiding them, and taking property so his affair became known, and his power was increasing and things became very difficult on the Emirs of the area. He took a sort of power and conceit and gathered troops, an army, with a lot of troops, something like 4,000 horsemen; and he descended from his mountains and his army in direction of Bauchi; and advanced as far as a place called Ghul Jamu; and he fought off the people of the area; he defeated them; there was a lot of fighting; he killed a lot; and he took a lot of their property; and took a lot of their women and their children; and then he advanced until he reached Zam; and he raided them; and he took from them what he could take and he advanced to Kadatu; and he went to Toro; and the people of Toro went out to meet 'Dan Maje; and there was very stiff fighting between them until they forced him and his troops to the banks of a deep river. This was in one of the valleys of Salaram. Now the people of this rebel, 'Dan Maje, died in that river; and 'Dan Maje was hit by two arrows; and by the arrows of the people of Toro and only very few were able to cross the valley, something like 300 horsemen. God has killed 'Dan Maje, praise be to Allah and the rest who were dispersed and took to flight and went back to their homes.

Now after their return, again, they advanced Haruna, son of 'Dan Maje as their leader, and gave him their command; and he was a good horseman; and he was a cursed dog; he was very strong; he was Satan; and he used to defeat many troops alone. When he was given power, he took things very seriously and followed the footsteps of his father, 'Dan Maje; he was almost about to do more than his father could do but his power, his preparation of his troops were not as big as his father

[Sic] and he did not have as many like the men of his father. Moreover, he had deep hatred against the people of Bauchi because they killed his father, and he started by fighting the people of Kano, making things seem difficult for them and he also raided the land of Zazzuk, the land of Sera, but he did not attack the people of Bauchi, and it appeared that he had received from them the *aman* or trust; and that he was to respect the *aman* between him and the Emir of Bauchi, Ibrahim. Now it was this that made the people of Bauchi become relaxed in their defense against Haruna; that is he continued in this kind of conduct showing that he is respecting the truce and covenant to them until the people began to neglect taking him seriously; and somehow they relaxed thinking that this man is no more a danger; but the Emir of Bauchi Ibrahim kept his eyes open because he was a clever man who knew that things might be otherwise and therefore, the Emir of Bauchi, Ibrahim, continued to be vigilant and making all sorts of guards against this devil. Now the rebel Haruna collected big army; the cavalry were something like 3,000; and he advanced on Bauchi; at a time when people were not vigilant; and he took people by surprise until he came in the approaches of Rauta; and he knew that the Emir of Bauchi, Ibrahim was there because this is the place of his *ribat*; that is of his camp in the frontier. Now when he reached the approaches of that place he sent a very few of his men to the approaches of the gate of the place they attacked, and took some booty from the people of Bauchi; this little group took that booty. Now the intention of that devil was that the Emir Ibrahim, would ride and, therefore, he would have the chance to kill the Emir Ibrahim; and satisfy his thirst for revenge against him, but the Emir Ibrahim did not ride to meet this small group of the rebel Haruna, but sent a small group to follow the attackers; and this happened when the remainder of the troops of this devil rebel were preparing themselves for an ambush; when the small contingent of the Emir of Bauchi went out galloping without knowing the ambush was taking place when they were in the midst of the ambush; when the ambushers came out to meet this small contingent, of course, they tore it to pieces; and they were able to kill some of the leading men from amongst the people of Bauchi; and of course they were also able to take into captivity a lot of people. But they were not able to accomplish their objective which was to take the Emir himself into captivity and after that they returned. Then the rebel continued to advance into the land of Bauchi, and take what they wanted to take until he heard about the advance of the Emir of Bauchi Usman, son of Ibrahim; this Usman, son of Ibrahim, was on his way to a place called Zal to see to a situation where the heathens and the rebels were collecting in that area as what we are going to say when we deal with the history of the Emir Usman. Now the cursed Haruna advanced to the troops camp of the Emir of Bauchi, and started to raid the camp until one of his men galloped, and killed one of the horsemen, and wounded some people from Bauchi inside that camp. The rebel Haruna at that time had come with a lot of troops; and they started the attack; and one of his commanders whose name was Dan Yaya; and who became the Emir of Ningi after that. This Dan Yaya approached the camp of the Bauchi people with some 300 men,

