

# AFRIKA

## Internationales Afrikaforum

Herausgegeben vom Europäischen Institut für politische, wirtschaftliche und soziale Fragen e. V. in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Ifo-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung e. V. Die Zeitschrift berichtet in dem Teil „Chronik“ ausführlich über die politischen, wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und kulturellen Entwicklungen in den Staaten und Regionen Afrikas. Im Aufsatzteil kommen namhafte Fachleute und Afrikaner der verschiedenen Richtungen zu Wort. Wichtige Afrika-Literatur und deren Autoren werden in einer ständigen Literaturübersicht vorgestellt.

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In its section Chronik (Chronicle), this periodical offers a detailed report on the political, social, economic and cultural developments in the states and regions of Africa. The essay section provides a forum for specialists and experts on Africa from various schools of thought. Important African authors and African literature are introduced in a permanent literary review.

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## ADELL PATON Jr.

### *Oral Tradition in the Reconstruction of Ningi History ca. 1880—1908*

Kings have prescribed destinies just like men, and seers who probe the future know it. They have knowledge of the future, whereas we griots are depositories of the knowledge of the past. But whoever knows the history of a country can read its future ... Other people use writing to record the past, but this invention has killed the faculty of memory among them. They do not feel the past any more, for writing lacks the warmth of the human voice (words of Balla Fasseke, Sun-iata's griot, 1234-1255 A.D. D.T. Niane, *Sundiata: An Epic of Old Mali*)

Ningi territory is located in the present-day Bauchi State of northern Nigeria, about 115 miles from Kano City in a southeasterly direction, in the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The territory is an extension of the Jos Plateau massif at the

northernmost end. The terrain is, therefore, hilly and mountainous; and therefore, responsible for the settlements there of numerous small scale heterogeneous societies. In the 1950's the area comprised 1,950 square miles and a population of 40,911, based on the 1931 census; the population has more than doubled in the present time with a possible incorporation of the older territorial boundaries in the new Bauchi State.

During the onset of colonial rule in 1902, the British attempted to govern Ningi under the Emirate-model of Indirect rule, but the Ningi refused initially to be governed by this model. Between 1902 to 1921, the British deposed and exiled Ningi leaders over their refusal to discontinue raids for slaves and booty within Ningi and adjacent territory. Indirect rule was abandoned, and a colonial official became for all intent and purposes the 'paramount ruler' of Ningi. From 1915 to 1922 an alien named Abdul, who was a messenger in the colonial service, was even 'Chief' of Ningi; and informants remember his reign as Abdul "The Messenger". The hiatus of direct rule came in 1921 when colonial administration converted again to indirect rule with the appointment in 1922 of Chief Zakari as the paramount chief over the four Ningi districts, but he was deposed one year later. In 1923 Chief Adamu was appointed and his reign ended through retirement in 1955. However, the Ningi's gradual accommodation to the Emirate-Model of Indirect rule did not make them popular with the British, and this factor may well explain in part the origin of the Ningi reputation as 'troublesome people' in the lore of Hausaland today. But when it is understood that the Ningi Chiefdom was formed in the pre-colonial era through resistance to empire then one can better understand why the Ningi continued to resist the British.

The Ningi formation resulted from a series of events that took place at the Islamic Centre of Tsakuwa in Kano in ca. 1846. Here, believing perhaps that they deserved exemptions from taxation (mahrams), some fourteen Mallamai (religious practitioners and teachers) - led by Malam Hamza - refused to pay *Kuridin Kasa* or the land tax, which got them into trouble with Kano officials within the Sokoto Caliphate. On the run, the Mallamai leapfrogged into the Ningi 'mountains' where people had already been settled for centuries.

Migration into the area had earlier led to the formation of smallscale corporate lineages in the settlement process of Ningi as a refugee zone. This area may have been the most desirable area for settlement in remote times until the emergence of the city-state when the trade route nexus turned them into backwaters. According to the oral traditions, the Buta and the Warji people were the most pristine of all the people there and hence the 'original' immigrants; these groups were formed from the oldest and original pre-Hausa speaking population. Speculative, linguistic evidence suggests that these people were present some 2,000 years ago and presumably even before that; they were possibly the last remnants of the Aquatic 'civilizations'. Such cultural phenomena as Buta and Warji are not isolated to Ningi in northern Nigeria. Although culturally different, these "conserving societies", as defined by Stuart Piggott's classification,<sup>2</sup> are found in enclaves in a region stretching from Senegal, through the Volta Basin, northern Togo and Benin, Adamawa-Cameroon, and the Wadai region, to Kordofan in the Sudan.