horsemen; now Muhammed Mallyata, the son of the Emir of Bauchi Ibrahim with some 30 horsemen went out to meet these people; and he unleashed his sword; and his 30 horsemen did the same; and they advanced in the direction of Dan Yaya. When Dan Yaya and the people in his company saw the honesty and the seriousness of these people, they started to flee, and the Prince Mallyata continued until they were in their midst; and all he and the rest of his horsemen started to their swords; and they shook the enemies moral and troops; and at that time the Emir of Bauchi began to beat the drums inside of his camp; and all the people took to prepare themselves to join in the attack; when Haurna heard that the Emir of Bauchi himself was taken to his horses with his men; Haruna started to flee with the rest of his troops; and he continued to use this type of tricks and attacks until he died without being able to accomplish what he wanted, that is to kill the Emir Ibrahim. Now when Hamza died [Sic, Haruna], they again put his brother Gajigi in his place but his succession did not go without challenge; that is, Dan Yaya, one of the commanders, challenged him [Successionist Dispute, ca. 1886-1890] and began to use a lot of tricks against him; and he started to deceive the sons of Haruna to stand against their uncle. Now this challenger, Dan Yaya deceived the children of Haruna in order that they should not support their uncle Gajigi until he succeeded in taking the reign from Gajigi, and he killed him. The story about this would take long, and we do not want to deal with it here. Now the rule of the Ningi continued in the hands of Dan Yaya and Dan Yaya's name is Usman, son of Haruna [Baba], the Al-Kabir, as we have referred to before. Now Dan Yaya was stronger than Haruna, and he was meaningful more devilish than Haruna; God has never put any mercy in his heart and if he attack and succeeded, then killing was for him better than captivity. I have been told that he has taken some 80 of the subjects farming in their gardens behind the fort names Madakin and he slaughtered them, all of them; now this kind of behavior of his is really countless and it is not nice to listen to. Now the thing is that this man continued to be the ruler of Ningi until the coming of the English in this area, and one of the Englishmen that came to them was Mr. Temple; and, therefore, the Ningi was taken from where they did not expect; and they were taken; they were so shaken; the cursed rebel had to flee but flight did not save him; the people [Butawa] of Sonoma [Samma] met him; and fought him; and killed him; and, therefore, his reign came to an end. After his death the English put in his place Mamuda, son of Haruna, Emir of Ningi and this Mamuda was a tough and haughty man; and he was not suitable for the time; therefore, they deposed him and place the country [Chiefdom became Division] in hands of Musa who is called Dan Gadu; after that they brought back Mamudu, but bringing back did not solve the problem for the English; therefore, they deposed him. They appointed Zakaria of Warji; he was deposed; and then they appointed a man from Kano called Abdu ["The Messenger"] only to depose him. After that Adamu, son of Dan Yaya, was appointed and he is the Emir now at the time of writing. And only Allah knows what end of things would be. So the news Ningi comes to an end; let us go back to another story.

## SUMMARY

"TARIKH'UMARA BAUCHI" (The History of the Bauchi Emirate) is an Arabic text that contains a section on the Ningi Chiefdom (ca. 1846-1902). It appears that the first version of the text was written in 1912, and a final version completed in about 1957. The section on the Ningi mountaineers is based primarily on oral tradition; resistance to the Sokoto Caliphate is the basic theme in the nineteenth century. Beginning in the pre-*jihād* center of Tsakuwa, a Qur'anic town near Kano city, a group of dissident *mallamai* refused tax payment of *Kharaj* in ca. 1846. Led by *Malam* Hamza, they fled Tsakuwa, and migrated to the Ningi mountains. Through the use of glamorous magic called *Sihir*, Hamza founded the Ningi Chiefdom by non-conquest means. After he disappeared, the chiefdom fell apart; and the mountaineers returned to their earlier 'stateless' ways. But subsequent leaders re-established the chiefdom through conquest. This shows that changing forms of domination must receive more attention in the pre-colonial African past. Ningi was never conquered until the coming of the British in 1902. A tentative chronology of Ningi succession order in the nineteenth century supplements the Arabic text.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to express a special thanks with the usual disclaimer. The writer is presently Associate Professor in the Department of History, Howard University, Washington, DC.

I wish to thank Professor Abdullahi Smith, Director, Arewa House, Kaduna, Nigeria, for bringing TARIKH'UMARA BAUCHI to my attention. Finally, I wish to thank Professors Asa Davis, William A. Brown, and Jan Vansina who read and criticized this paper.

The oral history collection is now on deposit for the use of other scholars at the Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Samaru-Zaria, Nigeria, and at the Archives of Traditional Music, 013 Maxwell Hall, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47401. The Archives of Traditional Music are prepared to furnish specified recordings of these tapes at cost.

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