Oral tradition further holds that the Chamawa and Basawa (Kudawa) found the Butawa and Warjawa, and the Sirawa in the Ningi area upon their arrival in the pre-1800's. (the *awa* suffix is the plural of 'people' in Hausa). The Pa'awa came and

settled sometime after the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Most of these societies paid tribute to Bauchi and Kano emirates, and unlike the majority cultures on the low-land urban plains of Hausaland, the Ningi people were without myths of invincibility. And the Hausa *mallamai* of Kano Emirate - bringing Hausa culture and language with them - were, therefore, the last immigrants of enduring importance to settle there, as one recalls in ca. 1846. Thus, a series of internal absorptions occurred, and Hausa culture developed around them with Kano as its centre. The area became an ethnic and linguistic museum - Benue-Congo and Chadic classifications - that preserved earlier cultures (see map).<sup>3</sup>

But the *mallamai* changed the 'stateless' character of the non-Muslims of Ningi by organizing them into rebellion against Sokoto. Millennial overtones surfaced before the actual rebellion took place in ca. 1847. In spite of numerous uncertainties, the Chiefdom had become an entity by 1849, and had developed a territorial consciousness by the 1870's. In essence Ningi became a Hausa chiefdom. Its heterogeneous character made it more akin to Abuja than to the Fulani emirates, and in political thought closer to the pre-jihad Hausa states; for example, the criteria for leadership among the Hausa *malamai* were less rigid than the hereditary emirate system. To become a leader one had to be Hausa, but merit in war determined who led Ningi. And Ningi's resistance to incursions by Caliphate forces was successful and they suffered no permanent defeat in the nineteenth century. But the British defeated Ningi in 1902, and imposed taxation on the people by 1908.<sup>4</sup>

#### Methodology In The Jos Plateau

The fieldwork for reconstruction of Ningi history was undertaken from August 1972 to

December 1973 in the northern region of Nigeria. Until this time research on the Ningi of a historical nature was minimal. The methodology used in the reconstruction of Ningi history (ca. 1800-1908) a pragmatic course. Particular attention was paid to oral historical data and their mode of transmission. Variants of traditions were recorded both in Ningi and the neighbouring areas. The introduction of Islam and the imposition of colonial rule influenced the extant traditions. The oral traditions contributed to the establishment of two basic facts in Ningi history. First, the Hausa *mallamai* refused to pay the tax of *Kuridin Kasa*, not the *zakka* at Tsakuwa of Kano ca. 1846. Second, the Hausa founders of the Ningi Chiefdom and *Isawa* believers in the Second Coming of *Isa* (Jesus) were not advocates of Christian doctrines but Muslims who adhered to Sufism and millennialism in the context of Islam. Mahdism was ubiquitous in Hausaland before and during the nineteenth century.

In a broad perspective, the historian of Africa is confronted with a number of problems in attempting to reconstruct the history of plateau-'mountain' societies. While for the most part lowland-urban societies have experienced frequent and often documented change in the world, 'Mountain' societies' change was often gradual and unwritten. And scholarly neglect of the Ningi can also be attributed to their society's lack of writing, save by the *mallamai*, in the nineteenth century. But Ningi has one advantage. In contrast to the Kofyar and possibly the Idoma, where paucity of documentation exists because of the past isolation and infrequent contacts with Hausa Kingdoms, Ningi's proximity and character provided numerous contacts with adjacent emirates. Moreover, the realization came early that the existence of a single "Ningi" was a mere abstraction and that in order to create "Ningi", many heterogeneous people

had been grouped together. This factor must not be over-looked by anyone interested in doing research on the Jos Plateau.

Traditions were grouped under two headings. The 'core traditions' consisted of those recorded in Ningi Division proper. Efforts were made initially in the non-Hausa areas to record the traditions in the original language of transmission but this proved difficult and was abandoned. The informants had problems in speaking their own languages because of the rapid spread of Hausa. In addition, praise songs about the leaders of Ningi by the palace musicians of Ningi were recorded; as oral historical sources dating back to the 1870's they often reveal insights into the character of each leader. The frontier raiding character of Ningi made the collection of oral variants outside the division necessary. These recordings were grouped as 'peripheral traditions'. In short, there is no problem in finding valuable oral traditions in Ningi. The diverse cultural and linguistic make-up of the Ningi area provided numerous sources of oral traditions useful for variants either favourable or opposed to the "official" view of the Hausa hierarchy. One will find short geneological depths among nineteenth-century non-Muslims because of their poorly developed material culture. Since material possessions were few and since little was handed down, there was little need for long memories.

Location of sources of power in Ningi for the pre-colonial period was a problem. The difficulty in Ningi was primarily because of the egalitarian character of the social structure and to the absorption of these societies into the new order of colonial administration. The social change resulting from both the impact of colonial rule and Islam upon these societies must not be overlooked. Colonial rule marked the decline of the non-Muslim chiefs called *Tsafi*. In the

pre-colonial period, *Tsafi* were very powerful. Each chief had a specific area of operation. Within this territory people came for consultation and decision making; and occasionally appeals were made beyond an individual's territory to a more powerful *Tsafi* some distance away. The significant centre of power became evident from the distributional maps of areas and distances to a *Tsafi* whose religious and judicial judgements people came to hear. These centres were mentioned from time to time in the oral tradition which tends to suggest diffused authority. A similar methodological approach for the location of power might be applicable to other 'stateless' heterogeneous societies in the Jos Plateau.

Regrettably, specialized oral historians were few because of the character of the pre-colonial political system and because very few individuals were still alive who had lived in the pre-colonial period. That slave raiding caused demographic depletions must not be forgotten. When slave raids took males to work on plantations in the Caliphate, intergenerational mobility may have allowed for their assimilation with broader Hausa culture. Hence, the age structure of the Ningi society was greatly affected by these raids: either the society was left with too many young children or with only the very old men and women. Even if Ningi raids increased the population from time to time, the warrior factor of conspicuous poverty was not lasting because of the quick turnover in raiding commodities. Further, Ningi's pre-colonial boundaries were reduced in size under colonial rule, causing additional demographic decrease. In spite of these factors, over thirty-five persons were involved in the process of both narration and clarification. The background of each informant was taken into account as was the mode of transmission.

Finally, Malam Yahaya is Ningi's equivalent



century Hausa founders of Ningi were under the influence of Christian doctrine found scholarly expression in the twentieth century because of the millennial expectations of the founders. According to this view from about the 1830's onward, Islamic millennial movements concerned with the Second Coming of *Isa* (Jesus) in Kano led to events which later became related to Ningi and the eastern frontier of Zaria. Hamza and associates were agents of this movement, along with other *mallamai* who migrated from Kano to the frontier, where some of the old *pre-jihad* centres had been located. In the twentieth century, Rev. Walter R.S. Miller, a Christian missionary in northern Nigeria, compiled these traditions, and linked the millennial character of the nineteenth century to the conquest of northern Nigeria by Christians in the colonial situation. This interpretation can no longer stand without qualification. Based on mistaken chronology, Rev. Miller placed the persecution of millennial dissidents - such as the famous Malam Ibrahim - by Kano officials and the foundation of Ningi too close to the twentieth century. It appears that the *Isawa* believers had the support of all Ningi leaders until the 1890's. Malam Gajigi reigned from ca. 1884 to 1889, when he was overthrown by Malam Usman Dan Yaya (1890-1902), the last Ningi ruler before colonial rule. Apparently, the *Isawa* threw their support to Gajigi in the succession dispute with Dan Yaya. In order to escape the wrath of Dan Yaya, who killed one of their leaders, Malam Adamu, *Isawa* fled to the eastern fringes of Zaria - Kawuri, Kargi, Ikara, Kankanki, and Gimi - where they later met Rev. Miller, converted to Christianity, and subsequently settled in Wusasa. While evidence may yet surface about Christian doctrines coming across the desert into Hausaland, textual criticism of oral traditions is an indispensable requirement in order to eliminate distortions in the interpretations of

the spatially distributed *Isawa* traditions. The impact of "feedback" in oral methodology must be considered in transitions of religious conversions and social change.

The *mallamai* preached of Jesus (*Isa*) within the context of Islam. It is often forgotten that the name *Isa* (Jesus) appears twenty-five times in the Qu'ran and in association with other titles a total of thirty-five times. There is some confusion between the roles assigned to Jesus and to the Mahdi. In order to clarify this situation a tradition from the Prophet stated: "There is no Mahdi save *Isa* b. Maryam (Mary)." Muslims are divided in their opinion on Jesus in the community of Islam. A majority view is that Jesus will come and remain for forty years sowing solace and salvation to the repentant; thereafter he will die and be buried in Medina beside the Prophet Mohammed. Another view holds that Jesus is living in the body and will make his appearance on the Final Day in paving the way for the coming of *Imam* Mahdi. The *mallamai* may have held either one of these views but apparently they thought that Jesus was the Mahdi. It was Jesus who would return to the earth and do justice to the world; justice would be pronounced on the living and the dead. The tradition holds that: ". . . that was the crime of Hamza". It is evident that movements of expectations were widespread; the Shaikh Uthman Dan Fodio used Mahdist expectations about himself for success in Jihad.

The Caliphate later discouraged Mahdist expectations. Some of the *jihad* scholars became bureaucrats in the establishment; and they did not wish to encourage a movement - such as the *Isawa*, for example - disruptive of what they had set up. An oral text in Ningi narrates in imagery the accusation of Emir Abdullahi (1855-1883) against Malam Ibrahim, the famous *Isawa* leader about 1872.

The emir called on the *malam*, and said: 'I hear that you are going to rebel? They are telling me that you have got a sword and a spear? The *malam* replied: 'No, how can I rebel against you? This sword and the spear you see is the faith of Islam - it is the saying of God.' The emir replied further that: 'I am told that you have a thron (gadonsa-rauta). (The inference here is that Ibrahim seeks to overthrow the emir).' The *malam* answered: 'Yes, I do have one but it is not a throne (gado); it is a bed (gado also means bed) for my Qu'ran. You can go and take it and compare it with yours; and if it looks like yours, you can kill me . . .'. When it was brought before the emir, they saw that it was a small bed with a skin mat attached to it.

Ibrahim again stated that his throne was not as spacious as the Emir's and that having such a bed should not make him liable to any criminal offense. Apparently, Ibrahim refused to present a case showing his innocence and left it up to the Emir to decide what to do with him. Ibrahim was sentenced to die and taken to the *Kurmi* market in Kano.

The millennial diaspora to Ningi in the 1870's was related to a much broader problem carefully watched by the Sokoto Caliphate in the 1880's. Sokoto's concern began with the Mahdist hopes of Ibrahim Shari al-Din, better known as Abu Sha'r or *Malam* Dubaba, and *Malam* Yamusa. Ibrahim Sharif al-Din came through Hausaland from the West in 1855 en route to the East. He proclaimed that the time for the advent of the Mahdi was near and called upon people to follow him to Mecca; at Mecca the Mahdi was expected to appear. In the

course of his journey he stopped in Borno during an unstable political period. People in the thousands flocked to him, and while continuing the journey Sharif al-Din was killed by a non-Muslim people in southern Baghirmi. Some survivors of this ambush continued their journey eastward. Similarly *Malam* Yamusa arrived in Dutse district at Kano in about 1878. He told the multitudes that it was time for the *hijra* to Mecca to search for the Mahdi. Along the eastward march, people joined him; they abandoned their homes and property. The emirates of Katagum, Hadejia, and Misau were concerned about the depopulation of their territories. They countered by arresting Yamusa and taking him to Sokoto. The Amir al-Muminin later deported Yamusa to Bauchi.

M.A. Alhaji illustrates Sokoto's concern about movements of expectations in a letter of Maryam, the daughter of Uthman Dan Fodio, to Emir Muhammad Bello of Kano (1882-93). Muhammad Bello was concerned about the trans-emirate movements of people which obviously affected the tax base of the Caliphate. He, therefore, consulted Sokoto. M.A. Alhaji says that Maryam's letter is a summation of the Mahdist traditions in the Sokoto Caliphate during the second half of the nineteenth century. Since millennial hopes of Ningi were also part of this movement, I take the liberty to quote his translation of this letter in its entirety. Maryam's letter reads:

In the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate, and the blessing of God be upon the noble Prophet. From the mother (al-umm) Maryam, the daughter of the *shaykh* who is the great reformer and the luminous light of the age, to her blessed, pious, learned and agreeable son; abundant greetings and adequate salutations. Next:

We have seen your noble letter and understand your generous and munificent words of respect for us; may God bless you; amen. As for the question about which you have sought our opinion, namely that the people of Hausaland pass by your place from all directions and claim; among other things, that the time for the evacuation of Hausaland has come, the answer is as follows: such people are utterly misguided and completely ignorant of their religious and worldly affairs. What they claim is nothing but falsehood and calumny. In fact, contrary to what they all say, there is still some good among us and here we shall remain against their wish, for some time by the will of God.

Indeed, the *Shaykh*, my father, did mention that we shall immigrate from Hausaland but he did not specify the time. He, may God bless him, described for us the route of the *hijra* as follows; the beginning of the route is Bughu, thence to Mushkam Fush, thence to Sara, thence to Sarwa, thence to Andam, thence to Kughum, thence to the hill called Kigha, thence to the hill called Zuziyat, thence to the hill called Abut Tafa, thence to the hill Abu Zarafa, thence to Rugha, thence to Daygh, thence to Kaja, thence to Kutulu, thence to Nuba hill, thence to Thughula, the region of gold mines which contains ninety-nine hills, the name of each starts with 'fa', but I know only three of them. Fazughulu, Fakul and Fandukal then, after a journey

of two days we shall reach the Nile.

He did not specify the time of the migration (*hijra*) but when it comes it will be like the fire on top of a mountain and will not be hidden from anyone. One of the signs of the advent of that time is lack of rain which shall cause a serious drought, so much so that one may dig a well in the river bed and will not get any water. Another sign is the eruption of upheavals among the communities of the west who will leave their homes and move towards the east, but when they arrive here they will find that we have left before them. These two signs are the principal signs, in our opinion, which have come down to us from the two *shaykhs*, my father and his son Muhammad Bello, may God the Exalted be pleased with them.

As for what you see at present, namely drought, famine, wars between us and the unbelievers, lack of prosperity and closed routes, these things are nothing, and they are not among the things that frighten us. God the Exalted and High, out of his omnipotence, shall dispel all these things and shall conquer through us all the lands until none of the obstinate unbelievers remains. - The red signs, however, are the absence of rain and the outbreak of upheavals among the communities of the west and their migration from the west to the east. This is what has come down to us, and God knows best.

Further, I beseech thee, as parents beseech their son, to fear God secretly and openly; verily there is no substitute for the fear of God and no refuge other than God. You must follow the path of our *shaykh*, the great reformer and the luminous light of the eye. You must not allow yourself to doubt the righteousness of whatsoever he has renewed; verily his path is the real guidance that you must hold to by the heart and the hand. Further, you must submit to the general will and avoid absolutism in your conduct of public affairs.

Finally, I thank you for what you have sent to me; verily you are a noble son, may God bless you, amen.

Maryam's letter indicates how alarming the Mahdist migration had become by the 1880's to the rulers, and millennial expectations compounded the problem. In Islamic ideology, the era of Sokoto was about the end and a new period was to begin - the advent of the last Mujaddid as the Expected Mahdi. The situation may be compared to the development of Christianity where the idea of Expectancy died out in the early Christian community because the Church organization grew; there was little point in waiting for the return of the Expected One because the Church represented the high level of the coming. Sokoto administrators felt the same way, which explains their efforts toward suppression but the millennial movements of *Mallamai* Hamza, Ibrahim, and others threatened the existence of Islamic organization.

More recently, in 1973 Malam Steven Audu of Wusasa - a descendant of the Isawa - gave the impression that Sufism predominated among the

*Isawa mallamai*. Kargi was a *pre-jihad* centre, located east of Zaria, where some of the Isawa settled after fleeing from Dan Yaya; here, the settlers' mode of worship was practised in secrecy because they did not pray according to:

"the Qadiriyya, i.e. facing towards the East, but would just bend down and worship to any direction because God was everywhere. Secretly, they did it. They feared of being killed in that they were worshipping differently from other Muslims. And probably Malam Ibrahim in Kano worshipped in this manner.<sup>12</sup>

This mode of localized ritual in Islam was still being practised in 1910. As a small boy, Malam Audu observed farmers at Kankanki that worshipped any time of the day and facing in any direction.

There may have been more followers of the *Isawa* movement than is generally known. The coming of Europeans and the secret worship prevented the *Isawa* movement from flourishing and increased the likelihood for the first Christian conversions about 1913 at Gimi, located on the Gilma River just southward of Ungwan Katsalle. Rev. Miller translated into Hausa the New Testament and portions of the Old Testament of the Bible, and Rev. W.A. Thompson, a Jamaican, was the first pastor. But an epidemic of sleeping sickness (*Trypanosomiasis*) caused the evacuation of Gimi a short time later, and reduced the number of converts. Many followers reverted back to the Muslim faith and perhaps to additional religious aberrations, after the epidemic outbreak was attributed to either the Christian presence or to a curse by evil spirits.

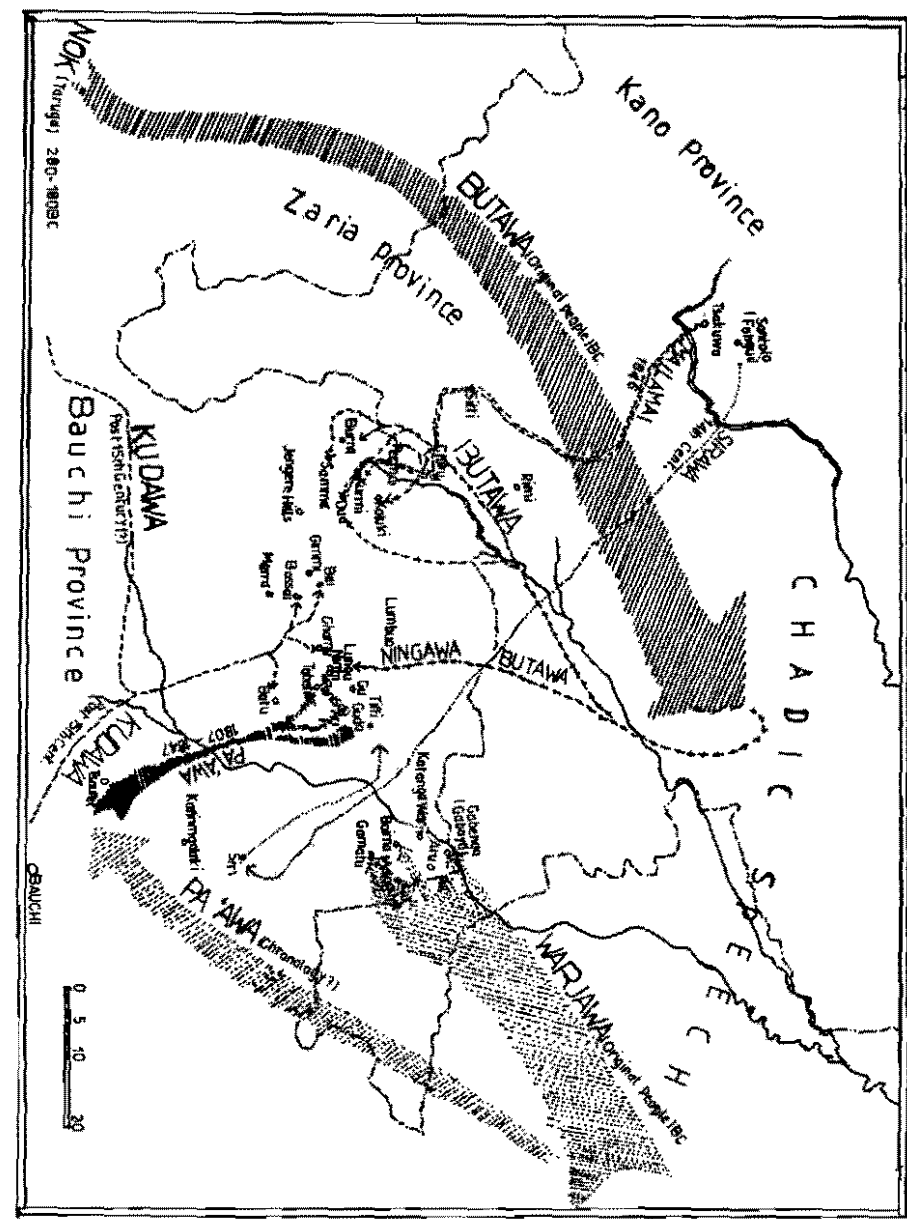
Fieldwork for the reconstruction of Ningi history in Nigerian Hausaland began in August 1972 and ended in December 1973. The collection of

oral data figured prominently in the reconstruction which covered the period from ca. 1800-1908, since Ningi lacked writing. Oral traditions were grouped under two headings: 'core traditions' consisted of those recorded in Ningi proper, and 'peripheral traditions' were those oral variant collected outside the division because of the Ningi raiding character. The heterogeneous composition of the Ningi cultures - Butawa, Warjawa, Sirawa, Chamawa, Basawa, Pa'awa and Hausawa - required that the study reflect the traditions of all the people and not just the official history of the ruling elite. Moreover, the mode of transmission of extant traditions received considerable attention for purposes of authenticity. In regard to revisions in the historiography of Hausaland, two basic fallacies can no longer stand. First, the praise songs in Ningi and colonial data show that the Hausa *mallamai* (religious practitioners and teachers) refused to pay the land tax (*Kurɗin Kasa*) only and not the Islamic tithe (*Zakka*) at Tsakuwa of Kano ca. 1846; *Zakka* is required of all Muslims as a Pillar of the Faith. Hence, the *mallamai* were not disrespectful to Islam. Second, the belief that the Hausa founders of the Chiefdom and the *Isawa* believers in the Second Coming of Isa (Jesus) were adherents to Christian doctrines received much credibility in some theological and in some scholarly circles; to the contrary, our data show that the Muslims were imbued in the ideology of sufism and millennialism within the context of Islam, for Mahdism had its antecedents in Hausaland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. And a special tribute is paid to Malam Yahaya (ca. 1878- ) who was the most brilliant and indispensable indigenous oral historian in the reconstruction of Ningi history.

## Footnotes

1. Research for this paper was funded by the Foreign Area Fellowship Programme. I wish to thank Professors William A. Brown, Steven Feierman, and E.J. Alagoa for critical comments beneficial to this essay. I express the usual disclaimer.
2. Stuart Piggott, *Ancient Europe* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965), p. 17.
3. Map Source: Adell Patton, Jr., "The Name Ningi and Developing Pre-Colonial Citizenship: A 'Non-Tribal' Perspective in Nineteenth Century Hausaland," *Afrika Und Uebersee* (Fall 1979).
4. Adell Patton, Jr., Manuscript: Ningi: The Rise and Fall of an African Frontier Chiefdom, ca. 1800-1908; henceforth, Patton, Ningi.
5. Patton, Ningi.
6. Patton, Ningi.
7. Patton, Ningi.
8. Rev. Walter R.S. Miller, *Reflections of a Pioneer* (London, 1936), pp. 106-107; and by same author see, *An Autobiography* (Zaria), pp. 51-52; see also E.A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1914* (London: Longman, 1966); pp. 149-150; and Ian Linden, "The Isawa Mallams ca. 1850-1919: Some Problems in the Religious History of Northern Nigeria" (Unpublished Paper, ABU, Samaru-Zaria, 1974).

9. Geoffrey Parrinder, *Jesus in the Quran* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), p. 18.
10. Malam Yahaya, Age 95, interviewed at Ningi Town 1973 (Tape No.1, Side A); all tapes are on deposit at ABU, Samaru-Zaria.
11. Muhammad Ahmad Alhaji, "The Mahdist Tradition in Northern Nigeria," (Ph.D. Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, 1973), pp. 94-95.
12. Fieldnotes (November 17, 1973, Wusasa, Zaria).





## Contributors

ADE ADEFUYE teaches in the History Department, University of Lagos. His most recent publication is "Palwo Jogi Impact on Political History", in J.B. Webster *Chronology in African History*, Dalhousie Press, 1979. He is now working on "Indirect Rule in Buganda and Bunyoro."

E.J. ALAGOA is Professor of History at the University of Port Harcourt. Some of his most recent publications include *Eminent Nigerians of the Rivers State*, Ibadan: Heinemann, 1981, edited with T.N. Tamuno; *The Teaching of History in Nigerian Universities*, Accra: Association of African Universities, 1980, and he is editing "The Prehistory of the Niger Delta," with F.N. Anozie, and "Ancestral Voices: Oral Historical Texts from Nembe, Niger Delta" with Kay Williamson.

S.O. BABAYEMI is a Research Fellow in the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan.

N.C. EJITWU formerly a Lecturer in History, University of Port Harcourt, is now a Civil Service Commissioner in the Civil Service Commission of the Rivers State Government. His publications include "The Obolo-Andoni and the Europeans", in *Ujama Magazine* and he is now working on "The Origin and Orientation of the Nigerian Civil Service".

GLORIA THOMAS EMEAGWALI teaches in the History Department at the Ahmadu Bello University. While working on "The Marxian Explanatory Model in History," she has published "The Caribbean in Historical Perspective", in *Latin American Perspectives*, U.S.A.,

and "Explanation in African History" in *History at A.B.U.*, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

E.O. ERIM teaches in the Department of History, University of Calabar. A regular contributor to *Oduma*, he has also published in *Kiabarà*, *Journal of the Humanities*, as well as other learned journals.

OWEN J.M. KALINGA is Head, Department of History, University of Malawi. Among his publications are "The Karonga War: Commercial Rivalry and Politics of Survival", *Journal of African History*, 21 (1980); "Trade, the Kyungus and the Emergence of the Ngonde Kingdom of Malawi", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, XXII 1 (1979). He is currently working on a book which will deal with the history of four ethnic groups of northern Malawi covering the period ca. 1500-1800.

NWANNA NZEWUNWA, an archaeologist, teaches History and Archaeology in the Department of History, University of Port Harcourt. Apart from being presently engaged in an archaeological dig in Yola, he has published "Culture Resource Management in Nigeria", in *New Directions in Archaeology*, (ed) Cleere, (Cambridge) and is working on *The Prehistory of Nigeria*, and *The Middle Niger Valley Before Islam*.

ADE OBAYEMI teaches in the Department of History at University of Ilorin.

ADELL PATON Jr. is Associate Professor in the Department of History, Howard University, Washington D.C., U.S.A. Among his publications are "The Name Ningi and Developing Pre-colonial Citizenship: A Non-Tribal Perspective in 19th century Hausaland", *Afrika Und Ubersee* Vol. LXII:4 (March 1980) and "Notes on Ningi Raids and Slavery In 19th century Sokoto Caliphate", *Slavery and Abolition: Journal of Comparative Studies* Vol. 2:2. He is now working on "The African Physician and the Politics of Health in

British West Africa: A Social History  
ca. 1800 - 1925."

JAN VANSINA is a Research Professor in the Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A. His numerous publications include *Children of Woot: A History of the Kuba Peoples*, Madison: U.W. Press, (1978), "Memory and Oral Tradition", in *The African Past Speaks*, Miller J.C. (ed), Folkestone: (1980), and several articles in French and English. He is now working on "History of the Peoples in the Rainforest (pre-colonial)", a multi-volume study covering the rainforest from Rio del Rey to the African great lakes to lower Zaire and Upper vicinity of lake Tanganyika.

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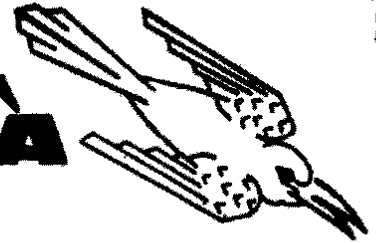
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